

# *The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer* *Books 1 - 4*

*Made by Sir Thomas More, Knight*  
*Lord Chancellor of England*

Page and line numbers correspond to  
*The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*  
(Yale University Press), volume 8.1.

A complete concordance to this work can be found at  
[www.thomasmorestudies.org/publications.html#Concordance](http://www.thomasmorestudies.org/publications.html#Concordance).

Spelling standardized, punctuation modernized, and notes added  
by Mary Gottschalk

©CTMS 2020

## **Punctuation**

The only punctuation marks found in the original printed version of *The Confutation* are the period, comma, question mark, slash, or “virgule” ( / ), and parentheses. Quotation marks, semicolons, dashes, exclamation points, italics, and suspension points have been added with the goal of making the text more readily understood by present-day readers. Many commas needed to be inserted and many removed in deference to current rules about restrictive and nonrestrictive phrases. Italics are added for titles and, occasionally, for emphasis. All bracketed words found in the text are More’s. As for the suspension points ( ... ), these are substitutes for many of More’s slashes. He often used a slash where we would use a semicolon, a dash, or italics; but he also, quite often, used one to indicate whether a certain phrase was meant to be connected more closely with the one preceding it or with the one following it; to call attention to parallel elements in different phrases; or simply to facilitate serious reflection. He also quite often used a slash for dramatic purposes—to indicate, perhaps, a coming sly comment, or some possibly surprising conclusion. The evident thoughtfulness with which More punctuated this book leads one to suspect that he anticipated its being often read aloud, and wanted to make sure the reader got the cadence right. He writes as though he were speaking.

<b>Preface.....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Book 1.....</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>Book 2.....</b>	<b>143</b>
<b>Book 3.....</b>	<b>223</b>
<b>Book 4.....</b>	<b>387</b>



## The Preface to the Christian Reader

Our Lord send us now some years as plenteous of good corn  
*Evil books* as we have had some years of late  
 plenteous of evil books! For they have  
 5 grown so fast and sprung up so thick, full of pestilent  
 errors and pernicious heresies, that they have infected and  
 killed, I fear me, more seely simple souls than the famine of the dear  
 years have destroyed bodies. And surely no little cause there is to  
 dread that the great abundance and plenty of the one is no  
 10 little cause and occasion of the great dearth and scarcity of the other.  
 For since that our Lord of his especial providence useth temporally  
 to punish the whole people for the sins of some part, to compel  
 the good folk to forbear and abhor the naughty, whereby they may  
 bring them to amendment and avoid themselves the contagion of  
 15 their company: wisdom were it for us to perceive that, like as folk  
 begin now to delight in feeding their souls of the venomous carrion  
 of those poisoned heresies (of which may well be verified the  
*2 Kings 4:40* words of Holy Writ “Death is in the pot”),  
 our Lord likewise againward, to revenge  
 20 it with, beginneth to withdraw his gracious hand from the  
 fruits of the earth, diminishing the fertility both in corn and cattle,  
 and bringing all in dearth, much more than men can remedy or  
 fully find out the cause. And yet besides this, somewhere he sendeth  
 war, sickness, and mortality... to punish in the flesh that  
 25 odious and hateful sin of the soul that spoileth the fruit from  
 all manner of virtues: I mean unbelief, false faith, and infidelity,  
 and to tell you all at once in plain English, heresy. And, I say, *that*  
 God now *beginneth*. For I fear me surely that, except folk begin  
 to reform that fault the sooner, God shall not fail in such wise to  
 30 go forward that we shall well perceive and feel by the increase of  
 our grief that all this gear hitherto is but a beginning yet. The  
*1 Kings 17—18* prophet Elijah (as it is written in the Third  
 Book of Kings), for the infidelity and idolatry  
 that then was used in Israel, by his hearty prayer made unto  
 35 God kept that whole country from rain by the space of three years

2, 21 *corn*: grain      7, 28 *fear me (surely)*: (certainly) am afraid      7 *seely*: poor  
 7–8 *dear years*: years of dearth; years of scarcity      9 *dread*: be very much afraid      11 *since that*: given that  
 11 *especial*: special (as opposed to general) // *useth*: is wont // *temporally*: in the present life  
 12 *people*: population // *part*: i.e., part of it      13 *forbear*: keep away from // *abhor*: regard with repugnance  
 13 *naughty*: immoral / wicked      15 *wisdom* . . . *us*: it would be wise of us      15, 30 *perceive*: take cognizance  
 16, 20 *begin(neth)*: i.e., are/is beginning      17 *poisoned*: poisonous; noxious // *of which*: by which  
 17 *verified*: shown to be true      19 *againward*: in response // *revenge*: avenge / punish      21 *cattle*: livestock  
 22 *in*: into      23 *somewhere*: to some places      24 *sickness*: epidemic disease  
 24 *mortality*: loss of life on a large scale      25 *spoileth the fruit from*: i.e., despoils of their fruit  
 28 *now beginneth*: i.e., is now just beginning // *except*: unless      29 *fault*: failing / wrongdoing // *wise*: a way  
 30 *go forward*: proceed      31 *gear*: stuff // *yet*: as yet      32 *as it is*: i.e., as is  
 32 *Third*: In More’s day, the biblical books now generally known as 1 and 2 Samuel were called 1 and 2 Kings.  
 33 *for*: on account of      34 *used*: practiced      35 *by the space*: for the duration

and a half—not of evil will or malice, but of devotion and pity;  
by the pain and pinching of the bodies, to compel men to remember  
their souls, which else were in peril of perishing  
by false idolatry.

- 5 Now, albeit that these bold, shameless heretics have of  
long while neither letted nor ceased falsely to insimulate and  
accuse the church of God... calling all good Christian people idolaters  
for honoring of saints and reverent behavior used at

- 10 *How the Church doth honor* their images: yet that have they done so  
*images and saints* far against their own conscience—  
by which themselves well wot that the  
Church useth to saints and images none honor but ordinate... not  
honoring images but for the saints' sake, nor saints but for the sake  
of God... and neither image as saint nor saint as God—and this knoweth,  
15 I say, Tyndale himself so well, and thereby so far hath railed  
against his own conscience... that now at the last, in his answer  
to my book, he retreateth so far back that he revoketh almost all  
that ever he said before... and is fain now to grant that Christian  
men *may* have images, and kneel before them, too; as ye shall hereafter  
20 see when we shall come to the place.

But we, on the other side, say plainly unto them that the  
things wherewith they corrupt the world are of infidelity and  
*The chief evil in an idol* faithless idolatry the very most accursed  
kind. The chief evil in an idol was

- 25 that it bore the name of God, either itself or the devil that it  
represented, and, being so reputed and worshipped for God, robbed  
the reverence and devout honor from God.

Now, when Tyndale calleth his heresies by the name of “faith,” and  
maketh men serve the devil while they *ween* to serve *God*—what  
30 abominable idolatry is *this*?

If it be idolatry to put trust in the devil, and serve the devil with  
faith, it is *worse* than idolatry to make men ween they serve  
*God* with *faith* while they despite him with a false belief.

- 35 And if it be very infidelity to do as the Turks do—bid men  
believe in Muhammad's Quran—it is more infidelity to do as  
Tyndale hath done: purposely mistranslate Christ's holy Gospel,  
to set forth heresies as evil as the Quran.

And if it be idolatry to do as the paynims did—make an idol “God”—  
it must needs be much worse idolatry to do as these heretics do,

1 *evil*: ill // *devotion*: piety    2 *pinching*: afflicting    4 *false*: unfaithful / vile  
5–6 *of long while*: for a long time    6 *letted*: scrupled // *insimulate*: charge  
8 *used at*: exhibited at / shown to    10, 16 *conscience*: conscience / consciousness  
11 *wot*: know    12 *useth to* . . . *none honor*: confers on . . . no honor / does of . . . no reverencing  
16–17 *answer to my book*: i.e., *An Answer unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue [concerning Heresies]*  
17 *revoketh*: retracts; takes back    18 *fain*: forced    21 *side*: i.e., hand    23, 24 *evil in*: bad thing about  
26 *so*: thus // *for*: as    29, 33 *while*: when    29 *ween to serve*: believe themselves to be serving  
32 *ween*: think    33 *despite*: insult    34 *very*: literal    34, 35, 38 *as*: i.e., what    34 *Turks*: i.e., Muslims  
34 *bid men*: tell people to    35 *more*: a greater    37 *set forth*: promote    38 *paynims*: pagans

that call God the cause of all evil, and thereby make God not a vain idol but a very devil.

And what can be worse kind of infidelity than to make books of heresies, and call them the right faith?

5 And what more abominable infidelity than to abuse the Scripture of God to the color of their false belief?

And what can be a worse belief than to believe that the sacraments that God hath ordained by his Holy Spirit be but inventions of man, or as Tyndale saith of confession, but invention of the  
10 devil?

And what can be worse belief than to believe that God's word is not to be believed but if it be put in writing?

*O erroneous opinion!*

Or what can be a worse belief than  
to believe that men's good works, be they  
15 never so well done, be yet nothing worth, nor the man never the better for them, nor no reward for them coming toward man in heaven?

Or what can be a worse belief than to believe that a man doth wrong to pray for his father's soul?

20 Or what can be a worse belief than to believe that a man may as slightly regard Whitsun Sunday as Hock Monday... and as boldly eat flesh on Good Friday as on Shrove Tuesday?

And what can be a worse belief than to believe that none other sin can damn a man but only lack of belief?

25 And if it be idolatry to do as the paynims do—give worship unto an idol—how much is it worse than idolatry to do as Tyndale doth: forbid us to give worship to the Very Body and Blessed Blood of God in the Holy Sacrament of the Altar?

These pestilent infidelities, and these abominable kinds of  
30 idolatries, far exceed and pass, and incomparably more offend the majesty of our Lord God than, all the setting up of Bel and Baal, and Beelzebul, and all the devils in hell. Wherefore, like as in other places where these heresies have taken deeper root and been more spread abroad... God hath taken more deep and sore vengeance, not  
35 only by dearth and death, but also by battle and sword: so is it to be feared that for the receipt of these pestilent books, our Lord sendeth

1 *make God*: i.e., make God out to be // *vain*: worthless / futile 3, 11 *be*: be a 3 *make*: write

5 *abuse*: misrepresent; twist 6 *the color of*: i.e., make it seem to corroborate 12 *but if*: unless

12 *put*: i.e., put by him 13 *opinion*: notion / deviant tenet

15 *never so well done*: done in no matter how good a way

15–16 *never the better*: i.e., the least bit the better off 16 *no*: i.e., any // *toward*: to

20–21 *as slightly regard*: hold in as little regard 21 *Whitsun*: Pentecost

21 *Hock Monday*: the second Monday after Easter 22 *flesh*: meat

22 *Shrove Tuesday*: the day before Ash Wednesday; i.e., Mardi Gras 23 *none*: no 25, 26 *as*: i.e., what

25 *paynims*: pagans 27 *Very*: Real 29, 36 *pestilent*: pernicious; noxious 30 *pass*: surpass

31 *setting up*: elevating; putting up on pedestals 34 *sore*: severe 35 *dearth*: (inflicting) scarcity

35 *death*: i.e., plague 36 *receipt*: accepting // *sendeth*: i.e., is sending

us some lack of corn and cattle for a *beginning*, and will not fail but if our fault be amended to send us as sore punishment as he hath sent already into such other places as would not be by like warning amended—according as he saith in the twenty-sixth chapter of Leviticus, where he speaketh in this wise: “If ye will not give ear unto me, nor fulfill all my commandments, but set my laws at naught, despise my judgments, and leave those things undone that are by me ordained, and break my pact and covenant: then will I againward do these things following unto you. I will hastily visit you with penury and burning heat” (or “fever”) “which shall sore vex and grieve your eyes, and consume you even to the death. Over this, ye shall sow your seed in vain... for your enemies shall devour it. I shall also set my face against you, and ye shall fall before your adversaries, and be made subjects unto them that hate you. Ye shall flee where no man chaseth you. And if ye will not yet, for all this, obey me: I shall for your sins add and put to these plagues sevenfold more; and I shall tread down the pride of your stubbornness,” and so forth.

And who doth more properly fall in the danger of this commination and threat than they that despise Christ’s sacraments, which are his holy ordinances and a great part of Christ’s new law and testament! And who shall less set by his commandments...

“Only faith” than they that, upon the boldness of “only faith,” set all good works at naught, and little force the danger of their evil deeds, upon the boldness that a bare faith and slight repentance, without shrift or penance, sufficeth... and that no vow made to God can bind a man to live chaste, nor let a monk from marriage—all which things, with many pestilent errors besides, these abominable books of Tyndale and his fellows teach us.

Of these books of heresies there be so many made within these few years—what by Luther himself and by his fellows, and afterward by the new sects sprung out of his, which like the children of the viper would now gnaw out their mother’s belly—that the bare names of those books were almost enough to *make* a book; and of every sort of those books be some brought into this realm, and kept in hugger-mugger, by some shrewd masters that keep them for no good.

1 *corn and cattle*: grain and livestock    2 *but if*: unless // *fault*: failing / wrongdoing // *sore*: severe  
 5 *in this wise*: thusly    7 *set . . . naught*: (will) disregard my laws // *despise*: show contempt for / flout  
 8 *ordained*: decreed; stipulated    9 *againward*: in turn    9–10 *these . . . unto you*: to you the following things  
 10 *hastily*: in fierce anger // *visit*: afflict // *penury*: destitution    11 *sore*: terribly  
 12 *over this*: in addition to this; moreover    15 *where no man*: when no one // *chaseth*: is persecuting / is out to get  
 17 *put*: join    19 *properly*: particularly // *in*: into // *commination*: denunciation  
 20 *despise*: show contempt for / brush aside    21 *great*: large    22 *testament*: covenant  
 22 *less set by*: hold in less regard    23, 25–26 *the boldness*: i.e., their audacious confidence    24 *of*: in  
 24 *only faith*: faith alone    24–25 *set . . . at naught*: regard . . . as of no account    25 *little force*: take little heed of  
 25 *danger*: dangerousness    26 *bare*: mere / bare-bones // *slight*: unsubstantial    27 *shrift*: confession  
 28 *chaste*: in sexual abstinence // *let*: bar    29 *pestilent*: pernicious    30, 32 *fellows*: allies / cohorts  
 31 *made*: written    34 *the bare*: the mere; just the    35 *were almost*: would almost be    36 *sort*: set  
 37 *in hugger-mugger*: in secret; clandestinely // *shrewd masters*: wicked teachers // *good*: i.e., good purpose

Besides the books of Latin, French, and Deutsch, in which there are of these evil sects an innumerable sort... there are made in the English tongue, first Tyndale's New Testament, father of them all by reason of his false translating. And after that, the Five Books of Moses translated by the same man... we need not doubt in what manner, when we know by what man and for what purpose.

Then have ye his introduction into Saint Paul's epistle, with which he introduceth and bringeth his readers into a false understanding of Saint Paul... making them, among many other heresies, believe that Saint Paul were in the mind that only faith were always sufficient for salvation, and that men's good works were nothing worth, nor could no thank deserve nor no reward in heaven, though they were wrought in grace. And these things teacheth Tyndale as the mind of Saint Paul... whereas Saint Paul saith himself that they which so misconstrue him to the depraving of men's good works be well worthy damnation.

Then have we by Tyndale the *Wicked Mammon*... by which many a man hath been beguiled and brought into many wicked heresies; which thing—saving that the devil is ready to put out men's eyes that are content willingly to wax blind—were else, in good faith, to me no little wonder; for never was there made a more foolish, frantic book.

Then have we Tyndale's book of *Obedience*... whereby we be taught to disobey the doctrine of Christ's Catholic Church, and set his holy sacraments at naught.

Then have we from Tyndale the First Epistle of Saint John in such wise expounded that I dare say that blessed apostle, rather than his holy words were in such a sense believed of all Christian people, had liefer his epistle had never been put in writing.

Then have we the *Supplication of Beggars*, a piteous, beggarly book wherein he would have all the souls in purgatory beg all about for naught.

Then have we from George Joye, otherwise called Cleric, a goodly, godly epistle... wherein he teacheth divers other heresies, but specially that men's vows and promises made of chastity be not

1 *of*: in // *Deutsch*: German    2 *of*: from // *sort*: bunch; lot    2, 21 *made*: written    3 *tongue*: language  
 4 *false*: deliberately inaccurate; unfaithful    4–5 *Five Books of Moses*: i.e., Pentateuch  
 7 *introduction . . . epistle*: Its full title is *A Compendious Introduction, Prologue, or Preface unto the Epistle to the Romans*.  
 10 *were in*: i.e., was of // *only faith*: faith by itself    11 *were always*: would always be    12 *thank*: credit  
 13 *though*: even if    14–16: See Romans 3:8.    15 *they which*: those who    16 *depraving*: disparaging  
 16 *worthy*: deserving of    17 *the*: i.e., *The Parable of the*  
 20 *men's . . . blind*: i.e., the eyes of people who are willing to go blind voluntarily // *were else*: would otherwise be  
 21 *in good faith*: in all honesty    22 *frantic*: wildly insane  
 23 *Obedience*: i.e., *The Obedience of a Christian Man, and How Christian Rulers Ought to Govern*.  
 24 *doctrine*: teaching(s)    24–25 *set . . . at naught*: regard . . . as of no avail  
 28 *his . . . were*: i.e., have his holy words be // *of*: by    29 *had liefer*: would prefer that  
 30 *piteous*: tear-jerking / pitiful // *beggarly*: intellectually poor    31 *he*: i.e., the author (Simon Fish)  
 31–32 *beg . . . naught*: go begging all over the place to no avail    33 *goodly*: splendid  
 34 *divers*: several    35 *specially*: particularly // *chastity*: perpetual sexual abstinence

lawful nor can bind no man in conscience, but he may wed when he will.

And this man, considering that when a man teacheth one thing

*Note* and doth himself another, the people

5 set the less by his preaching, determined

therefore with himself that he would of his preaching show

himself example. And therefore, being priest, he hath beguiled a

woman and wedded her—the poor woman, I ween, unaware that he is

priest. Howbeit, if it be not done already... it is well likely

10 now that (but if God be her special guide) he shall by leisure work

her and win her to his own heresy.

Then have ye an exposition also upon the seventh chapter of Saint

*1 Corinthians 7* Paul's epistle to the Corinthians... by

*O evangelical liberty!* which exposition in like wise priests,

15 friars, monks, and nuns be taught that "evangelical liberty"

that they may run out a-caterwauling, and so woo and wed

and lawfully live in lechery.

That work hath no name of the maker, but some ween it was

Friar Roye... which, when he was fallen in heresy, then found it

20 unlawful to live in chastity, and ran out of his order, and hath

since sought many a false, unlawful way to live by... wherein he

made so many changes... that, as Bayfield (another heretic, and lately

burned in Smithfield) told unto me, he made a meet end at last

and was burned in Portugal.

25 Then have we the *Examination of Thorpe*, put forth, as it is said,

by George Constantine—by whom there hath been, I wot well, of that

sort great plenty sent into this realm. In that book the heretic... that

made it as a communication between the bishop and his

chaplains and himself... maketh all the parties speak as himself

30 liketh, and layeth nothing spoken against his heresies but such

as himself would seem solemnly to assoil. Whose book when any

good Christian man readeth that hath either learning or any natural

wit—shall not only be well able to perceive him for a foolish

heretic, and his arguments easy to answer, but shall also see that he

35 showeth himself a false liar in his rehearsal of the matter, wherein

he maketh the other party sometimes speak, for his commodity, such

1 *lawful*: morally licit    1–2 *when he will*: i.e., if and whenever he wants to    3 *considering*: realizing

5 *set the less by*: think the less of    5–6 *determined therefore with himself*: therefore made up his mind

7 *example*: i.e., as an example    7, 9 *priest*: i.e., a priest    8 *ween*: believe

9 *if . . . done*: i.e., if this has not happened // *well*: quite    10 *but if*: unless // *by leisure*: step by step; gradually

12, 14 *exposition*: commentary    14 *wise*: manner    16 *a-caterwauling*: in heat; in animalistic pursuit of sex

16 *so*: thusly    17 *lawfully*: with moral rectitude    18 *hath . . . maker*: does not bear the name of its author

18 *ween*: think; believe    19 *Roye*: William Roye (d. 1536). // *which*: who    20, 21 *unlawful*: immoral

20 *chastity*: sexual abstinence // *ran out of*: absconded from; left without getting a dispensation

20 *order*: i.e., religious order    21 *false*: dishonorable    22 *lately*: recently    23 *meet*: fitting

25 *examination*: trial // *put forth*: published    26 *wot*: know    27 *sort*: set (of books)

27 *great plenty*: a great abundance // *the heretic*: I.e., William Thorpe (d. 1407).    27–28 *that made*: who wrote

28 *communication*: conversation    30 *layeth*: alleges / presents    31 *solemnly*: authoritatively / definitively

31 *assoil*: refute    32–33 *natural wit*: innate intelligence / common sense    33 *shall*: i.e., he shall

35 *false*: dirty // *rehearsal*: recounting // *matter*: incident    36 *commodity*: benefit



manner things as no man would have done that were not a very wild goose.

Then have we Jonah made out by Tyndale—a book that whoso delight therein shall stand in peril that Jonah was never so swallowed up with the whale as by the delight of that book a man's soul may be so swallowed up by the devil that he shall never have the grace to get out again.

Then have we, by Tyndale also, the *Answer* to my *Dialogue*... whereof I shall nothing now need to say, because the confutation of that answer is the matter of my present book.

Then have we also the book of Frith against purgatory—the errors of which book I shall hereafter, God willing, declare you.

Then have ye a book of Luther (translated into English in the name of “Brightwell,” but as I am informed, the book was translated by Frith)—a book of such sort as Tyndale never made a more foolish, nor more full of false lies. And surely Frith's prologue (if it be his, as it is said) is right suitly and a very meet cover for such a cup, as bringeth the people a draught of deadly poison.

Then have we the *Practice of Prelates*, wherein Tyndale had went to have made a special show of his high worldly wit... and that men should have seen therein that there were nothing done among princes but that he was fully advertised of all the secrets—and that so far forth that he knew the privy practice made between the King's Highness and the late Lord Cardinal, and the Reverend Father Cuthbert, then bishop of London, and me: that it was devised wilily that the Cardinal should leave the chancellorship to me, and the bishopric of Durham to my said lord of London, for a while, till he list himself to take them both again. Was this not a wily drift, trow you? Which while every man well seeth there was no man so mad to tell Tyndale, no man doubteth but that Tyndale devised it of his own imagination; and then needeth no man to doubt what manner a brain Tyndale hath, that dreameth such frantic drifts.

Then have we now come forth the book of Friar Barnes, sometime doctor in Cambridge, which was for heresy before this time abjured, and is at this day come to the realm by safe-conduct, which at his humble suit the King's Highness of his blessed disposition condescended to grant him... to the end that if there might yet any spark of grace be found in him, it might be

1, 21 *were*: was // *very*: veritable 3 *Jonah made out*: i.e., the Book of Jonah as translated  
 3–4 *whoso . . . therein*: i.e., whoever takes delight in 5 *with*: by // *delight of*: i.e., taking pleasure in; relishing of  
 6 *be*: i.e., get // *have*: receive 7 *out again*: back out 8 *Dialogue*: i.e., *Dialogue concerning Heresies*  
 10 *matter*: theme 11, 13, 34 *of*: by 11, 15 *Frith*: John Frith (1503–1533). 12 *declare*: make known to  
 13 *in*: i.e., under 15 *such*: i.e., such a // *made a*: wrote one 16 *false*: dirty; despicable  
 17 *right suitly*: quite suitable // *meet*: fitting; appropriate 18 *draught*: drink 19 *practice*: scheming  
 20 *went*: thought // *wit*: astuteness 22 *princes*: dignitaries; the high and mighty // *advertised of*: apprised of; in on  
 23 *privy practice*: secret scheme; conspiracy 24, 37 *the King's Highness*: i.e., His Majesty the King  
 24, 26 *(Lord) Cardinal*: i.e., Thomas Wolsey. 25 *Cuthbert*: Cuthbert Tunstall (1474–1559). 28 *list*: wished  
 28 *again*: back 29, 33 *drift(s)*: plot(s) 29 *trow you*: i.e., don't you think // *while*: since  
 30 *mad*: i.e., demented as 31 *of*: out of 32 *manner a*: i.e., kind of 33 *dreameth*: dreams up  
 33 *frantic*: wildly insane / bizarre 34 *Barnes*: Robert Barnes (d. 1540). 35 *doctor in*: professor at // *which*: who  
 36 *abjured*: i.e., put on trial, and did recant 37 *suit*: petitioning; request 38 *condescended*: was so good as

kept, kindled, and increased, rather than the man to be cast  
 away. Which manner of Christian zeal and princely benignity His  
 Grace had before used, both to Richard Bayfield and George  
 Constantine, which came over hither without safe-conduct,  
 5 upon the only trust of his gracious forgiveness, and had it.  
 And thereupon too, by and by, both twain deceitfully did abuse  
 his goodness, and brought in again more of Tyndale's books and false  
 heresies afresh; whereof as God hath of his justice since  
 requited the one, so mote his mercy by grace amend the other.  
 10 But to speak of Friar Barnes' book, surely of all their books that  
 yet came abroad in English—of all which was never one wise nor  
 good—was never none yet so bad, so foolish, nor so false as his, as it  
 hath since his coming been plainly proved in his face... and that  
 in such wise that when the books that he citeth and allegeth in his  
 15 book were brought forth before him, and his ignorance shown  
 him, himself did in divers things confess his oversight, and  
 clearly acknowledged that he had mistaken and wrongly understood  
 the places. And was in such wise finally confounded with shame...  
 that he was in a mammering whether he would return again over  
 20 the sea, or tarry still here and renounce his heresies again, and  
 turn again to Christ's Catholic Church. And therefore he desired  
 that he might have a learned man then present assigned unto him  
 for the further instruction of his conscience, which his request was  
 granted him, and what will further come thereon, God knoweth. If  
 25 God give him the grace to amend, every good man will be glad  
 thereof. If he have so far gone against God's truth, and thereby  
 aggrieved God in such wise, that God have already given him over forever—  
 or else that though God offer his grace again, the malice of the  
 man's will withstand it yet and reject it—it is not then to be  
 30 doubted but God will find a time for him well enough to show his  
 justice on him, as he hath done upon such others... and namely, of late,  
 in Switzerland, upon Zwingli, which was the first that brought  
 Barnes' heresy thither, concerning the Sacrament of the Altar. But  
 as for hence, he shall, I am sure, have leave to depart safe, according  
 35 to the King's safe-conduct. And yet hath he so demeaned himself  
 since his coming hither... that he hath clearly broken and forfeited  
 his safe-conduct, and lawfully might be burned for his

1 *kept*: preserved    1–2 *cast away*: i.e., convicted, executed, and sent to hell    3 *Grace*: i.e., Majesty  
 3 *used*: exercised // toward    4, 32 *which*: who    4 *hither*: here    5 *the only*: solely the  
 5 *trust*: confident expectation // *had*: received    6 *by and by*: right away // *both twain*: both of those two  
 7 *false*: vile    8 *whereof*: regarding which // *of*: in    9 *mote*: may    11 *yet came abroad*: have yet come out  
 11 *which . . . nor*: i.e., of which there is not one that's sensible or    12 *false*: erroneous    12–13 *as it hath*: as has  
 13 *in*: to    14, 18, 27 *wise*: a way    14–15 *citeth . . . book*: i.e., in his book cites and adduces as supporting his  
 arguments    16 *in divers*: with regard to several    17 *mistaken*: erroneously chosen // *understood*: interpreted  
 18 *the places*: i.e., those texts; the passages in question // *confounded*: overcome  
 19 *mammering*: i.e., state of doubt as to    19–20 *return . . . sea*: go back overseas  
 20 *tarry still*: continue to stick around    21 *again*: back // *desired*: asked    23 *his request*: request of his  
 24 *thereon*: of that    26, 27 *have*: has    27 *aggrieved*: offended    28 *offer*: i.e., offers  
 29 *withstand . . . reject*: i.e., yet withstands it and he rejects    30 *but*: that    31 *namely*: notably  
 33 *thither*: over there // *Sacrament of the Altar*: Eucharist / Blessed Sacrament  
 34 *hence*: i.e., his getting out of here    35 *demeaned*: comported    36 *hither*: over here // *broken*: violated  
 37 *lawfully*: legitimately // *might*: could

heresies, if we would lay his heresies and his demeanor since his coming hither, both twain, unto his charge. But let him go this once, for God shall find his time full well.

Then have we further yet, besides Barnes' book, the *ABC for Children*.

5 And because there is no grace therein... lest we should lack prayers, we have the Primer, and the Ploughman's Prayer, and a book of other small devotions, and then the whole Psalter, too. After the Psalter, children were wont to go to their donet and their accidence; but now they go straight to Scripture. And thereto have we as a donet  
10 the book of the *Pathway to Scripture*; and for an accidence, because we should be good scholars shortly and be soon sped, we have the whole sum of Scripture in a little book; so that after these books well learned, we be meet for Tyndale's Pentateuch, and Tyndale's Testament, and all the other high heresies that he and Joye and  
15 Frith and Friar Barnes teach in all their books besides; of all which heresies the seed is sown, and prettily sprung up, in these little books before. For the Primer and Psalter, prayers and all... were translated and made in this manner by none other but heretics.

The Psalter was translated by George Joye the priest, that is wedded  
20 now; and, I hear say, the Primer too, wherein the seven psalms be set in without the litany, lest folk should pray to saints. And the Dirge is left out clean... lest a man might hap to pray thereon for his father's soul.

In their calendar before their devout prayers, they have set  
25 *A stinking martyr* us a new saint: Sir Thomas Hitton, the heretic that was burned in Kent, of whom I shall tell you more after. Him have they set in on Saint Matthias' Eve, by the name of "Saint Thomas the Martyr."

A long work would it be to rehearse you all their books, for there  
30 be yet more than I know. Against all which the King's high wisdom politicly provided, in that His Highness by his proclamations forbade any manner English books printed beyond the sea to be brought into this realm, or any to be sold printed within this realm, but if the name of the printer and his dwelling place were  
35 set upon the book.

But yet so is it, as I said before, that of these ungracious books full of pestilent, poisoned heresies—that have in other realms already

1 *would*: were to // *demeanor*: behavior 2 *hither*: (over) here // *both twain*: i.e., both of those two things  
8, 9 *donet*: introductory textbook 8, 10 *accidence*: elementary catechism 10 *because*: so that  
11 *scholars*: schoolgoers // *sped*: promoted 13 *well*: i.e., are well // *meet*: ready  
14 *Testament*: i.e., translation of the New Testament / attestation // *high*: high-level; advanced 16 *prettily*: nicely  
18 *made*: written 20 *psalms*: i.e., penitential psalms 22 *Dirge*: Office of the Dead // *clean*: completely  
22 *hap*: happen 24 *before*: at the front of; preceding 27 *after*: later 29 *rehearse*: name 30 *yet*: even  
30 *know*: know of 31 *politicly*: judiciously / shrewdly // *Highness*: i.e., Majesty 32 *manner*: kind of  
32 *English books*: i.e., books in English 32, 33 *printed*: i.e., that were printed 32 *beyond the sea*: overseas  
34 *but if*: unless 36 *ungracious*: evil / disgraceful 37 *pestilent*: pernicious / lethally dangerous  
37 *poisoned*: poisonous; noxious

killed by schisms and war many thousand bodies, and by  
 sinful errors and abominable heresies, many more thousand souls—  
 have now a few malicious, mischievous persons brought into this  
 realm... and labor and enforce themselves, in all that ever they may,  
 5 to corrupt and infect all good and virtuous people.

Nor no man is there anywhere living more studious and busy  
 to do himself good... than those envious wretches be laborious  
 and fervent to do all other men harm, in body, substance,  
 and soul.

10 There be fled out of this realm for heresy a few ungracious  
 folk—what manner folk, their writing and their living  
 showeth. For the captains be priests, monks, and friars that  
 neither say Mass nor Matins, nor never come at church; talking  
 still of “faith” and full of false heresies, would seem Christ’s apostles and  
 15 play the devil’s disours; speaking much of “the Spirit” with no more  
 devotion than dogs—divers of them, priests, monks, and friars,  
 not let to wed harlots and then call them wives. And when  
 they have once villained the Sacrament of Matrimony—then would  
 they make us violate the Sacrament of the Altar too, telling us, as

20 *O false heretic!* Tyndale doth, that it is sin to do the  
 Blessed Body of Christ in that sacrament  
 any honor or reverence but only take it for a token.

Now, when their chief captains be such... we shall not need to  
 doubt of what sort we shall reckon the remnant. These fellows that  
 25 naught had here, and therefore naught carried hence, nor nothing  
 finding there to live upon... be yet sustained and maintained with  
 money sent them by some evil-disposed persons out of this  
 realm thither—and that for none other intent but to make them  
 sit and seek out heresies, and speedily send them hither.

30 Which books albeit that they neither can be there printed  
 without great cost nor here sold without great adventure and  
 peril—yet cease they not with money sent from hence to print them  
 there and send them hither by the whole vatfuls at once... and in some  
 places, looking for no lucre, cast them abroad by night; so great a  
 35 pestilent pleasure have some devilish people caught... with the  
 labor, travail, cost, charge, peril, harm, and hurt of themselves

2 *errors*: inaccuracies / aberrancies    3 *mischievous*: deleterious; destructive // *brought*: i.e., brought some

4 *labor*: strive // *enforce*: strongly exert // *all... may*: i.e., every way they possibly can

6 *more... busy*: i.e., who is more anxious and solicitous    7 *envious*: malicious // *laborious*: hard at work

8 *fervent*: hotly eager; itching // *substance*: goods; possessions    10 *ungracious*: ungodly / disgraceful

11 *living*: way of living    12, 23 *captains*: masterminds; spearheaders    13 *come at*: show up at / go to

14 *still*: constantly // *false*: [a polite-language equivalent of] damn    15 *disours*: professional storytellers

16 *devotion*: i.e., true piety // *divers*: some    17 *let*: i.e., scrupling    18 *villained*: debased

19 *Altar*: i.e., Eucharist    20 *sin*: i.e., a sin

20–22 *do... honor or reverence*: i.e., do of... honoring or reverencing    22 *token*: symbol

24 *remnant*: rest // *fellows*: lowlives    25 *naught*: nothing // *hence*: (with them) out of here

26 *maintained*: supported    27 *evil-disposed*: ill-disposed    28 *thither*: i.e., to there    29, 33 *hither*: (over) here

31 *adventure*: risk    32 *hence*: here    34 *lucre*: monetary gain // *abroad*: around    35 *pestilent*: pernicious

35 *caught*: taken    36 *travail*: hardship / painful exertion // *charge*: burdening // *peril*: endangering

to seek the destruction of others. As the devil hath a deadly  
delight to beguile good people, and bring their souls into everlasting  
torment, without any manner winning and not without  
final increase of his own eternal pain: so do these heretics, the  
5 devil's disciples, beset their whole pleasure and study, to their own  
final damnation, in the training of simple souls to hell by their  
devilish heresies.

Much they cry out against the clergy... saying that the priests  
love to reign in men's conscience. But they themselves show that  
10 when *they* have made the *devil* reign in a man's conscience, so  
far forth that he hath no conscience to eat flesh on Good  
Friday, nor to cast Christ's cross in the cannell, nor to throw his  
Blessed Body out of the pyx—then, after that, likewise as the false  
15 *Galatians 6:13* preachers that were Jews labored to have  
all Christian people circumcised, to the intent  
that, as Saint Paul saith, they might “glory in their flesh”... so be  
these archheretics very glad, and great glory they take, when they  
may hear that any man is brought to burning through their books.  
Then they boast that they have done a great mastery, and say they  
20 have made a martyr... when their poisoned books have killed the  
Christian man both in body and soul.

Thus rejoiced Tyndale in the death of Hitton... of whose burning  
he boasteth in his *Answer* to my *Dialogue*, where he writeth thereof  
that whereas I said that I had never found nor heard of any of  
25 them but that he would forswear to save his life, I *had* heard, he  
saith, of Sir Thomas Hitton, whom the bishops of Rochester and  
Canterbury slew at Maidstone.

Of this man they so highly rejoice... that they have, as I said,  
set his name in the calendar before a book of their English  
30 prayers, by the name of “Saint Thomas the Martyr,” in the vigil of  
the blessed apostle Saint Matthias, the twenty-third day of February... and  
have put out for him the holy doctor and glorious martyr  
Saint Polycarp, the blessed bishop and the disciple of Saint  
John the Evangelist; for that was his day in deed, and so is it in  
35 some calendars marked.

Now, to the intent that ye may somewhat see what good Christian faith  
Sir Thomas Hitton was of, this new saint of Tyndale's canonization,

1–2 *hath a deadly delight to beguile* . . . *bring*: takes a deadly delight in beguiling . . . bringing  
3 *any manner winning*: i.e., having anything to gain thereby 4, 6 *final*: ultimate  
6 *training*: luring; deceitful leading 8 *cry out*: inveigh  
11 *conscience to eat flesh*: i.e., qualm of conscience about eating meat 12 *to cast*: i.e., about tossing  
12 *in the cannell*: into the gutter // *to throw*: i.e., about throwing 14 *labored*: endeavored  
17 *glory*: i.e., exultant pride 18 *may*: get to 19 *done a great mastery*: accomplished a great feat  
20 *poisoned*: poisonous 23 *Dialogue*: i.e., *Dialogue concerning Heresies* (henceforth to be referenced as *DH*,  
with the Yale-edition page and line numbers). See *DH* 201/30–32. 25 *forswear*: i.e., recant under oath  
26–27 *the . . . Canterbury*: i.e., Bishop John Fisher and Archbishop William Warham.  
29 *before*: at the front of 30 *in*: on 32 *put out*: ousted // *holy doctor*: i.e., theologian / Church Father  
34 *deed*: actuality 36 *somewhat see*: to some extent see; get some idea of

in whose burning Tyndale so gaily glorieth, and which  
hath his holy day so now appointed to him that Saint Polycarp  
must give him place in the calendar: I shall somewhat show you  
what wholesome heresies this holy martyr held.

5 First, ye shall understand that he was a priest... and, falling to  
Luther's sect, and after that to the sect of Friar Huessgen, and  
Zwingli, cast off Matins and Mass and all divine service... and so  
became an apostle sent to and fro between our English heretics  
beyond the sea and such as were here at home.

10 Now happed it so that, after he had visited here his holy congregations,  
in divers corners and lusk's lanes, and comforted  
them in the Lord to stand stiff with the devil in their errors and  
heresies—as he was going back again at Gravesend, God, considering  
the great labor that he had taken already, and determining  
15 to bring his business to its well-deserved end... gave him  
suddenly such a favor, and so great a grace in the visage, that every  
man that beheld him took him for a thief. For whereas there had  
been certain linen cloths pilfered away that were hanging on a  
hedge... and Sir Thomas Hitton was walking not far off, suspiciously  
20 in the meditation of his heresies... the people, doubting that the  
beggardly knave had stolen the cloths, fell in question with him and  
searched him—and so found they certain letters secretly conveyed  
in his coat, written from evangelical brethren here unto the evangelical  
heretics beyond the sea. And upon those letters found...  
25 he was with his letters brought before the Most Reverend Father  
in God the Archbishop of Canterbury... and afterward as well  
by his Lordship as by the Reverend Father the Bishop of  
Rochester examined, and after, for his abominable heresies, delivered  
to the secular hands and burned.

30 In his examination he refused to be sworn to say truth...  
affirming that neither bishop nor pope had authority to  
compel him to swear. Which point although it be a false heresy...  
yet is it likely that he refused the oath rather of frowardness than  
of any respect that he had either in keeping or breaking. For  
35 never could I find heretic yet that any conscience had in any

*A godly lesson, I tell you!* oath. And of truth, Tyndale, in his *Answer*  
to my *Dialogue*, teacheth them that they

1 *gaily*: cheerily // *which*: who 2 *appointed*: assigned 3 *give him place*: give him his place; be replaced by him  
3 *somewhat show you*: give you some idea of 6 *Friar Huessgen*: i.e., Johannes Oecolampadius (d. 1531).  
7 *cast off*: jettisoned // *divine service*: liturgical prayer 9, 24 *beyond the sea*: overseas  
10 *happed it so*: it so happened 11 *divers corners*: various secret locations  
11 *lusk's lanes*: places where worthless bums hang out // *comforted*: encouraged 12 *stiff*: firm  
12 *errors*: aberrancies 13 *at*: to // *considering*: taking into consideration 14 *labor*... *taken*: effort... made  
14 *determining*: deciding 15 *business*: activity / enterprise 16 *favor*: nice appearance  
16 *grace in the visage*: facial good-lookingness 17 *whereas*: since 19 *suspiciously*: presumably  
20 *the meditation of*: i.e., meditation on / deep thought concerning // *doubting*: suspecting 21 *knave*: lowlife  
21 *fell in question with*: started interrogating 22 *conveyed*: carried 23 *written from*: written by / sent from  
24 *those letters found*: the finding of those letters 26–28 *Archbishop*... *Rochester*: See note for 13/26–27.  
28 *examined*: tried 29 *hands*: authorities 30 *examination*: trial // *say*: i.e., tell the  
32 *false*: [a polite-language equivalent of] damn 33 *of*: out of // *frowardness*: contrariness; obstreperousness  
34 *of*: because of // *respect*: concern // *either*... *breaking*: i.e., about either the keeping or the breaking of one  
35 *find*: i.e., find one // *conscience*: i.e., qualm of conscience // *in*: with regard to 36 *of truth*: indeed

may break their oath and be forsworn without any scruple at all.

His father and his mother, he would not be acknown of what they were; they were some so good folk, of likelihood, that he could not abide the glory.

5 He would not be acknown that himself was priest, but said that he had by the space of nine years been beyond the sea, and there lived by the joiners' craft. Howbeit, he said that he had always, as his leisure would give him leave, and as he could find opportunity in places where he came, taught the Gospel of God after his  
10 own mind and his own opinion, not forcing of the determination of the Church... and said that he intended, to his power, so to persevere still.

Of his teaching, these things were part. First, as for Baptism, he agreed it for a sacrament necessary to salvation. Howbeit, every  
15 layperson, he said, might as well baptize as a priest, were the child in necessity or not; and that the form of baptizing used in the Church were much better if it were spoken in English.

Of Matrimony, whether it were a sacrament or not he said he wist ne'er. But he said yet that it was a thing necessary, and of  
20 Christian people to be observed and kept. Howbeit, as for the solemnization of marriage at church, he agreed it for good, but said it needed not. The man meant by likelihood that it was good enough to wed upon a cushion when the dogs be abed, as their priests wed, I ween, where their persons be known. For else they let not  
25 to wed openly at church, and take the whole parish for witnesses of their beastly bitchery.

The Extreme Unction, or Aneling, and Confirmation... he said be no sacraments of the Church, nor be nothing necessary to the soul.

30 The Sacrament of Order, he said, is no sacrament of the Church, nor was never ordained by God in the New Testament, but only by man.

The Mass, he said, should never be said. For he said that to say Mass after the manner of the Church is rather sin than virtue.

35 As for confession made to a priest, he said nothing profiteth the soul; nor penance enjoined of the priest unto the penitent confessed, is nothing necessary.

1 *be forsworn*: commit perjury    2 *be . . . what*: i.e., reveal anything about who or what kind of people  
3 *of likelihood*: most likely    5 *be acknown*: acknowledge // *himself was*: i.e., he himself was a  
6 *by the space*: for the duration // *beyond the sea*: overseas    7 *joiners' craft*: woodworking trade  
7, 14, 20 *howbeit*: however    8 *his . . . leave*: i.e., the amount of his free time would allow him to  
9 *after*: according to    10 *forcing of*: caring about    15 *might as well*: could as rightly  
16 *necessity*: pressing need; i.e., danger of death // *form of*: formula for    17 *were*: would be  
18 *were*: i.e., was    19 *wist ne'er*: had no idea // *of*: by    22 *needed not*: was not necessary  
23 *cushion*: kneeler    24 *ween*: suppose // *persons*: i.e., priestly identities // *let not*: do not forbear  
26 *bitchery*: lewdness    27 *Aneling*: Anointing (of the Sick)    28 *nothing*: in any way  
30 *Order*: Holy Orders    31 *ordained*: established; instituted    35 *nothing*: i.e., it in no way  
36 *of*: by    37 *confessed*: i.e., after his or her confessing // *nothing*: not at all

Purgatory he denied, and said also that neither prayer nor fasting for the souls departed can do them any good.

To vow and enter into any religion approved by the law, he said availeth not... but he said that all that enter into religion  
5 *sin* in so doing.

He held also that no man hath any free will after that he hath once sinned.

He held that to say any Divine Service after the ordinance of the Church availeth nothing... and that all Divine Service may be  
10 left unsaid without any sin.

He held that all the images of Christ and his saints should be thrown out of the church.

He held also that whatsoever the pope or the general council make, beside that that is expressly commanded in Scripture...  
15 every man may lawfully break it, without any manner sin at all, mortal or venial either.

He held also that it is not lawful neither for the king of England nor for any other Christian prince... to make any law or statute for the punishment of any theft, or any other crime, by which law any  
20 man should suffer death. For he said that all such laws be contrary to the Gospel, which will no man to die.

As touching the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, he said it is a necessary sacrament; but he held that after the Consecration there was none other thing therein but only the very substance of  
25 material bread and wine; and so, he said, he firmly believed, and that he would hold that opinion to the death.

Finally, holding all these abominable heresies, with yet divers others more of like suit and sort... he said that he was very certain and sure that he had the grace of God with him, and that the Holy  
30 Ghost was within him.

And so was he... after much favor shown him, and much labor charitably taken for the saving of him... delivered in conclusion, for his obstinacy, to the secular hands, and burned up in his false faith and heresies... whereof he learned the great part of Tyndale's  
35 holy books; and now the spirit of error and lying hath taken his wretched soul with him straight from the short fire to the fire everlasting.

1 *denied*: i.e., denied the existence of      3 *vow*: i.e., take religious vows

3 *religion* . . . *law*: i.e., canonically approved religious order      4 *religion*: religious life

6 *after that*: i.e., after such time as      8 *any*: i.e., any part of the      8, 9 *Divine Service*: Divine Office

8 *after*: in accord with      9 *availeth nothing*: is of no avail // *all*: the whole      9, 15 *may*: can

10 *any*: i.e., this being any      13 *the general*: i.e., an ecumenical      14 *make*: i.e., establishes as a law

14 *beside*: other than      15 *every man*: anyone // *lawfully*: legitimately

15 *any manner*: i.e., committing any kind of      17 *lawful*: i.e., in keeping with the law of God; morally right

18 *prince*: sovereign / ruler      21 *will* . . . *die*: i.e., calls for no one being put to death      22 *as touching*: as regards

22 *Blessed* . . . *Altar*: Eucharist      24 *very*: actual      26 *opinion*: (dissident) view      27 *divers*: several

28 *suit and sort*: class and variety      31 *labor*: effort      32 *taken*: made // *conclusion*: the end

33 *for*: on account of // *obstinacy*: obduracy // *hands*: authorities      34 *great part*: greater part; majority

34 *of*: from      35 *error*: aberrancy



And this is, lo, Sir Thomas Hitton, the devil's stinking "martyr" of whose burning Tyndale maketh boast. Wherefore since Tyndale alloweth his cause... he must needs defend his articles. And now wot I well that some of those articles Tyndale hath himself given over at last for shame—as the article against images, and the article against the liberty of man's free will... wherein he beareth me in hand, in his *Answer* to my *Dialogue*, that I belie Luther. But when I shall come to the place, I shall let you see Luther's own words in that point so plain... that ye shall not marvel though Tyndale were ashamed of his master. And yet shall ye marvel that Tyndale was so shameless to deny the thing which ye shall see so plainly proved.

But ye see that of this holy "martyr" Tyndale hath not so great cause to glory but that he may scrape out his name again out of the calendar and restore the blessed bishop Saint Polycarp again into his place.

Then have ye had here burned since at London, of late, Richard Bayfield, late a monk and a priest, which fell to heresy and was abjured... and after that like a dog returning to his vomit, and being fled over the sea, and sending from thence Tyndale's heresies hither with many mischievous sorts of books, had yet the King's gracious forgiveness... and, as it was after proved both by other men's and his own confession too, was occupied about two things at once: that is to wit, both in suing for remission and pardon of his offense for bringing in those books, and therewith also in selling them here still, secretly, and sending over for more—with which at last he was taken. And to rehearse his heresies needeth little; the books that he brought well showeth them, and his holy life well declareth them... when, being both a priest and a monk, he went about two wives, one in Brabant, another in England. What he meant I cannot make you sure—whether he would be sure of the one if the other should hap refuse him... or that he would have them both, the one here, the other there... or else both in one place, the one because he was priest, the other because he was monk.

Of Bayfield's burning hath Tyndale no great cause to glory. For though Tyndale's books brought him to burning... yet was he not so

2 *wherefore*: for which reason (i.e., the burning)      3 *alloweth*: approves  
 3 *cause*: i.e., cause for canonization as a martyr // *his articles*: i.e., the articles of his creed // *wot*: know  
 4 *given over*: abandoned      5 *as*: such as      6–7 *beareth* . . . *hand*: makes against me the claim  
 7 *belie*: misrepresent      9 *ye* . . . *though*: i.e., it would not surprise you if      10 *were*: was  
 10 *marvel*: be surprised      11 *to*: as to // *the*: i.e., this      14 *scrape out*: i.e., scratch      14, 16 *again*: back  
 18 *late a monk*: i.e., an ex-monk // *which*: who // *to*: into      19 *abjured*: i.e., put on trial, and did under oath recant  
 20 *over the sea*: overseas // *thence*: there      21 *hither*: over here // *mischievous*: harmful; deleterious // *sorts*: sets  
 21 *had*: received      23 *about*: i.e., with      24 *suing*: petitioning      27 *taken*: caught // *rehearse*: relate; recount  
 27–28 *needeth little*: i.e., there is little need to do      29 *declareth*: manifests  
 30 *went about two wives*: i.e., tried to get two women to marry him // *another*: i.e., the other      31 *meant*: intended  
 31 *make you sure*: i.e., tell you with certainty      31, 32 *would*: wanted to      32 *hap*: happen to / turn out to  
 33 *in one*: in the same      34 *was*: i.e., was a

constant in his evangelical doctrine but that after that he was taken, all the while that he was not in utter despair of pardon... he was well content to have forsworn it again—and letted not to utter his evangelical brethren both in England and elsewhere,  
 5 causing some of them to be taken—as George Constantine, ere he escaped, was ready to have, in word at the leastwise, abjured all that holy doctrine. What *his* heart was, God and he know, and peradventure the devil too, if he intended otherwise. But surely there was intended toward *him* somewhat more good than his dealing had before  
 10 deserved. And so much the more favor was there minded him in that he seemed very penitent of his misusing of himself in falling to Tyndale's heresies again. For which he acknowledged himself worthy to be hanged—that he had so falsely abused the King's gracious remission and pardon given him before, and  
 15 had, for all that, in the while both bought and sold of those heretical books and secretly set forth those heresies. Whereof he showed himself so repentant that he uttered and disclosed divers of his companions, of whom there are some abjured since, and some that he wist well were abjured before—namely Richard  
 20 Necton, which was by Constantine's detection taken and committed to Newgate... where except he hap to die before, in prison, he standeth in great peril to be, ere it be long, for his falling *again* to Tyndale's heresies, burned. And thus it seemed by the manner of George Constantine while he was here in prison... that he so sore  
 25 did forthink his errors and heresies, and so perceived the pestilent poison of them, that he thought it better that such as were infected therewith might be by the means of his detection amended, and with the loss of his body the soul cured, than both twain cast away; or, if the man were peradventure of hard heart and  
 30 malicious mind incurable, he thought it were then better to send him to the devil alone than let him live and draw many others with him.

This good mind it seemeth that Constantine had then, and therefore was there good hope of his amendment. And peradventure the  
 35 man *had* amended, and stood still in grace, if some evil counsel had not come at him; of which there was left unsought no devilish invention or means to send him—insomuch that one

1 *after that*: after    2, 5, 20 *taken*: taken into custody; arrested    2 *pardon*: i.e., getting pardoned  
 3 *was . . . it*: i.e., would have been quite willing to repudiate it under oath // *letted not*: did not forbear  
 4 *utter*: give the authorities the names of    5 *as*: just as // *ere*: before    6 *abjured*: i.e., recanted  
 7, 29, 34 *peradventure*: perhaps    9–10 *dealing . . . deserved*: previous conduct had made him deserve  
 10 *minded*: i.e., extended to    11 *misusing*: misconducting    12, 23 *to*: into    13 *worthy to be*: deserving of being  
 13 *falsely*: dishonorably    15 *of*: i.e., some of    16 *set forth*: advanced; promulgated    17 *uttered*: named  
 18 *divers*: several    18–19 *abjured . . . before*: i.e., who have since, after being tried and convicted, recanted under oath, and some that he knew well had so done before    19 *namely*: in particular  
 19 *Richard*: Actually, Robert (as he is identified at 813/31).    20 *which*: who // *by*: as a result of  
 20 *detection*: i.e., informing on him    21 *except*: unless // *hap*: happens // *in*: i.e., inside the  
 22 *peril . . . long*: i.e., danger of being, before long // *for*: on account of    24 *sore*: seriously    25 *errors*: aberrancies  
 25 *forthink*: repent of    25–26 *pestilent poison*: lethal poisonousness    27 *detection*: i.e., informing on them  
 28 *his*: i.e., its // *twain*: i.e., soul and body    29 *cast away*: destroyed; brought to ruin  
 29 *of hard heart*: i.e., because of hardness of heart    30 *mind*: disposition // *were then*: would then be  
 33 *mind*: mentality    35 *had*: would have // *stood . . . grace*: remained in the state of grace  
 35 *evil counsel*: bad advice    36 *at*: to // *of*: i.e., pieces of    37 *invention*: contrivance

of the letters I fortun'd to intercept myself, written unto him by one John Burt, otherwise calling himself Adrian, otherwise John Bookbinder, and yet otherwise now, I cannot tell you what.

5 Of truth, George Constantine, after he had confessed unto a faithful servant of mine, to be declared to me, that Necton had of his delivery many of these heretical books—he sent word forthwith to Necton that he should send the books home to me. Which if he did, and that I might have yet seen sure tokens of amendment in the man... Constantine perceived well that he had been yet likely to have  
10 had favor shown him. But when that Necton had once made Burt of his counsel... they devised between them that Necton should not do so in no wise, affirming to Constantine that it could not be done; and haply it could not indeed, for peradventure they were all sold already. Howbeit, Necton now, since he was taken,  
15 said that his wife had burned them. But it is well known that Necton had himself, and a man of his also, sold many such books of heresy, both in London and in other shires, since his abjuration. But howsoever the matter was... Burt by his letter advised  
20 Constantine, if he might possibly, to call back his confession again; wherein I think it good that ye hear his very letter itself. Lo, in these words he wrote:

“The grace and peace of our Savior Jesus be with you, good brother Constantine. Sir, as for the matter that ye would have brought to pass, will not be, in no manner wise; the person is not at home that  
25 should receive the stuff and deliver it according unto your mind. Therefore, if ye have not spoken so far in the matter that it may be none prejudice or hurt unto you, I would ye should go no further in the matter... but even, as a man armed with faith, go forth in your matter boldly and put them to their proofs. As for one is none, you  
30 *2 Corinthians 13:1* know well, by the law of God or man. If there be anything that I can do, send word and ye shall find me ready to my power, even to death, by God’s grace, who I pray long to preserve you and comfort you in your trouble, to the confusion of all tyrants.”

35 Lo, here have ye heard an apostolical epistle counseling the man to go back with the truth and “arm” himself with “faith,”

1 *fortun'd*: chanced    4 *of truth*: indeed    5 *declared*: made known    6 *forthwith*: at once    7 *home*: directly  
8 *did . . . yet*: i.e., had done, and I could have now // *tokens*: signs    9 *had . . . likely*: i.e., would have been likely yet  
10–11 *made . . . counsel*: taken Burt into consultation    11 *devised*: decided    12 *not . . . wise*: by no means do that  
13 *haply . . . indeed*: maybe it really could not // *peradventure*: perhaps    14 *howbeit*: however  
14 *since . . . taken*: after he got taken into custody    16 *man*: servant    17 *abjuration*: i.e., conviction and recantation  
18 *howsoever . . . was*: i.e., whatever that case may have been    19 *might possibly*: possibly could // *call back*: retract  
20 *wherein*: with regard to which    23 *matter*: thing    23–24 *would . . . pass*: want brought about  
24 *will*: i.e., it will // *manner wise*: kind of way    25 *mind*: wish; desire  
26–27 *spoken . . . you*: i.e., said too much on that subject for this not to put you at risk or hurt you  
27 *would ye should*: would have you    27–28 *in the matter*: i.e., on that subject    28 *even*: just; simply  
28–29 *go . . . boldly*: i.e., boldly proceed to make your case    29 *put them to*: i.e., challenge them to make  
29 *as for one is none*: i.e., since for not one of their claims is there any proof    33 *comfort*: encourage  
34 *confusion*: bringing down    36 *go back with*: go back on; retract

and make him strong to lie loud and forswear himself if need  
were; for Burt wist well I were not likely to leave and believe him  
at his bare word.

Here will Burt peradventure preach, and bring us in the midwives  
of Egypt that saved the children of Israel from Pharaoh, for  
which God gave them new houses. Wherein Burt and I will not  
much dispute. For albeit that God hath given him no house yet,  
nor it is not all one with a lie to save a young innocent babe and  
with perjury to defend an old pestilent heretic; and though

*To lie it is not lawful.* Saint Augustine saith that it is not lawful to  
lie for nothing: yet I tell not my tale to  
lay a lie so highly to any such men's charge as these folk be,  
whose whole sect is nothing else *but* lies; but I rehearse you his letter  
because ye should see what truth there is in such folks' words.

Howbeit, as for Constantine—as I said before, seemed in prison  
here very penitent, and utterly minded to forsake such heresies  
and heretics forever. In proof whereof he not only detected, as I  
said, his own deeds and his fellows', but also studied and devised how  
those devilish books which himself and others of his fellows  
had brought and shipped might come to the bishop's hands  
to be burned. And therefore he showed me the shipman's  
name that had them, and the marks of the fardels by which I  
have since his escape received them. And it may be, by God's  
grace, that though the man fled hence for fear of such harm as  
he wist he had well deserved (and yet was nothing toward him  
but peradventure more good than he was aware of), he is yet amended  
in his mind and hath in his heart forsaken all Tyndale's heresies;  
and so I pray God it be; for I would be sorry that ever Tyndale  
should glory and boast of his burning. Howbeit, in the meanwhile,  
till it may well appear that he be surely turned to the  
Catholic faith again, I will advise all good Christian folk, and  
especially the King's subjects, to forbear and eschew his company.  
For that Englishman which shall be found to be familiar with  
him there, before his conversion here known and proved, may  
thereby bring himself in suspicion of heresy, and haply hear  
thereof at his returning hither.

I hear also that Tyndale highly rejoiceth in the burning of

1 *make him strong*: buck himself up // *loud*: blatantly / robustly // *forswear*: perjure 2, 25 *wist*: knew  
2 *were not*: i.e., was not // *leave*: desist; back off 3 *bare*: mere 4, 26 *peradventure*: perhaps  
4 *bring us in*: bring up to us 4–6: See Exodus 1:15–21. 6 *wherein*: about which 7 *dispute*: argue  
8 *all one*: entirely the same 9 *old*: full-grown / inveterate // *pestilent*: noxious; lethally dangerous  
10 *lawful*: licit; morally acceptable 11 *nothing*: i.e., any reason // *tell . . . tale*: i.e., relate all this not  
13 *sect*: set of distinctive religious beliefs // *rehearse*: quote 14 *because ye should*: so that you can  
15, 29 *howbeit*: however 15 *seemed*: i.e., he seemed 16 *forsake*: part ways with  
17 *detected*: disclosed to the authorities 18, 19 *fellows*: cohorts / allies  
21–22 *showed . . . name*: told me the name of the shipman 22 *marks of the fardels*: ways to identify the parcels  
24 *hence*: from here 25 *toward him*: i.e., in relation to him / coming his way 26 *yet*: by now  
27 *forsaken*: renounced 30 *till . . . turned*: until such time as it becomes quite clear that he is securely converted  
30–31 *to . . . faith again*: back to . . . faith 33 *which*: who // *familiar*: chummy 34 *here*: i.e., is here  
35 *in*: into // *haply*: maybe

Tewkesbury; but I can see no very great cause why but if he reckon it for a great glory that the man did abide still by the stake when he was fast bound to it. For as for the heresies, he would have abjured them again with all his heart, and have accursed Tyndale, too, if all that might have saved his life. And so he gave counsel unto one James that was for heresy in prison with him. For as James hath since confessed, Tewkesbury said unto him, "Save you yourself and abjure. But as for me, because I have abjured before, there is no remedy with me but death." By which words, if he had not been in despair of life... it well appeareth he would with good will have once abjured, and once perjured, again. And yet at his examination he denied that ever he had held any such opinions as he was abjured for—notwithstanding that there were at his examination some persons present of much honesty and worship, two that had been present at his abjuration before... to which also his own hand was subscribed. And afterward being further examined upon the same... some he denied, and some he defended again. Among other things, he said that he used to

*Prayer to saints* pray to saints, and that he believed them to be God's friends, and that their prayers were profitable to us, and well done to pray to them. Whereupon I said unto him myself that I was glad to see him in that point yet amended, and I showed him, as the truth was indeed, that James held the contrary, and that he had so great a trust in Tewkesbury that I doubted not but when he should hear that Tewkesbury had revoked that point, he would revoke it too. As soon as Tewkesbury heard that, he went from it again by and by—and that so far that finally he would not agree that before the Day of *O wonderful and erroneous opinions!* Doom there were either any saint in heaven or soul in purgatory, or in hell either. Nor the right faith in the Sacrament of the Altar would he not confess, in no wise. For which things and divers other horrible heresies, he was delivered at last unto the secular hands and burned, as there was never wretch, I ween, better worthy.

Yet is there one thing notable, and well declaring what good and charitable mind the man died in. For after that he was

1, 7, etc. *Tewkesbury*: John Tewkesbury (d. 1531). 1 *but if*: unless 2 *abide still*: continue to remain  
 3 *fast*: securely; inescapably 4, 8, 11 *abjure(d)*: recant(ed) 5 *might*: could  
 9 *no remedy*... *but*: for me no alternative to / no way out for me but 10 *well appeareth*: is quite evident that  
 10 *with good will*: cheerfully 12, 14 *examination*: trial 13, 30 *opinions*: dissident views  
 13 *was abjured for*: i.e., had been convicted of holding and spreading and had recanted 14 *honesty*: respectability  
 15 *worship*: prestige // *that*: i.e., of whom // *abjuration before*: i.e., previous conviction and recanting  
 16 *hand was subscribed*: signature was given 17 *examined*: tried // *same*: i.e., same charges  
 18–19 *used to pray*: i.e., did practice the praying 21 *well done*: i.e., that it was a good thing to do  
 23 *yet*: now // *showed*: told 25 *but*: i.e., that 26 *revoke(d)*: withdraw(n)  
 27 *went*... *by and by*: i.e., immediately went back on what he had said 28 *agree*: grant  
 28–29 *the Day of Doom*: Judgment Day 29 *wonderful*: shocking 31 *in*: regarding  
 32 *confess*: profess // *in no wise*: by no means 33 *divers*: several 34 *hands*: authorities  
 34 *never*: i.e., never a 35 *ween*: think // *better worthy*: more deserving (of being)  
 36 *yet*: also // *well declaring*: well showing; making quite clear 37 *mind*: frame of mind // *after that*: after

delivered unto the secular hands... neither while he was in prison  
 nor at the time of his death would he by his will be acknown of any  
 of his heresies unto any man that asked him any question, but  
 covered and hid them by all the means he could make, and  
 5 labored to make every man ween that he had never held any such  
 opinion. And by this dealing every man may see that he rought  
 not so much for his heresies, nor took them not in his own mind for  
 such things as he so greatly forced whether they went forward or  
 backward, as he would fain leave an opinion among the people  
 10 that his judges had borne him wrong in hand and condemned him  
 for such heresies as he never held. And what conscience he had that  
 died in that mind, there is no good man doubteth.

Now was his examination not secret, but folk enough thereat,  
 both spiritual and temporal, and of either party right worshipful...  
 15 so that his malicious mind can in that point little take  
 effect. And yet did the same James also confess afterward that  
 Tewkesbury had read unto him Wycliffe's "Wicket" against the  
 Blessed Sacrament. And over that was there found about him,  
 by the sheriff's officers in the prison, a book of heresy of his own  
 20 handwriting: that is to wit, the book of Martin Luther wherein he  
 teacheth men under the name of "Christian liberty" to run into the  
 devil's bondage. And in his house was found Tyndale's book of  
*Obedience*, which he well allowed, and his wicked book also  
 of the *Wicked Mammon*, saying at his examination that all the  
 25 heresies therein were good and Christian faith; being in deed as full  
 of false heresies, and as frantic, as ever heretic made any since  
 Christ was born. And yet, all this notwithstanding, when he was  
 in the sheriff's ward, and at the time of his death... he would not  
 speak of his heresies anything, nor say that he had held and  
 30 would hold this point and that... but handled himself as covertly  
 as he could, to make the people ween that he had held no  
 manner opinion at all; nor never had, I think, if Tyndale's ungracious  
 books had never come in his hand. For which the poor  
 wretch lieth now in hell and crieth out on him; and Tyndale, if  
 35 he do not amend in time, he is likely to find him, when they come  
 together, a hot firebrand burning at his back, that all the  
 water in the world will never be able to quench.

Another is there also whom his unhappy books have brought unto

1 *hands*: authorities      2 *by his will*: of his volition; i.e., if he could help it // *be acknown of*: let be known  
 4 *make*: i.e., think of      5 *labored*: tried      5, 31 *ween*: think      6, 32 *opinion*: deviant view  
 6 *dealing*: behavior // *may*: can      6-7 *rought*... *for*: attached... importance to      8 *forced*: cared  
 9 *would fain leave*: was bent on leaving      10 *borne*... *hand*: misrepresented him / done him wrong  
 12 *mind*: intention / frame of mind // *doubteth*: i.e., in doubt about      13, 24 *examination*: trial  
 14 *spiritual*: clerical // *temporal*: lay // *right*: very; quite // *worshipful*: respectable; highly thought of  
 15 *mind*: intent      16 *yet*: moreover      17 *Wicket*: i.e., Narrow Gate      18 *over*... *there*: on top of that, there was  
 18 *about him*: i.e., on him; among the things he'd brought with him      19 *of his*: in his      20 *of*: by  
 23 *Obedience*: See note for 7/23. // *allowed*: approved of      24 *Wicked Mammon*: See note for 7/17.  
 25 *good and*: i.e., bona fide // *being*: i.e., they being // *deed*: fact; actuality      26 *false*: vile; despicable  
 26 *frantic*: wildly insane      28 *ward*: custody      29 *anything*: at all // *nor*: i.e., not      30 *handled*: conducted  
 32 *manner*: kind of // *had*: would have // *ungracious*: evil / disgraceful      34 *on*: against  
 38 *unhappy*: disadvantageous / lamentable / wretched

the fire: Thomas Bilney, that was before abjured... which was the man of whom without name I spoke so much in my *Dialogue*... which, being convicted by twenty witnesses and above, did yet stick still in his denial... and said they were all forsworn and had utterly  
5 belied him.

But God, which is very Truth, and bringeth at last always the truth to light, would not suffer such obstinate untruth at length to pass unpunished... but of his endless mercy brought his body to death, and gave him yet the grace to turn and save his soul. For so was  
10 it that—after divers sermons which he had after his abjuration, and against the prohibitions given him upon his abjuration, made in sundry secret corners, and some also openly, whereof the bishop yet, because he heard of no heresy therein, had forborne to lay the disobedience to his charge—he went unto Norwich, where  
15 he had infected divers of the city before. And being there secretly kept by a certain space, had in the while resort unto an anchoress... and there began secretly to sow his cockle, and brought unto her divers of Tyndale's books, and was there taken in the doing, and the books after found about another man, that was  
20 conveying them thence; and these things, whoso heard the whole process, came in such wise to pass that he could nothing doubt but that it came to light by the very provision of God.

When he came to examination, he waxed stiff and stubborn in his opinions. But yet was God so good and gracious Lord unto him that he was finally so fully converted unto Christ and his true, Catholic faith that, not only at the fire, as well in words as writing, but also many days before, he had revoked, abhorred, and detested such heresies as he before had held; which notwithstanding, there lacked not some that were very sorry for it... of whom some said,  
25 and some wrote out of Norwich to London, that he had not revoked his heresies at all, but still had abided by them. And such as were not ashamed thus to say and write, being afterward examined thereupon, saw the contrary so plainly proved in their faces, by such as at his execution stood by him while he read his revocation  
35 himself... that they had in conclusion nothing else to say but that he read his revocation so softly that they could not

1 *that* . . . *abjured*: i.e., that man previously having been convicted of heresy and having recanted  
1, 2, 6 *which*: who 1 *the man*: i.e., the one 2 *name*: i.e., giving his name  
2 *in my Dialogue*: See *DH* 28, 35–36, 255–58, 268–71, 276–77, and 279–80. 3 *being*: i.e., upon being  
3 *convicted by*: i.e., proved again guilty, by // *above*: more // *stick still*: keep persisting  
4 *were all forsworn*: all had committed perjury 5 *belied*: slandered 6 *very Truth*: Truth itself  
7 *suffer*: allow // *untruth*: untruthfulness; dishonesty // *at length*: for long 8 *pass*: go 9 *turn*: come back  
10, 18 *divers*: several 10, 11 *abjuration*: i.e., previous conviction and recanting 11 *his*: i.e., that  
12 *made*: i.e., given; delivered // *corners*: out-of-the-way locations 15 *divers*: i.e., several inhabitants  
16 *kept*: given living accommodations; supported // *by* . . . *space*: for a certain length of time  
16 *in the while*: i.e., during that time 17 *cockle*: injurious weed 18–19 *taken in the doing*: caught in the act  
19 *after*: later // *about*: in the possession of 20 *conveying them thence*: stealthily transporting them from there  
20 *whoso*: whoever 21 *process*: story // *wise*: a way 21–22 *nothing doubt but*: have no doubt  
22 *provision*: providence 23 *examination*: trial // *stiff*: adamant / rigid // *in*: regarding  
24 *opinions*: dissident views / deviant tenets 26 *words*: i.e., spoken words 27, 30 *revoked*: retracted  
27 *abhorred*: abominated // *detested*: execrated 29 *for*: about 31 *still* . . . *them*: had continued to stand by them  
32 *examined*: interrogated 33 *in*: i.e., to 34 *by*: near 35 *in conclusion*: in the end

hear it. Howbeit, they confessed that he looked upon a bill and read it... but they said that they could not tell whether it were the bill of his revocation or not. And yet rehearsed they themselves certain things spoken by him to the people at the fire... whereby they could not but perceive well that he revoked his errors, albeit that some of them watered his words with additions of their own—as it was well proved before them. They could not also deny but that forthwith upon his judgment and his degradation, he knelt down before the bishop's chancellor, in the presence of all the people, and humbly besought him of absolution from the sentence of excommunication... and with his judgment held himself well content, and acknowledged that he had well deserved to suffer the death that he then wist he should.

They could not say nay but that upon this humble request and prayer... he was there, in the presence of all the people, assoiled, before that he was carried out of the Court; which themselves well wist would never have been but if he had revoked.

Yet was there another thing that they could not deny (for albeit they said they were not thereat, yet they had heard it in such wise that, as they said, they believed it to be true), and that thing was such as itself alone must needs make them sure that he had revoked his heresies.

The thing was this. He labored, and made great instance, certain days after his judgment... that he might be suffered to receive the Blessed Body of Christ in form of bread. Wherein the chancellor made a while great sticking and difficulty... to the intent that he would the better and more clearly perceive what devotion the man had thereto. And finally perceiving him to be of a true, perfect faith, and his desire to proceed of a fervent mind, it was agreed and granted. And thereupon was he houseled in so true, perfect faith, and so great devotion, that every good Christian man hath great cause to rejoice therein. And when his confessor in the end of the Mass, which Bilney full devoutly heard upon his knees, brought unto him the Body of Christ upon the paten of the chalice, with very good and godly exhortation used unto him, that except he were in heart as he was in word and outward semblance, he should else forbear to receive

1 *howbeit*: however // *confessed*: acknowledged // *upon*: at 1, 2 *bill*: document 2, 36 *were*: was  
 3 *rehearsed*: related 5 *but*: i.e., help but; possibly not 5, 22 *revoked*: retracted 6 *watered*: i.e., watered down  
 6 *as it was*: i.e., as was 7 *before*: i.e., right in front of // *they . . . but*: also, they could not deny  
 7–8 *forthwith upon*: immediately after 8, 11, 24 *judgment*: conviction 8 *degradation*: being defrocked  
 10 *besought him of absolution*: begged of him a formal setting-free 13, 17 *wist*: knew 13 *should*: would  
 14 *say nay but*: deny 15 *prayer*: entreaty; plea // *assoiled*: absolved; i.e., unexcommunicated  
 15–16 *before . . . carried*: before he was taken 17 *been*: i.e., happened // *but . . . revoked*: i.e., had he not recanted  
 18 *yet was there*: there was yet // *albeit*: although 20 *wise*: a way 23 *labored*: i.e., strenuously agitated  
 23 *made great instance*: pleaded with great earnestness 24 *certain*: some number of 25 *suffered*: allowed  
 26 *wherein*: regarding which // *made . . . and*: i.e., for a while did a lot of stalling, and making of difficulty  
 31 *was he houseled*: i.e., did he receive Holy Communion // *and*: i.e., and with 36 *used*: given // *except*: unless  
 37 *semblance*: appearance



that Blessed Body... since he should then undoubtedly receive it on his own damnation—it would have gladdened any good Christian heart to have heard his faithful Christian answer... as they report and testify that were at that time by.

5 Moreover, where, in the presence of that holy Sacrament held yet upon the paten in the priest's hands, Bilney before he received it said the Collect "Domine Iesu Christe"—when he came at these words "ecclesiae tuae pacem et concordiam," he divers times repeated those words, with tunsions and knockings upon his breast... and there  
10 unto God confessed, and asked his mercy, that he had so grievously erred in that point, and so sore offended him in contemning his church. And no marvel was it though he had a special remorse of that article. For the contemning of Christ's Catholic,  
*The very foundation whereupon* known church, and the framing of a  
15 *heresies are built* secret, unknown church, that he learned of Luther and Tyndale... was the very point that brought him unto all his mischief, as the very foundation whereupon all other heresies are built. And therefore, as the goodness of God gave him grace to cast unto the devil all his other  
20 errors, so gave he him his special grace to have of that heresy that was and is the ground of all the remnant, most especial repentance and remorse; whereby we may very well hope and trust that our Lord, whose high goodness gave him such grace so fully to repent and revoke his heresies that he with glad heart was content  
25 to suffer the fire for the punishment of his offense, hath of his infinite mercy taken and accepted that pain for so far as he will exact of the poor man's purgatory... and setting the merits of his own painful Passion thereunto, hath forthwith from the fire taken his blessed soul to heaven... where he now  
30 prayeth incessantly for the repentance and amendment of all such as have been by his means while he lived, into any such errors induced or confirmed. And I firmly trust that God's grace to that effect with that holy man's prayer will work; and so I pray God it may.

35 But thus ye see that Tyndale hath no great cause to glory of his "martyrs"... when that their living is openly naught, their opinions such as himself will abhor, they ready to abjure again if it

1 *on*: to    4 *by*: nearby    5 *Sacrament*: i.e., Blessed Sacrament; consecrated host  
7 *Collect*: Mass prayer. (This is the Rite of Peace one; the prayer immediately following the Our Father.)  
7 *came at*: got to    8 *ecclesiae . . . concordiam*: (grant unto) thy Church peace and concord  
8 *divers*: several    9 *tunsions*: strikings    11 *erred in*: gone astray regarding // *sore*: seriously; terribly  
11, 13 *contemning*: contemptuous(ly) disregarding; flouting    12 *marvel*: wonder // *though*: that  
13 *of that article*: i.e., concerning that article of the faith    14 *framing*: postulating    16 *of*: from  
17 *brought . . . mischief*: got him into all his trouble    18–19 *the goodness of God*: i.e., God in his goodness  
19 *grace*: i.e., the grace    20 *his*: i.e., the    21 *remnant*: rest    24 *revoke*: retract  
35 *glory of*: glory in / boast of    36 *when*: i.e., given; seeing // *living*: way of living // *naught*: immoral  
36 *opinions*: statements of belief    37 *abhor*: recoil from with horror and disgust // *abjure*: i.e., recant

might save their life, their sects so desperate that either they dare not at the fire set forth their opinions, for shame, or else of malice do dissemble them to bring the people in a false opinion of their judges, to ween that they judged wrong. And Bilney, that had  
 5 learning, and had been accustomed in moral virtues, was by God *revoked* from Tyndale's heresy ere he died—and that, of likelihood, the rather because God would not have all his good works lost.

And yet glorieth Tyndale ungraciously in their destruction... reckoning that their painful death doth great worship to his  
 10 books—which are of such sort that never were there worse nor more abominable written.

And yet, his books being such, some folk there are that with such foolish favor and such blind affection read them that, their taste infected with the fever of heresies, they not only cannot  
 15 discern the thing that they read (which if they could, they were in good way toward amendment), but also are discontent and angry with any man that would help them to perceive it... and fain would they have them rather believed than answered.

Of which sort some have asked what have I to do to meddle  
 20 with the matter... saying that being a layman, I should leave it to the clergy to write in... and not having professed the study of Holy Scripture, I should leave the matter wholly unto divines. Surely, first, as touching learning, if that these matters were very doubtful and things of great question—or had been so cunningly handled by  
 25 Tyndale and his fellows as they might *seem* thereby matters of great doubt and question—then would I peradventure let them alone myself, to be debated by men of more erudition and learning. But, now, the matters being so plain, evident, and clear—and by the whole church of Christ so clearly put *out* of question that it is  
 30 plain and open heresy earnestly to bring them *in* question—I never purpose, being in my right mind and a true Christian man, to give a heretic so much authority as to reckon myself unable in so plain points of the Christian faith to answer him; namely since I have gone somewhat to school myself, and bestowed as many years in  
 35 study, and under as cunning masters, as some of them have... and that I see not hitherto these matters handled in such wise by Tyndale, or the best of them besides that ever have written therein, but

1 *desperate*: i.e., far gone in their evilness    2 *opinions*: deviant tenets / dissenting views // *of*: out of  
 3, 30 *in*: into    4 *ween*: think // *that had*: who had    5 *accustomed in*: i.e., habitually practicing  
 6 *revoked*: brought back away // *ere*: before // *of*: in all    7 *rather*: more readily  
 7 *would not have*: did not want    8 *ungraciously*: disgracefully    9 *worship*: honor  
 10 *such*: such a    13 *favor*: partiality // *affection*: inclination / liking  
 14 *the fever of heresies*: heresy fever / the excitingness of heresies    15 *discern*: i.e., see clearly  
 16 *were . . . toward*: would have a good chance of / would be well on their way to // *discontent*: displeased; unhappy  
 17 *perceive*: grasp / see through    18 *fain . . . rather*: much rather would they have them    19 *sort*: kind (of folk)  
 19 *what . . . meddle*: what business I have getting myself involved    21 *in*: about  
 21 *professed*: i.e., majored in / earned a degree in    22 *divines*: professional theologians  
 22–23 *as touching*: as regards    23 *if that*: if it were the case that // *doubtful*: i.e., unsettled  
 24 *of great*: i.e., very much open to // *cunningly*: cleverly    25 *fellows*: cohorts    26 *peradventure*: perhaps  
 30 *plain and open*: clear and obvious // *earnestly*: seriously    31 *a true*: an orthodox / a true-blue  
 32 *give*: ascribe to // *authority*: authoritativeness / superiority    32–33 *in so*: regarding such  
 33 *namely*: especially    34 *gone somewhat*: done some going // *bestowed*: spent  
 35 *cunning masters*: knowledgeable teachers    36 *hitherto*: thus far // *wise*: i.e., a way    37 *therein*: on them

that a right mean-learned man, or almost an unlearned woman  
having natural wit and being sure and fast in the true  
Catholic faith, were well able to answer them.

For so help me God as I nothing find effectual among them  
5 all, but a shameless boldness and unreasonable railing—with  
scriptures wrested awry, and made to minister them matter unto  
their jesting, scoffing, and outrageous ribaldry—not only  
against every estate here in earth, and that against them most that  
be most religious in living, but also against all the saints in  
10 heaven, and against the Blessed Body of Christ in the Holy Sacrament  
of the Altar. In which things they fare as folk that trust in  
nothing else but to weary all writers at last with endless and  
importunate babbling, and to overwhelm the whole world with  
words.

Now, as for me, the cause is, of my writing, not so much to debate  
and dispute these things with them—which (though I trust  
therein to give them no great place) many men *may* do much better  
yet than I—as to give men warning what mischief is in their  
books, because many good simple folk, believing that these men  
20 neither say nor mean so evil as they be borne in hand... and  
longing therefore to read their books and see the thing themselves,  
be first infected with some heresies that seem not at the first  
intolerable, ere ever they come at the greatest; and then, being  
before infected with the less, they fall at last to bear the greater, to  
25 which in the beginning they could never have abided.

Now if they will ask, is there nobody to give them warning but  
I?—yes, there be that be meet thereto, and there be that in deed  
do so; and yet, among others, that part appertaineth to me. For I  
well know that the King's Highness—which, as he, for his most  
30 faithful mind to God, nothing more effectually desireth than the  
maintenance of the true Catholic faith (whereof he is, by his no  
more honorable than well deserved title, *Defensor*), so nothing more  
detesteth than these pestilent books that Tyndale and such others  
send into the realm, to set forth here their abominable heresies  
35 with—doth, of his blessed disposition, of all earthly things  
abhor the necessity to do punishment; and for that cause hath  
not only by his most erudite, famous books, both in English

1 *right mean-learned man*: man of very little education // *almost*: for that matter

1 *unlearned*: academically uneducated 2 *natural wit*: innate intelligence / common sense

2 *sure and fast*: good and securely; firmly grounded 3 *were*: would be 4 *God as I*: i.e., God, I

4 *effectual*: cogent / intellectually compelling 5 *but*: i.e., but only // *unreasonable*: irrational

6 *wrested*: wrenched; twisted // *minister . . . unto*: provide them fodder for 7 *jesting*: jeering

7 *outrageous*: unconscionable // *ribaldry*: i.e., hurling of scurrilous insults 8 *against*: i.e., at // *estate*: dignitary

8 *in*: on 9 *religious*: godly // *in*: i.e., in their ways of 11 *fare as*: behave as / act like 12 *weary*: wear down

13 *overwhelm*: overpower / overcome 17 *place*: position of advantage // *may*: i.e., could

18 *mischief*: harm / evil 20 *so . . . hand*: i.e., anything as bad as what they're being accused of saying or meaning

23 *ere*: before // *at*: to 24 *less*: lesser // *fall*: come // *bear*: hold 25 *abided*: submitted

27 *be that*: i.e., are some who // *be meet thereto*: i.e., are qualified to do this

27–28 *in . . . so*: i.e., in fact are doing it 28 *part*: i.e., duty // *appertaineth*: belongs

29 *the King's Highness*: i.e., His Majesty the King // *which*: who // *for*: on account of

30 *mind to*: disposition toward // *effectually*: earnestly 33 *pestilent*: pernicious; lethally dangerous

34 *set forth*: advance; propagate

and in Latin, declared his most Catholic purpose and intent...  
 but also by his open proclamations (divers times iterated and renewed)  
 and finally in his own most royal person, in the Star  
 Chamber, most eloquently, by his own mouth, in great presence of  
 5 his lords spiritual and temporal... gave monition and warning  
 to all the justices of peace, of every quarter of his realm, then  
 assembled before His Highness, to be by them in their countries to all  
 his people declared... and did prohibit and forbid, upon great  
 pain, the bringing in, reading, and keeping of any of those  
 10 pernicious, poisoned books... to the intent that every subject of his,  
 by the means of such manifold effectual warning, with his  
 gracious remission of their former offense in his commandment  
 before broken, should from thenceforth avoid and eschew  
 the peril and danger of punishment... and not drive His Highness  
 15 of necessity to the thing from which the mildness of his  
 benign nature abhorreth.

Now—seeing the King's gracious purpose in this point—I reckon that,  
 being his unworthy Chancellor, it appertaineth, as I said, unto  
 my part and duty to follow the example of his noble  
 20 Grace... and, after my poor wit and learning, with opening to his  
 people the malice and poison of those pernicious books, to help, as  
 much as in me is, that his people, abandoning the contagion of all  
 such pestilent writing, may be far from infection... and thereby  
 from all such punishment as, following thereupon, doth oftentimes  
 25 rather serve to make others beware that are yet clear, than to  
 cure and heal well those that are already infected; so hard is that

*Heresy is hard to be cured.* carbuncle, catching once a core, to be  
 by any means well and surely cured. Howbeit,

God so worketh that sometimes it is. Toward the help whereof—  
 30 or if it haply be incurable, then to the clean cutting out the part  
 for infection of the remnant—am I by mine office, in virtue of  
 mine oath, and every officer of justice through the realm for his  
 rate, right especially bound... not in reason only, and good  
 congruence, but also by plain ordinance and statute.

35 Wherefore I reckon myself of duty deeply bound to show you,  
 good readers, the peril of these books... whereof the makers have such  
 mischievous mind that they boast and glory when their ungracious

1, 8 *declared*: made known    2 *open*: public // *divers*: several // *renewed*: reiterated    5 *spiritual*: clerical  
 5 *temporal*: secular // *monition*: direction; instruction // *warning*: notice    7, 14 *Highness*: i.e., Majesty  
 7 *countries*: regions / counties    8–9 *upon great pain*: i.e., on pain of great punishment  
 10 *poisoned*: poisonous; virulent    11 *effectual*: earnest / strong  
 12–13 *his . . . broken*: i.e., their previous violating of his order    13 *from thenceforth*: from then on  
 15 *the*: i.e., he because of the    16 *abhorreth*: recoils    18 *appertaineth*: belongs    19 *part*: office  
 20 *Grace*: i.e., Majesty // *after*: in accord with // *wit*: intellectual ability // *with*: by // *opening*: making manifest  
 21 *poison*: poisonousness; toxicity    21–22 *help . . . is*: i.e., help see to it, to the full extent that I can  
 23 *pestilent*: noxious; lethally dangerous    25 *yet*: as yet // *clear*: in the clear; uncontaminated    26 *is*: i.e., is it for  
 27 *be cured*: i.e., get cured // *carbuncle*: malignant growth // *catching once*: once it has acquired  
 28 *well and surely*: good and definitively    30 *haply*: i.e., turns out to // *the part*: i.e., of that part of the body politic  
 31 *for*: i.e., for fear of / to prevent // *remnant*: rest    32 *officer*: governmental agent // *through*: throughout  
 32–33 *for his rate*: in accord with his rank    33 *right especially*: very particularly    34 *plain*: explicit  
 36 *peril*: dangerousness // *whereof the makers*: the authors of which    37 *mischievous*: malicious / harmful  
 37 *mind*: intent // *ungracious*: ungodly; evil

writing bringeth any man to death. And yet make they semblance  
as though they were sorry for it. And then Tyndale crieth out  
upon the prelates and upon the temporal princes, and calleth  
them murderers and martyr-quellers—dissembling that the cruel  
5 wretch with his wretched books murdereth the man *himself*,  
while he giveth him the poison of his heresies and thereby compelleth  
princes by occasion of their incurable and contagious  
pestilence to punish them, according to justice, by sore, painful  
death, both for example and for infection of others.

10 Which thing as sore as these heretics reprove... affirming that  
it is against the Gospel of Christ that any heretic should be  
persecuted and punished, and especially by bodily pain or death—  
and some of them say the same of *every* manner crime (theft, murder,  
treason, and all)—yet in Almaine now, contrary to their own  
15 evangelical doctrine, those evangelicals themselves cease not to  
pursue and punish by all the means they may, by purse, by prison,  
by bodily pain, and death, divers their evangelical brethren  
that vary from their sect; as there are of those counterfeit evangelicals  
more sundry sorts of diabolical sects than a man may  
20 well rehearse.

And to this, at the last, be they driven themselves, contrary to  
their own former doctrine... because they find and prove well by  
experience that, though their sects be but false heresies all, yet  
cannot the one sort long dwell with the other... but that if they  
25 begin once to be matches, they shall not fail at length to contend  
and strive together, and by seditions the one drive the other  
to ruin. For never shall the country long abide without debate and  
ruffle... where schisms and factious heresies are suffered a while to  
grow.

30 Believe me not if any man can reckon a place where ever he found  
it otherwise. In Africa the Donatists; in Greece the Arians; in  
Bohemia the Hussites; in England the Wycliffists; and now in  
Almaine the Lutherans... and after that, the Zwinglians: what business  
they have made, what destruction and manslaughter they  
35 have caused, partly the stories witness, partly men have presently  
seen. And yet hath God always maintained and continued his  
true, Catholic faith, with the great fall and ruin at length of many

1–2 *make . . . it*: they put on a pretense of being sorry about it    3 *upon*: against // *temporal*: secular  
3, 7 *princes*: rulers    4 *martyr-quellers*: martyr-slayers // *dissembling*: smokescreening (the fact)  
6 *while*: when    7 *occasion*: reason    8 *pestilence*: noxiousness // *sore*: grievous  
9 *for infection*: to prevent infection    10 *sore*: strongly // *reprove*: criticize    12 *persecuted*: prosecuted  
13 *same of*: same about // *manner*: kind of    14, 33 *Almaine*: Germany    16 *pursue*: go after / hunt down  
16 *may*: can // *purse*: i.e., imposition of fines    17 *divers their*: their various  
18 *vary from*: differ in belief with    19 *sundry sorts*: distinct varieties  
19–20 *a man may well rehearse*: one could well mention by name    23 *sects*: i.e., deviant religious persuasions  
23 *false*: vile / [a polite-language equivalent of] damn    24 *sort*: group    25 *matches*: i.e., on an equal footing  
25 *at length*: eventually    25–26 *contend and strive together*: i.e., become combative, and fight, with one another  
27 *abide*: remain // *debate*: dissension; strife    28 *ruffle*: disturbance / civil unrest // *factious*: conflicting  
28 *suffered*: allowed    30 *reckon*: name    33 *business*: commotion; trouble  
34 *manslaughter*: wholesale slaughter    35 *stories*: historical accounts // *witness*: attest  
35 *presently*: personally; with their own eyes    37 *great . . . length*: eventual great fall and ruin

schismatical sects... whose fall undoubtedly the remnant will in  
 conclusion follow, with the plain and open wrath of God shown  
 upon their false prophets—as it fell upon the prophets both of  
 Bel and Baal, and now, this year, upon Zwingli himself, that  
 5 first brought into Switzerland the abominable heresy against the  
 Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and was, as I say, by the hand of God  
 this year slain in plain battle against the Catholics, with  
 many a thousand of his wretched sect; being in number to the Catholics  
 three against one... and as proudly and with as malicious  
 10 purpose invading them as ever did the Egyptians pursue the  
 children of Israel.

But now saith Tyndale and Friar Barnes both, that I do them  
 wrong in that I call their books seditious. For they counsel,  
 they say, the people, in their books, to be obedient unto their  
 15 sovereigns and rulers although they should suffer wrong; “and how  
 can our books then,” say they, “be seditious?”

Surely, to make men heretics and then bid them be meek (when  
*Heresy springeth of pride.* heresy springeth, as Saint Augustine  
 saith, of pride!) standeth as well with  
 20 reason... as to make a man drunk, and bid him be sober; make  
 him stark mad, and bid him be well advised; make him a stark  
 thief, and bid him see he steal not.

Howbeit—besides the sedition that every schism and division  
 must needs move and provoke among any people that are of diverse  
 25 sects, although they were all obedient unto one prince... and cause  
 them thereby, though they rebelled not against his person, yet to  
 break the peace and quiet of his country, and run into the danger  
 and peril of his laws—let us yet further look and consider in what  
 manner and fashion they counsel the people to obey their princes.

They bid the people for a countenance to be obedient. But  
 they say therewith that the laws and precepts of their sovereigns do  
 nothing bind the subjects in their *consciences* but if the things  
 by them commanded or forbidden were before commanded or  
 forbidden in Scripture. And all the words of Scripture whereby they be  
 35 commanded to obey their governors would they restrain unto  
 those things only that are expressed already within the corps of  
 Scripture. So that if they can beguile the laws and precepts of their

1 *the remnant*: (the falls of) the rest    1–2 *in conclusion*: in the end    2 *open*: manifest // *shown*: visited  
 4 *that*: who    7 *plain*: open / literal    13, 15 *wrong*: an injustice    15 *although*: i.e., even if in so doing  
 17 *surely*: assuredly    17, 20, 21, 22 *bid them/him*: tell them/him to    19 *standeth as well*: is as consonant  
 21 *well advised*: very judicious // *a stark*: a hardcore; an inveterate    22 *see*: i.e., see to it that  
 23 *howbeit*: however // *division*: discord    24 *move*: stir up // *provoke*: instigate // *diverse*: different  
 25 *sects*: religious persuasions    25, 26 (*al*)*though*: even if    25 *obedient unto one*: i.e., subjects of the same  
 25, 29 *prince(s)*: ruler; sovereign(s)    26 *his person*: i.e., him personally    27 *break*: disrupt  
 27–28 *run . . . peril*: i.e., incur the liabilities and risks connected with the breaking    30 *bid*: tell  
 30 *for a countenance*: for appearances' sake    32 *nothing*: not at all // *but if*: unless    33 *were*: i.e., are  
 33 *before*: already    35 *restrain*: restrict    36 *corps*: body; aggregate    37 *beguile*: get around

sovereigns unawares to other men, and thereby flee from the peril of outward, bodily punishment, their evangelical liberty should serve them sufficiently for discharge of their conscience, and inwardly make them, in their souls, clear, angelical hypocrites!

- 5 Now, when they falsely tell them that they be not bound to obey their governors' lawful commandments... and then holily counsel them to obey their unlawful "tyranny" (for by that name call they the laws), what effect ween ye they would that their advice should have? They know themselves well enough, and the  
10 manner of the people, too... and be not so mad, I warrant you, but that they perceive full well that if they can persuade the people to believe that they be not in their conscience bound to obey the laws and precepts of their *governors*... themselves be no such precious apostles that folk would forbear their own ease or pleasure for  
15 the faint, feigned counsel of a few false apostates! And thus is it sure that by their false doctrine they must, if they be believed, bring the people into the secret contempt, and spiritual *disobedience*, and inward hatred, of the law; whereof must after follow the outward breach, and thereupon outward punishment and  
20 peril of rebellion—whereby the princes should be driven to sore effusion of their subjects' blood, as hath already mishappened in Almaine and, of old time, in England.

Let us yet consider further a point of their good, holy counsel concerning the people's obedience.

- 25 Friar Barnes, in his frantic book, biddeth the people that they should not rebel, in no wise. But he biddeth them therewith that, for all the King's commandment, they should not suffer Tyndale's false translation of the Scripture go out of their hand... but rather die than leave it. Now knoweth he well that the false, malicious  
30 manner that Tyndale hath used in the translating thereof—as I have proved both in my *Dialogue* and since again in this book... and as Tyndale doth himself in his own *Answer* openly confess in the titles of "penance" and "priest"—was done to set forth his false heresies with. And therefore it appeareth well that Barnes  
35 would have the people rather die than obey their princes in putting away that book that is falsely translated for the maintenance of many pestilent heresies. And thus ye see how fain he

1 *unawares* . . . *men*: i.e., without other people knowing about it    3 *discharge of their*: i.e., giving them a clear  
4 *clear*: guiltless / complete    5 *bound*: obliged (by God)    6, 7 *(un)lawful*: morally (il)licit; (il)legitimate  
8–9 *ween* . . . *have*: i.e., do you think they want their advice to have    10 *manner*: disposition // *warrant*: assure  
12 *in* . . . *bound*: i.e., bound in conscience    13 *themselves*: i.e., they themselves // *precious*: highly regarded  
14 *for*: because of    15 *faint*: hollow / simulated    15, 34 *false*: [a polite-language equivalent of] damn  
16 *sure*: i.e., a certainty // *must*: i.e., will inevitably    17 *into the*: i.e., into a    19 *breach*: breaking  
20, 35 *princes*: rulers; sovereigns    20 *should*: i.e., will    20–21 *sore effusion*: a lot of shedding  
21 *mishappened*: unfortunately happened    22 *Almaine*: Germany // *of old time*: in days of old    25 *frantic*: loony  
25, 26 *biddeth*: tells    26 *in no wise*: by no means    27 *for*: notwithstanding // *commandment*: commanding  
27 *suffer*: let    28 *false*: unfaithful; intentionally inaccurate    29 *leave it*: give it up // *false*: dishonest  
30 *manner*: approach; way of proceeding    32 *confess*: acknowledge; admit    33 *the titles of*: i.e., the sections on  
33 *set forth*: advance    34 *appeareth well*: is quite evident    35–36 *putting away*: getting rid of  
36 *falsely*: purposely inaccurately    36–37 *for the maintenance of*: i.e., for the sake of making it appear to support  
37 *pestilent*: lethally harmful    31/37—32/1 *how fain he would*: i.e., how desirous he is of getting to

Note

would glory in the people's blood. For he  
wotteth very well that the King's Highness  
will in no wise—nor in no wise may, if he will save his own  
soul—suffer that false translation in the hands of unlearned  
5 people which is by an open *heretic purposely* translated false,  
to the destruction of so many souls.

Now, no man doubteth, I think, but that Tyndale himself  
would no less were done for the maintenance of his false translation  
of the evangelists than would his evangelical brother Barnes...  
10 but that folk should against the King's proclamations keep still  
his books, and rather than leave them, die in the quarrel for the  
defense of his glory.

Whereas I before, in my *Dialogue*, did say that Luther's books be  
seditious, as I now say that Tyndale's be too, and moving people, to  
15 their own undoing, to be disobedient and rebellious to their  
sovereigns, in affirming that they be not, nor cannot be, bound by  
any law made by men: Tyndale answereth me for Luther that I say  
untruly. And then saith he further in this wise: "A Christian man is  
bound to obey tyranny—if it be not against his faith nor the law of God—  
20 till God deliver him thereof."

Now let I pass much railing that he consequently maketh  
upon princes... and shall for this time only counsel you to consider  
these few words of his which he layeth forth for a rule of  
people's obedience to their prince. For his rule is that they  
25 shall obey their "tyranny" till God deliver them thereof. And in this  
point will I not be Tyndale's interpreter; he may mean divers  
ways, but which way he meaneth indeed, he shall himself declare  
at his further leisure; for methinketh he meaneth not very  
well—saving that I will not take him to the worst.

But in the other point, I may be bold to say that no good man  
may take him well where he saith that a Christian man is bound  
to obey their prince's "tyranny" if it "be not against his faith nor  
the law of God." And yet will I well agree that if these words were  
spoken of a good-faithful man's mouth, and where any need  
35 required it, they were very well said; as they were when the  
*Acts 5:29* apostles said, "We must rather please  
God than man." But when Tyndale, that  
is a heretic, putteth for a rule of the people's obedience to a  
good Christian prince that they be bound to obey his "tyranny" if

2 *wotteth*: knows // *the King's Highness*: i.e., His Majesty the King 3 *in no wise*: by no means  
3 *will save*: is to save 4–5 *suffer* . . . *people*: allow to be in the hands of uneducated people that inaccurate translation  
5 *open*: overt // *false*: inaccurately 7 *but that*: i.e., that 8 *would no less were*: wouldn't want any less  
10 *keep still*: continue to keep 11 *leave them*: give them up // *quarrel for*: fight for / cause of  
14 *moving*: inciting 16, 19, etc. *bound*: morally obligated 17 *for*: i.e., with regard to  
17–18 *I say untruly*: what I say is not true 18 *saith* . . . *wise*: he goes on to say this  
19, 32 *it*: i.e., the tyrannical command 20, 25 *thereof*: from it 21 *consequently*: right after this  
21–22 *maketh upon*: does about 22 *consider*: reflect on 22, 24, etc. *prince(s)*: ruler(s); sovereign(s)  
25, 30 *in*: on; with regard to 26–27 *he* . . . *ways*: i.e., there are several ways he could mean this  
27 *declare*: clarify 29 *to the worst*: i.e., as meaning it in the worst of those possible ways 30 *be bold*: venture  
31 *well*: i.e., to have any good meaning 33 *agree*: grant 34 *of* . . . *mouth*: i.e., by a right-believing person  
35 *were very*: would be very 37 *that*: who 38 *putteth*: lays down



it “be not against his faith”—I say that this his rule of “obedience” is a plain exhortation to disobedience and rebellion. For every

*Tyndale’s heresies and doctrine* man well seeth that Tyndale among many other abominable heresies teacheth for

- 5 the right faith that friars may lawfully wed nuns... and that no man is bound to the keeping of any fasting day or holy day made by the Church... and that no man should pray to any saint, nor pray for all Christian souls... and that it is great sin to do any worship to Christ’s Precious Body in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar—and
- 10 would the people should keep his false translation of Scripture for maintenance of these heresies. And therefore if any prince make a law against Tyndale’s heresies, in any of these points or such other like: Tyndale here teacheth that the people are not bound to obey it... but may and must withstand such “tyranny.” Or, at the
- 15 leastwise, though they be bound peradventure openly to obey their prince’s “tyranny” in forbearing flesh on Good Friday or coming to God’s Service on Whitsun Sunday, or friars in forbearing open wedding with nuns (in all which things they be yet, by Tyndale’s godly gospel, at their “evangelical liberty” secretly to do
- 20 what they list themselves, where no peace is broken nor any “weak” conscience offended): yet, for any law or commandment either of prince or pope, or general council of all Christian nations, or of any angel that would come out of heaven to command in God’s name the contrary... every man must keep still Tyndale’s false
- 25 translation of Scripture, and abide by his other false books made for the maintenance of his manifold false heresies. And no man must, for no law nor commandment, pray to any saint, nor for any soul in purgatory, nor kiss any relic, nor creep to Christ’s cross, nor do any worship to Christ’s Blessed Body and Blood in the Holy
- 30 Sacrament of the Altar.

- But if any prince would by any law or commandment compel his people to any of those things—then Tyndale here plainly teacheth them that they may and must stiffly withstand his “tyranny.” So that finally, concerning obedience... Tyndale’s holy
- 35 doctrine is that the people should in the defense of his false heresies not let to *disobey*... but stubbornly to *withstand* their *prince*.

1 *it*: i.e., the tyrannical command // *this his rule*: this rule of his 2 *plain*: transparent; glaringly obvious

4 *for*: as being 5 *may*: can // *lawfully*: with moral rectitude

6, 13, 15 *bound*: morally bound; bound in conscience 6 *made*: established 8, 29 *worship to*: venerating of

10 *would* . . . *should*: would have the people

10 *his* . . . *for*: i.e., the translation of Scripture that he purposely did inaccurately, for the

11, 26 *maintenance*: supporting 11, 16, etc. *prince*: ruler; sovereign 12 *in*: with regard to

14, 33 *withstand*: resist 15 *peradventure*: perhaps // *openly*: out in public

16 *forbearing flesh*: abstaining from meat 17 *to God’s Service*: i.e., to church for the praying of the Divine Office

17 *Whitsun*: Pentecost 18 *open*: i.e., out-in-the-open; public // *in*: regarding // *by*: according to

20 *list*: please // *broken*: disturbed 21 *offended*: scandalized // *for*: notwithstanding

24 *keep still*: continue to keep // *false*: unfaithful; intentionally inaccurate 25 *abide by*: go along with

25 *false*: mendacious // *made*: written 25, 26, 35 *false*: vile 27 *for no*: notwithstanding any

28 *creep*: i.e., come up on his knees (in the Good Friday service) 32 *plainly*: expressly

33 *stiffly*: adamantly / unbudgingly 34 *finally*: ultimately 36 *not let*: i.e., not forbear not only

36 *stubbornly*: obdurately // *withstand*: buck / stand their ground against

Which if any man were so mad to do... and then were therefore in their obstinacy burned, or otherwise in their rebellion slain: there were the triumph, the great feast and glory of Tyndale's devilish, proud, dispiteous heart, to delight and rejoice in the effusion of such people's blood as his poisoned books had miserably bewitched, and from true Christian folk turned into false, wicked wretches.

Now, to the intent that ye may the more clearly perceive the malicious mind of these men, and that their pestilent books be both odious to God and deadly contagious to men... and so much the more perilous in that their false heresies wilily walk forth under the counterfeited visage of the true Christian faith—this is the cause and purpose of my present labor... whereby, God willing, I shall so pull off their gay, painted visors that every man listing to look thereon shall plainly perceive and behold the bare, ugly gargoyles of their abominable heresy.

And for because the matter is long, and my leisure seldom and short, I cannot, as I fain would, send out all at once, but if I should keep still altogether by me longer than methinketh convenient.

I send out now, therefore, of this present work, these three books first. In the first of which I answer Tyndale's preface made before his *Answer* to my *Dialogue*; which preface of his is, in a manner, an introduction into all his heresies. The second book is against his defense of his translation of the New Testament. The third, against two chapters of Tyndale's *Answer*—the one, "Whether the Word Were before the Church, or the Church before the Word," the other, "Whether the Apostles Left Anything Unwritten Necessary to Salvation"—whereupon great part of all his heresies hang.

Now shall I (God willing) at my next leisure go further in his book, and come to the very breast of all this battle: that is to wit, the question, Which is *the* church? For that is the point that all these heretics, by all the means they may, labor to make so dark that, by their wills, no man should wit what they mean. But I trust to draw the serpent out of his dark den... and as the poets feign that Hercules drew up Cerberus, the mastiff of hell, into the light, where his eyes dazed—so shall I, with the grace of

1 *mad*: i.e., demented as // *therefore*: consequently 3 *were*: would be // *feast*: festivity  
 4 *dispiteous*: malevolent 5 *effusion*: shedding // *poisoned*: virulent; noxious 6 *true*: right-believing / upright  
 6 *false*: wrong-believing / vile 9 *mind*: intent // *pestilent*: pernicious 10 *deadly*: lethally  
 11 *perilous*: dangerous // *false*: vile // *walk forth*: circulate 12 *visage*: appearance 13 *labor*: effort  
 14 *gay*: glitzy; superficially attractive // *painted*: deceptively colored // *visors*: masks // *listing*: wishing  
 17 *the matter*: i.e., what needs to be said // *long*: lengthy / time-consuming // *leisure*: free time  
 17 *seldom*: infrequent 18 *fain would*: would like to // *all at once*: i.e., the whole work at the same time  
 18–19 *but . . . by*: i.e., unless I were to continue to keep all of it to myself  
 19 *methinketh convenient*: i.e., I think it would be good to 20, 23 *book(s)*: part(s)  
 21 *Tyndale's . . . before*: i.e., the preface Tyndale wrote to 23, 24 *against*: about  
 26 *were*: existed; came 27 *necessary to*: i.e., that one must believe or do in order to attain  
 28 *great part of*: i.e., in large part // *hang*: hinge 29 *leisure*: i.e., good opportunity 30 *breast*: front line  
 30 *all this*: this whole 31 *which*: i.e., which church 32 *may*: can // *labor*: endeavor // *dark*: unclear; hazy  
 33 *should wit*: i.e., will realize // *mean*: i.e., are aiming at (in posing this question) / are getting at  
 35 *feign*: tell the mythological story // *drew*: pulled / brought // *mastiff*: guard dog 36 *dazed*: were dazzled

*Jn 1:9*

that light “which illumineth every man  
that cometh into this world,” make you  
that matter so lightsome, and so clear to every man, that I shall leave  
Tyndale never a dark corner to creep into, able to hide his head.

5 Then, after that I have so clearly confuted Tyndale concerning  
that point, and shall have plainly proved you the sure and steadfast  
authority of Christ’s Catholic, known church against all  
Tyndale’s trifling sophistications... which he would should seem  
so solemn, subtle insolubles, which ye shall see proved very  
10 frantic follies; after this done, I say, before I go further with  
Tyndale, I purpose to answer good young Father Frith... which now  
suddenly cometh forth so sagely that three old men—my brother  
Rastell, the Bishop of Rochester, and I—matched with Father Frith  
alone, be now but very babes and, as he calleth us, insipients. But  
15 thus goeth the world forth between Frith and us. He increaseth, I see  
well, as fast as we decay. For once, I ween, the youngest of us three... three  
days ere Father Frith was born... had learned within a little as much  
as Father Frith hath now. Howbeit, I shall leave young Father Frith in  
his pride and glory for the while. But when Tyndale is once in that article  
20 touching the Church confuted, then hath Frith already concerning  
purgatory clearly lost the field... and all his well-beloved book is not  
worth a button, though it were all as true as it is false. For then is the  
faith of the Church in that point infallible, or at the least inculpable,  
were there Scripture therefor or not. And no scripture can there  
25 prove the very, true church to hold an article as true faith  
that were in deed damnably false.

And yet shall I, for all that, go further with young Father Frith  
and touch, if God will, every part of his fresh painted book; and  
so shall I pluck off, I trust, the most glorious feathers from his gay  
30 peacock’s-tail that I shall leave him (if he have wit and grace) a little  
less delight and liking in himself than he seemeth now to have;  
which thing hath hitherto made him for to stand not a little in  
his own light.

I pray God heartily send that young man the grace to bestow his  
35 wit and learning, such as it is, about some better business than  
Tyndale misbestoweth it now. For now is Frith’s wit and learning  
nothing but Tyndale’s instrument whereby he bloweth out his  
heresy.

3 *lightsome*: well lit    4 *never a*: not one    5 *that*: i.e., such time as    8 *trifling*: game-playing  
8 *sophistications*: sophisms // *should*: i.e., have    9 *so solemn, subtle*: i.e., such awe-inspiring, ingenious  
9 *insolubles*: irrefutable arguments    10 *frantic*: loony; absurd // *follies*: idiocies // *done*: i.e., is done  
12 *suddenly*: out of the blue; from out of nowhere // *brother*: i.e., brother-in-law    13 *the Bishop*: i.e., John Fisher  
13 *matched with*: compared to    14 *insipients*: ignoramuses    15 *he increaseth*: i.e., his intellectual powers increase  
16 *we decay*: i.e., ours deteriorate // *once*: at one time // *ween*: suppose    17 *ere*: before // *within a little*: almost  
19 *while*: time being // *in*: regarding    20 *touching*: having to do with    21 *clearly*: totally // *field*: i.e., battle  
21 *all his*: his whole    22 *though*: even if    23 *inculpable*: not blameworthy    24 *therefor*: for it  
25 *prove*: i.e., be that proves // *very*: real    26 *were in deed*: i.e., is in fact    28 *touch*: discuss / critique  
28 *if God will*: i.e., God willing // *fresh painted*: new deceptively-made-to-look-good    29 *gay*: showy  
30, 35, 36 *wit*: (any) intelligence    31 *delight . . . in*: i.e., delight in and liking of    32–33 *for to stand*: i.e., stand  
34 *pray*: beg // *send*: i.e., to send // *bestow*: employ    35 *about*: in // *business*: activity; enterprise  
36 *misbestoweth it now*: is now misemploying it in

Finally, after that I shall have answered Frith, I purpose to return again unto Tyndale's book, and answer him in every chapter that he hath impugned in the four books of my *Dialogue*. Wherein I trust to make every child perceive his wily follies and false crafts, with his open, shameless lies put in and mingled among them, wherewith he fain would, and weeneth to, blind in such wise the world that folk should not espy the falsehood and folly of his execrable heresies.

I think that no man doubteth but that this work both hath been and will be some pain and labor to me; and of truth, so I find it. But, as help me God, I find all my labor in the writing not half so grievous and painful to me as the tedious reading of their blasphemous heresies; that would God, after all my labor done, so that the remembrance of their pestilent errors were erased out of Englishmen's hearts, and their abominable books burned up, mine own were walked with them—and the name of these matters utterly put in oblivion. Howbeit, since I see the devil in these days so strong, and these devilish heresies so sore set abroad in some unhappy hearts, that they never cease in all that ever they may to spread these books abroad to such as keep them in hugger-mugger, and secretly poison themselves, weening the books were very good while they read but them alone—and then of those evil books so many daily made by so many idle heretics, and by and by sent hither—it were need, as meseemeth, that divers wise and well-learned men should set their pens to the book... which though they shall not satisfy them that will needs be naught, yet shall they do good to such as fall to these folk of oversight, weening that their new ways were well.

*Lk 16:8*

Our Savior saith that the children of darkness be more politic in their kind than are the children of light in their kind. And surely so seemeth it now. For these false, faithless heretics whose hearts are in the deep, dark dungeon of the devil... are more wily, and more busy therewith, in setting forth of their heresies, than are the faithful learned folk in the defense of the truth.

*Mt 26:36–50*

And as the true disciples of Christ were in slumber and fell in sleep in Christ's company, while Judas the traitor was waking and watching about his detestable treason: so while these Judases watch and

1 *that*: i.e., such time as    2 *in*: regarding    4 *every*: any // *follies*: idiocies    5 *false crafts*: deceitful ploys  
 5 *open*: obvious    6 *fain . . . blind*: i.e., would love to, and thinks he does, blind    7 *folly*: ridiculousness  
 9 *but that*: that    10 *of truth*: indeed    11 *as*: so    12 *grievous*: burdensome // *tedious*: irksome  
 13 *that would God*: (I find this, in fact, so burdensome and painful) that I wish to God that    13–14 *labor*: i.e., work is  
 14 *so*: provided    16 *walked*: gone / gotten rid of    16–17 *the . . . utterly*: i.e., what these issues even were, utterly  
 19 *sore*: extremely // *abroach*: astir // *unhappy*: wretched    19–20 *in . . . may*: to do everything they possibly can  
 21 *in hugger-mugger*: clandestinely    21, 28 *weening*: thinking    22 *were*: i.e., to be // *while*: since  
 23 *made*: written // *idle*: nonworking    23–24 *by and by*: soon    24 *it were*: i.e., there is // *divers*: several  
 24 *wise*: intelligent / sensible    25 *well-learned*: well-educated    26 *will . . . naught*: are determined to be bad  
 27 *fall*: i.e., fall prey // *of oversight*: inadvertently    28 *were well*: i.e., are good    30 *politic*: astute; savvy  
 30 *kind*: i.e., conducting of their own kind of affairs    31 *kind*: i.e., conducting of theirs    32 *false*: deceitful / vile  
 33 *busy*: industrious    34 *therewith*: as well // *setting forth*: the advancing  
 38 *waking and watching*: wide awake and vigilant    39 *about*: in his going about // *watch*: stay vigilant

study about the making of their ungracious books, good and  
 true-believing men that were meet to answer them, and that were  
 able in writing to much more than overmatch them, if they would  
 wake and pray and take the pen in hand... be now so forweari-  
 5 with the sorrow and heaviness to see the world wax so wretched,  
 that they fall even in a slumber therewith and let these wretches  
 alone... saving that yet sometimes some good Peter in a good zeal so  
*Jn 18:10–11; Lk 22:49–51* smiteth off Malchus' ear that God setteth  
 it on better again and giveth it grace to  
 10 draw back from the hearkening of false heresies, and to give itself  
 to the hearing of Christ's true, Catholic faith. And sometimes,  
*Acts 28:1–5* again, some good, holy Paul shaketh the  
 poisoned adder into a fair fire... that  
 lying and lurking among the dry, fruitless faggots catcheth  
 15 good folk by the fingers and so hangeth on their hands with  
 the poison sting of false "only faith" that they would withhold  
 them from setting their hands to any good, virtuous works.

But now, leaving other men to do as God shall like to put in their  
 minds, I shall for my part perform that I have promised, if God  
 20 give me life and grace thereto. For as for leisure, shall not, I trust, one  
 time or other lack to suffice, for so much and for much more too.  
 Which when I have, as I before said, altogether performed... I  
 would, in good faith, wish that never man should need to read any  
 word.

25 For surely the very best way were neither to read this nor theirs...  
*Very good counsel* but rather the people unlearned to occupy  
 themselves, besides their other business,  
 in prayer, good meditation, and reading of such English books  
 as most may nourish and increase devotion—of which kind  
 30 is Bonaventure of the *Life of Christ*, Gerson of the *Following of*  
*Christ*, and the devout contemplative book of *Scala Perfectionis*,  
 with such others like—than in the learning what may well be  
 answered unto heretics.

The very treacle were well lost, so that all venom and poison  
 35 were utterly lost therewith. And better were it not to be sick at all  
 than of a great sickness to be very well healed.

1 *study about*: put a lot of mental effort into // *making*: writing // *ungracious*: ungodly; wicked  
 2, 25, 34 *were*: would be 2 *meet*: qualified 3 *overmatch*: outdo 4 *wake*: wake up / stay awake  
 4 *forweari*: fatigued 5 *with*: by // *heaviness to see*: grief of seeing // *wax*: become  
 6 *even in*: i.e., really into 8–9 *setteth*... *again*: i.e., puts it back on better than it was before  
 9 *grace*: i.e., the grace 10 *draw back*: withdraw // *hearkening of*: listening with compliance to  
 10 *false*: delusive / vile / damn 12 *again*: too  
 12–13 *shaketh*... *fire*: i.e., shakes into a good (not at all objectionable) fire the venomous snake  
 14 *faggots*: bundles of sticks (that heretics after their post-conviction recanting had to carry in procession)  
 16 *only faith*: faith alone 18 *like*: be pleased 19 *that*: that which 20 *leisure*: opportunity  
 20–21 *shall*... *for so*: i.e., there won't be lacking, I trust, at some time or other, enough for that  
 23 *in good faith*: in all sincerity // *man should*: i.e., should anyone 23–24 *any word*: i.e., one word of  
 27 *business*: activities 28–29 *English books as*: books, in English, as  
 30 *Bonaventure of the*: i.e., Bonaventure's // *Gerson of the*: i.e., Gerson's // *Following*: i.e., *Imitation*. (This book  
 was in More's day commonly believed to have been written by Jean Charlier de Gerson.) 34 *treacle*: antidote  
 34 *so*: provided 35 *were it*: would it be

And if it might be provided that every man should be so well  
tempered that no man should by distemperance fall into disease:  
then were it better that the physician bestowed all his time about  
that part of physic that teacheth to preserve our health than to  
5 write any word of that part that restoreth it. But since it can never  
be brought to pass that poison will be forgotten, nor that every man  
shall use himself so circumspectly but that either of oversight or  
adventure some shall have need of cure: therefore it is necessary that  
treacle for the one, and other medicines for the other, be provided  
10 and had. And therefore, as I would wish that their books were all  
gone and mine own therewith—so, since I see well that that thing  
will not be... better it is, I reckon, that there be treacle ready than the  
poison to tarry and no treacle for it.

Howbeit, though every shop were full of treacle—yet were he  
15 not wise, I ween, that would willfully drink poison first to drink  
treacle after; but rather, cast the poison to the devil and let the  
treacle stand for some that should hap to need it. And likewise  
would I counsel every good Christian man, and especially such as are

*Oh, that men would follow* not groundly learned, to cast out the  
20 *this counsel!* poisoned draught of these heretics' books  
which when they be drunk down infect

the reader and corrupt the soul unto the everlasting death; and  
therefore neither vouchsafe to read their books nor anything made  
against them neither, but abhor to hear their heresies so much as  
25 named; according to the gracious counsel of the blessed apostle  
*Eph 5:3* Paul against fornication, where he  
writeth unto the Ephesians, "Let not  
fornication be so much as named or spoken of among you."

And yet—since that would not be brought to pass that he counseled,  
30 and would fain have had observed—he was fain himself to speak  
thereof and write thereof, to arm the people against it, in more places  
than one; as both he and other apostles, and all holy doctors since,  
have been driven to write against heresies, and yet would fain that  
folk would so clear have cast all heresies out of remembrance  
35 that neither themselves should have needed to write thereof nor  
other folk to read that part of their books.

And therefore, as I would advise any man neither to read these  
heretics' books nor mine, but occupy their minds better and,  
standing firmly by the Catholic faith of this fifteen hundred years, never

1 *might*: could // *provided*: arranged; brought about    2 *tempered*: disposed / composed / self-regulated  
2 *distemperance*: intemperance / some imbalance // *disease*: illness    3 *were it*: it would be  
3 *bestowed* . . . *about*: devoted . . . to    4 *physic*: medical science // *teacheth*: i.e., teaches us how  
5 *any word of*: one word about    6 *forgotten*: consigned to oblivion    7 *use*: comport  
7–8 *of* . . . *adventure*: i.e., because of inadvertence or by some accident    8, 17 *some*: someone  
9, 12, etc. *treacle*: (the) antidote    12 *ready*: at hand; readily available // *than*: than for    13 *tarry*: stay around  
14 *though*: even if    15 *ween*: think // *willfully*: deliberately    16 *cast*: i.e., the wise person will throw out  
17 *stand*: remain // *hap*: turn out    19 *groundly learned*: soundly and thoroughly educated // *cast*: throw  
20 *poisoned*: poisonous // *draught*: drink    23 *vouchsafe*: bother // *made*: written    24 *abhor*: shudder  
25, 28 *named*: mentioned    25 *gracious*: grace-filled; godly    26 *against*: about  
30 *would* . . . *had*: i.e., so much wanted to get // *was fain*: was constrained    31 *places*: (scriptural) passages  
32 *as*: just as // *holy doctors*: i.e., the Church's theologians    33 *would fain*: really wish    34 *clear*: completely

once muse upon these newfangled heresies: so, on the other side,  
 if it mishap any man to fall in such a fond affection and vain  
 curious mind that neither peril temporal, in breach of his prince's  
 proclamation and the laws of the realm, nor the peril spiritual, in  
 5 hurting of his own soul, nor they both together, by putting himself  
 in danger to burn both here and in hell, can hold his itching  
 fingers from their poisoned books—then would I counsel him  
 in any wise to read therewith such things as are written against  
 them, and weigh them both at the leastwise indifferently; and not  
 10 to fall suddenly so drunk in the new must of their newfangled  
 newelties that the old, wholesome wine with which good folk have  
 lived now this fifteen hundred years offend their drunken taste because  
 it is not so wallow-sweet but drinketh more of the verdure.

Furthermore, forasmuch as, according to the words of Christ,

- 15 *Lk 17:1* it will none otherwise be but that some  
 stumbling blocks will always be by  
 malicious folk laid in good people's way: though best were to  
 stop your ears utterly and give no hearing to any false enchanters  
 that would bewitch you wilily, to make you delight in those  
 20 books—yet since some that be plain and simple may fortune to be  
 secretly misled by false, wily shrews except they be well armed  
 before... I doubt not by God's grace but if they read *first* the things  
 that are written *against* them, they shall themselves be able to  
 reject and confound any devil that would draw them to them.  
 25 And therefore—as I am sure that evil and ungracious folk shall ever  
 find the means that such books shall never in some corners  
 lack, whereby good people may be deceived and corrupted—it is  
 more than necessary that men have again at hand such books  
 as may well arm them to resist and confute them. Of which kind  
 30 of good books, albeit I know well there may, and doubt not but  
 there shall, be many better made than mine—and that some such I  
 see already—yet have I not so slightly seen unto mine own, nor  
 shuffled it up so hastily, nor let it so pass unlooked over by better men  
 and better learned also than myself... but that I trust in God it may  
 35 among the better stand yet in some good stead. And that it so  
 may to God's honor and the profit of some good folk, I heartily  
 beseech our Lord—without the adspiration and help of whose

1 *muse upon*: do any thinking about // *side*: i.e., hand 2 *it mishap any man*: anyone has the misfortune  
 2 *in*: into // *fond affection*: foolish infatuation / foolhardy disposition // *vain*: unprofitable  
 3 *curious mind*: curiosity // *breach of*: i.e., the violating of; going against // *prince's*: sovereign's  
 5 *hurting*: harming 6 *in danger to burn*: at risk of burning // *hold*: i.e., hold back  
 7 *poisoned*: poisonous; noxious 8 *in any wise*: at any rate 9 *indifferently*: with impartiality  
 10 *suddenly*: promptly // *in*: with // *must*: not-yet-completely-fermented wine 11 *newelties*: novelties  
 13 *wallow-sweet*: sickeningly sweet // *drinketh*: has in its flavor  
 13 *the verdure*: i.e., the fruit's agreeable freshness and pungency 15 *will . . . but*: is inevitable  
 17 *best were*: the best thing to do would be 18 *stop*: stop up 18, 21 *false*: deceitful / treacherous  
 20 *fortune*: happen 21 *shrews*: scoundrels // *except*: unless 22, 30 *but*: i.e., that  
 24 *reject*: rebuff // *confound*: confute / silence 25 *as*: since // *evil*: bad // *ungracious*: wicked / disgraceful  
 26 *corners*: secret meeting places 27 *lack*: be lacking 28 *more than*: extremely // *again*: also  
 31 *made*: written 32 *slightly*: carelessly 33 *shuffled it up*: i.e., thrown it together 37 *adspiration*: favor

especial grace no labor of man can profit... and to whom therefore  
 be all thank referred—which liveth and reigneth in eternal  
 glory. To which as he hath already brought many a blessed saint,  
 so mote his mercy bring with speed the souls that are in purgatory—  
 5 and give us that here live, in this wretched world, aid and help of  
 grace by true faith and good works to follow them, the rather by  
 the intercession and prayers of all his holy saints that are already  
 with him. *Amen.*

2 *thank referred*: credit given // *which*: who      4 *mote*: may  
 6 *rather*: i.e., sooner and more readily



## The First Book

### *The Preface of Tyndale, with the Answer unto the Same*

#### Tyndale

5       The grace of our Lord, the light of his Spirit to see and to judge  
       true repentance toward God's law, a fast faith in the merciful  
       promises that are in our Savior Christ, fervent love toward thy  
       neighbor after the example of Christ and his saints... be with thee, O  
 10       reader, and with all that love the truth and long for the redemption  
       of God's elect. Amen.

#### More

      Tyndale here beginneth with a holy salutation; and so doth  
       Luther too, and so doth Friar Huessgen too... and so doth every fond  
       fellow of any of their sects. They begin their epistles in such  
 15       apostolical fashion... that a man would ween it were written from  
       Saint Paul himself. But would God they would once rather follow  
       him truly in faith and good works than in simulation of like  
       sanctity with their holy salutations.

      For if men consider that whereas Tyndale here prayeth holily for the  
 20       "light" of the "Spirit" to "see . . . true repentance," he then teacheth, himself,  
       a sudden, slight repentance... forbidding both confession and  
       all doing of penance: they shall, if they be good men, set little by  
       his holy salutation. And when they consider that whereas he prayeth  
       God send them a "fast faith," himself teacheth a false faith against  
 25       the sacraments, and meaneth that they should be fast in the same:  
       there will no good Christian man can him thank for that holy prayer.  
       And where he prayeth here so holily for the love of the neighbor... if  
       men look on the love that is used among all the masters of that  
       whole holy sect, and consider their livings, and look upon Friar  
 30       Luther, the very father of their whole sect, and see him run out of  
       religion and fallen to flesh and carrion, and live in lechery with a

6, 24, 25 *fast*: steadfast; firm      12, 18, 23 *salutation(s)*: greeting(s)  
 13 *fond*: foolishly self-confident / full-of-himself      14 *fellow*: member  
 15 *ween*: think // *were*: was // *from*: by      16 *would God*: I wish to God  
 19, 23 *consider*: reflect on the fact      21 *sudden*: dashed-off // *slight*: unsubstantial  
 22 *set little by*: put little stock in      24 *against*: regarding  
 26 *can him thank*: i.e., be who gives him any credit      28, 29 *(up)on*: at  
 28 *used*: i.e., operative // *masters*: leaders      29 *livings*: lifestyles  
 30–31 *run . . . religion*: i.e., having run away from religious life      31 *live*: i.e., living

nun under name of wedlock, and all the chief heads of them,  
late monks and friars, and now apostates and living with harlots  
under the name of wives: he that looketh on this and then seeth  
them and their scholars (as Tyndale here, and such others) come  
5 forth and speak so holily—would he not ween that it were a sort of  
“friars” following an Abbot of Misrule, in a Christmas game, that  
were pricked in blankets and then should stand up and  
preach upon a stool and make a mowing sermon!

And as lewd sermons as they make in such naughty games, would  
10 God that these men’s earnest sermons were not yet much worse. But  
surely, as evil as the others be... yet is there more harm and more deadly  
poison, too, in this one sermon of Tyndale’s—as ye shall hear ere it

*Friar Frap* come at the end—than in a hundred sermons  
of Friar Frap, that first gapeth

15 and then blesseth, and looketh holily and preacheth ribaldry to the  
people that stand about.

For there is not the worst thing that Friar Frap preacheth in a  
lewd sport, but Father Tyndale here writeth much worse in very  
great earnest—and much worse than doth the other, abuseth the Scripture  
20 unto it.

The other, when he preacheth that men may lawfully go to lechery—  
he maketh commonly some fond texts of his own head, and dare not  
in such mad matters meddle with the very Scripture itself. But  
Tyndale teacheth us in good earnest that friars may walk out and  
25 wed nuns—and is neither afeard nor ashamed to draw the Holy  
Scripture of God unto the maintenance of abominable sin and  
service of the devil.

The other ribald, in his fond sermon, meddleth but with fleshly  
vices and worldly wantonness. But Tyndale here, with an earnest high  
30 profession of godly, spiritual doctrine, teacheth us a false faith and  
many mortal heresies, and would with Scripture destroy the  
Scripture; and amidst his earnest holiness falleth into mocks and  
mows, and maketh mad, apish jesting against the holy ceremonies  
and blessed sacraments of our Savior Christ; and the  
35 things sanctified with the Blessed Blood of our Savior, Tyndale  
turneth into scorn. Never was there any scoffing Friar Frap,  
preaching upon a stool, that durst play the knavish fool on such a  
fashion as ye shall see Tyndale do here. For if any should... his

2 *late*: former    3 *on*: at    4 *scholars*: pupils // *as*: such as    5 *ween*: think // *were*: was // *sort*: group; band  
6 *following*: accompanying    6–7 *that were pricked*: who got dressed up    8, 9 *make*: give; deliver  
8 *mowing*: mock; spoof    10 *earnest sermons*: i.e., sermons delivered in all seriousness  
10 *yet much worse*: much worse yet    11 *surely*: assuredly // *evil*: bad  
12–13 *ere . . . end*: i.e., before it comes to its end    13, 14, etc. *Frap*: Libertine; Profligate  
14 *gapeth*: gives an idiotic stare    15 *looketh holily and*: i.e., while looking holy // *ribaldry*: debauchery; degeneracy  
18 *sport*: jest    19 *abuseth*: wrongly applies    21 *may*: can // *lawfully*: with moral rectitude  
21 *go to*: go in for; indulge in    22 *maketh commonly*: usually makes up    22, 28 *fond*: silly; obviously facetious  
22 *of*: out of    23 *meddle with*: i.e., involve    24 *in good earnest*: in all seriousness    25 *draw*: pervert  
26 *maintenance*: support    28 *ribald*: crassly impious jester // *meddleth but*: deals only    29, 32 *earnest*: serious  
29 *high*: high-flown; lofty-sounding    31 *mortal*: lethal    32 *falleth*: descends  
32–33 *mocks and mows*: i.e., crass derisive words and attitudes    33 *jesting*: i.e., wisecracks // *against*: about  
33 *ceremonies*: rites / rituals    36 *turneth into*: makes objects of    37 *durst*: dared // *knavish*: unprincipled // *on*: in

audience, were they never so wanton, would yet at such words (if any spark of Christian zeal remained in their hearts) pull down the ribald by the skirt and break the stool upon his head.

5 And now, whereas he saluteth us with the “light” of the “Spirit” and intendeth to bring us in darkness of the devil; whereas he speaketh of “true repentance” and then would put away two parts thereof, that is to wit, both confession and satisfaction; and whereas he speaketh of “fast faith” and then teacheth a false, presumptuous faith, with such trust put in “faith alone” that he reckoneth all good  
10 works fruitless and unprofitable, and that “faith alone” sufficeth to salvation, how devilishly that any man live beside: we may well perceive that these that so teach be with their holy salutations the false, idle prophets of whom the blessed apostle Paul

*Rom 16:17–18; Lk 20:46–47* writeth (unto the Romans) that by their  
15 sweet blessings waste out and empty the poor widows’ houses. For by such holy salutation, as by sweet blessing praying for them so good things as they seem to do, they win their hearts to assent after to their heresies, and so expel and kill true faith in their hearts; and God so taken from  
20 them, they make them widows, and so waste and empty out the substantial virtues of their souls.

But, now, when he speaketh of “fervent love . . . after the example of Christ and his saints”—as earnest as the matter is, who can forbear laughing when he seeth the lecherous fleshly love of those friars and  
25 their nuns? Whereof till Tyndale can tell us some like examples of Christ and his saints, that any of them were wont to break their vows of chastity and fall to such filthy lechery—till he can tell us that, we may well tell him that his holy prayer of “fervent love” here in his prologue . . . goeth quite against his purpose and shameth all his  
30 whole book after.

Wherefore, good Christian readers, whoso shall happen to read his pernicious book, take wisdom with you, as I doubt not but ye will; and be not so led with a few painted holy words—as it were, with the beholding of a peacock’s tail—but that ye regard therewith his  
35 *Very good counsel* fowl feet also . . . and look well whither he walketh and to what end he speaketh, and consider him by the headmasters and archheretics of his ungracious sect; which, when they have spoken as religiously

1 *never so*: no matter how // *wanton*: dissolute 3 *ribald*: i.e., sacrilegious jackass // *skirt*: gown  
4 *saluteth*: greets 5 *in*: into 6 *put away*: do away with // *parts*: thirds 8 *fast*: steadfast; firm  
10 *sufficeth to*: is sufficient for 11 *how . . . beside*: i.e., no matter how devilishly one otherwise lives  
12, 16 *salutation(s)*: greeting(s) 13 *idle*: unavailing 15, 17 *sweet*: good-sounding  
15 *waste out*: impoverish 20 *waste*: lay to waste; destroy 23 *earnest*: serious // *forbear*: keep from  
27 *to*: into 28 *of*: for 33 *with*: by // *painted*: put-on / flashy 35 *fowl*: fowl / foul  
35–36 *look . . . walketh*: i.e., note well where he’s going with all this 37 *by*: in conjunction with  
38 *ungracious*: ungodly; wicked // *which*: who // *religiously*: piously

as he, yet have, as ye see well, shamefully shown themselves open incestuous harlots... and that of the most abominable sort, deflowering religious women.

5 And Tyndale himself (which thing is worse than the deed doing) maintaineth in his book their deed for well done.

### Tyndale

Our Savior Jesus (in the sixteenth chapter of John) at his Last Supper, when he took his leave of his disciples, warned them, saying,  
 10 *Tyndale is now the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven to rebuke the judgment of all Christendom this fifteen hundred years past.* "The Holy Ghost shall come and rebuke the world of judgment"; that is, he shall rebuke the world for lack of true judgment and discretion to judge, and shall prove that the taste of their mouths is corrupt, so that they judge sweet to be sour and sour to be sweet,  
 15 and their eyes to be blind, so that they think that to be very service of God which is but a blind superstition, for zeal of which yet they persecute the true service of God; and that they judge to be the law of God which is but a false imagination of a corrupt judgment, for blind affection of which yet they persecute the true law of God  
 20 and them that keep it.

### More

How soon might a poor simple soul be led to think that all those that believe not as Tyndale doth were in a wrong way and in a false belief... when he heareth Tyndale here lay against them the  
 25 words of our Savior himself, spoken unto his disciples in his Last Supper!

But, now, they that be learned and know the place in the Gospel perceive very well that Tyndale here sinfully doth abuse the holy words of Christ, and manifestly misturneth the mind and sentence  
 30 of our Savior, following the example of the devil that

*Ps 91:11-12* alleged the Scripture unto Christ in desert.

For as the devil there falsely wrested the scripture of God and laid it against God: so doth Tyndale here wrest the word of our  
 35 Savior against himself and his whole church—I say his *whole* church; not the clergy only, but the whole congregation of all Christian people.

For it is well known that Christ spoke those words against the Jews and paynims that refused him and his true faith—showing

1 *open*: (to be) overt / flagrant    2 *incestuous*: So considered because in canon law, monks and nuns are regarded as siblings.    5 *their deed for well done*: i.e., that this thing they are doing is morally all right  
 9, 11 *rebuke*: severely chastise; castigate    10 *of*: concerning    11 *true*: right  
 12 *discretion to judge*: i.e., of discernment in judging    14 *corrupt*: infected / messed up  
 15 *that to be*: i.e., that thing to be // *very*: real; authentic    15, 17 *service*: worship  
 16 *blind*: meaningless    18 *which*: that which // *a corrupt*: an infected / a messed-up  
 19 *affection*: liking    23 *in . . . way*: on a wrong path    24 *lay*: adduce    25 *in*: during  
 27 *know the place*: i.e., are familiar with that passage    28 *abuse*: use wrongly    29 *misturneth*: distorts  
 29 *mind and sentence*: intent and meaning    31 *alleged*: quoted // *in*: i.e., in the  
 33 *falsely*: dishonestly / despicably    33, 34 *wrest(ed)*: twist(ed)    34 *laid*: adduced  
 38 *against*: with reference to    39 *paynims*: pagans // *refused*: rejected // *showing*: stating

that the Holy Ghost at his coming should reprove *their* false judgment, and *their* unsavory taste, that judged sweet sour and sour sweet, and that he should teach his church and his congregation the very truth and lead them into all truth that should be necessary for their salvation.

And this promise hath our Savior both made in the Gospel and also fulfilled in deed. For the Holy Ghost hath not failed to teach his church all such kind of truth from the beginning hitherto, nor never shall cease so to do, as well by his own holy secret word unwritten in the Scripture and yet by himself written in Christian men's hearts... as by his holy Scripture either written in tablets of stone or in beasts' skins; according to his

*Ez 11:19–20; Jer 31:31–34* own words spoken as well by the mouth  
*2 Cor 3:2–3* of the prophet Ezekiel as of the blessed apostle Saint Paul.

These truths had the apostles, the martyrs, the confessors, the holy doctors of Christ's church, and the common Christian people of every age from Christ's death hitherto. And in this common-known church of Christendom (except such as at sundry times have fallen therefrom, as Arius, Pelagius, Donatus, Wycliffe, and Hus, and such others... and now Luther, and Tyndale, and Friar Huessgen, and their fellows) hath ever the true judgment remained, and the right-savored taste; and never lost any of those heretics those necessary truths till the devil had through pride, envy, and malice made them set naught by the Church. And then did he cast them forthwith in such a fever that they clean lost their taste... and then did they as Tyndale doth now—judge sweet that all Christendom judged sour.

And by those truths and this faith always from the beginning kept in Christ's church... be we now very sure that this new "faith" of Luther, Tyndale, and Friar Huessgen is very fond and false, and that their mouths are all out of taste... since that from Christ's death hitherto, all holy men, all good people, all true Christian nations, have savored always those meats to be good and wholesome which these fond fellows affirm now to be bitter and perilous meat; and have always affirmed for unsavory meat and evil

1, 3, 4 *should*: would    2 *unsavory*: wrong-tasting / morally objectionable    4 *very*: real  
 9, 34 *hitherto*: to this day    10 *secret*: hidden; sense-imperceptible    12 *in*: on // *beasts' skins*: parchments  
 16 *confessors*: male saints who gave heroic witness to the faith but were not martyred  
 17 *holy doctors*: theologians    18 *hitherto*: till now // *common-known*: common-knowledge  
 20 *as*: such as; like    22 *fellows*: accomplices / (female) consorts / followers    24 *right-savored*: right-tasting  
 26 *set naught by*: disregard    27 *in*: into    28 *as*: i.e., what // *that*: that which  
 32, 36 *fond*: ridiculous / sick    33 *mouths* . . . *taste*: i.e., taste buds are all out of whack  
 33 *since that*: since; seeing that    35 *savored*: tasted / experienced    35, 37 *meat(s)*: food(s)  
 35 *to be*: i.e., as being    36 *fellows*: good-for-nothings    37 *unsavory*: bad-tasting / unhealthful  
 37 *evil*: i.e., bad for one

such as now these madmen affirm to be well-seasoned and good... and have always hitherto reputed for shameful and filthy lechery the fleshly coupling together of friars and nuns that these losels now do boldly put forth and avow for good and lawful matrimony.

- 5 If Tyndale grant that I say true in this: then shall he be fain to grant that the words which he allegeth against us spoken by the mouth of our Savior be not spoken against us that believe as all Christ's church hath believed ever hitherto... but that they be spoken against himself and his fellows, that believe the contrary. And
- 10 on the other side, if Tyndale deny me this, and will say that all good men and God's elects have always believed as he and his fellows do teach... and that they have always taught and done the same: let Tyndale then tell us one good, honest man—what speak we of *honest* man? Let him tell us of any one so very a stark *ribald*, in all
- 15 this fifteen hundred years before Luther's days and his, that ever taught that it Tyndale taketh here Saint Paul at was lawful for a friar to wed a his pleasure. For Saint Paul speaketh nun! If Tyndale show you not this, as I not there of "born again," nor wot well he cannot: then be ye very "new-created with the Spirit"... but sure that, since every holy man before his
- 20 that "sensual" men, as those that be days hath taught the contrary, and "carnal" and "contentious," be not hath had it in detestation, and he now meet for the perfect doctrine of defendeth it for good against all good spiritual revelations. And then, by men that hath been ever since Christ's
- 25 that place, Tyndale's "spiritual" sort days to his own—how holy a tale soever he tell you beside, and howsoever he be not spiritual, nor meet vessels to paint it with Scripture... writhen and receive and give out the doctrine of wrested out of all good course, ye may be the Spirit; for there be no people so sure enough that his doctrine is for all carnal and so contentious as they. that very stark naught indeed, and that he
- 30 meaneth no good... and that if he believe as he teacheth (as I verily believe he doth not), his faith is very false.

#### Tyndale

- 35 Saint. Paul in that place [v. 10] And this same is it that Paul saith in speaketh not of any search the second chapter of the First Epistle that spiritual men should make of to the Corinthians: how that the the cause of God's commandments... natural man that is not born again

1 *such*: i.e., such foods      2, 8 *hitherto*: i.e., to this very day      3 *losels*: worthless louts  
 4 *good and lawful*: valid and licit / quite legitimate      5 *I . . . this*: i.e., what I'm saying here is true  
 5 *fain*: forced      6 *allegeth*: adduces; cites as an argument      9, 12 *fellows*: cohorts      10 *side*: i.e., hand  
 13 *tell*: i.e., name      13, 14 *honest*: honorable; respectable      13 *what*: why      14 *very*: truly  
 14, 29 *stark*: downright      14 *ribald*: degenerate; sleazeball      16–17 *at his pleasure*: as he wants to  
 16 *lawful*: all right; morally licit      17 *show*: tell      18 *wot*: know // *be ye*: i.e., you can be      20 *as*: such as  
 21 *had it in detestation*: held it in detestation / considered it an abomination      22, 25 *meet*: fit  
 23–24 *by that place*: according to that text      23 *that hath*: i.e., there have      24 *sort*: class  
 25 *beside*: otherwise      26 *paint*: embellish // *writhen*: contorted      27–28 *may . . . enough*: can be plenty sure  
 29 *naught*: bad      30 *meaneth no good*: i.e., has no good intent / is up to no good // *verily*: really  
 35 *of*: for

... but Tyndale feigneth the thing to find by the search of the cause some discharge of the commandment.

5 and created anew with the Spirit of God, be he never so great a philosopher, never so well seen in the Law, never so sore studied in the Scripture (as we have examples in the Pharisees), yet he cannot understand the things of the Spirit of God; but, saith he, the spiritual “judgeth all things, and his spirit searcheth the deep secrets of God”; so that whatsoever God commandeth him to do, he never leaveth searching till he come at the bottom, the pith, the quick, the life, the spirit, the marrow, and very cause why... and judgeth allthing.

10

### More

Ye consider well that Tyndale, in these words, would ye should ween that these folk of whom Saint Paul speaketh in that place... be such as cannot savor the doctrine of Luther, Friar Huessgen, and him. But then consider again upon whom his words fall. For ye doubt not, nor himself cannot deny, but that his doctrine is far from the taste of Saint Augustine, Saint Jerome, Saint Ambrose, Saint Cyprian, Saint Gregory, and all those old holy doctors of Christ’s church unto Luther’s days and his; or else, as I said, let him tell me which of all them did not abhor that a priest should wed a nun. And therefore thus ye see that by Tyndale’s holy tale, there were none of all *them*, were they “never so great philosophers, never so well seen in the Law, never so sore studied in Scripture,” that could understand the things of the Spirit of God, because they were but “natural” men, not “born again” nor “created anew with the Spirit of God.”

15

20

25

How knoweth Tyndale that none of all these that hath been adversaries to his doctrine—that is to wit, of all good men that ever were in Christendom since Christ was born unto Tyndale’s time—was born again or new-created with the Spirit of God? How himself understandeth his high spiritual words, I wot ne’er; but I wot well that all those holy fathers were reputed for good Christian—

30

and I ween they were all baptized and born again “of water and the Spirit,”

35 as our Savior said unto Nicodemus... and after that, they lived well and spiritually, and died well and spiritually, as appeareth by their books and histories written of their lives, and miracles shown

1 *feigneth the*: i.e., makes up this      2 *of*: for      2, 3, etc. *never so*: no matter how  
 3 *discharge of*: exemption from      3, 23 *seen*: versed      4, 23 *sore studied*: extremely learned  
 6 *spiritual*: i.e., spiritual person      7 *searcheth*: plumbs / probes / searches out      8 *leaveth*: stops  
 9 *come at*: gets to      10 *very cause*: real reason      // *allthing*: everything      12 *consider well*: well realize  
 12–13 *would . . . ween*: would have you think      13 *these folk*: i.e., these “natural,” not-born-again folk  
 13 *place*: passage      14 *such*: i.e., such folk      // *savor*: appreciate / stomach      15 *again*: also  
 18 *Gregory*: i.e., Gregory the Great      // *old*: i.e., earlier / classic      // *holy doctors*: theologians  
 19 *unto*: i.e., on up to      20 *abhor*: shudder at the thought / think it abominable      21 *tale*: account  
 28 *that ever*: i.e., there ever      30 *himself*: he himself      31 *high*: high-flown / abstruse      // *wot ne’er*: have no idea  
 32 *wot*: know      // *good*: bona fide      33 *I ween*: I’m pretty sure      35–36, 36 *well and*: quite  
 36 *appeareth*: is evidenced      37 *histories*: (by) historical accounts      // *shown*: performed

for them of God after their deaths. And unto such simple, gross,  
carnal people as we be... these things seem well to show that they  
*were* born again of God and new-created with his Spirit... and so, by  
Tyndale's own tale, should seem able to understand the things of  
the Spirit of God.

But yet will Tyndale none of that. For he liketh not *their*  
judgment... but he saith that "the spiritual" judgeth all things.  
And whereas Saint Paul, in the place alleged by Tyndale, saith  
that the *Holy Ghost*, the "Spirit of God," "searcheth even the deep *things*  
of God," because that unto that holy spirit which *is* God, there is  
nothing of God unknown: Tyndale taketh that high power unto  
his worshipful spiritual sort, saying "the spiritual" judgeth all  
things... and *his* spirit searcheth the deep *secrets* of God. And with  
this not satisfied... he amplifieth and enhanceth their holy search  
upon height... and saith that the spirit of their spiritual sort  
search the deep secrets of God so far that "whatsoever God commandeth  
them to do"... they "never leave searching till they come at  
the bottom, the pith, the quick, the life, the spirit, the marrow, and  
very cause why"... and so "judge allthing."

What a heap of high, vehement words hath Tyndale here  
heaped up together! Who would not ween that he were with some  
2 *Kgs* 2:11; *Gn* 5:24 holy meditation carried up in Enoch and  
Elijah's chariot! But yet, good Christian reader,  
for all his holy tale... remember again the friar and the nun,  
Luther and his wife, Tyndale's own master and mistress, the  
chief head and author of his high spiritual faith. For Luther, ye wot  
well, if Tyndale and his fellows be "spiritual" and "elects," must, as  
their first author of their new spiritual sect, be needs one of the  
very chief. Let not, therefore, Tyndale, good reader, with his gay  
glorious words carry you so fast and so far away but that ye remember  
to pull him back by the sleeve a little, and ask him whether  
his own high spiritual doctor Master Martin Luther himself,  
being specially born again and new-created of the Spirit,  
whom God in many places of Holy Scripture hath commanded to  
keep his vow made of chastity—when he then so far contrary thereunto  
took out of religion a spouse of Christ, wedded her himself

1 *of*: by // *simple*: dim-witted // *gross*: dense; obtuse    2 *carnal*: earthbound    4 *tail*: account  
6 *none*: i.e., have none // *liketh not*: does not approve of    7, 12 *the spiritual*: i.e., the spiritual person  
8, 34 *place(s)*: passage(s)    8 *alleged*: adduced; claimed as support    9 *searcheth*: plumbs  
10 *because*: i.e., because of the fact    11 *taketh*: appropriates    12 *worshipful*: exalted; superior  
12, 15 *sort*: set; class    13 *searcheth*: searches out / probes / plumbs  
15 *upon height*: i.e., from depth to also height (from which they get to *judge* everything)  
15 *the . . . their*: i.e., in their spirit the    16 *search*: probe    17 *leave*: stop // *come at*: get to  
19 *very cause*: real reason // *allthing*: everything    20 *high*: high-flown // *vehement*: bombastic  
21 *ween*: think    24 *tail*: speech    26, 28 *author*: architect    26, 32 *high*: lofty    26 *wot*: know  
27 *fellows*: associates / cohorts / followers    28 *sect*: deviant belief system // *needs*: of course  
29 *gay*: showy / plausible-sounding    30 *glorious*: boastful    32 *doctor*: i.e., director  
35 *his vow made*: the vow he made    36 *religion*: religious life



in reproach of wedlock, called her his wife and made her his harlot,  
and in double despite of marriage and religion both, liveth with her  
openly and lieth with her nightly in shameful incest and abominable  
bitchery—doth *he* the while, after Tyndale's high words,

- 5 search the deep secrets, and never leave searching till he come to the  
bottom, the pith, the quick, the life, the spirit, the marrow, and the  
very cause of that commandment why, and so judgeth allthing?

- Thus, good readers, examine him... and then shall ye perceive how  
fondly such a high, pure, spiritual process accordeth with  
10 such a base, foul, fleshly living. But Tyndale hath a hope that  
while he painteth his prologue with such gay colors of spiritual  
virtue, there can no man in the meanwhile remember and consider  
what ungracious fruit their deceitful doctrine and false faith  
bringeth forth. And therefore, to carry the reader farther off from the  
15 remembrance thereof... he letteth go by their filthy lechery and  
holily speaketh of "love."

#### Tyndale

- Take an example in the great commandment, "Love God with all  
thine heart": the spiritual searcheth the cause and looketh on the  
20 benefits of God, and so conceiveth love in his heart.

#### More

In this example, of the great commandment of loving of God...  
there can lack no causes, but without any far search there offer  
themselves enough at hand, except men willfully will forget them.

- 25 But yet, albeit that in many things a man may peradventure  
well and with fruit ensearch the cause of God's commandments,  
yet may the spirit of a man that were as spiritual as Tyndale is, or  
*The spirit of a man may wade* Luther either, and take Friar Huessgen to  
*too far in God's secrets.* them... go sometimes too far in the searching  
30 *Prv 25:27 (Vulgate)* of the deep secrets of God, and wade so  
far therein... that he shall find  
these words of Holy Scripture true—"He that is the searcher of the  
majesty shall be oppressed of the glory"—and he shall find the  
deep secrets of God so deep that the secret bottom will *not* be  
35 found out for him... and especially in that thing in which

1 *reproach of*: insult to    2 *despite*: contempt // *religion*: religious life    3 *incest*: See note for 44/2.  
4 *bitchery*: sluttiness; depravity // *the while*: i.e., all this time // *after*: i.e., to use // *high*: high-flown  
5 *search*: go in search of / probe // *leave*: stop // *come*: i.e., gets  
7 *very* . . . *why*: i.e., real reason-why of that commandment // *judgeth allthing*: i.e., judge everything  
8–9 *how fondly* . . . *accordeth*: i.e., how absurdly incongruent . . . is    9 *high*: lofty // *process*: discourse  
11 *while*: when; since // *gay colors*: magnificent colors / plausible appearances    13 *ungracious*: ungodly  
15 *go by*: pass unheeded    19 *spiritual*: i.e., spiritual person // *searcheth*: goes in search of // *on*: at  
24 *except*: unless // *willfully* . . . *them*: deliberately choose to be oblivious to them    25 *in*: with regard to  
25, 28 *may*: can    25 *peradventure*: perhaps    26 *well and with fruit*: rightly and profitably  
26 *ensearch*: go in search of    27 *were*: was    28 *take*: (we can) add    29 *in God's*: i.e., into God's  
29 *searching*: plumbing    33 *oppressed of*: crushed by    35 *found out*: unearthed

Tyndale and his fellows be, as I shall hereafter show you, most presumptuously busy: that is, in God's final elects and

*Rom 11:33*

predestinates, whereof Saint Paul crieth himself, "O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae et

5 scientiae Dei!" ("O the height and deepness of the riches of the wisdom and science of God!").

And as for that that Tyndale saith, that "whatsoever God commandeth the spiritual man to do, he never leaveth searching till

10 he come at the bottom, the pith, the quick, the life, the spirit, the marrow, and the very cause why, and judgeth all things"—I say, as I said before, it may peradventure in *some* things do well to consider the causes of God's commandment, so it be done moderately

and with reverence. But many such spiritual persons as Tyndale is, and Luther, and Friar Huessgen... so be wont to reason and search the

15 *1 Sm 15:1–23*

cause of God's commandments with

*Gn 3:1–5*

themselves as Saul did... or between

*Ps 76:12*

the devil and themselves as our mother

*Eccl 5:3–4*

Eve did... that they fall upon fallacies

*Is 19:21*

and false causes... whereby, like as Saul was

20 *Jon 2:10*

deceived in saving of the beasts for sacrifice which beasts God had precisely

commanded him to destroy, and Eve was so beguiled that

she thought she might well eat the apple which God had

precisely commanded her to forbear—so doth, I say, too, these men

25 that are in this new fashion spiritual; the devil (their evil spirit)

and themselves, with their incessant search, find out false causes

whereof they take occasion to *break* the commandments of God;

which commandments other good, seely, simple souls without

any search observe.

30 "Vow and pay your vows"

As for example, lo, whereas God hath in

(*Ps 76:12*).

Holy Scripture evidently commanded

that whoso make a vow shall perform and keep it (as is written

by the holy Psalmist: "Vow ye and pay your vows to our Lord");

and whereas our Blessed Lady thought herself bound thereto, and all

35 the holy saints since Christ's days unto Tyndale's time have without

any variance written and affirmed the same, and not only they but

also all Christian people, both good and bad, have this fifteen hundred years

1 *fellows*: cohorts / followers

2 *busy*: i.e., involving themselves // *in*: i.e., in the subject of

3–4 *crieth himself*: himself exclaims 6 *science*: knowledge 7 *that that*: i.e., that thing that

8 *leaveth*: stops // *searching*: probing 9 *come at*: gets to 10 *very cause*: real reason

11 *peradventure*: perhaps // *in*: with regard to 12 *so*: provided that; so long as // *it*: i.e., this

14 *search*: search out 15 *with*: by 18 *fall*: happen 20 *deceived in saving of*: in error in saving

20, 21 *beasts*: animals 21, 24 *precisely*: expressly 23 *might*: could // *well*: rightly; justifiably

26 *find out*: come up with 28 *seely*: poor 31 *evidently*: plainly / conclusively

32 *perform*: carry out 36 *variance*: i.e., disagreement with one another

40

abhorred as an abominable monstrosity, and accounted it in common  
 talking for such a prodigious crime, that ever monk or  
 friar should wed a nun, as they thought should never happen in  
 Christendom, and therefore have always jested that Antichrist should  
 5 be born between a friar and a nun: these new “spiritual men” have  
 now—Luther, Tyndale, and Friar Huessgen, and the devil, together—so  
 long ensearched the cause of this commandment of God by which  
 every man is commanded to keep his vow... that they have with  
 long search found out at last that monks, friars, and nuns  
 10 be not bound by that commandment at all... but may, for all  
 their vow, lawfully run out of religion and lie together when  
 they list, and call their filthy lechery good and lawful wedlock.

And thus, lo, good reader, these new spiritual men with their deep  
 search interpret and expound Holy Scripture, and find out therein  
 15 such godly virtues as this is which the old holy doctors could  
 never find therein—for lack of grace, by likelihood, for we see well they  
 lacked no wit, and had as much learning as these men have and ten  
 times more, too, and did their diligence, too; but they were, as it  
 seemeth, but natural only, not born again nor created of new  
 20 with the Spirit of God as Luther is, and Tyndale, and Friar Huessgen  
 and his fellows.

Take example [saith Tyndale] in the great commandment, “Love God  
 with all thine heart”: the spiritual searcheth the cause and looketh on  
 the benefits of God, and so conceiveth love in his heart.

25 In these words I lay no fault. But albeit a man might assign  
 other causes of our love toward God than Tyndale doth—as, for example,  
 his own excellent nature and goodness, of itself worthy to  
 be loved, lauded, and honored of us though we should, if it were  
 possible, receive to ourselves no benefit at his hand at all—yet I  
 30 very well allow the cause that Tyndale allegeth, that is to wit, the  
 consideration of the great benefits of God... and it is a cause of love  
 indeed both reasonable of itself and also by many a good and  
 virtuous man alleged and considered before.

But yet methinketh that this consideration of love affirmed by  
 35 *Beware of this opinion.* Tyndale doth *confound* both Tyndale  
 and Luther, and all their whole sect, in that

1 *abhorred*: excoriated // *monstrosity*: aberration    2 *prodigious*: freakishly grotesque    3, 4 *should*: would  
 5 *between*: i.e., of intercourse between    7 *ensearched*: searched for // *cause of*: reason for  
 11 *lawfully*: legitimately; with moral rectitude // *out of religion*: away from religious life    12 *list*: please  
 12 *good and lawful*: valid and licit / quite legitimate    14 *find out*: discover    15 *old*: earlier / time-honored  
 15 *holy doctors*: theologians / exegetes    16 *by likelihood*: most likely  
 17 *lacked no wit*: were not at all lacking in intelligence    21 *fellows*: cohorts / followers  
 23 *spiritual*: i.e., spiritual person // *searcheth*: goes in search of // *on*: at    25 *in . . . lay*: i.e., with . . . find  
 26 *as*: such as    27 *excellent*: preeminent; supreme    28 *of*: by // *though*: even if    30 *allow*: accept as valid  
 30 *allegeth*: advances    31 *and*: i.e., and say that    32 *good and*: quite    33 *alleged*: advanced  
 34 *methinketh*: it seems to me    35 *opinion*: assertion // *confound*: bring down; do in

they hold that it is not lawful to love and serve God neither for  
 avoiding of pain nor for obtaining of reward... calling this  
 manner of love and service servile bond and mercenary. This is  
 their common opinion, and Tyndale hath it often as well in  
 5 this book as in divers others. But now remember, good reader, that  
 Tyndale saith here the contrary—which I am glad to hear him say.  
 For I am better content that he say sometimes well than always naught.  
 And here he saith right well that the respect of God's benefits is a  
 cause of our love toward God; and surely so is it indeed. For although  
 10 the very good and great, excellent nature of God be worthy to  
 be loved of us, and worshipped, and served, too, for the sovereign and  
 surmounting goodness of itself, though we should ourselves take no  
 manner of benefit thereby: yet may we well have more causes of love,  
 honor, and service joined thereunto.

15 Yet am I not sure whether Tyndale will say that I do him wrong  
 in that I join service with love, whereas he speaketh not of service  
 but of love only. But I have been bold to join our love and service  
 toward God together... because I verily think that Tyndale will  
 himself grant us that for whatsoever cause it is lawful for us to  
 20 *love* God, for the selfsame cause it is lawful for us to *serve* God.  
 But Tyndale agreeth that we may love him for his benefits; whereof  
 it followeth, except he say that we may *love* for some cause for  
 which it is not lawful to *serve* him—else, I say, must Tyndale needs  
 grant that for God's benefits it is lawful for us to serve him.

25 Now, if Tyndale grant us that conclusion... we will then wade  
 with him a little further, and join thereunto that if it be lawful for  
 us to serve God for his benefits which we *have* received, it is also  
 lawful for us to serve him for his benefits which we long and  
 30 *Two good causes of* hope to receive. And surely as the respect  
*love towards God* of his benefits which we have  
 received is a good cause of love, so is the  
 belief of his promises, and hope of his benefits to come, a good and a  
 great cause of love toward him.

35 Then, if we may serve God for his benefits to come... it seemeth  
 no doubt but that we may serve him for to get to heaven, which is of  
 all benefits the greatest.

1, 19, etc. *lawful*: morally permissible    1 *neither*: i.e., either    2 *pain*: punishment  
 3 *servile . . . mercenary*: In his *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, Tyndale characterizes all those who  
 believe it possible to gain merit as "servants that seek gains and advantage, hirelings and day-laborers,  
 who here on earth receive their rewards, as the Pharisees with their prayers and fastings."  
 3 *bond*: bondage    4 *their common opinion*: i.e., something they all assert    5 *divers*: several  
 7 *well . . . naught*: i.e., something good . . . something bad    8, 29 *respect*: consideration  
 9 *surely*: assuredly    10 *excellent*: preeminent; supreme    11 *of*: by    12 *surmounting*: surpassing  
 12 *though*: even if // *take*: get    13 *well*: rightly    15 *whether . . . that*: i.e., that Tyndale won't say  
 17 *been bold to join*: taken the liberty of joining    18 *verily*: really    21 *whereof*: from which  
 22 *except*: unless    23 *needs*: necessarily    25 *wade*: i.e., take our argument  
 29, 31, 32 *good*: valid; morally acceptable    35 *no doubt but*: undoubtable

At this point will Tyndale haply stick with me... and he will say stiffly that *faith* we may use, and serve God therewith, to the intent therewith to get heaven; for faith his fellows and he affirm to be the thing which only doth justify us. But then they say plainly  
 5 that if we serve God with any *other* good work—fasting, prayer, or almsdeed—to the intent that we may therewith please God the better, or the rather come to heaven: *this* service is unlawful, displeasing to God, and plain unfaithfulness... forasmuch as we shall,

*Note how fondly they speak.* as they say, be “saved only by Christ’s  
 10 blood,” and “by our belief in his promises of the same”... and therefore they call it plain idolatry to serve God with any good works for heaven, or to the intent that we might please God the better thereby. For that thing, they say, were as much as to make *ourselves* Christ, and to say that we would be our own  
 15 saviors, by our own works... and not *Christ*, by the work of his Passion.

In this point they stick stiffly... and when they be answered that although we serve God with good works wrought, with his gracious help, to the intent to please him the better thereby... as  
 20 himself hath in many places of Holy Scripture commanded us; and hope also that such good works shall the rather help us to heaven, and that we shall in heaven be rewarded for them and for the respect of God’s commandment... and for this intent also we do

*Mk 9:41* them, as Christ hath also given us good  
 25 give so much as a draught of cold water shall not lose his reward,  
*Lk 16:9; 12:33* and where he biddeth us give unto the  
*Mt 25:31–40* poor to the intent that they may receive us  
 into the eternal tabernacles, and where he

showeth that at the Day of Doom men shall have heaven for their  
 30 charitable almsdeeds done here in earth: now, when we tell them thus, and that we do nevertheless acknowledge and confess therewith that we neither do nor can do any good work without the special grace and help of God, and that our deeds be commonly so defective  
 35 that though good deeds well done be rewardable, yet every man may find in himself great cause to mistrust his own, and that we tell them also that all the best that the best man may do is yet no

1 *haply*: maybe // *stick*: take issue; beg to differ    2 *stiffly*: grudgingly / obdurately  
 3 *fellows*: cohorts / followers    4 *only*: alone    6, 31 *almsdeed(s)*: almsgiving(s)  
 7 *the rather come*: i.e., be the more likely to get // *unlawful*: morally impermissible  
 7 *displeasing*: displeasing    9 *how fondly*: with what foolish confidence    13 *were*: would be  
 14 *make ourselves*: i.e., assert *ourselves* to be    17 *in*: on // *stick stiffly*: hold rigidly firm  
 20 *places*: passages    21 *the rather help us*: i.e., give us that much more help toward getting  
 22 *respect*: heeding    25 *occasion*: reason    25–26 *whoso give*: whosoever gives  
 26 *draught*: drink // *lose*: fail to obtain    29 *tabernacles*: dwelling places; abodes  
 30 *showeth*: states // *at the Day of Doom*: on Judgment Day // *have*: receive    31 *in*: on  
 32 *thus*: i.e., all this // *confess*: admit    35 *well done*: done in a morally good way  
 36, 37 *may*: can    36 *mistrust*: have misgivings about; doubt the goodness of // *and that*: i.e., and

- Lk 17:10* more than his duty, for every man is of  
his duty bound to labor for heaven  
and to serve and please God as well and as much as he may; and  
notwithstanding that we also tell them that the best work that  
5 any man worketh with God's help and grace is not, yet, rewardable  
with heaven of the nature or goodness of the work itself although  
he suffered every day in a long life a double martyrdom (according  
*Rom 8:18* to the words of Saint Paul, "The  
passions of this world be not worthy the  
10 glory that is to come that shall be revealed and shown upon us");  
and notwithstanding that we tell them, too, that all the heavenly  
reward of man's good works cometh only of God's own liberal  
goodness, in that it hath pleased his high bounty to give so  
great a rich price for so poor and simple ware as are all men's  
15 works; and albeit that we tell them also that God would not reward  
our works in such wise were it not for the shedding of his  
Son's blood, and so we finally refer all the thank and reward  
of our good works, both the beginning, the progress, and the  
end, effectually to God and the merits of Christ's Passion—when we  
20 tell Tyndale and Luther all this, yet fare they as though they heard  
us not, and still they sing us on their old song that it is idolatry  
to serve God with any good works to the intent the better to please  
God therewith, and the rather to come to heaven therefor... and that  
we may not without sin for any help to-heaven-ward serve God  
25 with any good work saving only faith.
- Yet when we ask them whether we may not lawfully for the same  
intent serve God with hope too: to *that* thing they care not to  
grant; but then they confound the terms of "faith" and "hope," so as  
I neither wot how nor themselves neither. Then if we ask them  
30 farther whether it be not lawful to serve God with charity too (which  
now they leave and fall all to lusty love) with intent to get heaven  
the rather: to *that* they let not to grant also... but they say the  
cause is for that faith, they say, hath always charity therewith. But  
*1 Cor 13:2* albeit that in that point their affirmation  
35 *Jas 2:14–26* is false (as by reason and plain  
Scripture hath been often proved unto them),  
that is enough to me—that they grant that a man may lawfully

3, 37 *may*: can    5 *worketh*: performs; carries out    6 *of the nature*: by the nature // *although*: even if  
9 *passions*: sufferings // *worthy*: deserving of / commensurate with    10 *shown*: conferred  
12 *reward*: i.e., rewarding    13 *bounty*: munificence    14 *simple*: lowly // *ware*: goods; commodities  
16 *wise*: a way    17 *finally*: ultimately  
17–18 *refer . . . our*: i.e., attribute all the deserving of credit for, and rewarding of, our    19 *effectually*: really  
20 *fare*: act    21 *sing us on*: keep singing us  
23 *the . . . therefor*: i.e., to be the more likely to get to heaven on account thereof    24, 26 *may not*: cannot  
24 *without*: i.e., without being guilty of // *to-heaven-ward*: toward getting to heaven  
25 *saving only faith*: except "faith alone" / with the one exception of faith    26, 37 *lawfully*: legitimately  
27–28 *care not to grant*: i.e., have no problem assenting    28 *confound*: confuse    29 *wot*: know  
30 *lawful*: morally permissible; all right    31 *leave*: abandon // *lusty*: lustful  
31–32 *get . . . rather*: be the more likely to get to heaven    32 *let . . . also*: also don't forbear to assent  
33 *cause is for that*: reason is that    35 *plain*: explicit    37 *to*: for

love God and serve him with charity to the intent to be the rather saved, and come to heaven, thereby.

For now seemeth me that if we lawfully may (as Tyndale will grant we may) serve God with the virtues of faith and hope and charity, or of any one of them, with respect unto God's benefits received and also to come... and to the intent thereby the rather to be saved and come to heaven: we may then lawfully with like respect, purpose, and intent serve God with any *other* virtue that proceedeth of faith, hope, and charity—or of any such one of them with which it is lawful for us for such respect, intent, and purpose to serve God. Then will not Tyndale deny but that prayer, fasting, almsdeed, and continence and cleanness of body, penance, trouble of the mind, with sufferance of tribulation or affliction of the flesh willingly taken, with many other outward and inward works... may proceed of faith, hope, and charity. Wherefore I cannot see but that Tyndale, as he granteth here that we may serve God with love, intending thereby to please him and be saved the rather—so must he needs grant and agree that likewise may we with like intent and purpose serve with all other works above-remembered, proceeding of a faith-ful, working charity; whereof he and all his fond fellows in every place hold hitherto the contrary.

And thus have I now plainly deduced upon Tyndale's own words the full confusion of his own common conclusion so many times by him and his fellows objected, and among them all never once yet well proved, nor never able to be proved, against the profit of good men's Christian works; for Christian *be* their prayers, their fasting, and their almsdeeds, when they be done in faith, hope, and charity, and in the state of grace.

#### Tyndale

And when he is commanded to obey the powers and rulers of the world... he looketh on the benefits which God showeth the world through them, and therefore doth it gladly.

#### More

In this obedience Tyndale is yet content to have a respect to the benefits that God worketh and showeth the world through the powers and rulers of the world, and putteth that for either the only

1 *rather*: i.e., more likely to be    2 *come*: i.e., to get    3 *seemeth me*: it seems to me  
 3, 7, 10 *lawful(ly)*: legitimate(ly)    3, 4, 15 *may*: can    5 *with respect unto*: in consideration of  
 6 *the rather*: i.e., to be the more likely    7 *come*: get    7, 10 *respect*: consideration    8, 15, 20 *of*: from  
 9 *or of*: or from // *them*: i.e., those other virtues    11 *but that*: that // *almsdeed*: almsgiving  
 12 *continence*: self-restraint / chastity // *trouble*: exertion    13 *sufferance*: patient endurance  
 14 *willingly taken*: voluntarily undertaken    17 *saved the rather*: the more likely to be saved  
 19 *other works above-remembered*: the other above-mentioned works    20 *working*: active; operative  
 21 *fond*: daft / imbecilic    21, 24 *fellows*: cohorts / followers    21 *hitherto*: up till now; thus far  
 23 *confusion*: confutation // *common conclusion*: general dictum    24 *objected*: asserted  
 25 *profit*: profitability; i.e., merit-earning potential    27 *almsdeeds*: givings of alms  
 30, 36 *powers*: authorities; governors    31 *on*: at    31, 35 *showeth*: accords    34 *yet*: now  
 34 *content*: willing // *have a respect*: give consideration    36 *putteth*: posits

or the chief cause of his obedience, as he putteth it for the only  
*Christian obedience* or chief cause of God's commandment.

In which kind of obedience  
 seemeth not the greatest virtue, when a man obeyeth only for his  
 5 own advantage; but the very Christian obedience is to obey  
 especially for that *God so commandeth*, and not so to search and  
 limit the cause of God's commandment... as he may thereby take  
 himself and give to others an easy, bold occasion to disobey, resist,  
 and rebel against their heads and rulers—pretending that  
 10 they be not profitable.

This thing meaneth Tyndale, as it appeareth by his words here  
 in the cause of his obedience to the powers and rulers of the world...  
 and as it appeareth in divers other places of his works and Luther his  
 master's too. But God, although he will that the governors and  
 15 rulers of the world should be good and profitable to the people—  
 yet will he not that the people shall measure the duty of their  
 obedience by the only rule and measure of their own profit and  
 commodity... but that they shall obey their princes and other  
 rulers and governors because that they *be* their governors and  
 20 rulers, and because that *God hath so commanded*. For if they may  
 measure their obedience by the measure of their own profit (as  
 Tyndale telleth us), they shall soon seek occasion of sedition, and  
 thereof do themselves also more harm in one day than should their  
 ruler in many years, all were he right unprofitable indeed; as  
 25 appeared by the uplandish Lutherans in Almaine which, measuring  
 their obedience by Tyndale's rule (given them before by Tyndale's  
 master), became all unruly and disobeyed and rebelled  
 against their rulers, and thereby disobeyed God's commandment,  
 and brought thereby the vengeance of God upon their own heads,  
 30 to the slaughter of above fourscore thousand of them in one summer,  
 and the remnant the worse treated ever since; and that hath  
 made Luther and Tyndale a little to retreat since and set a new  
 gloss thereto that will but shrewdly serve them, as I shall show you  
 when I come to the place hereafter in his book.

35 Tyndale

And when he is commanded to love his neighbor as himself... he  
 searcheth that his neighbor is created of God and bought with  
 Christ's blood, and so forth.

1 *putteth*: posits    4 *seemeth*: i.e., there seems not to be    5 *very*: true    6 *especially for that*: mainly because  
 6 *search*: look for    7 *limit*: pin down    8 *easy, bold occasion*: i.e., easily obtained, strong pretext on which  
 9 *pretending*: claiming    10, 15 *profitable*: beneficial    11 *meaneth Tyndale*: i.e., is what Tyndale is trying to do  
 11 *as it appeareth*: i.e., as is shown    12 *in*: about    13 *it appeareth*: is apparent // *divers*: several  
 14 *he*: i.e., it is his    16 *will*: wills    17 *only*: sole    17, 21 *profit*: benefit    18 *commodity*: advantage  
 18 *princes*: sovereigns    19, 20 *because*: by reason of the fact    22 *of*: i.e., for    24 *all were he*: even if he were  
 24 *right unprofitable*: very unbeneficial    25 *appeared*: was evidenced // *uplandish*: country-dwelling  
 25 *Almaine*: Germany // *which*: who    30 *above*: more than // *fourscore*: eighty    31 *remnant*: rest  
 32 *retreat*: backtrack    32–33 *set a new gloss thereto*: i.e., give this teaching of theirs a new spin  
 33 *shrewdly*: poorly    37 *searcheth*: searches out // *of*: by



More

Lo, this is very lovingly spoken, and he saith very well; and I pray God that he be one of those spirituals that so doth; but surely many places in every book that he writeth seem clearly to declare that he hath another manner of spirit than such a spirit of love. And yet were it hard, except that God's *commandment* give us that warning—else will it be somewhat hard for any man upon the other two causes, by any search, to perceive that he were in reason bound to love another *as* well as *himself*, though they may serve to love him right well.

Tyndale

"Out of" his heart, not "in"  
his heart

And therefore he loveth him out of his heart. And if he be evil, forbeareth him and with all love and patience draweth him to good, as elder brethren wait on the younger and serve them and suffer them... and when they will not come, they speak fair and flatter, and give some gay thing and promise fair, and so draw them, and smite them not... but if they may in no wise be helped, refer the punishment to the father and mother, and so forth. And by these judgeth he all other laws of God and understandeth the true use and meaning of them; and by these understandeth he in the laws of man which are right and which tyranny.

More

Useth Tyndale and his spiritual master this manner of love, this forbearing, and this manner of patience toward the pope and the clergy, and toward princes and other temporal rulers? We see, pardie, through all their books, in what lowly, loving fashion they serve and suffer them, and how fair they speak, and how pleasantly *And this is most true!* they flatter all holy Catholic, Christian people, saving only their own sect, with as venomous words and as poisonous speech as the devil can devise them, with all the means they may to sow division and dissension and set the people in sedition... and under color of true faith to bring them in heresies and destroy both body and soul.

But Tyndale would now that we should for the while forget all that he and his master writeth elsewhere, and himself in many places

2 *lo*: well // *he saith very well*: he speaks very correctly / what he says is quite right    3 *pray*: i.e., pray to  
3 *spirituals*: i.e., spiritual individuals    4 *surely*: certainly    4, 36 *places*: passages    5 *declare*: show  
5, 24, 25 *manner*: kind    6 *were it*: it would be // *except*... *give*: i.e., were it not for the fact... gives  
7 *warning*: notification / instruction    8 *the other two causes*: See 56/37–38.    9 *another*: i.e., another man  
10 *love*: i.e., get him to love // *right*: quite    12 *out of*: from    13 *evil*: bad // *forbeareth*: bears with  
16, 28 *suffer*: put up with // *fair*: politely; nicely    17, 29 *flatter*: coax; cajole  
17 *gay*: brightly colored / attractive // *promise fair*: make nice promises    18 *may*: can // *wise*: way  
18 *helped*: amended    19 *refer the punishment*: leave the punishing  
24 *useth*... *master*: i.e., do Tyndale and his spiritual director [Luther] show    25 *forbearing*: forbearance  
25 *patience*: equanimity / sufferance    26 *princes*: sovereigns // *temporal*: secular  
27 *pardie*: [a mild oath equivalent to] by George    28 *pleasantly*: good-humoredly    30 *saving*: excepting  
32 *may*: i.e., have at their disposal // *division*: discord    33 *color*: (the) guise    34 *in*: into

after in this same book... and that we should only mark these holy,  
 loving words that he writeth here in his present prologue... in which  
 he saith that they which be spiritual do never “smite” their “younger  
 brethren,” that is to say, such as be not in faith and virtue grown  
 5 up as they be, nor will not with them come forward therein, but be  
 evil and will be no better... but the spirituals, as their “elder  
 brethren,” doth “flatter” them and “promise fair” and “give them gay  
 things,” and so “draweth” them forward in grace; and finally, if that  
 will not help them, then the spiritual elder brother “referreth their  
 10 punishment to the father and the mother”—that is, as he meaneth, to  
 Almighty God (for if he meant unto their rulers, so it is already!), for  
 none other hath authority to correct and punish. And his mind  
 he hath declared in that behalf in sundry places—that none man  
 should in any wise pursue and punish any man specially for any  
 15 heresy... for he that pursueth any man is no spiritual man. I let  
 pass here that after this way the world, albeit that it be bad  
 enough already, would yet wax then much worse; and I pass over  
 also that as well all wise men as all good men, and Holy Scripture also  
 itself, is openly and plainly to the contrary.

20 And I will for the while no more but ask of Tyndale whether he  
 account the pope and the clergy and the temporal princes for men  
 born again and renewed with the Spirit of God, and thereby  
 spiritual, or not. If he reckon them for such: then by his own rule  
 they can and do very well judge allthing, and so should he then  
 25 think that the things that they do be well done; for he saith  
 himself that the spirituals do search the bottom of God’s  
 commandments and fulfill them gladly.

Now, if he say that *they* be not the spirituals, but such as  
 Luther is, and Friar Huessgen, and himself, and such others as so  
 30 search the causes that they care not, as Tyndale saith after, whether  
 the priest say Mass in his gown or in his cope, and will as soon  
 “gape” for sand as holy salt, and had “as lief be smeared with unhallowed  
 butter as anointed with charmed oil,” except men can  
 tell them the causes, which they say that no man can, and therefore  
 35 they mock and jest thereat—now, if this their sort be, as Tyndale  
 saith, the spiritual, and thereby the elder brethren—then will we say  
 to Tyndale and ask him, “Why do not you, Tyndale, and your spiritual

1, 30 *after*: later    1 *mark*: take note of    6 *evil*: bad // *will be no*: don’t want to be any  
 6 *spirituals*: i.e., spiritual set    7 *flatter*: coax; cajole // *promise fair*: make nice promises  
 7 *gay*: brightly colored / attractive    9 *help*: amend // *referreth*: i.e., leaves    12 *none other*: no one else  
 12 *authority*: i.e., the right    14 *wise*: way    14, 15 *pursue(th)*: go(es) after; hunt(s) down  
 14 *specially for any*: i.e., just for some    16 *after this way*: i.e., if this policy was followed  
 17 *wax*: become    18 *wise*: sensible    20 *for the while*: for now // *no more but*: do no more than  
 21 *temporal princes*: secular rulers    24 *well*: correctly // *allthing*: everything  
 25 *be well done*: i.e., all right to do    26, 28, 36 *spiritual(s)*: spiritual ones    26 *search*: i.e., by searching get to  
 30 *search*: search out    31 *gown* . . . *cope*: i.e., ordinary clothes . . . vestments    32 *gape*: open wide their mouths  
 32 *holy salt*: Blessed salt has traditionally been put on the tongue of a person about to be baptized. It also is  
 used in the Asperges rite preceding the Tridentine High Mass.    32 *had*: i.e., would // *lief*: i.e., soon  
 32 *unhallowed*: unblessed    33 *charmed oil*: oil put under an incantation // *except*: unless    34 *causes*: reasons  
 35 *mock*: i.e., poke derisive fun // *jest*: jeer // *their sort*: i.e., group of theirs    36–37 *say to*: address  
 58/37—59/1 *spiritual fellows*: fellow spiritual people

fellows, according to your own words here, 'love out of your hearts' the pope, the cardinals, the clergy, the princes, the people, and so forth, being, as your 'younger brethren,' not yet 'born again';  
 5 *Tyndale taketh great pleasure in often bringing in these words "and so forth."* and why do you not 'forbear them with all love and patience,' and so forth, and 'wait on them and serve them and suffer them,' and so forth; and when they will not with you come forth, why do you not then 'speak them fair and flatter them and promise them fair,' and so forth, and so 'draw  
 10 them forth,' and so forth? And if that for all this they will not come forth, why do you not then 'refer the punishment to the father and mother' and 'smite them not,' but, contrary to your own words, use at your 'younger brethren' to laugh them to scorn, to mock, to jest, to check, to chide, to brawl, and ribaldrously to rail,  
 15 calling them 'apish,' 'peevish,' 'popish' 'jugglers,' 'thieves,' 'murderers,'  
*The venomous words of the Lutherans* 'bloodsuckers,' 'tormentors,' and 'traitors'; 'Pilates,' 'Caiaphases,' 'Herods,' 'Annases,' and 'Antichrists'; 'Judases,' 'hypocrites,' 'mutton-mongers,' 'Priapists,' 'idolaters,' 'whoremasters,' and 'sodomites'; 'abominable,'  
 20 'shameless,' 'stark mad,' and 'faithless' 'beasts,' 'hangmen,' 'martyr-quellers,' and 'Christ-killers'; 'serpents,' 'scorpions,' 'dreamers,' and 'very devils'—and finally, with such venomous words and other malicious ways, the worst that the devil and you devise together, busily put forth your pain to sow debate, dissension,  
 25 schisms, strife, and sedition... and cause your 'spiritual' people, that is to wit, the 'elder brethren' 'born again of the Spirit,' to rise and rebel against your 'younger brethren' but 'natural' yet and not 'born again'... and the one party to *smite and kill* the other, by thousands on a day, as ye have done in Almaine... providing always that  
 30 yourselves, the chief captains and authors of such sedition and rebellious bloodshed, get up upon some hill in the meanwhile, and stand and look upon, sure and safe, a side half out of all gunshot, and come not at handstrokes in no wise, but serve for trumpeters with the blast of your words and ungracious writings to kindle  
 35 them and call upon and set them all a-work... and if it walk on your side, then to gaud and glory, and if it go against you, and your party go to wrack, then slink away from the field and make as

1 *according to*: in accord with // *out of*: from 2 *princes*: secular rulers 4 *forbear*: bear with  
 6 *suffer*: put up with 8 *speak them fair*: address them nicely 9 *flatter*: coax; cajole  
 9 *promise them fair*: make them nice promises 10 *that*: i.e., it happens that  
 11 *refer the punishment*: leave the punishing 13 *use at*: make it your practice with 14 *jest*: jeer  
 14 *check*: rebuke // *chide*: yell // *brawl*: loudly revile // *ribaldrously*: crassly / scurrilously  
 15 *peevish*: spiteful // *jugglers*: tricksters; con artists 16 *bloodsuckers*: bloodsuckers  
 16 *tormentors*: torturers 18 *mutton-mongers*: pimps 19 *Priapists*: phallus worshippers  
 19 *whoremasters*: lechers 21 *martyr-quellers*: martyr-slayers // *dreamers*: idle speculators  
 23 *ways*: tactics 24 *busily*: assiduously // *put forth your pain*: go to great pains / do your utmost  
 24 *debate*: discord 29 *Almaine*: Germany 30 *captains*: spearheaders // *authors*: instigators  
 33 *at handstrokes*: to hand-to-hand fighting // *in no wise*: by no means 34 *ungracious*: ungodly / disgraceful  
 34 *kindle*: inflame 35 *call upon*: summon 35–36 *walk on your side*: go your way 36 *gaud*: rejoicing  
 37 *wrack*: ruin // *field*: battlefield // *as*: i.e., as if

ye came not there nor never intended harm nor meant any such matter... or, as your master did in Almaine, to put yourself out of suspicion, cry to the contrary party to kill them down, hand-smooth, whom your own words raised up and sinfully set a-work!"

- 5 And lo, thus hath Tyndale cunningly declared the great commandment of love—and by himself and his fellows, as ye see, so lovingly put in ure that they would help the other party to all the mischief they might... and would that on the other side, whatsoever they do themselves, be it never so mischievous, no man should  
10 once chide them nor give foul words... but in their devilish deeds forbear still and suffer them, and take them then as younger brethren, little babes untaught, and give them fair words and pretty proper gear, rattles and cockbells and gay golden shoes... and if the wantons will not learn yet, but bite and scratch their fellows...  
15 beat not the babes yet, in no wise, but go and tell their mother; and so forth.

- And when Tyndale hath thus cunningly declared the great commandment of love, and hath so spiritually set it out to the show—then concludeth he well and worshipfully that by this commandment  
20 of love in such a wise way understood, his spiritual sort “judgeth all the laws of God, and understand the true use of them; and by the same, in like wise, understand they all the laws of man, which are right and which tyranny.” For by this they understand that for the love that they bear to their own will... every gloss that they  
25 give themselves is the right meaning of the word of God, and all that all other holy men have written is but fantasies and false. And in men’s law, to let them beat other men for saying truth were well ordained and right; but any man to chide once any of them for a hundred heresies—that were utter wrong, and no lawful law, but  
30 plain tyranny.

### Tyndale

- If God should command him to drink no wine (as he commanded in the Old Testament that the priests should not when they ministered in the Temple; and forbade divers meats), the spiritual—because he  
35 knoweth that man is lord over all other creatures, and they his servants made to be at his pleasure, and that it is not commanded for the wine or meat itself, that man should be in bondage unto

1 *came* . . . *never*: i.e., never were there nor ever      1–2 *any such matter*: i.e., for any such thing to take place  
2 *Almaine*: Germany      3 *cry*: i.e., cry out // *contrary*: opposing // *hand-smooth*: flat; utterly  
5, 17 *cunningly declared*: ingeniously elucidated      6 *fellows*: cohorts / followers      7 *in ure*: into practice  
8 *mischief*: harm // *might*: could // *side*: i.e., hand      9 *never so*: no matter how  
9 *mischievous*: deleterious; harm-causing      10 *chide*: yell at // *give foul words*: use foul language  
10 *in*: with regard to      11 *forbear* . . . *suffer*: continue to bear with and put up with them  
12–13 *give* . . . *gear*: i.e., speak to them politely and give them cute befitting things      13 *cockbells*: jingle bells  
13 *gay*: shiny      14 *wantons*: little brats // *fellows*: companions      15 *in no wise*: by no means  
18–19 *set* . . . *show*: showcased it      19 *well and*: very // *worshipfully*: creditably / awesomely  
20 *wise*: brilliant      21 *sort*: class      22 *wise*: manner      24 *gloss*: interpretation  
25 *give themselves*: i.e., themselves give      26 *fantasies*: speculations      27 *truth*: i.e., what is true  
27, 29 *were*: would be      28 *ordained*: decreed // *any* . . . *once*: i.e., to let any man once yell at  
29 *wrong*: injustice // *lawful*: legitimate      30 *plain*: outright      34 *forbade*: i.e., forbade the eating of  
34 *divers*: various      34, 37 *meat(s)*: food(s)      34 *spiritual*: i.e., spiritual man      37 *for*: i.e., for the sake of

his own servant, the inferior creature—ceaseth not to search the  
 cause. And when he findeth it is to tame the flesh, and that he be  
 always sober... he obeyeth gladly, and yet not so superstitiously that  
 the time of his disease he would not drink wine in way of a medicine,  
 5 to recover his health, as David ate of the hallowed bread; and as  
 Moses for necessity left the children of Israel uncircumcised . . . and  
 were yet thought to be in no worse case than they that were circumcised,  
 as the children that died within eight days were counted in  
 10 as good case as they that were circumcised; which examples might  
 teach us many things if there were spirit in us.

### More

Now cometh he to those things which he taketh for indifferent—  
 that is to wit, of their nature neither good nor evil, but taking  
 their goodness or their evil of commandment or prohibition  
 15 and of the mind of the doer with circumstances of the deed—and  
 in these things he speaketh as one that would we should ween that his  
 high spiritual wisdom had a very deep insight, in that he  
 telleth us as a new, strange tale, that never man had heard before,  
 that the inferior creatures be subjects to man and not man to  
 20 them.

But, now, this truth laboreth he to make a false ground to build  
 his lies upon. For by this he would have us ween that we were at  
 liberty to construe and interpret all commandments either  
 of Christ's church or of Christ's own mouth immediate... after our  
 25 own sweet will, whensoever we can find out any false gloss of  
 the commandment to flatter and beguile ourselves with. As here if

*Lv 10:8*

God should command him to drink no  
 wine as he commanded in the Old

Law while they ministered in the Temple, he would anon search for  
 30 the cause. And then he saith that he should find the cause to be for  
 taming of the flesh and to keep him sober, and then for that cause  
 he would obey the commandment gladly, but yet not so superstitiously  
 but that in time of his disease he would drink wine to  
 recover his health; and thereof he layeth example of David and of  
 35 Moses.

But what availeth him all this tale? For we deny not but that  
 the word and precept of God receiveth interpretation. But we say

1, 19 *inferior*: lower-ranking    1 *search*: search for    3, 32 *superstitiously*: scrupulously  
 4, 33 *the/in time of his disease*: i.e., in a time of illness    4 *in*: by  
 5–9: See 1 Samuel 21:1–7, Joshua 5:5–7, and 2 Samuel 12:15–18, 23.    5 *hallowed*: consecrated; holy  
 7 *were yet*: i.e., yet these were // *worse*: less good    7, 9 *case*: a condition; a state    8 *as*: just as  
 8 *days*: i.e., days of their birth // *counted*: accounted; considered to be    9 *might*: could  
 12 *indifferent*: neutral    13 *evil*: bad // *taking*: deriving    14 *evil*: badness // *of*: from  
 15 *and of*: and from // *mind*: intention // *with*: along with the    16 *in*: concerning  
 16 *one . . . should*: someone who would have us    16, 22 *ween*: think    18 *strange*: surprising  
 18 *tale*: assertion // *never man had*: no one had ever    19 *subjects*: in subjection  
 21 *laboreth he*: i.e., he is trying // *a false ground*: a false basis / an unsound foundation  
 24 *immediate*: without mediation; i.e., directly // *after*: according to    25 *find out*: come up with  
 25 *gloss*: interpretation    26 *flatter*: buoy / gratify    29 *anon*: immediately  
 30 *cause*: i.e., reason (for that commandment)    31 *cause*: reason  
 36 *what . . . tale*: of what avail to him is this whole speech // *deny not but*: do not deny    37 *receiveth*: admits of

that the authority thereof lieth not in every man's head at adventure...

*It is perilous for a man to lean to his own wit.* and that although some things be plain and open enough, yet it is perilous for any man, except certain revelation of

5 God, to take himself for so far forth renewed with the Spirit of God that he boldly lean in such things to his own wit, lest his will blind his wit; but let us lean therein unto the judgment of the old

*Lean to the sense of the Church, the which cannot err.* holy interpreters past, and especially to the sense received of the whole Catholic

10 Church—not the church of only elects, which church no man can know, but unto the Catholic, known church of all Christian people save heretics... which Catholic church, whatsoever Tyndale say, can never fall in damnable error.

15 For if a man leave these ways and boldly cleave to a cause of his own searching—he is well likely to *break* the commandment.

As here Tyndale presupposeth if God would himself forbid all men wine upon certain days, or command them certain days to fast—here would Tyndale anon, as a man spiritual, ensearch  
20 the cause why God would command him so; and then would he find that the cause were but only to tame the flesh and to keep men sober, and therefore would he obey it.

But, now, by this fashion, if God gave Tyndale a commandment whereof Tyndale could find no cause at all... he would not do it at  
25 all.

If our father Tyndale had been in Paradise in the stead of our father Adam... he should never have needed any serpent, or woman either, to tempt him to eat the apple of the Tree of Knowledge. For when God had forbidden him the eating thereof upon pain of death  
30 (as he forbiddeth us lechery upon pain of damnation)—then would he have searched for the cause of the commandment. And when his wit would have found none, because the flesh had there no need of taming—then would he have eaten on a good pace, and have thought that God Almighty had but played the wanton with him, and  
35 would not be angry with him for an apple; and so would he by his own rule of searching have found out as much mischief as the woman and the serpent and the devil and all.

1 *thereof*: i.e., requisite for doing that

1 *every . . . adventure*: i.e., in everyone's head indiscriminately; in just anyone's head

2, 3 *perilous*: dangerous 3, 6 *lean*: rely // *to*: on 3, 6, etc. *wit*: intellect

3 *plain and open*: clear and obvious 4 *except*: i.e., barring // *of*: from

7 *lean*: incline ourselves in thought / defer 7, 8, 9 *(un)to*: toward / to

8, 9 *sense (received) of*: i.e., meaning accepted as the real one by 9 *the which*: i.e., which church

10 *elects*: the elect 12 *save*: except 13 *in*: into 15 *ways*: paths // *cleave*: latch onto

15, 20, 21, 24 *cause*: reason 16 *searching*: searching out // *well*: very 19 *anon*: immediately

19 *ensearch*: go in search of 20 *command him so*: give him that command 21 *were*: was

23 *fashion*: way of proceeding 26 *Paradise*: the Garden of Eden // *stead*: place 27 *should*: would

28 *apple*: fruit 31 *cause of*: reason for 33 *on a good pace*: i.e., with alacrity

34 *had . . . wanton*: had only been toying 35 *for an apple*: on account of a piece of fruit

36 *found*: ferreted // *mischief*: harm; devastation

And surely now too, by this spiritual rule of ensearching of the cause of fasting and forbearing meat, and finding the cause to be none other but for taming of the flesh and soberness... whosoever think himself to the sins of the flesh not much inclined (as  
 5 some of nature are not), nor by moderate drinking of wine anything disposed to drunkenness, shall interpret himself discharged of the commandment, and shall drink wine and shall break his fast at his pleasure; or if he forbear wine or keep the fast, he shall at the uttermost keep it but for a countenance and,  
 10 as they write themselves, in “avoiding the slandering” of such as have a “weak” conscience and ween themselves bound to the keeping thereof. And therefore when they have kept the fast in sight... they shall not force to break all those fasts privily, where the weak consciences of other, simple souls are absent and nobody by them but  
 15 such as are all spiritual and have a conscience strong enough to break the strong fast upon Good Friday without grudge of conscience at all. And afterward, little and little, they shall, when they be suffered, amend also and make strong in the Lord the weak consciences of their sick brethren, and make them break all the fasting  
 20 days too, with laud and thank given “to the Lord that by his elect preachers, in these latter days of this blind world” that could not on fasting days find their meat, “hath now illumined their eyes and given them light by which they have found the way into the Christian liberty” of eating, drinking, and honest-liking  
 25 lechery, “from the bondage and thralldom” of all fasting days and all professed chastity.

For to this end we see that their spiritual doctrine hath already brought it in Saxony; for there is now the Lent all turned into Shrovetide. And there it well appeareth, although it were true that  
 30 Tyndale saith (that fasting were of God ordained for none other cause but only to tame the flesh), yet was it need for the Church to do as it hath done by the Spirit of God: ordain and appoint certain common fasting days in which the people should fast together. For else, if there were no such, the most part of the  
 35 people which now in the common fasts do tame the flesh together by the commandment and laudable custom of the church of God...

1 *ensearching*: going in search      2, 31 *cause (of)*: i.e., reason (for the commands of)  
 2 *forbearing*: i.e., of abstaining from      5 *of nature*: by nature // *anything*: at all  
 6–7 *discharged of*: exempted from      9 *for a countenance*: for appearances' sake  
 10 *slandering*: scandalizing      11 *ween*: believe      12 *in sight*: i.e., in public  
 13 *force to break*: scruple to break; have any qualm about breaking // *privily*: in private  
 14 *simple*: unsophisticated; unenlightened // *by*: with      16 *strong*: rigorous // *grudge*: (any) pang  
 17 *little and little*: little by little      18 *suffered*: tolerated / allowed to      19 *sick*: spiritually unhealthy  
 20 *laud and thank*: praise and thanks // *that*: who      22 *meat*: food  
 24 *honest-liking*: approving-as-honorable      28 *Saxony*: A region of Germany.  
 29 *Shrovetide*: The three days before Ash Wednesday; i.e., Mardi Gras.  
 29–30 *well . . . saith*: i.e., is quite evident that, even if what Tyndale says were true  
 30 *were of*: was by      30, 32 *ordain(ed)*: mandate(d)      31 *it*: i.e., there      32 *as*: i.e., what  
 32 *appoint*: designate / establish      33, 35 *common*: communal / universal      34 *most part*: majority  
 35 *which*: who

would find very few days therefor of their own mind, and many not one through the whole year; as ye now see it in Saxony, where they that were wont to fast many, fast now never a one.

5 And surely if fasting were not profitable done of any other devotion, but only served for taming of the flesh; and then the custom taken away of common fasting days, in which folk fast together in obedience of the commandment; and, those common days taken away... folk were only left to their own liberty, and private, secret conscience, to choose their fasting days themselves, not of  
10 any other devotion but only for taming of their flesh, when themselves feel it begin to boil: then many wedded men should need few fasting days to their pain, having their remedy so pleasant and so present, always ready at hand, and then would many an honest maiden be ashamed to fast any day at all, lest she  
15 should seem thereby to give young men warning that she were waxen warm and bid them if they will speed, speak now.

But Tyndale with his spiritual fellows are fallen into this folly by the liking of their own lust, in favor whereof they sinfully study to find out false glosses to be open gluttons without reproach...  
20 and also with the praise of such people as their false doctrine hath corrupted and brought in a wrong belief, contrary to all doctrine of all the old holy doctors, and against all Holy Scripture (even the very Gospel itself and the very words of Christ), by which not only all Christian people hitherto but also the Jews have from  
25 the beginning been taught to believe that man's fasting hath been pleasant to God for other causes than Tyndale would have it seem, that searcheth, and seeketh, only the means to break it.

*Philosophy may be well meddled with the things of God.* Tyndale and his master be wont to  
30 cry out upon the pope and upon all the clergy for that they meddle philosophy with the things of God—which is a thing that may in place be very well done, since the wisdom of philosophy, all that we find true therein, is the wisdom given of God, and may well do service to his other gifts of higher wisdom than that is. But Tyndale here  
35 in this place, as it seemeth, doth lean unto the old natural philosophers altogether. For as for abstinence to tame the flesh from

1 *find*: come up with // *therefor*: for this // *mind*: accord 2 *Saxony*: A region of Germany.

4 *done*: i.e., when done 5, 10 *devotion*: i.e., religious motivation 6 *taken*: i.e., was taken

6, 7 *common*: communal 9 *secret*: personal 10 *but*: except

12 *to their pain*: i.e., to have to suffer through 13 *pleasant*: pleasurable

14 *honest*: chaste; virtuous 15 *warning*: notice 15–16 *were waxen warm*: had become aroused

16 *bid* . . . *speed*: i.e., to be telling them that if they wanted to score, they should

17 *spiritual fellows*: i.e., fellow spiritual men // *folly*: idiocy 18 *liking*: approving

19 *find out*: come up with; contrive // *glosses*: pretexts // *open*: flagrant 21 *in*: into

22 *old*: early / time-honored // *holy doctors*: theologians 24 *hitherto*: up till now

26 *pleasant*: pleasing 27 *that searcheth*: who goes in search of 28 *may*: can

28, 32 *well*: rightly 28, 30 *meddle(d)*: mingle(d) 29 *cry out*: inveigh // *upon*: against

31 *place*: i.e., the right setting 33 *of*: by 35 *lean unto*: base himself on // *old*: ancient



intemperance and foul lusts also, this was a thing that many philosophers did both teach and use. But as for *fasting*, that is another thing, which God hath always among his faithful people had observed and kept... not only for that purpose, but also

5       *Why fastings are observed*       for a kind of pain, affliction, and punishment of the flesh for their sins, and to put us in remembrance that we be now in the vale of tears and not in the hill of joy, saving for the comfort of hope.

10       And albeit that Tyndale be loath to hear thereof, because he would not that any man should do true penance with putting himself to any pain for his own sins... yet would God the contrary. And as he will that men for their sins should be sorry in their hearts... so would he that for the same cause the sorrow of their hearts should

15       *Note*                               redound into their bodies... and that we should, for the provocation of God's mercy, humble ourselves before him... and not only pray for forgiveness, but also put our bodies to pain and affliction, of our own selves, and thereby to show how heavily we take it that we have offended him.

20       And to the intent that we should well know that fasting not only for taming of the flesh, but also for pain to be taken for our sins,

*Lv 23:14, 27–32*               was pleasant unto him—he taught his people by his prophets that they should fast, and appointed them certain days.

25       It appeareth also that fasting was and is pleasant unto God when men do for devotion to God not only forbear their pleasure, but also part of their necessary sustenance, in occupying the time of usual feeding of the flesh about the plenteous nourishing and spiritual pampering of the soul.

30       Also unto the obtaining of great spiritual gifts of God and high revelations, how special a thing fasting is... both our Savior

*Mt 17:20; Mk 9:29*           declareth himself in the Gospel of Matthew—where he saith that that kind of devils which he did cast out of the child is not cast out but by

35       prayer and fasting—

          And of all these things we have in holy saints' lives so many examples that it were overlong to rehearse them. But forasmuch as we see well that Tyndale maketh but mocks of all such matters, and all their holy revelations and miracles taketh but for trifles—we

2 *use*: practice   5 *pain*: paining   8 *in the hill*: on the mountain

9–10 *would not*: i.e., would not have it   10 *with*: by   12 *will*: i.e., wills

15 *provocation*: eliciting   18 *selves*: i.e., accord; volition // *heavily*: seriously

22, 25 *pleasant*: pleasing   23 *by*: via   25 *appeareth*: is apparent

26 *not . . . pleasure*: i.e., give up not only something they simply enjoy   28 *about*: with

29 *pampering*: luxurious feeding   32 *declareth*: shows / makes clear

37 *were overlong*: i.e., would take too long // *rehearse them*: i.e., relate them all

38 *but mocks*: i.e., nothing but mockeries   39 *trifles*: made-up stories

shall send him to look better upon the good books which himself  
hath evilly and of evil purpose translated: the books, I mean, of  
the Holy Scripture itself. For therein shall he see that fasting serveth  
not only to “tame the flesh,” but for all these good uses also that we  
5 have spoken of before, and yet for many others more. And there shall  
he specially see the thing that he is most loath to let you see: that  
fasting and other bodily affliction, either taken by commandment  
of God and his church or willingly taken of our own good  
mind, done for our sins, done in true faith and devotion with  
10 purpose of amendment, is one of the very special things that  
obtain remission of the sin, release of the more pain, with  
getting greater grace and increase of God’s favor; which thing  
is the same that he and his fellows do so sore oppugn, that the whole  
*Satisfaction* church of Christ, priests and laymen  
15 both, call “satisfaction”—not meaning  
that we can do penance enough for our sins, nor that we could  
do anything thereof at all without help of grace, nor that all that  
we can do could be worth a fly to-heaven-ward without Christ’s  
Passion... but that *with* help of grace, and merits of Christ’s Passion,  
20 our good works well wrought... *help* to get remission and  
*Note* purchase us pardon and release of pain,  
and may well be done for that intent, and  
be by God ordained to serve us to that intent; and for that cause be  
they by the Church called “satisfaction,” for the devoir that we should  
25 do to punish at the full our offenses ourselves, that God thereby the  
rather moved with mercy should withdraw his great, heavy punishment  
which else he shall cause to be done unto us himself, and  
not so sore if we judge and amend our faults ourselves... according  
*1 Cor 11:31* to the words of the blessed Apostle to the  
30 Corinthians, “If we judged ourselves, we  
should not be judged of our Lord.” And surely if we judge ourselves  
truly, we shall be content to punish ourselves.

And that fasting *is* one of the good works that, besides other good  
and great, godly purposes, serveth for satisfaction of sin and procuring  
35 of remission, grace, and pardon—and that it serveth *not* only for the  
taming of the flesh, as Tyndale here would have it seem—ye shall  
see too manifestly proved by many plain places in every part of  
Scripture.

1 *send* . . . *upon*: tell him to go take a better look at // *himself*: he 2 *evilly*: badly  
2 *of evil purpose*: with ill intent 5 *yet for*: for yet 6 *specially*: particularly 7, 8 *taken*: undertaken  
8 *willingly*: voluntarily 9 *mind*: i.e., initiative // *devotion*: piety 10 *purpose*: intention / resolve  
10 *special*: main 11, 21 *release of*: a calling-off of; deliverance from (having to suffer)  
11 *more pain*: i.e., more painful punishment 11–12 *with getting*: along with a procuring of  
12 *and*: i.e., and an 13 *fellows*: i.e., like-minded fellow heretics // *sore*: strongly  
13 *oppugn*: express opposition to; controvert 18 *to-heaven-ward*: i.e., toward getting us to heaven  
20 *well wrought*: done in a morally good way 21 *pain*: punishment 22 *may well*: can rightly  
24–25 *devoir* . . . *do*: due effort . . . *make* 25 *at*: to 25–26 *the rather*: all the more  
26 *with*: by 28 *not so sore*: i.e. punish us not as severely 29 *the blessed Apostle*: i.e., Saint Paul  
31 *should*: would // *of*: by 32 *truly*: accurately // *content*: willing  
34 *purposes*: pursuits; undertakings 37 *plain places*: clear texts

Ex 24:18; 34:28

Dt 9:9–10, 15–19

First, the fasts that Moses fasted, first  
for the Law, and after for the sin of the  
people and the sin of Aaron also—

were those fasts for nothing but for to tame his flesh?

5 Item: In the twenty-first chapter of the Third Book of Kings, “When  
Ahab had heard these words, he tore his garments and put on  
his body a shirt of hair, he fasted and slept in a sack, and  
went hanging his head low down; and our Lord said to Elijah  
the Tishbite, ‘Hast thou not seen how Ahab hath humbled him before  
10 me? And therefore, because he hath humbled himself for my sake,  
I will bring no evil in during his life.’” Doth it not manifestly

*Ahab’s fast (1 Kgs 21:27–29)* appear by these words that King Ahab

fasted not for taming of his flesh, to keep

it from wildness, but he fasted for the selfsame cause for which he

15 wore hair and slept in a sack—that is to wit, to humble himself  
before the face of God, and to do penance in punishing himself  
for his sin, to move thereby Almighty God to mercy, and to the withdrawing  
of his high punishment which else he feared would fall  
upon his head?... which punishment God, at the respect of the  
20 king’s humble penance and pain of fasting and other affliction  
willingly taken by himself, *did* mercifully withdraw from him,  
so that in all his days he suffered him to feel no part thereof.

And so may ye see this place of Scripture evident and plain against  
Tyndale, and that very repentance requireth of the repentant  
25 person *not* only taming of the flesh against the sin imminent,  
or to come, but also punishment, by fasting and other affliction,  
for the sin already done.

And, now, Christ *hath* to Christian men promised of our sins  
forgiveness, and of our pain release, by virtue of his pain; but  
30 this meaneth he to them that set not their own sins at so light,  
after his great kindness shown, but that their own selves show, by  
their own willful punishment, worthy to suffer pain also themselves  
therefor... and then his pain hath given their pain the life  
that maketh it quick and available—not intending, yet, that himself  
35 so should take pain that the sinners themselves should sin

2 *for*: on account of      5 *Third Book of Kings*: i.e., 1 Kings. (See note for 3/32.)

7 *shirt of hair*: hairshirt      7, 15 *sack*: garment made of sackcloth      11 *evil*: disaster

12 *by*: i.e., by way of      15 *hair*: i.e., a hairshirt      18 *high*: grievous

19 *at the respect*: in consideration      21 *willingly taken*: voluntarily undertaken

22 *suffered*: allowed      23 *may*: can // *place*: passage

23 *evident and plain*: i.e., to be clearly and conclusively      24 *very*: true; real

25 *against the*: i.e., as a precaution against a      27 *done*: committed

29 *of our pain release*: of our punishment remission      30 *to*: with regard to

30 *set . . . light*: i.e., do not consider their sins so not a big deal

31 *their . . . show*: i.e., they themselves declare themselves

32 *willful punishment*: i.e., voluntary punishing of themselves // *worthy*: i.e., to deserve

33 *therefor*: i.e., for their committing of those sins      34 *quick*: productive // *available*: availing

34 *intending*: meaning // *himself*: he himself

at their pleasure and be saved all with ease, as Tyndale and Luther would make us ween. For that were the way to make men wanton and wax very bold in sin.

5 Furthermore, in the First Book of Ezra and the eighth chapter, it is written thus, in the person of the people: “We have fasted and prayed to God for this”—that is to wit, “for help against our enemies”—“and it is come prosperously to pass.”

10 Ye may here clearly see this pestilent opinion of Tyndale with few words confuted. For this fast was not for taming of the flesh, but for avoiding of their peril.

Again, in the Second Book of Ezra and the first chapter, thus said Nehemiah: “When I had heard such tidings”—that is to wit, how the walls of Jerusalem were thrown down, the gates burned, and the children of Israel in great affliction and misery—“I sat down and wept and mourned many days; I fasted also, and prayed before the face of the God of heaven.”

Lo, this fast was not for to tame the flesh... for the man was in heaviness far from such wanton things; but he fasted, as he wept and mourned, to move God to mercy.

20 Also, the great priest of God Eliachim saith in the fourth of Judith, “Know ye that our Lord shall hear your prayers if ye continue in fasting and praying in the sight of him.”

I suppose no man is of so simple wit and understanding but he may at the bare rehearsal of this brief text well perceive that Eliachim did not esteem fasting as Tyndale doth, neither took it *not* only for a taming of the flesh, but for a means also to purchase grace with remission and pardon, and also to obtain aid and help of God in that great necessity.

30 Is not the fourth of Esther also clean contrary to the doctrine of these devilish preachers of fleshly liberty? “Go and assemble,” saith that good queen, “all the Jews that thou findest in Susa, and pray ye for me. Eat ye not, neither drink not, in three days and three nights. And I likewise will fast with my maidens.”

35 Would she that they should forbear meat and drink to the intent that by their fasting they might tame her flesh? Nay, nor for the taming of their own, neither; but that by their devout fasting

1 *all with ease*: with complete absence of pain    2 *make us ween*: have us believe // *were*: would be

2 *wanton*: i.e., go wild    3 *wax*: become

4 *First . . . chapter*: See Ezra 8:23. (In More’s day the Book of Nehemiah was called the Second Book of Ezra.)

8, 23 *may*: can    8 *pestilent*: pernicious // *opinion of Tyndale*: deviant pronouncement of Tyndale’s

10 *avoiding of their peril*: i.e., averting of the danger they were faced with    11–16: See Nehemiah 1:1–4.

12 *such tidings*: i.e., this news // *how*: i.e., that    17 *lo*: look    18 *heaviness*: i.e., his despondency

18 *wanton*: unchaste / sportive

20 *fourth*: i.e., fourth chapter (in the Vulgate). See also (in the NAB, etc.) Judith 4:13 and 8:6.

23 *so simple*: such meager // *wit*: intelligence // *but*: but that    24 *bare rehearsal*: mere quoting

25 *esteem*: assess / regard    25, 32 *neither*: nor    26 *purchase*: procure // *with*: i.e., together with

28 *great necessity*: i.e., dire situation    29 *fourth*: i.e., fourth chapter (verses 15 and 16)

33 *maidens*: maidservants    34 *would she*: did she wish // *they*: i.e., all those Jews she wanted assembled

34 *forbear meat*: abstain from food

and her maidens' and her own... they might provoke our Lord to pity them and preserve them from that imminent peril that they were then all in.

*Tb 12:8; Sir 34:31*

What saith Tobias? "Prayer," saith he,

*Joel 2:12–13*

"joined with fasting is good." He saith not

this only for young lusty folk for taming of their flesh in avoiding of intemperance, for good Christian fasting goeth sometimes far above the natural temperance; but he teacheth all men, that may without harm, to join with prayer the pain of fasting, as a thing pleasant unto God in such wise as the prayer is; and it is a secret, inward, effectual prayer, when the pain of all the body repenting and punishing the sin crieth to God for mercy with voice of the mouth.

In the thirty-fourth chapter of Ecclesiasticus it is written, "The man that fasteth for his sins and again committeth the selfsame sins, what availeth him this humility?"

Whereby it is well understood that he which fasteth and *amendeth* himself—*his fast availeth*, and is profitable. And wherefor? Not only for taming of his flesh—for that may be tame enough and yet the man bad enough—but it availeth for remission of sin and for merit in heaven. For as holy Saint Augustine saith, to say that the fast of a Christian man shall have no reward in heaven is not the opinion of a true Christian man, but of a heretic.

The prophet Joel, in the second chapter: "And therefore now, saith the Lord, turn to me with all your heart in fasting, weeping, and wailing. Tear your hearts and not your garments," and so forth.

Lo, here the prophet exhorteth to fasting, as he doth to hearty mourning and weeping, not for a countenance of sorrow, but to *be* sorrowful and to take pain in deed—not in their clothes, where they feel it not, but in their bodies and inwardly in their hearts, where they feel it thoroughly—so that they may thereby not only tame their flesh, but also turn again to God, that he may take pity upon them and turn again to them.

Read we not in the third chapter of the prophet Jonah that God, seeing the Ninevites chastise and punish themselves with fasting and other afflictions voluntarily done unto themselves,

1 *maidens'*: maidservants' // *provoke*: induce    2 *pity*: i.e., take pity on // *preserve them*: keep them safe  
 4 *Tobias*: Actually Raphael (though this is not explicit in the Vulgate text).    6 *in*: by    8 *above*: beyond  
 8–9 *that may without harm*: i.e., who can do this without being harmed by it    10 *pleasant*: pleasing  
 10 *wise*: a way    11, 31 *inward(ly)*: interior(ly)    11 *effectual*: efficacious    12 *with*: along with  
 16 *what . . . humility*: of what avail to him is this self-abasement    17 *which*: who    18 *wherefor*: what for  
 21–24: See Saint Augustine, *On Heresies*, 82.    23 *opinion*: assertion    28 *lo*: see  
 29 *a countenance*: an appearance // *sorrow*: i.e., being sorry (for one's sins) / being sorrowful  
 30 *take*: undertake (the suffering of) // *in deed*: in reality; for real    33, 34 *again*: back

did mercifully take quite away the great and grievous punishment that was at hand, ordained by himself for their sins and offenses? Wherefor did they fast? For to tame their flesh, as Tyndale saith? Nay; they fasted and did penance for their *sins*,  
 5 and therewith purchased *pardon*—which Tyndale will not perceive.

I could here allege unto you Christian readers other texts out of the holy prophets and other places of Scripture—as the first chapter of Joel, the ninth of Daniel, the thirty-sixth of Jeremiah, the twentieth of Judges, with a hundred places more, very strong for us in this  
 10 matter of fasting; but these few may seem too many for a thing so manifest and clear. Howbeit, I *will* allege unto Tyndale the words of our Savior himself, written in the seventeenth of Matthew, where he saith, “This kind of devils is not cast out but by prayer and fasting.” The holy evangelist Luke, in the fourteenth chapter of the  
 15 Apostles’ Acts, writeth thus: “When they had ordained them priests in every church and had prayed and fasted, they commended them to the Lord in whom they believed.”

Here may ye clearly see, good Christian reader, that the holy and blessed apostle Paul with many others more... did not fast, in this place,  
 20 for the subduing of the flesh and taming of bodily lusts. For they fasted here for *other* folk—that is to wit, for the priests to whom they had given Holy Orders, and for the people whom they had committed unto their charge—that God, for their devout prayers and fasting, should give increase of his grace and favor among them.

Finally, what will Tyndale say to the words that are written in the sixth of Matthew and spoken by the mouth of our Savior Jesus Christ, where he saith, “When ye fast, make not yourselves sad like hypocrites, for they waste out their faces to the intent it might be perceived that they fast. Forsooth, I say unto you, they have their  
 30 reward already. But when thou fastest, anoint thy head and wash thy face, that it appear not unto men that thou fastest, but unto thy Father, which is in secret. And thy Father, that seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly.”

Lo, doth not our Lord here promise to *reward* all them that for  
 35 no desire of man’s praise or itch of vainglory, but of mere humility and true repentance of heart, punish their body with

1 *quite*: totally    2 *ordained*: decreed    3 *wherefor*: what for    5 *purchased*: procured // *will not*: refuses to  
 5 *perceive*: take cognizance of    6, 11 *allege*: adduce / quote    6 *out of*: from    7 *as*: such as  
 7–9: See Joel 1:14, Daniel 9:3, Jeremiah 36:9, and Judges 20:26.    9 *places*: passages  
 9–10 *in this matter*: on this issue    12–17: See Matthew 17:21 and Acts 14:23.  
 15 *them*: i.e., for those people    18 *may*: can    19 *place*: passage (i.e., Acts 14:23)    20 *lusts*: desires; appetites  
 25–33: See Matthew 6:16–18.    27 *sad*: gloomy-looking    28 *waste out*: neglect the care of  
 29 *fast*: i.e., are fasting    31 *appear not unto*: i.e., not be seen by // *fastest*: i.e., art fasting  
 31 *but unto*: i.e., but only by    32 *which is in secret*: who is invisibly present  
 33 *openly*: This word seems to be an erroneous scribal addition.    34 *lo*: look    35 *itch*: craving  
 35 *of mere*: solely out of

fasting? Which one place—being so plain, open, and manifest for  
the merit of fasting—though it might have been more than sufficient  
to confound Tyndale and his master Luther with all their scholars,  
yet have I been therein the longer, and have spoken of this matter  
5 somewhat the more at large, for the manifestation of their great  
blindness and, as it seemeth, malice to men's souls; and for the  
comfort of them that hitherto have had the mind to punish the  
flesh with fasting, that they do not hereafter as unthrifths have in  
Almaine done already: leave off their devotion to God for the fond  
10 babbling of such sensual heretics. For if Tyndale will say that  
yet all this was no thing but to tame the flesh, that the men  
might pray the more quietly, without rebellious motions of the  
flesh—whatsoever he shall say therein, consider the places and  
his words together, and ye shall find all his process therein a  
15 *Mt 4:2* fair tale of a tub. For albeit that  
*Dt 9:18–20* Christ fasted forty days and “after” hungered—  
yet whether Moses hungered *in*  
*his* forty days or not, we be not very sure. And it seemeth well that  
he did, for he would not of likelihood have told it for any great  
20 thing that he fasted for the sin of Aaron, and also for the sin of  
the people, so straitly forty days that in the while he neither  
ate nor drank... if he never had in the while been neither ahungered  
nor athirst.

Howbeit, if Tyndale will bring all these fasts in question—  
25 yet of the Ninevites and the others above rehearsed, there is no manner of  
doubt but that they fasted in hunger and thirst. And it were indeed a  
mad thing to think that when they went about to punish  
their sins and humble themselves before the face of God with  
fasting... they fasted but till they were ahungered, and then got  
30 them to breakfast. If he will say that the pain of the fasting was  
only to tame their flesh that they should not sin—he *cannot* so  
say; for it appeareth that they did it willingly as well for their sins  
before passed as for divers other causes. If he will say that there was  
difference between the repenting in the Old Law and the New, and  
35 that there was cause why *they* should punish their sins themselves,  
and not *we*... because Christ hath now done penance for our  
sins and had not at that time so done for theirs: it will not serve

1, 13 *place(s)*: i.e., scriptural passage(s)    1 *so . . . manifest*: i.e., one so explicit, unambiguous, and manifestly  
3 *confound*: confute // *scholars*: pupils / disciples    5 *at large*: at length    6 *to*: toward  
7 *comfort*: encouragement // *hitherto*: up to now    8 *unthrifths*: feckless people / worthless bums  
9 *Almaine*: Germany // *for*: on account of // *fond*: idiotic / foolhardy    11 *no thing*: i.e., done for no reason  
12 *quietly*: tranquilly; undisturbedly // *motions*: stirrings    14 *all his process*: his whole line of argument  
15 *fair tale of a tub*: big cock-and-bull story    16 *after*: afterward    16, 17 *hungered*: was hungry  
17 *in*: during    19 *of*: in all    21 *straitly*: i.e., so rigorously for    21, 22 *the while*: i.e., all that while  
22–23 *neither . . . athirst*: i.e., either hungry or thirsty    24 *howbeit*: however // *in*: into  
25 *above rehearsed*: mentioned above    25–26 *no . . . but*: i.e., no doubt at all  
26 *were indeed*: would be a really    27–28 *to punish . . . humble*: i.e., a punishing of . . . humbling of  
29 *but*: only // *were ahungered*: i.e., got hungry    32 *appeareth*: is obvious // *willingly*: volitionally  
33 *before passed*: i.e., previously committed // *divers*: several    35 *cause*: good reason  
71/37—72/1 *it will not serve him*: that will not help him

him, both because divers of the authorities for fasting be alleged  
 in the New Law and also because the Jews had the profit of  
 Christ's Passion by their faith that it was to come and should be  
 done, as we have by the faith that it is past and already done; and  
 5 their repentance and our repentance were like, saving our  
 privilege of more abundant grace and pardon by the Sacrament of  
 Penance, which Tyndale goeth about to destroy. If he will say  
 that the fasting serveth but to keep the mind calm and quiet in  
 prayer, from all motions of fleshly lusts that else might  
 10 trouble the mind: to this I say that the hunger itself may trouble  
 the mind and make it less quiet than if the flesh were in  
 temperate rest, without it. And over this, his answer in that point  
 will not serve since it appeareth well by the circumstances in many  
 of the places before touched... that many which fasted were not in such  
 15 ease of heart nor lust of body that their prayers were at that  
 time likely to be letted with voluptuous, wanton minds. Wherefore,  
 let Tyndale say what he will, ye shall find for truth that besides  
 the taming of the body, fasting and our pain taken therein  
 pleaseth God done with devotion, and serveth us for obtaining  
 20 many and great gifts of grace.

Nay [saith Tyndale, in his book of *Obedience*], as for pain-taking,  
 God is no tyrant... and therefore rejoiceth not in our pain, but  
 pitieth us... and, as it were, mourneth with us, and would we should  
 have none, saving that like a good surgeon he putteth pain of  
 25 tribulation unto the sores of our sin... because the sin cannot  
 otherwise be rubbed out of the flesh and cured.

We say not neither that God rejoiceth in our pain as a tyrant—  
 albeit that Luther and Tyndale would have us take him for such  
 one as had more tyrannous delight in our pain than ever had any  
 30 *Luther taketh away* tyrant... when they by the taking away  
*man's free will.* of man's free will would make us ween  
 that God alone worketh all our sin, and  
 then damneth his creatures in perpetual torments for his own  
 deed.

35 But we say that God rejoiceth and delighteth in the *love* of man's  
 heart, when he findeth it such as the man inwardly delighteth, and in  
 his heart outwardly, to let the love of his heart so redound into the  
 body that he gladly by fasting and other affliction putteth the body

1–2 *divers* . . . *in*: i.e., some of the proof texts for fasting come from  
 2 *had the profit*: received the benefit    3 *should*: would    5 *like*: similar    // *saving*: except for  
 6 *by*: via    7 *goeth about*: is out    8, 11 *quiet*: peaceful; undisturbed    9 *from*: i.e., free of  
 9 *motions*: stirrings    // *lusts*: cravings    12 *temperate*: moderate    // *over this*: furthermore  
 13 *appeareth* . . . *in*: is quite clear from the contexts of    14 *places*: passages  
 14 *before touched*: previously touched upon    // *which*: who    15 *lust*: vigor  
 16 *letted with*: obstructed by    // *voluptuous*: libidinous    // *minds*: thoughts  
 17 *for truth*: i.e., the truth to be    19 *done*: i.e., when it is done/sustained    24 *surgeon*: doctor  
 25 *sores of*: i.e., wounds caused by    28 *such*: i.e., such a    29 *had*: took    31 *ween*: believe  
 36 *in*: i.e., from in



to pain for God's sake... and yet thinketh, for all that, that in comparison of his duty all that is much less than right naught.

We say also that God rejoiceth and delighteth in *justice*... and for that cause he delighteth to see a man so delight in the same, and to take his  
 5 sin so sorrowfully, that he is content of himself by fasting and other affliction willingly to put himself to pain therefor. And I say that if God had not *this* delight—which is not a tyrannous but a good and godly delight—else would he put unto man no pain for sin at all. For it is plain false that God doth it for necessity of  
 10 driving the sin out of the flesh, as Tyndale saith he doth, because that otherwise it cannot be cured. For it is questionless that God *can* otherwise drive the sin out of the flesh, and by other means cure it, if it so pleased him; and so *would* he, saving for his godly delight in justice, which he loveth to see man follow by  
 15 fasting and other penance... and which delight of following God's pleasure therein, Tyndale, in manner, by withdrawing of penance, clean goeth about to destroy.

Now, where Tyndale, as a spiritual ensearcher of the cause of every commandment of God, did, in reproving the "superstitious"  
 20 manner of them that without such a deep spiritual search do keep God's commandment straitly, bring in the examples of David and his company, which for necessity did eat of the offered, hallowed bread whereof by the Law he should not, and of Moses, also, leaving the children, contrary to the commandment of God, forty  
 25 years uncircumcised in desert... he endeth that matter with this great, weighty word: "[These] examples might teach us many things if there were spirit in us."

What things the evil spirit that inspireth Tyndale teacheth him, I cannot tell. But of any *good* spirit he learneth no further in these  
 30 examples than that in *necessity* Moses, the leader of the people under God, and being also the priest of God, *dispensed* with the people in desert, in delaying the circumcision (for peril of sudden travel thereupon) till they should come where they might rest upon it. And

*Jos 5:5-7; 1 Sm 21:2-7* that Ahimelech the priest in like wise for  
 35 *necessity dispensed* with David and his

2 *of his duty*: i.e., to his debt of punishment // *right naught*: absolutely nothing  
 4, 18 *cause (of)*: reason (for) 5 *content of himself*: i.e., of his own accord cheerfully willing  
 6 *willingly*: voluntarily // *put himself to pain*: inflict pain on himself / give himself punishment  
 6 *therefor*: for it 7 *had*: took 8 *good and*: bona fide 11 *questionless*: unquestionable  
 14 *follow*: go along with / pursue 16 *in manner*: in effect // *withdrawing*: getting rid  
 16-17 *clean*... *to*: attempts to completely 18 *ensearcher*: searcher-out  
 19 *reproving*: criticizing // *superstitious*: excessively punctilious; scrupulous  
 20 *manner*: disposition 21 *straitly*: strictly 22 *company*: companions // *which*: who  
 23 *hallowed*: consecrated // *by*: according to 25 *in*: in the 26 *word*: statement  
 26, 33 *might*: could 29 *tell*: say // *no further*: i.e., nothing more  
 31, 35 *dispensed with*: gave a dispensation to 31 *in*: i.e., for while they were in the  
 32 *delaying*: putting off // *for*... *thereupon*: i.e., because of how dangerous it would be to suddenly have to travel again right after being circumcised 33 *where*: i.e., to a place where  
 33 *upon*: after 34 *wise*: manner

servants, that they might eat of offered, hallowed bread... and yet with great difficulty: but if they were clean from any late commixion and carnal knowledge of their wives. And of that point might Tyndale if he had a good spirit in him... learn at the

- 5           *Note*                           leastwise one thing against the boldness  
  of his wedded harlots, monks, and  
friars, that from their filthy lechery go so boldly not to the hallowed  
bread, but to the Body of God in form of bread. But Tyndale's spirit  
teacheth him to be bold therein, and to bid every friar boldly break  
10 his vow and the commandment without any necessity or dispensation  
at all... saying that friars may no more live without  
nuns than David might without meat.

### Tyndale

- 15           And likewise of the holy day, he knoweth that the day is servant  
unto man... and therefore when he findeth that it is done because he  
should not be let from hearing the word of God, he obeyeth gladly...  
and yet not so superstitiously that he would not help his neighbor  
on the holy day and let the sermon alone for one day; or that he  
would not work on the holy day, need requiring it, at such time  
20 as men be not wont to be at church.

### More

- Here Tyndale teacheth us high spiritual doctrine: that Christian  
men should not be too superstitiously holy on the holy day...  
weening that they might do no bodily work for necessity. But the  
25 people, for aught that I see, know that well enough and more too. But  
yet to make them the more bold, he teacheth them that the holy  
day is "servant unto man"... that he may therefore be bold upon the  
holy day, as upon his own servant, to use it as it please him.

- But yet, albeit that Christ said unto the Jews that the *Son* of  
30 Man is master and lord even over the Sabbath day, to use it as  
*himself* list, which never listed to use it but to the best: yet  
can I not well see that *Tyndale* is in such wise master and lord  
of the Sabbath day, nor no man else, that he may use it as his man—  
          *Mk 2:27*                           though it was of God instituted for man  
35   and not man for it (that is to wit,

1, 7 *hallowed*: consecrated   2 *but*: only // *clean from*: ritually clean by reason of not having had

2 *late*: recent   3 *commixion*: copulation (with) // *of that*: from that   4, 12 *might*: could

7 *that*: who   11 *may*: can   12 *meat*: food   14 *of*: concerning   15 *done*: established

15–16 *because* . . . *let*: in order that he not be prevented   17, 23 *superstitiously*: scrupulously

18 *let* . . . *alone*: i.e., miss the sermon   22 *high*: i.e., a high-level; an advanced   24 *weening*: believing

24 *might do no*: i.e., may not do any // *bodily*: physical   25 *ought*: anything   27 *that he*: i.e., such that man

27–28 *be bold upon* . . . *upon his* . . . *to use*: take the liberty with . . . with his . . . of using

29 *albeit*: i.e., though it is true   31 *list*: pleases / chooses // *which*: who // *listed*: chose   32 *wise*: a way

33 *his man*: his manservant   34 *of*: by

for the spiritual benefit and profit of man), as our Savior saith also himself. But yet he calleth it not “servant unto man,”

*Ex 16:23; 20:8–10; 31:15* as Tyndale calleth it. For the Scripture saith that God hath *sanctified* the

5 Sabbath day, unto *himself*.

And that was the cause why that Christ showed unto the Jews that himself was lord of the Sabbath day: because he would that they should thereby know that he was very God... since that they had learned by Scripture that the Sabbath day was sanctified only to God  
10 himself, for man’s profit, and no man lord thereof but only God. A governor of people is made for the people, and not the people for the governor; and yet is there no man among the people wont to call the governor his man, but himself rather the governor’s man. The very manhood of our Savior himself was to some purpose  
15 ordained for mankind, as the incarnation of his Godhead was ordained for man; but yet useth no wise man to call Christ his servant, albeit himself, of his meekness, did more than serve us. But we will not much stick with Tyndale for a word somewhat wrested awry... so that we wist he meant no harm thereby.

20 But I fear me more of his meaning, lest he would bring holy days and working days all in one case. For as for doing our neighbor good, and also the working for our own necessity—the necessity may be such that the Church denieth it not. But whoso do interpret his necessity overlarge, or defer unto the holy day the  
25 worldly works which he might and should have done upon the working day before, or may as well do it after, and yet will work it on the holy day, and thereby will for his part bring it in custom to withdraw the reverence from the holy day and make

*Nm 15:32–36; 27:1–3*

30 *Note this example.* working day thereof: this man hath in my mind much need to consider Zelophehad, which for like using of the holy day—gathering wood on the holy day that he might have done on the working day—was by God’s own judgment stoned unto death.

35 And I like Tyndale in this matter the worse both for his words in his other books, and for the custom of his sect now grown in Germany, and also for the only cause that he findeth out here for

6, 37 *cause*: reason 6 *why that*: why // *showed*: stated 8 *very*: i.e., actually

13 *man*: servant 16 *useth no wise man*: no one with any sense is wont

17 *himself*: he himself 18 *stick*: quibble // *for*: over 19 *so*: provided // *wist*: know

20 *I . . . of*: I’m more worried about // *lest he would*: i.e., that he may be attempting to

21, 26, 33 *working day(s)*: workday(s) 21 *in one case*: into the same category

24 *overlarge*: too broadly // *defer*: put off 25 *worldly works*: mundane tasks

25, 32 *might*: could 26 *may*: i.e., could // *do it*: i.e., do on the day // *will work*: chooses to do

27 *will for his part*: i.e., is doing what he can to // *in*: into 28 *withdraw*: remove

28 *make*: i.e., make a 30 *consider*: think about 31 *which*: who // *using*: observing; keeping

32 *done*: i.e., gathered 33 *judgment*: sentencing 35 *like*: approve of // *worse*: less

35, 36, 37 *for*: on account of 36 *grown*: sprung up 37 *findeth out*: comes up with

the keeping of the holy day, of which he putteth no more but the only hearing of the word of God... so that by the cause which he findeth out, a Christian man that were either in desert or among infidels, where he could hear no preaching, should have no more respect  
 5 unto Christmas Day or Easter Day, or Whitsuntide, to keep them for holy days himself, than the worst day in the year, or than would a Turk himself. And this is his high spiritual doctrine concerning the holy day!

### Tyndale

10 And so throughout all laws, and even likewise in all ceremonies and sacraments... he searcheth the significations and will not serve the visible things. It is as good to him that the priest say Mass in his gown as in his other apparel, if they teach him not somewhat,  
 15 and that his soul be edified thereby. And as soon will he gape while thou puttest sand as holy salt in his mouth, if thou show him no reason thereof; he had as lief be smeared with unhallowed butter as anointed with charmed oil, if his soul be not taught to understand somewhat thereby; and so forth.

### More

20 Lo, good Christian reader, this holy “spiritual” man... at last I wist well would somewhat show himself what ghostly spirit inspireth him. For here you see—for all his holy salutation at the beginning, with gay words of “grace” and “light” and “faith” and “fervent love”—he bloweth and blustereth out at last his abominable blasphemy  
 25 against the blessed sacraments of Christ, and, like the devil’s ape, maketh mocks and mows at the holy ceremonies that the Spirit of God hath so many hundred years taught his holy Catholic Church.

And here perceive yet the false wiliness of the devil in uttering  
 30 of his dregs and poisoned draught. He covereth his cup a little and shadoweth the color of his envenomed wine, that it may be drunk down greedily ere the peril be perceived. For he maketh here as though he found no fault but in that the significations of the sacraments be not opened and declared unto the  
 35 people, as though if that were done, he were content... and that he mocketh not the sacraments, but the ministers that openeth not the betokenings thereof.

1 *of which . . . only*: i.e., for which he gives no more of a reason than just the 2 *by*: based on // *cause*: reason  
 2–3 *findeth out*: comes up with 3 *were*: was // *in*: i.e., in a 4–5 *respect unto*: regard for  
 5 *Whitsuntide*: i.e., all the days of the octave of Pentecost 6 *worst*: i.e., least significant 7 *Turk*: i.e., Muslim  
 7 *high*: lofty / superior 10 *in*: concerning 10, 26 *ceremonies*: rites / rituals 11 *searcheth*: searches out  
 11 *serve*: i.e., be a slave to 12 *it . . . him*: i.e., it does him as much good / it is as good as far as he is concerned  
 13 *gown . . . other apparel*: i.e., regular clothes . . . vestments 13, 18 *somewhat*: something 14 *gape*: open wide  
 15–16 *show . . . thereof*: i.e., give him no reason for its having to be the blessed salt. (See note for 58/32.)  
 16 *had as lief*: would as soon // *unhallowed*: unblessed 17 *charmed oil*: oil put under an incantation  
 20–21 *at . . . would*: I well knew would eventually 21 *ghostly*: otherworldly 23 *gay*: (its) good-sounding  
 25 *ape*: inferior imitator 26 *mocks and mows at*: derisive fun of 29 *perceive yet*: i.e., also note  
 29 *false*: deceitful / treacherous // *uttering*: (his) selling 30 *dregs*: corrupt stuff  
 30 *poisoned draught*: poisonous drink 32 *ere*: before 34 *opened*: disclosed // *declared*: explained  
 35 *he were*: he would be 36 *mocketh*: is making fun of // *that openeth not*: who do not disclose

But I shall first show you that he playeth the devil's disour even in this point, although he meant no further; and then shall I farther show you what mischief he meaneth more, and prove it you by express words of his own.

5 First I say it is a lewd and a knavish railing upon the sacraments of our Savior Christ to liken and compare them in any manner wise unto such scornful things, as the anointing with holy oil unto butter-smearing, with other suchlike knavish toys, which no wretch would do but such as hath the very name of  
10 the holy sacraments in hatred and despite.

Now, where he saith that his holy "spiritual" sort will always so villainously esteem the sacraments but if men tell them the reasons and betokenings of them to the edifying of their souls—it will be great business and much ado to edify and build up the  
15 souls of such a sort which the devil hath by the blast of his mouth thrown down so deep and frushed all to fitters. But I

*Lk 1:37* pray God, to whom nothing is impossible,  
to build them once again upon the  
rock of his faith, from which they show themselves so far fallen  
20 down that they be full unlikely to rise. For truly if they stood thereupon, their hearts would abhor to utter such frantic fantasies.  
For as touching the significations and betokenings of the blessed sacraments, the lack of knowledge whereof Tyndale would make seem a sufficient cause of his villainous blasphemy—all good people that  
25 have the use of reason and come to these sacraments with good devotion be taught, and do think and conceive in their hearts, that God was incarnated and born God-and-man for our salvation, and suffered his Passion and died for our redemption, and that we were redeemed to heaven with his blessed blood, and that without  
30 him we should never have been saved but had utterly lost heaven by the sin of Adam... and for this cause we call him our Savior, and believe that he hath promised us: that if we be christened and keep his holy commandments, and for the breaking be sorry and turn again by Penance... God will bring us to heaven, that he hath  
35 promised us and bought us to. And they believe that he hath ordained here holy sacraments which he will that we shall receive with reverence, and that every man with those sensible

1 *disour*: professional storyteller    2 *although*: even if // *no*: i.e., to go no  
5 *lewd*: vile / low-class    5, 8 *knavish*: villainous / ignoble / childish    5 *railing upon*: vilifying of  
7 *manner wise*: kind of way // *scornful*: ridiculous // *as*: like    9 *toys*: nonsense  
9 *hath*: holds    10 *despite*: contempt    11, 15 *sort*: set / kind of people    12 *villainously*: basely  
12 *but if*: unless    13 *reasons*: i.e., reasons for    14 *great business*: quite an undertaking  
16 *frushed all to fitters*: smashed all to smithereens    17 *pray*: pray to / beg // *to*: for  
20 *full*: very    21 *abhor to utter*: shrink with horror from uttering  
21 *frantic fantasies*: preposterous ideas    22 *as touching*: as regards    24, 31 *cause (of)*: reason (for)  
29 *to heaven*: toward heaven; i.e., with heaven as our God-intended destination    30 *should*: would  
30 *had*: would have    32 *believe that*: believe what // *christened*: baptized  
33 *breaking*: i.e., breaking of them    34 *again*: back (to him)  
35 *bought us to*: i.e., bought our way to; redeemed us to get us to  
36 *ordained*: instituted // *will*: i.e., wills    37 *sensible*: sense-perceptible

sacraments, except the fault be in himself, receiveth some inward grace and aid of God by the merits of Christ's Passion and

*The outward signs of the sacraments betoken an inward gift of grace.* by his holy promise and ordinance; so that unto all good Christian men the outward, sensible signs in all the sacraments and holy ceremonies of Christ's

church, by one general and common signification of them all, betoken and do signify, and that right effectually, an inward, secret gift and inspiration of grace—effused into the soul, with the receiving of that holy sacrament, by the Holy Spirit of God.

This common signification of the sacraments have all the commonalty of Christian people; and they believe not only that the sacraments be tokens of such grace and do signify it, but also be in some manner wise a means to come to the getting thereof, because God hath so ordained.

But unto Tyndale and his holy “spiritual” sort, this gear is yet too gross for their subtle, thin wits.

For that all Christian people have this faith and signification of sacraments, Tyndale cannot deny them... but if he list to belie them.

But why, trow you, cannot this signification serve Tyndale? Verily because *he* believeth it not; for he believeth not that any ceremony, or sacrament either, is in the work thereof any means to get any grace at all. And in almost all the sacraments he plainly saith that they neither cause any grace nor any grace do signify, nor be no sacraments at all—as by his own words I shall hereafter show you.

But in the meanwhile—forasmuch as in his preface here he maketh as though he cared but for the declaration of the tokens and sensible signs of the sacraments and ceremonies—I have shown him the great and chief signification of all: that is to wit, that they betoken the insensible grace that God giveth them into the soul through the merits of Christ's holy Passion. And this is the very chief signification that all holy doctors note and mark in the sacraments—as appeareth by the definitions that in their books they give thereunto.

1 *except*: unless // *fault*: culpability 5, 29 *sensible*: sense-perceptible

6, 30 *ceremonies*: rites / ritual elements 7, 11 *common*: shared 8 *right effectually*: very efficaciously

9 *secret*: hidden; unperceivable // *inspiration*: imparting // *effused*: poured forth

11 *have*: i.e., is known by // *all the commonalty*: the whole community 13–14 *manner wise*: kind of way

16 *sort*: set // *gear*: stuff 17 *gross*: earthbound / coarse // *subtle*: sophisticated / ethereal // *thin*: rarefied

17 *wits*: intellects 18 *faith*... *of*: i.e., belief and know this signification of the 19 *but if*: unless

19–20 *list*... *them*: wants to call them liars 21 *trow you*: do you suppose

21 *serve*: i.e., satisfy; be good enough for 22 *verily*: actually 23 *ceremony*: rite / ritual // *work*: celebration

24 *in*: regarding 25 *cause*: produce; effect 29 *he cared but for*: i.e., all he was after was 30 *shown*: told

34 *holy doctors*: the Church's theologians 35 *appeareth*: is evidenced

But now will not Tyndale set a straw the more by the  
 anointing with holy oil... than by “smearing with unhallowed  
 butter,” but if men tell him some *further* thing thereby that may  
 edify his soul and make it better. For as for grace, edifieth not his  
 5 soul... for God buildeth not so fast therewith as himself helpeth the  
 devil to pull it down again and cast it quite away, so that it is  
 never the better. And therefore he will that his holy “spiritual” sort  
 shall set all the holy ceremonies and sacraments at naught but if  
 10 men can tell them what other, special thing is meant by the water  
 of Baptism, and by the oil in Confirmation and Aneling, and  
 by the ceremonies of the Mass, and by the salt, and by the ashes,  
 and by the holy water, and by the blessing of all such manner of  
 things; upon all which, for the meanwhile, till all this be told and  
 taught him, he thinketh that it becometh him well against Christ’s  
 15 holy sacraments to jest and mock and mow and rail and scoff  
 and royally play the ribald, resembling the salt to sand and the  
 holy oil to smearing of some barreled butter. Ah, blasphemous beast,  
 to whose roaring and lowing no good Christian man can without  
 heaviness of heart give ear!

20 Now can men, and do also, for the more part of these things give  
 good causes and plain, open reasons both of the significations  
 and of the spiritual profit and bodily both. And if that of any  
 such sacraments or ceremonies given of old by God unto his  
 blessed apostles, and by them delivered unto his church, and therein  
 25 ever since from hand to hand continued... it hath pleased the  
 Spirit to let his people have and enjoy the profit without declaration  
 of the special betokening other than the secret grace  
 given them therein—is not Tyndale, ween ye, well overseen to mock  
 the sacrament and refuse the grace because God will not make him  
 30 so secret of his counsel as to tell him why he took such an outward  
 sign rather than such another... and then ask God Almighty why  
 he would rather have used for a ceremony salt than sand while  
 sand is so good a scourer, and why rather ashes than earth since man  
 was made of earth and not of ashes, and why in Baptism rather  
 35 water than wine while wine will wash as clean, and why rather oil  
 than butter while the one will smear as well as the other will anoint,  
 and then why rather a hallowed candle than an unhallowed torch

1 *set* . . . *by*: consider of one bit more value    2 *than by*: i.e., than a    2, 37 *(un)hallowed*: (un)blessed  
 3, 8 *but if*: unless    4 *edify*: build up    6 *down again*: back down    // *quite*: entirely  
 7 *never the better*: no better off    // *will*: will have it    // *sort*: class    8 *set* . . . *at naught*: regard . . . as of no account  
 8, 11, 23 *ceremonies*: rituals    9 *special*: particular    10 *Aneling*: (the) Anointing (of the Sick)  
 11, 16, 32 *(the) salt*: See note for 58/32.    13 *upon all which*: on the basis of all of which    14 *against*: about  
 15 *jest* . . . *mow*: i.e., make wisecracks and derisive remarks    16 *ribald*: crassly impious jester / sacrilegious jackass  
 16 *resembling*: likening    17 *blasphemous beast*: See Revelation 13:1–6; 17:3.    20 *more part*: majority  
 21 *causes*: reasons    // *open*: clear    // *reasons*: explanations    27 *secret*: hidden; unperceivable  
 28 *ween ye*: i.e., don’t you think    // *well overseen*: very imprudent / way out of line    // *mock*: make fun of  
 29–30 *make* . . . *counsel*: take him so deeply into his confidence    30 *took*: chose; picked  
 30 *such*: i.e., such-and-such    31 *such another*: i.e., this or that other one    32 *ceremony*: ritual element  
 32, 35, 36 *while*: when    33 *so*: just as    33, 34 *earth*: dirt    33 *since*: given that    34 *of*: out of

that will give more light, and, finally, why any bodily ceremonies  
or sacraments at all, about grace to be given to the spiritual  
soul, that God might as well do without; and if God list not to  
make Tyndale an answer and tell him all this gear, then will he,  
5 like a spiritual man, set all such bodily ceremonies and sacraments  
at naught... and say God what he will, Tyndale will gloss his text  
as it please him, and then believe as he list who shall let him!

*Ex 28:4–43*

When our Lord in the Old Testament  
described so seriously all the apparel of  
10 the priests... did he tell the people therewith all the causes why? Of  
some we see that he did—as why he would not have Aaron ascend unto  
*Ex 20:26* the altar by degrees. But of *all* his  
*Exodus 26–27* apparel, and all the fashion of the  
*Leviticus 16* tabernacle, and the altar, and the Ark  
15 *Exodus 29* of the Testament, and the ceremonies of  
the expiation, or purging, of the tabernacle,  
and sanctifying of all the vessels, and consecrating of the  
priests, with the rites and ceremonies of all their sacrifice—did

*God did not tell the people  
the signification of the  
outward ceremonies.*

20 God, I say, tell the people what all the  
outward ceremonies signified? Nay; nor  
what signification had the sacrament  
of circumcision neither, other than that  
whoso observed it not among them should fall in his indignation  
and thereby perish, and whoso fulfilled it should be in his favor  
25 and ascribed thereby into the number of his elect and peculiar  
Chosen People. But why he rather willed them to have the mark and  
token of circumcision than another, or why that in the tabernacle,  
Ark, and altar, apparel, sanctifying, and sacrifice, our Lord  
chose those outward signs and fashions that are written in Exodus,  
30 Numbers, and Leviticus, before others, or what he signified and meant  
by every of the same: that I see not that God taught the people; and  
yet had they thank for the keeping, and should have been shent for  
the breaking.

Now, if our spiritual father Tyndale had been there, that in every  
35 commandment will never cease searching till he come to the very  
bottom, and so judgeth allthing—when he should in all those

1, 5 *bodily*: physical    1, 5, 18 *ceremonies*: rituals    3 *might*: could // *do*: i.e., do that giving  
3 *list*: choose    4 *gear*: stuff    5–6 *set . . . at naught*: regard . . . as of no account    6 *gloss*: interpret  
7 *believe . . . him*: i.e., who will prevent him from believing as he pleases    9 *described*: specified / prescribed  
9 *so seriously*: so painstakingly; in such detail    10 *causes*: reasons    12 *degrees*: stair steps  
13 *apparel*: i.e., priestly apparel // *all*: i.e., all of // *fashion*: design / features  
15, 20, 21 *ceremonies*: ritual elements    15 *Testament*: Covenant    16 *purging*: purifying  
23, 24 *whoso*: whoever    23, 24, etc. *should*: would    23 *fall in*: incur // *indignation*: righteous wrath  
25 *ascribed*: registered; enrolled // *peculiar*: uniquely special / uniquely-his    27 *token*: identifying characteristic  
27 *another*: some other    27, 34, 36 *in*: concerning; with regard to    28 *apparel*: i.e., vestments  
29 *fashions*: features    30 *before*: in preference to    31 *every*: each one  
32 *had they thank*: they were given credit // *shent*: put to shame / punished    34 *that*: who  
35 *come*: get    36 *allthing*: everything



things have searched and sought, and could find few things other than allegories, of which diverse men diversely divine, and all which he little setteth by, and saith they prove nothing; and the very causes and significations he could not have found though  
 5 he would have mused out his brain: then would he not have set a rush by all that God had devised, nor would have kept it at all, lest he, being so spiritual, should have “served,” as he saith, “visible things.” Is not here a wise work of Tyndale?

But he will haply say that in the Old Law this was less matter,  
 10 for that was the law that was all in shadows and darkness of figures. But now—in the Law of Light, in which the veil is taken away and all set open—Tyndale cannot abide it to be ignorant of any sacrament or ceremony, or anything set thereby but if he search and find the uttermost signification thereof. Surely, as lightsome as  
 15 it is, and as open as allthing is now that the veil of the Temple is withdrawn, yet will not Tyndale find out the proper causes and significations of these sacraments and ceremonies of the *Old* Law, this seven-year seventeen times told.

But go me to the New Law, and to those sacraments which Tyndale  
 20 agreeth for sacraments, which be only twain: Baptism and the Sacrament of the Altar; in which, though he be content to call them sacraments, yet hath he divers full erroneous opinions and very false faiths. But begin, therefore, as I said, at Baptism, when our

*Jn 3:5* Savior showed unto Nicodemus that  
 25 except a man were born again of water and the Spirit, he could not enter into the kingdom of heaven: he told him there the necessity of Baptism, but not the proper signification of the water, why it pleased God to put it for the sacrament by which we should enter into heaven. Nor when he sent

*Mt 28:19* his disciples to go forth and baptize—he  
 30 showed them not, as far forth as the Gospel telleth, for what proper signification God set the water in that sacrament before any other thing... but only showed them that so he would it should be, and bade them go show it and do it. Nor I find  
 35 not that in their baptizing they showed unto the people that thing that because water washeth and cleanseth, therefore God had

1 *could find*: i.e., been able to come up with    2 *allegories*: i.e., analogical interpretations  
 2 *of*: . . . *divine*: which different men differently intuit    3 *little setteth by*: thinks little of    4 *very*: literal  
 5 *would*: . . . *brain*: i.e., cogitated his head off    5–6 *set a rush by*: i.e., attached a straw’s worth of importance to  
 7 *served*: become a slave to // *saith*: puts it    8 *wise work of*: brilliant thing written by    9 *haply*: maybe  
 9 *less matter*: less of an issue    10 *darkness*: the dimness    11 *figures*: emblematical representations  
 12 *all set open*: everything exposed to view // *of*: regarding    13 *ceremony*: ritual / ritual element  
 13 *anything set thereby*: have any use for it    13–14 *but*: . . . *find*: i.e., unless he searches for and finds  
 14 *lightsome*: bright shining    15 *it is*: i.e., is this Law of Light // *open*: accessible to view // *allthing*: everything  
 16, 27, 32 *proper*: particular; distinctive    18 *this*: . . . *told*: i.e., in the next seven years—times 17  
 19 *go me*: let’s go    20 *agreeth for*: i.e., agrees are // *twain*: two    21 *Sacrament of the Altar*: i.e., Eucharist  
 21 *in*: regarding // *be content*: is willing    22 *hath*: holds // *divers*: several // *full*: totally // *opinions*: views  
 23 *faiths*: beliefs // *at*: with    24, 35 *showed*: stated    25 *except*: unless    28 *it pleased God*: God saw fit  
 28 *put*: stipulate    31 *showed them not*: did not tell them    32 *telleth*: relates    33 *before*: in preference to  
 33 *showed*: told    34 *show it*: communicate this; make this known



thing that they signify beside the general signification of invisible grace; for that is commonly taught already, and every special signification that the Scripture expresseth is openly preached also. And besides that, such significations as are not  
 5 there expressed and may seem convenient for them be both taught and written. What will Tyndale ask more?

But no reason can content him; for he saith plainly that whosoever do not understand all the significations of all the outward signs in the sacraments, it were as good to leave the sacraments unadministered unto him as  
 10 administered. Whereupon it followeth wheresoever at an Easter the people should be houseled, albeit that they be taught and do believe that in the form of bread is the very Holy Body of our Savior Christ himself, and that if they receive him with unbelief, out of hope, or out of charity, and be not in peace and Christian love with  
 15 all people, or intend to keep still and continue in any deadly sin, they receive their housel to their harm and peril of damnation... and if they receive it the contrariwise, they shall receive of God great spiritual grace therewith, through God's holy ordinance, by the merits of Christ's Passion; and so have given them such good  
 20 counsel and exhortation farther as the poor priest can—yet thinketh Tyndale that except he tell them further, *other* significations of the sacrament, the people were as good unhouseled as houseled. But, God be thanked, he is either deceived or lieth.

Now followeth it also that if the sacrament were as good unadministered  
 25 as administered to whosoever is not taught the proper significations of the outward token in the sacrament, as Tyndale here, under a blasphemous jesting fashion, telleth us—then followeth it, I say, that there was never child christened since Christendom first began but that it had been as good to have left it unchristened,  
 30 and never to have let water touch it, because it could not be taught what the water signified. And let him say what he will, but howsoever he cover and color it for the while... surely so would he have it. For while he goeth about to give all our salvation to faith alone, and to take all grace and all merit utterly from all  
 35 outward works, and yet seeth that he may not boldly at the beginning utterly despise Baptism nor the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar—he would go first as near it as he may. And therefore, rejecting

1 *beside*: in addition to    2 *commonly*: universally    5 *convenient*: fitting; right  
 7 *reason*: reasoning; rational argument    9, 22, 24 *were*: would be    10 *at an Easter*: during an Easter season  
 11, 22 *(un)houseled*: (not) given Holy Communion    12 *in the form*: under the appearance  
 12 *very*: actual    13–14, 14 *out of*: devoid of (the virtue of)    15 *still*: i.e., not confessed and absolved  
 15 *continue in*: go on committing // *deadly*: mortal    16 *housel*: Communion    17 *of*: from  
 19 *so*: i.e., along those lines    20 *can*: i.e., is capable of giving them    21 *except he tell*: unless he tells  
 22 *good*: well off    23 *deceived or lieth*: i.e., mistaken or lying    24 *good*: beneficial    25 *proper*: distinctive  
 27 *under*: i.e., in // *jesting*: wisecracking // *fashion*: manner    28 *never*: i.e., never a / not one  
 29 *had*: would have    32 *color*: camouflage // *while*: time being // *surely*: assuredly  
 33 *while . . . salvation*: i.e., since he is attempting to get our salvation accredited all  
 34 *take . . . from*: i.e., get absolutely all attribution of grace and merit taken away from    35 *beginning*: outset  
 36 *utterly despise*: show utter contempt for    37 *would*: wishes to // *as near it*: as close to doing that  
 37 *may*: i.e., safely can

the remnant by and by... he suffereth them twain to tarry for the while—but he will have them serve but for bare signs and tokens, and saith that they profit nothing but only by the declaration of their significations. And thereby meaneth he first that wheresoever  
 5 occasion of such declaration faileth, there the sacrament should serve of naught. And so ye see that as for children, he would have none baptized indeed; and that thing once obtained, within a while after no more he would no men neither.

Lo, thus ye see to what a devilish end Tyndale's tale cometh  
 10 with his ribaldrous railing upon the sacraments, although he meant no worse than he maketh for here in his preface... in which he would peradventure seem to mean none other but that the sacraments could serve of naught except their proper significations were declared and taught to them that receive them—other significations,  
 15 or otherwise declared, than they have been wont these many hundred years to be. Wherein if he meant but so... yet have I shown you manifestly that he hath a very frantic folly therein.

But to the intent that ye shall not be so deceived by him, I shall show you farther that he meaneth yet much worse... and that he  
 20 meaneth utterly (as he plainly saith) that of the seven holy sacraments five be none at all, and that the other twain be nothing fruitful neither. And ye shall farther well perceive that Tyndale himself in neither nother of the twain, that is to wit, neither in Baptism nor in the Sacrament of the Altar, doth believe aright. For the clear  
 25 perceiving of all which things, I shall rehearse you his own words written in divers places of his abominable book of *Obedience*. And first will we speak of these five which he saith be no sacraments at all: that is to wit, Confirmation, Penance, Order,  
 Matrimony, and Aneling.

### Tyndale

That they call Confirmation, the people call "bishoping." They think that if the bishop butter the child in the forehead, that then it is safe.

### More

35 If I should here call Tyndale by another name, it were no nickname at all... and yet would there some then say that it were not

1 *remnant*: rest (of the sacraments) // *by and by*: immediately / at the outset // *suffereth*: allows  
 1, 21, 23 (*them*) *twain*: (those) two 1 *tarry*: remain 2 *while*: time being // *bare*: mere  
 2 *tokens*: symbols 3 *profit nothing but*: provide no benefit except 3, 5 *declaration*: elucidation; explaining  
 4 *thereby*: by that 5 *faileth*: is lacking 6 *should*: i.e., will 6, 13 *of naught*: for nothing  
 8 *men*: adults 9 *tale*: speech 10 *ribaldrous*: crassly offensive // *upon*: about // *although*: even if  
 11 *maketh for*: makes himself out to 12 *peradventure*: perhaps // *none other but*: nothing other than  
 13 *except*: unless // *proper*: particular; distinctive 14, 15 *declared*: made known 16 *so*: i.e., that  
 17 *frantic folly*: ludicrous lack of good sense / deranged wickedness 18 *deceived*: taken in  
 19 *yet much worse*: much worse yet 21 *nothing*: not at all 22, 23, 24 *in*: about  
 23 *neither nother*: neither the one nor the other 25 *rehearse*: quote; relate to 26 *divers*: several  
 28 *Order*: Holy Orders 29 *Aneling*: (the) Anointing (of the Sick) 31 *that*: that which; the one that  
 32 *in*: on 33 *safe*: saved 35 *were*: would be 36 *were*: was

honest so to do; and this will some such folk say as in the villainous words of his spoken by this blessed sacrament will find no fault at all. But meseemeth surely that at the first hearing of such a shameful word spoken by the mouth of such a shameless heretic  
 5 by this holy sacrament of Christ, the whole Christian company present should not be able to contain themselves from calling him “knave”—all with one voice, at once.

Now, whereas there be for the sacrament both of Confirmation and of Holy Orders open and manifest places in Holy Scripture, as well in  
 10 *Acts 8:12–17* the Acts of the Apostles as in the epistles of  
*Heb 6:2–4; Acts 13:2–4; 19:6* Saint Paul... by which places it appeareth  
*2 Tm 1:6* plainly that by the apostles’ hands laid upon them which were before baptized, they had the Holy Ghost given in them... and by the hands of Saint  
 15 Paul laid upon Timothy in making him priest, he received of  
*Acts 6:1–6* God a special grace with that Holy Order... and likewise the deacons by the putting of the apostles’ hands upon them in the giving them that Order: Tyndale telleth us in his book of *Obedience* that all this is nothing,  
 20 and that the laying of the apostles’ hands upon them was but a manner of the country, as a man putteth his hand here upon a boy’s head and stroketh it when he calleth him “Good son.” Were not the time well lost that were spent upon Tyndale in alleging Holy Scripture to him, that can find in his heart thus to give it a mock instead  
 25 of an answer? He saith that the Scripture and the sacraments be not both of one authority; but he maketh them both alike when he mocketh them both alike.

### *Of Matrimony*

Tyndale

30 [Matrimony, saith he, was ordained of God for] an office wherein the husband serveth the wife, and the wife the husband. It is ordained for a remedy and to increase the world . . . and not to signify any promise that ever I heard or read of in the Scripture. . . . It *hath* a  
 35 promise, that we sin not in that state if a man take his wife as God’s gift, and the woman her husband likewise—as all manner of meat hath a promise that we sin not if we use them measurably,

1 *honest*: respectful // *in*: with 2, 5 *by*: about 3 *meseemeth surely*: it surely seems to me  
 4 *word*: i.e., thing 5 *company*: community 6 *knave*: i.e., bastard 7 *with one voice*: unanimously / together  
 7 *at once*: in unison 9 *open and manifest*: clear and obvious 9, 11 *places*: texts  
 14 *in*: into 15 *of*: from 21 *manner of the country*: local custom  
 22–23 *were . . . well lost*: would . . . be quite wasted 23 *alleging*: adducing 24 *find*: i.e., find it  
 24 *a mock*: i.e., a derisive belittlement / an insulting brush-off 26 *one*: the same  
 26 *maketh . . . alike*: i.e., puts them both on a par 27 *mocketh*: insults 28 *of*: on 30 *of*: by  
 35 *as*: i.e., just as with 36 *meat*: i.e., foods // *hath*: i.e., there is // *measurably*: with moderation

with thanks to God. If they call matrimony a sacrament because the Scripture useth the similitude of matrimony to express the marriage or wedlock that is between us and Christ . . . so will I [make a sacrament of] mustard seed, leaven, a net, keys, bread, water, and a thousand other things.

5

### More

#### *Matrimony*

This holy sacrament of Matrimony was begun by God in Paradise... and which when he began, he there instituted to signify the conjunction between himself and man's soul, and the conjunction between Christ and his church—for which Saint Paul saith that it is a great sacrament; and for such evermore hath it been taken in Christ's church. And though in those which for his sake forbear it he coupleth himself to their souls with more grace—yet in that coupling of matrimony (if they couple in him) he coupleth himself also to their souls with grace, according to the sign, that is to wit, the marriage, which he hath set to signify that grace; and with that grace, if they apply to work therewith, he helpeth them to make their marriage honorable, and their bed undefiled. And with that grace also he helpeth them toward the good education and bringing up of such children as shall come between them.

10

*Eph 5:22–32*

15

20

*Gn 1:28*

And to this effect weighed that holy blessing that God gave our first father and mother in Paradise—which blessing reason will that we take and understand to have been given by God according to the kind of them that it was given to; that is to wit, to work not in the body only, of reasonable folk, but much more effectually to exercise its strength in the reasonable *soul*. Whereas Tyndale will that God's blessing was no better to mankind than to the kind of dogs and cats; whereby should it almost follow that in generation used only for respect of God's commandment, had been toward God no more meritorious than to those other kinds, of brute beasts, the begetting of a whelp or a kitling.

25

30

35

And where Saint Paul for those holy significations saith that matrimony *is* a great sacrament, Tyndale dare say nay to his teeth... and saith he can make as good a sacrament of leaven, of keys, of

2 *similitude*: comparison    4, 37 *leaven*: yeast    8, 25 *Paradise*: the Garden of Eden  
 9, 10 *conjunction*: union    11 *for*: by reason of    14 *in*: in the cases of // *which*: who  
 18 *set*: appointed    19 *apply to work*: i.e., apply themselves to working  
 22 *come*: i.e., come into being    25 *will*: dictates    26 *kind*: nature  
 28, 29 *reasonable*: reason-endowed    28 *effectually*: efficaciously    29 *will*: maintains  
 29–30 *God's . . . to*: i.e., the blessing God gave to mankind was no better than the one he gave to  
 30 *kind*: taxonomic group; creatures on the nature level    31 *almost*: well-nigh  
 31 *generation*: procreation    32 *used*: practiced // *had been*: i.e., there would have been  
 32 *toward*: in the eyes of    33 *no*: i.e., nothing // *to*: for // *kinds*: species  
 33 *brute beasts*: nonrational animals    34 *whelp*: puppy // *kitling*: kitten  
 35 *for*: on account of    36–37 *dare . . . teeth*: dares directly contradict him

mustard seed—or else of a net! He should rather yet, lest the grace get out, pardie, make it of a sack! “But there *is* no grace therein,” saith he. “And why?” say we. “Because,” saith he, “that God hath none promised.”

“Whereby wot you that?” say we. “For I never read it in Scripture,” saith

5 he. “Where read you, then, in Scripture,” say we, “that God hath made you a promise that he never made promise, nor never none would make, but he would first send you word by writing?” What Tyndale can say to this, I cannot tell. But till he can say better to this than ever himself or his master, either, could say to it yet, or ever shall say

10 while they live... every man may soon see what men may say to him.

Luther yet, in his book of *Babylonica*, where he saith as Tyndale

now saith—that matrimony, whereas Saint Paul saith it is a great sacrament, hath no grace nor is no sacrament—he answereth Saint

Paul well and pertly and saith that Saint Paul said it peradventure

15 of his own head, not of God’s Spirit. Then, when the King’s Grace had answered him, and that he saw that for aught he could do, men would believe Saint Paul better than him, and that still folk took

matrimony for a sacrament, and that they thought that to faithful folk God with that holy knot gave grace toward the keeping and

20 ordained it himself so to do: he swore then in great anger and made a great vow that he would plainly prove the contrary,

and ran out of religion and wedded fleeing Cate, his nun, to show to the world himself a matrimony of his own making,

that was neither any holy sacrament nor had any grace therein. And

25 till that Tyndale do the same (as he saith priests both may and must!)—

he shall never any other way prove his conclusion true while he liveth.

*Of the Sacrament of Aneling,  
these be his words.*

30 Tyndale

[Aneling is] without promise, and therefore without the Spirit, and without profit, but altogether unfruitful and superstitious.

More

35 Here is a short sentence, and a false, erroneous judgment, given by Tyndale upon all Christian people that have been aneled since

2 *pardie*: [a mild oath equivalent to] by golly // *sack*: sackcloth sack      3 *because*: by reason of the fact

4 *whereby wot you*: how do you know // *for*: because      6 *made*: i.e., made any

7 *but . . . by*: i.e., without first sending you word in      8 *better to this*: to this something better

10, 26 *while*: as long as      10 *may soon*: can readily      11 *yet*: even // *as*: i.e., what

14 *well . . . saith*: i.e., quite impertinently, saying // *peradventure*: perhaps      15 *head*: thinking

15–16 *the King’s Grace*: i.e., King Henry (in his *Defense of the Seven Sacraments*)

16 *and that*: i.e., and in such a way that // *for*: despite; regardless of // *ought*: anything      17 *better*: rather

22 *ran out of religion*: absconded from religious life      25 *till . . . do*: i.e., until the day comes that Tyndale does

25 *as . . . must*: Tyndale’s *Obedience of a Christian Man* contains (in the section about Saint Paul’s statement that a bishop should be married “only once”) this marginal note: “Priests ought to have wives, and why.”

26 *conclusion*: contention      28 *of the*: on the      28, 31 *Aneling*: (the) Anointing (of the Sick)

34 *sentence*: pronouncement; verdict      35 *upon*: about // *been aneled*: i.e., received the Anointing of the Sick

Christendom first began. And he is led thereto by two special  
*Two pretty motives* motives: the one, folly; the other, falsehood.

For of his folly he reckoneth himself sure  
 everything to be false that is not evidently written in Holy Scripture;  
 5 which one thing is the one half of all the false foundation  
 whereupon Luther and Tyndale have built all their heresies. For  
 upon this Tyndale saith, "There is not any promise of this sacrament  
 written in Scripture: ergo, there was no promise made by God."  
 Which argument is so good that every boy in school laugheth it  
 10 to scorn, and well they may; for all the world can never make it good.

His other motive is falsehood, which is the antecedent of the same  
 argument; that is to wit, that this sacrament hath no promise in

*Jas 5:14-15* Scripture. For it hath an *express* promise  
 in the epistle of Saint James, where he  
 15 biddeth that if any be sick, "he shall induce the priests to come and  
 pray for him and anoint him with oil, and the prayer of faith  
 shall heal the sick man . . . and if he be in sin they shall be forgiven  
 him." "Nay," saith Tyndale, "here we may see that the aneling doth  
 nothing; for Saint James saith that the 'prayer of faith' shall heal  
 20 the man." This is a sure argument! "Lo, because Saint James giveth  
 the great effect to the faith-ful prayer—therefore the oil doth  
 nothing at all." If it do nothing at all toward the remission of  
 sins—why would Saint James have it there that might, saving  
 for the sacrament, as well be thence as there? Except that Tyndale  
 25 ween that Saint James were so wise in natural things that he  
 thought oil a meet medicine for every sore!

This place in Saint James did so press upon Luther that he  
 was fain to say that the epistle was never of Saint James' making,  
 nor nothing had in it of any apostolical spirit. But he that so  
 30 said was full of an apostatical spirit.

### *Of the Sacrament of Penance*

Tyndale

"Penance" is a word of their own forging, to deceive us with.

More

35 Here ye see that the Sacrament of Penance he setteth at less than  
 naught; for he saith it is but a thing forged and contrived to  
 deceive us with. But every good Christian man knoweth that such

1 *special*: main    2 *pretty*: admirable    2, 11 *motive(s)*: impetus(es); driving force(s)  
 2, 3 *folly*: foolishness; idiocy    2, 11 *falsehood*: dishonesty / deceitfulness  
 3-4 *reckoneth* . . . *be*: i.e., considers himself guaranteed that everything is  
 4 *evidently written*: conclusively written / expressly spelled out    5 *all the*: the whole // *false*: false / unsound  
 7 *of*: concerning    9, 10 *good*: sound    15 *any*: anyone // *induce*: get    18 *may*: can // *aneling*: anointing  
 20 *sure*: solid // *lo*: see // *giveth*: accredits    23 *have* . . . *might*: i.e., have be there a thing that could  
 24 *thence*: not there // *except that*: unless    25 *ween*: thinks // *were so wise in*: was so knowledgeable about  
 26 *meet*: suitable; good // *sore*: ailment    27 *place*: passage  
 27 *so press upon Luther*: put Luther in such a tight spot; reduce Luther to such straits  
 28 *fain*: constrained // *making*: writing; authorship    31 *of the*: on the    33 *forging*: coining; making up  
 35 *setteth at less*: regards as worse    36 *naught*: nothing / worthless // *forged*: fabricated



folk as he is, that against the Sacrament of Penance contrive and  
forge such false heresies... sore deceive themselves and all them whom  
the devil blindeth to believe them. Now when he hath spoken his  
pleasure of the thing—ye shall hear what he saith of the parts.

## 5 *Of Confession*

Tyndale

Shrift in the ear is verily a work of Satan, and that the falsest  
that ever was wrought, and that most hath devoured the faith.

More

10 If the devil should himself sit and devise to speak spitefully...  
what could he say more like himself against this part of the  
holy Sacrament of Penance than he now speaketh by the mouth of  
this his holy “spiritual” man?

Here hath been a shrewd sort of Christian folk this fifteen hundred  
15 years... if every man have served Satan all the while they were  
a-shriving!

Ye may see now to what perfection this gear groweth with  
Tyndale.

Luther yet, that was Tyndale’s master, as lewd as he is, played  
20 never the blasphemous fool against confession so far yet as  
*Confession after Luther’s* Tyndale doth. For Luther, albeit he  
*mind is necessary.* would make every man, and every woman  
too, sufficient and meet to serve for a  
confessor—yet confesseth he that shrift is very necessary and doth  
25 much good, and would in no wise have it left. But Tyndale amendeth  
the matter, and saith it is the very “work of Satan,” and they  
therefore serve Satan and work his work if they shrive themselves  
secretly and speak softly at the priest’s ear. But by likelihood  
he meaneth that if they speak out lustily, that every man may  
30 hear them, all is well enough. *For Will Waw forbade rowning.*

## *Of Satisfaction*

He will that we shall for our sins no more but only repent.  
For as for going about to punish ourselves anything for our

1, 11, 20 *against*: about    2 *false*: counterfactual / vile // *sore*: badly    3 *blindeth to believe*: tricks into believing  
3–4 *now . . . thing*: i.e., now that he has said what he wants to about the sacrament as a whole    4 *of the*: i.e., about its  
5, 31 *of*: on    7, 24 *shrif* (*in the ear*): (oral) confession    7 *verily*: actually // *falsest*: most bogus / most vile  
8 *devoured*: ravaged    10 *devise*: plot // *spitefully*: shamefully    13 *his . . . man*: holy “spiritual” servant of his  
14 *shrewd sort*: sorry lot    16 *a-shriving*: doing their confessing    17 *may*: can // *gear*: stuff // *groweth*: comes  
19 *lewd*: bad / sorry    21–22 *after . . . mind*: in Luther’s opinion    23 *meet*: suitable    24 *confesseth*: professes  
25 *in no wise*: by no means // *left*: discontinued    26 *the matter*: i.e., that stance // *it*: i.e., that confession  
27 *shrive themselves*: confess their sins    28 *secretly*: in private // *by likelihood*: probably    29 *lustily*: robustly  
29 *that . . . may*: so that everyone can    30 *Will . . . rowning*: Apparently a proverbial illustration of the pitfalls of  
whispering, akin to our game of Gossip. This sentence could be heard as meaning “For Will Waugh forbade whispering,”  
“Waugh arbitrarily forbade whispering,” or “For Will-the-Ocean-Wave forbade drowning.”    32 *will . . . no*: maintains  
that we are for our sins to do nothing    32 *but only*: than just    33 *going about*: setting out // *anything*: at all

own sins, by penance-doing, with fasting, prayer, almsdeed,  
 or any other bodily affliction, that God may have the more  
 mercy upon us, which thing all good Christian people have  
*Satisfaction* ever used to do, and which the  
 5 Church calleth satisfaction: this thing  
 Tyndale calleth as ye shall hear...

### Tyndale

Sin we through fragility never so oft, yet as soon as we repent and  
 come into the right way again, and unto the testament which  
 10 God hath made in Christ's blood: our sins vanish away as smoke  
 in the wind, and as darkness at the coming of light, or as thou  
 cast a little blood or milk into the main sea. Insomuch that whoever  
 goeth about to make satisfaction for his sins to-God-ward,  
 saying in his heart, "Thus much have I sinned, thus much will I do  
 15 again," or "This-wise will I live to make amends with," or "This will  
 I do to get heaven with"—the same is an infidel, faithless, and  
 damned in his deed-doing, and hath lost his part in Christ's blood,  
 because he is disobedient unto God's testament and setteth up another  
 of his own imagination, unto which he will compel God to  
 20 obey. If we love God—we have a commandment to love our neighbor  
 also, as saith John in his epistle. And if we have offended *him*,  
 to make *him* amends; or if we have not wherewith, to ask *him*  
 forgiveness, and to do and to suffer all things for his sake to win  
 him to God and to nourish peace and unity; but to-God-ward, Christ  
 25 is an everlasting satisfaction and ever-sufficient.

### More

The beginning of these words seem very godly, for the magnifying  
 of the great mercy of God. But consider the head, the midst,  
 and the tail together, and ye shall soon perceive that he boasteth  
 30 mercy but to make a man have so little care for his sin, and  
 maketh himself so sure of sudden and short remission, that he  
 shall force full little how soon he fall thereto, when he believeth that  
 how often soever he sin or how sore, there needeth him no more  
 but only bare repentance, and then all forgiven and forgotten, sin  
 35 and pain and all, even by and by, a hundred times in a day.  
 Neither purgatory need to be feared when we go hence nor penance  
 need to be done while we be here... but sin and be sorry and

1 *almsdeed*: almsgiving    4 *used*: been wont    8 *never so oft*: no matter how often  
 9 *into . . . again*: back onto the right path    9, 18 *testament*: covenant    10 *as smoke*: i.e., as smoke does  
 11 *at*: i.e., does at // *as thou*: like if you    12 *cast*: threw; tossed // *main sea*: ocean    13 *goeth about*: attempts  
 13 *for his sins to-God-ward*: to God for his sins    15 *again*: in recompense // *this-wise*: in this way  
 17 *part*: share    19 *imagination*: devising // *will*: intends to    20 *obey*: i.e., give obedience  
 20–21: See 1 John 2:9–11 and 3:10, 23.    22 *wherewith*: i.e., the means to do that with // *ask*: i.e., ask of  
 24 *nourish*: foster // *to-God-ward*: toward God; i.e., for our sins insofar as they are offenses against God  
 27 *beginning . . . seem*: i.e., first part . . . seems // *for the magnifying*: on account of its extolling    28 *midst*: middle  
 29 *boasteth*: vaunts; touts    30 *but*: only // *care for*: concern about    31 *maketh himself*: i.e., to make him  
 31 *sudden . . . remission*: i.e., prompt and quick remission of it and the punishment due for it    32 *force*: care  
 32 *full*: very // *soon . . . thereto*: i.e., readily he falls into it    33 *sore*: seriously // *needeth*: is needed for  
 34 *bare*: mere // *all*: i.e., all is    35 *pain*: punishment // *even*: uniformly promptly  
 36 *purgatory . . . feared*: i.e., need we fear that we'll go to purgatory // *go hence*: i.e., leave this world  
 36–37 *penance . . . done*: i.e., need we do any penance    37 *sin*: i.e., we can just sin

sit and make merry, and then sin again and then repent a little  
and run to the ale and wash away the sin, think once on God's  
promise and then do what we list. For, hoping sure in that, kill  
we ten men on a day we cast but a little blood into the main sea.

- 5 But he that setteth so much by his sin, and is so sorry therefor, that  
to provoke our Lord to mercy the more by punishing himself  
and taking pain therefor, either of his own mind or by  
penance enjoined—he is a stark heretic; it were even alms to  
burn him. For he that will take any pain for his own sin...  
10 weeneth that Christ had not pain enough. Is not here a mad doctrine  
of him that would seem a Christian man?

For as for that he telleth his tale as though men did reckon their  
penance for a thing sufficient to satisfy for their sin—that is

- 15 *Penance of itself is not* but a piece of his poetry. For he is not so  
*sufficient for sin.* foolish but that he knoweth well enough  
that all Christian men believe that no

- penance is of itself sufficient for the least sin, but the Passion  
and pain of Christ *maketh* our penance available, to them that  
set not so little by their sin but that they be content, and think  
20 themselves well worthy, to take pain and penance for their sin  
themselves.

- But because he will that men repent the doing of their sin, and  
then no more but faith... I would wit of Tyndale what calleth he  
repenting: a little, short sorrow, or a great sorrow and a long? If a  
25 little, pretty sorrow and very shortly done: I would as fain he said  
true as I fear that he lieth. If a great, fervent sorrow with grief and  
trouble of mind, not shortly shot over, but kept and continued  
long: then force I little of his heresy. For no doubt is it but that  
Tyndale's tale to such a man shall seem, Got wot, full fond. For he  
30 that hath such repentance will to shrift, I warrant you, and take  
penance of the priest, and do much more thereto, whatsoever  
Tyndale tell him. And he that is christened and careth for no shrift—  
repenteth never a deal; but they that repent not at all be Tyndale's  
repentant sinners!

- 35 Will ye see that it is so? Go me to Martin Luther, the first master  
of Tyndale in this matter, though now his scholar passeth him. While  
that friar lieth with his nun, and wotteth well he doth naught, and

2 *think once on*: give a thought to    3 *list*: want // *sure*: firmly    4 *on a*: in one // *cast*: toss // *main sea*: ocean  
5, 19 *set(teth)* . . . *by*: make(s) . . . of    5, 7 *therefor*: for it    6 *provoke*: dispose    7 *taking*: subjecting himself to  
7 *mind*: accord    8 *enjoined*: i.e., given him by the priest, in confession // *stark*: downright  
8 *were even alms*: would actually be a good deed    10 *weeneth*: believes    10–11 *doctrine* . . . *seem*: i.e., teaching  
from someone who wants to seem to be    12, 29 (*that* . . . *his*) *tale*: (the fact that he gives this) speech  
14 *poetry*: creative writing    18 *available*: availing    19 *content*: willing    20 *worthy*: deserving  
20 *take pain and*: i.e., suffer pain and do    22 *will that*: i.e., would have    23 *no more but*: i.e., concern themselves  
with nothing other than    23 *wit*: inquire    24 *short*: brief    25 *pretty*: decorous // *shortly done*: i.e., quickly  
gotten over with    25–26 *as* . . . *lieth*: i.e., be as glad for him to have been telling the truth as I'm afraid that he's lying  
27 *shortly*: in a short time // *shot over*: rushed through    28 *force I little of*: I little care about  
28 *his heresy*: i.e., the hereticalness of what he's saying here // *is it*: i.e., is there    29, 37 *wot(teth)*: know(s)  
29 *full fond*: quite ridiculous    30 *to*: go to    30, 32 *shrift*: confession    30 *warrant*: guarantee    31 *of*: from  
31 *thereto*: in addition    32 *christened*: baptized // *careth for no*: never bothers with    33 *never a deal*: not one bit  
35 *will ye*: do you want to // *go me to*: let's look at // *master*: teacher    36 *in*: on // *scholar*: student  
36 *passeth*: outdoes // *while*: when    37 *he doth naught*: i.e., that what he's doing is immoral

saith still he doth well—let Tyndale tell me what repenting is *that*.  
 He repenteth every morning, and to bed again every night...  
 thinketh on God's promise first, and then go sin again  
 upon trust of God's testament... and then he calleth it casting  
 5 of a little milk into the main sea.

### *Of the Sacrament of Order*

Tyndale

10 By a "priest" in the New Testament, understand nothing else but  
 an elder to teach the younger, to bring them to the full knowledge  
 and understanding of Christ, and to administer the sacraments which  
 Christ ordained.

More

By the words, he meaneth that the *Holy Order* is no *sacrament*, nor  
 is nothing else but "an elder to teach the younger . . . and to administer  
 15 the sacraments such as Christ ordained." And in this wise, he saith,  
 we be *all* priests, both men and women too. For he saith in the same  
 book precisely, and in this book too, that women may consecrate the  
 holy Body of Christ. Against which foolish, blasphemous babbling  
 were very great folly to dispute, since of as many good, holy, virtuous  
 20 women as hath been in Christendom since Christ's death unto this day...  
 was there never none yet but that her heart would have abhorred if  
 such a high, presumptuous thought should once have fallen in her  
 mind.

And what would it avail to dispute with him since he mocketh  
 25 *1 Tm 4:14* and scoffeth out the words of Saint  
 Paul written unto Timothy in which  
 the Sacrament of Order is so plainly proved that all the world cannot  
 deny it but if they make a mock at Saint Paul as Tyndale  
 doth!

30 Now, in that he saith "the sacraments that Christ ordained"... he  
 meaneth nothing else but his plain heresies against all the  
 sacraments save twain—that is, Baptism and the Sacrament of the  
 Altar—as ye have already seen in all the remnant. And now, since he  
 leaveth but them twain... I pray you consider how holily he handleth  
 35 them twain, and ye shall see that he might almost as well deny  
 them both as handle them after the fashion. And first hear how he  
 handleth the holy Sacrament of Baptism.

1 *saith still*: keeps saying // *he doth well*: he's acting morally; what he's doing is something good  
 4 *of*: in // *testament*: covenant / attestation // *casting*: (the) tossing 5 *main sea*: ocean 6 *of the*: on the  
 6, 13, 27 (*the Holy*) *Order*: Holy Orders 11, 15, 30 *ordained*: instituted 13 *by the*: i.e., by these  
 15 *the sacraments such as*: those sacraments that // *wise*: way 16–17 *same book*: i.e., *Obedience*  
 17 *precisely*: explicitly // *may*: can 19 *were*: it would be a // *folly*: foolishness 19, 24 *dispute*: argue  
 20 *hath*: i.e., there have 21 *abhorred*: shuddered with horror 22 *high*: puffed-up // *in*: into  
 24 *would it avail*: good would it do // *mocketh*: makes a joke of 25 *out*: off; away 28 *but if*: unless  
 28 *make a mock at*: trifle with / make a mockery of 32 *save twain*: except two  
 32–33 *Sacrament of the Altar*: Eucharist 33 *in*: i.e., in the sections about // *remnant*: rest  
 34, 35 *them twain*: those two 34 *pray you*: ask you to 35 *might*: could // *well*: rightly  
 36 *after the fashion*: i.e., in the way that he does

*Of the Sacrament of Baptism,  
these be his words.*

Tyndale

5 The sacraments which Christ himself ordained, which have also  
promises and would save us if we knew them and believed them—they  
they administer in the Latin tongue. So are they also become as unfruitful  
as the others.

And after, he saith further:

10 Baptism is called “voluing” in many places in England, because  
the priest saith, “‘Volo,’ say ye.” “The child was well voloed,” say  
they; yea, and “Our vicar is as fair voloer as any priest within this  
twenty miles.”

More

15 All this great scoffing ariseth only because that children be  
christened in Latin. For which only cause he saith that the  
baptism is utterly fruitless; yea, and by his tale worse than fruitless,  
too. For he saith they be now in like cause as are the other sacraments...  
which he saith have no promise in Scripture, and therefore  
are (he saith) superstitious. And lo, thus first ye see that as long  
20 as ever any children have in England been christened in Latin... there  
was never child the better for the christendom. And then if this lie  
be true... there is yet never a Christian man nor never a Christian woman  
in all England, except haply some well-Latined Jews converted,  
or else such English children as learned their grammar in their  
25 mother’s belly.

Howbeit, I would every other thing were as easy to amend as  
this is; for this matter may be soon eased. It may be, now upon this  
fault found... be provided upon Tyndale’s counsel that all the  
English children shall be christened in English, and then they shall  
30 understand all the matter well enough, ye wot well, and speak for  
themselves, too.

But then findeth Tyndale two great faults for which he saith  
that all the baptizing of the child is fruitless. One, he saith, because  
of the false belief that the plunging in the water saveth them; another,  
35 for that the promise is not taught them.

1 *of the*: on the    4 *ordained*: instituted    6 *tongue*: language

10 *saith*, “‘Volo,’ say ye”: i.e., tells the parents and/or godparents to say, “I do want this.”    11 *as fair*: as good a

14 *ariseth only because*: is given rise to solely by the fact    15 *cause*: reason    16 *tale*: account

17 *they*: i.e., that Baptism and the Eucharist // *like cause*: the same situation

21 *child* . . . *christendom*: i.e., one child who was better off for having been baptized    22 *yet*: now

22 *never a*: (not) one    23 *haply*: maybe // *well-Latined Jews converted*: Jewish converts who are fluent in Latin

24 *grammar*: Latin    26 *howbeit*: however // *would*: wish

27 *matter* . . . *eased*: problem can readily be taken care of    27–28 *now* . . . *fault*: i.e., now that this defect has been

30 *all the matter*: the whole thing // *wot*: know    32 *great*: big; serious // *faults*: defects // *for*: on account of

34 *saveth them*: i.e., gets them saved // *another*: i.e., the other

But there I would fain wit of Tyndale, since he saith that the baptism is fruitless for such causes, and since he must needs mean at the time of the christening—for if he should mean no more but that the child should lose the fruit at length for lack of such instruction after, then were his words false though he said therein true... for then were not Baptism unfruitful, for it were very fruitful at the leastwise to a great many that God calleth hence ere ever the lack of such learning can be laid to their charge—thus I say Tyndale must needs mean, therefore, that for these faults the fruit of the baptism is lost even at the font, and no grace gotten thereby... or else his tale were false. And ye wot well in no wise will he lie, for that were poetry.

Now, since he saith, then, that the baptism is fruitless at the font for these causes, I would wit of him whether it be void because these things be not at the font preached to the godfathers, or because they be not preached there unto the child itself. If he say that it is fruitless for lack of preaching there unto the child itself: then I deny not but that Tyndale saith right well and reasonable, and I shall speak to the parson of our parish, that he shall preach to the child at the font and tell him many good tales in his ear. But surely if he say that the baptism is fruitless at the font for lack of such things there taught unto the godfathers—therein could I not agree with him, for they come not to be christened there themselves... and so the lack of that preaching there cannot hinder their christendom. And as for the child, if neither they nor the priest neither well understood their duty, nor well believed in Baptism,

*A heretic is worse  
than a Turk.*                      neither—yea, and though they were Turks,  
Jews, or Saracens, or, that worse were than  
all three, very stark heretics—yet so that

in the baptizing they purpose to make the child Christian, and therein do as the Church doth... all their lack cannot make the baptism lose its fruit. And if that Tyndale know not this, he is very poorly learned; and if he know this, and then say as he saith, that for lack of such teaching at the font the baptism there is fruitless—what is he then, say you?

But now is it good to see somewhat of Tyndale's mind concerning these two things: that is to wit, the faith set on sensible tokens in the sacrament, and the preaching of the promises.

1, 14 (*fain*) wit: (like to) inquire      2, 14 *causes*: reasons      4 *at length*: eventually  
 5 *were his words*: his words would be // *though*: even if      6 *true*: i.e., the truth  
 6 *were not Baptism*: would Baptism not be // *for it were*: since it would be      7 *a*: i.e., the  
 7 *hence*: out of this world // *ere*: before      8 *can . . . charge*: i.e., could be held against them  
 9 *for*: on account of // *faults*: defects      10 *even*: right there      11 *tail*: assertion      11, 12 *were*: would be  
 11 *wot*: know // *in no wise*: i.e., that by no means      12 *poetry*: creative writing / the writing of fiction  
 14 *void*: devoid of effect      15, 22 *godfathers*: godparents      18 *but . . . well*: that what Tyndale says is quite right  
 20 *tales*: i.e., things // *in his ear*: in his hearing      21 *surely*: certainly  
 24–25 *hinder their christendom*: i.e., keep them from being (fruitfully) baptized      25 *they*: i.e., the godparents  
 27 *Turks*: i.e., Turkish Muslims      28 *Saracens*: Arab Muslims // *were*: would be      29 *stark*: flagrant  
 29 *so that*: so long as; provided that      30 *purpose*: intend      31, 33 *as*: i.e., what      32 *if that*: if  
 33 *learned*: instructed      36 *somewhat*: something // *mind*: thinking      37 *sensible tokens*: sense-perceptible signs

First, for the visible signs, there be two things to be considered.  
The one, that Tyndale beareth us in hand that the clergy maketh us  
believe that the visible signs alone doth altogether... and therein he  
saith false; another, that himself believeth that they do no good  
at all... and therein he believeth false.

For the first point, these be his words...

Tyndale

They make us believe that the work itself, without the promise,  
saveth us; which doctrine they learned of Aristotle.

More

In this point he plainly belieth the clergy (which doctrine  
he learned of the devil!), who taketh Baptism but for a sacrament  
ordained of God for man's salvation, by which God hath promised  
that he shall be saved except sin after let him, and without  
which he shall not be saved, except right special cases—and those  
be very few, neither able to be plainly proved by Scripture, and  
yet will Tyndale agree them, against his master's rule.

Howbeit, Tyndale hath here another rule—and that as false as the  
other—by which, as I was about to say, he reckoneth the outward  
tokens of the sacrament to be of none *effect*, but only bare tokens  
of that grace that is wrought with the word, and that the word of  
Christ's promise.

For he saith that the sacraments be, as it were, a preacher, and do  
only preach God's promises... and therefore for to administer the  
sacraments is (he saith) nothing else but to preach God's  
promises. And for this he allegeth the words of Saint Paul in the

*Eph 5:25–27*

fifth chapter of his epistle to the Ephesians,  
“Christ cleansed the congregation in the

fountain of water through the word.” And also the words of Saint

*1 Pt 1:23*

Peter where he saith in the first of his  
first epistle, “Ye are born of new, not of

mortal seed but of immortal seed, by the word of God which liveth  
and lasteth ever.” He allegeth also the word of Saint James, in the

*Jas 1:18*

first chapter of his epistle, where he  
saith, “Of his good will begot God us with

the word of truth”—“that is,” saith Tyndale, “with the word of promise.”

He saith also, “Thou seest that it is not the work but the *promise* that

2 *beareth us in hand*: asserts to us / claims about us      3 *doth altogether*: do everything

4 *another*: i.e., the other // *himself*: he himself // *good*: i.e., good thing      8, 37 *work*: act

9, 12 *of*: from      11 *belieth*: slanders // *doctrine*: precept      13 *ordained of*: instituted by

14 *he*: i.e., one // *except . . . him*: i.e., unless subsequent sin prevents him from making it to heaven

15 *right*: i.e., in very      16 *neither*: i.e., and not      17 *agree them*: i.e., grant that there are such cases

18 *howbeit*: however      20 *tokens of*: signs of // *bare tokens*: mere symbols

26, 33 *allegeth*: adduces      30 *first*: i.e., first chapter      31 *of new*: anew

justifieth us, through faith.” He saith also that as the priest purgeth by preaching of the promise, so do the sacraments, and none otherwise... because, he saith, that the sacraments be but signs and tokens that betoken and preach the promises. And so he meaneth that as  
 5 the priest preaching the promises doth give us a knowledge of them, or putteth us in mind of them, and yet he doth but *show* us of the promises and of grace, and doth not give us any *effect* of any promise or grace, nor we by that preaching do not get no grace but by God’s work beside: so, though he administer the sacraments, yet we do not  
 10 attain and get any grace neither by the priest nor by the sacraments, nor by that work or deed that is done in administering or receiving the sacraments, no more than by the priest’s preaching... but only by the promise of God through faith to the infusing—whereof the sacrament doth nothing work, nor is no cause thereof nor  
 15 cooperant thereto, nor means nor instrument therein, but only a bare signifier and a shower thereof. And yet worse than thus, that likewise as if a priest standing up in the pulpit to preach... do there stand still and preach nothing at all, but so come down again and say nothing... doth unto the people no profit at all—so  
 20 the sacraments, since they be but bare signs (as he saith) and serve of nothing but to signify certain things, he saith therefore that because the ministers of the sacraments do not open and declare those significations to the receivers of the sacraments, therefore the sacraments be fruitless... and men take no more profit by the  
 25 receiving of them than by the standing of the priest in the pulpit that standeth there and preacheth not.

And it is to be considered that this is his opinion as well of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar as of the Holy Baptism. Whereby what mind he hath of *that* blessed sacrament, he leaveth little doubt to  
 30 them that have either learning or wit.

If this opinion of Tyndale were true—that the priest doth in administering the sacraments no more but preach the promises... and in the administering he purgeth but as he doth by his preaching... and when he preacheth not the significations, then he purgeth not—then  
 35 were there with the baptism no grace at all given unto children, for the priest preacheth not then... and though he did, we find not yet that he should sufficiently purge the *child* with preaching. And

1, 33, etc. *purge(th)*: cleanse(s)    2 *none otherwise*: in no other way    3 *because*: by reason of the fact  
 3 *tokens*: symbols    6 *show*: tell    9 *work*: doing // *beside*: apart from that; outside of that  
 13 *infusing*: infusing    14 *nothing work*: accomplish nothing    15 *cooperant*: collaborating contributor  
 16, 20 *bare*: mere    16 *shower*: manifest    // *yet*: even // *thus*: that    17 *do*: i.e., does  
 18 *stand still*: i.e., just keep standing // *so*: thusly    18–19 *down* . . . *say*: i.e., back down, saying  
 20 *as he saith*: says he    21 *of*: for    22 *ministers*: administerers // *open*: disclose // *declare*: explain  
 27 *considered*: noted / taken into consideration // *of*: regarding    28 *as of*: as regarding  
 29 *mind*: view // *doubt*: i.e., doubt of    30 *wit*: i.e., simple natural intelligence    31 *opinion*: dictum  
 31 *true*: correct    33 *but*: only    35 *were there*: there would be    36 *though*: even if



yet if baptizing be nothing else *but* preaching, as Tyndale saith...  
 then after that the priest had well preached all that were to be preached,  
 and shown what the token and the sacrament meaneth... he might, as  
 it seemeth by Tyndale's tale, send home the child again and never put  
 5 water upon him! Tyndale will have us believe nothing but  
 plain and evident Scripture; I would he should, therefore, prove his  
 tale here by plain and evident Scripture; for as for these places that  
 he layeth, prove it nothing at all.

*Eph 5:25–27*

10 For the words of Saint Paul to the  
 Ephesians, "Christ cleansed the congregation  
 in the fountain of water through the word," is the thing that all we  
 say too; that is to wit, that by the holy words of Baptism coming  
 to the water, God cleanseth the soul, according to the words of  
*Saint Augustine* Saint Augustine, "Accedit verbum ad elementum et  
 15 fit sacramentum." But Tyndale, because Saint  
 Paul saith there "in the fountain of water through the word,"  
 weeneth that he setteth the water but for a sign. As if, that one would  
 say a man "doth in his body fast, watch, give alms, and pray  
 through the devotion of the soul," Tyndale would then say that the  
 20 body were set but for a sign and in all these things doth  
 nothing at all!

His text also of Saint Peter is nothing in this world for his  
 purpose. For when Saint Peter saith, "Ye are born of new, not of  
 mortal seed but of immortal seed, by the word of God which  
 25 liveth and lasteth ever," what meaneth he other than that by our  
 Savior himself (which is the *living* word of God, that liveth and  
 lasteth *ever*) we be born again by the sacramental water and the  
 sacramental word? Which *both* he there understandeth; for he  
 there expressly speaketh of neither nother, but of the word that is  
 30 God's Son.

*Jas 1:18*

The words of Saint James also, that  
 "God of his good will begot us with the  
 word of truth"—how prove these words that the water of Baptism  
 serveth but for a sign?  
 35 "The 'word of truth,'" saith Tyndale, "is here understood the word of his  
 promise." How proveth Tyndale that? Because that Christ's promises  
 be true, must it therefore needs be that Saint James in that place

1 *saith*: i.e., says it is    2 *after that*: i.e., after such time as    3 *shown*: explained // *token*: symbol (water)  
 3 *might*: could rightly    4 *tale*: account // *home . . . never*: i.e., send the child back home without ever having  
 6, 7 *plain and evident*: clear and conclusive    6 *would he should*: say he should / would have him    7 *tale*: assertion  
 7, 37 *place(s)*: text(s); verse(s)    8 *layeth*: adduces // *prove it nothing*: i.e., they prove it in no way  
 11–12 *is . . . say*: i.e., that is the assertion that all of us (Catholics) make  
 14–15: "The word is brought to the [material] element, and it becomes a sacrament" (*Tractates on the Gospel*  
*of John*, 80.3).    17 *weeneth*: thinks // *setteth . . . but for*: i.e., considers . . . to be only  
 17 *that one would*: were someone to    18 *watch*: keep vigil    20 *were set but for*: was posited as only  
 22–23 *text . . . purpose*: i.e., text from Saint Peter also does nothing whatsoever for his argument    23 *of new*: anew  
 26 *which*: who    28 *which both*: both of which elements // *understandeth*: i.e., speaks of equally implicitly  
 29 *neither nother*: neither the one nor the other // *but*: i.e., but only    34 *but*: only  
 35 *The . . . here*: By the . . . here to be    36 *because that*: because

meant the word of promise? As though there were no more true of all that ever Christ spoke but only of his promises! Why may not in that place the “word of truth,” with which God hath of his good will begotten us, be understood our Savior Christ himself... by whom God hath begotten us indeed, and which is the very Truth itself, as himself witnesseth of himself where he saith, “Ego sum via, veritas, et vita” (“I am the way, the truth, and the life”)? Thus may ye see that this text proveth Tyndale’s purpose nothing at all.

But now suppose that the very words of Saint James were that God had “begotten us with the word of his promise”; what had this made for the matter? How had this proved that the water and the sacramental words were but bare signs and tokens? If Saint James said that God had “begotten us by his goodness”—do these words exclude all the means that his goodness used toward it? If God would say to Tyndale, “I have brought thee into this world which thou dost now corrupt, and I have made the Christendom which thou goest about to destroy, and I have bidden thee beware of hell, into which thou runnest apace”—did he therein exclude Tyndale’s father and his mother, and his sacrament of Baptism and the minister thereof, and the preachers and teachers of the others? So ye may plainly see that Tyndale’s texts serve nothing at all to prove that the sacraments serve but only for signs.

This opinion hath Tyndale taken of Luther, which giveth to the sacrament nothing at all... but he saith that God giveth all the grace by the faith alone, and not by the sacraments anything at all. Now, the Church believeth and teacheth that God hath not so bound himself to his sacraments but that where he giveth the gift of faith to any that cannot come to Baptism, there he of his power may, and of his goodness will, give unto that man the gift of such grace to come to heaven without Baptism. But where God giveth grace *by* the baptism—there it is hard to set the baptism at so short as to say that it serveth but for a bare sign... and without the significations preached at the font standeth in no more stead than a preacher that preacheth not.

Albeit that God may cure a sore without a medicine, and do a miracle in a man’s health, and that for the regard of the man’s

1 *true*: i.e., true ones    2 *all . . . only*: i.e., all the words . . . only those    3 *place*: verse  
 4 *understood*: i.e., understood to be    5, 24 *which*: who    6 *as himself*: as he himself  
 8, 21, 30 *may*: can    9 *purpose*: point    9, 22 *nothing*: in no way    10 *very*: actual  
 11–12 *what . . . matter*: i.e., what difference would this have made to the issue at hand  
 12 *how had this*: how would this have    13, 33 *bare*: mere    13 *tokens*: symbols  
 15 *it*: i.e., that begetting of us // *would*: were to    18 *thou goest about*: you are attempting  
 19 *thou runnest apace*: you are running at quite a speed    20 *minister*: administerer  
 21 *of the others*: i.e., who prepared him for the other sacraments he has received // *so*: thus  
 24 *opinion*: deviant tenet // *taken of*: gotten from // *giveth*: accredits    26 *anything*: in any way  
 29 *any that*: anyone who    29, 31 *come*: get    31 *such grace*: i.e., such grace as will enable him  
 32 *hard*: harsh / problematic    32–33 *set . . . short*: assign to the baptism such a low value  
 34 *preached*: i.e., being preached  
 34–35 *standeth . . . than*: is of no more benefit than / is there to no more effect than would be  
 36 *albeit*: though it is true // *a sore*: an ailment // *do*: work // *in . . . health*: i.e., to heal someone

good faith and his trust in God: yet if it please God to heal him by a plaster, though his faith be the cause *why* God doth it... yet is the plaster a *means* in the doing, and serveth not for a bare sign.

5 And surely when our Savior set this order therein—that whoso  
were baptized in water in the name of the Father and the Son and the  
Holy Ghost, he should be saved... and that except a man were born  
again as well of the water as of the Spirit, he should not enter into  
the kingdom of heaven—God set it to serve for a more effectual  
10 thing than for a bare sign void of any fruitful effect. For this  
were yet at the leastwise no less than if a lord would say to a poor  
fellow, “Take thee here this badge” (or “this livery gown”) “of mine; and  
if thou take it and wear it, I will take thee for my household servant  
and in my household give thee meat and drink and wages; or else,  
15 if thou wear it not, thou shalt not come within my doors.” This  
livery gown giveth him neither meat nor money... but yet it is  
more than a sign that he shall have it. For the wearing thereof  
*helpeth* him to get it—not of any nature of the livery, but by his  
lord’s ordinance.

20 And so, likewise, though it were true that the sacraments did  
nothing work in themselves, nor had no power in themselves, no  
more of God than of nature, to purge and cleanse the soul: yet were it  
more than a bare token or sign of grace, in that it hath by God’s  
promise his own special assistance which at the sacraments  
administered doth infund his grace.

25 Howbeit, many good, virtuous men hath there been of old that  
have had yet a much higher estimation of the sacraments than so...  
and that have thought that the sacraments have not only God, by  
his promise, *assistant* to purge the soul and to infund his grace,  
but also that he hath *used* them therein as effectual, working instruments  
30 in the doing thereof, by reason of a certain influence of his  
power whereby he made them meet to work into the soul through  
the touch of the body.

And into this mind they were led by the words of Holy  
Scripture, and partly for the excellence of the sacraments of the New  
35 Law in respect of the sacraments of the Old Law—between which  
two kinds of sacraments seemeth to be as great difference as

2, 3 *plaster*: medicinal application    2, 19 *though*: even if    3, 9, 22 *bare*: mere  
4 *surely*: assuredly // *order*: norm // *therein*: i.e., in his salvific plan // *whoso*: whoever  
6, 7 *should*: would    6 *except*: unless    9 *void*: devoid    10 *were*: would be // *would*: were to  
11, 15, 17 *livery (gown)*: servants’ uniform (distinctive to the servants of a particular household)  
13, 15 *meat*: food    17 *of any*: by any    20 *nothing work*: effect nothing; do nothing  
21 *of . . . of*: from . . . by    21, 28 *purge*: purify    21 *yet were it*: it yet would be    22 *token*: indicator  
23–24 *assistance . . . infund*: i.e., active presence by which at the administering of the sacraments he does infuse  
25 *howbeit*: however    26 *estimation*: assessment // *so*: i.e., that  
27 *that the . . . not only God*: not only that the . . . God    28 *assistant*: actively present // *infund*: infuse  
30 *influence*: emanation    31 *meet to work*: capable of working    33 *mind*: way of thinking  
34 *for*: because of    34–35 *excellence . . . in respect of*: excellence . . . in comparison to; superiority . . . to  
36 *seemeth*: i.e., there seems

between the two kinds of the laws themselves; and that is no less than between figures, images, similitudes, or shadows, and the very things themselves... as saith Saint Paul: “Omnia in figura contingebant

*1 Cor 10:11* illis” (“Allthing unto them came

5 *Lv 4:31–35; 5:6–18; 6:17–23* in figures”).

Then, since the sacraments of the *Old* Law had God, by his promise, assistant with them in remission of sins (as by the plain words of many places of Scripture doth appear), it seemed to those old holy, virtuous doctors that the sacraments of the New Law, for the preeminence over them, should of God’s especial influence have some effectual virtue, force, and power as an instrument of God in the working thereof. To which mind they have been moved not only for the cause foreremembered... but also, as I said before, for that the very words of Holy Scripture

15 *Acts 8:17; 19:6* seem to lead them to it... when they read in the Acts that by the putting of the

apostles’ hands upon them that were christened, the Holy Ghost forthwith came into them and by miracle showed himself by their speaking in diverse tongues. And when they read Saint Paul writing to Timothy, “Neglect not that grace that is in thee, which

20 *1 Tm 4:14* is given thee by prophecy, with the putting upon of the hands of the priesthood”; and unto him also those words, “I warn thee that thou resuscitate and stir up the grace

25 of God that is in thee by the imposition” (or “putting upon”) “of my hands”—these places were very plain for their mind, when they here read that grace was by God infused with the receiving of the holy order of priesthood, by the outward sacrament of putting the bishop’s hand upon him.

30 It seemeth also that the words of God spoken by the mouth of the prophet Ezekiel soundeth to the same... where he saith, “I have washed thee with water, and I have cleansed thy blood.” By which words it seemeth to be signified that the outward washing of the water of Baptism should be an effectual instrument of the inward washing of the

2, 5 *figures*: emblematical representations    2 *similitudes*: similes    3 *very*: actual  
 4 *allthing*: everything    7 *assistant*: actively present    8, 26 *places*: passages  
 8–9 *doth appear*: is shown    9 *old*: early // *doctors*: exegetes / theologians  
 10 *for . . . them*: i.e., because of their preeminence over those of the Old Law    11 *of*: by  
 11 *influence*: injecting (thereof) // *virtue*: capability    13 *mind*: way of thinking  
 13 *cause foreremembered*: reason mentioned above    17 *christened*: baptized  
 18 *forthwith*: immediately // *showed himself*: i.e., made his presence in them known  
 19 *diverse tongues*: different languages  
 22–23 *putting . . . priesthood*: i.e., priesthood-conferring laying on of hands  
 24 *warn . . . thou*: remind you to // *resuscitate*: revivify / fan  
 26 *were . . . mind*: gave very clear support to their view  
 28–29 *sacrament . . . him*: i.e., sign of the bishop’s putting his hand upon the ordinand  
 31 *soundeth to the same*: carry the same kind of meaning    34 *outward*: external  
 34 *of the*: i.e., done by the    35 *should*: would; was to // *inward*: internal

Ez 36:25

Sacrament of Baptism our Lord saith  
also, “I shall shed out upon you clean  
water, and ye shall be cleansed from all your filthiness.” These words  
show that the water shall wash the filth. And what filthiness

5     *The water of Baptism doth*     meaneth he but the filthiness of the soul?  
      *wash the filthiness*           And that doth no water wash but the  
      *of the soul.*                 water of Baptism. And whereto would

it *clean* water... but for the difference that it hath in making clean the  
10   soul by influence of God’s gift over that other waters have? For  
else, as for elemental cleanness of that water in itself, other water  
is as clean as it.

Those holy doctors considered also the yet more open words of  
      *Zec 14:8*                 the prophet Zechariah. “There shall go forth,”  
15                             he saith, “quick, lively waters out of

Jerusalem, the one half of them to the oriental sea, the other half  
to the very uttermost sea.” These words verily describe the holy  
water of the Sacrament of Baptism, the water that wellet out of  
Holy Church which stretcheth to two seas of sins, that is to wit, both  
20   of sin original and of all the actual sin that the man hath  
done, all were he never so old ere he were baptized. And why  
calleth the prophet this water “quick” and “lively”... but for the difference  
between it and other waters that are but dead? In token that  
the water of Baptism hath, by the secret sanctification of God, a  
25   certain strength of spiritual life infunded into that corporeal  
element... whereby it is *not* only a bare, dead *token* and *sign* of  
grace and cleansing of the soul, but also a quick, lively, working  
medicine, means, and instrument.

By these places of Scripture and divers others... many good, holy  
30   men of old—albeit that no man otherwise thought nor thinketh but  
that the principal work, and the whole worker in the cleansing of the  
soul and infunding of grace, is God himself, and that he doth it  
for the merits of Christ’s Passion, as he hath promised to do, and  
that upon our part is required, in such as have use and reason at the  
35   time of Baptism, repentance of the evil life past, with  
faith and belief of the word of God, and hope of salvation with

2 *shed*: pour     4 *show*: indicate     4, 6 *wash*: i.e., wash away     7 *whereto*: for what reason  
10 *influence* . . . *that* : : i.e., influx of a gift from God beyond that which     11 *else*: otherwise  
11 *elemental* . . . *itself*: i.e., the cleanness that that water, as one of the four elements, has in itself  
13 *open*: i.e., clearly-revealing-of-this-truth     15, 22, 27 *quick*: living // *lively*: active     16 *oriental*: eastern  
17 *uttermost*: remotest // *verily describe*: actually refer to / accurately depict     19 *stretcheth*: runs  
21 *done*: committed // *all* . . . *baptized*: i.e., no matter how old he was by the time he got baptized  
23 *dead*: i.e., inert ones // *token*: indication     24 *the secret* . . . *God*: i.e., God’s unperceivable sanctifying of it  
25 *strength*: potency // *infunded*: infused     26 *bare, dead token*: mere, inert symbol  
27 *working*: operative     29 *by*: i.e., on the basis of // *places*: passages // *divers*: several  
31 *work*: achievement / production // *whole*: sole // *worker*: producer / doer  
32 *infunding*: infusing // *God*: i.e., (the presence of) God     34 *use and*: i.e., the use of  
35 *the evil life past*: i.e., the bad things they have done in the past

love and charity toward God and our neighbor, and a purpose of working of good works—yet divers good holy doctors have taught, as I say, by such places of Scripture, that God in the working of such cleansing of the soul and infusion of grace useth the sacraments  
 5 not as a bare sign but as an instrument with which and by which it pleaseth him to work them.

And they that think otherwise—that is to wit, they that think that the sacraments be but, as it were, the livery gown whereof I gave you the example, and hath no special power nor influence  
 10 given of God by which it anything may work in cleansing of the soul—all they have none other thing for themselves, as far as I have read and could perceive, but arguments grounded upon philosophy and metaphysical reasons... by the constraint whereof, I will not say they *be* driven and compelled, but say that, as it seemeth me,  
 15 they drive and compel *themselves* to find glosses to these scriptures, and unto the words of other good holy doctors, too.

For as for my part, I would not let to deny a whole heap of those reasons in matters of the sacraments, which hang all upon God's will and pleasure and his omnipotent power. For albeit that we see  
 20 no likelihood how that bodily water can work upon the spiritual  
     *Note*                      substance of the soul—yet God can make the fire, which is a bodily substance as well as is the water, to work not upon souls only discharged of their bodies in purgatory, but also upon that evil angels the devils,  
 25 whose substance is as spiritual as is the soul—I cannot greatly see why we should greatly fear to grant and agree that by God's ordinance the water may be God's instrument in purging and cleansing of the soul.

Which argument, for aught that I perceive, among them is to mine understanding so simply assoiled... that till I hear either better or perceive them better, I like as yet that argument better than I like all their solutions that they make thereto.

For some of them be fain, for their solution, to grant almost that their pain in the fire were but a detaining therein by some  
 35 stronger power than themselves; and then were the pain but as an imprisonment and restraint of liberty, if the fire burn them not.

1 *purpose*: serious intention    2 *divers*: several    2, 16 *good*: orthodox / bona fide  
 2, 16 *holy doctors*: theologians    3 *by*: on the basis of // *places*: passages    5 *bare*: mere  
 7–11: See 99/9–18.    8–9 *livery* . . . *example*: i.e., servants' garb that I gave you by way of example  
 9 *hath no*: i.e., that none of them has any // *influence*: agency    10 *of God*: by God  
 10 *anything may work in*: can be at all operative in the    11 *all they*: i.e., all of those people  
 11 *none* . . . *themselves*: i.e., no other adduced support for their position    13 *reasons*: considerations  
 14 *seemeth*: seems to    15 *find glosses to*: come up with false interpretations of    16 *unto*: i.e., of  
 17 *let*: scruple / hesitate // *deny*: reject    18 *reasons*: arguments    20 *likelihood*: indication (of)  
 20, 22 *bodily*: physical    23 *not upon souls only*: i.e., not only on souls    24 *evil*: i.e., evil kind of  
 27 *may*: can // *purging*: purifying    29 *aught*: anything    30 *simply*: stupidly // *assoiled*: rebutted  
 30–31 *hear* . . . *them better*: i.e., either hear from them better ones or understand better the ones they have already given  
 32, 33 *solution(s)*: answer(s)    33 *fain*: constrained // *grant almost*: posit more or less  
 34 *their*: i.e., the poor souls' // *were*: i.e., is    35 *and* . . . *as*: i.e., in which case the pain is only like that of suffering

And then why more in fire than in water, if they be for the  
 fire never the warmer? And on the other side, if that by the keeping  
 of them in the fire, the fire do work upon them and burn them, as  
 I think the truth is: then so may by God's ordinance the water  
 5 help to wash and cleanse the soul.

And surely since experience teacheth us that the soul, which is of  
 itself a spiritual substance, God hath of his high wisdom and  
 power found the means so to put it in a body, and so to knit it  
 thereto, that not only by fire or frozen water put about it, but also  
 10 without any outward thing put unto it, by the only boiling  
 of the distempered humors within itself, the soul is in such grief,  
 pain, and torment that it would be as fain out of the body as the  
 body would be rid of it—since we find this thus, I doubt nothing  
 at all but that God can, by more means than men can think or  
 15 imagine, so bind the spiritual soul to the fire that he shall feel  
 the fervor of that fire as he now feeleth the heat of his ague here; and  
 yet shall not the fire and he be made one person, as the soul and the  
 body be now. Which thing whoso would ask me how may that  
 be... might as well ask me how might the world be made when there  
 20 was nothing to make it of, and a thousand mad questions more.  
 But to the purpose, this I say: that God may by his power make the  
 water in the sacrament an instrument with an effectual influence of  
 power given by God thereto at the time to purge the soul... as well  
 as the fire either to purge it or punish it. In which thing since the  
 25 scriptures seem to say that he doth so, and no scripture saith the  
 contrary... and many good, holy men have been of that mind... I  
 see not why we should think otherwise.

2 *Kgs* 5:9–14

When our Lord healed Naaman the Syrian by

his prophet Elisha in the water of

30 Jordan—no man doubteth but that *God* did the deed. Yet were it a  
 great boldness to affirm that the *water* there did work nothing  
 therein at that time; and yet had the water no such nature of itself.

No more had also the water of which it is written in the Gospel

*Jn* 5:4, 7

of Saint John... where at the moving

35 thereof, whoso next were let down  
 thereto was there cured by “the angel of God”; and yet is it well

1 *more*: i.e., rather    2 *never*: not at all    //    *side*: i.e., hand    //    *if*: i.e., if it is the case

3 *do work upon*: does have an effect on    4, 18, 21 *may*: can    8 *knit*: join    9 *about*: i.e., on and around

10 *outward*: external    //    *the only*: just the    11 *distempered*: disordered    //    *humors*: inclinations / dispositions

12 *be as fain*: as gladly be    13–14 *doubt nothing* . . . *but that*: have no doubt . . . that    14 *think*: i.e., think of

16 *fervor*: intense hotness    //    *ague*: acute fever    18, 35 *whoso*: whoever    19 *might*: could

19 *well*: rightly; justifiably    20 *of*: i.e., out of    22 *influence*: influx    23, 24 *purge*: purify

24 *thing*: i.e., purifying or punishing    28 *by*: via    30 *were it*: would it be

31 *boldness*: rashness / overstepping    //    *work*: effect    36 *well*: quite

likely that God gave an influence of his power at the time, by which the water itself was made an instrument of that health.

And likewise where the woman was healed by the touch of

*Lk 8:43–48*

Christ's garment, whereof Saint Luke

5 speaketh in the eighth chapter—the words of our Savior himself seem to show some influence gone forth from himself into his garment, such as, by his might, with the touch of his garment used as an instrument therein, was able to give health unto that good-faithful woman.

*Jn 9:6–7*

When our Savior, as is written in the ninth chapter of Saint John, did take the

dirt of the ground, and did spit thereupon and made thereof a plaster, and laid it upon the blind man's eyes and so gave him his sight—I think that God gave an influence of his power into  
15 that plaster, whereby he cured his eyes. Yet might he have done it by his only word, or by his only will, without any such outward thing laid thereunto. But it pleased him to let them see that he not only could do it himself, but could also make the very dirt of the street able to do such cures... as not all the plasters in all the  
20 surgeons' shops were able to attain unto.

Now, if they will say that it is not like, in curing the body and cleansing of the soul—I say it *is* like, saving for the reason by which they say that the bodily water cannot work upon the unbodily soul. And therefore, thereto I say that by no natural  
25 power, nor by *no* power except only God's, could these bodies—that is to wit, those waters, garment, and plaster—have in such wise wrought upon the bodies wherein they were working instruments of these marvelous cures. And then I say by his power may the bodily water as well be a working instrument upon the unbodied  
30 and unbodily soul—be it in cleansing, purging, or punishing—as upon the body.

For as for that reason by which some doctors reckon the matter the more easy in the sacraments—because the outward, sensible things thereof work, as they reckon, upon the soul as part of the  
35 whole man, by touching the body thereof... as the fire touching the body paineth the soul and all—albeit I repugn not thereat, yet I

1, 14 *influence*: emanation    2, 9 *health*: healing    6 *show*: indicate  
6 *influence*: emanation / agency    9 *good-faithful*: right-believing; full-of-good-faith  
13, 15, etc. *plaster(s)*: medicinal paste(s)    13 *so*: thusly    15 *might*: could  
16 *only word*: word alone // *only will*: will alone    16, 33 *outward*: external  
17 *laid*: added    19 *street*: walkway    20 *surgeons' shops*: medical supply stores  
20 *attain unto*: achieve    21, 22 *like*: i.e., all the same    21 *in curing*: i.e., regarding God's curing of  
22–23 *reason*... *say*: i.e., reason they give for saying    23, 24, 30 *(un)bodily*: (non)physical  
23 *work upon*: have any effect on    24 *thereto*: to that    25 *bodies*: physical things  
26 *wise*: ways    27 *wrought upon*: had effect on    27, 29 *working*: operative  
28–29 *may the bodily water*: the physical water can    29 *unbodied*: nonphysical  
30 *unbodily*: incorporeal // *purging*: purifying    32 *by*: i.e., for // *doctors*: theologians  
33 *more easy*: easier to understand / less problematic    34 *in*: with regard to  
33 *sensible*: sense-perceptible    34 *things*: elements  
36 *albeit*... *thereat*: although I have no objection to that



nothing ground myself thereon, since I never found among them  
all one reason yet whereby methought it proved otherwise but that  
*Corporeal water is able to work upon the unbodied soul.* God may make the bodily, corporeal water  
able to work upon the unbodied, incorporeal

5 soul. Which if it may... since  
God hath set the sacraments as *means* by which we come to  
cleansing of the soul and to salvation... albeit that no man  
denieth but that the power of God is chief, and that he regardeth  
Christ's Passion and our own faith, with divers other things—  
10 yet I see not why we should take all effect of working from the sacraments  
themselves, and leave them void of all grace, and call them  
bare, graceless tokens. For if that any man were of the mind that he  
thought the sacraments do nothing to the cleansing of the soul  
because that all that ever is done is done by the power of God—so  
15 might he think that no medicine doth anything in the cure of  
any disease, because that all the nature of the medicine is given  
unto it by the power of God too.

Howbeit, in this matter, whether that the sacraments have any  
influence of power given them by God whereby they may be workers  
20 and instruments in the purging or cleansing of the soul... or else  
that they be but in such wise means and cause of the grace as the  
livery gown, whereof I did put the example, is of the servant's  
finding in the lord's household... is not the thing wherein I will  
greatly stick. But in my mind the Scripture most serveth for that  
25 first opinion; and good holy doctors, and of the eldest, have been of  
that opinion, and nothing but philosophical reasons have drawn  
others from that opinion. And since that some others hath fallen to  
the other opinion, which giveth to the sacraments less force  
and efficacy than doth that first opinion, there are now come these  
30 new men—Luther, Friar Huessgen, and Hutchins, and such other lewd  
fellows—that would leave the sacraments, by their wills, no manner  
strength at all. And therefore so much like I the better the first  
way, that most holy men held, and that furthest goeth from the  
doctrine of those heretics, which make the sacraments, as they  
35 say, to serve only for priests and preachers—and then they preach themselves  
that the priesthood is no sacrament at all—and turn them all into

1 *nothing ground*: do not at all base    2 *reason*: consideration / argument    //    *methought*: I thought  
3, 5, 19 *may*: can    3 *bodily*: physical    4 *unbodied*: nonphysical    8 *regardeth*: takes into account  
9 *divers*: several    10, 27 *from*: away from    12 *bare*: mere    //    *tokens*: symbols    //    *if that*: if    13 *to*: toward  
14, 16 *because*: by reason of the fact    16 *disease*: ailment    18 *any*: some    19 *influence*: influx  
19 *workers*: agents    20 *purging*: purifying    21 *wise*: a way    22 *livery gown*: uniform  
22 *whereof*... *the*: i.e., that I gave you by way of    23 *finding*: maintenance / making his living  
23 *the thing*: i.e., something    23–24 *wherein*... *stick*: whereon... dwell    24 *serveth for*: favors; supports  
25 *good*: orthodox / bona fide    //    *holy doctors*: theologians    //    *eldest*: i.e., earliest times  
26 *reasons*: considerations    27 *since that*: since    //    *hath fallen*: i.e., have come to subscribe  
28 *giveth*: ascribes    30 *new men*: upstarts    //    *Hutchins*: The surname used by some of Tyndale's ancestors.  
Sometimes Tyndale himself went by it.    30–31 *lewd fellows*: sorry good-for-nothings  
31–32 *leave*... *strength*: i.e., not, if they could help it, leave the sacraments any kind of potency    33 *way*: view  
33 *furthest goeth*: is the furthest removed    34 *which make*: who make out

mocks and jests, comparing sand with holy salt, and butter-smearing to the anointing with the hallowed chrism; and such other foolish blasphemy.

Now, where they say that all the salvation standeth in promise of God, and nothing in the sacraments at all... because that they be but the tokens thereof: by this reason they will within a while take away the reverence from the very promise, too. For of truth, the promise of God worketh not our salvation no more than do the sacraments, but *God* worketh our salvation *himself*... and the promise is the token whereby we know he doth so. For if he had not promised it, we had not so surely known it, nor had not had so great a cause of good hope thereof; but yet might he have saved us though he had never promised us. And now them that he saveth, he saveth not so much by the force of his promise as by reason of the selfsame goodness that made him to make the promise. So that his own liberal *goodness* worketh our salvation, and the promise giveth the *knowledge* of our salvation.

Now say these men always that God saveth us “by his promise,” as though they were sure that if he were not surely bound by his promise, he would not now do it at all... and saving that his promise is once past him somewhat, as they make it unawares, he would else, if it were now to make, take a better advisement ere he bound himself so far.

In men such change and such repentance happeth that where one of his good will sometime bindeth himself to give... the other *may* thank the bond if ever the promise be kept. But God’s high providence so foreseeth what he promised... that he can never forthink it. And his inestimable goodness is so great... that he giveth not because he promiseth, but he promiseth because he will give; and would give though he never promised as he determined to give *God’s promise is not the cause of his gift.* before he promised; and would yet promise if he had not promised—not that his promise should be the *cause* of his gift, but that we should by his promise have knowledge of his gift and comfort of the hope.

Now maketh me Tyndale the sacraments nothing but a token of the promise... and the promise he maketh the cause of the gift;

1 *mocks and jests*: i.e., objects of ridicule and scorn // *comparing . . . with*: paralleling . . . with / likening . . . to  
 2 *hallowed*: blessed 4 *standeth in*: depends on / is predicated on 5 *nothing in*: in no way on  
 5 *because*: by reason of the fact 6 *reason*: line of reasoning 7 *of truth*: in point of fact  
 10 *so*: i.e., this 11 *had . . . it*: would not have known it with such certainty  
 11 *nor had not had*: i.e., nor would we have had 12 *might*: could 13 *though*: even if  
 13 *promised us*: i.e., given us any promise of that 15 *made*: induced 19 *surely*: securely; inescapably  
 20 *saving*: were it not for the fact  
 21 *once . . . somewhat*: now kind of beyond his control; i.e., something he can’t now undo  
 21 *as . . . unawares*: i.e., like one that someone makes heedlessly  
 22 *take . . . ere*: give it better consideration before 23 *so far*: to that extent 24 *repentance*: remorse  
 24 *happeth*: i.e., does happen 25 *one*: i.e., one person 26 *thank*: credit // *bond*: obligation  
 28 *forthink*: have second thoughts about / regret // *inestimable*: incalculable 30 *though he*: i.e., if he’d  
 35 *comfort of*: encouragement from 36 *the sacraments*: i.e., the claim that the sacraments are  
 37 *maketh*: asserts to be

whereas of truth, as well the promise as the sacraments be tokens of the gift... and God's goodness is the cause of the gift. And God hath from the beginning determined that he would after the fall of Adam ordinarily not give it without the sacraments. But though  
 5 he determined also to make a promise... yet never determined he that he would not give it without he made a promise. And so be both the sacraments and the promises tokens of the gift... and yet seemeth the sacrament, rather than the promise, a cause of the gift. For the sacrament, after the institution, seemeth *a* cause of the gift—  
 10 at the leastwise in some kind of cause—and the promise seemeth no cause in no kind, neither since nor before. And thus ye may see what a wise process Tyndale maketh us.

But would God yet that this were the worst piece of Tyndale's teaching concerning Christ's promise. But he frameth Christ's  
 15 promises after his own fashion. He saith that *we* make promises in sacraments where Christ made none; but *he* maketh promises that Christ made never such! For Christ promiseth heaven *if* men labor for it; Tyndale would make us *ween* we need no labor at all. Christ promiseth forgiveness through the Sacrament of Penance, if  
 20 men amend and will do penance; Tyndale of the sacrament putteth two parts away, and almost the third too, and promiseth forgiveness for a very short, scant repenting, at the first thought, by and by... and to do penance he taketh for idolatry. Christ promiseth us heaven *if* we do good works with our faith; Tyndale saith to do good works  
 25 with intent the rather to come to heaven shall bring a man to hell, and lose the reward of faith. And thus Tyndale—which crieth out "Promise! Promise!" and will have nothing taught but Christ's promise—yet in these things, and a hundred more, striveth and fighteth *against* God's promises, and utterly goeth about to destroy  
 30 them.

Finally, whereas Christ hath made a promise, one of the greatest, most solemn, most assuredly made, and thereto most fruitful and most necessary, that ever he made... that is to wit, that he would be with his church of Christian people all days unto the end of the  
 35 *Mt 28:20* world, and that he would send also the Holy Ghost unto them, that should teach them allthing and lead them into every

1 *of truth*: in reality    4 *ordinarily*: as a rule // *without*: outside of; apart from  
 6 *without he made*: without having made    9 *after the*: i.e., after its    10 *at . . . some*: i.e., at least some  
 11 *in no*: i.e., of any // *may*: can    12 *wise process*: brilliant argument  
 13 *would . . . piece*: yet I wish to God this was the worst part    14 *frameth*: words; couches  
 15 *after his own fashion*: as suits himself // *we*: i.e., we who oppose him; we Catholics  
 16 *in*: about; regarding // *where*: whereas    18 *ween*: think    20–21 *putteth two parts away*: rejects two thirds  
 21 *almost*: nearly all of // *the third*: i.e., the third third    22 *by and by*: immediate  
 25 *the rather to come*: to be the more likely to get    26 *lose*: cause the loss of // *which*: who  
 29 *utterly goeth about*: goes all out    31 *whereas*: forasmuch as / seeing that  
 32 *assuredly made*: i.e., given with assurances // *thereto*: also    36 *that should*: who would  
 37 *allthing*: everything

truth: Tyndale first (lest he should seem to gainsay this promise)  
 would shift it from the known church and company of all Christian  
 people professing the name and faith of Christ, unto a secret company  
 of such as they call “good” men and “elect”... which who they be  
 5 who can tell? And yet since there can be no doubt but such as be or  
 have been very elects have always been parties of this known Christian  
 company... and since they were not false dissemblers... they have  
 believed as they showed, and they have shown that they believed as  
 we believe... in such things as Tyndale now calleth misbelief; for  
 10 they have done therein as we do, and always the best have written  
 these things that we believe... and never was there any company, till  
 within this twenty years, that believed as Tyndale saith that he  
 believeth. And he saith also that his belief is so necessary to salvation  
 that the contrary belief is damnable—for else he would not, of  
 15 his courtesy, cry out so sore upon the clergy for teaching the contrary.  
 Whereupon, if Tyndale’s lie be true, there must then of  
 necessity follow that there must be true also one of these two very  
 plain falsehoods: that is to wit, that Christ hath never since his death  
 till holy Tyndale’s days had in this world here any church at all;  
 20 or else that if Christ have had here any church, yet from his own  
 death till holy Tyndale’s days, the Holy Ghost, whom himself sent,  
 never taught his church the truth. Now, then, if Christ had all this  
 while no church in earth... his promise was clearly broken by  
 which he promised to be with his church himself all days unto  
 25 the world’s end. For how were he with his church here unto the  
 world’s end... if before the world’s end so many hundred years together,  
 he had here no church at all?

And on the other side, if he had here all this while any church,  
 and then the Holy Ghost have not taught that church the truth: then  
 30 hath Christ broken that promise by which he promised that the  
 Holy Ghost should teach his church all things and lead them into  
 all truth. For how had the Holy Ghost taught it all things if he  
 have suffered the devil to teach it some things? And let Tyndale,  
 when he will, *answer this* point. Mark well and remember that we  
 35 speak here of belief and faith; not of works and deeds, lest after his  
 customable fashion, letting the belief go by, he answer us with

1 *gainsay*: controvert    2, 3, etc. *company*: community    3 *secret*: hidden; unidentifiable    6 *very*: true  
 6 *parties*: members    7 *false*: dishonest; hypocritical    8 *showed/shown*: professed / acted like (they did)  
 15 *cry out so sore upon*: so harshly denounce    18 *plain falsehoods*: obviously false statements  
 20, 29 *have*: i.e., has    21 *himself*: he himself    23 *in*: on    25 *were he*: would he be  
 26 *years together*: consecutive years    28 *side*: i.e., hand // *any*: some; a    31 *should*: would  
 32 *had . . . taught*: i.e., has the Holy Ghost been teaching    33 *have suffered*: has allowed  
 35 *speak*: i.e., are speaking // *after*: i.e., in    36 *customable*: typical // *with*: by

railing upon men's manners, and so lead the reader more than a mile from the matter.

And how hath the Holy Ghost led the Church all this while into all truth... if one holy truth be that friars when they list may

5 wed nuns notwithstanding their vows, and the Holy Ghost hath almost this fifteen hundred years together suffered all his whole

*Breach of vows* church (neither good nor bad except) to believe that breach of such vows is deadly

sin, and such manner "marriage" plain incestuous lechery, and to damn Tyndale's faith in that point for very false heresy?

10 And thus, good Christian readers, here ye plainly see what manner of fashion Tyndale teacheth Christ's promises. For whereas he setteth all at nothing saving only Christ's promises made to man, he teacheth men again to break their promise made to God... and so  
15 bringeth all his matters in conclusion to that point that if he lied not (as he doth!)... Christ had broken his promise made to his church; besides this, that of Christ's promises he denieth many, and them that he granteth he believeth shrewdly, and would make them serve us only for a blind boldness of sin.

## 20 *Of the Sacrament of the Altar*

Forasmuch as he seeth that the Mass is the special thing in which the Sacrament of the Altar is honored, and in which it is most fruitful,

*What is received and offered* insomuch as there the very body and  
*up in the Mass* blood of our Lord is not only received

25 by the priest himself and for himself,

but is also, for his own sins and other men's too, offered up to God as a holy host, oblation, and sacrifice... re-presenting the same sacrifice in which our Savior, both being the Priest and the Sacrifice, offered up himself, for the sin of the world, unto his

30 Father in heaven, an acceptable sacrifice upon his painful cross: therefore doth Tyndale, after his master's doctrine, jest and rail and make mocks at the Mass, whereof these be his words...

### Tyndale

35 What helpeth it that the priest, when he goeth to Mass, disguiseth himself with a great part of the Passion of Christ, and playeth out the rest under silence with signs and proffers, with nodding, becking, and mowing, as it were Jackanapes... when neither he

1 *upon* . . . *manners*: about people's behaviors    2 *matter*: issue    4 *list*: want to    6 *almost this*: i.e., this almost  
6 *together*: in a row // *suffered*: allowed    7 *neither* . . . *except*: with the exception of no one, either good or bad  
8 *breach*: the breaking // *deadly*: i.e., a mortal    9 *incestuous*: See note for 44/2.    10 *damn*: condemn // *for*: as  
10 *false*: false / vile    12–13 *setteth* . . . *saving*: regards as nothing everything except    14 *again*: on the other hand  
15 *matters*: contentions // *in conclusion*: ultimately    16 *lied not (as he doth!)*: weren't lying (which he is!)  
16 *had*: would have    18 *shrewdly*: poorly / evilly    19 *for* . . . *sin*: i.e., as a license for sinning recklessly and  
shamelessly    20 *of the*: on the // *the Altar*: i.e., the Eucharist    21 *special*: main; chief  
22 *Sacrament of the Altar*: Blessed Sacrament // *and*: i.e. and the one    27 *host*: expiatory victim  
31 *after*: in accord with // *his master's doctrine*: i.e., Luther's teaching // *jest*: jeer  
32 *make mocks*: i.e., hurl derisive wisecracks    34 *what helpeth it*: of what avail is it // *goeth to*: i.e., says  
34–35 *disguiseth himself with*: i.e., exhibits himself in a false light by play-acting    36 *proffers*: gestures of offering  
37 *becking*: bowing // *mowing*: mouthing // *as*: as if // *Jackanapes*: A quasi-proper name for a trained monkey.

himself neither any man else wotteth what he meaneth . . . [nor] whereof  
no man can give [a good] reason [as he saith soon after].

### More

Here he mocketh—and playeth himself, as ye see, in mocking—these  
5 holy ceremonies used, as well in the apparel of the priest as in the  
Secrets of that Holy Sacrifice. Which he saith do no good, but  
much hurt, and make men superstitious . . . because, as he saith  
there, they have the more devotion thereby; and therefore he would  
have them left. As though the devotion that is increased by the beholding  
10 of those holy ceremonies were superstition because they  
understand them not!

If Tyndale say true in this . . . then did God by his own commandment  
make his Chosen People of Israel to fall into superstition instead  
of devotion, with the ceremonies used about the sacrifices  
15 in the Old Law, because they understood them not.

After this, he mingleth his lies therewith, saying that

[Christian men] think that they have done abundantly enough  
for God—yea, and deserved above measure—if they be present once in a  
day at such a mumming.

### 20 More

What may not such a man be bold to say, that is not ashamed to  
lie so shamefully? For he knoweth that all the readers well know that he  
lieth when they read it . . . and yet he is not ashamed to write it. What  
man would be so foolish to think that he hath done enough for God?

25 Yet layeth he another incommidity: that the infidels will “mock  
us and abhor us, in that they see nothing but such ape’s play  
among us, whereof no man can give a reason.”

Lo what a high reason hath Tyndale here found out: that such  
holy ceremonies whereof Christ’s church hath received many by the  
30 blessed apostles themselves, and from their days used ever hitherto (as  
appeareth by the writing of holy doctors far above a thousand years  
ago), we must now give over, for fear lest infidels as Turks and  
Saracens would learn of Tyndale to mock us for them . . . because we  
cannot tell them a good reason for each of them. Be ye sure, this is a  
35 right solemn reason! And Luther, indeed, maketh a much like; so  
that ye may see that they have weighed it well between them, or else

1 *neither any man*: nor anyone // *wotteth*: knows 5, 10, etc. *ceremonies*: rituals 5, 14, 30 *used*: observed  
5 *in*: with regard to 6 *Secrets*: prayers said by the priest sotto voce 7 *hurt*: harm 8 *have*: get  
8, 9, 14 *devotion*: devoutness 9 *left*: dropped 12 *Tyndale . . . this*: Tyndale is here telling the truth /  
what Tyndale is saying here is true 13 *make*: cause 14 *about*: in connection with  
18 *deserved above*: gained merit beyond 18–19 *once in a day*: i.e., on one day; once in a lifetime  
19 *mumming*: mime show 21 *be bold*: have the audacity 22 *so*: this 22–23 *he lieth*: i.e., he’s lying  
24 *to*: as to 25 *yet*: also // *layeth*: alleges // *incommodity*: i.e., undesirable consequence // *infidels*: unbelievers  
26 *abhor us*: find us revolting 28 *lo . . . out*: look what an awesome argument Tyndale has here come up with  
29 *by*: by way of 30 *hitherto*: to this day 31 *appeareth*: is evidenced // *holy doctors*: Church theologians  
32 *give over*: give up; relinquish // *infidels*: i.e., such unbelievers  
32–33 *Turks and Saracens*: Turkish and Arab Muslims 33 *of*: from // *for*: on account of  
34 *each*: i.e., each and every one // *be ye*: i.e., to be 35 *right solemn reason*: very impressive argument  
35 *much like*: i.e., a very similar one 36 *may*: can

Tyndale would not after so long a leisure allege it again so solemnly.

5 But now would I wit of wise Tyndale whether if men could and did give a good reason unto Jews, Turks, and Saracens, and paynims... as, for example, such causes as Tyndale telleth some for great, hidden mysteries that no man could tell but he, which he fetched out lately of a good friar's book called *Rationale divinorum*... showing what signifieth the alb, the amice, and stole, and so forth—would then all the Jews, Turks, Saracens, and other infidels hold themselves  
10 satisfied and mock no more? If they so would... then were they all much less infidels than Tyndale is; for he hath sought out such things, and yet mocketh still. Howbeit, that is little marvel. For indeed he bringeth all such things forth but *for* to make mocks at them.

15 But then would I wit of wise Tyndale farther, whether if all these infidels that he speaketh of, as Jews, Turks, and Saracens, were present at the Mass... and no such ceremony at all used thereat but only kneeling, knocking on breasts, and holding up of hands at the sight of the Elevation, and receiving of that Blessed Sacrament...  
20 and that thereupon marveling on the manner thereof, they were told the very truth—that the cause of all this reverent behavior

*What body is under* is because that there, under that  
*the form of bread* form of bread and wine, is the very  
Blessed Body and Blood of our Savior

25 himself, the same that hung upon the cross when he suffered his Passion for our redemption—would those infidels then hold themselves all content, and never mock at it more? Nay, will none of them besides the Blessed Sacrament mock at all the whole matter—both at the Incarnation, Death, Resurrection, and all?

30 Lo, thus ye see, good Christian readers, that by Tyndale's reason we must cast off clean all our whole faith... lest such infidels as himself is should make mocks thereat as he doth. What Christian ears can abide such blasphemous folly?

35 Yet would some unwise man ween, peradventure, that Tyndale doth, for all this, not mean anything against these holy ceremonies of the Mass... but only mocketh the priest because he

1 *leisure*: i.e., time to think about it // *allege*: advance 2 *solemnly*: seriously 3, 15 *wit*: inquire  
3, 15 *wise*: astute / brilliant 4, 9, 16 *Turks*: Turkish Muslims // *Saracens*: Arab Muslims  
5 *paynims*: pagans 7 *lately*: recently // *of*: from // *showing*: explaining  
9, 16, etc. *infidels*: unbelievers 10 *were they all*: would all of them be  
11 *less*: i.e., less bad; less reprehensible // *sought*: searched 12 *howbeit*: however // *marvel*: wonder  
13 *but*: only 13–14 *make mocks at*: make derisive fun of; ridicule 16 *as*: such as 17 *ceremony*: ritual  
17 *used*: observed; carried out 18 *knocking on*: striking of 20 *marveling on*: wondering at  
27, 28 *mock at*: scoff at / ridicule 27 *more*: again // *nay*: to the contrary  
28 *all the whole matter*: the whole entire affair 30 *reason*: reasoning 31 *cast off clean*: discard completely  
32 *make mocks thereat*: make derisive fun of it / take derisive potshots at it 33 *abide*: tolerate // *folly*: idiocy  
34 *unwise*: not-astute / not-brilliant // *ween*: think // *peradventure*: perhaps 35 *ceremonies*: rituals  
36 *mocketh the priest*: holds the priest up to ridicule

speaketh not all the Secrets of the Mass aloud... and also because he teacheth not all the parish what all those ceremonies mean.

Surely there needeth no man to doubt but he that can find in his heart to make such mocks upon the devout observances used so many hundred years about the Mass... hath a lewd, beastly mind against the very Sacrament itself.

But yet, to the end that every man may see it the more clearly—ye shall perceive by his own words that... according to Luther's babbling in his book of *Babylonica*... Tyndale teacheth plainly that the Blessed Sacrament is in the Mass no sacrifice, no host, nor none oblation; by which abominable heresy he taketh quite away the very special profit and fruit of all the Mass. These be his very words...

#### Tyndale

There is a word called in Latin *sacerdos*, in Greek *hiereus*, in Hebrew *cohan*—that is, a minister, an officer, a sacrificer, or a priest... as Aaron was a priest and sacrificed for the people, and was a mediator between God and them—and in the English should it have had some other name than “priest.” But Antichrist hath deceived us with unknown and strange terms, to bring us into confusion and superstitious blindness. Of that manner is Christ a priest forever, and all we priests through him... and need no more of any such priest on earth to be a mean for us unto God.

#### More

By these words ye see that whereas the priests in the Old Law offered sacrifices for the people, and that of diverse kinds, as appeareth in

*Lv 5:1–26; Nm 5:5–8* Leviticus and Numbers and other places of Holy Scripture; instead of all which

sacrifices Christ hath in his New Law instituted one only sacrifice, his own Blessed Body and Blood, to be offered up to his Father for his people by the hands of the priest in form of bread and wine... of which holy offering in the Mass now, the offering of Melchisedech,

*Gn 14:18–20* that offered bread and wine, was a solemn figure: Tyndale telleth us here

that because Christ is a priest forever—and that all we be priests through him, man and woman—ye must understand we need, therefore,

1 *Secrets*: sotto voce prayers    2 *ceremonies*: rituals    4 *mocks upon*: derisive cracks about  
 5 *about*: in connection with // *lewd*: vile    5–6 *mind against*: mindset against / attitude toward  
 8 *according to*: in line with    9 *plainly*: straight-out; explicitly    10 *host*: expiatory offering  
 10 *none*: i.e., any    12 *special*: particular / chief // *his very*: his exact    18 *had*: i.e., been given  
 20 *unknown*: uncomprehended / indeterminate // *strange*: esoteric    21 *manner*: kind (of priest that Aaron was)  
 22 *all we*: i.e., are all of us // *need no more of*: have no more need for  
 23 *to be a mean*: i.e., as should be a mediator // *unto*: with respect to    29 *only*: sole    33 *that*: who  
 34 *solemn*: mysteriously impressive // *figure*: prefigurement    35 *all we*: all of us  
 112/36—113/1 *need . . . more*: i.e., have . . . more need



he saith, no more of any such priest on earth that should be a mean between God and the people, to offer up any sacrifice to God for the people. For he saith farther that

5 Christ hath brought us into the inner temple, within the veil . . . , and unto the mercy stool of God—and hath coupled us unto God—where we offer every man for himself the desires and petitions of his heart... and do sacrifice and kill the lusts and appetites of his flesh, with prayer, fasting, and all manner of godly living.

#### More

10 With these gay, glittering words would Tyndale so blear our eyes... that he would make us to reckon ourselves taken in so near to God, and so “coupled” with him, that even upon God Almighty’s “mercy stool” we offer every man so sufficiently for himself the “desires and petitions of his heart,” and so sufficiently “sacrifice and kill the lusts  
15 and appetites of his flesh, with prayer, fasting, and all manner of good living,” that we need now no priest as mean between God and us, to offer up for us to God the holy host and Sacrifice of all Sacrifices, the Blessed Body and Blood of our holy Savior Christ.

This is the goodness that he bringeth all his holy process to. And  
20 whereas in other places all is naught among us, and all is but sin—yet here, lest we should need the Sacrifice of the Mass, we be all God’s good sons, and kill and sacrifice full well the lusts and appetites of our flesh with “prayer, fasting, and all manner of godly living.”

25 Howbeit, when Tyndale saith that “we” offer our desires of our heart at God Almighty’s mercy stool... and that “we” kill and sacrifice the lusts of our flesh with prayer, fasting, and all godly living—he meaneth none of us peevish “popish” “papists,” but the lively, lightsome Lutherans. For they, pardie, as ye see by Luther himself  
30 and his holy nun... kill and sacrifice their fleshly lusts with prayer, fasting, and much godly living, every man and woman wotteth how.

I marvel, yet, in what place of Scripture Tyndale findeth... that men sacrifice their *sins*. We find that men offer sacrifice *for*  
35 sin, and that men *kill* sin... and then peradventure offer *themselves*, clean depured from sin. But to offer up sin *in* sacrifice...

1, 16 *mean*: mediator    3 *saith farther*: goes on to say    10 *gay*: showy / good-appearing  
10–11 *blear our eyes*: blur our vision / hoodwink us    12 *even upon*: i.e., right there on  
17 *host*: expiatory offering    19 *all his*: his whole // *process*: argument; line of reasoning  
20 *places*: i.e., places in his book // *naught*: bad    22 *full*: very // *well*: uprightly; virtuously  
25 *howbeit*: however    28 *peevish*: childishly fretful // *lively*: spirited / frisky  
29 *lightsome*: enlightened / happy-go-lucky // *pardie*: i.e., by golly    32 *wotteth*: knows    33 *marvel*: wonder  
33 *yet*: too // *place*: passage    35 *peradventure*: perhaps  
36 *clean depured from*: completely purified of / washed clean of

meseemeth it is a very stinking sacrifice, and of such a scripted man not very scripturely spoken. But therefore Tyndale turneth those two words out of their right frame, to juggle and blear our eyes with. For he saith not that we “kill and sacrifice” our fleshly  
 5 lusts... lest we should have spied that it were no meet sacrifice; but he saith that we “sacrifice and kill” them—as though that in the Old Law, men had been wont to sacrifice the beasts first, and burn them up whole... or else burn part and eat part and then kill them after.

10 But Tyndale careth not how he set his words, so that he may make us to believe that we need no priest to offer up daily the same sacrifice that our Savior offered once and hath ordained to be by the priests perpetually offered in his church. For this is his labor to take out of our belief; and this is Luther’s labor, of whom he  
 15 learned it in his book of *Babylonica*. And for this cause be they wroth with the holy Canon of the Mass, because the Sacrament is in the Mass called, as it is indeed, a sacrifice, a host, and an offering.

This would they have us leave off for the only spite that they bear to priesthood—because they see that in this point that holy order of  
 20 *The excellent privilege of priesthood* priesthood hath an excellent privilege, in which none angel hath the like authority.

And albeit that Tyndale telleth us many times, as the man is somewhat shameless, that we will not believe Saint Jerome, Saint  
 25 Augustine, Saint Ambrose, Saint Gregory, and the other old holy doctors of Christ’s church—yet knoweth Tyndale that in this one point among many others, they be quite against him every one. And because it would here make a long work to rehearse many of their words: therefore, that Tyndale shall not deny but that I therein  
 30 say truth, I shall allege him Luther, his own master... which in his book of *Babylonica* plainly confesseth the same, and answereth it with saying that the “Gospel of God” is “plain against them all”—as though that among “them all” either never none had read the Gospel of God... or else never none had understood it but himself.  
 35 And then against them all he construeth that gospel so foolishly... that, before God, a man would ween almost that a gosling had as

1 *meseemeth it*: it seems to me    1–2 *of . . . man*: i.e., by a man so steeped in Scripture    3 *frame*: order  
 3 *juggle . . . eyes*: i.e., con and hoodwink us    5 *spied that it were*: i.e., caught sight of the fact that this would be  
 5 *meet*: suitable    6 *that in*: i.e., under / in their fulfilling of    7 *beasts*: animals  
 10–11 *so . . . make*: so long as he can get    12 *once*: once and for all    13 *his labor*: what he is trying  
 14 *labor*: endeavor // *of whom*: from whom    15 *cause*: reason // *wroth*: furiously displeased  
 16 *Sacrament*: i.e., Blessed Sacrament    17 *a host*: an expiatory victim    18 *leave off*: drop; cut out  
 18 *for the only*: just because of the    20 *excellent*: superlative // *privilege*: unique endowment / privileged position  
 20 *in*: with regard to    21 *none*: no    22 *authority*: prestige    25 *Gregory*: i.e., Gregory the Great  
 25–26 *old holy doctors*: early theologians    27 *quite*: totally    28 *rehearse*: relate    29 *but that*: that  
 30 *say*: am telling the // *allege*: adduce to // *which*: who    31 *confesseth*: acknowledges  
 32 *it*: i.e., that objection // *with*: by // *plain*: manifestly    33 *though that*: though  
 33 *among . . . either never none had*: i.e., either among . . . not a one had ever  
 34 *never had none*: i.e., never had anyone    36 *before God*: i.e., honest to God  
 36 *ween almost that*: just about think // *gosling*: baby goose

much wit as he. And yet now would his wise disciple Tyndale have us for his pleasure (in hatred of the order of priesthood)... believe that the priest doth at the Mass make none offering of that holy Sacrifice for our sin. With which heresy he clean taketh away the very  
 5 fruit of the Mass in which that blessed sacrament is both most honored of the people and is also most profitable to the people.

But yet shall ye see further that as fair as he covereth himself in his speaking of this holy sacrament in some other places, yet in some he showeth his affection full well. For these are his words...

10 Tyndale  
*Ye may here perceive that after this wise preacheth not Tyndale.*  
 The sacrament of Christ's body after this wise preach they: "Thou must believe that it is no more bread, but the very body of Christ—flesh, blood, and bone, even  
 15 as he went here on earth"—save his coat. For that is here yet, I wot not in how many places.

#### More

Is not here a fair mocking manner in rehearsing of that holy sacrament? But yet, to cover his infidelity, he maketh here a color  
 20 as though he were angry that they teach no more. But he is angry in deed that they teach so much—or else could he never find in his heart to speak so mockishly of such a matter as he doth.

For every man well knoweth that where he maketh after as though they which teach the people this... did not teach them also the  
 25 profit of the receiving, nor the promise of God: he doth untruly belie them. For who is there so simply taught but that he well understandeth that the receiving of that holy Body of our Lord in such wise as men are taught to receive it... is wholesome to the soul, and that by God's ordinance? And therefore is in Tyndale but a shameless  
 30 lie, whereof every man well knoweth the contrary. Would God himself believed as well of this holy sacrament as the simplest-learned priest in a country teacheth his parish! Which if he did... his heart, I dare say, would not serve him so foolishly to jest thereat. For he speaketh there of preaching of promise... for no other cause  
 35 but only to bring in his worshipful jest of our Lord's holy Body being in the sacrament—to say he is there, all save his coat. Of which

1 wit: sense / intelligence // wise: brilliant 3 none: no 4 clean: completely 6 of: by  
 7, 18 fair: decorous(ly) 9 affection: disposition (toward it) 11–12 after this wise: thusly  
 13 no more: no longer // very: actual 14 even: exactly; just 15 went: went around  
 15, 36 save: except for 15 yet: still 15–16 I... in: in I don't know 18 rehearsing: summarizing  
 19 infidelity: i.e., unbelief in the Real Presence 19–20 color... were: a semblance of being  
 20 no more: i.e., no more than this 20–21 he is angry in deed: really he is angry 21 so: that  
 21 find: find it 22 mockishly: derisively 23 maketh after: later makes 24 they which: those who  
 25–26 untruly belie: i.e., with deliberate dishonesty misrepresent 26 simply: poorly 28 wise: a way  
 29 is in Tyndale: i.e., this coming from Tyndale is  
 30–31 would... of: i.e., I wish to God that Tyndale had as correct a belief regarding  
 31 simplest-learned: least well educated 32 country: rural area 33 serve: i.e., allow  
 33 jest thereat: sneer at it / make wisecracks about it 34 cause: motivation  
 35 worshipful: awesome // jest: crack / gibe // of: about

holy sacrament he that jesteth so... believeth of likelihood that there is no more of his body there than of his coat. I have in his book of *Obedience* considered his words of this holy sacrament... and I have advised them the better for certain words that I have heard of him—and I see not  
 5 one word by which he may be bound to say that ever he confessed it to be the very body and blood of Christ. Howbeit, if he had—it were not yet, with that sort, much the surer. For they may

*This is the saying of all heretics.* do as their master hath: say the contrary after; and when they say worse,  
 10 then tell us that they have seen more

since and learned better.

Howbeit, he is in deed come to that point already, as ye shall perceive by his words in his book made against me—whereof I shall rehearse you part anon. And yet we need not much more proof when  
 15 we see that he mocketh at the Mass, and would have no priest at all, nor the sacrament to be taken as a sacrifice... and now jesteth upon the doctrine that teacheth us to believe that in the sacrament is the Blessed Body and Blood of our Lord, to turn it to a mock—“Yea,” saith this fool, “all save his coat.” A worshipful jest in a Christian  
 20 man’s mouth! That mouth is more meet indeed for sand than holy salt.

What availeth [saith he] to teach folk this [that the very body and blood of our Lord is in that sacrament]? The devil knoweth that Christ died on a Friday, and the Jews too... and what are they the  
 25 better? We have a promise [etc.].

Why steppeth he from the example of the same sacrament? Why saith he not, “The devil knoweth this to be true, that under the form of bread is Christ’s own body, and yet the devil is never the better”? Surely because himself believeth that the devil knoweth it  
 30 not at all, nor God neither. And for because he would not yet have us therein perceive his mind to the uttermost, he joined the Jews with the devil to flee from the sacrament to the Friday, whereas he might have severed them and spoken of both... or else with the Jews and the devil he might have joined himself, and have bound all three  
 35 in a bundle. For he believeth less than the one... and is as malicious as any of them both.

1 *jesteth so*: makes such cracks // *of*: i.e., in all 2–3 *in . . . of*: i.e., taken into considerations his words in his book *Obedience* about 3–4 *advised . . . for*: looked at them the more carefully on them on account of  
 4 *words . . . him*: i.e., things that I’ve heard he has said 5 *may . . . say*: can have to be saying  
 5 *confessed*: professed 6, 22 *very*: actual 6, 12 *howbeit*: however 7 *were not yet*: would yet not be  
 7 *sort*: set of people; lot // *surer*: more firmly settled 8–9 *the saying of all heretics*: what all heretics say  
 8 *as*: i.e., what // *hath*: i.e., has done 9 *say worse*: i.e., change what they say for the worse 12 *deed*: fact  
 13 *made*: written 14 *rehearse*: quote // *anon*: in a little while 15 *mocketh at*: makes derisive fun of  
 16 *jesteth upon*: makes wisecracks about / lampoons 18 *turn . . . mock*: make it an object of scorn  
 19 *worshipful*: fine / pious // *jest*: wisecrack / taunt 20–21: See 76/14–16. 20 *meet*: fit  
 22 *availeth*: good does it do 24 *what*: how 25 *better*: i.e., better off for that 26 *from*: away from  
 28–29 *never the better*: i.e., in no way the better off for this knowledge 32, 34 *might*: could  
 33 *severed*: separated 34–35 *bound . . . bundle*: lumped all three together  
 35 *malicious*: wicked 36 *any*: either

Yet to the intent that ye may perceive clearly that he is plainly of  
 Luther's heresy that the Sacrament of the Altar is very bread still,  
 ye shall understand that whereas I in my *Dialogue* rehearse  
 Luther's heresies, and among others this heresy that I now speak of,  
 5 Tyndale in his *Answer* affirmeth Luther's heresy for good and true,  
 saying, "That that is broken, and that the priest eateth with his teeth—is it  
 not bread? What is it else?"

And after those words, he goeth forth in jesting and mocking, God  
 wot, full like himself.

10 And soon after, in another place, he saith (in defense of Luther's  
 heresy), because he would have folk set less thereby and have less  
 reverence thereunto, "It were a perilous case if men and women touched it,  
 because the pope hath not oiled them."

15 And afterward he saith, "At Oxford, about the Sacrament was no  
 small question of late days, whether it were bread or none—some affirming  
 that the flour with long lying in water was turned into starch."

#### More

What a cankered mind this heretic hath... there can, I trow, no  
 man doubt that heareth what foolish gauds he deviseth upon it of  
 20 his own frantic head. For if ever there *were* any such foolish  
 fantasy spoken there... it was by himself and one or two wretched  
 fellows of his own sect, sitting and blaspheming God upon their  
 ale bench.

25 But now shall ye yet more plainly see to what point he goeth  
 about to bring you.

#### Tyndale

It is the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, and Christ calleth it  
 the new and everlasting testament in his blood, and commandeth  
 that we should "so do" in the "remembrance" of him... that his body was  
 30 broken and his blood shed for our sins. And Paul commandeth  
 thereby to show or preach the Lord's death. They say not pray to it,  
 neither put any faith therein. For I may not believe *in* the sacrament,  
 but I must believe the sacrament, that it is a true sign, and it true  
 that is signified thereby (which is the only worshipping of the  
 35 sacrament; if ye give it other worship, ye plainly dishonor it)—  
 as I may not believe *in* Christ's church, but believe Christ's church,

2, 14 *Sacrament (of the Altar)*: Blessed Sacrament    2 *very bread still*: still literal bread  
 3 *rehearse*: relate    5 *for*: i.e., to be // *good*: sound; valid    6 *that that*: that which  
 8 *jesting*: wisecracking / jeering    9 *wot*: knows // *full*: totally  
 11 *set less thereby*: i.e., hold the Blessed Sacrament in less regard // *have less*: i.e., show less  
 12 *were*: would be // *case*: situation    15 *small question*: little controversy // *of late*: in recent  
 15 *whether* . . . *none*: i.e., as to whether it was or was not bread    18 *cankered*: corrupt / sick  
 18 *trow*: trust; feel sure    19 *gauds*: gibes; derisive cracks  
 19 *upon it*: i.e., about the Blessed Sacrament // *of*: i.e., out of    20 *frantic*: deranged  
 21 *fantasy*: speculation // *there*: i.e., at Oxford    24–25 *goeth about*: is trying  
 28 *testament*: covenant    29 *so do*: do this    31 *show*: proclaim    32 *neither*: nor  
 34 *worshipping*: i.e., legitimate venerating    35 *other worship*: i.e., any other kind of veneration  
 36 *but*: i.e., must believe

that the doctrine which they preach of Christ is true. If ye have any other doctrine... teach us a reason, and lead us in light, and we will follow.

### More

5 No man can desire better knowledge of him than he showeth of himself in these words. For here he showeth plainly that though to blear our eyes with, he calleth it “the sacrament of Christ’s body and blood,” and his “new and everlasting testament in his blood,” and saith that we be commanded by Saint Paul “thereby to preach the  
10 Lord’s death,” yet he will not in any wise that men shall pray thereto nor put any faith therein. And it is no doubt but he that hath that mind believeth nothing at all that it is the very Body of Christ, wherewith his holy Soul is coupled, and his Almighty Godhead joined... from which, from the first assumption thereof, it was never  
15 severed.

And therefore unto all his other gay, glorious words he hath a false gloss... by which he meaneth that the Blessed Sacrament is nothing else but a token and a figure ordained for a remembrance of Christ, and not the very body and blood of himself.

20 It is also to be noted whereupon he groundeth this holy precept of his, that men should not pray to the Sacrament nor put any faith therein. He saith because that the Scripture doth not *command* it... therefore it is dishonor to the Sacrament to do it. Doth not these words alone teach us sufficiently to know the mischief of that  
25 *heresy* by which they say that there is nothing to be believed without plain and evident Scripture... when we see now that Tyndale upon that doctrine of his forbiddeth us to honor the Holy Sacrament of the Altar?

Ye may see now that Tyndale uttered not all his false ware at once.  
30 For first he began with images... then with relics, then with saints, that we may worship none of all these. And now at last he teacheth us that we may not worship Christ’s own Body in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, nor put any faith therein. Put ye no doubt but he will say the same by his Soul within a while, and soon  
35 after that, by his Godhead too... and at the last, by the Godhead of the Father and the Holy Ghost both, and utterly deny all three.

1 *of*: about    5 *no man can desire*: i.e., no one could ask for // *showeth*: i.e., gives  
6 *showeth plainly*: i.e., tells us clearly    7 *blear our eyes*: blur our vision / hoodwink us  
8 *testament*: covenant    10 *will . . . shall*: i.e., would by no means have people  
11 *no doubt but*: undoubtable that    12 *mind*: mindset // *nothing*: absolutely not  
12, 19 *very*: actual    14 *which*: i.e., which body  
14–15 *the . . . severed*: i.e., God the Son’s first assuming thereof, his divine nature was never disunited  
16 *gay*: good-appearing // *glorious*: i.e., splendid-sounding    18 *token*: symbol  
21, 23, 27–28 (*Holy*) *Sacrament (of the Altar)*: i.e., Blessed Sacrament  
22 *because that*: i.e., that because    23 *doth*: i.e., do    24 *mischief*: harmfulness / deleteriousness  
26 *plain and evident*: clear and conclusive // *upon*: on the basis of    27 *honor*: i.e., genuflect to  
29 *may*: can // *uttered . . . ware*: did not trot out for sale all his spurious goods  
31, 32 *worship*: venerate    33–34 *put ye . . . but*: i.e., don’t doubt for a minute that    34, 35 *by*: about  
35 *Godhead*: Godhood; divinity // *at the last*: in the end    36 *deny*: i.e., deny that of

God is good Lord, which maketh this blasphemous fool speak  
 in the end of his blasphemy a few true words with which himself  
 destroyeth all his whole abominable doctrine. For he confesseth,  
 as ye have heard... that though he may not believe *in* Christ's  
 5 *Believe Christ's church!* church, as though the Church were his  
 savior—yet he must believe Christ's  
 church... that the doctrine which they preach of Christ is true.  
 And with these words of his own, will I strain him fast and sure.  
 For I ask no more but these few words of his own, to the confounding  
 10 of all that ever he teacheth against our faith. For now hath  
 he with these words destroyed the effect of his *heresy* wherewith  
 he would draw all to an unknown church of elects. For since we  
 must believe the *doctrine* and the *preaching* of the church of  
 Christ, as Tyndale saith himself, and that can we never do but if  
 15 we know them whom we believe; and who be elects, we cannot  
 know: farewell the force of all that heresy, by Tyndale's own tale!

And now, since he hath bound himself to confess that the  
 church of Christ is and must needs be a church known here to men,  
 and none such can he name but only the Catholic, known church  
 20 of all Christian nations, from which he hath and doth labor to flit  
 and flee unto a dark, unknown church of elects... the strength of  
 which heresy his own words here have confounded: he must  
 needs confess that Christ's church is the church that *we* be of, and  
 out of which himself is down fallen, by unfaithfulness, into the deep  
 25 dungeon of the devil. And now, since of his own confession he must  
 believe the doctrine of the church of Christ; and of the same confession  
 of his own it followeth that the church of Christ is this

*Christ's church is the* common-known church that hath from  
*common-known church.* Christ's days hitherto continued; and  
 30 that it is evident also that by the doctrine  
 of that church the doctrine of Tyndale concerning the Blessed  
 Sacrament is false—forever hath it been by that church of Christ  
 taught that the Blessed Sacrament *should* be worshipped, and faith  
 to *be* put therein, whereof Tyndale teacheth the contrary—it is inevitably  
 35 concluded, upon Tyndale's own words, that Tyndale is against  
 Christ's *own blessed Person* a deadly, devilish heretic!

Now, since ye plainly perceive, good Christian readers, that this  
 malicious man intendeth to turn poor simple souls out of the  
 very faith... and of the seven holy sacraments would take five away...

1 *is* . . . *which maketh*: i.e., is such a . . . to have made      2 *himself*: he himself  
 3 *destroyeth*: demolishes // *all his whole*: his whole entire  
 3 *abominable doctrine*: i.e., abominable body of doctrine / set of abominable teachings  
 3, 17, 23 *confess(eth)*: profess(es) / acknowledge(s)      7 *of*: about      8 *strain* . . . *sure*: bind him good and securely  
 9 *ask* . . . *but* . . . *to the confounding*: i.e., need . . . than . . . for the confuting      14 *but if*: unless  
 15 *them*: i.e., who they are      16 *farewell*: i.e., there goes // *all that*: that whole // *tale*: account  
 20 *hath and doth labor*: i.e., has been and is trying hard      21 *a dark*: an obscure  
 22 *confounded*: brought to naught      25 *of his own confession*: by his own admission  
 25 *of the same confession*: i.e., from that same admission      28, 29 *common-known*: common-knowledge  
 29 *hitherto*: i.e., to ours      30 *by*: according to      30, 31 *doctrine*: teaching  
 34 *inevitably*: unavoidably; inescapably      35 *against*: with regard to      36 *deadly*: i.e., mortally inimical  
 38 *simple*: uneducated / impressionable      39 *very*: true

and the other twain that he would seem to leave, he handleth yet in  
 such wise as men may well see that he leaveth them as fruitless as the  
 others... and finally, in effect, believeth neither nother: there will no  
 good man look that we should now need to prove these holy sacraments  
 5 to be true which all Christian people have this fifteen hundred years  
 believed... because that now a fond fellow and a foolish heretic  
 denieth them—except that any man were so mad to doubt  
 whether there were any God at all, if he happed to hear any man so  
 mad to say nay.

10 And surely there was never sect of heretics yet that there was  
 so great madness to believe as these. For of other heretics, that have  
 been of old... every sect had some one heresy, or else very  
 few. Now these heretics come in with almost all that ever all  
 they held, and yet more too. All the other heretics had some pretext  
 15 of holiness in their living; these shameless heretics live in  
 open, shameful, incestuous lechery, and call it matrimony.

The old heretics did stick upon Scripture when it was yet,  
 in a manner, newly received; and they contended upon the understanding  
 at such time as there had few Christian writers expounded  
 20 the Scripture before them, so as they might the better say to the  
 Catholic Church, “Why may not we perceive the Scripture as well as  
 you?” But these new heretics be so far from shame... that in the  
 understanding of Scripture, and in the affirming of all their  
 heresies... they would be believed by their only word, against all  
 25 the old holy doctors that have been since the death of Christ unto  
 this day; and that in those rotten heresies, too, which they find condemned  
 to the devil by the general councils of all Christendom a  
 thousand years before their days; and, most mad of all, in denying  
 the sacraments which they find received and believed, used and  
 30 honored, so clearly from the beginning... that never was there  
 heretic that durst for very shame so boldly bark against them,  
 till that now, in these latter days, the devil hath broken his chains  
 and of all extreme abomination hath set his poisoned barrel abroach;  
 from the dreggy draught whereof, God keep every good Christian  
 35 man, and such as hath drunk thereof, give them grace to vomit it  
 out again betimes.

This long digression have I made you... to let you plainly see  
 the summary purpose and effect of Tyndale’s doctrine touching  
 the holy sacraments—which known unto good men sufficeth to

1 *twain*: two    2 *wise*: a way    2, 21 *may*: can    3 *finally*: ultimately // *in effect*: in reality  
 3 *neither nother*: i.e., in neither the one nor the other    4 *look*: consider    6 *because that*: i.e., just because  
 6 *a fond fellow and a*: i.e., some imbecilic guy and    7 *except that*: unless    7, 8 *any man*: someone  
 7, 9 *to*: as to    8 *were*: i.e., is // *happed*: happened // *so*: i.e., be so    11 *to believe*: i.e., in believing  
 11–12 *have been*: i.e., there were    13–14 *all they*: i.e., all those others    14 *pretext*: pretense; façade  
 15 *their living*: i.e., the way they conducted their personal lives    16 *incestuous*: See note for 44/2.    17 *old*: early  
 17 *stick upon*: persistently appeal to // *yet*: as yet    18 *contended* . . . *understanding*: i.e., argued about the meaning  
 20 *so* . . . *better*: i.e., and so they could more justifiably    22 *new*: modern // *shame*: i.e., having any sense of propriety  
 24 *by their only word*: on the basis of just their say-so    25 *old* . . . *that*: established theologians there  
 29 *believed*: believed in // *used*: celebrated    31 *heretic* . . . *shame*: i.e., one heretic who wasn’t deterred by sheer  
 fear of embarrassment from daring to    31 *bark*: i.e., squawk    32 *latter*: recent    33 *all extreme*: every last  
 33 *set* . . . *abroach*: put . . . on tap    34 *dreggy*: foul // *draught*: quaff    36 *out again*: back out  
 36 *betimes*: in good time    38 *summary*: overall // *effect*: intended effect // *doctrine touching*: teaching concerning



make their hearts abhor his devilish doctrine without any further argument. And as for them that at the bare hearing thereof abhor it not—they be surely so sore infected that, except the marvelous mercy of God, never shall there either reason or authority  
5 make them savor the truth.

But now that Tyndale hath commended unto you the high spiritual wisdom of unfaithful heretics... he beginneth on the other side to rebuke and reprove the true faith of all good-faithful people.

10 Tyndale

But the world captivateth his wit, and about the law of God maketh him wonderful imaginations... unto which he so fast cleaveth that ten John the Baptists were not able to dispute them out of his head.

15 More

Now that Tyndale hath done with his own “spiritual” party, and hath, as ye have heard, holily declared how high spiritual wisdom they use in searching the very bottom of the cause in every commandment that God giveth... and according to the thing which  
20 they take for the cause, so order themselves either keep the commandment or break it: now cometh he to the other party, that is, to all that are no heretics, whom he before called “natural” and not “born again” nor “renewed with the Spirit”; all which folk he calleth here “the world,” and saith that “the world captivateth his wit, and  
25 about the law of God maketh him wonderful imaginations... unto which he so fast cleaveth that ten John the Baptists were not able to dispute them out of his head.”

Here he meaneth that himself and his fellow “spiritual,” heavenly men be not captivated unto the law of God, as we poor “worldly”  
30 men of middle earth be. For they be no further bound to the law but as the cause of the law, sought out by themselves, leadeth them to and from; and therefore they be in an evangelical and, in manner, angelical liberty to do what they list... so that they give the law some cause that may serve their lust, as they have given to the law and commandment  
35 of vows—from which they have set themselves in such

1 *abhor*: shrink with horror from / reject with disgust    2 *bare*: mere    3 *abhor it not*: do not find it loathsome  
3 *sore*: badly // *except*: barring; if not for    4 *either* . . . *authority*: i.e., any either argument from reason or proof text  
5 *savor*: perceive    6, 17 *high*: lofty / advanced    8 *side*: i.e., hand // *rebuke and reprove*: criticize and condemn  
8 *good-faithful*: right-believing    11, 24 *captivateth*: enslaves / subjugates // *wit*: intellect  
11, 25 *maketh*: i.e., gives    12, 25 *wonderful*: fantastical / bizarre // *imaginations*: ideas  
12, 26 *fast cleaveth*: firmly adheres    13, 26 *were not*: would not be    13, 27 *dispute*: argue  
16 *done with*: finished his discussing of    17 *holily declared*: sanctimoniously made known // *how*: i.e., what  
18 *use*: employ // *searching*: i.e., searching out / getting to // *cause in*: reason for  
20, 31, 33 *cause (of)*: reason (for)    20 *order*: dispose // *either*: i.e., to either    28 *himself*: he himself  
29 *captivated*: enslaved / subjugated  
30 *middle earth*: the realm that is midway between the upper and lower ones; i.e., the mundane realm  
32 *in manner*: as it were    33 *list*: please // *so that*: so long as    33, 34 *give(n)*: ascribe(d)    34 *may*: can  
34 *lust*: desire

a spiritual liberty that monks and friars may lawfully lie with nuns and live in lechery, and call it wedlock.

And indeed they may *call* it wedlock and they will... as Lollards did of late, that put a pig into the water on Good Friday and  
 5 said, “Go in pig and come out pike,” and so when they had changed the name, they took it for fish and ate it. And so may these holy new “spiritual” men, when monks and friars wed nuns, they may call it wedlock and they will. But as the poor ploughman said unto the taverner that gave him water instead of wine, “God  
 10 thank you, Master Winer, for your good wine, but in good faith, saving for the worshipful name of ‘wine,’ I had as lief a-drunken water”—surely so may we well say to these new holy, “spiritual” married monks and friars... saving for the worshipful name of  
*And truly spoken!* “wedlock,” it were as good they lived in  
 15 lechery as in such bitched bitchery.

But we seely souls of the world here be captivated and bound, he saith, and not in such a heavenly liberty... but make ourselves “wonderful imaginations” about the law of God; which thing much I marvel of. For the world is not often wont to muse much  
 20 upon the laws of God, nor greatly to study upon them, but let them go by well and easily and think little on them... nor need not John the Baptist to dispute out of their heads any wonderful imaginations that they have studied about the law of God.

But, marry, on the other side, these new “spiritual” men have with  
 25 their new liberty made themselves wonderful imaginations to which they cleave so fast that fifteen John the Baptists cannot dispute them out of their heads. For they have to the great wonder of the world made them an imagination that friars may live in lechery with nuns, and never need do penance neither for that nor for  
 30 any sin else, but repent and do so still and believe that all is well, and do no penance nor take no pain for any sin at all.

Now every man well wotteth that Saint John the Baptist *did* dispute against these imaginations of *theirs*, both with his living and his teaching. For against their lechery his living  
 35 disputed with chastity; and against their heresy of penance, he disputed with preaching penance. For he bade them, not every boy go forth and take himself for an apostle and go preach, but he

1 *may lawfully*: can legitimately      3, 8 *and they will*: if they want to  
 3 *Lollards*: (some) followers of John Wycliffe      4 *of late*: recently // *water*: pond  
 7, 12, 24 *new*: modern      8 *ploughman*: farm laborer      10 *thank*: reward // *Master Winer*: Mr. Wineseller  
 10 *in good faith*: in all honesty      11, 13 *worshipful name of*: i.e., respectability/prestigiousness of the word  
 11 *had as lief a-drunken*: would as soon have drunk      12 *well*: rightly  
 14 *were as good*: would be as good that      15 *bitched bitchery*: i.e., licentious lewdness      16 *seely*: pitiful  
 16 *captivated*: enslaved / subjugated      17 *make*: give      18, 22, 25 *wonderful*: fantastical / bizarre  
 18, 22, etc. *imagination(s)*: idea(s)      19 *of*: at      19–20 *muse much upon*: devote a lot of thought to  
 20 *study*: reflect      20–21 *let . . . easily and*: i.e., to quite easilygoingly let them go by, and      21 *on*: about  
 22, 26, etc. *dispute(d)*: argue(d)      24 *marry*: indeed // *side*: i.e., hand      25, 28 *made*: given  
 26 *cleave so fast*: adhere so firmly      27 *wonder*: astonishment      28 *them*: i.e., themselves  
 28 *an*: i.e., the      30 *repent . . . still*: i.e., can just repent and go on doing that committing and repenting  
 32 *wotteth*: knows      34 *living*: way of living      35 *chastity*: celibacy / perpetual sexual abstinence  
 35 *of*: regarding

cried upon them to do penance—and not only bade them repent

*Mt 3:2, 7–8*

and do penance, but also bade them if  
they would avoid hell and the wrath that

else was to come, they should do “worthy fruits of penance.” And

5 because that they should not ween that it was but a word of office,  
and that it sufficed to believe well in God’s promise, and so go their  
way and think themselves safe: he showed them in himself and his  
own living—for their institution, not for the deserving of his  
own sin—a form and fashion of a repentant sinner, in what

10 wise he should do penance. And therefore he lived solitary,

*The penitent life of*

*Saint John the Baptist*

saving that his virtues caused him to be  
visited. He lived in holy, vowed chastity  
and never wedded woman in his days,

nor never would have done though he had lived twice as long as

15 Luther. He lived in poor and painful apparel. He lived in watch  
and prayers, in fasting and forbearing meat. He drank no wine,

*Lk 1:15, 80; Mt 3:4; 11:7–10*

but was content with water. This  
manner of penance-doing did Saint

John the Baptist teach and dispute, contrary to the false imaginations

20 against penance, and wonderful devices of lewd, lecherous  
living, that these new “spiritual” men have in their fantasy framed...  
which neither Saint John the Baptist nor such ten Saint John  
the Baptists, nor our Savior Christ himself, can dispute out of their  
heads.

25 Tyndale

He believeth that he loveth God because he is ready to kill a Turk for  
his sake, that believeth better in God than he; whom God also commandeth  
us to love and to leave nothing unsought to win him  
unto the knowledge of the truth, though with the loss of our lives.

30 More

Here Tyndale followeth his master Luther, that would have all  
Christian men suffer the Turks and fight not with them. Howbeit,  
I understand by Tyndale in his book after, that Luther hath eaten up  
his word again afterward for fear, when he saw his country prepare  
35 themselves against the Turks. But now Tyndale, that is out of  
such fear, is, as it seemeth, disposed to maintain and set forth his

1 *cried upon*: loudly exhorted // *bade them*: told them to 2 *bade them*: told them that

3 *would*: wanted to 4 *do*: produce 5 *because*: in order // *ween*: think

5 *it . . . office*: i.e., this was just a conventional expression used by preachers 7 *safe*: saved

8 *living*: way of living // *institution*: instruction

8–9 *for the . . . sin*: i.e., for the paying of any debt he had incurred by sinning

9 *form and fashion*: model and example 10 *wise*: way 12 *chastity*: perpetual sexual abstinence

14 *though he had*: even had he 15 *painful*: pain-causing // *watch*: vigil-keeping

16 *forbearing*: (in) abstinence from 19 *dispute*: argue for

19–20 *imaginations against*: ideas about / treacherously deceitful plots against

20 *wonderful devices of*: bizarre notions about / baffling designs of 21 *new*: modern

21 *fantasy*: wishful thinking / imaginations // *framed*: formed 23 *dispute*: argue 29 *though*: even if

32 *suffer*: tolerate 33 *in his book after*: i.e., later on in this same book of his (the *Answer*)

33–34 *hath . . . for*: afterward ate those words of his, for / later retracted what he’d said, for

34 *prepare*: i.e., prepare to defend 35 *that is out*: who is devoid 36 *set forth*: advance



freely with a halfpenny, but for advantage or vainglory or for a worldly purpose. If any man have displeased him, he keepeth his malice in and will not chafe himself about it till he see an occasion to avenge it craftily, and thinketh that well enough. And the rulers of the world he obeyeth, thinketh he, when he flattereth them, and bindeth them with gifts and corrupteth the officers with rewards, and beguileth the law with cautels and subtleties. And because the love of God and his neighbor, which is the spirit and the life of all laws, and wherefore all laws are made, is not written in his heart—therefore in all inferior laws, and in all worldly ordinances, is he beetle-blind.

### More

All this gear is but a fardelful of lies; and that wotteth Tyndale himself well enough. For albeit that there be more than enough that in the Catholic Church of Christ, that use to commit such sins—yet use they not to think that they do well, and fulfill the law of God, in doing... but they both believe and confess the contrary, and to their confessor acknowledge it as it is: for sin.

For though men in the Catholic Church *do* sin... yet to *take* it for *no* sin, but for holiness and virtue—this is neither the doctrine nor manner and guise of the Catholic Church of Christ. But this *is* in very deed the belief, or at the leastwise the guise and custom, of Tyndale's church and Luther's and Friar Huesgen's. For they have the love of God and their neighbor, the "spirit and life of all laws," so well and wisely written in their hearts... that they cannot be but fervently taken in their lewd, lecherous love; nor be not in "inferior laws" and "worldly ordinances" so "beetle-blinded" but that a friar can find the way to a nun's bed and it be at midnight, and after in the open day abide thereby, and avow the breach of their vow boldly for very well done and holily... and when he thus doth, "beguileth" not the laws with "cautels and subtleties," but boldly breaketh them up like a strongman, and beareth it out bigly with shameless devilish heresy.

### Tyndale

And if he be commanded to abstain from wine, that will he observe unto the death too... as Charterhouse monks had liefer die than

1 *freely*: gratis // *but*: except 3 *chafe himself*: get himself worked up // *occasion*: opportunity  
 4 *well*: i.e., to be morally good 6 *bindeth them*: puts them under obligation to him 7 *beguileth*: gets around  
 7, 31 *cautels and subtleties*: i.e., wily tricks and stratagems 9 *wherefore . . . made*: what all laws are made for  
 10 *in*: with regard to 10, 26 *inferior*: lower-ranking 11, 27 *beetle-blind(ed)*: myopic; nearsighted  
 13 *gear*: stuff // *fardelful*: pack // *wotteth*: knows 15 *use*: are wont 16 *use they not*: they are not wont  
 16 *do well*: act rightly 17 *doing*: i.e., so doing // *confess*: admit 18 *as*: i.e., for what 19 *do*: commit  
 21 *manner*: lived approach 21, 22 *guise*: practice 25 *well and wisely*: very cunningly  
 26 *fervently taken*: taken as ardently devout // *not in*: i.e., with regard to 28 *and it*: though it  
 28 *after*: afterward 28–29 *in the open day*: in broad daylight / out in the open  
 29 *abide thereby*: stay there / stand by what he's doing // *breach*: breaking 30 *well*: morally  
 31 "*beguileth*" *not*: does not "get around" 32 *beareth it out*: defends it // *bigly*: swaggeringly  
 36 *as*: i.e., just as // *Charterhouse monks*: monks of the Carthusian monastery in London  
 36 *had liefer*: would rather

eat flesh. And as for the soberness and chastising of the members,  
will he not look for... but will pour in ale and beer of the strongest,  
without measure, and heat them with spices; and so forth.

More

5 As for the monks of the Charterhouse, would God we were no  
further from very, virtuous devotion than those good men be from  
unlawful superstition; among whom, God be thanked, we see many  
live to very great age, and never heard I yet that any died for lack  
of eating flesh... and yet heard I never that any of them have eaten  
10 any, saving some such as have come from their cloisters into  
Luther's church—as Otho did in Almaine, which ran out of the  
Charterhouse and left fish and fell to flesh altogether, and took  
a wife for “soberness and chastising” of his monkly “members,” as  
Tyndale speaketh.

Tyndale

15 And the holy day will he keep so strait that if he meet a flea in  
his bed, he dare not kill her; and not once regard wherefore the  
holy day was ordained—to seek for God's word; and so forth, in all  
laws.

More

20 Tyndale, I think, hath not known many keep the holy day so  
strait—that would fear to kill a flea, as it pleaseth him to jest. But  
yet had I liefer that men would keep it so strait as he speaketh... than keep  
it so loosely as they do. But they that keep it so loosely... be neither afeard, I  
25 warrant you, to kill a flea nor to do worse, neither. And whosoever  
would keep it so strait as to forbear the killing of a flea in his bed...  
would keep it better than do the friars of Luther's church, that let not  
on the holy day to take a nun to bed. For as for hearing of  
God's word, in many places in Almaine among their holy sects,  
30 where they were in the beginning wonderfully hot upon sermons—  
they be now, blessed be God, waxen cold enough.

First, in many places, they sang the Service in their mother tongue,  
men and women and all; and that was a pretty sport for them for a  
while. But after a little use thereof, the pleasure of the newelty  
35 passed, and they set somewhat less thereby than by a three-men's

1, 9 *flesh*: meat 1, 13 *chastising*: subduing / restraining // *members*: (sexual) parts of the body  
2 *will*: i.e., that will // *look for*: see to 3 *measure*: moderation 5 *would*: I wish to 6 *very*: true  
6 *devotion*: piety 7 *unlawful superstition*: illegitimate punctiliousness 8 *to*: i.e., to a 10 *saving*: except  
11 *Otho*: I.e., Otto Brunfels (d. 1534). 11, 29 *Almaine*: Germany 11 *which ran out of*: who absconded from  
12 *left*: i.e., stopped eating // *fell to*: opted for // *flesh*: meat / carnal activity 14 *speaketh*: i.e., puts it  
16, 22, etc. *strait*: strictly 16 *meet*: comes across; happens to find 17 *regard*: i.e., will take into consideration  
17 *wherefore*: for what purpose 18 *ordained*: established // *in*: with regard to 21 *keep*: i.e., who keep  
21 *so*: that 22 *jest*: gibe 23 *liefer*: rather // *speaketh*: i.e., says they do 24 *loosely*: laxly  
25 *warrant*: guarantee 26 *forbear*: refrain from 27 *let*: scruple  
30 *wonderfully hot upon*: exceedingly hot on 31 *waxen*: gone 32 *first*: at first // *Service*: Divine Office  
33 *pretty sport*: fun activity 34 *use*: practice // *newelty*: novelty 35 *set . . . thereby*: took . . . interest therein  
35 *by*: i.e., in 126/35—127/1 *a three-men's song*: A convivial secular part-song for a trio.

song. They changed also the Mass; and soon after that, many cast it up clean.

Then was all their lust laid upon preaching, especially because every man might preach that would... saying that they followed the  
 5 *1 Cor 14:27–28* counsel of Saint Paul... while one would bid the preacher hold his peace and let him speak another while, affirming that the Spirit had revealed him the right sense, and that the preacher lied. Thus turned they sermons in brawlings, so that sometimes the people parted them from  
 10 pointing their preachings with fists. But now, as I hear say, that manner is well amended; they can suffer one to preach as long as it please him, and no man once interrupt him; for they be there waxen women, and all so cunning that scantily come any to hear him. And thus doth Tyndale's church and Luther's sit at home in  
 15 their stews in honor of their holy day.

### Tyndale

And in ceremonies and sacraments, there he captivateth his wit and understanding to obey "Holy Church," without asking what they mean, or desiring to know; but only careth for the keeping, and  
 20 looketh ever with a pair of narrow eyes, and with all his spectacles upon them, lest aught be left out.

### More

The ceremonies and sacraments Tyndale maketh his mockingstock; but let him beware betimes, lest God mock him again.

25 *And thus ought Christian men to do!* Better is it, good Christian reader, to do the thing that Tyndale here reproveth—that is to wit, a man to captivate his wit and understanding and obey Holy Church in the ceremonies and sacraments, and keep them well without further search—than  
 30 to do as Tyndale hath done, that with his curious search hath so narrowly so long pried upon them, with beetle brows and his brittle spectacles of pride and malice, that the devil hath stricken him stark blind and set him in a corner with a chain and a clog, and made him his ape to sit there and serve him and to  
 35 make him sport, with mocking and mowing and potting the

1–2 *cast it up clean*: jettisoned it completely; got rid of it entirely    3 *lust*: enthusiasm // *laid*: set  
 4 *might*: could // *that would*: who wanted to // *followed*: i.e., were following    5 *while*: when  
 6 *bid* . . . *peace*: tell the preacher to stop talking    7 *speaking another while*: i.e., have a turn to speak  
 8 *him*: i.e., to him // *sense*: interpretation // *lied*: i.e., was lying    9 *in*: into    10 *pointing*: punctuating  
 11 *manner*: behavior    11–12 *suffer* . . . *please him*: let one man preach for as long as he wants to  
 12 *and* . . . *interrupt*: i.e., with no man ever interrupting  
 12–13 *they* . . . *women*: i.e., the others present have come to be none but women    13 *cunning*: knowledgeable  
 13 *scantily come any*: hardly any come    15 *stews*: brothels    17, 28 *in*: regarding  
 17, 23, 28 *ceremonies*: rituals    17, 27 *captivate(th)*: subjugate(s)    17, 28 *wit*: intellect    19 *for*: about  
 19 *keeping*: i.e., celebrating and receiving of them    20 *narrow*: squinting; intently searching  
 20, 32 *spectacles*: seeing aids    21 *aught*: anything    23 *mockingstock*: i.e., laughingstocks  
 24 *betimes*: in good time // *again*: back; in return    26 *reproveth*: criticizes  
 29 *keep*: i.e., celebrate and/or receive    30 *curious*: impertinently inquisitive  
 31 *narrowly*: squintingly; peeringly // *upon*: into // *beetle*: furrowed    32 *brittle*: unreliable  
 33–34 *a chain and a clog*: i.e., a ball and chain    35 *make him sport*: entertain him // *mowing*: caricaturing  
 35 *potting*: lampooning

sacraments, which yet the devil dreadeth himself and dare not come near them.

Tyndale

5 For if the priest should say Mass, baptize, or hear confession, without a stole about his neck... he would think all were marred, and doubt whether he had power to consecrate... and think that the virtue of the Mass were lost, and that child not well baptized, or not baptized at all... and that his absolution were not worth a mite.

More

10 This is another fardelful of lies; and that he wotteth well enough. For if the priest left off his stole... folk would then say he did lewdly, as they might well say indeed. But Tyndale knoweth full well that folk do not reckon the sacrament hurt thereby. For he knoweth well that children be sometimes christened of the midwife's  
15 hand... and the people knoweth well that she useth no stole. And thus everybody well perceiveth how shameless Tyndale is in these lies.

Tyndale

He had liefer that the bishops should wag two fingers over him... than that another man should say "God save" him; and so forth.

20 More

Blessing of bishops Tyndale jesteth upon in more places than one. And forasmuch as he knoweth well that all Christian people have and ever have had a good-faithful belief in blessing, both where a man or woman bless themselves and also whereas any that hath  
25 authority over them given by God to, bless them—which is a kind *To bless is a kind of prayer.* of prayer and invocation of God's grace upon the party so blessed with the Sign of the Cross... as the natural father or the godfather blesseth the child, or the curate his parishioner, or the bishop his  
30 diocesan—such things Tyndale taketh for trifles, and laugheth such blessing and crossing to scorn.

For in his book of *Obedience*, the laying of the bishop's hand upon the priest in giving the Sacrament of Holy Orders he resembleth to the laying of a man's hand upon a boy's head when he  
35 calleth him "Good son." And the blessing, as he calleth it here the wagging of two fingers... so he calleth it there the wagging of the hand in the air.

1 *dreadeth*: is very much afraid of    5 *all*: everything    5, 7, 8 *were*: was    5 *marred*: ruined  
7 *virtue*: efficacy    10 *fardelful*: pack // *wotteth*: knows    11–12 *did lewdly*: acted badly  
13 *reckon*: consider // *hurt*: impacted / impaired    14 *of*: by    15 *useth*: wears  
18 *had liefer*: would rather    21 *jesteth upon*: makes derisive wisecracks about  
22 *forasmuch . . . well*: i.e., well knowing    23 *a good-faithful*: an orthodox    24 *whereas*: wherever  
29 *curate*: pastor    29–30 *his diocesan*: i.e., one of the Catholics (clerical or otherwise) in his diocese  
30 *trifles*: game-playing nonsense    31 *crossing*: making of the Sign of the Cross    33 *resembleth*: likens



Howbeit, we need not much to marvel though Tyndale and Luther and Friar Huessgen and their fellows set little by the sign of the Cross made by a man's hand in the air... since we see that they set so little by an image of the Crucifix, and also by Christ's Holy  
 5 Cross itself—whereof Luther writeth that if he had all the pieces, he would cast them all “thereas never sun should shine upon them.” But all Christian men since Christ's death hitherward... hath set much by that kind of blessing in which the Sign of the Cross is made upon a man, either by himself or by another. And not a few  
 10 stories are there that testify great things done in the virtue of that Sign—not only among good Christian men, but also sometimes among evil men and the very infidels themselves.

And though that I intend not to prolong this work with writing of stories, yet cometh there one to my mind so meet for  
 15 the matter, and written by so great authority, that I cannot let it pass.

*Saint Gregory Nazianzen* Saint Gregory Nazianzen, the great, famous old doctor, writing in his second oration made against the great emperor infidel commonly  
 20 *A notable story* called Julian the Apostate, writeth that when that man was fallen from the faith of Christ unto paganism and Gentility... giving himself therewith not only to the persecution of Christian men, but also to the following of every kind of superstitious folly, he took with  
 25 him on a time certain necromancers and went into a cave to conjure up spirits, to enquire of them certain things whereof he was very curious to know. And when he was in the pit among them with their conjurations, there appeared many terrible sights, so far forth that albeit with the trust of his conjurations he bore  
 30 it out a while, yet at the last the terror and fear so sore increased that he was fain, for the surest refuge, to bless himself with the sign of the cross which he so pursued and hated. At which only sign, so made with the wagging (as Tyndale calleth it) of his hand in the air, as evil a hand as it was—yet were all  
 35 the devils so sore afraid, that all their fearful illusions failed and vanished quite away.

1 *howbeit*: however // *though*: that 2 *fellows*: cohorts / followers

2, 4 *set (so) little by*: think (so) little of; have (so) little regard for 4 *Crucifix*: i.e., Crucified Lord

6 *cast*: throw // *thereas*: there where 7 *hitherward*: on up to now

7–8 *set much by*: set much store by; had much regard for 9 *another*: i.e., some other man

10, 14 *stories*: historical accounts 10 *testify*: bear witness to // *in the virtue*: by the power

12 *evil*: bad 13 *though that*: although // *prolong*: lengthen

14–15 *meet for the matter*: relevant to this topic; germane to this discussion 15 *great*: i.e., great an

18 *old doctor*: i.e., early theologian 22 *faith of Christ*: Christian faith

22 *Gentility*: the state of being a Gentile; heathenism 24 *following of*: subscribing to / practice of

24 *folly*: nonsense 25 *on a time*: i.e., one day 29 *trust of*: i.e., confidence he had in

30 *sore*: badly 31 *fain*: constrained 32 *pursued*: assailed 33 *only sign*: sign alone

35 *sore*: terribly // *failed*: faded; fizzled

Lo what a force and strength hath that fashion of blessing that Tyndale setteth at so light! Wherein many a man daily findeth great profit, in avoiding of temptations of our ghostly enemy the devil, and in many a sudden fear of the fiend.

5 And I little doubt but as Tyndale followeth Julian the Apostate in falling from the right faith, so would he at a need follow him also in blessing too. For as little as Tyndale setteth by blessing now, yet if he might once meet the devil in the dark, he would, I warrant you, cross and bless apace. And I beseech our Lord to give him  
10 grace so to bless himself betimes that he meet not the devil in *eternal* darkness, where whoso mishap to meet him can have no grace to cross and to bless himself... but shall instead of crossing and blessing, fall all to cursing and desperate sorrow and furious blaspheming without comfort and without end.

15 Tyndale

Wherefore, beloved reader, inasmuch as the Holy Ghost rebuketh the world for lack of judgment; and inasmuch also as their ignorance is without excuse... before whose faces enough is set to judge by, if they would open their eyes to see, and not captivate their  
20 understanding to believe lies; and inasmuch as the spiritual judgeth allthing, even the very bottom of God's secrets, that is to say, the causes of the things which God commandeth: how much more ought we to judge our Holy Father's secrets, and not to be as an ox or an ass without understanding!

25 More

*Jn 16:8-13* It appeareth well that the Holy Ghost, according to the words of our Savior at his Last Supper—which words Tyndale would falsely wrest awry—did rebuke the *Jews* and the *Gentiles* for lack of judgment, and  
30 that he taught the church of Christ the true judgment... by which ever since Christ's days, by the judgment of holy saints and all good Christian people besides, such things as now Luther and Tyndale and Friar Huessgen do teach have been always judged for heresies. And this is open before every man's eyes... except we would willingly  
35 captivate our understanding to believe Luther's lies. And therefore those that follow them of their ignorance... have none excuse when

1 *lo*: look; see    2 *setteth at so light*: regards as of so little consequence / thinks so little of  
3 *of our ghostly*: from our spiritual    5 *but*: i.e., that just    6 *falling*: falling away  
7 *little*... *setteth by*: little regard... has for    8, 10, 11 *meet*: encounter    8 *warrant*: guarantee  
9 *apace*: posthaste    10 *grace*: i.e., the grace // *betimes*: in good time  
11 *whoso mishap*: whoever has the bad fortune  
11-12 *can*... *cross*: i.e., cannot get the grace he would need in order to make a Sign of the Cross  
13 *desperate sorrow*: despairing grief    17 *for*: i.e., for its    18 *set*: i.e., presented  
19, 35 *captivate*: subjugate    20 *spiritual*: i.e., spiritual person    21 *allthing*: everything  
21 *bottom*: i.e., deepest    21, 23 *secrets*: hidden objectives / inner motivations  
22 *causes of*: reasons for    23 *our Holy Father's*: i.e., the pope's    26 *appeareth well*: is quite clear  
28 *falsely*: dishonestly / treacherously    29 *for*: i.e., for their    30 *true*: correct    33 *for*: to be  
34 *open before*: manifest to // *except*: unless // *willingly*: volitionally; intentionally  
36 *follow*: go along with // *of their*: i.e., out of // *none*: no

they see against the whole consent of Christendom so many hundred  
 years continued... four or five fond friars run out of religion  
 and living in lechery take upon themselves to preach and say to  
 the people of themselves, “*We* be the *spirituals*; we search the bottom  
 5 of God’s secrets, we search the causes of God’s commandment,  
 we understand the Scripture in its right sense; and all that have  
 been called holy doctors and interpreters before our days, were  
 either false or fools, and have either of evil will or of ignorance  
 brought all Christian nations out of the right faith... till now that  
 10 God hath of his high goodness sent us and our wives to preach ‘faith’  
 and teach heresy, and show lechery... to turn the world to grace.”

Now, he that would in the declaration and understanding of the  
 scripture of Christ and his apostles believe such a few fleshly,  
 blind apostates against so many holy, blessed doctors-and-saints—  
 15 what excuse could his ignorance have before God? Were not he a very  
 ox and an ass without wit or understanding?

Tyndale

Judge, therefore, Christian reader, whether the pope with his be the  
 church.

More

When Tyndale speaketh of “the pope with his,” here useth he a  
 little sophistry. For he leaveth us in doubt what he meaneth by these  
 words “the pope with his.” If he mean the pope with his cardinals...  
 then speaketh he little to the purpose. For I never called, nor no man  
 25 else, the pope and the cardinals the whole Catholic Church. But if  
 he mean by “the pope and his” the pope and all the Christian realms  
 and countries that have not by schisms and heresies departed and  
     *Christ’s church*                      severed themselves from the corps of  
    Christendom—he that then judgeth “the  
 30 pope and his” to be the church of Christ judgeth as it is indeed.

Now, if Tyndale bring in question whether the pope be of all  
 those Christian countries the chief spiritual head under God and  
 general vicar of Christ—this question will not help him. For if  
 there either yet be or any time hath been that either the Greeks or  
 35 any other part of true Christendom did not recognize the pope for

1 *whole consent*: unanimous consensus      2 *fond*: foolishly self-confident

2 *run out of religion*: having absconded from religious life      3 *take*: take it      4 *of*: about

4 *spirituals*: i.e., *spiritual* ones // *search*: i.e., get to      5 *secrets*: hidden workings / inner motivations

5 *search . . . of*: search out the reasons for      7 *holy . . . interpreters*: i.e., Church theologians and biblical exegetes

8 *false*: dishonest // *evil*: ill      11 *show*: exemplify      12 *in*: with regard to // *declaration*: explication

13 *fleshly*: carnal      14 *blind*: stupid / reckless / deceitful // *doctors-and-saints*: i.e., sainted biblical exegetes

15 *were not he*: would he not be // *very*: veritable      16 *wit*: intelligence / good sense      28 *severed*: separated

31 *in*: into      33 *question*: questioning      35 *true*: right-believing

their chief spiritual governor under God—yet always those that were learned or good men among them, and the whole people with them, in the necessary articles were of the same faith, and confirmed themselves to the see of Rome in such things as among

- 5 them began to be disputable; as well appeareth not only by Saint Chrysostom and other old holy doctors of the Greeks, but also by the general councils in which the Greeks in matters of doubt and question finally confirmed themselves to the Latins and to the See Apostolic.
- 10 And for conclusion, both the Latin Church and the Greek Church, and Prester John's church, too, and every church that bore the name of any good Christendom—yea, and every church also of any honest heretics, too, and the church of paynims and Turks, too, and the church of Saracens, too (since Tyndale will have them all called
- 15 churches), and finally, the church of all mankind since the earth was well inhabited, as many as ever have known so much as the name of God—hath ever hitherto damned the church of Luther and Tyndale and Friar Huessgen, that care not to break their promise made to God, and contrary to all honesty make mocks of their vows...
- 20 and void of shame avow their filthy lechery for honest wedlock and lawful matrimony.

#### Tyndale

- [Judge] whether their authority be above the Scripture; whether all that they teach without Scripture be equal with the Scripture;
- 25 whether they *have* erred, and not only whether they can.

#### More

- Judge here, good reader, whether that Tyndale play the part of an honest man, when the power and authority which the Church ascribeth unto God and his Holy Spirit... Tyndale would make you
- 30 believe that they do take and ascribe it unto themselves.
- The word of God unwritten is* For no man saith that any man is  
*equal with his word written.* above the word of God; but we say  
boldly that his word unwritten is equal  
and as strong as his word written... and that he is as well to be believed
- 35 without writing as with writing... and that himself and his Holy Spirit understandeth his own writing better than all

2 *people*: i.e., rest of the population    3, 4 *in*: with regard to    3 *necessary*: essential  
3, 8 *confirmed*: i.e., firmly conformed    5 *disputable*: i.e., called into question / matters of contention  
5 *well appeareth*: is well evidenced    6 *Chrysostom*: i.e., John Chrysostom  
6 *old* . . . *Greeks*: i.e., early Greek theologians of the Church    7 *of*: i.e., that had among them been in  
11 *Prester John's church*: A reference to a legendary land in More's day generally identified with Ethiopia and, by extension, all of Africa.    12 *good*: valid; bona fide // *Christendom*: Christianity  
13 *honest*: decent; morally upright // *paynims*: pagans // *Turks*: Turkish Muslims    14 *Saracens*: Arab Muslims  
16 *was*: i.e., became    17 *damned*: condemned    18 *that* . . . *break*: who think nothing of breaking  
19 *honesty*: decency / moral uprightness // *mocks*: mockeries    20 *void*: devoid  
20 *honest*: bona fide / respectable    21 *lawful*: legitimate / licit    23 *the*: i.e., that of  
24 *without*: i.e., that is not in    27 *that Tyndale play*: i.e., Tyndale is now playing  
28 *honest*: morally upright / respectable    29, 35–36 *God/himself* . . . *Spirit*: i.e., God the Holy Spirit  
30 *they*: i.e., the Church hierarchy; the members of the Magisterium    33 *boldly*: with assurance; without hesitation  
33 *equal*: i.e., equal to    34 *he*: i.e., what he says    35 *without* . . . *writing*: i.e., when he does not put it in writing as when he does

the creatures of the whole world. And then we say also that God by  
*Mt 28:20; Jn 14:16–17* the mouth of our Savior hath promised  
*Jn 16:13* that himself with his Holy Spirit shall  
 ever be assistant with his church... and that

5 *he* shall always instruct his church and lead it into every truth.

And we say that he keepeth, and ever hath kept, and ever shall keep,  
 that promise. And therefore we say that he teacheth his church all

*God teacheth his* truth; I mean all truth necessary, as  
*church all truth.* himself meant, for their salvation; that is  
 10 to wit, all such things as he will upon

pain of damnation have them bound to believe. I say also that  
 upon this it must needs follow that, albeit our Lord doth suffer his

*The Church doth not err in* church to err in the knowledge of a fact  
*the knowledge of God's law.* or deed done among men, yet will he

15 never suffer it to err and be deceived in  
 the knowledge of his law to which he will have it bound,

and in the time in which he will have it bound thereto. And therefore  
 will he never suffer his church to take, repute, and judge a

thing for sinful and damnable that is of truth good and pleasing

20 to God. For then should he thereby cause his church to leave good,

virtuous things undone themselves, and also to forbid it other

folk as things vicious and displeasing to God; and then were

his promise broken, since that the Holy Ghost had not then taught

them the truth necessary, but had suffered them to be led into

25 damnable untruth.

Then say I further that it consequently followeth also that God  
 shall much *less* suffer his church to take for good and pleasing to  
 God the thing that is very naught and odious unto God and damnable  
 to itself. For then should his church by such error not only

30 leave the good undone, but also do the evil, and not know which way  
 to amend it. And of these things I say that it followeth necessarily

that though the Church be not *above* the Scripture and Holy Writ, yet  
 it *is* so taught by the Spirit of God, and his holy, secret, inward

word unwritten, that it cannot be damnably deceived in the

35 understanding of his holy scripture written. And thereupon yet

farther followeth that all such as so construe the Scripture that they  
 would make the Scripture seem to be contrary to the faith of Christ's

1 *of*: in    4 *assistant*: actively present    11 *bound*: obligated    12 *upon*: i.e., from  
 12, 15, etc. *suffer(ed)*: allow(ed)    13, 15, 34 *in*: regarding    15 *deceived*: mistaken  
 18, 20 *his church*: i.e., the leaders of his church    18 *repute*: account    19 *of truth*: in fact; actually  
 21 *forbid it*: i.e., prohibit them to    22 *vicious*: immoral // *displeasing*: displeasing  
 22–23 *were . . . promise*: would his promise be    23 *since that*: since  
 23 *had not then*: would then not have    24 *had*: i.e., would have    28 *the thing*: i.e., something  
 28 *naught*: bad // *unto*: i.e., in the eyes of    28–29 *damnable to*: i.e., condemnation-causing for  
 29 *itself*: i.e., the Church    30 *which*: what    31 *of*: from    33 *secret*: sense-imperceptible  
 33 *inward*: i.e., interiorly intuited    34 *be damnably deceived*: be damnably misled / go damnably wrong

church... *do* damnably construe it contrary to the teaching of God  
and his Holy Spirit. Which by his own promise doth always  
teach his church, and always leadeth it, and always shall lead it, into  
every necessary truth; and that unto the end of the world,  
5 according to the words of our Savior Christ himself.

*Note these three points.*

Of these points Tyndale denieth us  
three. One is that any thing is certainly  
to be believed, except only the Scripture—and yet that must be, as  
Luther saith, evident, open, and plain; of which the contrary hath  
10 been so often proved unto him, so evidently, openly, and plainly, that if  
Tyndale were not evidently, openly, and plainly shameless, his heart  
would never serve him for very shame to speak anymore of that point.  
The other point is that he denieth the Catholic, known church  
to be the church of Christ, and putteth it in question which is *the*  
15 church, and finally putteth for the church of Christ here militant  
in earth the only secret, unknown folk that are predestinate. The  
third is that he putteth also in question whether *the* church  
may fall into damnable error. And thereto he saith that the  
church of elects doth err but yet it doth not err. And forasmuch  
20 as these things be the chief things whereof his book treateth: likewise  
as they that have wit and learning do already find his  
handling of these matters full of malice and very void of truth—so  
I trust, when we come hereafter to the places, to make right mean-learned  
folk, and mean-witted, too, perceive that all his high  
25 invention that he would have seem so sooth is in very deed a very  
mad man's dream.

### Tyndale

And against the mist of their sophistry take the examples that  
are past, in the Old Testament and authentic stories, and the present  
30 practice which thou seest before thine eyes.

### More

We be well content that these things try the “mist” of both  
parties... so that Tyndale take with him one thing or twain more,  
which I marvel wherefore he now leaveth out, saving that he seeth  
35 well that they will clearly dissipate and discuss the mist that he

1–2 *God . . . Spirit*: i.e., God the Holy Spirit    2 *which*: who // *his*: i.e., God's  
4 *necessary truth*: i.e., truth one must believe in order to get to heaven  
7–8 *any . . . the*: i.e., there are things that are to be believed as certainties, besides just those found in  
8 *yet that*: i.e., even those scriptures    9 *saith*: puts it    9, 10, 11 *evident(ly)*: conclusive(ly)  
9, 10, 11 *open(ly)*: manifest(ly) // *plain(ly)*: clear(ly)  
11–12 *his . . . shame*: i.e., sheer fear of embarrassment would keep him from being at all inclined  
13 *the other*: i.e., another    15 *puts*: posits    16 *in*: on // *the only*: only the // *secret*: unobservable-as-such  
16 *unknown*: i.e., unidentifiable-as-such    18 *may*: can    21 *wit*: intelligence  
22 *void*: devoid    23 *the places*: i.e., those passages of his book  
23–24 *right . . . mean-witted*: i.e., folk who have very little education, and little intelligence  
24–25 *all his high invention*: his whole high-flown construct    25 *sooth*: true to fact // *very deed*: actual fact  
29 *stories*: historical documents    32 *be . . . that*: are quite willing to have  
32 *try . . . of*: i.e., test for the presence of “mist”    33 *so that*: provided that // *twain*: two  
34 *marvel*: wonder // *wherefore*: for what reason // *saving*: other than    35 *discuss*: dispel

fain would walk in. For else why leaveth he clean out the New Testament now? We must pray him that we may take in that too.

And forasmuch as we do on both the sides agree upon the text of Scripture, and that the question much lieth whether Tyndale and his fellows understand it right, or else the whole church of all Christian nations: we shall pray him to be content that we may lay forth in that behalf the mind of the old holy doctors-and-saints which wrote of these matters so many hundred years ere ever this business began, and wrote not for the pleasure of either party. And them will we the rather allege because Tyndale, as well in his book of *Obedience* as in divers places of this book, is not ashamed to say that *we* will not believe the old holy doctors, but that *they* do, and be of the belief that those holy fathers were; and as I say, he is not ashamed to write this—yea, and that very often—when he wotteth well that among them all he cannot find one that ever believed other but that it was a shameful, abominable sin, a monk to marry a nun; which thing, hereafter in this book, Tyndale so foolishly defendeth that, saving for pity to see any man so mad, one that lay sore sick could not forbear to laugh at it.

#### Tyndale

Judge whether it be possible that any good should come out of their dumb ceremonies and sacraments into thy soul. Judge their penance, pilgrimages, pardons, purgatory, praying to posts, dumb blessings, dumb absolutions; their dumb pattering and hallowing; their dumb strange holy gestures, with all their dumb disguisings; their satisfactions and justifying. And because thou findest them false in so many things... trust them in nothing, but judge them in all things.

#### More

Judge, good Christian reader, whether it be possible that he be any better than a beast... out of whose brutish, beastly mouth cometh such a filthy foam of blasphemies against Christ's holy ceremonies and blessed sacraments sent into his church out of his own blessed, bloody side. And for because we find this fellow so frantic and so false in the railing and jesting against the sacraments of Christ—ye may well judge that whoso can delight or be content with

1 *fain* . . . *in*: is so desirous of walking in // *clean*: completely 2 *pray*: beg of 4 *much lieth*: in large part lies in  
 5 *fellows*: cohorts / followers 6 *pray*: ask // *content* . . . *forth*: okay with our setting forth / satisfied by our being  
 able to adduce 7, 12 *old holy doctors(-and-saints)*: (sainted) early biblical exegetes 7 *which*: who  
 8 *ere*: before // *business*: trouble; commotion 10 *the rather allege*: with the better reason cite  
 11 *divers*: several 13 *belief*: i.e., same belief 14 *wotteth well*: well knows 15–16 *other but*: otherwise than  
 17 *hereafter*: later on 18 *so mad*: i.e., be that demented // *one that*: i.e., even one who 19 *sore*: extremely  
 19 *forbear to laugh*: keep from laughing 21 *good*: i.e., good thing  
 22, 24, etc. *dumb*: incomprehensible / meaningless 22, 32 *ceremonies*: rituals / rites  
 23 *pardons*: services held for the granting of indulgences // *posts*: (a derogatory term for) statues  
 25 *hallowing*: consecrating // *strange*: esoteric  
 26 *disguisings*: i.e., disguisings of themselves by the putting on of costumes (vestments)  
 26 *satisfactions*: payments of debts of temporal punishment incurred by sin 27, 35 *false*: deceitful / wrong  
 27, 28 *in*: with regard to 34 *fellow*: lowlife // *frantic*: deranged 35 *in the*: i.e., in his  
 35 *jesting*: taking of potshots 36 *whoso*: anyone who // *delight*: take delight in // *content*: okay

his blasphemous ribaldry hath great cause in himself to fear that  
his Christian faith beginneth to fail and faint.

### Tyndale

5 Mark at the last the practice of our fleshly spirituality, and their  
ways by which they have walked above eight hundred years; how  
they establish their lies, first with falsifying the Scripture, then  
through corrupting with their riches (whereof they have infinite  
treasure in store), and last of all, with the sword.

### More

10 Yea marry—*mark*, I pray you. For this is much to be marked, lo—that  
Tyndale cannot bear the fleshliness of *our* spirituality because  
the fleshliness of *their* church is spiritual! For the fleshly wedded  
harlots of their church be their chief holy, spiritual fathers and  
holy, spiritual mothers—monks, friars, and nuns. And because  
15 their holy church is but newly begun... Tyndale would we should  
ween that this eight hundred years and more, Christ hath had no  
church in the world at all. For so long, saith Tyndale, all hath been  
naught... by the reason that all this while the clergy hath falsified  
the Scripture, and hired men with gifts, and compelled them with  
20 the sword to believe them; and so all this eight hundred years, saith  
Tyndale, by these means all the Christian nations have instead of true  
faith believed false lies, and so have been out of the faith and all  
naught.

If Tyndale did not lie now (as, blessed be God, he doth), here  
25 had been a great gap in Christendom this fifteen hundred years. And where  
had Christ's promise been, then, all this while? With his elects? Nay;  
if this church have had all this while false sacraments... Christ hath  
had none elects all this while. For they have used, whatsoever  
Tyndale say, the same sacraments that their neighbors did.

30 I would also that he had told us how *much* more than eight hundred years  
the Church hath had false sacraments... lest that that he calleth now  
“more,” he shall hereafter call it “much more.” For thereto shall he be  
fain to fall, or else to call these eight hundred back again and confess the  
sacraments true... or finally (which he is most likely to do), babble  
35 on still, against all reason, against all good men, and against all

1 *ribaldry*: scurrilous ridiculing 2 *beginneth* . . . *faint*: is beginning to break down and fade  
4, 10 *mark(ed)*: note(d) 4, 12 *fleshly*: carnal / worldly 4, 11 *spirituality*: clergy  
4–5 *their* . . . *walked*: i.e., the ways they have been operating / the tactics they've been using  
5 *above*: for over 6 *with*: by 10 *yea marry*: yes indeed // *pray*: beseech  
11, 12 *fleshliness*: carnality / worldliness 13 *harlots*: loose-living people  
15–16 *would we should ween*: would have us think 16 *this*: for this last 17 *so*: i.e., for that  
17 *all*: everyone 18, 23 *naught*: bad 19 *hired*: bribed 22 *false*: counterfactual / despicable / damn  
22 *out*: outside 24 *did not lie* . . . *doth*: i.e., were not lying . . . is 25 *had*: would have // *great*: huge  
25 *this*: in this 26 *had* . . . *been*: would . . . have been 27 *have*: i.e., has  
27, 31 *false*: spurious; bogus 28 *none*: no // *used*: i.e., received; availed themselves of  
30 *would*: wish 31 *that he*: that which he; what he 32 *thereto*: to that 33 *fain*: forced  
33 *fall*: resort // *call*: i.e., take 33–34 *confess* . . . *true*: admit that . . . are authentic



*Scripture*... and so that he be talking, never care what, whereof, nor how. For I am sure that in the sacraments and in the knowledge of *the* church, his malicious folly is reproved by the old holy doctors above his eight hundred years almost as many more, and over that, by plain Scripture, too.

#### Tyndale

Have they not compelled the emperors of the earth, and the great lords and high officers, to be obedient unto them, to dispute for them... and to be their tormentors... and the Zamzummim themselves do but imagine mischief and inspire them?

#### More

Here is all the great anger that grieveth this good man: that either lord, king, or emperor meddleth anything for the maintenance of the faith, or set to their hands to the repressing of heresies.

But if Tyndale find this for a fault... he must go far above his eight hundred years. For it is far above a thousand since that, as evil lords, princes, and emperors have helped and maintained heretics... so, likewise, good lords, princes, and emperors have set to their hands to subdue them. And their maintainers have vanished away with them, and their amenders and punishers God hath maintained and favored; and good, godly men have called upon princes for their aid and assistance in such case, and at their instance and pursuit have princes and emperors both punished them and made many good laws against them.

#### Tyndale

Mark whether it were ever truer than now. The scribes, Pharisees, Pilate, Herod, Caiaphas, and Annas... are gathered together against God and Christ; but yet, I trust, in vain... and that he that broke the council of Ahithophel shall scatter theirs.

#### More

Mark now, good Christian reader, when Tyndale hath told us that the right faith is heresy and heresy right faith... and when he weeneth that he hath made men so wise and we would at his word take white for black and black for white, and God for the devil and the devil for God: then, when he weeneth that he hath made men

1 *so that*: so long as // *whereof*: what about 2 *am sure*: i.e., know for a fact  
 2 *in*: regarding 3 *folly*: nonsense // *reproved*: proved false // *old*: long-established  
 3–4 *holy*... *more*: i.e., theologians of almost twice eight hundred years ago 4 *over*: on top of  
 5 *plain*: explicit 8 *dispute*: argue; take up 9 *tormentors*: agents of torture  
 9 *Zamzummim*: Giants spoken of in Deuteronomy 2:20–21. 10 *imagine*: conjure up ideas for  
 10 *mischief*: i.e., inflicting harm 12 *all the great*: the whole big // *anger*: trouble / irritant // *grieveth*: vexes  
 13 *meddleth anything for*: i.e., should have any involvement in // *maintenance*: upholding; preserving  
 14 *set to their hands to*: actively engage in // *repressing*: suppressing 15 *above*: beyond  
 16 *is*... *since*: i.e., is as of far more than a thousand ago 17 *helped*: i.e., aided 17, 21 *maintained*: abetted  
 18–19 *set to their hands*: pitched in their help / set to work 19 *subdue*: quash // *maintainers*: abettors  
 22 *case*: i.e., situations 23 *instance*: solicitation // *pursuit*: petitioning 26 *mark*: consider; see  
 29 *broke*: destroyed // *the council of Ahithophel*: See 2 Samuel 15:10–12, 30–31; 16:15–23; 17:1–23.  
 31 *mark*: note // *when*: i.e., that when 33, 35 *weeneth*: thinks 33 *so wise and*: i.e., so sagacious that

so blind, he biddeth look and “mark” that all emperors, kings,  
princes, lords, and prelates, and every kind of Christian people, that  
anything do or say against heretics—all they be Pilates,  
Herods, Caiaphases, and Annases, and are gathered “against Christ,”  
5 saith Tyndale; that is to wit, in deed against heretics that  
labor both with false heresies to destroy the true faith of Christ  
and also with their traitorous setting forth of seditions to raise  
rebellions, as they did in Almaine, and thereby destroy Christ’s  
good Christian people.

10 *1 Cor 13:2* For surely, good reader, though men may  
*Jas 1:26–27; 2:14–17, 25–26* have faith and yet lack charity (as Saint  
Paul saith, and Saint James too, every one  
of which two is worthy more faith and credence than fifteen hundred  
thousand Tyndales that telleth us the contrary)—but though a man  
15 *Faith may lack charity.* may, as I say, have faith and lack  
charity—yet if he lack faith, he may well  
have love, but he cannot have no charity.

And therefore, since Tyndale is thus run out of the right faith...  
never trust his false love lacking charity. For surely to win his  
20 conclusion, and bring in his heresies, and to get thereof the vain  
glory to be taken for an apostle—he would see seven cities burn and  
warm himself by the fire.

And even in this place he maketh a manner of motion thereof,  
showing himself to have some trust to work wonders at length. For  
25 he maketh as though the princes that would repress heresies were as  
*2 Sm 15:1–12, 30–37* Absalom with his army, and Ahithophel  
therein, that persecuted King David; as  
though Friar Luther and his “wife,” with his fond fellows and their lemans,  
were like to King David and his host. And then hath  
30 Tyndale a trust that some Hushai that is some chieftain of Luther’s  
council, which he meaneth, as it seemeth, shall be himself... shall by  
his high wisdom make as though he were a faithful friend and  
beguile all the company, and so scatter them and make them to be  
taken and slain, as Absalom was and his folk. But likewise as  
35 Tyndale’s whole story serveth here all against his purpose, because  
that here the truth doth of good mind labor to put *down* falsehood...

1 *so*: i.e., that // *biddeth*: says to // *mark*: note 5 *in deed*: in fact 6, 36 *labor*: strive  
6 *false*: erroneous / vile / damn 7 *setting forth*: encouraging; inciting // *raise*: give rise to  
8 *Almaine*: Germany 9 *good*: bona fide 10 *surely*: assuredly 10, 15 *may*: can  
12 *every one*: each 13 *worthy*: deserving of 17 *no*: any 18 *run*: i.e., gone  
19 *false*: counterfeit // *surely*: assuredly / securely 19–20 *win his conclusion*: have what he says win out  
20 *vain*: unwarranted 21 *to be*: i.e., of being 23 *even*: i.e., right here // *place*: passage  
23 *maketh . . . motion*: gives a kind of indication 24 *to work . . . length*: of eventually working wonders  
25 *princes*: rulers // *would repress*: i.e., endeavor to suppress // *were as*: were like  
28 *fond*: full-of-themselves / asinine // *fellows*: cohorts // *lemans*: bedmates; illicit lovers  
29 *host*: military force 30 *chieftain* i.e., leading member 33 *all the*: the whole  
34 *folk*: allegiants 35 *all*: completely 36 *mind*: intent

and Tyndale with his master and his fond fellowship, with their  
feigned fair, holy speech, like Absalom with his fair hair, enforce  
themselves to bring *in* false heresies and destroy the true faith—why

- 5 only for one thing: that for policy Hushai made a lie; and therein  
2 Sm 15:34–36; 16:15–19 Tyndale overmatcheth him far, for he  
saith never true.

### Tyndale

- 10 Mark whether it be not true in the highest degree, that for the sin of  
the people hypocrites shall reign over them. What shows, what  
faces and contrary pretenses are made—and all to establish them in  
their theft, falsehood, and damnable lies; and to gather them together  
for to contrive subtlety, to oppress the truth, and to stop  
the light, and to keep all still in darkness.

- 15 More

Tyndale is a great marker; there is nothing with him now but  
mark, mark, mark. It is pity that the man were not made a marker  
of chases in some tennis play. For in good faith, he should be therein  
much better occupied than he is in this... when he sitteth and marketh  
20 all other men's faults and leaveth his own unmarked... which every  
other man marketh well enough.

- He biddeth the people mark that their princes are “hypocrites” in  
the “highest degree”... and so he teacheth their subjects to have them  
in good opinion and reverence. But I am glad, as help me God, on the  
25 other side, that the holy “spiritual” heads of Tyndale's heresies, as  
Friar Luther and Friar Huessgen, and all the whole pack of the principal  
fathers of all their frantic sects, have left off a piece of their  
hypocrisy and by their filthy “wedding” shown themselves plain,  
open ribalds.

- 30 Tyndale

Wherefore it is time to awake and see, every man with his own eyes,  
and to judge, if we will not be judged of Christ when he cometh to  
judge. And remember that he which is warned hath none excuse if  
he take no heed. Herewith, farewell in the Lord Jesus Christ, whose  
35 Spirit be thy guide, and doctrine thy light, to judge with.  
Amen.

1 *fond*: full-of-themselves / asinine // *fellowship*: band of cohorts 2 *feigned*: made-to-seem  
2 *fair*: beautiful 2–3 *enforce themselves*: endeavor; strive 3 *false*: vile // *why*: on what account  
4 *nothing*: not at all 5 *policy*: political expediency // *made*: told 6 *overmatcheth him far*: far outdoes him  
7 *saith never true*: never tells the truth 9, 17, etc. *mark(eth)*: ascertain(s) by observation / note(s)  
9 *for*: on account of 11 *faces*: façades // *contrary*: i.e., contrary-to-reality 12 *theft*: thieving  
12 *falsehood*: lack of conformity with the truth / fraudulence // *gather them*: i.e., get themselves  
13 *subtlety*: crafty trickery // *oppress*: suppress // *stop*: block out  
14 *all still in darkness*: i.e., everyone always in the dark 17 *pity*: i.e., a pity // *were*: i.e., was  
18 *chases*: second rebounds // *in good faith*: in all seriousness 22 *princes*: rulers 23 *so*: thusly  
23 *have*: hold 24 *as*: so 25 *side*: i.e., hand // *heads*: sources // *as*: i.e., such as 27 *frantic*: deranged  
28 *left off a piece*: put an end to a part // *plain*: flagrant 29 *open*: overt // *ribalds*: degenerates / scumballs  
31 *wherefore*: for which reason 32 *will not*: do not want to // *of*: by 33 *none*: no

## More

Tyndale never spoke better than he doth even here. For of truth, good Christian reader, it *is* high time to awake and look, every man with his own eyes... and that time was never so convenient as now.

5 For in all other heretics before this time... every man was not able to perceive them with his own eyes. Heresies were commonly somewhat subtle, and had apparent texts in Scripture that, falsely taken, seemed to make for them. And then had their living such a pretense of honesty and cleanness... that these things so bleared the  
10 unlearned people's eyes that they were not able to judge these men and their matters every man himself with his own eyes; but they followed the judgment of wiser and better and better-learned... and by their teaching and good, holy doctrine, they saw and perceived the other feigned and false.

15 But marry, now God hath (laud and thank be to him!) brought *these* fellows and *their* heresies in another case. For he hath suffered them, of his high goodness, to show themselves at last, and to fall into such open, beastly faults, friars and nuns creeping to bed together, and then to preach and teach their shameless lechery boldly  
20 about for good and lawful matrimony, that they have thereby now set out their gear so sightly that every man may well and plainly see such open ribaldry with his own eyes, and well and easily judge the thing for sin and beastly bitchery, and the defense thereof for a shameful shameless heresy, and the preachers thereof for more than  
25 monstrous heretics. And therefore of this be Tyndale's words well verified... that every man may and must awake and see with his own eyes this abominable bitchery of these bold beastly preachers that lay friars and nuns abed together and call them man and wife. This must every man judge for abominable heresy... if we  
30 "will not be judged of Christ when he cometh to judge."

And therefore when Tyndale closeth up his preface with a solemn threat... bidding men to remember now that "he which is warned hath none excuse if he take no heed"—he saith as true as the Gospel, but all against himself. For this open heresy of friars'  
35 filthy "matrimony" giveth us so plain and open warning of their worldly, fleshly, devilish spirit—so plain against all Holy Scripture and all good, honest men—that we never could have excuse

2 *even*: right // *of truth*: truly    4 *convenient*: right    5 *in*: i.e., in the cases of // *every* . . . *not*: not every man was  
7 *subtle*: abstruse // *falsely*: incorrectly    8 *make for*: support // *living*: i.e., way of living  
8–9 *a pretense of*: an ostensible / a pretext-giving appearance of    9 *honesty*: uprightness / respectability  
9–10 *bleared* . . . *eyes*: blurred the vision of the uneducated people    11 *matters*: contentions  
12 *followed*: went along with // *wiser*: more intelligent // *learned*: educated    14 *feigned*: (to be) fabricated  
15 *marry*: indeed // *laud and thank*: praise and thanks    16 *fellows*: good-for-nothings  
16 *in another case*: into a different situation // *suffered*: allowed    17 *themselves*: i.e., their true colors  
18, 22, 34 *open*: manifest    18 *faults*: iniquities // *creeping to*: crawling into    20 *good and lawful*: valid and licit / thoroughly legit  
20–21 *set* . . . *sightly*: so brought their doctrines/doings/genitals into view    21, 26 *may*: can  
21 *well and*: readily    22 *ribaldry*: debauchery // *well and*: quite // *judge*: discern  
24–25 *more than monstrous*: exceedingly aberrant    25, 30 *of*: by    30 *will not*: do not want to  
31 *solemn*: stern / portentous    33 *none*: no // *he saith*: i.e., what he says is  
35 *so* . . . *of*: i.e., so clear and obvious an alert to    37 *honest*: honorable / respectable

before God if we would give such preachers, so bold in such  
 ribaldry, either faith or credence or favorable hearing; namely  
 since there was never in all Christendom, since the faith first began,  
 any holy doctor, nor doctor good or bad before Luther's days, that  
 5 anything hath written... but he hath abhorred and detested it to the  
 devil of hell that ever any person, either man or woman, that hath  
 vowed themselves monk, friar, or nun, should afterward run  
 out of their religion, cast their vow at their back, and fall to  
 flesh and "wed."

10 And therefore, good Christian readers, since Holy Scripture hath warned  
 you of such teachers as Tyndale is, that teacheth such beastly "wedding"  
 with contempt of their holy vows made before to God; and since  
 that all holy men that have written upon Scripture have given us  
 warning that it is plainly prohibited, as well by the true sense of  
 15 Scripture as by the plain, open *words*; and all good, honest people  
 of Christendom this fifteen hundred years have had such beastly "wedding"  
 in great abomination; and now ye see that all the captains of  
 these pestilent heresies which Tyndale now teacheth you have  
 given you warning themselves—by their own deeds in their named  
 20 wedlock, their very sinful lechery—that they themselves be such as,  
 all this fifteen hundred years before, the Scripture hath reprov'd and all  
 the world hath wondered on; and since ye see Tyndale now teach  
 and allow their lechery and avow it solemnly for good and lawful  
 matrimony: I nothing fear your judgment in this matter. For  
 25 I make me bold in our Lord that ye be so wise in the wisdom of  
 God, and so fastened in his faith, that when ye hear a high holy  
 word come out of such a mouth as praiseth monks' "marriages" and  
 mocketh Christ's sacraments, and then preacheth like a player in a  
 fond interlude—and playeth sometimes the friar, sometimes the fox,  
 30 sometimes the fool, and sometimes the outright ribald—ye will not  
 be so unwise to ween that he were a holy man and therefore hearken  
 to him... but take him such as ye see he is, and let the devil's disour  
 go. Delight not in his devilish doctrine, that ye see yourselves is naught,  
 whatsoever he set therewith to make it seem solemn; but cleave ye  
 35 fast to the faith of Christ, which Tyndale goeth about to destroy... and  
 believe the old fathers that ye see be saints in heaven. For as Tyndale's  
 interpretation of Scripture, and the vices built thereupon, is

2 *ribaldry*: debauchery // *namely*: especially 4 (*holy*) *doctor*: (sainted) theologian  
 7–8 *run* . . . *religion*: abscond from their religious order 8 *cast* . . . *back*: toss their vow behind them  
 12–13 *since that*: since; given that 13 *upon*: i.e., commentaries on 14, 19 *warning*: (advance) notice  
 15 *plain*: straightforward // *open*: explicit 15, 27 *word(s)*: statement(s) 15 *honest*: honorable / respectable  
 16 *had*: held 17 *captains*: masterminds / spearheaders 19 *deeds*: acts // *named*: so-called  
 20 *very*: actual 21 *reprov'd*: condemned 22 *wondered on*: found shocking 23 *allow*: approve  
 23 *solemnly*: seriously; with a straight face // *good and lawful*: valid and licit; bona fide and legit  
 24 *nothing fear*: have no apprehensiveness at all about  
 25 *make* . . . *Lord*: i.e., have the confidence in our Lord to say // *wise*: learned 26 *high*: lofty  
 29 *fond*: silly // *interlude*: skit performed during a play's intermission 30 *fool*: clown  
 30 *ribald*: sleazeball / sacrilegious jackass 31 *to*: i.e., as to // *ween*: think // *were*: was  
 31 *hearken*: pay heed 32 *take him*: i.e., will take him for // *disour*: professional storyteller  
 33 *naught*: worthless / evil 34 *solemn*: authoritative / seriously holy // *cleave*: hold; adhere  
 35 *fast*: steadfastly; firmly // *faith of Christ*: Christian faith // *goeth about*: is out

the very broad way to lead men to hell: so is those holy  
 saints' expositions, with the virtues that they taught and showed,  
 the very strait path that leadeth folk to heaven. In which our Lord,  
 for his painful Passion, give us all grace so to walk... that we come together  
 5 to that place where we may find our charity not changed but  
 increased and perfected, our hope turned into having and possession  
 of bliss, and our faith converted and changed into clear and lightsome  
 knowledge; of which faith Tyndale so preacheth us the name that  
 whoso believe him well is likely to lose all the fruit.

Thus endeth the First Book.

1–3: See Matthew 7:13–14.    1 *to lead*: i.e., that leads    2 *expositions*: commentaries  
 2 *showed*: exemplified    3 *strait*: narrow    5 *changed*: i.e., changed into something else  
 7 *lightsome*: radiant

## The Second Book

Which confuteth the defense of Tyndale  
for his translation of  
the New Testament

5                    *An Answer unto the First Chapter of Tyndale's  
Book: Why He Translateth This Word "Church"  
into This Word "Congregation"*

*Tyndale's translation of the*                    In the beginning of my *Dialogue* I  
                  *New Testament*                    showed that Tyndale's translation of the  
10                    New Testament was well worthy to be  
burned... because it well showed in itself that he had of an evil  
mind translated it in such manner of wise as it might serve him  
for a principal instrument toward the setting forth of all such  
heresies as he had learned of Luther and intended to send over  
15                    hither and spread abroad within this realm; the truth of which  
my saying, Tyndale and his fellows have in such open fashion  
testified and declared themselves that I need for myself in that  
point to use no farther defense.

                  For every man well seeth that there was never English book of  
20                    heresy sent hither since (as there hath been many, some particularly  
against the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, as was the  
devilish *Dialogue of the Father and the Son*, and the blasphemous  
book of *The Burying of the Mass*, whereof, our Lord be thanked, the  
maker is graciously turned again to God; and some were against  
25                    purgatory, and some against almost altogether that good is in Christ's  
church—as are the books of Tyndale himself: his *Wicked Mammon*,  
his *Obedience*, and divers others)—in all these, evermore one  
piece of their complaint hath been the burning of Tyndale's  
Testament. For surely first his false translation, with their farther

2–3 *defense . . . for*: Tyndale's defense of    8 *Dialogue*: i.e., *Dialogue concerning Heresies*  
9 *showed*: stated    10 *well worthy to be*: quite deserving of being    12 *mind*: intent  
12 *manner of wise*: a kind of way    13 *setting forth*: promoting    14 *of*: from    15, 20 *hither*: (to) here  
15 *abroad*: around    15–16 *the . . . saying*: the trueness of which thing I said    16 *fellows*: cohorts  
17 *testified*: borne witness to // *declared*: made known // *in*: on  
19 *never English*: i.e., never any English-language    21 *Blessed . . . Altar*: Eucharist / Blessed Sacrament  
22 *Dialogue . . . Son*: A short-form reference to *Brief Dialogue between a Christian Father and His Stubborn Son*.  
(Both it and *The Burying of the Mass* were written by William Roye.)    24 *maker*: author  
24 *graciously*: i.e., by God's grace // *turned again*: converted back    25 *altogether*: everything  
26 *Wicked Mammon*: i.e., *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*    27 *Obedience*: i.e., *Obedience of a Christian Man*  
27 *divers*: several // *evermore*: always    27–28 *one . . . complaint*: i.e., one of the things they complain about  
29 *Testament*: i.e., edition of the New Testament // *false*: deliberately inaccurate

false construction... they thought should be the bass and the tenor whereupon they would sing the treble with much false descant.

And therefore very hot they take it that the goodness of the King's Grace, with the lords of his honorable Council and the clergy

5 of the realm, have burned up their false-pricked books.

So was it, now, that among other tokens of Tyndale's evil intent in  
*The untrue alteration* his translation... I showed as for example  
*of certain words* that he changed commonly this word  
 "church" into this word "congregation,"

10 and this word "priest" into this word "senior," and "charity" into  
 "love," and "grace" into "favor," "confession" into "knowledge," and "penance"  
 into "repentance"... with many words more which he changeth,  
 and useth, daily, as in turning "idols" into "images," and "anointing"  
 into "smearing," "consecrating" into "charming," "sacraments" into  
 15 "ceremonies," and the ceremonies into "witchcraft," and yet many  
 more.

Now showed I there the causes why Tyndale did evil in translating the Scripture into our tongue with such manner changes...

and showed also the things that might well make every man perceive  
 20 that he meant therein the setting forth of some heresies, as  
 appeareth in my said *Dialogue*. Which things if I should here again  
 rehearse and repeat, and in like wise all other things against which  
 Tyndale doth object—it were too long a work, and as much as to  
 plant and set into this book my whole *Dialogue* again. Wherefore  
 25 in all such things I must needs remit the reader unto the  
*Dialogue* itself.

Now cometh Tyndale, and for answer thereof, and to disprove all  
 that I lay against him in the translating of divers of these words,  
 sheweth that the Latin text and the Greek may be his excuse and  
 30 defense... forasmuch as the words in the Latin text and the Greek do, as  
 he saith, signify such things as he hath expressed in his English  
 translation by those English words that I find the fault in. But  
 first, to what purpose serveth all his defense, when he hath since  
 himself proved, by his own other books, that he is a *heretic*,  
 35 and that his heresies be such as it must needs make it clear that  
 though *another* man translating the Testament, and being good and  
 faithful, might have used haply those changes among without  
 evil meaning or any suspicion thereof—yet *he*, since those changes  
 so served for his heresies, must needs be, not suspected, but manifestly

1 *false*: deliberately inaccurate // *construction*: construing // *should*: would 2 *treble*: i.e., treble-clef part

2 *much*: i.e., a very // *false*: off-key / dissonant 3 *hot*: hotly

3–4 *the King's Grace*: i.e., His Majesty the King 5 *false-pricked*: printed-with-wrong-notes

6 *tokens*: telltale signs // *evil*: ill 7 *showed as for*: mentioned by way of 11 *knowledge*: acknowledgement

13 *useth*: i.e., uses his substitute words for // *daily*: routinely 14 *charming*: putting under an incantation

15 *ceremonies*: rituals 17 *showed*: explained // *causes*: reasons // *evil*: badly 18 *tongue*: language

19 *showed*: pointed out 20 *setting forth*: promoting 22 *rehearse*: relate // *wise*: manner

23 *were*: would be 24 *plant*: insert 25 *remit*: refer 27 *cometh*: i.e., here comes

28 *in*: regarding // *divers*: several 29 *showeth*: claims // *may*: can

30–31 *as he saith*: i.e., says he 32 *in*: with 33 *since*: i.e., since that time (of his doing that translating)

36 *Testament*: i.e., New Testament 36–37 *good and faithful*: quite right-believing; thoroughly orthodox

37 *haply*: perchance // *among*: every now and then 38 *evil meaning*: ill intent // *suspicion*: i.e., appearance



*detected* and *perceived* to have used them, being such so many and so often, not of any chance or good intent, but of very plain purpose to give his heresies in the ears of unlearned men some color of proof in the text of the New Testament! And so  
5 might I now pass over six or seven of the first chapters of his book, as things that serve him of right naught.

But yet, to the intent ye may the better perceive how wisely the man defendeth the matter—in such wise as he showeth both lack of learning and more lack of wit, and most lack of grace—he doth  
10 at the last confess himself that he made the changes for the setting forth of his heresies; which was the point that I laid to his charge as the very thing for which his translation was very well worthy to be burned.

Now let us first consider how he defendeth his change of this  
15 word “church” into this word “congregation.”

First, to induce the matter as though he went about to make everything very open and plain, he telleth us a long tale of little weight: that this word “church” hath divers significations. And then he maketh as though he would tell how many; wherein  
20 when he hath all done, he leaveth out one of the very chief. For he telleth us that a “church” signifieth a “place” or a “house” where Christian men “were wont” to resort in “old time” to “hear the word” of God—and, he saith, not “to pray”... but to learn “how and what to pray.”

Then, he saith, it hath a second signification—but that is, he saith,  
25 but “mistaken” and “abused”—by which it signifieth the clergy; whom it pleaseth to him in his railing manner to call a “multitude of shaven, shorn, and oiled,” in mockage and reproof not so much of the priests as of the holy order of priesthood.

A third signification, he saith, it hath... by which it betokeneth  
30 “a congregation, a multitude, or a company gathered together in one, . . . as a man [may call] ‘the Church of London,’ meaning not the spirituality only . . . but the whole body of the city, of all kinds, conditions, and degrees.” And “in this third signification” he saith that, though it be “little known among the common people nowadays,”  
35 yet in this signification is, he saith, “the ‘church’ of God or Christ taken in the Scripture”—for “the whole multitude . . . that receive the name of Christ to believe in him.” And for the proof of this he layeth

1 *being such*: i.e., such changes being    2 *often*: frequent // *of any chance or*: i.e., by any accident or of any  
3, 17 *plain*: obvious    4 *color*: semblance    6 *serve . . . naught*: do absolutely nothing for him  
7 *wisely*: brilliantly    8 *wise*: a way    9 *wit*: intelligence / good sense    11 *setting forth*: advancing  
13 *worthy to be*: deserving of being    16 *induce the matter*: bring up the subject // *went about*: was trying  
17 *open*: clear    18 *divers*: several    19 *would*: was going to    20 *hath*: i.e., is  
23 *how . . . pray*: i.e., how to pray and what for    24 *that*: i.e., that one    25 *abused*: i.e., erroneous / improper  
26 *pleaseth to*: delights    27 *shaven . . . oiled*: i.e., tonsured, shaved, and anointed (in the rite of ordination)  
27 *mockage and reproof*: mockery and scorn    30 *company*: community  
31 *as a man*: i.e., such as that which someone // *may*: might    32 *spirituality*: clergy  
32–33 *kinds . . . degrees*: i.e., classes, personal qualities and circumstances, and ranks    37 *layeth*: adduces

many places of Saint Paul. Finally, yet, he remembereth himself at last and addeth unto this, as it were, a note, and saith...

### Tyndale

5 Notwithstanding, yet it is sometimes taken generally for all that embrace the name of Christ, though their faiths be naught, or though they have no faith at all. And sometimes it is taken specially for the elect only... in whose hearts God hath written his law with his Holy Spirit, and given them a feeling faith of the mercy that is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

### More

10 Lo, now ye have heard how many manner of wise Tyndale teacheth us that this word “church” is taken. In which yet he hath left out one signification or twain that this word plainly signifieth. One is that this word “church,” besides all the significations that Tyndale  
15 hath here shown us, doth signify that part of the Church that in synods and councils do represent the whole Church. As when we say that there is a law made by “the Church” that heretics shall not be suffered to preach; likewise as a parliament representeth the whole realm, and is by the common speech so called, too... as when we say that “the  
20 realm” hath made a law that heretics shall be burned.

“The Church” also signifieth sometimes a much less number: that is to wit, the only rulers or heads of the Church; as where we be

*Mt 18:17*

commanded to complain to “the Church”...

it is not meant to all the whole town, nor to

25 all the clergy thereof, but to rulers and governors. Since Tyndale hath taken upon him to show us here his high doctrine—how many manner of wise this word “church” is taken—it belonged rather unto him to have taken in these significations than some of them that he hath taken, as ye shall see anon.

30 But first, I marvel me much that Tyndale hath either clean left out or else put in so darkly, that he would not have it perceived... that signification of this word “church” that is one of the principal significations thereof, and whereupon the greatest weight of all our matter dependeth. And that is that signification by which “the

1 *places of*: passages from // *remembereth*: recollects; bethinks      2 *a note*: i.e., a postscript; an afterthought  
5 *though*: even if // *naught*: bad / no good      6 *specially*: specifically      11, 27 *manner of wise*: kinds of ways  
13 *twain*: two      15 *shown*: told      18 *suffered*: allowed  
21 *less number*: i.e., smaller number of people; less numerous group      22 *the only*: only the  
23 *complain*: take our complaints      24 *to . . . town*: i.e., to refer to the whole entire town  
26 *taken upon him*: undertaken // *show*: expound to // *high*: high-level; advanced // *doctrine*: teaching  
27–28 *it . . . him*: i.e., it would have behooved him rather      29 *anon*: presently  
30 *marvel me much*: am very surprised // *clean*: completely      31 *darkly*: unclearly; vaguely  
31 *that he would not*: i.e., so as not to  
33–34 *whereupon . . . dependeth*: i.e., the one on which the whole case between us most heavily depends

Church” signifieth not, as Tyndale taketh it in his third signification for, *all* a multitude, gathered together in one, of *all* kinds, conditions, and degrees of people... but of such only people as be *Christian* people—and them not in one city only, but that whole number of every city, town, and village throughout all the whole world. This signification Tyndale leaveth out clean, because it toucheth most the matter.

For as for that he saith in his foreremembered note—he seemeth but to set a specification of his third signification, as though he would mean it for the whole number of citizens, or else for the only number of the elects, within some one city, as he there putteth London for his example. And if he would there name, in his note, the whole Catholic Church, I marvel why he saith that it is called so “sometimes”—as though that signification were very rare and seldom, whereas of truth there is of “the Church” no signification neither more great nor more common than that by which it is meant and taken for the Catholic church and universal.

Howbeit, of truth Tyndale handleth his third signification very secondly, and fareth as one that would fain walk in the dark. For the places of Scripture seem to speak of only *Christian* people in this place and that. But his description of “the Church” in that signification goeth far otherwise. For when he saith that it signifieth not only the clergy but the whole “congregation, multitude, or company gathered into one . . . as a man would say ‘the Church of London,’ meaning not the spirituality only . . . but the whole body of the city,” and “all that pertain unto the town generally,” “of all kinds, conditions, and degrees”: of this signification surely few folk have heard. For though he name a Christian city for an example—yet may there be some cities and have been, and yet be some such in some other places, that of the citizens and of the whole body of the city, and of such as pertain unto the town generally... not only be there Christian priests and Christian laypeople... but open, cast-out heretics also; yea, and peradventure Jews, Turks, and Saracens too, that be not christened at all. And in some cities, few Christian people and the remnant infidels; and such were the cities to whom the Apostle wrote. And then I am sure when Saint Paul spoke of “the church” of the Corinthians or of the Ephesians, he meant

2 *all a*: all of a    2–3 *all kinds . . . of people*: i.e., people of *all* classes, personal qualities and circumstances, and ranks  
 3 *of such only*: only of such    6 *clean*: completely; entirely    7 *toucheth . . . matter*: is the most pertinent to the issue  
 8 *that*: what // *foreremembered*: above-mentioned    8, 12 *note*: postscript. (See 146/1–9.)  
 8–9 *but . . . of*: i.e., to be only adding a specification to    10 *mean it for*: i.e., mean for it to apply to  
 10 *for the only*: just to the    11 *putteth*: gives    12 *would there name*: i.e., intended to be speaking of there  
 13 *marvel*: wonder    14 *so*: that; i.e., “the Church” // *rare*: recherché / atypical // *seldom*: unusual  
 15 *of truth*: in reality; in fact // *neither*: i.e., either    17 *Catholic . . . universal*: i.e., Catholic, universal church  
 18 *Howbeit . . . Tyndale*: But be that as it may, Tyndale really    19 *very secondly*: in a very second-rate fashion  
 19 *fareth . . . walk*: acts like someone wanting to be walking    20 *places of Scripture*: i.e., scriptural texts he adduces  
 21 *description*: definition    24 *company*: community    25 *spirituality*: clergy    26, 31 *pertain*: belong  
 26, 31 *generally*: collectively    29 *yet be*: i.e., there even are    32 *open*: i.e., out-in-the-open  
 32 *cast-out*: excommunicated    33 *peradventure*: perhaps // *Turks*: i.e., Turkish Muslims  
 33 *Saracens*: Arab Muslims    35 *remnant*: rest // *infidels*: unbelievers    36 *the Apostle*: i.e., Saint Paul

not in this Tyndale's third signification after his description—all the whole body of the city, and all such as pertained thereto generally—but the Christian people only.

5 Nor now also, if Tyndale would speak of "the Church of London," where all the whole town *is* Christian people—there would no man understand thereby the whole body of the city, but the clergy only; nor no man, Tyndale except, in speaking would so mean. But this darkness useth Tyndale... because he would have it seem that this word "church"—which in the English tongue hath ever had a good  
10 signification and a holy in men's hearts—should seem to have sometimes the contrary. Out of which darkness I shall draw Tyndale anon, I trust, and... according to my "poetry," wherein he mocketh me... pull up Cerberus into the light.

15 But now let us first consider a little his first signification, where he saith it signifieth a place whereunto "Christian people were wont in the old time to resort at times convenient, for to hear the word of doctrine, the law of God, and the faith of our Savior Christ, and how and what to pray, and whence to ask power and strength to live godly."

20 Why saith Tyndale here "in the old time"? For all this we do in the new time too, howsoever Tyndale list to lie.

Then goeth he further and lieth on lustily, saying that of Christ's promises nor of his mercy "we" know "nothing at all"; as though no man had here heard ever anything spoken that mankind is redeemed by Christ's Passion, and that he hath ordained his holy sacraments, and  
25 promised men grace that with faith and devotion receive them. Is not this man shameless so boldly to bear us all in hand that we never hear word of such things as every boy better believeth than he?

30 For every child that is of competent age... hath heard that God giveth by his holy ordinance (which ever includeth his promise!) grace with all his seven sacraments... whereas Tyndale of seven taketh it away from five, and from almost one and a half of the other twain too.

35 Every boy believeth, and believeth true... that God hath promised reward to good works. And Tyndale will not believe *that* promise at

1 *after his description*: according to his definition      1–2, 5 *all the whole*: the whole entire  
2 *pertained*: belonged // *generally*: collectively      8 *darkness*: obfuscation      9 *tongue*: language  
9, 30 *ever*: always      9–10 *good* . . . *in*: i.e., good signification, and a holy one, in      11 *draw*: drag  
12 *anon*: presently // *poetry*: mythologizing // *wherein*: i.e., about which      15 *it*: i.e., "church"  
16 *times convenient*: appropriate times      17 *how* . . . *pray*: i.e., how to pray and what for  
18 *whence*: from what source // *ask*: seek      20 *list*: chooses      21 *lustily*: vigorously; with gusto  
23 *anything*: i.e., it in any way      24 *ordained*: instituted      25 *men grace that*: i.e., grace to those who  
26 *bear* . . . *hand*: assert to us all      29 *is of competent age*: has reached the age of reason  
33 *twain too*: two also      34 *true*: correctly      35 *reward to*: i.e., to reward

all... but denieth it plainly, as plainly as God saith it himself in many places of the very Gospel.

But then, on the other side, Tyndale telleth us that God hath promised always to every man the bliss of heaven for only faith alone. And here every boy believeth, and wotteth well, he lieth.

Now, touching the mercy of our Lord—who can speak of Christ’s Passion and speak nothing of his mercy? This man is too mad to talk with! God’s mercy is so great that no man can speak enough thereof. But the world waxeth such, nowadays, that as it is need to pray for mercy... so were it need to preach of God’s justice, and put the people in mind of his wrath and indignation likely to fall upon us if we give ear to such deadly doctrine as Tyndale teacheth; and I pray God of his great mercy to give that man a better mind.

Yet goeth he further and saith that “of the law of God we think as did the Turks and the old heathen people—that it is a thing which every man may do of our own power.”

What careth Tyndale what he say... that careth not to write *this*, wherein every man’s ears that would him well, glow for very shame that hear him! Where heard he ever any man say that any man may fulfill the law of God of his own power? Marry, this we say, and say truth: that man hath such power *given of God* that he *Man worketh with God’s grace.* may work *with God’s grace* in the keeping of the law. But this cannot Tyndale bear; for their heresy is that man toward the keeping of God’s precept hath no free will at all; and now, dissembling his own heresy, he deadly belieth us.

Now of prayer, he saith we “think that no man may pray but at church... and that it is nothing else but to say a Pater Noster to a post”; and that the observances and ceremonies of the Church are “vain” things of our own imagination, “neither needful to the taming of the flesh nor profitable to our neighbor, neither honor to God.”

Those lies come in by lumps, lo! I dare say he never heard in his life man nor woman say that no man may pray but at church.

As true is it also that men say their Pater Noster to the “post”—by which name it pleaseth him, of his reverent Christian mind, to call

1 *plainly*: straight-out    2 *places*: passages // *very Gospel*: Gospel itself / real Gospel  
 3 *side*: i.e., hand    4 *only*: just    5 *wotteth*: knows // *lieth*: i.e., is lying  
 6 *touching*: regarding; as for    7 *speak nothing of*: say nothing about // *mad*: demented  
 9 *waxeth*: is getting to be    9–10 *it is need*: there is need    10 *were it need*: i.e., is there need  
 10, 28 *of*: about    12 *deadly*: lethal    14 *mind*: i.e., state of mind    16 *Turks*: i.e., Muslims // *old*: ancient  
 16 *a thing*: something    17, 21, 23 *may*: can    17 *do*: carry out    17, 21, 22 *of*: by    18 *that*: who  
 18 *careth not to write*: has no disinclination to write / has no misgiving about writing  
 19–20 *every . . . him*: i.e., the ears of every one of his well-wishers who hears him, glow for very shame  
 21 *marry*: indeed    22 *say truth*: are speaking the truth    26 *dissembling*: smokescreening  
 27 *deadly*: mortally; grievously // *belieth*: slanders    29 *it*: i.e., praying  
 29, 35 *Pater Noster*: Our Father // *post*: (a derogatory term for a) statue  
 30 *ceremonies*: rites / rituals // *vain*: ineffectual / worthless    31 *imagination*: devising; invention  
 31 *to*: for    32 *neither*: nor    33 *lumps*: clumps    36 *mind*: mindset; disposition

the images of holy saints and our Blessed Lady, and the figure of  
*Christ's cross* Christ's cross, the book of his bitter  
 Passion.

5 Though we *reverence* these in honor of the things which they  
 represent... and in the remembrance of Christ do creep to the cross  
 and kiss it and say a Pater Noster at it—yet say we not the Pater  
 Noster *to* it, but to *God*; and that wotteth Tyndale full well, but that he  
 listeth to rail.

10 As for that he saith of the Service, ceremonies, and observances  
 of the Church, which he calleth here “vain imaginations,” “howling,”  
 “buzzing,” and “crying out like hallooing of the foxes or  
 baiting of bears”—and thus he saith it is now; but of “old” time he  
 saith that “the officers appointed thereunto preached the pure word of  
 God only, and prayed in a tongue that every man understood.”

15 As for preaching of the pure word of God—I must wit of Tyndale  
 whether he mean the word written or unwritten, or both. If he say  
 they preached the word of God both written and unwritten, and only  
 that: then I say so do we now too. Peradventure he will say that the  
 preachers now lay thereto the old holy doctors: I say that therein  
 20 they lay but God's word; for they lay them for the better  
 understanding of God's word written, and for the better knowledge  
 of God's word unwritten. For we be very sure that it *is* his  
 word when we see that all the holy doctors that spent their life in  
 the study of his word—and in the keeping of his word, and the  
 25 preaching of his word—do testify from age to age, by their holy  
 writing, that those words unwritten which the Church believeth,  
*The Church believeth God's* were and be his words as well and as  
*words written and unwritten.* verily as those that be written in any part  
 of Scripture.

30 Then if Tyndale will say that our preachers preach Aristotle,  
 philosophers, and poets: thereto I say that they sometimes speak of  
 philosophers in things of nature or of moral virtues. And if this  
 new apostle now, Saint Tyndale, take this thing for so great a  
 heinous crime—then is he surely much more apostolical than  
 35 was Christ's old apostle Paul. For he letted not in his epistle to the  
 Romans to allege and allow the philosophers' cunning, though he  
 disproved and dispraised the folly of their fall and wretchedness of their

1 *images*: statues    5 *creep*: i.e., come up on our knees (in the Good Friday service)  
 7–8 *wotteth* . . . *listeth*: i.e., Tyndale knows perfectly well, it's just that he loves    9 *that*: what // *of*: about  
 9 *Service*: Divine Office // *ceremonies*: rites / rituals    10 *vain imaginations*: worthless made-up things  
 11 *hallooing*: i.e., calling out “halloo” to spur on the dogs in their hunting  
 12 *baiting of*: i.e., the shouting done in encouragement of dogs attacking // *of “old” time*: in days of “old”  
 13 *officers*: functionaries; officials    14 *tongue*: language    15 *wit*: inquire  
 16, 17, 21 *written*: i.e., written in Scripture    16, 17, 22, 28 *unwritten*: i.e., not so written  
 18 *peradventure*: perhaps    19, 20 *lay*: adduce    19 *thereto*: additionally    19, 35 *old*: early  
 19, 23 *holy doctors*: Church theologians / biblical exegetes    25 *testify*: bear witness  
 27 *as well*: i.e., as much    28 *written and*: i.e., written in Scripture and those // *verily*: truly  
 31 *thereto*: to that    32 *in*: with regard to // *of*: (having to do) with  
 32 *moral*: practical (as opposed to intellectual)    34 *heinous*: high    35 *letted not*: did not forbear  
 36 *allege*: set forth // *allow*: express approval of // *cunning*: wisdom    37 *disproved*: disapproved of  
 37 *dispraised*: criticized // *folly*: foolishness

Rom 1:18–32; 2:14–16; living. And in his epistle to Titus he took  
 Ti 1:10–16 it for no sin to allege the poets’  
 verses... but in the dispraise of them of Crete for using of Tyndale’s  
 fashion in lying; and also in giving the world warning to beware  
 5 I Cor 15:33 of such as Tyndale is... whose evil  
 words and sermons do corrupt and  
 mar men’s good manners—as his doth where he would make men  
 ween that good manners were nothing worth. And thus if Tyndale  
 grant the one part—that is to say, that of old time they preached  
 10 both the word of God written and unwritten—then he winneth  
 nothing; for even so do they in the new time too.

Now, if he will not say they preached both of old time... but that  
 of old time they preached only the one, that is to wit, the word of  
 God written: then must we wit of Tyndale which he calleth the  
 15 “old” time. For this I wot well, and so doth Tyndale too: that, first of  
 all, Christ our Savior himself preached more than his word  
 written, and promised also without writing—and was believed  
 then without writing—that he would send the Holy Ghost, that  
 Jn 16:13 should teach his church all truth without  
 20 writing; and Christ full truly fulfilled  
 his promise without writing (and yet will not Tyndale now believe  
 him without writing); and after Christ’s death did his apostles  
 preach much more of God’s word than was written. And therefore,  
 if Tyndale ground his argument upon the “old” time and say  
 25 that they preached only God’s word written—I have driven him  
 onward one step down; for I have shown him here the *oldest*  
 time, and the best time, of Christendom, in which he can never  
 wrest out but that he shall confess that all the Christian preachers,  
 that is to wit, all the evangelists and all the apostles of Christ, and  
 30 Christ himself also... besides the Scripture preached God’s word  
 unwritten as long as ever they lived. For I trust that Tyndale, as  
 mad as he is, is not yet so mad... as to think that after that some  
 of the apostles had written either gospels or epistles, that then they  
 alleged their own writings for their authority, or their own  
 35 fellows’ either... as though their own words and their own writing  
 were not all of one credence.

1 *living*: way of living    2 *allege*: adduce    3 *but*: just; only // *dispraise*: criticizing // *them*: i.e., those poets  
 3 *using*: i.e., their using    4 *fashion*: style    6 *words*: pronouncements; assertions    7 *mar*: vitiate  
 7, 8 *manners*: behaviors    7 *doth*: i.e., do // *would*: attempts to    8 *ween*: believe // *were*: i.e., are  
 9, 12, 13 *of old time*: in (the) days of old    10, 14, 17, 23, 25 *written*: i.e., written in Scripture  
 10 *unwritten*: i.e., the word of God not (yet, at that time) so written // *winneth*: gains    11 *even*: just  
 11 *new*: modern    14 *wit*: inquire // *which*: i.e., which time    15 *wot*: know  
 17, 20 *writing*: i.e., doing so in writing    18 *without*: i.e., without his having put this promise in  
 18–19 *that should*: who would    21 *without*: i.e., without this being put in  
 22 *writing*: i.e., his having put this in writing    26 *shown*: set forth to; adduced to  
 28 *wrest* . . . *confess*: i.e., wriggle out of having to admit    31 *unwritten*: i.e., unwritten therein  
 32 *mad*: demented    34 *alleged*: cited    34–35 *their own fellows*: i.e., those of their fellow apostles  
 35 *words*: i.e., oral statements // *writing*: i.e., written ones    36 *all of one*: of exactly the same  
 36 *credence*: credibility; trustworthiness

But, now, if Tyndale be not content to stand to *that* old time... and will say that he spoke of old time but not of *so* old: then, since he compareth the “old” time with this time that is now, we must ask him which time is that which he taketh for the old time in respect of this new time now. We call an “old” man, ye wot well, at fourscore years, and at a hundred years “very old.” Will Tyndale stand to that time? Will he stand at two hundred? Three hundred? Four, five, six, seven, eight? Nay, surely he will none of all those hundreds. For he saith in his preface that all this eight hundred years and *above*, the preachers have been false and have falsified the Scripture. Now seemeth me that eight hundred years is, in respect of now, a meetly old time. And since he saith that by all *this* old time they have *not* preached God’s word well—I would know which is that old time in which they preached God’s word well, and the word only written, without any preaching of any word of God unwritten, and took for vain and false all that ever were called “God’s word” but if they found it written. Let Tyndale now tell us *that* old time. For this must he tell us, or else he taketh a foul fall.

Now will he make many shifts... and at the last he shall be fain to fall both into his own poetry and also into his grammar again... and come forth with his three degrees of comparison: old, elder, and eldest. And since neither the eldest time, of Christ and his apostles, may serve him (because they preach besides Scripture the word of God unwritten), nor the old time of eight hundred years now last past (because they preached, as Tyndale saith, divers sacraments, ceremonies, and promises as the words of God unwritten, in which he saith they preached false); but he will take an elder time than this and not so old as that—that is to wit, the time next after the apostles’ days—and he will say that all the words of God were then already written by the evangelists and the apostles... so that there was none of God’s words left unwritten... and therefore after their days by a certain time, the true preachers preached purely the bare word of God written in Holy Scripture: well, now be Tyndale and I come at last to some point. For he saith a thing here with which he answereth me well, and with good grammar, saving for his poetry, for that marreth all his matter. For I say surely that he saith not truth; but that of God’s words they wrote not all... but divers things were by God to them and by them to

1 *be not content*: is not willing      1, 6–7 *stand to*: accede to; go along with      2 *so*: that  
 4–5, 11 *in respect of*: in relation to / in comparison with  
 5–6 *call . . . old*: i.e., call a man “old,” you well know, when he’s eighty, and when he’s a hundred, “very old”  
 7 *stand at*: agree to / abide by      8 *will*: i.e., will agree to      9 *above*: more      10 *false*: mendacious; deceitful  
 11 *seemeth*: it seems to      // *meetly*: fairly      12 *by all*: for all; throughout      13, 14 *well*: rightly  
 13 *would*: want to      14 *the word only*: only the word      15, 17 *written*: i.e., written in Scripture  
 15, 24 *unwritten*: i.e., not (as yet) written there      16 *vain*: worthless      16–17 *but if*: unless  
 18 *foul*: nasty      19 *shifts*: maneuvers      // *fain*: constrained      20, 36 *poetry*: creative writing  
 20, 35 *grammar*: grammaticizing; semantics      23 *may*: can      26, 38 *divers*: some      26 *ceremonies*: rituals  
 27, 31 *unwritten*: i.e., not written in Scripture      27 *in*: i.e., in doing      29 *next*: i.e., right  
 32 *true*: truth-telling / orthodox      33 *the bare*: just the / the unvarnished      34 *point*: meeting point; agreement  
 36 *saving*: except      // *marreth all his matter*: destroys his whole case      37 *surely*: with certainty  
 37 *he saith not truth*: what he is saying is not true



others taught by mouth, and by Tradition from hand to hand delivered, and from age to age hitherto continued in Christ's church. And that I say truth in this point... I have divers good and honest witnesses to bring forth when time requireth: Saint  
 5 Augustine, Saint Jerome, Saint Cyprian, Saint Chrysostom, and a great many more... which have also testified for my part in this matter more than a thousand years ago. Yet have I another ancient, sad father also: one that they call Origen. And when I desired him to take the pain to come and bear witness with me in this  
 10 matter, he seemed at the first very well content. But when I told him that he should meet with Tyndale—he blessed himself and shrank back, and said he had liefer go some other way many a mile than once meddle with him. “For I shall tell you, sir,” quoth he, “before this time a right honorable man, very cunning and yet more virtuous,  
 15 *Doctor Fisher* the good Bishop of Rochester, in a great audience brought me in for a witness against Luther and Tyndale even in this same matter, about the time of the burning of Tyndale's evil-translated Testament. But Tyndale as soon as he heard of my name... without any respect  
 20 of honesty fell in a rage with me and allto berated me, and called me stark heretic, and that the starkest that ever was.” This tale Origen told me, and swore by Saint Simkin that he was never so said unto of such a lewd fellow since he was first born of his mother—and therefore he would never meddle with Tyndale more.  
 25 Now indeed, to say the truth, it was not well done of Tyndale to leave reasoning and fall a-scolding, chiding, and brawling... as it were a bawdy beggar of Billiter Lane. Fie, for shame! He should have favored and forborne him somewhat, and it had been but for his age. For Origen is now thirteen hundred years old, or thereabout... and  
 30 this was not much above seven years since.

Now, if this made Tyndale bold to set Origen as short as his old shoes—because Saint Jerome found some faults in his works—he must remember again that many a good man (and among those, Saint Pamphilus, the blessed martyr) found in Origen's doctrine  
 35 so much erudition, devotion, and virtue, besides that they verily thought those errors none of his... nor never were there any such

2 *hitherto*: to this day    3 *I say*: I am telling the    // *in*: on    3–4 *divers* . . . *honest*: several quite respectable  
 5 *Chrysostom*: i.e., John Chrysostom    6 *which*: who    // *part*: side    7, 10, 17 *matter*: dispute; controversy  
 7 *yet have I*: I have yet    // *ancient*: extremely old / venerable    8 *sad*: dignified / profoundly learned  
 8 *desired*: asked    9 *pain*: trouble    10 *well content*: i.e., much willing to  
 11 *should meet with*: would be meeting with / would be going up against    12 *had liefer*: would rather  
 12 *go* . . . *way*: walk in some other direction    13 *once meddle*: ever have any dealing    14 *cunning*: learned  
 14 *yet*: even    15 *of Rochester*: i.e., John Fisher    17 *even in this*: in this very same  
 18 *evil-translated*: ill-translated    // *Testament*: i.e., New Testament    19 *heard*: i.e., heard mention  
 19–20 *respect of honesty*: concern for decency    20 *allto*: soundly    22 *Simkin*: Simple Simon  
 23 *said*: spoken    // *of such*: by such    // *lewd fellow*: rude lowlife    24 *meddle*: have anything to do  
 24 *more*: again    25 *say*: tell    26 *leave*: abandon    // *chiding*: yelling    // *brawling*: loudly reviling  
 26–27 *as . . . bawdy . . . Lane*: i.e., as if . . . filthy . . . Lane that he was speaking to  
 28 *favoured* . . . *somewhat*: shown him some leniency and forbearance    // *and . . . for*: i.e., if only on account of  
 30 *above*: over    // *since*: ago    31 *made Tyndale bold*: emboldened Tyndale  
 31 *set . . . short*: treat Origen as having as little value    32 *because*: i.e., the fact that    // *faults*: errors  
 33 *again*: then again; on the other hand    35 *devotion*: devoutness    // *verily*: really  
 36 *none of his*: not to have been made by him

faults found in his writing while himself lived, nor no man  
 offended with him, and many places in his books plain that seem to  
 say the contrary. And therefore many good men thought and yet  
 think, albeit Saint Jerome thought otherwise (as he might  
 5 well enough, while that point nothing pertaineth to the faith), that  
*Origen's books corrupted* those heresies were put into his books  
 after his death by some that were heretics  
 indeed... and would, for the great estimation that Origen was in  
 through all the Church, advance their own heresies forward  
 10 under the name and standard of his famous authority.

But granted now that those faults *were* his which were imputed  
 unto him, yet is *this* none of them; but Saint Jerome, that so  
 narrowly did examine his works, and so straitly marked and  
 condemned his errors, did reckon this for none, but did in this matter  
 15 like and allow him well... and, as he hath in many other things  
 approved him, and by his commendation caused of his works  
 divers to be reverently read in the Divine Service of the Church, so  
 in *this* matter he hath well declared that he well approved him, both  
 by this—that he hath not noted it among such as he found faulty  
 20 himself—and also in that it otherwise appeareth in Saint Jerome's  
 works that he was of the same mind himself. And therefore I  
 doubt not but that he shall be, for all Tyndale's scolding, accepted  
 and taken before all good and indifferent judges for a right substantial  
 witness... if I can entreat him to bear and abide the  
 25 brabbling of Tyndale's tongue, as I trust yet to entreat him hereafter.  
 And then will I bring in with him some others that I  
 have named—and yet others more besides—that shall, as I said, testify  
 with me before this book be done... that God hath taught his church  
 many things whereof in the Scripture his word is yet unwritten.

30 But now will I for the meanwhile, touching this point whereupon  
 the great weight of all the matter hangeth, go nearer unto Tyndale another  
 way.

It is, ye wot well, agreed between us—or if he would be so mad to  
 say nay, ye will yet yourselves agree this in his stead—that once of old  
 35 time, Christ himself and his apostles did teach and preach many  
 words of God unwritten.

1, 11 *faults*: errors    2 *offended with him*: caused by him to go wrong / scandalized by him  
 3, 27 *yet*: still    5 *while*: since // *nothing . . . to*: i.e., has no bearing on    7 *some*: i.e., some men  
 8 *would*: wanted to // *for*: because of // *estimation*: esteem; regard // *in*: i.e., held in  
 10 *standard*: banner    11 *granted*: i.e., supposing    12 *none*: not one // *that*: who  
 13 *narrowly*: closely // *straitly*: rigorously; unsparingly // *marked*: made note of  
 15 *like . . . well*: much like and endorse him    15, 18 *in*: concerning  
 16–17 *of . . . divers*: several of his works    17 *Service*: Office    18 *well declared*: made it very clear  
 19 *faulty*: erroneous    23 *indifferent*: impartial; unbiased    24, 25 *entreat him*: persuade him (to)  
 25 *brabbling*: wrangling    27 *testify*: bear witness    30 *touching*: regarding  
 31 *all the matter*: the whole issue    33 *wot*: know // *mad*: i.e., demented as    34 *agree*: grant  
 34–35 *once . . . time*: once upon an olden time / at one time in the days of old  
 36 *unwritten*: i.e., that were at that time not written

Now, thus I say, since many things were taught first unwritten: if any of *them* be yet left unwritten... then say I that Tyndale is at the leastwise temerarious and overbold so certainly to affirm that any sacrament that the Church useth and so long hath used, or ceremony either, is idolatry; forasmuch as if we lacked sure proof upon our side—which indeed we lack not, by reason of God’s

*Jn 14:16–17*

Spirit by Christ’s own promise ever

*Jn 16:13*

abiding with his church and teaching

it all truth—but if we lacked, I say, that

proof for our part, yet were he too presumptuously bold so precisely to affirm the contrary... since he cannot say nay but that they might be some of those that were sometime taught unwritten, and yet remain observed unwritten... as that others that now be written were taught and kept without writing before.

To this will Tyndale answer that *since* that time, *all* God’s words, promises, and sacraments that he would have kept and believed in Christendom, he *hath* caused to be written, by his evangelists and apostles, and left none unwritten, to the intent that his church shall not stand in any doubt nor fall into any error of any necessary point for lack of writing... but may know, by that he hath caused all to be written, that all be false and feigned, and men’s mad inventions, that they believe and observe unwritten. For why should he cause some to be written and suffer some left unwritten... to make men sure of some, and to leave some in doubt?

In this tale Tyndale telleth us two things. One, that God hath thus done indeed; another, the cause why. If he prove that indeed God *hath* so done—I never care for the cause... for *he* seeth why well enough; and therefore I will give no reckoning *why* God hath caused some to be written and some to be left unwritten. But this will I be bold to say: that he was not of any necessity compelled to write any one sacrament or ceremony, or weighty point of belief, for any fear lest it should fall away... and that he could not with his own Spirit keep it in men’s hearts and usage without writing, as well as he kept in the good generations the knowledge of his promises and his laws long and many ages before the Law was written—and yet wrote them not all therein neither, but the people had a faith of Christ among them more large than was written in

2, 13 *yet*: still    2, 12, 13 *unwritten*: i.e., unwritten in Scripture    3 *temerarious*: rash

3–5 *that . . . is*: i.e., of . . . that it is    4 *useth*: i.e., practices (the celebrating and receiving of)

5, 31 *ceremony*: rite / ritual    10 *part*: side (of the argument)

10 *yet were he . . . bold*: i.e., it still would be . . . bold of him // *precisely*: in such definite terms

11 *say nay but*: deny    12 *they*: i.e., those sacraments and rites // *those*: i.e., those things

12 *sometime*: at one time    13 *as that*: just as // *written*: i.e., written there

14 *without writing before*: i.e., before without being written in Scripture    16 *words*: pronouncements / mandates

17, 21, 23, 29 *written*: i.e., written in Scripture    18, 23, 29 *unwritten*: i.e., not written there    19 *of*: regarding

20 *necessary point*: essential article (of the faith) // *that*: the fact that

21 *all to*: i.e., all of God’s actual mandates, promises, and sacraments to // *all be*: i.e., all his purported ones are

21 *false*: spurious // *feigned*: made up; fabricated    22 *unwritten*: i.e., that are not written there

23 *suffer some*: i.e., allow some to be    23–24 *to make*: i.e., so as to make    25 *tale*: speech    26 *cause*: reason

27 *never care for*: don’t care at all about

28 *give no reckoning*: give no consideration to / make no attempt to account for    30 *be bold*: dare; venture

31 *any*: so much as    33 *usage*: practice    34 *generations*: progeny; descendants    37 *faith of*: belief in

their law... which went from hand to hand, I think from  
 Adam's days, to whom it is likely that God made after his fall some  
 larger promise and revelation of his redemption again than we  
 find made unto him written in any place of Scripture. But we shall  
 5 not need much proof for this matter; for that God was *able* to keep all  
 his sacraments and articles of the faith without writing, Tyndale,  
 I ween, will not deny me.

Now, to say that if he should have left some unwritten, it would  
 have made doubts and debates and be occasions of errors and  
 10 heresies... and the writing doth put all things out of doubt, and  
 therefore God hath left none unwritten: we see that this maketh  
 neither more sure nor less. For as well did men believe before the  
 writing those things that are now written, as ever they did since;  
 and we believe now the promises as well that are unwritten as any  
 15 that are written. And the writing taketh *not* away all the doubts...  
 but as many *rise* thereupon, and many more than upon those  
 things that we believe unwritten.

For first, the credence to be given to the whole book in which  
 they be written... hangeth all upon the same faith upon which  
 20 depend the things that are unwritten. For as I believe the one, so  
 believe I the other. And as one may by his own frowardness lack  
 the grace to believe the things unwritten—so may another by his  
 own malice lack the grace to believe any part of the whole book of  
 Holy Scripture that is written... and take it all for fantasies. And in  
 25 good faith, I am afeard that so do they which say they believe nothing  
 else but it. For as for *part* of that book, they bring in question: as the  
 Book of the Maccabees, because it maketh against their purpose  
 concerning purgatory. And part they let not much to deny: as  
 Luther doth the Epistle of Saint James, because it speaketh plainly  
 30 against his idle, workless faith.

Now, in that parts which they grant for Scripture—yet taketh  
 it not away all the doubts; but unto such folk as Tyndale is and  
 Luther, that be so contentious, it *ministereth*, rather, much matter  
 of doubt and of debate—and that much more than do the things that  
 35 are observed without writing.

For first they refuse to observe them because they say they find

1 *which . . . to hand*: i.e., which belief got handed on down      3 *redemption again*: i.e., future restoration  
 4 *place*: passage      5 *keep*: preserve      6 *writing*: i.e., having them put in writing      7 *ween*: think  
 9 *made*: created // *debates*: dissensions // *be occasions of*: i.e., those give rise to  
 11–12 *maketh . . . sure*: i.e., makes for neither more certainty      15, 32 *doubts*: questions; uncertainties  
 16 *rise*: arise      17, 22 *unwritten*: i.e., (that are) not written in Scripture      20 *unwritten*: i.e., not written therein  
 21 *one*: i.e., one person // *frowardness*: contrariness / obstreperousness      24 *fantasies*: i.e., fairy tales  
 24–25 *in good faith*: in all honesty      25 *I . . . which*: i.e., I'm afraid that's what they do who  
 26 *bring in*: i.e., bring it into // *as*: such as      26–28: See 2 Maccabees 12:42–45.  
 27 *maketh*: militates; goes // *purpose*: contention      28 *let*: scruple      31 *parts*: i.e., set of parts  
 33 *ministereth*: provides; supplies      33–34 *matter . . . debate*: i.e., fuel for questioning and for dissension  
 35 *without writing*: i.e., that are not in Scripture

them not there written; and so riseth that question first upon the writing.

Then, if it be found there—then dispute they whether it be *fully* found there: as whether we find there both the token and the thing betokened. For the sacrament take they but for a bare sign... and the thing that is signified they call nothing but Christ's only promise. And here make they upon the writing many great battles to beat down almost all the sacraments, saving scant one and a half. Then upon the letter raise they many great errors, and say the Scripture is plainly upon their side. And this say not only Luther, Tyndale, and Zwingli, with Friar Huessgen and his fellows, against the interpretation of all holy-doctors-and-saints, and the common faith of all true Christian people, fifteen hundred years before them; but each of themselves also against others among themselves say and swear that the Scripture is plainly for their part.

So that as for necessity of writing all or any part concerning the sacraments, ceremonies, or articles of the faith, God was not driven thereto... nor by the writing be taken away the doubts. But as I wot it well that God had good and great causes why he caused some things to be written—so had he causes as good why he left some unwritten. But neither can Tyndale tell why he should write all nor I give the reckoning why he left some unwritten.

To this will Tyndale haply say (for else cannot I see what he can say) that God hath caused all his words spoken to his church to be written in Holy Scripture... and hath in the same Scripture given us plain warning that he so hath done... and thereby hath he delivered us from divers doubts, though not from all. For albeit that divers doubts yet rise upon the writing, we, by his express warning in writing showing that all is written, be put out of all doubt that we shall believe nothing as his word whereof there is no writing.

Surely, if Tyndale tell me this tale—as indeed he doth, for both Luther and he, and Friar Huessgen and Zwingli and all the rabble of that rascal, never cease to say this (and they find fools that believe them better upon their bare words than they would more honest men upon their obligations)—but, now, as I say, if Tyndale tell me this tale: I shall by his leave be bold to deny it him... and

1 *riseth*: arises // *question*: questioning; calling into question 1, 7 *upon*: on the basis of  
 1–2 *the writing*: i.e., the thing's being or not being at all written about in Scripture 5 *bare*: mere  
 6–7 *Christ's only*: only Christ's 7 *the writing*: i.e., what is or is not written there  
 8 *saving*: i.e., all except for 9 *scant*: barely // *upon*: on the subject of; concerning // *letter*: literal meaning  
 12 *fellows*: cohorts / followers 12–13 *holy-doctors-and-saints*: i.e., sainted biblical exegetes  
 13 *common*: universally shared // *true*: right-believing; orthodox 15 *for their part*: on their side  
 17 *ceremonies*: rituals 18, 27, 28 *doubts*: uncertainties 19 *wot*: know 19, 20 *good*: valid; sound  
 19 *great*: serious; weighty 19, 20 *causes*: reasons 20 *written*: i.e., written in Scripture  
 21 *unwritten*: i.e., not written there 22 *reckoning*: account of 23 *haply*: maybe 26 *plain*: clear  
 26, 29 *warning*: notification 27, 28 *divers*: some 27 *though*: even if 28 *rise upon*: are given rise by  
 28 *the writing*: i.e., what is written there 29 *showing*: stating // *all*: i.e., all of it  
 31 *no writing*: i.e., nothing written in Scripture 32, 37 *tale*: story  
 33–34 *all . . . rascal*: the whole mob of that riffraff  
 35 *bare words*: i.e., mere assertions that what they are saying is true 36 *honest*: respectable  
 36 *upon their obligations*: i.e., speaking under oath 37 *be bold to*: dare

pray him once to prove it, if he can find how. For this I wot well:  
 they have among them made great boast a great while... and always  
 promised that they *will* build up that tower... and make it very  
 strong and sure—and surely so have they great need to do, for therein  
 5 lieth all the store of all their gunpowder, brimstone, pitch, and  
 wildfire that they shoot out at the blessed sacraments of our  
 Savior Christ. And as for hitherto, brought they never yet so much  
 good stuff as would make a tile-pin to fence their fortress  
 with. And whatsoever they bring hereafter—they shall make poor  
 10 paper walls.

But to the intent that they shall not beguile you, let us with one  
 word or two put them in remembrance what things they be that  
 they must needs prove—and that by plain Scripture, too; for other  
 proof themselves will none admit.

15 *Two hard points to be proved* Tyndale must prove me first, therefore,  
 by plain and evident Scripture, that all  
 the words necessary to remain and be known, which our Savior  
 himself and his apostles taught once without writing—*all* those—  
 he hath caused to be by them and his evangelists written, preserved,  
 20 and kept, in plain and evident Scripture. When Tyndale hath  
 proved this, for which I dare give him respite till Doomsday, then  
 must he yet, by plain and evident Scripture, prove me farther, lo; and  
 for the proof thereof, though the points be but easy, let him take yet  
 his time fifteen days after, within which he must, I say, by  
 25 plain and evident Scripture, prove me farther yet, of these two  
 things one: that is to wit, either that every necessary word which  
 God hath spoken by himself and his Holy Spirit unto his church  
 since the death of his four evangelists and his twelve apostles...  
 he hath caused to be also secretly set in and written to these books  
 30 which Tyndale agreeth for Holy Scripture; or else must he prove  
 me, by plain and evident Scripture, that notwithstanding his  
 promise made unto his church in his apostles' days—that he would  
 with his Holy Spirit speak to his church himself and dwell therewith  
 and teach it all truth from time to time all days even to the Day  
 35 of Doom—yet as soon as he saw his apostles dead, and no man that heard  
 him left to bear us witness what he said... he began to go from his  
 word again, and swore that he would either no longer dwell here with

1 *pray* . . . *it*: ask him to prove it already // *find*: figure out // *wot*: know

7 *hitherto* . . . *yet*: i.e., what they've done thus far toward building that tower, they've never yet brought

8 *good*: workable; viable 15 *to be proved*: i.e., to prove

16, 20, etc. *plain and evident*: clear and conclusive 17 *words*: i.e., communications / things

18 *once*: at one time // *without*: i.e., without their having been put in

29 *secretly*: imperceptibly; in some mysterious way // *set* . . . *to*: put, in writing, into

34 *time to time*: age to age 34–35 *the Day of Doom*: Judgment Day

36–37 *go* . . . *again*: go back on his word

his church... or if he came, it should be but a-guestwise... and yet would he play mum, too, and neither by himself nor his Holy Spirit vouchsafe to speak any one word unto them that were at the leastwise aught worthy the writing, but some wanton trifle.

5 Remember now, good reader, that these be the things which Tyndale hath to prove. And when he proveth these few things... then believe hardily, and so will I do too. But surely whoso believe him with any less... understandeth nothing what the matter meaneth.

10 Now, yet once again, let us consider Tyndale's "old" time in which he saith the true, pure preaching was used that is now quite gone. I would ask him when ended that old time of his... and when began his new. He saith it hath been thus as it is, more than this eight hundred years; and methinketh eight hundred is a very long  
15 "now." But yet consider, good reader: if the true preaching was left and gone eight hundred years ago and more, then can he not say nay but that the true faith went quite away therewith... without which can be no church of Christ, neither Catholic nor of elects. And thus doth Tyndale tell us that this eight hundred years at the  
20 last, our Lord hath broken his *promise*... by which he promised to be with his church all days to the world's end. This man maketh high boast of Christ's promises... and would with them destroy all virtue save faith. And now ye see that plainly he denieth Christ's promise too... and will, I ween, at last deny even Christ and all. For as ye see at  
25 your eye, he draweth very fast toward it.

Now, till Tyndale, therefore, have proved us these few points that are for their falsehood impossible to be proved, the Church shall not need for his fond railing anything to fear to use the devout sacraments and ceremonies taught and delivered them by God  
30 and his Holy Spirit. For spite whereof the devil and his damned spirits cry upon to have them left off... and bear us in hand that they be fruitless. For Tyndale saith that they neither tame the flesh nor do good to thy neighbor, nor be honor to God.

But now doth all good Christian people very well perceive—by  
35 Christ's own *promise*, in the very *written* Gospel—that the church of Christ is taught by his Holy Spirit that these sacraments and ceremonies do please God. And they perceive and see also that the

3 *vouchsafe*: deign // *any*: i.e., so much as 3–4 *were* . . . *the*: i.e., was the least bit worth writing  
4 *but*: i.e., but only perhaps // *wanton*: offhand / purportless 7 *hardily*: boldly / by all means  
8–9 *understandeth* . . . *meaneth*: i.e., has no understanding of what is at issue here 11 *used*: practiced  
11, 17 *quite*: entirely 15 *yet*: also // *left*: abandoned / discontinued 16–17 *say nay but*: deny  
19–20 *this* . . . *last*: for this last eight hundred years 21–22 *maketh* . . . *of*: i.e., does a lot of touting of  
22 *all virtue save*: i.e., every virtue except 24 *ween*: think // *at last*: in the end // *even*: totally  
24–25 *at your eye*: with your own eyes; for yourself 25 *draweth* . . . *it*: is very quickly moving toward that  
26 *have proved*: has proved to 27, 28 *for*: on account of 27 *falsehood*: falseness  
28 *fond*: silly / imbecilic // *anything*: at all // *devout*: holy; sacred 29, 37 *ceremonies*: rites / rituals  
29–30 *God* . . . *Spirit*: i.e., God the Holy Spirit 31 *cry upon*: loudly demand  
31 *left off*: jettisoned; done away with // *bear us in hand*: try to convince us

- holy saints which have used them before our days... be now long ago rewarded in heaven with God. And they perceive also that in the use thereof... their minds rise and be lifted up aloft in devotion to God; and by these things and suchlike, they perceive well that
- 5 Tyndale doth but belie them. For since God's Spirit hath taught them... they must needs be honor to God. And when men come together to honor God, each of them is profitable to other; for else were their assembly together in prayer no difference from the
- 10 *Their prayers that pray* prayer of one man alone. But when they *together do profit each other.* come together to God's service... the whole company prayeth for the whole presence, and so is every each the better for other's prayer... and all people the better both for the prayer and the sacrament, and every devout observance used in the church at the Divine Service.
- 15 And it is, thirdly, very profitable to the very taming of the flesh also. For what thing is there that better tameth the flesh than the
- 2 Cor 12:7-9* grace of God? Did not God answer Saint Paul, when he thrice prayed unto him to withdraw the "prick of the flesh" with which our Lord suffered
- 20 the "angel of Satan" to vex him lest his heart might grow too high and wax proud in beholding the marvelous greatness of his revelations—which though some good men take for some other kind of tribulation, I see not why it might not be the very fleshly motion against his vow of chastity—did not then our Lord, I say,
- 25 make him answer in this wise: "Sufficeth unto thee my grace"? Now, then, since nothing can better tame the flesh than the grace of God... which not only can tame it, but also make the rebellion thereof so resisted by the soul that the fight shall turn the man to merit and reward: why shall not, then, such observances as the Spirit of
- 30 God hath taught us to serve him with—and which, obediently done with devotion and with desire of grace, do stand in the stead of one of the most effectual kinds of prayer—be profitable to the taming of the flesh, and either cause it the less to rebel... or else (which is yet haply better) strengthen the soul in such
- 35 wise against the rebellion of the flesh that by the valiant resisting thereof, it may have the more glorious triumph of the victory? And for experience (let Tyndale say what it please him)

1 *which*: who // *used*: celebrated / received / observed    1–2 *long ago*: i.e., as of long ago / long since  
 2 *with*: by    3 *use*: celebrating / receiving / observing  
 5 *but belie them*: i.e., simply lie about the Church's sacraments and rites    8–9 *were . . . alone*: i.e., would there be no difference between their assembling together in prayer and their each praying alone  
 9–10 *Their . . . other*: i.e., Those who pray together do profit from one another's prayers.  
 10 *to God's service*: i.e., for liturgical prayer    11 *company*: assembly  
 11 *the whole presence*: everyone present (in it)  
 12 *every . . . prayer*: i.e., every one of them the better off for each other's prayer    13 *better*: better off  
 13 *and*: i.e., and for    14 *used*: performed // *at the Divine Service*: in the praying of the Divine Office  
 19 *prick*: thorn // *suffered*: allowed    20–21 *grow too high*: get too puffed up    21 *wax*: become  
 23 *might*: could    25 *make . . . wise*: answer him thusly // *sufficeth unto thee*: i.e., sufficient for you is  
 27 *also*: i.e., also can    31 *done*: carried out  
 31–32 *stand . . . one*: i.e., stand in the position of being one; constitute one    34 *yet haply*: maybe even  
 35 *wise*: a way    37 *what*: i.e., whatever // *it please him*: he pleases / he likes



good folk find this in deed: that when they be at the Divine

*Godly ceremonies delight* Service in the church, the more devoutly  
*good folk.* that they see such godly ceremonies observed,  
 and the more solemnity that they

- 5 see therein... the more devotion feel they themselves therewith in their  
 own souls, and their flesh the more tame and less rebellious, and  
 far the better in temper; so that although they were at other  
 times and places in right great rage, yet in the church, at the voices  
 of Christ's ministers in the choir... with organs and altogether,  
 10 and beholding the solemn, godly sacraments and ceremonies in  
 their sight, they feel their passions appeased... as did King Saul,

*1 Sm 16:14–23* in his rageous fury, at the sound of  
 David's harp.

- Now, where he saith that of old time the officers appointed  
 15 thereto prayed in a tongue that all folk understood—of which point  
 Tyndale maketh much ado, and many times he speaketh thereof,  
 because he would fain have his false translation brought into the  
 church to be there said and sung on God's behalf—I will not say  
 nay but that in Greece and great part of Italy, they both said in  
 20 the beginning the Service of the Church in their own tongue. But  
 so did they not neither in Africa nor in Almaine, nor in Spain,  
 nor in France, nor in England, nor, as I trow, in any place almost  
 else, and yet were they good men that brought the faith about, into  
 all these countries. And soon after, also, when the tongues changed  
 25 both in Greece and Italy—then left they still the Service in the old  
 language, which after the change the people did not understand;  
 which would not have been by so many good men so long suffered so,  
 if the contrary had been required of necessity. And Saint Paul, in his  
 30 *1 Cor 14:6–19* epistle to the Corinthians whereof Tyndale  
 so much speaketh, did but use the commodity  
 of the guise that then was among the Corinthians... for the  
 confirmation of his reason against them that could but read and  
 speak and yet would smatter in preaching—willing the Corinthians  
 to labor first for better understanding... and not thereby  
 35 meaning that of necessity the people must needs answer all together  
 unto the blessing of the priest or the bishop. Which  
 manner hath, peradventure for something that in progress of time

1 *find* . . . *deed*: i.e., actually find this    2, 3, 10 *ceremonies*: rituals / (other) liturgical services    2 *Service*: Office  
 7 *in temper*: under control; regulated // *although*: even if    8 *in*: i.e., in a // *rage*: heat of passion  
 9 *altogether*: everything    14 *of old time*: i.e., in the early days (of Christianity) // *officers*: functionaries; officials  
 15, 20, 24 *tongue(s)*: language(s)    17 *would fain*: would like to // *false*: intentionally inaccurate; falsified  
 18–19 *say nay but*: deny    19 *they both*: i.e., in both of those places people  
 20, 25 *Service (of the Church)*: liturgy / Divine Office    21 *Almaine*: Germany    22 *as I trow*: I feel sure  
 22–23 *in . . . else*: i.e., in any other place, just about    23 *about*: around    27 *suffered so*: so borne with  
 30–31 *did . . . that*: i.e., only took as suitable the practice there    32 *the confirmation*: i.e., corroboration  
 32 *his . . . that*: i.e., what he says regarding those of them who    33 *smatter*: dabble // *willing*: enjoining  
 34 *labor*: strive    35 *answer all together*: i.e., answer all together “Et cum spiritu tuo”    37 *manner*: praxis  
 37 *peradventure*: perhaps // *for*: on account of // *progress*: the course

they found abused therein, been changed into better... as have been  
divers other things and not without the secret working of God.

And surely if all the Service were in English—yet would it not  
thereby be much the more understood; which was all the matter  
5 that Saint Paul spoke. For many that now do understand the  
Latin tongue do little yet understand the sentence, farther than the  
bare stories and Collects.

But likewise as in some words that remain still untranslated  
into Latin... men use them with devotion, as “amen” and “alleluia,” that

10                   *Note*                   never know more of the signification  
  than that they be holy words: so do there  
many a good man and good woman both say and hear the Service  
of God in the church with full great reverence and full great  
devotion... and therefore with great thank of God... though they have  
15 it not in their own vulgar tongue; which thing what it would do  
here, God knoweth. But as for Almaine, thereas it is so already... we  
see well enough that it doth no great good there. For whereas the  
people were fallen already to manifold heresies, they now turn  
all the sweet honey that they find in the Service quite into the  
20 poison that hath taken up their hearts before.

And therefore whereas Tyndale saith that there is nothing heard  
in the church among us but “howling,” “buzzing,” and “crying out,  
like hallooing of the fox or baiting of bears”—it may well seem  
so to Tyndale and such as he is; but unto good, devout folk it  
25 seemeth far otherwise.

But in their church in Almaine, there is another manner of  
howling and hallooing and crying out. For whereas we with holy  
words and true faith hail and halloo out the false fox, and bait  
out the rugged bear the devil—you, Tyndale, in your churches of  
30 heretics, cry out as loud as we, and louder too; for ye cry out  
men and women and all. But ye with your heresies halloo out all  
saints and bait out all holy sacraments, and drive out God and all.

If Tyndale had found fault with anything that is,  
peradventure, misused in some places... where haply the fashion  
35 is more ruffling, and in less moderation and soberness, than were  
convenient for moving men to devotion—as evil as I like the  
man in such things as he saith naught, that is almost in all... yet

1 *abused*: wrongly done    2 *divers*: several // *secret*: hidden; unperceivable  
3, 4 *all the*: the whole    3, 12–13, 19 *Service (of God)*: liturgy / Divine Office    4 *matter*: issue  
5 *spoke*: i.e., was speaking of    6, 15 *tongue*: language  
6–7 *sentence* . . . *bare*: i.e., meaning of what is said in the liturgical services, beyond just the  
7 *stories*: (scriptural) readings // *Collects*: i.e., the short prayers preceding those readings  
8–9 *in . . . men*: i.e., it is with . . . that men    9 *as*: such as    9–10 *that never know*: who know absolutely no  
10 *the signification*: i.e., their meaning    14 *thank of*: approbation from / credit given them by  
15 *vulgar*: vernacular    16, 26 *Almaine*: Germany    16 *thereas*: wherever there    17 *whereas*: since  
19 *quite*: entirely    20 *taken up*: taken over; taken possession of    23 *hallooing of the fox*: i.e., calling out “halloo”  
to spur on the dogs in their fox hunting    23 *baiting of*: i.e., the shouting done in encouragement of dogs attacking  
28 *hail*: accost // *false*: vile / mendacious    28, 32 *bait*: shout    30–31 *ye . . . men*: i.e., you all cry out, men  
34 *peradventure*: perhaps // *misused*: wrongly practiced // *haply*: maybe    35 *ruffling*: unsettling; discomposing  
35 *in . . . soberness*: less restrained and dignified    35–36 *were convenient*: i.e., is suitable  
36 *as evil as I like*: i.e., as little as I approve of    37 *in such*: with regard to such // *naught*: i.e., that are bad  
37 *that is almost in*: i.e., which is almost

would I find no fault with him in that he said well. But now he saith not that *some* such things be misordered *somewhere*... but that there is none other.

As for song, I see not why he should utterly dispraise in God's service... which was a thing not only used in the Old Law but the New too, as well appeareth by Saint Paul in his first epistle to the Corinthians. As for harps and instruments of music... the Scripture  
*Ps 150* showeth it openly—both in the Psalms and  
*1 Chr 13:8* many other places of Scripture—besides  
*2 Sm 6:14–15* dancing, too, which is more than men  
 use here now.

But Tyndale can be pleased with no fashion, neither cathedral church nor parish church nor chapel, nor monks nor friars nor nuns, neither Greenwich, Syon, nor Charterhouse. If the choir be loud—then they “cry out.” If they sing anything—yet they “halloo” and “bait.” If they do but say soft—yet they “buzz.” So that I see well no fashion can please Tyndale but his own, for as he neither crieth out nor hallooeth, nor baiteth, nor buzzeth, in any Service saying. For as they say that know him, he saith none at all—neither  
 Matins, Evensong, nor *Mass*—nor cometh at no church but either to gaze or talk.

But good Christian people, whom he belieth and saith that they ween no man may pray but at church—they pray both at church and at home... but yet more gladly at church. For though they know well  
*Mt 6:5–6; 21:13* that in avoiding of vainglory Christ taught us to pray in our chamber—yet showed he, for all that, that the common church is his house and specially deputed to prayer. And it is no hypocrisy to pray there, as it is to pray in the street. For when they pray in the church, they do but as other folk.

*Mt 21:12–13* But now doth Tyndale's “congregation,” and the captains of his heresies, make it, as Christ said to the Jews, a very den of thieves—and worse than ever did the Jews that bought and sold therein, whom Christ beat out therefor. For these heretics now not only rob the church in an allegory sense—that is to wit, rob and steal away the chief prayers out of many great churches in *Almaine*—but also in the plain,

1 *in . . . well*: i.e., regarding whatever he said that he was right about      2 *misordered*: out of right order; done amiss

3 *there is none other*: i.e., there is none that ever is not      4–7: See 1 Corinthians 14:15 and Colossians 3:16.

4–5 *dispraise . . . service*: i.e., disapprove of its use in the liturgy

5 *which . . . in*: i.e., its being something made use of in not only      6 *well appeareth*: is made quite apparent

15 *halloo*: i.e., holler      16 *bait*: shout // *say soft*: i.e., say it softly      17 *for as*: forasmuch as

18 *any Service saying*: liturgical praying / the praying of any part of the Divine Office      20 *Evensong*: Vespers

20 *cometh at no*: i.e., ever goes to a      21 *gaze*: gawk      22 *belieth and saith*: i.e., slanders in saying

23 *ween*: think      25 *in*: i.e., for      26 *chamber*: bedroom      27 *showed*: said

27 *common*: communal; shared space that is the      28 *deputed*: assigned      29 *in*: i.e., out on

32 *captains*: masterminds / spearheaders      35 *therefor*: for doing that      35–36 *an allegory*: a figurative

37 *Almaine*: Germany



or so much as say the word—that only the clergy is the Church  
and none of the Church but they. I suppose themselves have  
not given themselves the name. The word is English... and they  
teach not every man his mother tongue, as men teach children their  
5 ABC's. But the good people have of old time—though they know  
themselves also for part of the Church—yet because “the Church”

*That priests are called “the Church,” it cometh of  
humility of the laity.* signified a holy name of a Christian company  
gathered together in God, have  
therefore, of humility on their own part  
10 and reverence toward them, used to call

the clergy by that name... accounting them for the more godly  
part of that whole godly company.

And the spirituality, againward, do plainly declare and ever  
have declared in their preaching... that the name is general and  
15 common both to the temporality and them... and at large they declare  
the diverse parts of the Church, and therein reckon themselves but for  
one. And this name so used by the temporality of their own  
humility and reverence toward the spirituality—is not a thing  
new-found, but begun of old... at such time as both the  
20 parties were, I ween, somewhat better than, I fear me, they be both  
now.

But now, that thing that good folk have of good mind begun,  
and many hundred years continued... Tyndale, as one of another sort,  
would have utterly changed... and rather than laymen should have  
25 any such reverent mind to priests as to call them “the Church,” he  
would take it from them both... and, putting away from both that  
holy name of “church,” would call them both by the name of “congregation”—  
a word without any signification of Christendom any  
more than of Jews or Turks.

Tyndale

[To this answereth Tyndale and saith if this word “congregation”  
were a more general term than this word “church,”] it hurteth not,  
for the circumstance doth ever declare what thing is meant thereby.

More

35 If the setting of the circumstance make all well enough, he  
needeth not much to care what word he changeth, nor how. For he  
may set such circumstances, of his own device... that he may

1 *say the word*: make the statement    2 *none of*: i.e., no persons are members of  
2 *suppose themselves*: feel sure that they themselves    3, 14 *name*: i.e., name “Church”  
4 *mother tongue*: native language    5 *of old time*: from long ago    7, 12 *company*: community  
10 *used*: been wont    13, 18 *spirituality*: clergy    13 *againward*: in turn // *declare*: make known  
14, 15 *declare(d)*: explain(ed)    15, 17 *temporality*: laity    15 *at large*: at length    16 *diverse*: different  
18 *is*: i.e., this is    19 *of old*: long ago    20 *ween*: think // *I fear me*: I'm afraid  
22, 25 (*good*) *mind*: (a good) disposition    23 *one*: someone // *sort*: i.e., kind of disposition  
24 *would have*: wants    25 *to*: toward    26 *it from*: i.e., that away from // *putting away*: removing  
29 *Turks*: i.e., Muslims    31 *and saith if*: i.e., by saying that even if    32 *were*: i.e., is  
33, 35 *circumstance*: context    33 *ever declare*: always make clear    35 *setting*: providing    37 *may*: can  
37 *set such circumstances*: provide such qualifications / posit such features // *device*: thinking up

make men perceive what he meaneth. For so he may translate the  
 “world” into a “football,” if he join therewith certain circumstances  
 and say, “This round, rolling football that men walk upon and  
 ships sail upon, in the people whereof there is no rest nor  
 5 stability,” and so forth, a great, long tale; with such circumstances  
 he might, as I say, make any word understood as it like  
 himself, whatsoever the word before signified of itself. But  
 surely the word “congregation” with the circumstances in the *text*  
 would not have served when he translated it, first, to make the  
 10 English reader to take it for the church; no more than “idols” for  
 images, or “images” for idols, as he translateth in like wise, or “repenting”  
 for doing penance, which he changeth too. But marry, he  
 hath *added* unto his translation such circumstances since, that the  
 15 *Every man and woman is a* order of priesthood is right naught; but  
     *priest with Tyndale.* that every man, woman, and child is as  
   very a priest as a priest indeed... and that  
 every man and woman may consecrate the Body of Christ and say  
 Mass as well as any priest, and hear confession and assoil as well as  
 may a priest; and that there is no difference between other folk  
 20 and priests, but all one congregation and company without any  
 difference save an appointment to preach; and also that the  
 common-known people of all Christian realms—clergy, laypeople, and  
 all—be not “the church,” nor be no part of “the church,” because they  
 use sacraments and ceremonies and Divine Service in churches... but  
 25 that “the church” is a secret congregation of unknown chosen heretics  
 scattered abroad in corners and studying to destroy the  
 Church.

These circumstances indeed make men to perceive and understand  
 what Tyndale meaneth by this word “congregation” put in  
 30 his translation in the stead of “church.” And they perceive clearly by  
 these circumstances that he changed that word of purpose to set  
 forth those heresies of his with... as boldly as he now saith nay.  
 But all his gloss is, therein, that he will say he taketh them for no  
 heresies. But on the other side, all good-faithful people do, and  
 35 therefore they call the Church “the Church” still, and will not agree to  
 change the old “church” for his new “congregation,” but burn up  
 his books that so calleth it... and whoso would so begin to call it,

2, 5, etc. *circumstances*: qualifications    2, 3 *football*: soccer ball    4 *people*: i.e., entire population  
 4 *rest*: cessation of movement    5 *great*: big // *tale*: speech    6 *might*: could // *like*: pleases; suits  
 8 *surely*: certainly    9 *translated it*: i.e., gave that as his translation of the word in the Greek text  
 11 *wise*: manner    12 *which . . . too*: i.e., which change he also makes // *marry*: indeed  
 14 *order*: Holy Order / rank // *right naught*: absolutely nothing    15 *with*: i.e., according to    16 *very*: truly  
 16 *as a priest indeed*: i.e., as is an actual priest    17, 19 *may*: can    18 *assoil*: give absolution  
 20 *all one*: i.e., all are just one same // *company*: community    21 *save*: except for    23 *because*: since  
 24 *use*: perform / take part in // *ceremonies*: rituals // *Divine Service*: (pray) the Divine Office  
 25 *secret*: hidden; not-visible-as-such // *unknown*: i.e., unidentifiable-as-such / incognito    26 *abroad*: around  
 26 *corners*: hiding places / undisclosed locations // *studying*: endeavoring  
 31–32 *changed . . . forth*: i.e., made that word substitution for the purpose of advancing    32 *saith nay*: i.e., denies it  
 33 *all his gloss*: i.e., his whole attempted exoneration of himself    34 *good-faithful*: right-believing; orthodox  
 36 *change*: exchange; trade in // *burn*: i.e., rather will agree to burn    37 *his books*: i.e., the books of this man  
 37 *whoso*: whoever

would and well might begin to call him “heretic,” for his delighting in the invention of heretics and his evil appetite to speak after a heretic’s phrase.

- 5 Tyndale yet, to defend his change of “church” into “congregation,” saith that I do not say truth in that I say that this word “congregation” is a more general term than this word “church.”

#### Tyndale

- 10 For wheresoever [saith he] that I may say a “congregation”... there I may say a “church” also... as “the church of the devil,” “the church of Satan,” “the church of wretches,” “the church of wicked men,” “the church of liars,” and “a church of Turks” thereto.

#### More

- 15 This is lustily said of Tyndale, and like a man. But it pleaseth him not to consider that I said that this word “congregation” *is* indifferent unto Turks and Christian men, and unto all other companies and a company of Christian men, so that it as well signifieth a company of Turks as of Christian men; and that this word “church” doth signify a company of *Christian* people, and is *not* indifferent to a company of Turks and of Christian men. And I said, and yet I say, 20 that this is true of the usual signification of these words themselves in the English tongue, by the common custom of us English people that either now do use these words in our language or that have *The common usage of speech* used before our days. And I say that this common custom and usage of speech is 25 the only thing by which we know the right and proper signification of any word; insomuch that if a word were taken out of Latin, French, or Spanish, and were, for lack of understanding of the tongue from whence it came, used for another thing in English than it was in the former tongue—then signifieth it in England none other 30 thing than as *we* use it and understand thereby, whatsoever it signify anywhere else. Then say I now that in *England* this word “congregation” did never signify the number of Christian people *as* Christian people, with a connotation or consideration of their faith or Christendom—no more than this word “assembly,” which hath 35 been taken out of the French and now is by custom become English... as “congregation” is out of the Latin. And yet I deny not but under those words, both twain, may be Christian men spoken of.

1 *would*: i.e., they (the right-believing people) would      2 *invention*: inventiveness  
 2–3 *appetite . . . phrase*: predilection for speaking according to a heretic’s manner of expression  
 5 *do . . . I say*: i.e., am not telling the truth in saying      9 *as*: i.e., as in      11, 15, etc. *Turks*: i.e., Muslims  
 11 *thereto*: as well      13 *lustily*: gutsily; spunkily // *of*: by      14 *consider*: take into consideration  
 14, 18 *indifferent*: i.e., equally applicable      15 *companies*: communities / assemblages  
 19 *yet*: still      21, 28, 29 *tongue*: language      23, 24 *of*: i.e., in      23 *used*: i.e., used them  
 26 *insomuch*: so much so      34 *Christendom*: Christianity      37 *but*: i.e., that  
 37 *twain*: i.e., of the two

For every assembly and congregation in Christian realms *is* commonly made of Christian people. But they be not there called “congregation” or “assembly” *because* they be christened, but should be so called though they were Jews or Saracens, though they were so known and dwelled in Christendom. I say now, in like wise, that this word “church” never hath been used to signify other company than christened, in common speech of this realm. And for this cause—and yet, most especially, because of Tyndale’s evil intent—I said and yet say that he did naught in the change of “church” for “congregation,” a holy word for a profane as far forth as they both signify in our English tongue, into which Tyndale made his translation.

This was and is the thing that I said and say. Now, in saying this... I do *not* say untrue, though Tyndale be at his liberty to call a “church” what him list. For never said I the contrary but that Tyndale, wheresoever he may say a “congregation,” there he may say a “church” too. For though none Englishmen be wont to speak so, nor in the common speech the word signifieth not so, nor of the church that he should in his translation have meant of, no good man will say so—yet may Tyndale say so: “the church of Satan,” “the church of wretches,” “the church of wicked men,” “the church of liars,” and “a church of Turks” too; and yet, and he list, he may set to it “the church of heretics,” and “the church of devils” too.

But, now, though Tyndale *may* thus say for his pleasure, which I deny not—yet can he not say that this is the *proper* signification of that word, which is the thing that a translator must regard; but it is a certain figure, and manner of speaking, by which men use among to express a thing by its contrary... as a man might say, “This is the wisdom of a fool,” “This is the truth of a false shrew,” “This is the faith of a heretic.” Thus may Tyndale abuse the holy name of “church” to any lewd thing that he list; but this is not the part of a translator.

But Tyndale now—to convict me clearly by learning and reason doubly confirmed with Scripture—showeth himself in few words that he both lacketh learning and reason and shamefully abuseth the Scripture. These are his words...

### Tyndale

M. More must needs grant (if he will have *ecclesia* translated throughout all the New Testament by this word “church”) that “church”

2 *made*: i.e., made up    3 *should*: would    4 *though*: even if // *Saracens*: Muslims  
 4–5 *so known*: known to be such    5 *dwelled in Christendom*: i.e., were living in a Christian country  
 5–6 *say . . . this*: i.e., say now that, likewise, this  
 6–7 *other . . . christened*: i.e., any community other than one of baptized people  
 7, 18 *common speech*: i.e., (the) common parlance    7 *cause*: reason    8 *yet*: also // *evil*: ill  
 9 *yet*: still // *naught . . . of*: i.e., a bad thing in exchanging    10 *profane*: i.e., profane one    11 *tongue*: language  
 14 *untrue*: i.e., something untrue    15 *what him list*: whatever he wants to    17 *none*: no    18 *so*: thusly  
 19 *meant of*: had in mind    20 *so*: i.e., such things    22 *Turks*: i.e., Muslims // *yet*: moreover // *and he*: if he  
 22, 31 *list*: wants to    22–23 *set to it*: i.e., add to this list    24 *say*: speak    25 *proper*: normal  
 27 *figure*: linguistic device    28 *use*: are wont // *among*: on occasion    29 *truth*: veracity  
 29 *false shrew*: lying scoundrel    30 *abuse*: misapply    31 *lewd*: vile  
 32 *the part of a translator*: the act of a translator / what a translator should do  
 33 *convict me clearly*: vanquish me completely    34 *with*: by    35 *abuseth*: distorts    38 *M.*: i.e., Master / Mr.



is as common as *ecclesia*. Now is *ecclesia* a Greek word, and was in use before the time of the apostles, and taken for a congregation among the heathen, where no congregation was of God, or of Christ. And also Luke himself useth *ecclesia* for a church or congregation of heathen people, thrice in one chapter, even in . . . the Acts—where Demetrius the goldsmith, or silversmith, had gathered a company against Paul for preaching against images.

### More

Let us now begin at the first piece, and ye shall see what he hath:

“M. More must needs grant that ‘church’ is as common as *ecclesia*, if he will have this word *ecclesia* throughout all the New Testament translated by this word ‘church.’”

First I say that Master More must *not* needs grant this to Tyndale, never a whit. For if he turn it from a conditional proposition into an affirmative antecedent and consequent, it shall soon be shown him that his consequent were possible to be false and his antecedent true. For it might be that this word *ecclesia* did signify more things than the writers of the New Testament had occasion to speak of within the same. And then though I would grant unto Tyndale that this word *ecclesia* should throughout the New Testament be translated by this word “church,” yet must I not needs be driven to grant him, for all that, that “church” were as common as *ecclesia*, because it should not, yet, signify those other significations of *ecclesia* that were not spoken of within the New Testament. And thus whereas Tyndale would upon such an antecedent bind me by and by, of necessity, to his consequent, it appeareth that though I granted him the one . . . I must not needs, for all his great word, grant him the other at all.

But, now, though I must not needs, yet will I grant him of courtesy . . . that if I will have *ecclesia* translated throughout all the New Testament by this word “church,” that then I must needs grant this term “church” to be as common, and signify as large and as many things, as this term *ecclesia*. But, now, when I, that must not needs, grant this to Tyndale, Tyndale may not choose but must needs grant me this again: that if I will *not* have *ecclesia* throughout the New Testament translated by this word “church,” that then Tyndale in all his gay tale telleth us nothing to purpose, but that argument is now like as if he would have argued thus—“If Master More will grant me that every horse is a goose, then must he needs grant

3 *no . . . Christ*: i.e., there was no congregation of God’s, or of Christ’s      5 *even*: right there  
 5–7: See Acts 19:32, 39, and 40.      6 *a company*: an assembly      7 *for*: i.e., for his  
 9 *at*: with // *piece*: i.e., part of this      10, 13, 31, 34, 39 *needs*: of necessity; necessarily  
 14 *never a whit*: not one bit      16 *his . . . possible*: i.e., it would be possible for his consequent  
 17 *might*: could      18, 23, 32 *signify*: denote      19, 26 *though*: even if      19 *would*: were to  
 20 *that*: i.e., that I’m saying that      21 *yet . . . needs*: i.e., I yet would not of necessity  
 22 *were as common*: i.e., is of as general application      23 *should*: would      25–26 *by and by*: immediately  
 26 *appeareth*: is evident      27 *must not needs*: wouldn’t of necessity have to // *great*: grand  
 27 *word*: pronouncement      29 *must not needs*: don’t out of necessity have to  
 29 *of courtesy*: i.e., as a favor, for the sake of argument      32 *large*: extensively  
 33–34 *that . . . grant*: i.e., who do not of necessity have to do so, do grant      35 *again*: in turn  
 37 *gay*: glitzy / plausible-sounding // *tale*: speech

me that every mare must have a gander to get her with foal.” For I need not to grant him the thing that he supposeth.

Now tell I Tyndale that, in no wise, I will *not* have it so; and that I never told him that I would have it so; but I say plainly that

5 if *he* should *throughout all* the New Testament translate this word *ecclesia* by this word “church,” I say that he should translate it very naught.

And for because that Tyndale either evil perceiveth my words or else evil remembered them... or, finally, which is most likely, 10 would willingly make the reader to take them wrong: I will desire the reader to look upon the place himself (which is the eighth chapter of the Third Book), and there shall he find that I find the fault not in that he translateth this word *ecclesia* sometimes into this word “congregation,” but that he changeth this word “church” 15 into this word “congregation”—that is to say, that he translateth this word *ecclesia* into this word “congregation”—in such places as he should have translated it into this word “church”; that is, wheresoever he hath put this word “congregation” for the company of Christian

Note people; for that company is in English

20 signified, and of old hath been, by this holy word “church,” and never by this word “congregation.”

This is the fault that I find, and tell Tyndale in that chapter good and plain causes wherefore, which Tyndale here letteth slip.

25 But I would in no wise that, as Tyndale taketh me, *ecclesia* should *always* be translated by this word “church”; for that were also wrong. For truth it is that *ecclesia* signifieth in the Greek tongue a congregation, without respect of either good or bad, Christian or un-Christian. For Tyndale saith therein truth, that the word *ecclesia* was used a 30 thousand years before Christendom began, as the books prove. But it will be hard to prove and warrant that this word “church” was used for any congregation before Christendom began, or that ever it signified any congregation other than Christian. And therefore his reason grounded upon this word *ecclesia* is little worth... since it proceedeth 35 not in like wise in this word “church.”

And yet, touching this word *ecclesia*... as cunning as Tyndale would seem therein, with his Greek and all... he seemeth but poorly to

2 *need not*: i.e., do not have to      3 *in no wise*: by no means      7 *naught*: wrongly  
 8 *for because*: by reason of the fact      8, 9 *evil*: ill / incorrectly      8 *perceiveth*: understands  
 10 *would willingly make*: i.e., is deliberately trying to get // *desire*: ask      11 *upon*: at  
 11 *the place*: i.e., that passage (of the *Dialogue concerning Heresies*)      18, 19 *company*: community  
 20 *of old*: from of old      23 *plain causes wherefore*: readily-understood reasons why  
 24 *slip*: escape notice      25 *in no wise*: i.e., by no means have it      26 *were also*: would also be  
 27 *truth it is*: it is true      28 *respect*: consideration / discrimination // *un-Christian*: non-Christian  
 31 *warrant*: guarantee      33 *reason*: argument      34–35 *proceedeth . . . this*: goes not in like manner with this  
 36 *touching*: as for // *cunning*: erudite      37 *would*: wishes to

“*Ecclesia*”

perceive it. For ye shall understand that  
this word *ecclesia* in the Greek tongue did

not signify every manner company or congregation—nor signified  
not all the citizens of any city with that respect that they were  
5 citizens of that city, or that they were gathered for playing or  
fighting, or any such other cause—but only those congregations  
that were gathered together to common upon matters of judgment  
or policy, either about the common affairs of the town, concerning  
peace or war or some other commodity, or for  
10 private folks’ business in such places as all the common people were  
judges, as much was used in Greece and sometimes in Rome too, and  
was, as ye would say, the assembly of the court, or the common  
council.

Now—forasmuch as Christian people did resort together among  
15 themselves to prayer and preaching, and making of good ordinances  
delivered them by the apostles—this name of *ecclesia* was  
applied unto the congregation of the Christian company. And though  
it began of such assemblies together, yet afterward it obtained  
also, both among the Greeks and Latins christened, to signify the  
20 Christian folk whether they were at church or at home, and to signify  
also the universal number of all Christian people throughout all the  
world; whereas it signified no such manner of thing among the  
paynims before, but only their several assemblies such as I before

Contio

described you, and which was in Latin  
called *contio*. And yet took the Latin Church

the Greek word *ecclesia*—of the Greek Church, that began before  
them—and never used this word *contio*, which signified among the  
Latin paynims both the congregation, or assembly, and the oration  
also that any man pronounced among them in the same assembly.

Now may ye perceive that Tyndale with all his Greek told you  
but a lame tale. For he telleth you not what manner of congregation  
*ecclesia* did signify in the Greek... but mistaketh it to signify  
every manner of congregation at adventure.

And by this ye may also perceive how little it maketh for his

*Acts 19:32, 39, 40*

purpose that Saint Luke, whereof Tyndale  
so boasteth, calleth “*ecclesia*” thrice in one

chapter, of the Acts, the congregation that was gathered in Ephesus  
against Saint Paul. For that was such a congregation as I tell  
you that *ecclesia* properly signified among the paynims... saving

1 *perceive it*: grasp its meaning    2 *tongue*: parlance    3, 22, etc. *manner*: kind (of)  
3, 17 *company*: assembly / community    4 *respect*: regard    5 *playing*: a sports activity / having fun  
7 *common*: commune    9 *commodity*: interest    11 *used*: i.e., the practice    12 *or*: i.e., or of  
14–15 *resort* . . . *to*: regularly come . . . for    16 *delivered*: i.e., as per instructions sent  
18 *obtained*: i.e., came    19 *Greeks* . . . *christened*: i.e., Greek-speaking and the Latin-speaking baptized  
23, 28, 39 *paynims*: pagans    23 *several*: disparate    26 *of*: from // *that*: which  
28 *Latin*: Latin-speaking    29 *pronounced*: delivered    32 *mistaketh*: wrongly takes  
33 *at adventure*: i.e., whatever    34–35 *maketh for his purpose*: contributes to his argument / works in his favor  
39 *properly*: normally // *saving*: except

that they gathered together upon a rumor, and not after their customable calling.

Now, though the Church was then newly begun to be called by the same name of *ecclesia*, and that after the example of the other  
 5 assembly, and the name not taken from the other assembly, nor their assembly for such matters called by none other—how would Tyndale have had Saint Luke tell the tale but by such words as then represented the matter? But that maketh nothing for his purpose, but utterly against it. For since that this word *ecclesia*  
 10 did there signify that congregation of the Ephesians which were paynims—and therefore in that place ought not to be translated by this word “church,” which signifieth only a Christian congregation and not a congregation of paynims—so should *ecclesia* in like wise wheresoever it signifieth a Christian congregation be translated by this  
 15 word “church”... which is and ever hath been the word that since Christendom first began among Englishmen hath always served therefor... and not be translated by this word “congregation,” which word of “congregation” is a word of Latin, and signifieth a sort gathered together into one flock; as they speak, “in gregem ovium,”  
 20 “gregem gruum,” “gregem anserum.” And so when Tyndale hath all said and all done... this word “congregation,” except some special places where they have by custom appointed it to signify some sort of men—as in some universities it signifieth their assemblies—else, where no such custom hath appropriated it to any special manner of  
 25 congregation... the term “congregation,” absolutely set, signifieth no more a company of Christian men than a fair flock of un-Christian geese.

But yet the change of the word, if Tyndale had done it either of chance or of purpose for his pleasure, and for none evil purpose—  
 30 I would never have spoken word against it. But forasmuch as I perceive that he hath been with Luther—and was, too, at the same time when he so translated it—and that I knew well the malicious heresies that Luther began to bring forth: therefore must I needs mistrust him in the change.

35 And now I say that even of his own words spoken here... ye may in his translations perceive his cankered mind. For he saith that Demetrius “had gathered a company against Paul for preaching against images.” Here may the Christian reader well perceive the poison of this serpent. It is to no man unknown that all good Christian

1 *upon*: on the occasion of / because of // *rumor*: riot

1–2 *their . . . calling*: being summoned as they customarily were 5 *from*: away from 6 *none*: any

7 *tell the tale*: tell the story / relate the incident 8 *matter*: i.e., respective things in it

8–9 *that . . . but*: i.e., that passage does nothing for his argument, but works 9 *since*: i.e., given; seeing

11, 13 *paynims*: pagans 11 *place*: passage 13 *wise*: manner 17 *therefor*: for that 18 *of Latin*: from Latin

19 *sort*: i.e., number of people or animals 19–20 *in . . . anserum*: i.e., into a flock of sheep, . . . cranes, . . . geese

21 *except*: i.e., except in // *special*: particular 22 *appointed*: designated // *sort*: group

24 *appropriated*: restricted // *special manner*: specific kind 25 *absolutely set*: written without qualification

26 *a company*: a community / an assembly // *fair*: decent-sized // *un-Christian*: non-Christian

29 *of chance*: by accident // *of . . . pleasure*: i.e., on purpose just because he felt like it // *none*: no

30 *spoken*: i.e., said a 31 *perceive*: understand 33 *began*: i.e., was starting 34 *mistrust*: be suspicious of

34 *in*: regarding 35 *even of*: just from 36 *may*: can // *cankered mind*: corrupt intent

37 *a company*: an assembly // *for*: for his 39 *poison*: poisonousness

people do both abhor the idols of the false, paynim gods and honor also the images of Christ and our Lady and other holy saints. And as they call the one sort “images”—so call they the other sort “idols.” Now—whereas Saint Paul preached there against

5           *Acts 19:24–40*           *idols*—cometh this good man and saith he  
              *1 Cor 5:11*               preached against *images*.

And as he speaketh here—even so he translateth. For in the fifth chapter of Saint Paul to the Corinthians, where Saint Paul saith, “I have written to you that ye company not together if any  
10   that is called a brother be a fornicator or covetous or a worshipper of idols”—there translated Tyndale, “. . . or a worshipper of *images*” . . . because he would have it seem that the Apostle had in that place forbidden Christian men to worship any images . . . and that whoso worshipped any images, men should not company with him. Here  
15   ye may see the sincerity and plain meaning of the man’s translation. Now seeth he well enough that Saint Paul spoke not of images but of idols; and he perceived both that he so did, and also wherefore he so did, by his other words—written in the tenth chapter of the same epistle—where Saint Paul, speaking of the meat offered  
20   unto idols, which he would that Christian men should forbear, saith in this wise: “What say I, then? That the idol is anything? Or that it which is offered to idols is anything? Nay; but I say that those things which the paynims offer . . . they offer to devils and not to God, and I would not that ye should have any fellowship with  
25   devils.”

*Images are honored  
for God’s sake.*

This only text of Saint Paul is  
enough to answer all the whole heap of  
heretics that bark against holy

images that good men honor for God’s sake. For Saint Paul here  
30   showeth that the cause why the worshipping of idols was unlawful among the Gentiles or paynims was because that the worship that was done to those idols was done to devils. And why, but for because that it was done to those idols for the love and honor that they bore to those devils whom they called gods, and whom those  
35   idols represented?

But so it is, on the other side, that good folk which worship images of Christ and his saints—do worship thereby Christ and his

1 *abhor*: abominate   1, 23, 31 *paynim(s)*: pagan(s)   3, 4 *sort*: set   7 *even*: just  
9–10 *company not together if any that . . . be*: i.e., are not to associate with anyone who . . . but is  
10 *covetous*: avaricious   10, 11 *worshipper*: worshipper / venerator   12 *place*: passage  
13, 14, 36, 37 *worship(ped)*: venerate(d)   14 *company*: associate   15 *may*: can  
15 *sincerity*: freedom from falsification; faithfulness // *plain meaning*: i.e., the guilelessness of intent /  
the clear intent   16 *spoke*: i.e., was speaking   18 *wherefore*: why   19 *meat*: food  
20 *would . . . forbear*: i.e., would have Christians forbear eating   20–21 *in this wise*: words to this effect  
21 *say I*: i.e., am I saying // *it*: that   24 *would . . . should*: don’t want you to  
26 *this only*: i.e., just this one // *of*: from   27 *all . . . heap*: the whole entire pack   28 *bark*: i.e., squawk  
30 *cause*: reason // *worshipping*: venerating // *unlawful*: not morally permissible   31 *because that*: because  
31 *worship*: veneration   32, 33 *done*: i.e., given   32–33 *for because that*: for the reason that  
36 *side*: i.e., hand // *which*: who

saints whom those images represent. Wherefore it followeth that likewise as the paynims, worshippers of idols, did evil in the worshipping of them, because that in the worshipping of them they worshipped devils: right so do the Christian men *well* in the worshipping of *images*, because that in the worshipping of images they worship Christ and his holy saints. And now ye see, good Christian readers, that this one place of Saint Paul so plainly reproveth all these heretics that bark against images... that saving they be shameless, they should never look any man in the face for shame.

But Tyndale, to blind the reader with, hath corrupted in his translation all this place of Saint Paul also, and hath in every place put out “idol” and set in “image”... to make the reader ween that Saint Paul speak all this against *images*... which he so speaketh against the *paynims’ idols* that his reason which he maketh against them doth openly commend and confirm the Christian worshipping of holy saints’ images. And here may ye see what a true translation Tyndale’s is, and for what purpose he translateth it false... and God provideth that the scripture which he falsifieth openly fighteth against him.

This pageant hath he played also, shamefully falsifying Saint Paul, in the second chapter to the Romans... where Saint Paul saith to the Jews, “Thou abhorrest idols and robbest God of his honor”—meaning that though they abhorred the paynims’ idols, and would not worship their false gods that were devils, yet for all that, they, by the breaking of God’s law with their evil living, they took away the honor from God, in causing him and his law to be dishonorably spoken of among the paynims.

Now cometh me Tyndale, and in despite of holy images he hath translated that place in this wise: “Thou abhorrest images and takest from God his honor.” Here ye see Tyndale’s truth, lo! Did Saint Paul say so? Did Saint Paul mean so? Did the Jews abhor *images*? They abhorred idols, but not images. They abhorred not in the Ark the images of the angels, though they abhorred abroad the idols of devils. But Tyndale’s translation of this place may marvelously

Note well be said unto himself—“Thou abhorrest images, Tyndale, and takest the

1 *wherefore*: from which    2, 15, etc. *paynims*: pagans    2 *evil*: badly    3, 5, etc. *worshipping*: venerating  
 3, 5 *because*: by reason of the fact    4 *right*: just // *worshipped*: venerated    6 *worship*: venerate; give honor to  
 7, 12, 13 *place (of)*: passage (from)    8 *reproveth*: proves wrong // *bark*: i.e., squawk    9 *saving*: were it not that  
 10 *face for shame*: i.e., face, for fear of embarrassment    11 *blind*: deceive    12 *all this*: this whole  
 13 *put out*: i.e., rejected // *ween*: think    14 *speak*: i.e., is speaking    15 *reason*: argument  
 16, 20 *openly*: manifestly    16 *commend*: set off to advantage    17–18 *a true*: a faithful / an accurate  
 19 *false*: inaccurately    20 *fighteth*: militates    21 *pageant*: i.e., charade    23: See Romans 2:22.  
 23, 30, 36–37 *thou abhorrest*: you hold in abomination / you shun with loathing  
 24, 32, etc. *abhor(red)*: abominate(d)    26 *living*: manner of living    27 *dishonorably*: disrespectfully  
 29 *cometh me*: comes at me / here comes // *despite*: denigration    30, 35 *place*: verse    30 *wise*: way  
 31 *from*: away from // *truth*: honorableness / veracity    32 *so*: that    34 *Ark*: i.e., Ark of the Covenant  
 34 *abroad*: i.e., everywhere    35 *may marvelously*: can strikingly

honor from God... for thou wouldst have us set Christ's image at naught, which without God's dishonor we cannot do."

What shift shall Tyndale find now? Will he say that "idols" and "images" be all one, because that idols be a kind of images, and  
5 "image" is a term indifferent to good and bad? For a man may say "an image of the devil" as well as "an image of God."

Tyndale shall, I think, find no reader so slenderly witted to suffer him escape so. For though idols be of the kind of images... yet since they be such a special kind as always to Christian men's  
10 ears do signify evil images and devilish, he may not in translation change the name into the general, whereby it may not be perceived of which kind he speaketh. For this were very naught if he did it in favor of the worse kind, to make men ween it were better. And now, when he doth it in hatred of the better kind, to make men  
15 ween it worse—that is to wit, in despite of the images of God Incarnate, and of his holy saints, to make them seem idols—he doth a hundred times worse. For he were not so wretched by a hundredfold (as wretched as he were!) that needs would, in his fond fashion, love God and the devil together, as he that would love neither nother.

And if that Tyndale would stiffly stick in this point and abide thereby—that his translation of "idol" into "image" is good enough because idols be images—then, since that devils be angels (as indeed they be by nature, and evil angels be angels still), Tyndale may at his pleasure translate the devil into "angel" without any other addition, wheresoever  
25 he find him throughout all the Bible. And then shall he do therein as did a like-learned priest that throughout all the Gospels scraped out *diabolus* and wrote *Iesu Christus*, because he thought the devil's name was not meet to stand in so good a place. And thus I think that every child may now perceive with how little learning and  
30 less wit, and least truth, Tyndale hath translated this word *ecclesia* into "congregation" instead of "church"—and that he hath so substantially defended it that in the maintenance of one false folly, he is now found in twain. For by a like manner as he falsely translated *ecclesia* into the unknown name of "congregation" in such places as he  
35 should have translated it into the holy, known name of "church," and that he this hath done of a malicious purpose, to set forth his heresy of the secret, unknown church wherein is neither good works nor sacraments:

1 *from*: away from // *set . . . naught*: i.e., treat with contempt a crucifix. (See 129/1–6.)

2 *God's dishonor*: i.e., dishonoring God 3 *shift*: subterfuge 4 *all one*: one and the same

4 *because that*: because 5 *indifferent*: equally applicable // *a man may*: one can 6 *well*: correctly; rightly

7–8 *so . . . suffer*: who is so little endowed with intelligence as to let 8 *so*: thus; by that route

8 *kind*: genus 9 *special*: specific 11 *may not*: cannot 12 *he speaketh*: i.e., Saint Paul is speaking

12, 17, 18 *were*: would be 12 *naught*: wrong / bad 13, 15 *worse*: less good // *ween*: think

13 *were*: was 15 *to wit*: i.e., to say // *despite of*: denigration of / insult to

18 *needs would*: was bound and determined to // *fond fashion*: foolishly warmhearted posture

19 *neither nother*: neither the one nor the other 20 *if that . . . would*: i.e., in case . . . should

20 *stiffly stick in*: obdurately hold firm on 21 *good*: valid 22 *since that*: given that 23 *evil*: bad

27 *scraped out*: scratched out 28 *meet*: suitable // *stand*: be // *place*: text 29 *every*: any

29 *may*: i.e., could 30 *wit*: intelligence / good sense // *truth*: honesty / integrity

31 *substantially*: soundly / effectively 32 *maintenance*: supporting

32 *false folly*: i.e., idiotic error made with deceitful intent 33 *twain*: two // *falsely*: incorrectly

34, 35 *(un)known*: (un)familiar 36 *of a*: for a // *set forth*: promote 37 *secret*: unperceivable

37 *unknown*: unidentifiable

so is it now proved that in the same wise and of like malice  
hath he translated “idols” into “images,” under the color of the likeness  
of false gods and devils to make the Scripture seem to reprove the  
godly images of our Savior himself and his holy saints. And now—  
5 using himself in his translation in such malicious and erroneous  
fashion—he complaineth that good men have burned his evil-translated  
Books and will not suffer his heresies to go forward.

In the end of this chapter Tyndale telleth me that I have been “so  
long used” in my “figures of poetry” that when I “err most,” I do now,  
10 as he supposeth, “by reason of a long custom” believe myself that I “say  
most true”; “or else, as wise people when they dance naked in a net  
believe that no man see them, even so” he saith that I think mine “errors  
so subtly couched that no man can spy them.” As for mine errors,  
how subtly they be couched, I cannot tell; nor what other men shall  
15 spy, I cannot say. But surely if I could spy any in my writing myself,  
I would not fail both to confess it to God and the world and forsake  
it. Now, if I be by custom of poetry so blinded that I cannot  
see mine errors but ween that my lies were true—yet if I find any  
that can show them me, I shall soon amend the fault. But I have  
20 one good likelihood that I do *not* err or lie after such fashion as  
Tyndale telleth me... in that if it so were, Tyndale then, that prieth  
thereupon so narrowly and with such eagle’s eyes as he hath, were  
very likely to spy it... namely since I go so bare, dancing naked in a  
net. And I am sure if he spied any such thing in me... he would of  
25 his charity be so good to me as to tell me. But surely he hath spied  
none yet. For all that he hath hitherto pored out and called mine  
errors be but his own, and turn upon his own top every one.  
And as for my “poetry,” verily I can little else... and yet not that neither.  
But it had been good for Tyndale’s soul—and a thousand souls  
30 besides—that he had meddled but with poetry instead of Holy Scripture  
all the days of his life. For of poetry though there should have  
come little good... yet could there never have come such a heap  
of harm to Christian people as he hath of his blind malice brought  
into this realm by his untrue translating, and more untrue construing,  
35 of the Holy Scripture of God... most maliciously making  
the Blessed Word of God to serve him for an instrument to drive  
men to the devil.

1 *wise*: manner    2 *color*: semblance / pretense    2–3 *of . . . of*: i.e., of their likeness to    3 *reprove*: condemn  
5 *using*: conducting // *erroneous*: i.e., deliberately erroneous; heretical    6 *that*: i.e., about the fact that  
6 *evil-translated*: ill-translated    7 *Books*: i.e., Books of the Bible / New Testaments // *suffer*: allow  
9 *in my “figures of poetry”*: i.e., to writing my syllogistic fairy tales    10 *custom*: habituation  
10–11 *say most true*: am most speaking the truth    11 *wise people*: wizards and witches    12 *even*: just  
13, 14 *subtly*: craftily // *couched*: worded    13, 15, 23 *spy*: espy; catch sight of    15 *surely*: certainly  
16 *confess*: admit // *forsake*: renounce    17 *custom*: habit // *poetry*: i.e., creative writing / mythologizing  
18 *ween . . . were*: think that my false statements are // *any*: anyone    19 *show them*: point them out to  
19 *amend the fault*: correct the mistake    20 *likelihood*: indication // *lie*: speak falsely  
21–22 *prieth thereupon so narrowly*: i.e., peers at my writing so closely; scrutinizes my writing so carefully  
22 *were*: would be    23 *namely*: especially    26 *hitherto*: thus far    27 *turn unto*: boomerang onto  
27 *top*: head    28, 30, 31 *poetry*: i.e., mythology / fairy tales    28 *verily*: truly // *can*: know  
29 *had*: would have    30 *meddled*: involved himself    32 *heap*: lot    33 *blind*: deceitful / reckless  
34 *untrue*: dishonest / deliberately inaccurate // *construing*: interpreting



And yet if poetry be, as Tyndale calleth it, nothing but feigning and lying—then is *he* cunning enough, and can, I assure you, make as much poetry upon any part of Scripture as any poet can in England upon any part of Virgil. And he useth in his writing  
 5 much plain poetry wherein he danceth naked not all in a net... but for the more part so stark naked, without any net at all, that there is not the breadth of a silken thread to cover his poetry; of which points of his plain, open poetry I have shown you some already, and shall anon show you many more.

10 Then he asketh me why I have not contended with Erasmus, whom he calleth my “darling,” of all this long while for translating of this word *ecclesia* into this word *congregatio*. And then he cometh forth with his feat proper taunt that I favor him of likelihood for making of his book of *Moria* in my house. There had he hit me, lo,  
 15 save for lack of a little salt. I have not contended with Erasmus my darling because I found no such malicious intent with Erasmus my darling as I find with Tyndale. For had I found with Erasmus my darling the shrewd intent and purpose that I find in Tyndale, Erasmus my darling should be no more my  
 20 darling. But I find in Erasmus my darling that he detesteth and abhorreth the errors and heresies that Tyndale plainly teacheth and abideth by; and therefore Erasmus my darling shall be my dear darling still. And surely if Tyndale had either never taught them or yet had the grace to revoke them, then should Tyndale be my dear  
 25 darling too. But while he holdeth such heresies still—I cannot take for my darling him that the devil taketh for *his* darling.

Now, for his translation of *ecclesia* by *congregatio*... his deed is nothing like Tyndale’s. For the Latin tongue had no Latin word before used for the Church, but the Greek word *ecclesia*; therefore Erasmus  
 30 in his new translation gave it a Latin word. But we had in *English* a proper *English* word therefor; and therefore was no such cause for Tyndale to change it into a worse. Erasmus also meant no heresy therein, as appeareth by his writing against heretics; but Tyndale intended nothing *else* thereby, as appeareth by the heresies  
 35 that himself teacheth and abideth by. And therefore was there in this matter no cause for me to contend with Erasmus, as there was to contend with Tyndale, with whom I contend for putting in “congregation” instead of “church”—except that Tyndale peradventure meaneth that I should have been angry with Erasmus because

1 *calleth*: characterizes // *feigning*: making things up 2 *cunning enough*: proficient enough / plenty good at it  
 2–3 *make . . . poetry*: i.e., do as much poeticizing 3, 4 *upon*: about 4 *useth*: employs 5, 8 *plain*: obvious  
 6 *for the more part*: more often than not 8 *open*: manifest 9 *anon*: presently  
 10, 15, etc. *contend(ed)*: take(n) issue with 11 *of all*: in all 11, 37 *for*: i.e., for his 13 *feat*: deft; adroit  
 13 *proper taunt*: ad hominem attack 13–14 *of . . . of his*: probably because of his having written his  
 14 *Moria*: i.e., *In Praise of Folly* // *had he*: he would have 15 *save*: i.e., were it not  
 15 *salt*: sharpness of intellect. (An allusion to the “salt on tail” way of capturing birds.) 18 *shrewd*: wicked  
 21 *abhorreth*: abominates 23 *surely*: certainly 25 *while*: as long as 27 *for his*: as for Erasmus’s // *by*: as  
 28 *tongue*: language 29 *but*: i.e. but only 31 *proper*: distinctive // *therefor*: for it // *was*: i.e., there was  
 32 *a worse*: i.e., a less good one 33, 34 *appeareth*: is made evident 33 *writing*: i.e., writings  
 35 *himself*: he himself 38 *except that*: unless // *peradventure*: perhaps 177/39—178/1 *because that*: because

that instead of “congregation” in his Latin translation, he had not put in our English word “church.”

Moria

As touching *Moria*, in which Erasmus under the name and person of “Moria,”

- 5 which word in Greek signifieth folly, doth merrily touch and reprove such faults and follies as he found in any kind of people... perusing every state and condition, spiritual and temporal, leaving almost none untouched; by which book Tyndale saith that if it were in English, every man should then well see that I was  
10 then far otherwise minded than I now write: if this be true, then the more cause have I to thank God of amendment. But surely this is untrue. For, God be thanked, I never had that mind in my life to have holy saints’ images, or their holy relics, out of reverence. Nor if there *were* any such thing in *Moria*—that thing could not,  
15 yet, make any man see that I were myself of that mind... the book being made by another man, though he were my darling never so dear. Howbeit, that book of *Moria* doth indeed but jest upon the *abuses* of such things, after the manner of the disour’s part in a play; and yet not so far, neither, by a great deal, as the  
20 Messenger doth in my *Dialogue*—which I have yet suffered to stand still in my *Dialogue*, and that rather yet by the counsel of other men than of myself.

- For albeit that it be lawful to any man to mislike the misuse of every good thing—and that in my *Dialogue* there be not  
25 only those evil things rehearsed, but answered also and assoiled, and the goodness of the thing itself well used is plainly confirmed and proved—yet hath Tyndale by erroneous books, in setting forth Luther’s pestilent heresies, so envenomed the hearts of lewdly disposed persons... that men cannot almost now speak of such things in  
30 so much as a play, but that such evil hearers wax a great deal the worse.

- And therefore in these days, in which Tyndale hath (God amend him!) with the infection of his contagious heresies so sore poisoned malicious and newfangled folk... that the King’s Highness (and not without the counsel and advice, not of his nobles only, with his  
35 other counselors attending upon His Grace’s person, but also of the right virtuous and especially well learned men of either university,

1 *had*: i.e., did    3 *as touching*: as regards    5 *signifieth*: means // *merrily*: humorously  
5 *touch*: mention    6 *reprove*: criticize // *follies*: idiocies    7 *perusing*: examining one by one  
7 *state*: state of life // *condition*: societal position // *spiritual and temporal*: clerical and lay  
8 *none untouched*: none not discussed / no one unscathed // *by*: by means of    11 *of*: for (my)  
11 *surely*: assuredly    12 *mind*: thought / wish    13 *out of reverence*: i.e., no longer be venerated  
15 *that . . . myself*: i.e., me myself as having been    16 *being made*: i.e., having been written  
17 *never so*: no matter how // *howbeit*: however    17–18 *jest upon*: poke fun at    18 *disour’s*: jester’s  
19 *yet . . . far*: i.e., doesn’t even go as far in this    20 *which*: i.e., which fun-making // *yet*: as yet; thus far  
20 *suffered*: allowed    20–21 *stand still*: continue to be    21 *counsel*: judgment    23 *lawful*: morally permissible  
23 *mislike*: disapprove of // *misuse*: abuse    24 *every*: any    24–27: See *DH* 234/18—237/14.  
25, 30 *evil*: bad    25 *rehearsed*: mentioned / related // *answered*: addressed // *assoiled*: controverted; disaffirmed  
27 *erroneous*: intentionally inaccurate / heretical    28 *lewdly*: poorly; sorriely    29 *cannot almost*: can hardly  
30 *wax*: become    32 *sore*: badly    33 *newfangled*: novelty-loving  
33 *the King’s Highness*: i.e., His Majesty the King    36 *either university*: i.e., Oxford and Cambridge

and other parties of the realm specially called thereto) hath,  
 after diligent and long consideration had therein, been fain  
 for the while to prohibit the Scripture of God to be suffered, in  
 English tongue, among the people's hands... lest evil folk, by false  
 5 drawing of every good thing they read into the color and maintenance  
 of their own fond fantasies, and turning all honey into  
 poison, might both deadly do hurt unto themselves and spread also  
 that infection farther abroad—I say, therefore, in these days, in  
 which men by their own default misconstrue and take harm of  
 10 the very Scripture of God, until men better amend—if any man  
 would now translate *Moria* into English, or some works, either,  
 that I have myself written ere this, albeit there be no harm  
 therein... folk yet being (as they be) given to take harm of that  
 that is good... I would not only my darling's books, but mine own  
 15 also, help to burn them both with mine own hands, rather than  
 folk should (though through their own fault) take any harm of  
 them, seeing that I see them likely in these days so to do.

But now, after this, Tyndale handleth me full uncourteously; for he  
 taketh away all my thank and reward that I should have had of  
 20 the spirituality. For he showeth them that I wrote not my book for  
 any "affection" that I bear to them... no more than Judas betrayed  
 Christ for any favor that he bore to "the high priests, scribes, and  
 Pharisees"; but that I did the one as he did the other—for the lucre  
 that should come thereof... after which he saith that I so sore hunger  
 25 that the good man, as my friend, prayeth for me that I eat not too fast,  
 for choking.

Now, if the spirituality had been about to have gathered a disme  
 among them and give it me—Tyndale here had lost it me every  
 penny. But God forgive the man, and I do. For when he speaketh  
 30 of my "lucre," in good faith he maketh me laugh; and so, I ween, he  
 maketh many more too, that know well, God be thanked, that I have not  
 so much lucre thereby that I stand in so great peril of choking  
 with lucre as Tyndale standeth in danger of choking (God save  
 the man!) with the bones of buttered beer.

Now, where Tyndale saith I have faintly defended the things  
 35 whereof I write: the things be strong enough and little need me to  
 defend them; and also, my purpose was not so much to do that that  
 needed not (that is to wit, to defend them) as to prove, and make the  
 people perceive, that Tyndale went about to bring in heresies

1 *called*: summoned    2 *fain*: constrained    3 *the while*: the time being  
 3 *prohibit . . . to be suffered*: i.e., prohibit that . . . be subjected    4 *English tongue*: the English language  
 4 *among . . . hands*: i.e., to being in the people's hands / to being passed around among the people  
 5 *color and maintenance*: semblance and support    6 *fond*: imbecilic / sick  
 6 *fantasies*: products of wishful thinking    7 *deadly do hurt*: i.e., do life-threatening harm  
 9 *default*: culpability // *misconstrue*: wrongly interpret    12 *ere this*: i.e., before this one that I'm writing now  
 13–14 *that that*: that which    18 *handleth*: treats // *full*: very    19 *thank*: credit  
 19 *should have had of*: i.e., was going to be given by    20, 27 *spirituality*: clergy    20 *showeth*: tells  
 23, 30, etc. *lucre*: monetary gain    24 *after*: for // *sore*: badly    26 *for choking*: i.e., for fear of my choking  
 27 *about . . . disme*: i.e., intending to take up a collection. ("Disme" is pronounced "dime.")    28 *had*: would have  
 30 *in good faith*: in all sincerity // *ween*: think    34 *bones of buttered beer*: A reference to the little bones  
 sometimes found in soups—and never found in this drink made up of beer, butter, and cinnamon.    35 *faintly*: weakly  
 37–38 *that that needed not*: i.e., that which there was no need to do    39 *went about*: was attempting

among them. And that needeth now as little; for Tyndale hath proved it himself.

And so little defense sufficeth for any reason that Tyndale layeth against it. And finally, if I were faint therein, as Tyndale saith—

5 yet is a faint faith better than a strong heresy.

But Tyndale yet for all this, as a good, godly father of his abundant charity, saith that he “charitably” doth “exhort” me “in Christ” by the examples of Judas and Balaam to “take heed”; and further he counseleth me and my fellows, full holily, to “awake betimes, ere  
10 ever” our “sins be ripe, lest the voice of” our “wickedness ascend up and awake God out of his sleep, to look upon” us “and to bow his ears unto” our “accursed blasphemies against the open truth... and to send his harvestmen and mowers of vengeance to reap it,” except we “repent, and resist not the Spirit of God, which openeth  
15 light unto the world.”

These words, when I read them, seemed me so pithy and so perceant, set and couched in such a high spiritual fashion... that they made me much to marvel what Tyndale had spied in me, and caused me to search myself, to see whether I had used any  
20 such high blasphemies that the wickedness thereof were likely to ascend up into heaven and awake God Almighty out of his sleep. But when I had oversearched all my book and ransacked up the very bottom of my breast... though I found in the one some pretty peccadilloes (such as I will not now confess to Father Tyndale, because he saith  
25 confessors keep no counsel), yet could I find, in good faith, neither in my breast nor in my book, I thank God, any such high blasphemies as Tyndale so highly crieth out upon, except he call it a high blasphemy to call heresies heresies; which I take, as help me God, in my poor conscience, for no higher blasphemy  
30 than to call a goose a goose. Nor I find no truth that I either blaspheme or once speak against, except Tyndale mean by this “open truth” all the false open heresies that himself teacheth against Christ’s holy sacraments. Against which kind of false truth I no more fear to speak... than against the devil himself that first  
35 found it out. Nor I cannot find wherein I resist the Spirit of God in opening his light unto the world... except that Tyndale take for the Spirit of God the spirit of the devil of hell... and for

1 *that . . . little*: i.e., there’s as little need now for me to do that    3 *so little*: that little a  
3 *defense*: i.e., defense of what I said // *for . . . that*: regardless of what argument // *layeth*: presents  
4, 5 *faint*: weak    6 *of*: i.e., doing this out of    8 *Balaam*: See Numbers 25:1–9 and 31:16; Deuteronomy 23:3–6;  
and Revelation 2:14.    9 *fellows*: allies / cohorts // *full*: very // *betimes*: in good time // *ere*: before  
12, 31, 32 *open*: manifest; obvious    13 *mowers of vengeance*: i.e., vengeance-executing mowers  
14, 27, 31 *except (that)*: unless    17 *perceant*: piercing // *high*: from-on-high / grandiloquent / shrill  
18 *marvel*: wonder // *spied*: espied    19 *used*: uttered    20, 26, 28, 29 *high(er)*: (more) egregious  
20 *were*: was    22 *oversearched . . . book*: searched throughout my whole book (i.e., *DH*)  
23, 26 *breast*: i.e., heart    23 *pretty peccadilloes*: little venial sins / innocuous boo-boos  
25 *keep no counsel*: keep no confidence; i.e., do not keep secret what is confessed to them  
25 *in good faith*: in all honesty    27 *highly*: strongly / portentously / shrilly // *crieth out upon*: denounces  
27 *call*: i.e., calls    28 *as*: so    30 *I find no*: do I find any    31 *mean*: means  
32 *false*: counterfactual / vile // *himself*: he himself    35 *found it out*: came up with it  
35 *I cannot*: i.e., can I    36 *that*: i.e., if    37 *take*: takes

opening of light unto the world, he take the lightsome lantern  
 of good example... by which the world may see for a show of holy  
*Cate Calate, Luther's harlot* matrimony Friar Luther and Cate Calate,  
 his nun, lie lusing together in lechery.

5 Now, to resist this devilish spirit my poor spirit, for all  
 Tyndale's high, fearful charge, is so little afraid... that I call heartily  
 to the Spirit of God to quench the foul firebrand of that helly  
 light, and that so thoroughly that the world see never any such example  
 more!

10 And now, when that I had thus thoroughly searched well my breast  
 and my book, and saw my conscience clear, far out of any such  
 cause of jeopardy—then Tyndale's terrible exorcism made me not  
 much to tremble... since heretics have of old been wont always to use  
 such words; but my mind more gave me to laugh at his high,  
 15 solemn charge... whereby he would with his strange words enchant  
 and charm the reader, and make him ween he were walking  
 down to hell quick if he made so much as a mum  
 against Luther's lechery.

Now, whereas Judas and Balaam were not meet examples for me,  
 20 that bear myself neither for an apostle nor for a prophet, I might  
 here lay them both well for plain examples to him that beareth  
 himself for a right apostle that were sent to preach a new faith to  
 this realm, and a new evangelist, too, that maketh with his false  
 translation new scripture of his own; and very properly playeth  
 25 he the part of Balaam too, in that he laboreth to bring maledictions  
 upon Jerusalem, that is, the Catholic Church of Christ. And here  
 might I bring him other examples in, also very meet for the matter,  
 of men much like himself—heretics, I mean, of old time, and  
 some of later days, not long before Luther. And when I had rehearsed  
 30 up a Ragman's roll of a rabble of heretics, and shown a shrewd  
 sort that came to sorrow for their sin—then might I, lo, if I had  
 Tyndale's spirit, spit out Scripture apace and exhort Tyndale again  
 holily, to take heed and beware betimes lest like heresies and like malice  
 bring him to like mischief. But as for me, I can no such fashion;  
 35 and therefore letting all such high process pass—of ripe sins, and  
 ascending to heaven and waking God out of sleep... and set him on

1 *lightsome*: light-giving / bright-shining    3 *Calate*: (the) Strumpet    4 *lusing*: lounging; indulging themselves  
 6, 14 *high*: high-level / shrill    6 *fearful*: frightful    7 *helly*: hellish    9 *more*: again    10 *when that*: when  
 10 *breast*: i.e., heart    11 *out of*: removed from    12 *jeopardy*: i.e., my soul's being at risk  
 15 *solemn*: straight-faced / authoritative-sounding / portentous  
 15 *strange words*: extraordinary words / extreme statements // *enchant*: put under a spell    16 *charm*: beguile  
 16–17 *ween* . . . *quick*: i.e., think he'd be on a fast track to hell    17 *mum*: hmm; peep    19, 27 *meet*: fitting  
 20 *that*: who    20, 21 *bear(eth)*: take(s)    20, 27, 31 *might*: could    21 *lay*: adduce / present // *well*: rightly  
 21 *plain*: i.e., obviously fitting    22 *right*: veritable // *were*: was    23 *false*: deliberately inaccurate; unfaithful  
 24 *properly*: well    25 *laboreth*: endeavors    29–30 *rehearsed* . . . *roll*: ticked off a catalog  
 30 *rabble*: motley crew    30–31 *shrewd sort*: bad lot    31 *sorrow*: grief  
 32 *spit* . . . *apace*: i.e., spout scriptures in rapid-fire succession // *again*: correspondingly    33 *betimes*: in good time  
 33, 34 *like*: similar    34 *mischief*: misfortune / ruin // *can*: i.e., can write in    35 *high process*: high-flown rhetoric  
 36 *and set*: i.e., to set

husbandry and drive him to harvest with mowers of vengeance  
and reapers of ripe sins—leaving Tyndale in his vengeable parables,  
I can no more, I, but pray God amend him and make him a good  
man.

5                    *Against Tyndale's Using This Word "Senior,"  
                         and "Elder," and Not "Priest"*

Tyndale

10            Another thing which he rebuketh is that I interpret this  
Greek word *presbyteros* by this word "senior." Of a truth, "senior" is  
not very good English, though "senior" and "junior" be used in the  
universities; but there came no better in my mind at that time.  
Howbeit, I spied my fault since, long ere M. More told it me, and  
have amended it in all the works which I since made, and call it an  
"elder."

15                    More

Tyndale in this chapter at great length declareth for his excuse  
four fair virtues in himself: malice, ignorance, error, and  
folly. For in his long babbling he hath never a clause but it falleth  
in one of these four, and some one in all four, as ye shall see further  
20 in his words following.

Here in the beginning, lest he should seem to have learned the  
knowledge of his ignorance by my monition, he saith that he perceived  
his fault himself before, and amended it, too. For whereas,  
for lack of finding a better English word, he saith that he had  
25 translated this word *presbyteros* into this word "seniors" in English—  
he hath now amended it and made it "elders."

Here hath he done a great act, now that he hath at last found  
out "elder." He hath of likelihood ridden many miles to find out that.  
For that word "elder" is, ye wot well, so strange and so little known  
30 that it is more than marvel how that ever he could find it out.  
And one thing I promise you: if it were not worse than "senior"... he  
had not found it yet. For this is a like amending as if he would  
where a man were blind of the one eye... amend his sight by  
putting out the other.

35            This word *presbyter* in the Greek, as it signifieth the thing that men  
call a "priest" in English... was called sometimes *senior* in Latin. But

1 *husbandry*: farmwork // *mowers of vengeance*: vengeance-executing mowers  
2 *vengeable*: vengeance-focused    3 *can no*: i.e., can do nothing    5 *against*: about  
8 *rebuketh*: criticizes    9 *of a truth*: truth be told    12 *howbeit*: however // *spied*: espied; caught  
12, 23 *fault*: mistake    12 *ere*: before // *M.*: Abbreviation for Master; i.e., Mr.  
13, 23, 26 *amended*: corrected; fixed    13 *made*: wrote    16 *declareth*: claims  
17 *fair*: unimpeachable; unassailable // *error*: hereticalness    18 *folly*: foolishness  
19 *in . . . four*: i.e., into one of these four categories    22 *of his ignorance*: i.e., he had been ignorant of  
22 *my monition*: i.e., my having called it to his attention    26 *amended it*: i.e., amended that  
27–28 *found out*: come upon    28 *of likelihood*: probably    29 *wot*: know // *strange*: unfamiliar  
30 *more . . . that*: i.e., exceedingly surprising that    32 *had not*: would not have    33 *of*: in

this thing that Englishmen call a “priest”—and that the Greek Church called *presbyter*, and the Latin Church also, and sometimes *senior*—was never called “elder,” neither in the Greek Church nor the Latin, nor the English neither. Now, this being thus... judge, good  
 5 readers, yourselves, whether of two bad, it was not better when he called a priest a “senior,” by which word it was called sometimes, at the leastwise in some language... than when he calleth a priest an “elder,” by which word it was never called nor known, neither in one language nor other. And so ye may see how wisely, by long  
 10 leisure and warning, too, Tyndale hath amended his matter.

#### Tyndale

And in that he maketh heresy of it to call *presbyteros* an “elder,” he condemneth their own old Latin text of heresy also, which  
 15 they use yet daily in the church and have used, I suppose, this fourteen hundred years. For that text doth call it an “elder” likewise.

#### More

See the sincerity and plainness of the good man. It is no mastery for him to make proper solutions if himself may make the objections... such as no man objecteth nor would object  
 20 against him but himself. For here he saith that I make it heresy to call *presbyteros* an “elder”—which thing I never said nor thought. But I said and say, and truth I say, that Tyndale did in his English translation change the word of “priest” into “senior” of a heretical mind and intent to set forth his heresy... whereby he  
 25 teacheth that priesthood is no sacrament.

For as for this word “elder,” how could I *then* charge him with it as a heresy, when he had not *then* translated “elder,” but “senior”... till now that he hath by longer leisure amended it and made it worse! So that ye may first here see a piece of his plain poetry  
 30 doubly proved and doubly reprovéd... by which he layeth unto me the thing that I never said nor had at that time either cause to say or occasion to think upon.

Nor now I say not that it is heresy if he have, as he saith, translated since that time *presbyteros* by this word “elder”; but I say he  
 35 doth it with the mind of a heretic to set forth his heresy. For else I would not call it heresy if one would translate *presbyteros* a

5 *bad*: i.e., bad translatings    9, 18, 29 *may*: can    9 *wisely*: astutely  
 9–10, 28 *by long(er) leisure*: after a long(er) period of deliberation  
 10 *warning*: i.e., after having it called to his attention // *matter*: i.e., wording  
 12 *maketh . . . it*: makes it out to be a heresy    13 *of heresy*: i.e., as heretical    14 *use yet*: still use  
 14 *this*: i.e., this last    17 *plainness*: guilelessness // *mastery*: great achievement    18 *proper*: splendid  
 18 *solutions*: answers; rebuttals // *himself*: he himself    20 *make it*: i.e., make it out to be a  
 22 *truth I say*: what I am saying is true    24, 35 *mind*: desire // *set forth*: promote; advance  
 29 *poetry*: fiction    30 *proved*: i.e., proved to be such // *reprovéd*: proved false; debunked  
 30–31 *layeth . . . thing*: i.e., attributes to me something    32 *upon*: of    33 *have*: has  
 36 *if one would*: if someone were to // *a*: i.e., as a

“block”—but I would say he were a blockhead. And as very a blockhead were he that would translate *presbyteros* an “elder” instead of a “priest,” for that this English word “elder” signifieth no more a priest than this Greek word *presbyteros* signifieth an elder stick.

And yet—this thing being so properly spoken as ye see—he saith that the old translation in Latin, read in the church this fourteen hundred years, “calleth” *presbyteros* an “elder” in like wise. Which word of Tyndale I would call a lie... saving that it is more than a lie by a syllable.

#### Tyndale

In the fifth chapter of the first of Peter, thus standeth it in the Latin text: “Seniores qui in vobis sunt, obsecro ego consenior, pascite qui in vobis est gregem Christi” (“The elders that are among you, I beseech which am an elder also, that ye feed the flock of Christ which is among you”). There is *presbyteros* called an elder.

#### More

Heard ye, reader, ever such another? Is *presbyteros* here called an elder in the old Latin translation? I find there this word *seniores* where the Greek Church used in their language *presbyteros*. But as for this word “elder,” which Tyndale saith is the old Latin translation—he were like to pore out his eyes upon the Latin Book ere he find that English word “elder” there, but if he cause it to be written in himself.

And yet he layeth like texts three or four (some in the epistles of Saint John, and some in the Acts), where he findeth instead of *presbyteros* this word *seniores*, and *natu maiores*; and always he setteth thereto, “Lo, here is *presbyteros* called an elder, and an elder in birth,” as though this Latin word *seniores*, or *natu maiores*, were this English word “elder”... whereas he saith that *presbyteros* is called “elder” in the old translation... which, as ye see, must needs be false, but if this English word be in that Latin Book, and that he make English Latin and Latin English.

But now—lest he call the redargution of his folly “sophistication”—let us divine for him what he might mean. He will haply say that he meaneth that this Greek word *presbyteros* is, in the text that he hath alleged, called by the old translator *seniores*, and *seniores* signifieth “elder” or “elders.” And so, though this word “elder” be not in the Latin

1 *were a*: was a // *very*: truly      1–2 *were he that*: i.e., would be anyone who      2 *an*: i.e., as an  
 2–3 *for that*: since      4 *elder stick*: elder-tree twig  
 7 *calleth . . . wise*: likewise “calls” *presbyteros* an “elder”      7–8 *word of Tyndale*: statement of Tyndale’s  
 8 *saving*: except      8–9 *more . . . syllable*: i.e., also an idiocy [“fol-ly”]. (More spells “folly” usually as “foly,” but occasionally as “folye” [as at 137/3]; and “lie” usually as “lye,” but occasionally as “ly” [as at 306/36].  
 At 567/13–14 he makes this same play on those words.)      11 *the first of Peter*: i.e., 1 Peter  
 14 *which*: who      17 *such another*: i.e., such a thing as this  
 18 *the old Latin translation*: i.e., the one in use before the Vulgate      20 *he were like*: he’d be likely  
 21 *pore . . . upon*: i.e., pore his eyes out on; ruin his eyesight searching through      21, 30 *Book*: Bible  
 21 *ere*: before // *find*: finds      22, 29 *but if*: unless      23 *layeth*: adduces  
 24 *where*: i.e., where in that older Latin text      25 *setteth thereto*: i.e., adds there      28 *whereas*: i.e., while  
 29 *must needs*: i.e., of course has to      32 *redargution*: refutation // *folly*: idiotic assertion / ridiculous blunder  
 32 *sophistication*: engaging in sophistry; nitpicking      33 *divine*: figure out // *him*: i.e., his sake  
 33 *might*: could // *haply*: maybe      35 *alleged*: cited // *signifieth*: means



translation, yet since that Latin word is there that signifieth in Latin the same thing that this word “elder” signifieth in English, we cannot blame him for translating *presbyteros* into this word “elder”... but if we blame in like wise the translator for translating

5 *presbyteros* into this word *seniores*.  
 First, if I said that the old translation were in that point not so well as it might have been... I should not say so alone. And Erasmus (whom Tyndale calleth my darling, and whom himself doth, for all that, in his own translation prefer before the old) doth, as well in  
 10 the said epistle of Saint Peter as in the said twentieth chapter of the Apostles’ Acts, not only keep still the Greek word *presbyteros*, but showeth also that the old translator translated it not well (because he translated there this word *presbyteros* into this word *seniores*, and in the other place into *maiores natu*); but saith that he should rather have  
 15 kept still the word *presbyteros* unchanged, because that word is it that signifieth authority with the Greeks... whereas *seniores* in Latin  
     *Acts 20:17; Tm 4:12*      signifieth but their age, and all were not  
     *1 Pt 5:1*                  old, as appeared by Timothy. And for that cause, in the said place of Saint Peter’s epistle... Saint Jerome  
 20 amendeth that old translation and keepeth *presbyteros* still, reciting Saint Peter in this wise: “Presbyteros qui sunt in vobis, obsecro ego compresbyter. . . .” Wherein Saint Jerome was rather content to join the Latin conjunction with the Greek word, and call it *compresbyter*, than to change that word signifying the office into *seniores* and *consenior*,  
 25 signifying but the age. For among the Latins, *senior* signified none other; but among the Greeks, *presbyteri* was the name that many times signified rulers and governors.

Now, if we list, we may yet excuse the old translator... which how soon after Christ’s death he translated it, who can tell? And *then*—  
 30 when the Latin Church had no Latin word for the Christian priests, already received and used—what blame was he worthy that took that word, not continually but among, which of all the Latin words seemed to him to go next the signification of *presbyteros* at that time? And that was, as him thought, *seniores*; in which word yet the  
 35 Church never followed him, though; but though they read his translation openly, in divine service, yet neither in their writing nor

1, 2 *signifieth*: means      4 *but . . . wise*: unless we likewise blame      6 *were*: was // *point*: respect  
 7 *so well*: as good // *should . . . alone*: would not be the only one saying this  
 8 *whom himself*: i.e., whose Latin edition of the New Testament he himself  
 9 *prefer before the old*: i.e., give preference to over that old one      10, 19 *said*: i.e., above-referenced  
 11–12 *showeth also*: i.e., also state      18 *appeared*: was evidenced      19 *cause*: reason // *place*: passage  
 20 *reciting*: i.e., writing the words of      21 *in this wise*: thusly      25 *Latins*: i.e., Latin-speakers  
 26 *none other*: nothing else      28 *list*: want to // *which*: who      31 *received*: accepted  
 31 *worthy*: deserving of // *that took*: i.e., who took      32 *among*: occasionally; here and there  
 33 *go next*: come closest to      34 *as him thought*: in his thinking / as it seemed to him // *in*: regarding  
 34 *which*: i.e., the using of which      35 *followed him*: followed his lead / accompanied him  
 36 *openly*: in public // *divine service*: liturgical services

preaching would they take up that word and call a priest “senior”—  
as appeareth by the books and sermons of all holy doctors since.

And therefore Tyndale is without excuse, which hath translated  
*presbyteros* by this English word “elders”—a word unknown among  
Englishmen to signify priests... and among whom this word  
“priest” was the proper English word well known, and had served in  
that signification, so many hundred years before Tyndale was born.

Also, go me to the place which Tyndale allegeth in the First  
Epistle of Saint Peter: “Seniores qui sunt in vobis, obsecro ego consenior, pascite  
qui in vobis est gregem Christi.” Which place I take for example. For  
whereas he layeth two places of the epistles of Saint John, and one in  
the twentieth of the Acts... all be for one purpose, and this one place  
answered, answereth them all. I say, therefore, that Tyndale hath even  
here, in this his new book, translated that same place wrong, and all  
the remnant in like wise. And that will I prove partly by  
Tyndale’s own words which in this book follow the translation of  
those words.

... “The elders that are among you, I beseech which am an elder also,  
that ye feed the flock of Christ which is among you.” There is  
*presbyteros* called an elder. And in that he saith “feed” Christ’s “flock,”  
he meaneth even the ministers that were chosen to teach the people  
and to inform them in God’s word, and no laypersons.

#### More

Lo, Tyndale here showed himself that by this word *seniores* be  
there understood the ministers that were chosen to *teach* people.  
Then say I that if this word *seniores* was taken in that signification  
*there*... Tyndale should not translate it into this English  
word “elder,” which signifieth not the office, but the age, *here*. And  
this is, I say, true... all were it so that Tyndale’s false heresy were true,  
that Holy Orders were no sacrament at all... but a bare office. For if  
it were but in a profane, common story, in which men may boldly  
be in the translation at much more liberty than in Holy Scripture—  
yet were he a naughty translator that would translate a thing into  
such a word as in the tongue into which he translateth, is not  
understood in that signification.

2 *appeareth*: is evidenced // *holy doctors*: Church theologians 3, 18 *which*: who  
8 *go me to the*: i.e., let’s look at that 8, 14 *place*: text 8 *allegeth in*: brings forth from  
10, 12 *place*: i.e., adducement 10 *take for*: take by way of 11 *layeth*: (also) cites  
11 *places of*: passages from 12 *twentieth*: i.e., twentieth chapter // *for one*: (cited) for the same  
13 *even*: right 14 *this his new book*: this new book of his 15 *remnant*: rest // *wise*: manner  
16 *follow the*: i.e., come right after his 20 *in that he saith*: i.e., from his saying  
21 *he meaneth even*: i.e., it is clear that he is indeed speaking of 22 *inform*: instruct  
24 *showed*: stated 24–25 *be there*: i.e., are to there be 28 *office*: function / job description  
29 *all were it so*: even were it the case // *false*: false / despicable  
30 *were*: i.e., is // *bare office*: i.e., mere filling of a job position 31 *profane*: secular; nonreligious  
31 *common*: ordinary // *story*: narrative 33 *were he*: would he be // *naughty*: bad  
34 *tongue*: language 35 *in that signification*: i.e., to have that meaning

As if, perchance, a man would translate a Latin chronicle into English, in which were mention made of something done in London—if he found in that chronicle the aldermen called by the name of *senatores*, or peradventure *seniores*, he should yet in his English translation call them not “senators,” nor “elders,” neither, since neither of those two words is in English the name by which the aldermen of London be known; but he must therefore translate *senatores*, and *seniores* also, into “aldermen” in his English translation. And further, if he there found this word *senatus Londinensis*, he should not translate it into this word “senate,” but either into “mayor and aldermen” or perchance (if the circumstance of the matter so lead him to it) into “mayor, aldermen, and common council.”

And therefore, as ye plainly see... Tyndale’s defense of his translating *presbyteros* into “elders” is as feeble to stick to as is an old, rotten, elder stick, and though it were but in a profane story.

Now, where it is in the holy story of Christ’s Gospel, what manner a thing is it to translate “elder” instead of “priest”—which word “elder” in English was never so taken nor understood—and thus to do without necessity, having this word “priest” so commonly known and so long?

Why doth he not by the same reason change “bishop” into “overseer,” and “deacon” into “server”? Both which he might as well do as “priest” into “elder.” And then must he with his translation make us an English *vocabulary* of his own device, too. And so, with such provision, he may change “chin” into “cheek,” and “belly” into “back,” and every word into other at his own pleasure, if all England list now to go to school with Tyndale to learn English, and else not.

Now, if he would say that with such changes he could change the names into the better, and show us what the names signify—first, if he said therein true, he may tell us those significations in a tale beside; but he must in English let *English* words stand in his English translation, for all that. And yet were out of his mouth a right good tale evil worth the hearing; for with a little honey he mingleth so much poison that, rather than to swallow the one down with the other, a man were yet much better to forbear them both. Yet setteth me Tyndale one mighty strong bulwark to fence in all his field, out of which he shooteth a

1, 11 *perchance*: perchance    1, 28 *would*: were to    2 *done*: i.e., that took place    4 *peradventure*: perhaps  
 8 *further*: furthermore    9 *word*: expression    10 *it*: i.e., *senatus*    11 *circumstance*: context  
 11 *matter*: thing    12 *common*: i.e., city    14 *as feeble to stick to*: i.e., as feeble a thing to cling to  
 15 *elder stick*: elder-tree twig // *and though*: even if // *profane*: secular    15, 16 *story*: narrative  
 16–17 *manner a*: kind of    18 *taken*: used    21 *reason*: line of reasoning    22 *both*: i.e., both of  
 22 *might*: could // *well*: rightly; justifiably    24 *device*: devising    26 *other*: i.e., another // *list*: chooses  
 27 *with*: i.e., under the tutelage of    29 *the better*: i.e., better ones // *show*: i.e., could tell // *the*: i.e., those  
 30 *said . . . true*: i.e., told therein the truth // *may*: i.e., could  
 31 *in a tale beside*: i.e., in some accompanying commentary (such as a marginal gloss or a footnote)  
 32–33 *were . . . tale*: i.e., would . . . commentary be    33 *evil*: i.e., not much  
 35–36 *were yet much better*: would do much better yet    37 *fence in*: i.e., defend against attack  
 37 *all his field*: his whole battlefield

sore shot of serpentines... when he asketh me why the apostles used not  
 “this Greek word *hiereus*, or the interpreter this Latin word *sacerdos*, but  
 always these words *presbyteros* and *senior*... by which was at that time  
 nothing signified other than an elder.”

5        This shot shall I not now much need to fear. For likewise as  
 from the shot of a gun a man were meetly safe that had, ere the  
 gun were loosed, made a step aside fifteen hundred miles from it:  
 so, since I am stepped now fifteen hundred years from the apostles’  
 days, and almost as many from the interpreters’ time of whose  
 10       intents and purposes Tyndale asketh me now the why... I may say  
 that I never talked so much with them by mouth as to ask them the  
 why... and therefore, since they have not written me the why, I am not  
 bound to tell Tyndale the why.

      But I ask of Tyndale no such far-fetched whys, but a why of his  
 15       own deed. And that since we now have, and hundreds of years have  
 had, English names enough for such orders of offices as he translated  
 out of Latin—I ask him this why: why did he translate the  
 same by this English word “elder,” which nothing signifieth  
 the same? And since that in the texts that himself allegeth, neither  
 20       the Greek word *presbyteri* nor the Latin word *seniores* signifieth in  
 those places, by Tyndale’s own confession, the age, but the office: why  
 giveth he, then, that English word “elder” in their stead, which  
 signifieth not the office but the age? For though Tyndale say that  
*presbyteros* and *seniores* was at that time nothing understood but an  
 25       elder (wherein as touching *presbyteros* peradventure it will be proved  
 untrue), yet since himself saith not nay, but by his own words  
 affirmeth (and in that point it happeth him to say true indeed),  
 that both *presbyteros* and *seniores* be in those places set to signify the  
 office and not the age (for else had young Timothy, upon the  
 30       calling together of *presbyteros* or *seniores*, been left uncalled and had  
 leave to bide at home), whatsoever moved in the first giving of  
 the name the apostles or the interpreter to call the office by the name  
 of *presbyteros* in Greek or *seniores* in Latin... it was Tyndale’s part yet in  
 his English translation to give it that English name by which  
 35       the office (were it holy or profane) was and long had been commonly  
 known in England.

      And further, if no special name would have contented him—yet  
 should he then have called *presbyteros* the “rulers,” “governors,” or  
 “officers,” or some such other English word which signifieth

1 *sore shot of serpentines*: powerful discharge of cannons      2 *interpreter*: translator [of it into Latin]  
 6 *were*: would be // *meetly*: fairly // *that*: who // *ere*: before      7 *were loosed*: was fired  
 9, 32 *interpreter(s)*: translator(s)      13 *bound*: obliged      14–15 *his own deed*: something he himself did  
 16 *orders of offices*: functional ranks / functional positions      18 *nothing*: not at all      19 *since that*: given that  
 19 *himself*: he himself // *allegeth*: adduces      21 *confession*: admission; acknowledgement  
 21, 23, etc. *office*: function / position      23–24 *say . . . and*: i.e., says that by either *presbyteros* or  
 25 *as touching*: as regards // *peradventure*: perhaps      26 *himself saith not nay*: he does not deny  
 27 *it . . . indeed*: i.e., he happens to actually tell the truth      29–30 *had . . . been*: would . . . have been  
 30–31 *had . . . home*: i.e., have had permission to stay home  
 33 *was Tyndale’s part yet*: yet was Tyndale’s duty / yet was incumbent on Tyndale      35 *profane*: secular

office, rather than to call it “elders,” by which name there is in the English tongue none office understood at all, but only the bare age.

5 And thus, as touching change of *presbyteros* into “seniors,” and his amendment into “elders,” that is to wit, from evil to worse: ye see how well he hath acquitted him.

Howbeit, if he had had in the change none other fault but folly... it should have been long ere I would have gone about to find it. But now standeth all the matter in this which he slippeth over: that  
10 he did it of very cankered malice, by which he setteth forth against Christ and his church his deadly, malicious heresy... wherewith he would make men ween that Holy Orders were no sacrament. And for *that* cause he asketh why that the apostles did not call the priests *hiereus* in Greek, but *presbyteros*, which signified, he  
15 saith, nothing but only elders. And by this reason would Tyndale have it seem that the apostles did take the Christian priests for no more consecrated persons than other Christian men—because they used a word that had no holy signification.

But Tyndale here, though he wink fast... is not yet so fast asleep  
20 as he maketh for. For if he listed to lift up his head and look up a little, he should soon see that his argument were assoiled with the other word which he hath also mistranslated of like malice: *ecclesia*.

For if he will needs argue that priests be no persons consecrated,  
25 nor their order no sacrament, because the apostles called them *presbyteri*... which name had at that time no holy signification in the Greek tongue, where they took it: then seeth Tyndale well enough (saving that he winketh and *will* not see it) that it must needs follow that Baptism were no sacrament neither, because the  
30 apostles and evangelists called it *baptisma*, and in Holy Scripture also named the holy company of *baptized* people by this Greek word *ecclesia*... of which two words, *baptisma* and *ecclesia*, neither nother had in the Greek tongue before, any holy signification at all, nor signified there any other thing than the one a washing, the other  
35 a congregation or assembly, of heathen, paynim people. And thus is in this point Tyndale’s plain folly and dissembled falsehood well and plainly convicted.

1, 2 *office*: function / position      2, 27, 33 *tongue*: language      2, 7 *none*: no      2 *bare*: mere  
4 *as touching*: as regards (the)      5 *into*: i.e., of that into // *evil*: bad      6 *him*: himself  
7 *howbeit*: however // *the change*: i.e., the making of that change      7, 36 *folly*: idiocy  
8 *it . . . ere*: i.e., a long time would it have been before  
9 *standeth . . . this*: i.e., the whole problem consists in this thing // *slippeth over*: glides past  
10 *cankered*: corrupt / malignant      11 *deadly*: lethal      12 *ween*: believe // *were no*: is not a  
13 *why*: i.e., why it is      15 *reason*: consideration      19 *wink fast*: has his eyes shut tight  
20 *maketh for*: i.e., pretends to be // *listed*: cared      21 *were assoiled with*: was refuted by means of  
24 *will needs argue*: insists on arguing      25 *order*: ordination      27 *took it*: i.e., got it from  
28 *saving*: except // *winketh*: shuts his eyes // *will not*: refuses to      29 *were*: i.e., is  
31 *company*: community      32 *neither nother*: neither the one nor the other      35 *paynim*: pagan  
36 *plain*: patent // *falsehood*: dishonesty // *well and*: good and; quite      37 *convicted*: exposed / proved

And, now, since that the apostles and evangelists did apply and  
 appropier that profane word *ecclesia* to signify the whole company  
 of Christian people sacred and sanctified in the holy Sacrament of  
 Baptism, and in like wise the profane word *presbyteros* to  
 5 signify a certain sort of the same company specially consecrated  
 unto God by the holy Sacrament of Order: he that now translateth  
 those words in those places into the English tongue by any other  
 words than such as in the English tongue do signify those holy,  
 consecrated companies, the one segregated from paynims by the Sacrament  
 10 of Baptism, the other segregated from the laypeople by the  
 Sacrament of Order—as Tyndale hath done both in the holy name  
 of “church” and “priests,” calling the one but “congregation,” the  
 other first but “senior,” and now, that worse is, but “elder”—if he know it  
 for no fault, then is it great ignorance; if he forget to mark it,  
 15 then is it great negligence; if he perceive it and dissemble it, then  
 is it great falsehood; if he do it, as Tyndale doth, to make priesthood  
 seem no holy sacrament, then is it a very malicious, pestilent  
 heresy... like as if he would in like manner and of like intent translate  
*baptisma* into “washing,” to make men ween it were no nother  
 20 manner washing when the priest christeneth a child than when a  
 woman washeth a buck of clothes.

He planteth in a great process to small purpose... because I said  
 that Timothy was not old. And then Tyndale saith that Saint Paul  
 chose him because he found in him more wisdom, sadness, and  
 25 virtue than in the aged men of that place. And Tyndale doth well  
 to tell us so; for else would all the world have went that Saint Paul  
 had made a young man bishop because he would have had him  
 wild.

But then goeth he forth and showeth us a solemn process, that God-and-necessity  
 30 is “lawless”; and all this he bringeth in to prove that  
 not only young men but women also may for necessity administer all  
 the sacraments... and that as they may christen for necessity, so  
 they may for necessity preach, and for necessity consecrate also the  
 Blessed Body of Christ. And for to make this matter likely, he is  
 35 fain to imagine an unlikely case: that “a woman were driven [alone]  
 into an island where Christ was never preached.” As though things

1 *since that*: since; given that    2 *appropier*: appropriate / assign    2, 4 *profane*: secular  
 2, 5 *company*: community / multitude    3 *sacred* [participial form of the verb “sacre”]: consecrated  
 4 *wise*: manner    5 *sort*: i.e., subset    6, 11 *Order*: i.e., Holy Orders    7 *places*: (scriptural) passages  
 7, 8 *tongue*: language    9 *companies*: societies / groups    9, 10 *segregated*: set apart    9 *paynims*: pagans  
 11 *in*: i.e., with // *name*: i.e., names    13–14 *know . . . fault*: i.e., does not know it’s wrong to do that  
 14 *forget to mark it*: i.e., fails to notice that he’s doing that    15 *negligence*: carelessness  
 15 *perceive . . . it*: i.e., is aware of all this and pretends not to be    16 *falsehood*: dishonesty  
 16 *do*: does    17 *pestilent*: pernicious    19 *ween*: think; believe // *were*: was  
 19–20 *nother manner*: other kind of    20, 32 *christen(eth)*: baptize(s)    21 *buck*: load  
 22 *planteth in*: i.e., implants into his argument // *great process*: big discussion  
 24 *sadness*: gravitas / steadfastness    26 *so*: this // *all*: i.e., everyone in // *went*: thought  
 27 *him*: i.e., this bishop be    29 *goeth . . . that*: i.e., he proceeds to tell us, with a straight face, the story that  
 31, 32, 33 *for*: in cases of    34 *for*: in order // *matter likely*: i.e., claim seem plausible    35 *fain*: constrained  
 35 *imagine*: hypothesize // *case*: situation // *were driven*: was cast    36 *into*: onto  
 36 *was never*: i.e., had never been

that we call “chance” and “hap” happed to come so to pass without  
any providence of God! Tyndale may make himself sure that since

*Mt 10:29* there falleth not a *sparrow* upon the ground  
without our Father that is in heaven, there

5 shall no *woman* fall aland in any so far an island, where he will  
have his name preached and his sacraments administered, but that  
God can and will well enough provide a man or twain to come to  
land with her; whereof we have had already meetly good experience,  
and that within few years.

10 For I am sure there have been more islands, and more part of the  
firm land and continent, discovered and found out within this  
forty years last past than was new-found, as far as any man  
may perceive, this three thousand years before; and in many of these  
places the name of Christ now new-known, too, and preachings had,  
15 and sacraments administered, without any woman fallen aland  
alone. But God hath provided that his name is preached by such good  
Christian folk as Tyndale now most railleth upon—that is, good religious  
friars, and especially the Friars Observant, honest, godly,  
chaste, virtuous people—not by such as Friar Luther is, that is run  
20 out of religion, nor by casting aland alone any such holy nun  
as his harlot is.

When Tyndale hath proved by this unprobable case that women  
may consecrate the Body of Christ—then he lamenteth the miserable  
servitude of the simple souls, the poor, seely women, because  
25 men will not suffer them to say Mass, and crieth out upon us, “O  
poor women! How despise ye them! The viler the better welcome to you!  
Better is to you a whore than a good woman!”

O the tender heart of piteous Tyndale! He beginneth now, by  
likelihood, to look toward wedding; he speaketh like a wooer. But he  
30 will, I warrant you, no vile person; but because he is a priest and  
hath promised perpetually to live chaste... he will no whore, therefore,  
but rather will do as Luther hath done: wed a nun and  
make her a whore.

Then exhorteth he full holily, and, in manner, conjureth also, the  
35 reader, in our Lord God, that he shall read over the two epistles  
of Saint Paul written to Timothy, whereof himself also rehearseth

1 *hap*: happenstance / accident // *happed*: happened    2 *may . . . sure*: can rest assured  
4 *without*: i.e., unbeknownst to / with no involvement of    5 *fall aland in*: come ashore on; land on  
5 *far*: far away; remote // *will*: wants to    7–8 *a . . . land*: i.e., that a man or two come ashore    8 *meetly*: fairly  
9 *few years*: i.e., the last few years    10 *more part of the*: i.e., a greater part of what constitutes  
11 *found out*: i.e., for the first time found; first arrived on    12, 14 *new-found/known*: newly found/known  
13 *may*: can    15 *fallen aland*: i.e., having come ashore    17 *raileth upon*: rails about / bad-mouths  
18 *honest*: honorable / respectable    19–20 *that . . . religion*: who has absconded from religious life  
22 *unprobable*: improbable // *case*: scenario; hypothetical situation    23 *may*: can (and rightly)  
24 *the simple*: i.e., those low-ranking // *seely*: pitiful    25 *suffer*: allow  
25 *upon*: in complaint against / in denunciation of    26 *how despise ye*: what contempt you show for /  
how you denigrate    26, 30 *vile(r)*: (more) low-class    26 *better*: more    28 *beginneth*: i.e., is beginning  
28 *by*: i.e., in all    29 *look toward*: be contemplating    30, 31 *will*: will have    30 *warrant*: guarantee  
31 *chaste*: celibate / sexually abstinent    32 *as*: i.e., what    34 *full*: very // *in manner*: as it were  
34 *conjureth*: charges; mandates    35 *over*: from beginning to end    36 *himself*: he // *rehearseth*: quotes

part—which whosoever read, shall see therein both the false malice of the man and yet the working of God therewith. For God hath caused Tyndale to put in such things as directly reprove his own conditions; and the devil hath made him falsely to leave out those words which if he had set in... must needs have openly declared that all is heresy that ever he goeth about.

For Saint Paul there teacheth Timothy to beware, and avoid the company, of “men of corrupt minds” which waste their brains about wrangling questions. And Tyndale is in company of none other... but such as Luther is, and Friar Huessgen, and their fellows, that had wasted out their wits so long about wrangling heresies that now they are fallen at last to run out of religion and waste out their brains about wrangling wives.

*1 Tm 6:3–11, 20; 5:1* Saint Paul also teacheth Timothy

that he should not sharply rebuke any man that were elder than himself, but exhort him as his father, though himself was bishop and, as Tyndale saith, an apostle too. Now, Tyndale—being neither nother, nor having any office so much as among heretics—letteth neither sharply to rebuke his elders in age nor also to jest and rail upon all states, spiritual and temporal, throughout all Christendom, and namely against all religious men... but if they will run out and wed. And thus ye may see with what fruit Tyndale readeth Saint Paul.

Now would I that Tyndale had put in this place these words that he leaveth out: “Noli negligere gratiam quae in te est, quae data est tibi per prophetiam, cum impositione manuum presbyteri” (“Neglect not the grace that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the putting-upon the

hands of a priest”). And afterward, in the second epistle: “Admoneo te ut resuscites gratiam Dei quae est in te per impositionem manuum mearum” (“I warn thee that thou stir up the grace of God that is in thee by the putting of mine hands upon thee”).

These words of Saint Paul to Timothy in those epistles which Tyndale exhorteth every man to read, and whereof himself rehearseth

*1 false: underhanded    3 reprove: prove wrong / condemn    4 conditions: dispositions*

*4 falsely to: i.e., with deceitful intent    5 must needs: would unavoidably*

*5–6 openly declared: clearly communicated    6 all: everything // goeth about: pushes for    8 which: who*

*8–9, 13 waste (out) their brains: i.e., wear out their brains / waste their brain cells    9, 11, 13 about: on*

*9 wrangling questions: i.e., quibbling questions raised just out of contentiousness*

*11 fellows: counterparts / cohorts // wasted . . . wits: i.e., wasted their intellectual powers // wrangling: clashing*

*12 are fallen: have come // run out of religion: abscond from religious life    13 wrangling: quarrelsome*

*16 were elder: was older // as: i.e., as if the man was    17 himself was: i.e., Timothy was a*

*18 neither nother: neither the one nor the other // office: official position    19 letteth neither: does not forbear either*

*20 jest . . . upon: i.e., jeer at and rant about // states: dignitaries // spiritual: clerical    21 temporal: lay*

*21 namely: especially    22 religious men: male religious; monks and friars // but if: unless*

*22 run out: run away / skip out    23 may: can // with what fruit: to what profit*

*24 now . . . that: i.e., I wish, now, that    28 putting-upon: laying on of    31–32 warn . . . thou: remind thee to*

*32 by: i.e., on account of    192/35—193/1 himself rehearseth also: he also quotes*



also part, do manifestly reprove Tyndale's heresy, and clearly prove the holy order of priesthood a sacrament.

For these places show both the sensible sign of laying the Apostle's hands upon Timothy in the making of him priest... and also that God gave his grace therewith. And the first text sheweth also, after the Greek (in which it is "with the putting-upon the hands" not "of a priest," as the Latin is, but "of priesthood"), the power and authority that Timothy had in giving the same grace forth unto others whom he should after make priests.

And these texts do so plainly reprove him... that he is fain to make a shameful shameless shift to void them, such as all the world may wonder at. For he saith in his book of *Obedience* that the putting on of Saint Paul's hands upon Timothy was no sacramental sign... nor any other thing but a custom of putting a man's hand upon another... as men do here upon a boy's head when they call him "Good son," or as Saint Paul used to stretch out his arm to the people when he preached.

What availeth it to lay manifest Holy Scripture to Tyndale, that forceth so little so manifestly to mock it? Tyndale crieth out that every man misconstrueth the Scripture—and then himself, ye see what construction he maketh! Saint Paul saith plainly that Timothy received grace by the putting of his hands upon him. And Tyndale letteth not to tell him as plainly *nay*... and that he did but stroke Timothy's head and call him "Good son"—by likelihood because he was but young. But howsoever Tyndale list to trifle... these places plainly reprove and convict his heresy, and prove priesthood a holy sacrament.

Now falleth he to railing upon the holy *ceremonies* of priesthood, as shaving and anointing. And first he saith that "if only shaven and anointed may [preach, or consecrate the sacraments], then Christ did them not, nor none of his apostles, nor any man in long time after; for they used no such ceremonies."

This is a worthy jest, I promise you. If me listed here to trifle as Tyndale doth... I could ask him how he proveth that Saint Peter was never shaven, since I suppose he never saw him; or if he would put *me* to prove that he *was* shaven—and therein, when I could find no plain scripture for it, Tyndale would not believe me but if I

1, 26 *reprove*: disprove; prove false    2 *the holy order of priesthood*: Holy Orders / ordination to the priesthood  
 3, 26 *places*: texts    3 *sensible*: sense-perceptible / outward    3–4 *laying the Apostle's*: i.e., Saint Paul's laying of his  
 6 *after*: according to    6, 13 *putting-upon / putting on of*: i.e., laying on of    9 *after*: later  
 10 *reprove him*: prove him wrong // *fain*: constrained    11 *shift to void*: maneuver to get around / attempt to nullify  
 14–15 *putting a man's*: i.e., one man's putting his    16–17: See Acts 13:16, 21:40, and 26:1.    16 *used*: was wont  
 18 *availeth it*: i.e., good does it do // *lay*: adduce // *that*: who    19 *forceth*: scruples  
 20 *every man misconstrueth*: everyone is misconstruing    21 *construction he maketh*: i.e., construing he does  
 21 *plainly*: straight-out    23 *letteth not*: does not forbear    23, 26 *plainly*: straightforwardly  
 24 *by likelihood*: probably    25 *list*: chooses    26, 33 *trifle*: play games    26 *convict*: confute  
 27, 28 *priesthood*: i.e., ordination to the priesthood    28 *falleth he to*: he starts  
 28 *railing upon*: ranting about / bad-mouthing    28, 32 *ceremonies*: rituals    29 *as*: such as  
 29, 35, 36 *shaven*: i.e., (men who are) tonsured    30 *may*: may / can // *sacraments*: sacred elements (hosts and wine)  
 33 *worthy jest*: jab that has merit // *me listed*: I wanted    35 *I suppose*: i.e., I'm pretty sure    36 *put*: challenge  
 37 *plain* . . . *it*: i.e., scripture saying so straight-out // *but if*: unless

brought forth his barber—I might tell Tyndale again that I were not bound, since the Scripture showeth it not, to believe him that Saint Peter was ever christened, till Tyndale bring forth his godfather!

- 5 But these fantasies, of his and mine both, go far from the matter. The truth is that as God by Moses taught his synagogue certain goodly ceremonies for the garnishing of the service done to him by his Chosen People there, and for the stirring of them to devotion: so hath he by his own Holy Spirit, whom he sent to instruct his
- 10 Church, taught them holy ceremonies to be used about his blessed  
*Holy ceremonies stir sacraments, to the honor thereof and to*  
*up devotion. the increase of Christian men's devotion—*  
*as indeed it doth, whatsoever Tyndale*
- 15 babble. Now be there among these the shaving and the anointing of the priest. And so is there the apparel of the priest at Mass, and many other observances used in the same. Now, if some of the same were before used either among Jews or paynims... yet Christ's church "borrowed" them neither of the Jews nor the paynims (as Tyndale saith), but took them again of God. Now, where Tyndale
- 20 argueth that if none may consecrate the Sacrament but only "shaven and anointed," then Christ nor any of his apostles might not, because they were never shaven nor anointed—he maketh a worshipful reason. For first, our Savior Christ—the very inward-anointed priest whom God had anointed "with the oil of gladness above
- 25 all his fellows"—needed neither ceremony nor sacrament as touching himself. And as touching his apostles, though Christ unto them instituted sacraments—yet he left many of the ceremonies to the Holy Ghost to teach, by whom they be instituted and by whom they be in the Church continued. Now is there none that may consecrate
- 30 the sacrament but if he be first made priest... and priest is there none made but the ceremonies of shaving and anointing are used in the making... though they be not the substance of the Sacrament of Order, no more than the catechisms and exorcisms at the christening be of the substance of the Sacrament of Baptism. And
- 35 therefore though before those ceremonies used, priests might consecrate unshaven and unanointed, when shaving-and-anointing was not yet instituted: yet *now* can there none do so, since there is no priest made unshaven and unanointed. For if they make any at Wittenberg by a bare choice, without the giving of the Sacrament
- 40 of Holy Orders by such as have power to give them... they be no

1, 21, 35 *might*: could    1 *again*: in reply    2 *were not bound*: would not be obliged    3 *christened*: baptized  
 5 *fantasies*: flights of fancy // *matter*: point at issue    7 *goodly*: suitable    7, 10, etc. *ceremonies*: rites / rituals  
 7 *garnishing*: fitting-out // *service done*: i.e., worship service offered    10 *used*: observed / carried out  
 10 *about*: in connection with    14, 31, 36 *shaving*: tonsuring    17, 18 *paynims*: pagans    18 *of*: from  
 19 *saith*: i.e., says it did // *took . . . of*: i.e., likewise received them from    20, 29 *may*: can  
 20, 22, etc. *(un)shaven*: i.e., (not) tonsured    22–23 *worshipful reason*: formidable argument  
 23 *inward-anointed*: anointed-within; innately-anointed    24–25: See Psalm 45:8.    25 *fellows*: i.e., fellow priests  
 25 *ceremony*: ritual    25, 26 *as touching*: as regards    29 *none that may*: no one who can  
 30 *sacrament*: i.e., host // *but if*: unless    31 *but . . . are*: i.e., without . . . being    33 *Order*: Holy Orders  
 33 *catechisms*: i.e., questions-and-responses    35 *used*: i.e., came into usage  
 38 *made . . . unanointed*: i.e., who was ordained without being tonsured and anointed    39 *bare*: mere

priests nor may not consecrate at all, no more than may the devil.

### Tyndale

5 And seeing that the oil is not of necessity: let M. More tell me  
what more virtue is in the oil of Confirmation, inasmuch as the  
bishop sacreth the one as well as the other; yea, and let him tell  
the reason why there should be more virtue in the oil wherewith the  
bishop anointeth his priests. Let him tell you from whence the  
10 oil cometh, how it is made, and why he selleth it to the curates,  
wherewith they anoint the sick—or whether this be of less virtue  
than the other.

### More

Tyndale here putteth many questions to me which he will that  
I must needs answer because the oil in the making of a priest is  
15 not of necessity; but surely these questions be to the matter of much  
less necessity. Howbeit, because I must needs answer to men of  
such authority when the questions be so solemnly put: I say  
that if a bishop sacre the one oil and the other both alike,  
there is no more virtue in the one than is in the other. But I say  
20 that the oil being all one... it is in the anointing of the priest a  
holy *ceremony*; and in the anointing of the child at Confirmation  
it is the *matter* of a holy *sacrament*... and in the Aneling of the Sick  
also, and every of these two is one of the seven which the Spirit of  
God hath taught the church of Christ to know and use for seven  
25 sovereign means of very special grace.

And therefore such difference is there as between the hallowed  
water standing in the font before it be occupied—or if it were  
sprinkled upon a man for holy water—and the same hallowed water  
being occupied in the christening of a child, at the time in  
30 which it is applied thereto. For in that time, besides the goodness  
that it hath of the hallowing... it hath another, effectual goodness by  
*The effects of the water* God's ordinance, whereby it is made a  
*of Baptism* means of purging the soul from sin, and  
infusion of God's grace, and of enabling  
35 the new-regenerated creature to inheritance of heaven.

And when Tyndale asketh me in any of these things the cause and  
the reason why... I might as well ask him the cause and reason why in

*I may not . . . may:* i.e., can they . . . can      4 *M.:* Abbreviation for "Master"; i.e., Mr.

5, 7, etc. *virtue:* potency / efficacy      5 *is:* i.e., there is

5 of *Confirmation:* i.e., used in Confirmation than in that used in Holy Orders // *inasmuch as:* given that

6, 18 *sacre(th):* consecrates      8 *whence:* where // *the:* i.e., that      9 *curates:* parish priests      13 *will:* maintains

14 *in:* i.e., used in      15 *matter:* i.e., resolving of our issue      16 *howbeit:* however      17 *solemnly:* imperially

20 *all one:* exactly the same      21 *ceremony:* ritual element      22 *Aneling:* Anointing      23 *every:* each

23 *two:* i.e., latter two      25 *sovereign:* paramount      26, 28 *hallowed:* blessed      27 *font:* i.e., baptismal font

28 *for:* as      31 *of the hallowing:* on account of its being blessed

34–35 *enabling . . . to:* investing . . . with the right to      36, 37 *in:* regarding      37 *might as well:* could as rightly

the nature and property of any natural thing—beast, herb, tree, or stone. Which if I were so mad to look that Tyndale were able to tell me—what had he more to say than that God had planted that nature and property therein? Which answer shall also serve in these  
 5 holy ceremonies and sacraments... whereof the *virtues* be caused by God's ordinance, through his holy words; whereof the *profit* is limited and apportioned after such rate and degrees as is to no man fully and perfectly known, but only to God, that giveth it. And thus answer I Tyndale to these questions.

10 He asketh farther from whence the oil cometh, and whereof it is made. What is that any more to the matter than from whence the water is fetched that is put into the font, or of what grapes the wine was made that Christ at his Maundy turned into his Blood?

Now, where he asketh me why the bishop selleth it unto the  
 15 curates wherewith they anoint the sick: thereto I say that the bishop *sendeth* it to the curates because they should therewith anoint the sick in the Sacrament of Aneling.

But why he *selleth* it to the curates, if he so did: thereof can I not tell the cause... but if it were, peradventure, because he would be paid  
 20 therefor. But I can tell well that the bishop selleth it *not*, to curates nor no man else, but the curates have it sent them free, but if they reward the bringer, of their courtesy, with a groat—which bringer is yet the archdeacon's servant, and not the bishop's. And this I can tell for I have enquired for the nonce. And by this can I tell as well that Tyndale here  
 25 belietieth the bishop shamefully for the nonce.

#### Tyndale

And when he affirmeth that I say—how the oiling and shaving is no part of the priesthood!—that improveth he not, nor can do, and therefore I say it yet.

30 More

It is very truth that I improve him not in that point... but am well content that he say it yet, and I will say the same. But I improve that he saith every Christian man, and every woman too, is as verily a priest as these that at the receipt of that Holy Order are both anointed  
 35 and shaven. This is it that I improve; and this is it that is a stark heresy though Tyndale say it yet.

1, 4 *property*: potency    1 *beast*: animal    2 *mad* . . . *were*: demented as to expect Tyndale to be  
 3 *what had he more*: i.e., what more could he have // *planted*: put    4 *in*: with regard to  
 5 *ceremonies*: rituals / ritual elements // *virtues*: efficacies    7 *limited*: delimited // *after*: according to  
 11 *is that* . . . *matter*: i.e., more relevance does that have to the issue    12 *font*: i.e., baptismal font  
 13 *Maundy*: Last Supper    14–15 *it unto the curates*: i.e., to the parish priests the oil  
 16 *because they should*: i.e., for them to    17 *Aneling*: i.e., the Anointing of the Sick    19, 21 *but if*: unless  
 19 *peradventure*: perhaps // *would*: wants to    20 *therefor*: for it  
 22 *groat*: i.e., little tip. (A groat was a coin worth four pennies.)    23 *can tell for*: i.e., know because  
 24 *for the nonce*: i.e., about it for the express purpose of being able to tell you what the truth is  
 25 *belieth*: is slandering // *for the nonce*: i.e., for the express purpose of so doing    27 *when*: i.e., since  
 27 *that*: what // *how*: i.e., that // *oil and shaving*: i.e., being anointed and tonsured  
 28, 31, etc. *improve(th)*: criticize(s)    29, 32, 36 *yet*: still    31 *very truth*: i.e., indeed true  
 31–32 *well* . . . *say*: quite all right with his saying    33 *that he saith*: i.e., his saying that // *verily*: truly / literally  
 34 *receipt*: receiving    35 *shaven*: tonsured // *it*: i.e., the thing

## Tyndale

When he ensearched the uttermost that he can... this is all that he can  
 lay against me: that of a hundred, there be not ten that have the  
 properties which Paul requireth to be in them. Wherefore, if oiling  
 and shaving be no part of their priesthood—then evermore of a  
 thousand, nine hundred at the least should be no priests at all. And  
 Quoth-Your-Friend would confirm it with an oath and swear deeply  
 that it would follow, and that it must needs so be. Which argument  
 yet, if there were none other shift... I would solve after an Oxford  
 fashion, with “Concedo consequentiam et consequens.”

## More

Tyndale here maketh a tale—as though it were a dialogue, or rather,  
 a trialogue, between himself, the Messenger, and me... saying that  
 I in my *Dialogue* did allege that if oiling and shaving were no  
 part of their priesthood... then of a thousand priests, nine hundred  
 at the least were no priests at all, for lack that of a hundred  
 priests, there be not ten that have the properties that Saint Paul  
 requireth to be in them. And he saith the Messenger would affirm  
 it with a great oath... and that himself would, “if there were none  
 other shift,” assoil it “after an Oxford fashion, with ‘Concedo consequentiam  
 et consequens.’” Wherein he meaneth that, since he *showeth* none  
 other shift, he granted both twain for true: that is to wit, that  
 except oiling and shaving be part of the priesthood, else it  
 must needs follow that of a thousand priests, nine hundred be none  
 at all, for lack of good conditions; and also he granteth not only  
 that of reason it would so follow, but also that it is true indeed, that  
 for as so much as oiling and shaving be *not* the things that maketh  
 them priests, and good conditions they lack... therefore they be no  
 priests at all.

But forasmuch as he saith that he will assoil it so for lack of  
 other shift... he shall not need so to do; for I will find him another  
 shift myself—and a plain contrary shift—and assoil it  
 with “*Nego consequentiam et consequens.*” For whereas he granteth both  
 to be true: I say that they be both false. And whereas he maketh  
 as though they were mine own words and the Messenger’s with me—  
 in good faith, I neither remember them nor find them, albeit that  
 I have purposely looked for them in all such places of my *Dialogue* as

2 *when* . . . *uttermost*: i.e., after doing the utmost scrutinizing 3 *lay*: adduce 4, 17 *properties*: attributes; qualities  
 4, 18 *requireth to*: i.e., says there must 4–5, 14, etc. *oiling and shaving*: (their) being anointed and tonsured  
 6 *should*: would 7 *Quoth-Your-Friend*: i.e., the Messenger in More’s *Dialogue concerning Heresies*,  
 whose words are often distinguished from More’s by the use of “quoth he” and “quoth I.” 7 *quoth*: said  
 7 *deeply*: solemnly 9, 19, 21 *none*: no 9, 20, 22, 31, 32 *shift*: recourse / way to do this  
 9 *solve*: answer / refute 9–10, 20 *after* . . . *fashion*: in an Oxford manner 10, 20 *concedo*: I concede  
 10, 20–21, 33 *consequentiam* . . . *consequens*: the consequence and whatever is deducible from it 12 *tale*: speech  
 14 *allege*: claim 15–16 *nine* . . . *no*: at least nine hundred would not be 16 *lack*: i.e., the deficiency  
 19 *himself*: he himself 20, 30, 32 *assoil*: refute 21 *showeth*: gives mention of  
 22 *both twain*: i.e., both of those two things 23 *except*: unless  
 25, 28 *conditions*: character traits; (priestly) dispositions 26 *of reason*: logically  
 27 *for as so much as*: since it is the case that 30 *forasmuch as*: seeing that; since // *so*: in that way  
 32 *a plain contrary shift*: an exactly opposite tactic 33 *nego*: I deny 36 *in good faith*: in all honesty  
 36 *find*: i.e., have been able to find

methought it should be if it were there at all. And therefore leaving  
that point in question between us till I come to reply to his *Answer*  
made unto my *Dialogue*—at which time I shall read it over of  
necessity and must needs find it if it be therein—I will in the meanwhile  
5 not let, if I said it myself, to say that I said wrong. For by

*And so do all good men.* God's grace, never will I wittingly while  
I live defend the thing that myself

shall think untrue, though it had happed me to say it myself;  
but that I shall well and plainly revoke it and call it back, not  
10 dissembling mine own oversight. And would God Tyndale would do  
the like, and Luther too; they should then neither so stiffly defend so  
shameless heresies as they do... nor make so shameless glosses of their  
own former words, when they see them so reproved that they can in  
no wise defend them... nor so shamefully change from worse to  
15 worse, as Luther hath against his own conscience done in some  
one matter thrice.

To the matter I say, therefore, that it is *false* that if oiling and  
shaving be no part of the priesthood, then it must follow that of a  
thousand there be nine hundred no priests at all. For I say that  
20 oiling and shaving be no part of the priesthood indeed... but be holy  
ceremonies used about the consecration; likewise as in Matrimony  
and Baptism both, be divers holy ceremonies used that be not the  
essential points of those sacraments. And therefore is it false that  
if oiling and shaving be no part of the priesthood, the priest is no  
25 priest for lack of priestly virtues. For the holy Sacrament of Order  
is given him by the imposition of the bishop's hands upon  
him in such wise as the church of Christ useth and ever hath used  
since the death of Christ unto these days.

And that the grace of God appointed unto Holy Orders *is* given  
30 with that putting-upon of the hands... is twice declared by Saint  
*1 Tm 4:14* Paul in his epistles to Timothy—and that so  
*2 Tm 1:6* plainly that it grieveth Tyndale's heart to  
hear thereof, and maketh him to make a  
mock thereat and say it was but like as a man layeth his hand on  
35 a boy's head when he calleth him "Good son."

But the place is, for all that, so plain... that when Tyndale so  
playeth therewith and so laugheth thereat, he laugheth but from the

1 *methought*: I thought    1, 11 *should*: would    1 *were*: was    3 *over*: from beginning to end    5 *let*: hesitate  
6 *so*: thusly // *wittingly*: knowingly // *while*: as long as    7 *the thing*: i.e., something // *myself*: I myself  
8 *though*: even if // *it . . . me*: i.e., I had happened / I have had the misfortune    9 *but that I*: i.e., but rather, I  
9 *well and plainly* very straightforwardly // *revoke*: retract // *call*: take    10 *would God*: I wish to God  
11 *so . . . so*: so obstinately defend such  
12 *make . . . of*: i.e., so shamelessly give such obviously false interpretations of    13 *words*: assertions  
13 *reproved*: proved wrong; confuted    14 *wise*: way // *from worse*: i.e., from bad    15 *in*: with regard to  
16 *matter*: thesis // *thrice*: three times    17 *to the matter*: i.e., in response to this contention  
17–18, 20, 24 *oil and shaving*: (their) being anointed and tonsured  
20 *be . . . priesthood indeed*: are indeed . . . priesthood    21, 22 *ceremonies*: rituals  
21 *about*: in connection with // *consecration*: ordination    22 *divers*: several    25 *Order*: Holy Orders  
27 *wise*: a way    30 *declared*: stated    34 *a mock thereat*: i.e., a mockery thereof; it a joke    36 *place*: text

lips forward, and girneth as a dog doth when one porreth  
 him in the teeth with a stick. And thus have I proved the consequence  
 to be false which Tyndale granteth for true. Now, to that  
 other part, that is to wit, the consequent which he granteth for  
 5 true also, I say that it is false also. For likewise as he granteth that  
 a priest is no priest at all for lack of priestly conditions—so  
 might he say as well that a Christian man is not christened at all, for  
 lack of Christian conditions. And because Tyndale will have a priest  
 nothing but an officer—yet after his own false and fond fashion  
 10 he should not grant it for true. For then must he say that *every*  
 evil officer—mayor, bailiff, constable, or sheriff—if he misuse  
 himself in his office, were forthwith out of office. And thus ye see  
 that the consequent is false which Tyndale also granteth to be true.

But all this business maketh he for hatred and despite that he  
 15 beareth to priesthood, and to the Divine Service that the priests say,  
 whereof himself saith none at all... and for the malice that he  
 beareth to the Mass, which himself never saith... and unto the holy  
 sacraments which the priests administereth, and which Tyndale  
 utterly striveth to destroy.

*Against Tyndale's Translating of  
 Caritas into "Love" Rather Than  
 into "Charity"*

Here maketh Tyndale a great process... and telleth us that  
 "charity" hath in English speech divers significations: sometimes  
 25 love, sometimes mercy, sometimes patience. And what is all this to  
 purpose? Should he therefore leave out "charity" where it may conveniently  
 stand? By this wise reason we should never use the word in  
 one signification nor other... lest the one should be taken for the  
 other. Now it liketh him to forget that the circumstances take  
 30 away the doubt—which thing since he layeth so often for his  
 excuse, he must be content that it also serve for his charge. For since  
*Love* this word "love," that he setteth in the stead  
 of "charity," hath of itself some doubt  
 also, whether it mean good or evil, but if the circumstance somewhat  
 35 set it out: what need was it to put the indifferent word "love"  
 in the place of the undoubted *good* word "charity," whereas the sentence

1 *girneth*: grins / shows his teeth // *porreth*: pokes 6, 8 *conditions*: dispositions 7 *might*: could  
 7 *as well*: as rightly; with as much justification 9, 11 *officer*: office-holder / functionary  
 9 *after . . . fashion*: i.e., in that illegitimate and foolish fashion that is his own (not gotten from Oxford)  
 11 *evil*: bad // *misuse*: were to misconduct 12 *his office*: his official capacity // *were*: would be  
 14 *business*: to-do / ballyhoo // *despite*: contempt 15 *Divine Service*: Divine Office / breviary prayers  
 20 *against*: about 23 *great process*: big production 24 *divers*: several / various  
 25–26 *what . . . purpose*: what relevance does all this have to the point at issue 26 *may*: can  
 26 *conveniently*: appropriately 27 *wise reason*: brilliant reasoning 29 *liketh*: suits  
 29 *forget*: ignore the fact // *circumstances take*: context takes 30, 33 *doubt*: uncertainty / unclarity  
 30 *layeth*: adduces 31 *content . . . charge*: i.e., willing to have it also help substantiate a charge against him  
 34 *mean . . . evil*: i.e., means a good or a bad thing 34–35 *but . . . out*: i.e., unless the context kind of says it  
 35 *was it*: i.e., was there // *indifferent*: neutral / equivocal 36 *undoubted*: i.e., undoubtably  
 36 *thereas*: there where / wherever // *sentence*: i.e., sentence it was in

well showed that it signified neither mercy nor patience, but love...  
and then the word signified that it meant *good* love, which *is*  
expressed by “charity”?

Then sheweth he that the Greek word *agape* standeth so, sometimes,  
that he must needs interpret it “love” and not “charity”; as though I had  
found a fault with him because he used this word “love” in such  
places as this word “charity” might *not* conveniently stand!—whereas  
I find the fault in this: that he putteth out “charity” where it *might* well  
stand; and that so often that he seemeth to mislike the name of “charity.”

*Charity*

Now, because I say that every “love” is

not charity, but only such love as is good

and ordinate: Tyndale answereth me, “No more is every ‘faith’  
Christ’s faith.” That wot we well enough; but yet, put by itself, it  
commonly signifieth “Christ’s faith,” in matters of the faith; so that when  
we mean a false faith, we be fain always to set some other word  
therewith, as when we say “Tyndale’s faith,” “Luther’s faith,” “Friar  
Huessgen’s faith,” and such other like.

He putteth another example by this word “hope,” and saith that  
every “hope” is not a Christian hope... and yet he must use it, and a  
thousand other words like, such as be indifferent and signify  
both good and bad... *all* which if he should eschew, he should, he  
saith, translate nothing at all.

Who biddeth him leave all such words out? Or who saith that he  
should *never* put in this word “love”? He answereth the thing that  
no man layeth to his charge; and the thing that I lay to his charge  
*Hope* he leaveth ever unanswered. For go me to  
his word “hope,” which *is* indifferent, and

signifieth as well hope of getting the “love” of his leman as hope  
of reward in heaven for charity borne to his enemy. Though this be  
thus, yet if there were in English a word that signifieth no  
hope but a good, godly hope (as “charity” signifieth no love but a  
good, godly love), then were he an evil translator that, where the  
place in Greek or Latin speaketh of good hope, would not translate it  
into that English word that signified none other hope but good.

And therefore it well appeareth that Tyndale doth not well when  
thereas the Scripture speaketh of *good* love, he had liefer translate it  
by the word “love,” that is indifferent to both good and bad, than by  
the word “charity,” that signifieth no love but good. This is it that I

1 *it signified*: i.e., the Latin or Greek word signified there      4 *showeth he*: he says

4–5 *standeth . . . that*: is sometimes situated in such a context that      5 *it*: i.e., it as

6 *found a fault*: found fault; taken issue      7, 8 *might*: could      7 *conveniently*: appropriately

8 *putteth out*: rejects // *well*: rightly      9 *mislike*: dislike // *name of*: term

10–11, 19 *every . . . is not*: i.e., not every . . . is      13 *wot we*: we know // *it*: i.e., the word “faith”

14 *of*: having to do with      15 *be fain always*: are constrained always; always have to      17 *such other*: i.e., the

18 *putteth . . . by*: i.e., gives as another example      20, 27 *indifferent*: neutral / equivocal

23 *who biddeth him*: i.e., who’s telling him to // *who saith*: i.e., who’s saying

24–25 *the . . . layeth to his charge*: i.e., an accusation that no one is making against him

25 *thing . . . charge*: i.e., accusation that I do make against him      26 *go me to*: let’s look at

28 *hope*: i.e., someone’s hope // *leman*: mistress      32 *were he*: would he be // *an evil*: a bad

33 *place*: text      34 *none . . . but*: i.e., no hope other than      35 *well appeareth*: is quite obvious

36 *thereas*: there where // *had liefer*: would rather      37, 38 *that*: which

37 *indifferent*: impartially applicable



charge him with, and to this I would have him answer once... and not, leaving this untouched, walk and wander at large and never meet with the matter.

### Tyndale

5 [Yet saith he farther:] *Agape* and *caritas* were words used among  
heathen men ere Christ came, and signified, therefore, more than a  
godly love. And we may say well enough—and I have heard it spoken—  
that “the Turks be charitable one to another among themselves,  
10 and some of them unto Christian men.” Besides all this, *agape* is common  
to all loves.

### More

Yet he is in hand again with *agape* often... and bringeth not  
forth one wise word. For though this Greek word *agape* signify  
love indifferently, good and bad—yet this word “charity” signifieth  
15 no love but good. And therefore in such places of Scripture as *agape*  
signifieth good love, why should Tyndale, translating into English,  
rather take this word “love”—that signifieth no more good love than  
bad—rather than this word “charity,” that signifieth no love  
but good? This I ask him yet again!

20 Now, though this Latin word *caritas* was a word used among the  
heathen ere Christ came... and though it had signified in Latin at that  
time, among them, an evil love and a naughty—yet this *English*  
word “charity” never signified among *us* any other love than good;  
not even in that speech that Tyndale speaketh of, that “Turks be  
25 charitable among themselves, and some of them to Christian people too”...  
where it signifieth yet rather pity than love. And therefore Tyndale  
must in his English translation take his English words as they  
signify in *English*, rather than as the words signify in the tongue  
out of which they were taken *into* the English. And yet remember  
30 I not that *caritas* in the Latin tongue was used to signify evil love.  
And I say to Tyndale yet further, that though this English word  
“charity” had been English before the birth of Christ, and had then  
signified among English infidels an evil, wanton love—yea,  
though it had then, among them, signified none other love *but*  
35 naughty—yet since it signifieth not that but the contrary now in our  
*Note* time, and so hath signified long before  
our days... Tyndale must needs in his

1 *once*: i.e., for once    2 *untouched*: not discussed // *walk*: meander // *at large*: all over the place  
3 *meet*: deal // *matter*: issue    5 *yet saith he farther*: i.e., he also goes on to say    6, 21 *ere*: before  
7 *may*: can // *well*: rightly    9 *agape*: i.e., being called *agape*  
12–13 *bringeth*... *word*: i.e., says not one sensible thing about it    13, 21, 31, 34 *though*: even if  
13 *signify*: i.e., does signify    14 *indifferently*: impartially    15 *places*: passages; texts // *as*: i.e., where  
22 *an*... *naughty*: i.e., a bad, immoral love    24 *speech*: thing said    28, 30 *tongue*: language  
30 *that*: i.e., any instance in which    30, 33 (*an*) *evil*: a bad  
32 *English*: i.e., spoken in English / a part of the English language    33 *wanton*: dissolute    34 *none*: no  
35 *naughty*: i.e., an immoral one

English translation use his English words in such signification  
as the people useth them in his *own* time, and not in such signification  
as they were used in of old time, which the people have  
changed and forgotten hundreds of years ere he were born.

- 5 For else he should make a gay confusion, if he would in the  
matters of virtue and Christian faith use the old words after the old  
fashion... and take *fides* for nothing but such as it signified ere  
Christ came. Then wheresoever he found in Saint Augustine and  
other holy doctors “persona Patris,” “persona Filii,” “persona Spiritus Sancti”...  
10 Tyndale must call them not the “persons” but the “visors” of the Father,  
the Son, and the Holy Ghost... and make men ween that they dance in  
a mask.

- And thus yet again ye see to how little purpose this reason serveth  
Tyndale, that *agape* and *caritas* were words used among the heathen  
15 ere Christ was born.

#### Tyndale

Finally, I say not “Charity God,” or “Charity your neighbor,” but “Love  
God,” and “Love your neighbor.”

#### More

- 20 This is a pretty point of juggling... by which he would make  
the reader look aside, that himself might play a false cast the while...  
and men should not see wherein the question standeth. For he maketh  
as though I reproveth that he hath this word “love” in his translation  
in any place at all, whereas I neither so said nor so thought. But the  
25 fault I found—as in my *Dialogue* I said plainly enough—was that  
he rather chose to use this word “love” than this word “charity” in  
such places as he might *well* have used this word “charity”... and  
where the Latin text was *caritas*, and where this holy word “charity”  
was more proper for the matter than this indifferent word “love.”  
30 This was the fault that I found. And therefore whereof serveth his  
trifling between the noun and the verb? I let him not to say “Love  
thy neighbor”; nor I bid him not say “Charity thy neighbor,” nor  
“Good-affection thy neighbor,” nor “Good-mind thy neighbor,” no  
more than “Drink thy neighbor.” And yet as he may say there “Give  
35 thy neighbor drink”... so may he if it please him say “Bear thy  
neighbor good mind,” “Bear thy neighbor charity.”

3 *of old time*: in days of old    4, 7, 15 *ere*: before    4 *were*: i.e., was    5 *gay confusion*: fine mess  
9 *holy doctors*: Church theologians    10 *visors*: personas; guises    11 *ween*: think  
12 *mask*: i.e., masquerade; masked ball    13 *to . . . serveth*: i.e., how little good this consideration does  
20 *pretty point*: clever act // *juggling*: sleight of hand    21 *false cast*: deceptive trick  
21 *the while*: during that time    22–29: See *DH* 286/35—289/2.  
23 *reproved that he hath*: i.e., said it is wrong of him to have    27 *might well*: could rightly  
29 *matter*: thing being expressed // *indifferent*: neutral / equivocal    30 *whereof*: for what  
31 *trifling . . . verb*: i.e., silly playing of his noun-into-verb game  
31 *let him not to say*: don’t object to his saying    32 *I . . . not*: do I tell him not to  
33 *good-mind*: good-disposition    36 *good mind*: a good disposition

## Tyndale

Though we say a man ought to “love” his neighbor’s wife or his  
neighbor’s daughter, a Christian man doth not understand that he is  
commanded to defile his neighbor’s wife nor his neighbor’s  
daughter.

## More

This matter is somewhat amended here by this word “*ought* to  
‘love.’” But *else* if Tyndale fall not to the “charitying” but to the “loving”  
of his neighbor’s wife, or the “loving” of his neighbor’s daughter,  
I had as lief he bore them both a bare charity as with the frail  
feminine sex fall too far in “love,” namely since he saith that priests  
must needs have wives.

But whereof serveth him this example? Did any man forbid  
him to use this word “love”? He maketh as though I forbade that word  
utterly... because I forbid it him where he should not use it but  
“charity.” Thus crieth he out upon all the Church... and saith they  
forbid all matrimony, because they forbid the banns between  
friars and nuns.

*Against Tyndale’s Translating  
“Favor” Instead of “Grace”*

## Tyndale

And with like reasons rageth he because I turn *charis* into “favor,”  
and not into “grace”... saying that “every favor is not grace,” and that  
“in some favor there is but little grace.” I can say also in some grace  
there is little goodness—as when we say, “He standeth well in my  
lady’s grace,” we understand no great godly favor; and in  
universities there be many ungracious graces gotten.

## More

This is *all* that he saith for his putting out of “grace” and  
setting in of “favor.” And I pray you consider what cause hath he  
now shown why he so should do! And yet his title of this chapter  
is “Why ‘Favor’ and Not ‘Grace,’” as though he would tell you why. And  
hath he now shown you any cause at all?—but thinketh that his  
proper scoffing is sufficient to change the known, holy names of

3 *understand*: i.e., take this to mean    7 *matter*: contention // *word*: expression  
10 *had as lief he bore*: would as soon have him bear // *bare*: slight; meager    11 *namely*: especially  
12 *needs*: necessarily    13 *whereof*... *example*: what does this example do for him  
16 *upon all the Church*: i.e., against all the Church authorities    19 *against*: about    22 *reasons*: arguments  
23 *every*... *is not*: i.e., not every... is    27 *ungracious*: devoid-of-grace; unholy  
27 *graces*: i.e., dispensations from some of their statutory requirements for getting a degree  
29 *putting out*: i.e., rejecting    30 *pray you*: ask you to  
30–31 *cause*... *shown*: i.e., reason he has now given    31 *of*: for    32 *would*: was going to  
33 *shown*... *cause*: i.e., given you any reason    34 *proper*: splendid  
34 *to change*: i.e., justification of his having changed

virtue, through all Scripture, into such words as himself liketh. And now he pleaseth himself wonderfully well because he hath found out so featly that pretty scoff that “grace” signifieth sometimes no good, as when a man “standeth well in his lady’s grace.” But he seeth well that I find with him the fault for changing “grace” into “favor” where the Scripture speaketh not of “the grace of my lady,” but of “the grace of our Lord.” In speaking whereof—albeit that God’s favor is never but good—yet is in respect unto his creature his

*God's grace and favor  
is not always one.*

mercy... and yet his favor and his mercy not both one, in respect, I say, to his creatures, though his own nature be so entire and whole that all that ever is in him is all one. And yet, where he putteth his example of “standing in his lady’s grace”... because it is yet but indifferent, for that may be good enough, he should have made the example by lewd Luther and his lewd lady’s grace. And when he saith that in the university many ungracious graces be gotten, he should have made it more plain and better perceived if he had said as for example, when his own Grace was there granted to be made Master of Art. And thus “graciously” hath he acquitted himself in putting out of “grace.”

*Against Tyndale's Changing of "Confession"  
into "Knowledge," and "Penance" into "Repentance"*

25 Tyndale

And that I use this word “knowledge” and not “confession,” and this word “repentance” and not “penance”—in all which he cannot prove that I give not the right English unto the Greek word.

More

30        This is plain untrue that Tyndale saith, as I have plainly  
shown already in the words “church,” “priest,” “charity,” and “grace”;  
all which chapters whoso read and consider from the beginning,  
and advise well Tyndale’s words and mine, be he learned, be he not  
learned, that readeth them, if he have natural wit and be but indifferent...  
35 he shall, I doubt not, find Tyndale in these points so

1 *such* . . . *liketh*: i.e., whatever words suit him    2 *pleaseth* . . . *well*: is extremely pleased with himself  
3 *found out so feately*: so deftly come up with // *pretty*: clever    4 *no*: i.e., something not  
8 *but*: other than    8, 12 *respect*: relation    9, 10, 12 *one*: i.e., the same thing    10, 11 *for*: on account of  
12 *not*: are not    13 *entire and whole*: unitary and undivided    14 *yet*: moreover  
14 *putteth*: presents for consideration    15 *yet*: as yet    16 *indifferent*: neutral  
16–17 *made the example by*: i.e., used for that example    17 *lewd*: lascivious / sorry  
18 *ungracious*: devoid-of-grace; unholy // *should*: would  
20 *Grace*: i.e., university-approved self / noble personage    22 *putting out*: i.e., his rejecting    23 *against*: about  
24, 26 *knowledge*: acknowledgement    27, 31 *in*: with regard to    27 *all which*: i.e., all of which instances  
32 *whoso*: i.e., whoever will    33 *advise*: ponder    34 *natural wir*: natural intelligence / common sense  
34 *but*: i.e., at least // *indifferent*: unbiased    35 *in*: on

clearly confounded that he shall trust both his learning the less and his wit the worse, while he liveth after. Besides that he shall perceive also malice, hatred, and envy so stuffed in Tyndale's heart that although he had great wit and learning both, yet must the mist of such blind affections needs blindfold them both.

### Tyndale

But it is a far other thing that paineth them and biteth them by the breasts. There be secret pangs that pinch the very hearts of them, whereof they dare not complain. The sickness that maketh them so impatient is that they have lost their juggling terms. For the doctors-preachers were wont to make many divisions, distinctions, and sorts of grace: *gratis data*, *gratum faciens*, *praeveniens*, and *subsequens*.

### More

Nay, God be thanked, they have *not* lost these terms yet, and God forbid they should. For these terms of grace be no English terms, but terms necessary for the true knowledge of God's gifts and graces. But *Tyndale* hath indeed lost them, from whose heart the devil hath juggled all grace save *gratia gratis data*—and yet that too, almost; with which *gratia gratis data*, all had he thereof much more than he hath, he might go forth as he goeth: the straight way down to the devil. For those be graces and gifts as God giveth a man whereof he may make a matter of virtue or a matter of vice, as him list to use them; and abusing them, to vice, the man is much the worse for them: as beauty, strength, learning, or wit. *Gratia gratum* *faciens* is that grace by which the man is acceptable to God: as the grace given in the baptism, though it be to children; and the grace with which in faith, hope, and charity man worketh good works—watch, fast, pray, give alms, and such other like as God rewardeth in heaven. Now, forasmuch as man can do no good but if God begin (and he is always ready to begin!), therefore the grace with which God beginneth to set us a-work is called *gratia praeveniens*. And forasmuch as we should soon cease to but if grace continued with us (as our eye should cease to see if that we lacked light), God continueth his grace with us to

1 *clearly confounded*: thoroughly confuted / manifestly defeated    1–2 *trust . . . worse*: i.e., have both less confidence in Tyndale's being learned and even less in his being intelligent    2 *while . . . after*: for as long as Tyndale lives thereafter  
 2 *that*: which    4, 28 (*al*)*though*: even if    4, 25 *wit*: intelligence    5 *affections*: passions // *needs*: inevitably  
 7–8 *biteth . . . breasts*: cuts them to the quick; hits them where they live    8 *pinch*: wrench; torment  
 9 *sickness*: ailment    10 *impatient*: irritable // *juggling*: trick-playing; conning  
 11 *doctors-preachers*: Scholastic preachers / priests who preached teachings of the Scholastic theologians  
 11 *make*: i.e., postulate    12 *sorts*: subsets    12–13: See Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* I-II, q. 111.  
 12, 19, 20 *gratis data*: freely given. (This *gratia* is what is now called “actual” grace.)  
 12, 25–26, 26 *gratum faciens*: given to make (one pleasing to God). (This *gratia* is sanctifying grace.)  
 12, 33 *praeveniens*: prevenient; anticipatory. (This grace and *gratia subsequens* are subcategories of sanctifying grace.)  
 15 *nay*: no    16 *be no*: are not    17 *but*: i.e., but they are    19 *juggled*: conned away // *yet*: even  
 20 *almost*: for the most part // *all had he*: even if he had    21 *might . . . way*: could still keep going the way he's going: on that direct path    22 *as*: i.e., that    23 *may*: can    23–24 *him list*: he chooses  
 24 *abusing*: misapplying    25, 27 *as*: such as    26 *man is*: man is made    29 *watch*: keep vigil    31 *no*: nothing  
 31, 35 *but if*: unless    31 *begin*: i.e., begins it; initiates it    32 *begin*: i.e., take that initiative  
 35 *to*: i.e., to work at doing good deeds    36 *if that*: i.e., if it happened that

- Gratia cooperans                      work with us... which is called *gratia cooperans*. And yet, forasmuch as he that well worketh with grace deserveth of God, by God's goodness, increase of grace, according to the Gospel—"Omni habenti dabitur et abundabit" ("To every man that hath, there shall be given, and he shall abound,"
- 5                      *Mt 25:29*                      that well bestoweth his talents of grace and worketh well therewith)—therefore the grace that God giveth a man for the good use of his former grace may be called *gratia subsequens*.
- 10                      And finally, forasmuch as grace persevering with man at his end bringeth him to glory... which whoso attaineth is then in surety of steadfast and imperishable grace and favor of God: this final grace is called *gratia consummans*, that is, grace that
- 15 perfecteth the thing.

- Now, since every man perceiveth well that albeit that in God all is one grace, with which he preventeth our good works, and with which he helpeth them forth in the progress, and which addeth and maketh more abound, and with which he perfecteth his creature in glory—yet since that in us and our works it is diversely considered after diverse respects... and of every each of those respects falleth necessity for men in schools oftentimes to speak (especially for the reproof of those heretics that would have no divisions nor distinctions whereby the thing should be made open and plain, but would blind and beguile their hearers with darkness and confusion), reason requireth to give every diverse respect a diverse name among them that must often speak thereof... except that they should in an argument at every third word repeat a whole tale, where one word agreed upon may well and sufficiently serve.
- 20
- 25
- 30

- And therefore ye may see that these be no juggling terms, but terms devised with good reason and of necessity. But surely the false, subtle juggler the devil hath taught these young jugglers, his scholars Luther, Huessgen, and Tyndale, to fall to such false juggling... that they labor sore to juggle away, not only those terms of grace, and the very name of "grace," out of men's ears... but also the belief of all grace, and therewith the effect of all grace, clean out of
- 35

2 yet: also      3 deserveth of: merits from      6 abound: have an abundance      7 bestoweth: applies; employs  
 7 talents: endowments      11 persevering: still remaining      11–12 which whoso attaineth: whoever attains which  
 15 perfecteth the thing: i.e., brings to completion the sanctification process      16 in: with reference to  
 16–17 all is one: it's all the same      17 preventeth: acts in advance of      20 in us: with reference to us  
 20, 21, etc. diverse(ly): different(ly)      21 after: according to      21, 22, 27 respect(s): aspect(s)  
 21 every each: each and every one      22 falleth necessity: it becomes necessary  
 22 in schools: i.e., teaching in universities      23 reproof: refuting      25 open: intelligible // plain: clear  
 26 darkness: lack of clarity; vagueness // confusion: failure to distinguish  
 26 requireth to give: i.e., mandates the giving to      28 except that . . . word: i.e., lest . . . word have to  
 29 tale: speech / explanation      29, 31 may: can      29 well and: quite      31, 35 juggling: trick-playing; conning  
 32 good reason: sound reasoning // surely: assuredly      33, 34 false: deceitful / treacherous / despicable  
 33 subtle: insidiously sly // juggler(s): con artist(s)      34 scholars: students / protégés  
 34 fall to: go in for / resort to      35 labor sore: try hard // juggle: prestidigitate; con      36 name of: word  
 36–37 the belief of all: all belief in grace      37 clean: completely

men's hearts; and, free will and grace taken away, to make men believe that there is nothing at all but destiny. And so, pretending liberty, they put all in thralldom; and pretending virtue, they drive men to vice; and pretending God, they drive men to the devil. And this is Tyndale's juggling... which because he would not were perceived—to dissemble his false juggling and have *it* taken for truth—he calleth the plain truth by the name of "juggling," as ye shall hear by and by.

#### Tyndale

10 With "confession" they juggled, and made the people, as oft as they spoke of it, understand shrift in the ear; whereof the Scripture maketh no mention. No—it is clean *against* the Scripture, as they use it and preach it; and unto God an abomination, and a foul, stinking sacrifice unto the filthy idol Priapus.

#### More

15 This high, godly, "spiritual" man taketh for none abomination at all, but can abide well and hold very well with, and not defend it only, but commend it also... that a nun consecrated unto God should run out of religion and do foul, stinking sacrifice to that  
20 filthy idol of Priapus that Friar Luther beareth about to gather in his offering with; and that they shall both, and a great many such ribalds more... shamefully show their abominable bitchery, to the corruption of the world, openly. But he cannot abide in no wise that any man should so repent his secret sin that he should unto  
25 his confessor show it secretly. *This* can Tyndale in no wise abide. And why? For he would rather have sin shown in shameless boasting, whereby it might increase and grow... than shamefastly shown in confession, where it might be weeded out and cast away.

I purpose not here to fall in dispicions with Tyndale for the  
30 matter; nor at every lewd fellow's blasphemy... to bring the blessed sacraments in question. For since Tyndale cannot himself deny  
*Confession* but that Saint Augustine, Saint Jerome, Saint Ambrose, Saint Gregory, Saint Cyprian, and other holy saints have both used, allowed, commended,  
35 and taken confession for a necessary part of penance; and every good man hath in himself ever found no little spiritual

2 *destiny*: predestination / fate    2, 3, 4 *pretending*: touting    3 *all*: everyone // *thralldom*: slavery  
5, 6 *juggling*: trick-playing; conning    5–6 *would not were*: i.e., does not want  
6 *dissemble*: camouflage; smokescreen // *false*: deceitful / despicable    7 *for*: i.e., for a telling of the  
7 *juggling*: a con    8 *by and by*: right now    10 *with*: i.e., with the word  
10 *juggled*: did a con job; pulled a fast one // *as oft as*: i.e., whenever    11 *understand*: i.e., understand by it  
11 *shrift in the ear*: oral confession; i.e., confession to a priest    12 *clean*: completely    13 *use*: practice  
14, 20 *Priapus*: i.e., the penis. (Priapus, the Greek and Roman god of procreation, was usually depicted with a very conspicuous one.)    16 *high*: lofty / superior // *none*: no    17 *hold very well with*: very well go along with  
19 *run out of religion*: abscond from religious life    22 *ribalds*: degenerates; profligates  
23, 25 *in no wise*: by no means    25 *show it*: make it known    26 *for*: because    26, 28 *shown*: made known  
27 *shamefastly*: ashamedly    27, 28 *might*: could    29 *fall in dispicions*: get into disputations // *for*: i.e., over  
30 *lewd*: crass / vile / ignorant // *fellow's*: good-for-nothing's    31 *in*: into    32 *but that*: that  
33 *Gregory*: i.e., Gregory the Great    34 *used*: practiced / made use of // *allowed*: approved of; sanctioned  
34–35 *commended*... *confession*: i.e., and recommended confession, and taken it

profit and soul-comfort therein: it shall not now greatly force  
what a newfound sort of heretics bark and bawl thereat.

And as for this word “knowledge,” is very far from the Greek word  
*exomologesis*... and as far from the Latin word *confessio*... and yet much  
5 more from the very matter itself—that is to wit, from the Sacrament of  
Penance. For both the Greek word and the Latin do signify an  
opening and a showing of the thing—and the matter itself meaneth a  
willingly offered declaration of the secret, hidden sin—and this  
English word “knowledge” is ambiguous and doubtful. For as it is a  
10 noun, it signifieth but the knowing of a thing, or understanding...  
as where a man saith, “This child hath yet no knowledge neither of  
good nor evil.” And when it is a verb, or that it is turned into this  
word “knowledging”... yet signifieth it rather the not denying than  
the willingly telling of our own fault, and namely of our own  
15 offer. For that noun “knowledging” and that verb “knowledge” hath  
in our tongue their proper place where the fault is by some other  
laid unto a man’s charge... and where this Latin word *agnosco* or  
*agnitio* may stand in the place if they talked in Latin. As where we  
say of a stubborn body that standeth still in the denying of his  
20 fault that is laid before his face, “This man will not knowledge his fault,”  
or “He will not be acknown of his fault.” And therefore is this word  
“knowledge” or “knowledging” not very meet nor very proper neither for  
the Greek word nor the Latin—and least of all for the matter, since  
that confessing and confession is the willingly made declaration  
25 of our sin unlaid unto us by any man save ourself. In which  
doing though the penitent use among with his confessor this  
word “knowledging”—yet is it rather his willing behavior that serveth  
the matter than the property of that English word.

Now, if Tyndale will tell us that “confession” and “confessing” is  
30 drawn out of the Latin, and then will ask me what English word  
had we for the thing before: I ween we had *before*, none at all; but  
ever *since*, the proper English word hath been “shrif” and  
“shriving.” For, saving that the goodness of God brought in that  
thing with his holy sacrament of Penance (which was brought  
35 in by the Latins), men were, I ween, far off from confessing of their  
faults themselves of their own offer—and scanty would knowledge  
them when they were laid unto their charge and proved to their

1 *force*: matter    2 *newfound*: newly encountered / recently contrived // *sort*: variety / set // *bawl*: howl  
3 *knowledge*: acknowledgement / knowledge // *is*: i.e., it is    4–5 *yet much more*: i.e., much more yet  
5, 7 *itself*: i.e., itself that is at issue    6–7 *an opening*: a disclosing    7 *showing*: revealing // *the thing*: something  
7 *meaneth*: entails    8, 24 *willingly*: voluntarily // *declaration*: telling    8 *and*: i.e., whereas  
9 *doubtful*: indeterminate    11 *yet*: as yet    11–12 *neither . . . evil*: i.e., about either good or evil  
13, 15, etc. *knowledging*: acknowledging / acknowledgement    14 *willingly*: i.e., voluntary  
14, 16, etc. *fault(s)*: misdeed(s); wrongdoing(s)    14 *namely*: especially    15, 36 *offer*: initiative  
15, 20, 22, 36 *knowledge*: acknowledge    16 *tongue*: language // *some other*: some other man / someone else  
18 *may*: could // *talked*: were talking    19 *body*: individual // *standeth still*: keeps persisting  
20 *is laid before*: i.e., he is being accused of to    21 *be acknown of*: admit    22 *meet*: fitting  
23 *matter*: matter at issue    23–24 *since that*: given that    25 *our . . . ourself*: i.e., a sin of ours that we aren’t being  
accused of by anyone other than our own self    26 *though . . . among*: even if the penitent does occasionally use  
27–28 *his . . . property*: i.e., the voluntary aspect of his behavior that is germane to the issue... than the actual aptness  
30 *drawn out of*: derived from    31 *ween*: think    32 *proper*: normal    33 *in*: i.e., about  
34–35 *brought in*: introduced    35 *the Latins*: i.e., people who spoke Latin // *were*: would be // *ween*: expect  
36 *scantly*: scarcely    37 *laid unto their charge*: charged against them



face. Only *God* hath brought in, with the grace of the sacrament,  
that men are so suppled and made humble in heart that they  
will willingly go show themselves their own sins to the priest  
(whom God hath there appointed in his stead), and there abide the  
5 shame and the rebuke thereof, and lowly submit themselves to such  
pain and penance as their confessor shall assign them, and the  
same faithfully fulfill in punishment of themselves for their sin.

But this is it that Tyndale meaneth: he would have all willing  
confession quite cast away, and all penance-doing too, as himself  
10 showeth by and by.

Tyndale

And in like manner, by this word “penance” they make the people  
understand holy deeds of their enjoining, with which they must  
make satisfaction to-God-ward for their sins—when all the  
15 Scripture preacheth that Christ hath made full satisfaction for our  
sins!

More

This is a great sin, lo: that ever any man should take pain for  
his sin. Now, though the Scripture preacheth that Christ *hath* made  
20 full satisfaction for our sins—yet would I fain that Tyndale should  
tell me where he findeth any one place in Scripture that Christ’s  
satisfaction for our sins is in such wise full that he will there be  
no pain put unto us therefor. Let us consider his own words that  
follow.

Tyndale

And we must now be thankful to God, again, and kill the lusts  
of our flesh with holy works of God’s enjoining, and . . . to take  
patiently all that God layeth on my back.

More

This is well and holily spoken. But now let pass, for this once,  
30 holy Luther and his holy nun with all their holy works that they  
work together, in killing the lusts of their flesh, in showing  
themselves thankful, again, to God.

I will ask Tyndale, first, whether such holy works as God hath  
35 taught his Church to be enjoined unto him by his ghostly father...  
be not enjoined unto him by God. If not, he taketh away all the  
commandments of father and mother, prelate and prince, that

1 *brought in*: i.e., brought it about    2 *suppled*: rendered pliant    3 *willingly*: voluntarily  
3 *show*: tell    6 *pain*: suffering    8 *willing*: voluntary    9 *quite cast away*: entirely done away with  
9 *himself*: he himself    10 *showeth by and by*: immediately makes clear  
14 *to-God-ward*: i.e., directed toward God; in relation to God    18 *lo*: i.e., oh yes  
18 *take pain*: suffer pain / undergo punishment    20 *fain . . . should*: i.e., sure like for Tyndale to  
21 *any*: so much as // *place*: i.e., statement    22 *wise*: a way // *will*: will have  
23 *therefor*: for them / for that    26, 33 *again*: in response    28 *patiently*: uncomplainingly  
30 *well and*: quite // *let*: i.e. let’s let    35 *be*: i.e., have // *him*: i.e., the penitent // *ghostly*: spiritual  
37 *prince*: i.e., secular ruler

commandeth any good thing to be done to God's honor; unto all which persons in all such commandments, God commandeth Tyndale and every man else to be obedient, and accounteth their commandments for his own.

- 5 Yet if Tyndale will no pain enjoined but by God's own mouth...  
nor suffer nothing laid upon his back but if God truss up the  
pack himself and with his own hands, and bind it upon his  
back with a packsaddle: then will I yet wit of Tyndale whether *God*  
do not enjoin any such holy works, or lay any such burden upon  
10 the backs of repentant sinners, for the sins that be past, and  
whereof he is already repentant.

If Tyndale answer no: then shall we put him in remembrance of many places in Holy Scripture... as well in Exodus, where he promiseth to punish the people for their idolatry notwithstanding

- 15 *Ex 32:32–35; 34:6–7* their repentance and his remission too...  
*2 Sm 12:9–19* as in the Second Book of Kings, where he  
punished King David for his manslaughter and adultery notwithstanding  
his repentance... and many places besides.

- Now, if he grant that God punisheth the sin notwithstanding  
20 the repentance of the penitent and the remission of his  
displeasure: then granteth he, and so must he grant, that albeit  
one drop of Christ's precious blood had been sufficient to satisfy  
for all the sins of this whole world—and for all the pain, also, that  
were in any wise due to the same—yet hath it not pleased him so to  
25 *Short forgivenesses make* order it. But lest that such short forgiveness,  
*men worse.* as well of all the pain as of the  
displeasure of God, and of the deadliness  
(or, as men might say, of the “damnability”) belonging to the mortal  
offense, might make men wax the worse and set much the less  
30 by sin: he forgiveth at the repenting, and by the shrift and  
absolution, his high indignation whereupon followeth the perpetual  
banishment from the sight of his face and fruition of his glory  
into the eternal torment of hell; but he leaveth ordinarily some temporal  
pain to be sustained for the evil act past—and that to  
35 be suffered either here by good works of penance-doing, or other  
satisfactory pains or good works either in this world here or after  
this world in purgatory... but if they be by other folks' good deeds

2 *in*: regarding 5 *will*: i.e., will have 5, 23 *pain*: punishment 6 *suffer nothing*: i.e., let anything be  
6 *but if*: unless 8 *wit*: inquire 9 *do*: does 13, 18 *places*: passages 15 *remission*: forgiveness  
16 *the Second Book of Kings*: i.e., 2 Samuel 17 *manslaughter and*: i.e., indirect murdering and his  
22 *had*: would have 24 *wise*: way // *to*: i.e., for 25 *short*: quick // *order*: arrange  
25 *forgiveness(es)*: forgiveness(es) / remission(s) 26 *all the pain*: i.e., the whole debt of punishment  
27 *displeasure of*: offense against // *deadliness*: lethality 28 *men*: i.e., one 29 *wax*: become  
29–30 *set . . . sin*: have much less concern about sin; consider sin much less of a big deal  
30 *forgiveth*: lets go of // *shrift*: confession 31 *indignation*: righteous wrath 32 *fruition*: enjoyment  
36 *satisfactory*: satisfaction-making 210/37–211/1 *but . . . relieved*: i.e., unless they are, through God's  
goodness, relieved by good deeds done for them by other folk

done for them through God's goodness relieved. And this, I say, as by good authorities appeareth, our Lord doth ordinarily; not forbarring his absolute merciful power, whereby he may do when he will what he will.

- 5 Now, if Tyndale grant, as he needs must, that notwithstanding the repentance and the remission both—and Christ's satisfaction also for the eternality of the pain, and full restitution to God's favor—yet there remaineth a temporal pain, or by good, holy works, other satisfaction for the same: then is it *not* against all Scripture (as Tyndale saith it is), nor against any part thereof, neither, that men shall with penance-doing endeavor themselves to satisfy for that pain... since it is not God's ordinary pleasure that his Passion shall serve every man for the satisfaction of that pain, because it accordeth not with his ordinary justice... lest, the fear of all pain utterly taken away, men were likely to make little force how boldly they fall to sin.

And then if it be well done that a man for his sin willingly punish himself, why may he not meekly submit his will to the counsel of his confessor and take penance at his hand?

#### 20 Tyndale

And if I have hurt my neighbor, I am bound to shrive myself unto *him*, and make *him* amends if I have wherewith; or if not, then to ask *him* forgiveness... and he is bound to forgive me. As for their "penance," the Scripture knoweth not of.

#### 25 More

- He never bringeth in a good word but for an evil purpose. He saith here very well concerning our duty toward our neighbors. But he saith maliciously—to make us withdraw our duty toward God, for the satisfaction of the temporal pain that is due for our *sin*, after the restitution to God's favor, and the eternality of the pain forgiven. And that pain God hath not ordained of common course to be satisfied by the only merits of Christ's Passion... but if men's works wrought with his grace be added thereunto.

#### 35 Tyndale

As for their "penance," the Scripture knoweth not. The Greek hath *metanoia* and *metanoite*—"repentance" and "repent," or "forthinking" and "forthink"; as we say in English, "It forthinketh me," or "I forthink," and "I repent," or "It repenteth me," and "I am sorry," that I did.

1–2 *as . . . appeareth*: i.e., on good authority    2 *our Lord doth*: i.e., is the way our Lord acts  
 2 *forbarring*: ruling out    3 *may*: can    7, 8, etc. *pain*: punishment    7 *restitution*: restoration  
 11 *endeavor*: exert / make some effort    12 *satisfy for that*: i.e., pay off that debt of    15 *were*: would be  
 15–16 *make little force*: consider of little consequence    16 *fall to sin*: i.e., go ahead and sin  
 17 *well done*: legitimately done / a good thing to do // *willingly*: voluntarily  
 21, 23 *bound*: duty-bound; obliged    21 *shrive myself*: make my confession  
 22 *wherewith*: i.e., the means wherewith to do this  
 24, 35 *the Scripture knoweth not (of)*: i.e., there's no scriptural support for that    26 *word*: statement; assertion  
 27, 28 *saith*: speaks    27 *well*: correctly    28 *withdraw*: stop carrying out    29 *satisfaction*: fulfilling  
 30 *the restitution*: i.e., our having been restored    31 *forgiven*: remitted // *ordained*: devised; arranged  
 32 *only*: sole    36, 37 *forthink(ing)*: regret(ting)    37 *forthinketh me*: causes me regret  
 38 *repenteth me*: fills me with remorse // *that*: (for) what

## More

Tyndale here beareth us in hand that the Scripture speaketh not of “penance”... because himself giveth the Greek word another English name. And because that Tyndale calleth it “forthinking” and “repentance”—therefore all Englishmen have ever hitherto misused their own language in calling the thing by the name of “penance.”

Now, as for the word “penance”—whatsoever the Greek word be, it ever was and yet it is lawful enough (so that Tyndale give us leave) to call anything in English by what word soever Englishmen by common custom agree upon. And therefore, to make a change of the English word as though that all England should go to school with Tyndale to learn English... is a very frantic folly.

But, now, the matter standeth not therein at all. For Tyndale is not angry with the word but *because* of the matter. For this grieveth Luther and him: that by “penance” *we* understand, when we speak thereof, so many good things therein... and not a bare repenting or forthinking only, but also every part of the Sacrament of Penance—

*Penance includeth three things.* confession of mouth, contrition of heart, and satisfaction by good deeds.

For if we called it but the sacrament of “repentance,” and by that word would understand as much good thereby as we now do by the word “penance”—Tyndale would be then as angry with “repentance” as he is now with “penance.” For he hateth nothing but to hear that men should do any good.

We have, for our poor English word “penance,” the use of all Englishmen since Penance first began among them. And that is authority enough for an English word... except Tyndale will bind us to fetch authority of reason for every word, of every language, out of Albert’s *De modis significandi*... because that Friar Luther, Friar Huessgen, and Friar Lambert have so sore set their study upon Albert’s *De secretis mulierum*. And yet, if he will needs press upon us therewith, we may say that we take in “penance” of the Latin word *paenitentia*, which the Church useth for the same sacrament; or we may say that the word “penance” is derived and cometh of the word *pain*... which both in heart, in word, and in deed, the penitent should endeavor himself to conceive and sustain for his sin. But this is it that Tyndale so sore doth abhor. For he consequently saith...

2 *beareth us in hand*: tries to convince us    3 *himself*: he himself // *another*: a different

4, 30 *because that*: by reason of the fact that / just because    4, 17 *forthinking*: regretting    5, 9 *ever*: always

6 *hitherto*: up till now // *misused*: misemployed    9 *yet it*: i.e., still // *lawful*: legitimate / permissible

9 *so*: provided    13 *with*: i.e., under the tutelage of // *very frantic folly*: really bizarre idiocy

14, 15 *matter*: issue    15, 23 *angry with*: irked by    17 *bare*: mere    19 *confession of mouth*: oral confession

25 *any*: i.e., anything    26 *use*: usage    28 *except*: unless    29 *bind*: oblige

30–32: Both *On the Modes of Signifying* and *On Women’s Secrets* were actually written by Pseudo-Albert.

31 *Huessgen*: i.e., Johannes Oecolampadius (d. 1531). // *Lambert*: i.e., Francis Lambert (d. 1530).

31 *sore*: intently    32 *yet*: moreover // *will needs*: is bound and determined to    33, 35 *of*: from

37 *endeavor himself*: exert himself; make an effort    38 *sore*: intensely // *abhor*: loathe

38–39 *consequently saith*: says right after that

## Tyndale

So, now, the *Scripture* saith, “Repent” (or “Let it forthink you”) “and come and believe the Gospel” (or “glad tidings”) “that is brought you in Christ; and so shall all be forgiven you; and henceforth live a new life.”

5

## More

Here seemeth a godly thing, and is in deed very devilish. For the words that be spoken to the heathen to come to Christendom—in the entry whereof, at Baptism, they be new-regenerated to God, and cleansed clean and purged from all spots—these words draweth Tyndale to them that be christened already, and keep their belief still, and yet fall into deadly sin again. For whose reconciliation again to God, our Lord hath of his goodness instituted the Sacrament of Penance—without which they that after Baptism fall again to sin do lose the fruit of their baptism if the time serve them to take it.

15

*Penance*

And therefore saith holy Saint Jerome  
that the Sacrament of Penance is the

board upon which a man getteth to land and saveth himself after the shipwreck. Which words of his, Luther in his book of *Babylonica* sore dispraiseth. For Saint Jerome showeth that the Sacrament of Baptism is the ship, and was figured by the ship of Noah, out of which there was no man saved. And when a man breaketh the ship of his baptism in the storm of temptation, and falleth into the deep sea of sin: then hath he yet his remedy provided by God, if he catch hold upon the board of the salt sacrament of Penance and so swim... and God will help while he laboreth himself to land. But Luther and Tyndale would have us ween that after Baptism there needeth no more but repent... and by and by all is gone again and clean washed away—sin and pain eternal and temporal and altogether—and the man in like case as when he came first from the font.

20

25

30

But whoso consider well the words of Saint Paul in the sixth chapter unto the Hebrews shall find it far unlike... where Saint

*Heb 6:4–6*

Paul saith in this wise: “It is impossible  
that they which have been once illumined,  
and have tasted the heavenly gift, and have been made partners of

35

2 *forthink you*: cause you regret    6 *deed*: reality    7 *to come*: i.e., about to come / coming  
7 *to Christendom*: into Christianity    9 *from*: i.e., of // *spots*: stains // *draweth*: diverts  
10 *keep . . . still*: i.e., continue to keep their belief in Christ and the Gospel  
11 *into . . . again*: back into mortal sin    12 *again*: back    14 *again to*: i.e., back into mortal  
14 *fruit*: benefit    14–15 *the time . . . it*: i.e., they are given the opportunity to receive the Sacrament of Penance  
20 *sore dispraiseth*: strongly criticizes // *showeth*: says    21 *figured*: prefigured  
22 *out*: outside; other than inside    23 *breaketh*: wrecks    25 *salt*: preservative  
27 *laboreth himself to*: strenuously moves himself toward    28 *ween*: believe  
28 *there needeth no more*: i.e., nothing more need be done    28–29 *by and by*: immediately  
29 *clean*: completely // *pain*: (debt of) punishment    30 *altogether*: everything // *like case*: the same condition  
31 *came . . . font*: i.e., first came away from the baptismal font    33 *unto*: i.e., of his letter to  
34 *saith in this wise*: speaks as follows    35 *they which*: those who  
35 *illumined*: brought into the light / enlightened    36 *partners*: partakers

40

the Holy Ghost, and have also tasted the good word of God and the powers of the world to come, and then are slidden down, should be renewed again by penance, crucifying again to themselves the Son of God and having him in derision.”

- 5 Here showeth this blessed apostle Paul that the deadly sin committed after Baptism... putteth a man in that case that it shall  
     *“Impossible”* be very hard (for so is “impossible” sometimes taken in Scripture) by penance to  
 be renewed again; that is to wit, to come again to Baptism, or  
 10      *The great force of Baptism* to the state of Baptism, in which we be so fully renewed, and the old sin so fully forgiven, that we be forthwith in such wise innocents that if we died forthwith, there were neither eternal pain nor temporal pain appointed for us (that is to wit, neither hell nor purgatory);  
 15 but that deadly sin committed after Baptism, is very hard by the Sacrament of Penance—confession, contrition, and great pain taken, too—to bring us again in the case that the temporal pain due therefor in purgatory shall be worn all out, by our penance done here. In all which things we never exclude  
 20 the special privilege of God’s absolute mercy. For by his mighty mercy the thing that is impossible to man is not impossible to God—as our Savior saith in the Gospel of Matthew. But I speak of the  
     *Mt 19:26* ordinary course of his common ordinance—in which is excepted also the prayers  
 25 and good deeds with which any man is besides his own penance helped and relieved with the good deeds of other men’s charity,  
     *Other men’s good deeds* or the spiritual treasure of Christ’s church  
     *relieveth us.* upon good cause applied conveniently toward the redeeming of his temporal  
 30 pain. But else I say—by the authority of Saint Paul in this place—that it shall be very hard for a man by penance wrought in grace to be restored again to the state of Baptism, clear from all pain due for the sin.  
 For since the Sacrament of Baptism, which regenerateth us and  
 35 maketh us new creatures, doth not so fully apply the Passion of Christ for our satisfaction that it so dischargeth us from all the pain of sin but that we sustain yet, every man for himself, the painful

2 *slidden down*: backslidden    3, 9, 11 *renewed*: made new; regenerated    3 *to*: for  
 4 *having him in derision*: exposing him to ridicule    5 *the deadly*: i.e., a mortal    6, 17 *case*: situation  
 8 *taken*: used as meaning    9, 14 *to wit*: i.e., to say    10 *force*: impact // *to*: into  
 11 *the old*: i.e., any and every previous    12 *wise*: a way    13 *were*: would be  
 13, 14, 18, 30 *pain*: punishment    14 *appointed for*: assigned to    15 *deadly*: mortal  
 15 *committed*: i.e., having been committed // *is*: i.e., it is  
 17 *great pain taken*: i.e., a severe penance carried out // *bring . . . the*: i.e., get ourselves brought back into such a  
 18 *therefor*: i.e., for that forgiven sin // *worn all out*: completely exhausted / totally taken care of  
 19 *exclude*: leave out of consideration    21 *the thing*: something // *to*: for    22 *speak*: i.e., am speaking  
 24 *is excepted also*: i.e., are also not included    26 *of other men’s*: i.e., done for him by other men out of charity  
 28 *conveniently*: suitably    29 *redeeming of his*: i.e., the payment of his debt of    30 *place*: passage  
 31 *wrought in*: i.e., done in the state of    32 *again*: back // *clear . . . due*: i.e., free of all debt of punishment  
 36 *for our satisfaction*: i.e., to the satisfaction that needs to be made for our sins  
 36 *dischargeth . . . of*: disburdens us of the whole penalty for

twitch of bodily death: we may well believe the Apostle in this place,  
that the pain temporally due to our actual sin committed after  
Baptism is not so soon worn out and paid by penance but that  
it is, as Saint Paul saith, a thing very hard to do. For the spiritual  
5 creature which Baptism begetteth and createth of new... Penance,  
finding by sin again allto frushed, plastereth and patcheth  
up, and maketh much work to cure the wound and bring it to  
a scar.

I could for my part be very well content that sin and pain and  
10 all were as shortly gone as Tyndale telleth us. But I were loath that  
he deceived us if it be not so. And therefore, to the intent it may the  
better appear that penance *is* necessary—and that to return to God  
and clean to be forgiven is not so light a thing as Tyndale  
maketh it, but that the church of Christ appointing pain for the  
15 sin (and not a bare forthinking or repentance, as Tyndale  
would have it) is therein taught by the Holy Spirit of God—let  
*The manner how to return to God* every man consider in what wise the  
prophet Joel describeth the manner  
with which man should return to God again after sin: “The  
20 *Jl 2:12–13* Lord saith, Return to me with all your  
heart, in fasting, in weeping, and wailing.  
Tear your hearts and not your garments, and return to  
your Lord God. For he is benign and merciful, patient, and  
plenteous of mercy, and ready to forgive sin.”

25 Tyndale  
And it will follow if I repent in the heart... that I shall do no more so  
willingly and of purpose.

#### More

In these few words there are many doubts. First, how Tyndale  
30 taketh “repenting in the heart”: whether he mean that whoso  
repenteth in his heart shall no more do so again willingly and of  
purpose as long as he so repenteth; or else that whoso repent once  
in his heart shall never cease to repent... or though he do, shall  
never, yet, do more so willingly and of purpose while he liveth. And  
35 if he mean in the first manner, his words be little to purpose. For  
if he grant that though he repent at one time, he may cease to  
repent at another, and then do as evil as he did, and be as evil as  
he was: then had I as lief that he said the man which once repenteth

1 *twitch*: pang // *the Apostle*: i.e., Saint Paul // *place*: passage 2 *pain . . . sin*: i.e., debt of temporal punishment  
for our actual sins [i.e., sins of which we are actively, personally guilty, as opposed to original sin, which we contracted  
by inheritance] 3 *soon*: readily // *worn out*: whittled away / exhausted 6 *allto frushed*: completely messed up  
6 *plastereth*: i.e., medicates 7 *maketh much work*: does a lot 9 *pain*: (debt of) punishment  
10–11 *were loath . . . deceived*: would hate having him deceive 12 *appear*: i.e., be seen  
13 *clean to be forgiven*: i.e., to have the slate wiped totally clean // *light*: easy 14 *maketh it*: makes it out to be  
14 *appointing pain*: i.e., assigning a penance 15 *bare forthinking*: mere regretting 17 *wise*: way  
18 *describeth*: specifies; spells out 23 *benign*: kind 24 *plenteous of*: abounding in  
26 *do . . . so*: i.e., never again do that thing 27, 31, 34 *willingly*: volitionally 27, 31–32, 34 *of purpose*: purposely  
29 *doubts*: uncertainties; unclear things 31 *so*: i.e., that thing 32, 38 *once*: at some one time  
33 *though he do*: even if he does 34 *do more so*: i.e., do that thing again // *while*: as long as  
37 *do as evil*: act as badly // *be as evil*: be as bad 38 *had I as lief*: I would just as soon // *which*: who

will do so no more as long as he doth so no more, and will be good still till he be naught again.

Now, if he mean in the second manner, that whoso repenteth once in his heart can never after cease to repent as long as ever he liveth... or though he cease to repent, shall yet, as long as ever he liveth, never willingly and of purpose fall to sin again: then either of all that fall to sin again—that is to wit, of all Christian people, almost—there was never none that ever repented in heart... or else whosoever have once repented in his heart, all the sins that ever he doth after, he doth none of them willingly... or at the least he doth them not of purpose, but unwittingly, by chance and mishap, ere ever himself be aware thereof, at adventure, suddenly.

Now, if he say that never any which do sin again did heartily repent before... and then that he require no less than hearty repentance of man for his reconciliation to God: he preacheth us no gospel, nor telleth us no glad tidings, but the heaviest tidings that ever man told. For then he telleth us plainly that of all Christian people there is almost none that standeth in state of grace longer than the lack of reason excuseth the default of his deed... or that the lack of life leaveth him no time to sin again after his repentance. For we plainly see that such as repent fall again to sin; and so, by him, they never so repented that ever they were reconciled again to God in all their whole life. And then were there also much

*Note* doubt of their death. For though it be good in some case, yet were it not good always that every man were overly bold upon the sudden grace that the thief got at last, that hung on the cross at Christ's right hand.

And if Tyndale ween to make the matter more easy because he saith he that repenteth in heart will “do *so* no more,” meaning that he will no more fall to *that* kind of sin: this will not serve him. For he falleth out of God's favor and the state of grace by the committing of any other sin that is upon his damnation forbidden. And therefore if hearty repentance be able forever to keep him from one kind—it must be able to keep him from *every* kind of like deadliness, or else it sufficeth not.

Now to the other point. If Tyndale think to ease all the matter by this—that he saith not that he which repenteth in heart shall “do

1 *so*: i.e., that thing    1–2 *be good still*: keep being good    2 *naught*: bad    4, 9 *once*: at some one time  
 5 *though he*: i.e., even if he does    6, 10 *willingly*: volitionally    6, 11 *of purpose*: purposely  
 6, 7 *to sin again*: back into sin    10 *doth*: i.e., commits    11 *unwittingly*: inadvertently  
 12 *mishap*: accidental misfortune // *ere*: before // *himself*: he // *at adventure*: on the spur of the moment  
 12 *suddenly*: spontaneously    13 *never . . . heartily*: i.e., those who commit sin again never did sincerely  
 14, 33 *hearty*: sincere    16 *heaviest*: most distressing    18 *standeth in*: remains in the  
 19 *the lack of*: i.e., his lack of the use of // *excuseth . . . deed*: i.e., exonerates him of culpability for his bad actions  
 19 *that the*: i.e., if it happens that    21 *such . . . to*: i.e., people who repent do fall back into    22 *by*: according to  
 23 *again*: back // *were there*: would there also be    24 *doubt*: uncertainty / fear // *of*: about  
 25 *good in some case*: i.e., a good hope in some instances // *were it not*: would it not be  
 26 *were . . . upon*: placed too much confidence in // *sudden*: extemporaneous / out-of-the-blue  
 27 *at last*: i.e., at the end of his life    28 *ween . . . matter*: i.e., thinks he is making this contention of his  
 28 *more easy*: the less anxiety-producing / the more palatable    29, 37 *in heart*: sincerely  
 29, 30 *no more*: never again    30 *fall to*: fall into / commit // *serve him*: get him anywhere / do that repentant person  
 any good    32 *upon*: on pain of    35 *of*: i.e., of sin that is of // *deadliness*: lethality / grievousness  
 36 *think . . . matter*: thinks he makes the whole claim more palatable    37 *which*: who



so no more,” but that he shall “do so no more, *willingly* and *of purpose*”—then riseth there another doubt: what he calleth “willingly” and “of purpose.”

5 He hath, as it seemeth, some other understanding of this word “willingly” than other men have. *We* say that if he do it not *willingly*... he *sinneth* not at all, if his will nothing do therein at all, except it depend upon some other sin of himself done willingly before... as where a man sinfully falleth in drunkenness or in frenzy, and then, drunken or frantic, doth harm; or whereas  
10 one man giveth other occasion of ruin, as Tyndale doth... when men be burned here with his books, and after damned for his heresies—such men, peradventure, as he never knew, and yet fallen  
A notable saying all their deaths, both of body and soul, in Tyndale’s neck. For as holy Saint  
15 Augustine saith, the heretic that is a teacher and a setter-forth of heresies, though he be deep damned in hell, shall never yet know the uttermost of his pain till the Day of Doom. For as many men as before that day be damned for his heresies... shall ever, as they come to hell, more and more increase his pain.

20 But else, I say, where a man hath no will in the deed nor in the occasion thereof—there is he, as I think, no partner in the sin. I wot not what Tyndale meaneth by “willingly” and “of purpose.” For he is wont to reckon as though there is nothing done “willingly” that is done of frailty... nor I cannot tell what he calleth “purpose”—how  
25 long time serveth, after his reckoning, to make it done of purpose.

But this I wot well: albeit that there be degrees and circumstances that aggrieve the sin and make it more weighty (as when it is in the mind long continued, and done of pure malice, and such other things), yet if these lack so the damnable deed, that God hath  
30 forbidden to be done in deed, by him that is not against his will forced thereunto—this call *we* willingly done, and say that he sinneth deadly that so doth, although he never purposed himself long before upon it. As if a man meet another and kill him suddenly for an angry word... or meet a maiden suddenly and so  
35 deflower her—this would I call “willingly,” but if she were so strong or had so much help that she ravished the man’s maidenhood and deflowered him by force.

1 *so*: that thing 1, 2, etc. *willingly*: volitionally 1, 3, etc. *of purpose*: purposely / on purpose  
2 *doubt*: uncertainty; question 5 *he do it*: i.e., someone does something bad  
7 *except it*: i.e., unless that bad thing he does // *depend*: is consequent // *of himself done*: committed by him  
8, 9 *in*: into 9 *frenzy*: a wild rage // *frantic*: gone berserk // *whereas*: wherever 10 *other*: i.e., another  
11 *after*: afterward 11, 18 *for*: on account of / for holding 12 *peradventure*: perhaps  
13–14 *in Tyndale’s neck*: on Tyndale’s shoulders 15 *setter-forth*: promoter 17, 19 *pain*: punishment / pain  
17 *the Day of Doom*: Judgment Day 19 *come to*: arrive in 21 *partner*: participant 22, 26 *wot*: know  
24, 28 *of*: out of 24 *frailty*: human frailty; susceptibility to temptation 25 *time serveth*: a time suffices  
25 *after*: according to 26 *albeit*: i.e., though it is true; granted 27 *aggrieve*: aggravate; worsen // *as*: such as  
28 *pure*: sheer 29 *yet . . . so*: i.e., yet even if such circumstances are lacking to 32 *deadly*: mortally  
32 *although*: even if // *purposed himself*: set himself; decided 33 *as*: i.e., like  
33, 34 *meet*: (happens) to encounter // *another*: i.e., some other man // *kill*: i.e., kills  
34 *suddenly*: unpremeditatedly // *an angry word*: i.e., for saying something vexatious  
34 *so*: i.e., in the same way (i.e., unpremeditatedly) 35 *deflower*: i.e., deflowers // *but if*: unless // *were*: was  
36 *ravished*: violated // *maidenhood*: virginity

Now, such things as these be, we doubt not but that folk *have* fallen to again after repentance, and after penance too—and such as have been by the Sacrament of Penance restored unto the state of grace. And since that these be damnable whether they be before  
 5 purposed or no, therefore it is partly false, partly foolish that Tyndale saith—that whoso repent in heart shall never do so more, willingly and of purpose—since he that hath repented in heart *may* do so again willingly, and of purpose, too... and he that did it not of purposed purpose doth it yet, for all that, damnably if he do it  
 10 willingly.

And for conclusion, though it may be said by good men of good mind, in exhortation to perseverance in good works, against the lightness of such as fall shortly to sin again, that they “repent not, but mock,” because their lightness giveth occasion and  
 15 *Avoid this doctrine.* conjecture so to think and say: yet to put it for a rule and a surety, as Tyndale doth, that whoso repenteth once in heart shall never sin again willingly and of purpose... and that they that sin again willingly and of purpose did never repent in heart, is very false doctrine and a very  
 20 plain heresy.

#### Tyndale

And if I believed the Gospel—what God hath done for me in Christ—I should surely love him again, and of love prepare myself unto his commandment.

#### More

It is undoubtedly a very good occasion to move a man to love God again, when he believeth the love that God hath to him, and the things that of very love God hath done for him. But yet it is not true that Tyndale saith: that every man which believeth this love  
 30 doth so love God again that of love he prepareth himself unto  
*Mt 26:69–74* God’s commandments. I dare say that Saint Peter loved him well... and yet he both forsook him and forswore him too. But a man that well believed should peradventure prepare him to God’s commandments *if*  
 35 neither the world, the flesh, nor the devil drew him back... nor such heretics worse yet than all three pulled the root of right belief

2 *fallen to*: done    4 *since that*: since; seeing that // *these*: i.e., these sins  
 4–5 *before* . . . *no*: premeditated or not    6, 17 *whoso repent(eth)*: whoever repents    6, 7, etc. *in heart*: sincerely  
 6, 7 *so*: i.e., that kind of deed    6 *more*: anymore    6, 8, etc. *willingly*: volitionally  
 7, 8, etc. *of purpose*: purposely    8–9 *purposed purpose*: premeditated intention    12 *mind*: disposition  
 13, 14 *lightness*: irresoluteness / inconstancy    13 *such as*: such people as; those who    14 *mock*: i.e., just pretend to  
 15 *conjecture*: good reason // *put*: posit    16 *surety*: certainty    17 *once*: at some one time  
 20 *plain*: obvious    23, 27, 30 *again*: back; in return    23, 28, 30 *of*: out of    23, 30, 34 *prepare(th)*: dispose(s)  
 23, 30, 34 *(un)to*: i.e., toward / to comply with    26 *undoubtedly*: undoubtedly  
 26 *occasion* . . . *man*: i.e., cause for a man to be moved    27, 29 *believeth*: i.e., believes in    27 *to*: for  
 28 *very*: sheer    29 *which*: who    32 *well*: a lot    33 *forsook*: abandoned  
 33 *forswore him*: i.e., with an oath denied even knowing him // *well*: really / rightly    34 *should*: would  
 34 *peradventure*: perhaps // *him*: himself

out of his heart. And how stand the words of Tyndale with  
 Luther's holy doctrine which he preacheth against the liberty of  
 man's free will... whereof if man have none, as their heresy teacheth,  
 then how can it be true that a man can of love prepare himself  
 5 to the commandments of God?

And finally, if it be true that Tyndale saith (that is to wit, that if  
 he believed the Gospel, he should surely prepare himself to the commandments  
 of God); and then if this be true therewith, as indeed  
 it is, that he that doth (as Tyndale doth) infect his neighbors  
 10 with deadly poisoned heresies against the blessed sacraments, and  
 thereby maketh their bodies be burned in earth with his books, and  
 their souls burned in hell with his heresies, is the most traitorous  
 despiser of God's commandments that can be devised: it  
 followeth very clearly that Tyndale believeth not the Gospel at all;  
 15 and surely no more he doth.

And now cometh he and saith that I know that all that he hath  
 said for his defense in the change of "church," "priest," "grace," "charity,"  
 "penance," and such others is true, because I knew (as he saith) the  
 Greek before him; whereas I, by such little knowledge as I have of  
 20 Greek, Latin, and of our own English tongue together, know his  
 defense both very false and foolish. And that have I so clearly  
 proved... that to the perceiving of both his falsehood and his folly,  
 there shall not greatly need the knowledge of three tongues nor  
 twain neither... but an indifferent reader that understandeth  
 25 English and hath in his head any reason or natural wit. For albeit  
 that the more learning the reader hath, the more madness he shall  
 perceive in Tyndale's defense of these things foreremembered, yet  
 he that hath wit and no learning at all shall clearly perceive enough.

And to that intent only have I taken the labor to answer his  
 30 defense—to make it open, to learned and unlearned both, that he  
 bringeth to the matter, after his two years' musing thereupon,  
 neither insight of any substantial learning nor yet any proof of  
 reason or natural wit, but only a rash, malicious, frantic  
 braid, furnished with a bare bold assertion and affirmation of  
 35 false, poisoned heresies. For, saving to make this appear, I needed  
 not to touch those points at all. For every man well knoweth that  
 the intent and purpose of my *Dialogue* was none other but to make  
 the people perceive that Tyndale changed in his translation the  
 common-known words to the intent to make a change in the faith.

1 *how* . . . *Tyndale*: i.e., how consistent are these words of Tyndale's    3 *heresy*: heretical group    4 *of*: out of  
 4, 7 *prepare*: dispose    5, 7 *to*: i.e., toward / to comply with    10 *deadly*: lethally    10, 35 *poisoned*: poisonous  
 10 *against*: about    11 *in*: on    13 *despiser*: flouter // *devised*: imagined; thought of  
 14 *believeth not*: does not believe in    15 *surely*: assuredly    17 *in*: regarding    18 *others*: i.e., other words  
 18 *as he saith*: says he    19 *before him*: i.e., before he did    20, 23 *tongue(s)*: language(s)  
 21 *both* . . . *foolish*: i.e., to be both . . . very foolish    22 *to*: for // *falsehood*: dishonesty // *folly*: foolishness  
 23 *need*: i.e., be needed    24 *twain*: two // *indifferent*: unbiased    25, 33 *reason*: reasoning ability  
 25, 28, 33 (*natural*) *wit*: (native) intelligence / common sense    27 *things foreremembered*: above-mentioned things  
 29 *labor*: trouble    30 *open*: obvious    31 *musings*: reflecting    32 *insight*: i.e., the light // *yet*: even  
 33 *frantic*: deranged; wildly insane    34 *braid*: attack // *bare*: mere    35 *false*: false / vile  
 35 *appear*: i.e., be seen    35–36 *needed not*: had no need    36 *touch*: touch upon; discuss  
 37 *Dialogue*: i.e., *Dialogue concerning Heresies*    38 *translation*: i.e., translation of the New Testament  
 38–39 *the common-known words*: i.e., those words that everyone is familiar with

As for example, that he changed the word “church” into this word “congregation” because he would bring it in question which were *the church*... and set forth Luther’s heresy that the church which we should believe and obey is not the common-known body of all Christian realms remaining in the faith of Christ, not fallen off nor cut off with heresies (as Bohemia is, and some parts of Germany), but that the church which we should believe and obey were some secret, unknown sort of evil-living and worse-believing heretics. And that he changed “priest” into “senior”... because he intended to set forth Luther’s heresy teaching that priesthood is no sacrament, but the office of a layman, or a laywoman, appointed by the people to preach. And that he changed “penance” into “repenting”... because he would set forth Luther’s heresy teaching that Penance is no sacrament.

Lo, this being the only purpose and intent of my *Dialogue*... Tyndale cometh now and expressly confesseth the same thing that I purposed to show. For he teacheth and writeth openly those false heresies, indeed, that I said then he intended after to do; so that himself showeth now that I did then show the people truth... and then needed I to make none answer, since his own writing showeth that he made his translation to the intent to set forth such heresies as I said he did.

For as for that that Tyndale calleth them no heresies but the very faith, forceth me but little; for so hath every heretic called his own heresies since Christendom first began. But for all that, the devil will be the devil though Tyndale would call him God.

And I made my book to good Christian people that know such heresies for heresies—to give them warning, that by scripture of his own false forging (for so is his false translation, and not the scripture of God) he should not beguile them and make them ween the thing were otherwise than it is indeed. For as for such as are so mad already to take those heresies for other than heresies, and are thereby themselves no faithful folk, but heretics, if they list not to learn and leave off, but long to lie still in their false belief: it were all in vain to give *them* warning thereof. For when their wills be bent thereto, and their hearts set thereon, there will no warning serve them. And therefore—since Tyndale hath here confessed,

2, 13 *would*: wanted to    2 *in*: into // *which*: i.e., which church    2, 7 *were*: i.e., is  
 3, 10, etc. *set forth*: promote    4 *common-known*: common-knowledge    5 *faith of Christ*: Christian faith  
 5 *off*: i.e., away    6 *with*: i.e., on account of    8 *secret, unknown sort*: unperceivable, unidentifiable set  
 8 *evil-living*: badly-living    16 *confesseth*: acknowledges  
 17 *false*: false / vile / [a polite-language equivalent of] damn    18 *after*: later  
 18 *do*: i.e., teach and write openly // *himself*: he himself    19 *show . . . truth*: tell . . . the truth  
 19–20 *needed . . . none*: I needed not make any    20 *showeth*: makes it manifest  
 23 *that that*: i.e., the fact that // *but the*: i.e., but rather, the    24 *very*: true  
 24 *forceth . . . little*: i.e., this matters little to me    26 *though*: even if // *would*: were to  
 27 *made*: wrote // *to*: i.e., for    28 *that*: so that    29 *false forging*: deceitful fabricating  
 29 *so . . . translation*: i.e., that is what his vile translation is    30 *ween*: believe  
 31 *the thing were*: i.e., something is    32 *to*: as to    33 *list*: care    34 *leave off*: desist  
 35 *were*: would be    37 *serve them*: do them any good // *confessed*: acknowledged

- in his *defense*, that he made such changes for the setting forth  
of such things as I said—it is enough for good Christian men, that  
know those things for heresies, to abhor and burn up his books,  
and the likers of them with them; so that, as I say, I needed none  
5 answer to his defense at all, saving to make, as I have done,  
both learned and unlearned folk perceive him for an unlearned fool.  
And yet—defending himself so fondly, and teaching open heresies  
so shamefully—he saith it appeareth that there was no cause to burn  
his translation, wherein such changes found as ye see, and being  
10 changed for such causes as himself confesseth; that is to wit, for  
a foundation of such pestilent heresies as himself affirmeth and  
writeth in his abominable books. He might much better, if he cut  
a man’s throat in the open street, say there were no cause to hang  
him—but bid men seek up his knife and see it him safe! This  
15 might he, in good faith, much better say then than he may now  
say that there is no cause to burn his translation. With the falsehood  
whereof, and his false heresies brought in therewith, he hath  
killed and destroyed divers men, and may hereafter many,  
some in body, some in soul, and some in both twain.  
20 And therefore, where in the end he looketh so much to me  
that he forgetteth himself... and, making me another holy sermon of  
my “covetousness,” my great “advantage” in “serving” in “falsehood,” mine  
“obstinate malice against the truth”... he forgetteth in the meanwhile  
that his own malice is against the truth in such manner obstinate  
25 that he doth as the devil doth, endure pain for the maintenance  
of his false, devilish heresies against the truth; and, putting  
me in mind again of the false prophet Balaam and his evil end,  
and that all such resisters of the truth come at last unto an evil  
death... he forgetteth in the meanwhile that double death that his fellow  
30 heretics commonly come to, first by fire in earth, and after by  
fire in hell... save they that at the one renounce his devilish heresies,  
and so escape the other: Tyndale, therefore, whereas it liketh him  
Tyndale’s “truths” to liken me to Balaam, Pharaoh, and to  
Judas too, since the pith of all his process  
35 standeth in this one point, that his heresies be the true faith,  
and that the Catholic faith is false; that the holy days nor the

1 *setting forth*: promoting    2 *it is enough*: i.e., this is enough reason    3 *abhor*: abominate  
4 *likers*: i.e., promoters; proponents    7 *so fondly*: with such unwarranted self-confidence / so ridiculously  
7 *open*: obvious    8 *appeareth*: is clear to see    9 *found*: i.e., are found    10, 11 *himself*: he himself  
10 *confesseth*: acknowledges    11 *pestilent*: pernicious; noxious  
12, 15 *might* ( . . . ) *much better*: could ( . . . ) with much more justification  
13 *in the open street*: i.e., out on the street, in broad daylight // *were*: was  
14 *but . . . safe*: i.e., tell people to just go find his knife and see that it got safely back to him  
15 *in good faith*: in all seriousness // *may*: can    16 *falsehood*: deliberate inaccuracy  
17 *false*: vile; [a polite-language equivalent of] damn    18 *divers*: several    19 *twain*: i.e., body and soul  
20 *looketh so much to*: so much focuses on    21 *of*: about    22 *covetousness*: avariciousness  
22 *advantage*: i.e., monetary gain    25 *maintenance*: maintaining / upholding    26 *false*: despicable  
26–27 *putting . . . of*: reminding me again about    27 *his evil end*: i.e., the bad end he came to  
28 *an evil*: i.e., a bad    30 *in*: i.e., here on    31 *save they that*: except those who // *the one*: i.e., the one fire  
32 *so*: thusly // *liketh*: pleases    34 *pith . . . process*: gist of his whole argument    35 *standeth*: lies / consists

fasting days no man need to keep; that the Divine Services in the  
 church is all but superstition; that the church and the alehouse is  
 all one saving for such holy preaching; that men have no free will  
 of their own to do neither good nor ill; that to reverence Christ's  
 5 cross or any saint's image is idolatry; that to do any good work  
 (fast, give alms, or other) with intent the rather to get heaven, or  
 to be the better rewarded there, is deadly sin before God and worse  
 than idolatry; to think that the Mass may do men any good more  
 than the priest himself, were a false belief; a false faith also to  
 10 pray for any soul; great sin to shrive us or to do penance for  
 sin; friars may well wed nuns and must needs have wives,  
 and the sacraments of Christ must serve for Tyndale's jestingstock—  
 these be the "truths" that Tyndale preacheth. And because I call  
 these "truths" heresies—therefore Tyndale calleth me Balaam, Judas,  
 15 and Pharaoh... and threateneth me sore with the vengeance of God and  
 with an evil death. What death each man shall die, that hangeth in  
 God's hands; and martyrs have died for God, and heretics have  
 died for the devil. But since I know it very well, and so doth Tyndale  
 too, that the holy saints dead before these days, since Christ's time  
 20 till our own, believed as I do, that Tyndale's "truths" be stark  
 devilish heresies: if God give me the grace to suffer for saying the  
 same—I shall never in my right wit wish to die better. And  
 therefore, since all the matter standeth in this point alone—that if his  
 heresies be the true faith, then I stand in peril, and if they be a  
 25 false faith, I may be safe enough—let him leave his sermon hardily  
 for the while, and first go prove his lies true, and then come  
 again and preach; and Friar Luther also, and his leman with him,  
 too; and then may the geese provide the fox a pulpit.

30 Here endeth the Second Book, in which is  
 confuted Tyndale's defense of his  
 false translation of the New  
 Testament.

1 *Divine Services*: praying of the different parts of the Divine Office      2 *but*: nothing but  
 2–3 *is all one*: are entirely the same      6 *the rather to get*: to be the more likely to get to  
 7 *deadly sin*: a mortal sin // *before*: in the eyes of      8, 11, 25 *may*: can  
 8 *men . . . more*: i.e., any good to any more people      9 *were*: i.e., is  
 10 *to shrive us*: i.e., for us to go to confession      11 *well*: rightly; with moral rectitude  
 12 *jestingstock*: i.e., laughingstocks      15 *sore*: severely      16 *an evil*: a bad  
 21 *suffer*: undergo martyrdom      22 *wit*: mind  
 23 *all the matter standeth in*: i.e., our whole issue boils down to  
 25 *leave . . . hardily*: i.e., totally quit his sermonizing      26 *the while*: the time being  
 27 *again*: back // *leman*: bedmate; cohabitee      31 *false*: deliberately inaccurate; falsified



those two words are both of one authority; and finally did I  
 prove that the very church of Christ here in earth, which hath the  
 right faith, and which we be bound to believe and obey,  
 is this universal, known people of all Christian nations, that be  
 5 neither put out nor openly departed out by their willful schisms and  
 plainly professed heresies... and that Luther's church and all the  
 churches sprung out thereof, with all the prophets and patriarchs  
 of the same, as Zwingli, Bucer, Balthasar, Otho, Friar Huessgen,  
 10 Friar Lambert, and Tyndale, be the synagogue of Satan and servants  
 of the devil: now cometh me Tyndale and, perceiving  
 himself sore bound to the stake with the strength of this chain,  
 beginneth to writhe and wrestle, and fareth foul with himself,  
 to look if he could break any link thereof. Whereabout forasmuch  
 as he seeth that all the rabble of heretics have long labored of old...  
 15 and yet their books vanished away to the devil with themselves...  
 and that the devil hath of their dry ashes raised up a hundred  
 sorts of new sects of heretics, much more blasphemous than  
 ever were the old: he hath overlooked studiously all *their* books...  
 and with all the poison that the devil hath put in them hath  
 20 stuffed his mouth full, to spit it out again against God and his  
 holy sacraments and all good Christian people, whom he laboreth to  
 infect with the fury that they should not know the very church of  
 God (whereof themselves be members!), but would make them so mad  
 as to believe that the church of God were some one sort of a hundred  
 25 sects of heretics, and no mark among them all why more the  
 one than the other... whereas they must, and do, in this point all  
 agree—that they be all false save one—and the truth is in deed that  
 they be false every one.

Now, to know that the nearer Tyndale cometh to the matter, the  
 30 further he fleeth from the truth... and hideth himself in the darkness  
 of the devil, walking with a sconce of a dim light to  
 make men ween he would show them the way, and leadeth them clean  
 awry: ye shall hear how boldly he beginneth... and after shall I so  
 show you the matter that every child shall perceive his bold, wily  
 35 folly to come of no good trust in his cause, but lack of wit and  
 shame.

1 *one*: the same    2, 22 *very*: true    2, 26 *in*: on    3 *bound*: obliged    8 *as*: such as  
 8 *Bucer*: Martin Bucer (d. 1551). // *Balthasar*: Balthasar Hubmaier (d. 1528).  
 8 *Otho*: Otto Brunfels (d. 1534). // *Friar Huessgen*: Johannes Oecolampadius (d. 1531).  
 9 *Lambert*: Francis Lambert (d. 1530).    10 *cometh me*: i.e., comes at me / here comes  
 11 *sore*: tightly / grievously    12 *fareth*... *himself*: carries on disgracefully / falls all over himself  
 13 *to look*: i.e., trying to see // *could*: i.e., can // *whereabout*: i.e., toward which goal; in which endeavor  
 14 *all the rabble*: the whole motley crew    16 *of*: from    17 *sorts*: varieties    18 *overlooked*: read through  
 18 *their books*: i.e., the books of these new groups of heretics    21 *laboreth*: strives  
 22 *fury*... *know*: i.e., raving lunacy of not being able to recognize as such    24 *were*: i.e., is  
 24 *sort*: variety    25 *mark*: i.e., way to tell    27 *save*: except // *deed*: actuality  
 29 *matter*: point / issue    31 *sconce of*: i.e., screened candlestick that gives    32 *ween*: think  
 32 *would*: i.e., is going to    32–33 *clean awry*: completely astray    34 *matter*: reality  
 34 *every*... *shall*: i.e., any... would be able to    35 *folly*: foolishness // *but*: i.e., but of a  
 35 *wit*: intelligence / good sense



Tyndale  
*Whether the Church Were before the  
 Gospel, or the Gospel before  
 the Church*

5 Another doubt there is, whether the Church (or Congregation) be  
 before the Gospel, or the Gospel before the Church. Which question  
 is as hard to solve as whether the father be elder than the son or  
 the son elder than his father. For the whole Scripture and all  
 believing hearts testify that we are begotten through the Word.  
 10 Wherefore, if the Word beget the Congregation, and he that begetteth  
 is before him that is begotten: then is the Gospel before the  
 Church. Paul also (Romans 10) saith, "How shall they call on whom  
 they believe not? And how shall they believe without a preacher?"  
 That is, Christ must first be preached ere men can believe in him.  
 15 And then it followeth that the word of the preacher must be before  
 the faith of the believer. And therefore, inasmuch as the Word is  
 before the faith, and faith maketh the Congregation: therefore is the  
 Word or Gospel before the Congregation.

More

20 Lo, he that readeth this and heareth not the answer, except himself  
 be well ripened in the matter, may ween that Tyndale in these words  
 had acquitted himself like a man and borne me over quite, he solveth  
 the objection so plainly and playeth therewith so pleasantly. But,  
 now, when ye shall understand that never man was so mad to  
 25 make this objection to Tyndale but himself, then shall ye laugh  
 to see that he wrestleth all alone and giveth himself a fall, and in his  
 merry solution mocketh also no man but himself.

I said in my *Dialogue* that the Church was before the Gospel was  
 written; and that the faith was taught and men were baptized, and  
 30 Masses said and the other sacraments administered among Christian  
 people, before *any* part of the New Testament was put in writing;  
*Right faith was taught by the* and that this was done by the word of God  
*word of God unwritten.* unwritten. And I said also there, and yet  
 say here again, that the right faith  
 35 which Adam had, and such as in the same faith succeeded him

2 *were*: existed; came    5 *doubt*: question // *be*: is    6, 11, 17, 18 *before*: preexistent to  
 6–7 *question* . . . *solve*: question . . . answer / difficulty . . . resolve  
 12, 13 *shall they*: can they be expected to / are they going to    12 *whom*: i.e., him in whom  
 14 *ere*: before    15 *be*: come    20–21 *except* . . . *matter*: unless he is well informed on this subject  
 21 *ween*: think    22 *had*: i.e., has // *borne* . . . *quite*: completely vanquished me // *solveth*: clears away  
 23 *so plainly*: in such an easy-to-understand way // *playeth*: deals // *pleasantly*: humorously  
 24 *man was*: was anyone // *to*: as to    27 *merry*: sportive / hilarious // *solution*: answer  
 27 *mocketh*: holds up to ridicule    28 *Dialogue*: i.e., *Dialogue concerning Heresies*  
 28 *was*: i.e., came into existence    33–34 *yet say here*: here say yet    35 *such*: i.e., all such people

long ere writing began, was taught by the word of God unwritten...  
and so went from man to man, from the father to the son by  
mouth. And I said that this word of God unwritten... is of as great  
authority as is the word of God written.

- 5 I showed also that the church of Christ hath been, is, and ever  
shall be taught and instructed by God and his Holy Spirit with his  
holy word of either kind—that is to wit, both with his word  
written and his word unwritten—and that they which will not  
believe God's word but if he put it in writing be as plain  
10 infidels as they that will not believe it written... since God's word  
taketh its authority of God, that speaketh it, and not of man, that  
writeth it. And there is like surety and like certain knowledge  
of the word of God unwritten as there is of the word of God  
written... since ye know neither the one nor the other to *be* the word  
15 of God but by the tradition of the Church. Which church, as all  
Christian men believe, and the Scripture showeth, and Saint Augustine  
*The Spirit of God teacheth* declareth, and Luther himself confesseth,  
*the Church all truth.* and the devil himself saith not  
nay... the blessed Spirit of God hath inwardly  
20 taught, teacheth, and ever shall teach to know, judge, and  
discern the word of God from the word of man... and shall keep  
the Church from error, leading into every *truth*... as Christ saith  
himself in the sixteenth chapter of Saint John's Gospel. Which he  
did not if he suffered the Church to be damnably deceived in  
25 taking the word of man for the word of God... whereby it should instead  
of service to be done to God, fall in unfaithfulness, and with  
idolatry do service to the devil.

- And therefore I showed in my said *Dialogue*—and yet the King's  
Highness much more plainly showed in his most erudite, famous  
30 book against Luther, out of which I took it—that the word of God  
*The authority of the word* unwritten is of as great authority, as certain,  
*of God unwritten* and as sure as is his word written  
in the Scripture; which point is so fast  
and sure pitched upon the rock our Savior Christ himself that  
35 neither Luther, Tyndale, nor Huessgen, nor all the hellhounds that  
the devil hath in his kennel, never hitherto could, nor while God

1 *ere*: before    5, 28, 29 *showed*: stated    6 *God . . . Spirit*: i.e., God the Holy Spirit  
8 *they which*: those who    9 *but if*: unless    10 *it written*: i.e., his written word  
11 *taketh*: receives // *of*: from    12 *like . . . like*: i.e., just as much trustworthiness and just as  
17 *confesseth*: acknowledges    18–19 *saith not nay*: does not deny    20 *judge*: discern  
21 *discern*: distinguish; tell apart    24 *did not*: i.e., did not do // *suffered*: allowed  
24 *deceived*: gone wrong    26, 27 *service*: homage    26 *in*: into    28 *yet*: moreover  
29 *plainly*: explicitly    31 *unwritten*: i.e., not written there    32 *sure*: trustworthy  
33–34 *fast and sure*: very surely; good and securely    34 *pitched*: i.e., set and fixed  
36 *hitherto*: to this day // *while*: as long as

liveth in heaven and the devil lieth in hell never hereafter shall  
(bark they, bawl they, never so fast), be able to wrest it out.

And that they be all, as I tell you, so feeble in this point whereupon  
the effect of all their whole heresies hangeth (for but if they

- 5 vanquish this one point, all their heresies fully be burned up and  
fall as flat to ashes as it were alms all obstinate heretics  
did), ye may see a clear proof by these words of Tyndale which  
he hath set so gloriously forth in the forefront of his battle, as  
though they were able to win the whole field. For whereas I said

- 10 *The word of God unwritten* that the Gospel and the word of God *unwritten*  
*was before the Church.* was *before* the Church... and by it  
was the Church begun, gathered, and

taught; and that the *Church* was before that the Gospel that now is  
written was *written* (that is to wit, before any *part* of the Gospel was

- 15 written; for as for all the whole Gospel—that is to wit, *all* the words of  
God that he would have known, believed, and kept—was yet  
never written): this being the thing that I said, Tyndale, with all

*The Church was before* the help he hath had of all the heretics  
*the Gospel written.* in Almaine this two or three years together,

- 20 is yet in such despair to be able  
to match therewith that he is with shame enough fain to forget  
that I said the Church was before the Gospel *written*, which  
thing himself cannot deny, and is fain to frame the doubt and  
make the objection... as though I had said that the Church had been  
25 before the Gospel and the word of God *unwritten*; whereof himself  
knoweth well that I said clean the contrary. And therefore, good  
readers, having this thing in your remembrance, take now the  
pain to read Tyndale's words again, and ye shall have a pleasure  
to see how fondly he juggleth before you. For now, his craft opened and  
30 declared unto you, ye shall perceive that he playeth nothing clean...  
but fareth like a juggler that conveyeth his galls so craftily that all  
the table spieth them!

### Tyndale

- 35 And again, as the air is dark of itself, and receiveth all her light  
of the sun: even so are all men's hearts of themselves dark with  
lies, and receive all their truth of God's word, in that they  
consent thereto.

2 *bawl*: howl // *never so fast*: no matter how assiduously // *wrest it out*: i.e., pull it off / wrench it away  
3 *so feeble*: so unsound; on such shaky ground 4 *effect*: purport // *all their whole*: i.e., their whole entire set of  
4 *but if*: unless 6 *were alms*: would be a mercy that 8 *gloriously*: grandiosely  
11, 13, 18 *was*: was in existence 13 *before that*: before such time as 14, 15 *to wit*: to say  
16 *have*: i.e., have be // *kept*: abided by 16–17 *was yet never*: i.e., that has never yet been  
18 *had of*: gotten from 19 *written*: i.e., was written // *Almaine*: Germany 20 *yet*: still // *to be*: i.e., of being  
21 *match therewith*: i.e., combat it 21, 23 *fain*: constrained 21 *forget*: omit mention of the fact  
22 *was before*: preexisted 23 *frame*: word; formulate // *doubt*: question 24 *been*: existed  
25 *himself*: he himself 26 *clean the contrary*: the complete opposite 28 *pain*: trouble  
28–29 *have* . . . *see*: i.e., get a kick out of seeing 29 *fondly*: stupidly; ridiculously  
29 *juggleth*: prestidigitates; performs a trick // *craft*: guile / magical device // *opened*: revealed  
30 *declared*: explained // *playeth*: i.e., does his performance // *nothing*: not at all // *clean*: deftly; adroitly  
31 *fareth*: acts // *juggler*: magician // *conveyeth*: moves by sleight of hand // *galls*: little balls  
31 *craftily*: skillfully / cunningly // *all*: i.e., everyone at 32 *spieth them*: i.e., knows where they are  
35 *of the*: from the // *even*: just 36 *of*: from // *in that*: inasmuch as 37 *consent*: assent

## More

And this liketh me very well; and so much the better by cause that the goodness of God causeth Tyndale to speak these words nothing touching the matter for any reproof of my book, but only reprov-  
 5 ing himself and condemning all his whole sect. For I never said, nor no man else, as I suppose, neither Christian nor heathen, that God taketh his truth or his light of man, but man of God. And therefore this holy sermon he spendeth but in waste... saving, as I said, for the condemning of himself and his sect.

For since it is true that by the light of God, as Tyndale here confesseth, men's hearts be cleansed from lies and false opinions and from thinking evil good, and therefore from consenting to sin; and we see well that Tyndale and all his sect be set all upon heresies and false, blasphemous lies, and think (if they think as  
 15 they say) both evil good and good evil... for they call Christ's sacraments evil and Luther's lechery good... and so not only consent to sin, but also commit and defend and teach the whole dead, stinking sea of sin: it followeth, by Tyndale's own holy sermon here, that his own heart and the hearts of all his whole sect  
 20 be the dark air of hell... from which the light of God's own glorious Son, that came to give light into the dark air of this earth, hath far withdrawn its beams. And this hath Tyndale, with his own holy words devised of none occasion (and far from the matter) but only to show the glory of his high spiritual phrase,  
 25 nothing done at all but given himself a fall and thrown all his matter in the mire.

Yet hath he one word by which it appeareth that while he saw himself fallen, he would pull down other men into the mire to him. For if ye consider his words, ye shall see that he coucheth  
 30 them in such wise that he would make men ween that wheresoever there were a *true* belief, and false opinions taken away... that there it must needs be that men shall not consent to sin. Which thing he doth for the color and cloak of *their false* opinion... by which they teach that "faith alone" always sufficeth—wherein when  
 35 they find themselves so shamefully confuted and convicted, they be loath to seem to flee by day, and therefore they flee by night and retreat themselves in the dark... making as though they were mistaken and meant nothing but that whoso have a *right* belief, and not a

2 *liketh*: suits // *by cause*: i.e., by reason of the fact

4 *nothing* . . . *reproof*: having to do with the issue nothing for any refuting 5 *reproving*: refuting

7 *taketh*: receives // *of*: from // *but man*: i.e., but rather, man 8 *spendeth*: bestows

8 *but in waste*: i.e., is just a waste of paper 10 *confesseth*: professes

11, 31, 33 *opinion(s)*: idea(s) / tenet(s) 14 *false*: vile 17 *dead*: stagnant / devoid-of-spiritual-life

18 *by*: according to 21 *that*: who 22 *this*: thus 24 *matter*: issue // *glory*: magnificence

24 *high*: lofty // *phrase*: style of expression 25 *all his*: his whole 26 *matter*: case

26, 28 *mire*: i.e., slimy and filthy mud 27 *appeareth*: can be seen // *while*: when 28 *would*: wanted to

30 *wise* . . . *would*: i.e., a way as to // *ween*: think

33 *the* . . . *of*: the whitewashing and camouflaging of / to make seem plausible and look good

35 *convicted*: proved wrong 36–37 *retreat themselves*: make their retreat

37 *mistaken*: taken wrongly; misunderstood 38 *whoso have*: whoever has

false opinion, it cannot be but that he must needs do well; as Tyndale saith here that he which doth not believe evil to be good, he shall never consent to sin.

5 As it is a great folly to affirm this... so were it almost as much folly to confute this. For who is there that thinketh that to kill a man for his money is no sin? And yet many wretches do it. Who thinketh that adultery is no sin? And yet many wretches do it. Who thinketh that to wed a nun is no sin? I dare say not even these wretches themselves that wed them, but they verily know it for sin and yet  
10 the wretches do it. And therefore this tale of Tyndale's is but a very foolish heresy.

Tyndale

15 ... (John 17) "Sanctify them, O Father, through thy truth. And thy word is truth." And thus thou seest that God's truth dependeth not of man. It is not true because man so saith or admitteth it for true ...

More

Whereof serveth all this, while no man said the contrary?

Tyndale

20 ... but man is true because he believeth, testifieth, and giveth witness in his heart that it is true.

More

*Mt 16:16; 26:69-74*

Nay, pardie, this is not always true. For  
Saint Peter himself was not true when  
25 he testified and gave witness with his Master in his heart and yet forswore him openly with his mouth. And Judas believed in his heart that God's word was true... and yet was himself not true, but a false thief and a false traitor too. And nowadays also be there many false thieves and false traitors unto God—false heretics, I mean, that by  
30 the word of God believe and wot well enough that it is abominable theft and sacrilege for a friar to wed a nun... and yet, as false harlots, both do and teach the contrary to their own belief.

Tyndale

35 And Christ also saith himself (John 5), "I receive no witness of man." For if the multitude of man's witness might make aught true, then were the doctrine of Muhammad truer than Christ's.

1 *opinion*: idea // *needs do well*: i.e., inevitably act uprightly    2 *which*: who // *evil*: i.e., something bad  
4, 5 *folly*: idiocy    4 *were it*: would it be // *much*: i.e., much of an    7 *do*: i.e., commit    9 *verily*: really  
10 *tales*: assertions    15 *of*: on // *admitteth it for*: accepts it as    18 *whereof serveth*: what point is there to  
18 *while*: since    20, 24 *true*: in conformity with the truth    23 *nay, pardie*: no, by golly  
26 *forswore* ... *mouth*: i.e., with his mouth, out loud, denied him with an oath  
27 *not true*: not in conformity with the truth / not upright    28, 29, 31 *false*: dishonest / truth-opposing / vile  
30 *wot*: know    32 *harlots*: lowlives    34 *of*: from    35 *multitude*: multitudinousness // *might*: could  
35 *ought*: i.e., something    36 *were the doctrine* ... *truer*: would the teachings ... be truer

## More

Now cometh he somewhat to his purpose indeed... but he cometh to a full shrewd purpose. For by these words of Christ in the fifth chapter of John... he would make it seem that there should no credence be given to the *Church*, because they be *men*... and therefore cannot (as Tyndale saith) bear witness unto Christ nor his word, since Christ saith himself, "I receive no witness of man." To this purpose hath he brought forth all his gay, painted process before... the glittering whereof he hopeth should so daze our eyes that we should not see the falsehood of his short, sudden conclusion in which he knitteth up Christ and Muhammad together to confound the credence and authority of Christ's church.

But, good Christian readers, deferring for the while Muhammad's doctrine (with whom *Tyndale* may make a match!), I shall show you what fraud and deceit Tyndale here useth both in the translating and in the interpretation of these words of our Savior Christ that he rehearseth, written in the fifth chapter of Saint John. Christ in that place neither meaneth nor saith that he taketh *no* witness of man, as Tyndale rehearseth, but he both meaneth and saith that he taketh not his *special* witness of man, but of God. And to the intent that ye may the better perceive that for to make his heresy seem proved by the Gospel, he falsely translateth the Gospel... ye shall understand that the Latin tongue lacketh one certain article that the Greek hath, and which article in part both our English language hath and the French also, and divers other tongues, and it is in English this word "the." For whereas we have two articles in English, "a" and "the," "a" (or "an," for both is one article, the one before a consonant, the other before a vowel) is common to everything, almost; but "the" signifieth oftentimes some special thing, and divideth it from the general. As when I say "a man" or "a horse," it standeth indifferent, and appeareth not what man or what horse I mean. For if I would be so unwise to say to my servant, "Go do me this errand to a man," he should not wit what man he should go to. But when I say, "Go do this errand to the man," he wotteth well that I mean a certain, special man, to him and me known, to whom the errand pertaineth. This article "the" doth, therefore,

2 *purpose indeed*: real point / what he's really getting at    3 *full*: very // *shrewd*: cunning / malignant  
 3, 8 *purpose*: point    5 *Church*: i.e., Church authorities; members of the Magisterium  
 6 *as Tyndale saith*: says Tyndale; according to Tyndale    7, 19, 20, 21 *of*: from    8 *all his*: his whole  
 8 *gay*: showy / plausible-sounding // *painted*: deceptively varnished; veneered // *process*: discourse  
 10 *short*: brief // *sudden*: out-of-the-blue // *conclusion*: inference  
 11 *knitteth* . . . *together*: ties together Christ and Muhammad // *confound*: discredit; shoot holes in  
 12 *credence*: credibility    13 *Muhammad's*: i.e., discussion of Muhammad's    14 *make a match*: be on a par  
 15 *fraud*: fraudulence // *useth*: employs    17, 19 *rehearseth*: quotes (him)    18 *place*: passage / verse  
 20 *special*: main; chief    22 *for to*: in order to    23, 26 *tongue(s)*: language(s)    26 *divers*: several  
 27 *both is one*: i.e., they're both the same    30, 35 *special*: specific; particular    30 *divideth*: distinguishes  
 31 *standeth indifferent*: remains undifferentiated // *appeareth not*: it is not evident    32 *would*: were to  
 32 *unwise to*: witless as to    33, 34 *do (me) this*: deliver (for me) this    33, 34, 36 *errand*: message  
 33 *should not wit*: would not know    35 *wotteth*: knows

in our English tongue, give great light unto the sentence; and  
the Greek tongue hath an article that doth the like in theirs; and the  
lack of the like doth in the Latin tongue leave oftentimes the sentence  
obscure and dark which would with that article, if the

5 Latin language had it, appear open and plain.

I shall show you first an example thereof in the first chapter of  
the Gospel of Saint John, which place Tyndale hath wrong  
translated also... for what cause, the devil and he knoweth. For  
Tyndale is not ignorant of that article, neither the Greek nor the  
10 English, and maketh himself as though he translated the New Testament  
out of Greek. These words be the words of the Gospel in that  
place, after Tyndale's translation:

15 This is the record of John, when the Jews sent priests and  
Levites from Jerusalem to ask him, "What art thou?" And he confessed  
and denied not, and said plainly, "I am not Christ." And they asked  
him, "What, then? Art thou Elijah?" And he said, "I am not." "Art thou  
a prophet?" And he answered, "No."

I would not here note, by the way, that Tyndale here translateth  
"no" for "nay"—for it is but a trifle and mistaking of the English word—  
20 saving that ye should see that he which in two so plain English  
words, and so common, as is "nay" and "no," cannot tell when he should  
take the one and when the other... is not for translating into  
English a man very meet. For the use of those two words in  
answering to a question is this. "Nay" answereth the question  
25 framed by the affirmative. As, for example, if a man should ask  
Tyndale himself, "Is a heretic meet to translate Holy Scripture  
into English?"—lo, to this question, if he will answer true  
English, he must answer "Nay," and not "No." But and if the question  
be asked him thus, lo—"Is not a heretic meet to translate Holy  
30 Scripture into English?"—to this question, lo, if he will answer true  
English, he must answer "No," and not "Nay." And a like difference is  
there between these two adverbs "yea" and "yes." For if the question be  
framed unto Tyndale by the affirmative, in this fashion—"If a heretic  
falsely translate the New Testament into English, to make his  
35 false heresies seem the word of God, be his 'Books' worthy to be burned?"—  
to this question, asked in this wise, if he will answer true English  
he must answer "Yea," and not "Yes." But, now, if the question be asked

1, 2, 3 *tongue*: language    1 *give . . . unto*: shed a lot of light on    1, 3 *sentence*: meaning  
4 *dark*: nebulous; hard to make out    5 *appear . . . plain*: i.e., be clear and obvious    7, 12 *place*: passage  
10 *as though he*: i.e., seem to have    12 *after*: according to    13 *record*: testimony    14, 16 *what*: who  
19 *"no" for "nay"*: i.e., as "no" what he should have translated as "nay"  
19 *mistaking . . . word*: i.e., a using of the wrong English word just on account of mistakenness  
20 *he which in*: a man who regarding // *so plain*: such simple    22 *take*: use  
23, 26, 29 *meet*: qualified / fit    27, 30, 36 *true*: i.e., in good    28 *But and if*: i.e., But, now, if  
33 *framed*: formulated; worded // *by*: in    35 *false*: vile / [a polite-language equivalent of] damn  
35 *seem*: i.e., seem to be // *be . . . worthy to be*: i.e., are hia "New Testament" editions deserving of being  
36 *wise*: way

him thus, lo, by the negative—"If a heretic falsely translate the New Testament into English, to make his false heresies seem the word of God... be not his 'Books' well worthy to be burned?"—to this question, in this fashion framed, if he will answer true English,

- 5 he may not answer "Yea," but he must answer "Yes," and say, "Yes, marry be they—both the translation and the translator, and all that will hold with them."

- 10 And this thing, lo, though it be no great matter... yet I have thought good to give Tyndale warning of, because I would have him write true one way or other; that though I cannot make him by no means to write true matter, I would have him yet at the leastwise write true English.

- But now to the matter itself. Ye see that by Tyndale's translation, the  
*Jn 1:21; Lk 7:26–28* Jews asked of Saint John whether he  
 15 were a prophet, and that he answered nay...

- and so he denied that he was a prophet. Now doth *Christ* testify of him that he was both "a prophet" and "more than a prophet"; so that if Saint John should say of himself that he was no prophet, and Christ said yes... either should Saint John say untrue himself or  
 20 else should there an untruth be spoken by the mouth of our Savior himself; of which two things the one is incredible and the other impossible. And in the Latin tongue this thing is left in doubt, for lack, as I told you, of an article correspondent to the Greek article and to the English article "the"; and for that cause, some right  
 25 holy men, and very well learned, were for lack of the Greek tongue much troubled with that place, how it might be understood right. But Tyndale by the Greek tongue perceiving the article... saw well enough that he should not have translated it into the English, "Art thou a prophet?" but "Art thou *the* prophet?"... and then were the matter  
 30 open and plain. For they asked him not whether he were a prophet—that is to wit, whether he were *any* prophet—but whether he were *the* prophet; that is to wit, the great prophet of whom

- Dt 18:15* Moses prophesied and promised in the Deuteronomy. Of which prophet there  
 35 was opinion among many of the Jews not that he should be Christ, but a great prophet that should come before him. And therefore they asked Saint John, "Art thou the prophet?"—meaning that special

1 *by*: in 2–3: *seem*... "Books": See notes for 231/35. 3 *well*... *be*: quite deserving of being  
 4 *framed*: formulated // *true*: i.e., in good 6 *marry be they*: indeed they are 8 *great*: serious  
 9 *give*... *of*: call Tyndale's attention to 10, 11, 12 *true*: correct(ly) 11, 13 *matter*: content  
 13 *by*: according to 15, 30, 31, 32 *were*: i.e., was 16 *so*: thus 18 *no*: i.e., not a  
 19 *yes*: i.e., yes he was // *say untrue himself*: himself speak untruthfully 21 *incredible*: not believable  
 22 *tongue*: language / edition 22–23 *in doubt*: unresolved; up in the air 24 *cause*: reason  
 25, 27 *the Greek tongue*: i.e., (his) knowledge of Greek / (access to) the Greek edition 26 *place*: text  
 29–30 *were*... *plain*: i.e., would what is being said there be clear and obvious 33 *promised*: gave promise  
 33 *the*: i.e., the Book of 34 *of*: about 35 *Christ*: i.e., the Messiah 37 *special*: specific; particular



prophet. And yet the Jews that asked Saint John the question—  
 notwithstanding that by their own question they knew that he  
 did not in his answer deny himself to be *any* prophet, but that  
 special prophet of whom they meant—did yet falsely rehearse him  
 5 in their anger, when they said again unto him, “If thou be neither  
 Christ nor Elijah nor Prophet, why baptizest thou, then?” And as the  
 Jews did then wittingly false rehearse him, so doth Tyndale as  
 falsely now translate him... making it seem that, by their question  
 and his answer, either Saint John should say untrue or else our  
 10 Savior himself. And for what intent, let Tyndale himself tell;  
 but that he so doth, his translation showeth. And that he doth it  
 wittingly well appeareth by that he is not so ignorant in the Greek  
 tongue but that he knoweth the article there which he should have  
 taken into the English... and in many other places so hath he done.  
 15 And in *this* place if he had not perceived it himself—yet that good,  
 virtuous, and well-learned man Nicholas de Lyra gave him warning  
 thereof; whom though Tyndale list to set at so short and mock and  
*Nicholas de Lyra* scorn, saying that “Lira delirat,” yet he  
 shall not say nay but he gave him good  
 20 warning here, and hath indeed more good learning in the Scripture  
 of God than hath Luther and Hutchins, and five Friar Huessgens, and  
 as many Friar Lamberts too.

Now that I have shown you somewhat of the strength and effect  
 of the article, both Greek and English, which declareth that the  
 25 word whereto it is set signifieth not a thing generally, and confuse,  
 at large, but some special thing, determinate, of that kind;  
 and that I have shown you one example thereof in the Gospel, which  
 Tyndale hath evil translated: I will now go further and show you  
 how he hath evil translated also this selfsame text of Saint  
 30 John too which he now allegeth, and hath therein falsified the  
 words of our Savior himself which he now bringeth forth for  
 his purpose.

The words spoken by our Lord be, as Tyndale hath translated  
 them, these: “I take no record of man.” In the Latin they be thus:  
 35 “Ego testimonium ab homine non recipio.” Which if it be translated into  
 English without the article (as the Latin hath none), then is it thus:  
 “I take *not* record of man”; and not, as Tyndale hath translated, “I take  
*no* record of man.” He maketh his English as though the Latin were  
 “Ego nullum testimonium ab homine recipio.” And whether the sentence be

3 *but*: i.e., but only      4, 26 *special*: specific; particular      4 *of whom they meant*: they had in mind  
 4, 7 *false(ly) rehearse*: misquote      5 *again*: in reply      6 *Prophet*: i.e., the prophet      7, 12 *wittingly*: knowingly  
 8 *falsely*: i.e., deliberately inaccurately      8–9 *seem that, by . . . either*: i.e., seem, from . . . that either  
 9 *should say untrue*: i.e., spoke untruthfully      12 *well appeareth by*: i.e., is made quite evident by the fact  
 12–13 *in . . . tongue*: i.e., regarding . . . wording / of . . . edition      13 *knoweth*: is aware of  
 14, 15 *place(s)*: passage(s)      16 *well-learned*: well-educated / very learned      16, 20 *warning*: notice  
 17 *list*: chooses // *set at*: i.e., sell      18 *delirat*: talks nonsense      19 *say nay but*: deny that      20 *in*: regarding  
 21 *Hutchins*: The surname used by some of Tyndale’s ancestors. Sometimes Tyndale himself went by it.  
 23 *shown*: pointed out to // *somewhat*: something      24 *declareth*: makes clear      25 *set*: attached  
 25–26 *generally . . . large*: i.e., something in general, something undifferentiated and indeterminate  
 27 *shown*: i.e., given      28, 29 *evil*: badly; wrongly      30 *allegeth*: adduces      32 *purpose*: argument  
 34, 37, 38 *record of man*: testimony from man      38 *maketh*: writes      39 *sentence*: meaning

precisely both one in these twain—"I take not record of man" and "I take no record of man"—we shall not now need to dispute, since Tyndale taketh the sentence wrong which of them both soever were the words, as I shall show anon. But first I shall go forth and show you, as I began, that he should have translated the words into English otherwise—and thereby have expressed the Greek the better, and yet not contraried the Latin.

Ye shall therefore understand that in that place of Saint John the fifth chapter, where Tyndale hath translated Christ's words in this wise, "I receive no record of man," the Greek book hath there, upon this word "record," the article that is, as I have shown you, correspondent unto our English article "the"; by which article put before the word "record," that word there, in the tongue in which the Evangelist wrote the words himself, signifieth not a common record, in general, but a certain, special kind of record—as the Greek article made the word "prophet," in the first chapter, to signify not a prophet in general, but a special prophet whom the Jews looked for.

And therefore I say that Tyndale should in his English translation not have left out that article "the," but should at the leastwise have translated it thus: "I receive not the record of man"; whereas with his translating "no record," that article "the"—whereupon the weight of the sentence hangeth—he hath not only left out, but clean excluded, also. For if he had translated it "I receive not record of man," though he left out "the," yet he might take it in thereto and amend it, making it "I receive not the record of man." But now that he hath translated it "I receive no record of man," he hath excluded it utterly but if he take in "not" and put out his false "no"; for he cannot say "I receive no the record of man." And this hath he done not of ignorance but of malice, to make it seem that Christ utterly refuseth and rejecteth all manner witness of man in testification and witnessing of him and his truth. And this translation therefore deviseth Tyndale... because he would have us ween that Christ would have the witness of all his Church utterly serve of naught.

But, now, because it will peradventure seem unto some men that though he had in his translation expressed the Greek article and

1 *precisely*: exactly // *one*: the same // *twain*: i.e., two wordings

1, 2, etc. *record (of man)*: testimony (from man) 2 *dispute*: discuss 3 *taketh*: gets

3, 23 *sentence*: meaning 4 *anon*: presently // *go forth*: go ahead 5 *began*: started to

6 *have*: i.e., would have 7 *contraried*: contradicted 8–9 *place . . . chapter*: i.e., verse of John 5

10 *wise*: way // *book*: edition 11 *upon*: attached to // *shown*: told 13 *tongue*: language

14 *a common*: i.e., just any kind of 15, 17 *special*: particular 15 *as*: just as

17–18 *whom . . . for*: i.e., whose imminent arrival the Jews were expecting 22 *weight*: preponderance

23 *hangeth*: depends // *clean*: completely 25 *might*: could 28 *but if*: unless

28 *take . . . put*: i.e., puts . . . takes // *false*: wrong; incorrect 33 *deviseth Tyndale*: Tyndale contrives

33 *ween*: believe 34–35 *utterly . . . naught*: serve for absolutely nothing 36 *peradventure*: perhaps

37 *though*: even if

made it thus, “I take not the record of man,” that yet it were all one and no difference between those words and these, “I take no record of man”—of truth, the difference is not easy for every man to perceive... and yet some difference is there indeed, as there is between these  
 5 twain. If a man would say in speaking of God and Moses, “I take Moses for no leader of the children of Israel,” he should say wrong, for he should deny him to have been their leader in any manner wise as he was their leader indeed. But if he would say, “I take not Moses  
 10 for the leader of the children of Israel,” he should say well enough; for he should thereby not utterly deny Moses to have been any manner leader of them... but he should deny that he was their only leader, or their chief leader... meaning that though he were *a* leader, yet God was *the* leader, that is to wit, the chief leader. Now, if any yet perceive  
 15 not clearly the strength of this article, he may consider that it is not all one to say “I take you for no man,” or “I take you not for a man,” and “I take you not for the man.” The two first excludeth him utterly from all the nature and kind of man; the third doth but deny him to be some such certain man as they mean of.

But yet shall ye further understand that, as I said in the beginning,  
 20 though our article “the” be correspondent unto the Greek article in declaring the certainty of the thing that it is put unto, and in restraining the word from its general signification to a more determinate especialty; and that in many things this is very plain and clear: yet doth not our article, sometimes, so fully and so  
 25 effectually declare that thing as doth the article in the Greek, specially but if we change the order of our English words from the order of the Greek. And therefore I say that to put away the doubt, and for the better expressing of the article, Tyndale should in the translating of that place have changed somewhat the order of  
 30 the words. And where they lie in the Latin in this wise—“I receive not the record of man”—he should rather have translated it thus: “The record I receive not of man.” For by so translating those words and so changing the order, he should have gone more near to the expressing of the very sentence that Christ there spoke and meant—  
 35 which was that the *special* record he took not of man, but of God... and not that he would take of man no manner record at all; as I shall

1, 2, etc. *record*: testimony      1, 31, 32, 35, 36 *of*: from

1–2 *were* . . . *difference*: i.e., would all amount to the same thing, there being no difference of meaning

3 *of truth*: truth to tell      5 *twain*: i.e., two things      5, 8 *would*: were to

6, 9, 10, 11, 33 *should*: would      6 *say wrong*: speak wrongly      7 *should deny*: i.e., would be denying

7 *manner wise*: i.e., such kind of way      9 *say well*: speak rightly      10, 36 *manner*: kind of      12 *were*: was

13 *to wit*: i.e., to say      13–14 *any yet perceive not*: anyone still does not perceive      14 *strength*: force

14 *may consider*: i.e., might think about the fact      15 *all one*: one and the same

16 *two first excludeth*: i.e., the first two statements exclude that “you”      17 *all the*: the whole

17 *kind*: species      18 *they mean of*: i.e., both the speaker and the addressee have in mind

21 *declaring the certainty*: i.e., bespeaking the particularity // *put unto*: attached to      22 *restraining*: restricting

23 *especialty*: specificity // *in*: with regard to      24 *plain and clear*: clear and obvious

25 *effectually*: adequately // *declare*: bespeak / make clear      26 *specially but if*: especially unless

27 *put away*: get rid of      28 *doubt*: ambiguity      29 *place*: i.e., verse      30 *where*: whereas // *wise*: manner

33–34 *gone more near* . . . *very sentence*: i.e., come closer . . . actual sentence/thing      34 *spoke*: i.e., said

35 *special*: chief // *took*: got

anon so clearly prove you that Tyndale shall never while he liveth wade out thereof.

5 But first, it will haply seem hard to some men that he which translath should in his translating make any change in the order of the words. Ye shall understand that it is a thing which he *must* many times needs do... because of the manners and forms of speaking in diverse languages. For if he shall always translate word for word and in the order as it standeth, he shall sometimes give a sentence unable to be perceived or understood; and sometimes a wrong  
10 sentence; yea, and sometimes a contrary, too—of all which I could give you examples, were it not both needless and also too long for this present book.

I will therefore of a great many give you but one... in which Tyndale hath, for lack of changing the order of the words, translated  
15 a very plain place, in the very beginning of Saint John's Gospel, whether wrong or no let others judge... but surely otherwise than I would have done.

His translation is this: "In the beginning was that word, and that word was with God, and God was that word."

20 First, this word "that" putteth Tyndale for the article "the," whereof I have shown you before; wherein he doth much amiss. For it is no doubt but that it is here put for to signify the specialty of the thing, as of *God* and *the Word*; because there be many words, and the paynims worshipped many gods... the article is set to those  
25 words to signify not *a* word nor *a* god—as though it were one of the many words of men, or one of the many gods of paynims—but *the* God, and *the* word that is the singular God and the singular Word: that is to wit, the Word of God. And that article is not in English this word "that," as Tyndale hath translated... but this  
30 word "the," as he should have translated... but if he will turn the article out of its kind.

A man may say "The man that we spoke of was here," or "That man that we spoke of was here." But and if he speak of him absolutely, without mention of any speech before had with him, he must then  
35 say "*The* man was here," and may not say "*That* man was here" but if he add somewhat to it.

If ye speak of the chief captain of the field, ye may say "The captain will march on tomorrow." But ye may not say "*That* captain will march on tomorrow" but if ye show *which* captain

1 *anon*: soon // *while*: as long as    2 *wade out thereof*: escape from it    3 *haply*: maybe // *hard*: problematic  
3–4 *he which translath*: someone who is translating    5 *it is a thing*: this is something    7 *diverse*: different  
8–9 *give . . . perceived*: i.e., produce a sentence whose meaning cannot be figured out or understood  
10 *sentence*: meaning    15 *plain*: clear; unambiguous // *place*: text    20 *for*: in place of    21 *shown*: spoken to  
21 *doth much amiss*: goes far astray / does very wrong    21–22 *it . . . but*: it is undoubtable  
22 *specialty*: particularity    24, 26 *paynims*: pagans    24 *set*: attached    30, 35–36, 39 *but if*: unless  
30 *will*: wants to    30–31 *turn . . . kind*: i.e., change the nature of the article    33 *But and if*: i.e., But, now, if  
33 *speak*: i.e., speaks // *absolutely*: unqualifiedly    34 *any . . . with*: anything's having previously been said about  
36 *add somewhat*: adds something    39 *show*: indicate

by some other token, or else point him with your finger. And Tyndale knoweth this well enough... and therefore he calleth God always “the Lord,” and not “a lord” nor “that lord.” And therefore I marvel why he translated *In principio erat verbum* “In the beginning was that word”; for surely that word “that” was not to begin with  
 5 nor to stand there... but if Tyndale intended to mock.

But as I was about to say, where he translateth “God was the Word”... albeit that in the Greek and in the Latin it doth well enough, and in the English that manner of speaking may stand in many other  
 10 things, and especially in the plural number, or in the first person or the second singular, where the things that we speak of, or the article, or the diversity of the word which is in the verb, in our English tongue, changed in those two persons singular, taketh the doubt away and maketh the matter open which of the two terms  
 15 we take for *subiectum* and which for *praedicatum*: yet in this great matter I would rather in our own tongue have changed and turned the order of the words, and translate it thus—“The Word was God”—than as Tyndale doth, “God was the Word”... likewise as I would in English rather say “Christ was God” than “God was Christ.” For these words  
 20 “God was Christ” or “God was the Word” be not well spoken, saving that we understand thereby the other, with the words changed; that is to wit, “Christ was God” and “The Word was God.” For else, understood as it standeth, “God was Christ” were as much to say as that all three Persons—the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—were  
 25 Christ all three.

Howbeit, I say not this to show that I think that Tyndale meant any evil in this; nor I impugn not in this point his translation so greatly but it may be borne; but I say the other is in English better and more clear. And I say this... to show that the order of  
 30 the text in Scripture may be sometimes by the translator better changed than kept. And I tell you this to the intent that ye may the more clearly perceive that Tyndale should not have letted in the other place that he alleged, in the fifth of Saint John, “I receive no record of man,” to change the order of the words with setting  
 35 in the article, and to have said “The record I receive not of man.” Yea, and since the article signifieth the special kind of record: rather than to do as he hath done—left it quite out, as though God

1 *token*: identifying characteristic // *point him*: i.e., point him out    4 *marvel*: wonder  
 5 *was not to begin with*: did not exist in the beginning / was not there to begin (anything) with  
 6 *to stand*: i.e., was to be put // *but if*: unless // *mock*: do some deceiving  
 8 *it doth*: i.e., that word order works    9 *stand*: be acceptable / be legitimate // *in*: with regard to  
 12 *diversity*: variation // *the verb*: i.e., its verb form    13, 16 *tongue*: language  
 14 *doubt*: ambiguity // *open*: obvious    16 *turned*: turned around  
 19 *rather say . . . than*: i.e., say . . . rather than // *words*: statements    20 *well spoken*: correct things to say  
 21 *words*: i.e., word order    23–24 *were . . . that*: would be tantamount to saying that    24 *were*: i.e., are  
 26 *howbeit*: however // *show*: indicate    27 *any evil*: anything bad  
 27–28 *I . . . it*: i.e., do I find in this point such great fault with his translation but that    29 *order*: i.e., word order  
 32 *letted*: forborne    33 *place*: passage / verse // *alleged*: cited // *fifth*: i.e., fifth chapter  
 34, 35, 36 *record*: testimony    34, 35 *of man*: from man    34 *with*: along with    36 *yea*: yes  
 36 *special*: particular    37 *as*: i.e., what // *quite*: completely

refused all manner witness of man—he should rather have translated it “The *chief* record I receive not of man”; as himself hath, in the fourteenth of Saint John, translated, “The chief ruler of this world cometh”... whereas in the Greek is not this word “chief”... but that he

5 putteth it in himself because of the article, which he would not withdraw from the *devil*, lest he should have diminished *his* honor. But he withdraweth it here from the witness of *God*... because he would take from God the witness of all true Christian people, which by their true belief do set their seals as witnesses to the truth of  
10 God.

Now, if he will contend and strive with us upon the vigor and strength of this article “the,” or of its correspondent in the Greek... and bring us forth example in our speech, or in the Greek either, in which it may seem that those articles have not always that manner  
15 strength: all this shall nothing serve him at all.

For if they have *sometimes* that strength, and then the matter showeth that the Greek article hath that strength in *this* place, that we speak of now: that shall suffice to prove that he hath done wrong to leave it out when he might in the English find the means to  
20 express it. And it appeareth that he did yet worse when he *sought* the means to *exclude* it; and worst of all since he left it out *maliciously*, for the maintenance of his heresy by which he would make it seem that Christ by those words rejected and refused the witness of his whole Catholic Church. For which cause he hath  
25 double translated those words wrong, or rather treble, as few words as they be. Once in leaving out the article “the”; the second in putting in this word “no”; the third, whereof I spoke not yet, in this word “receive,” instead of this word “take.” For the Greek is *lambano*, and the Latin is *capio* or *accipio*; and both the Greek and the Latin signifieth  
30 taking, and not receiving. Now, it is not all one to say “I take no record of man” and to say “I receive no record of man.”

*The difference between “to take” and “to receive”* For the one signifieth that I care not for it, nor that I will not go about it. But the other—“I receive no witness of

35 man”—signifieth that I *will* not receive it, but refuse it though it be offered... or else another thing which will not serve for Tyndale’s excuse: that is to wit, I receive none because no man offereth

1 *all* . . . *man*: i.e., categorically all human witness    2, 31 *record*: testimony    2, 31, 34 *of*: from  
2 *himself*: he himself    3 *fourteenth*: i.e., fourteenth chapter    4 *but that he*: i.e., he just  
6, 7 *withdraw(eth)*: withhold(s)    7 *of God*: i.e., that *God* gets    8 *would*: wants to // *take*: take away  
8 *true*: right-believing; orthodox // *which*: who    11 *contend and strive*: argue and fight // *upon*: about  
12, 15, etc. *strength*: force    12 *correspondent*: equivalent    14 *manner*: kind of  
15 *nothing serve him*: do him no good / get him nowhere    16 *matter*: content (of the text)  
17 *place*: passage    19 *might*: could    20 *appeareth*: is apparent    22 *maintenance*: supporting  
25 *double* . . . *treble*: i.e., doubly . . . triply    27 *spoke not yet, in*: i.e., have not yet spoken, in using  
30 *all one*: one and the same    32 *care not*: make no provision    33 *that* . . . *about*: i.e., will try to get  
35 *will not*: refuse to / am determined not to // *refuse*: i.e., will refuse to accept it // *though*: if  
37 *excuse*: exoneration

me none. But Christ without seeking for it was offered the witness of Saint John; which Tyndale maketh as though Christ rejected, while he falsely translateth the words of our Savior and maketh him say “I receive no witness of man.”

5 Now shall I plainly show you, by many places of Scripture, that it is false that Christ receiveth no record of man; and then may ye thereby see that Tyndale hath translated false. Or if he would blind you with brabblings upon the Greek tongue... ye shall at the leastwise perceive plainly that he taketh the sentence falsely. For these two  
10 be plain repugnant: that God receiveth some record of man... and that God receiveth no record of man.

For Tyndale cannot say here that Christ spoke it there by the figure called hyperbole, as Saint John did where he said “His witness  
15 *Jn 3:32–33; Lk 24:44–49* no man taketh,” meaning very few.

Our Savior himself in the twenty-fourth chapter of Saint Luke—when he had shown his apostles and others of his disciples that all things written of him by Moses and the prophets and in the psalms were and must be fulfilled, and thereupon opened their wits to the understanding of Scripture, and  
20 said unto them, “Thus it is written,” and “Thus it behooved Christ to suffer and to rise again from death the third day,” and that penance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem—he said unto them further, “And ye are witnesses of these things... and lo, I will send the promise of  
25 my Father upon you; but tarry you in Jerusalem till ye be endowed with power from on high.”

Lo, here ye may see that Christ did not say that he would receive no witness of man. For he said himself that those men should *be* his witness among all nations.

30 He saith also himself unto them in the first chapter of the Acts, “Ye shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem, and in all Jewry, and in Samaria, and even unto the world’s end.” The New Testament is full of those places... in which it appeareth plainly that men be the  
35 *[Acts 1:8] How God’s truth* witnesses of God. For though that his  
*hath need of witness* truth is so justified in itself that it needeth no witness, neither of man nor

2 *John*: i.e., John the Baptist. (See John 1:19–34.) 3 *while*: when 3, 7 *false(ly)*: wrong(ly)  
4, 6, 10, 11, 28, 36 *of*: from 5 *places*: passages 6, 10, 11 *record*: testimony  
8 *brabblings*: quibblings // *upon*: about // *tongue*: language  
9 *taketh*... *falsely*: i.e., gets the meaning wrong // *two*: i.e., two assertions  
10 *repugnant*: contradictory / incompatible 13 *witness*: testimony 14 *taketh*: accepts  
16 *shown*: told 19 *wits*: minds 23 *beginning at*: starting out from 25 *tarry you*: stay  
28 *should*: would 29 *witness*: i.e., collective witness 31 *Jewry*: (of) Judea  
32 *even*... *end*: to the very ends of the earth 33 *places*: passages / locations  
34 *though that*: i.e., though it is true that

angel, as touching any need that God hath for himself, yet since  
 he intendeth to work the way to man's salvation not by only  
 miracle (whereby he might, if he would, so wrest man's will to  
 consent that he should not fail to believe... or cast into the heart  
 5 such a light of understanding that he should not fail to *know*...  
 every article of the faith), but also by a natural way joined thereunto,  
 wherein the will of man may, by the labor of himself (with  
 God) in the captivating of his wit (with help of grace) into the obedience  
 of the word of God, somewhat endeavor himself toward his  
 10 own salvation by faith: it pleaseth God to use in this way the  
 witness of men for a means... as he saith in the same fifth chapter,  
 speaking of the witness of Saint John, where he saith, "The record  
 I take not of man, but I tell you this because ye should be saved,"  
 giving them knowledge that though his credence hang not upon the  
 15 mouth of man... for he hath, as he there saith, a greater witness than  
 the witness of Saint John, that is to wit, the witness of the Father himself...  
 yet was it ordained that he should have *also* the witness of Saint  
 John, and so, afterward, of his evangelists and apostles—yea, and after that,  
 of his other holy-doctors-and-saints of every age, and specially the  
 20 witness of his *whole* Catholic Church, to hear and give credence unto  
 them—for a means by God provided by which man should come to  
 faith for his salvation. Here ye perceive that not only in other places  
 of Holy Scripture... but also in the selfsame place that Tyndale bringeth  
 forth himself, willing by his false translating and false understanding  
 25 to make men ween that God taketh no manner witness of  
 man, it is clearly proved that he neither said nor meant in that manner...  
 but that he received not his *chief* record of man, because he had  
 greater record than man—that is to wit, as well the works which  
 his Father made him work as also the witness of his Father himself—  
 30 which notwithstanding, he received and accepted for a  
 means of man's salvation the witness of man *also*, as ye see by these  
 places of Scripture.

And likewise in the fifteenth chapter of Saint John our Savior  
 joineth the witness of men to the witness of the Holy Ghost, where  
 35 he saith unto his disciples, "When the Comforter is come whom I  
 will send unto you from the Father, which is the Spirit of  
 Truth that proceedeth of the Father, he shall bear witness of me... and  
 ye shall bear witness also, because ye have been with me from the  
 beginning."

1 *as touching*: as regards    3 *might*: could // *would*: wanted to // *wrest*: dispose  
 4 *consent*: assent    7 *may*: can    8 *captivating*: subjugating // *wit*: intellect  
 9 *somewhat endeavor*: contribute some effort    11 *in . . . chapter*: i.e., also in John 5  
 12, 16, 18 *John*: i.e., John the Baptist    12, 27, 28 *record*: testimony    13 *because*: in order that  
 14 *credence*: credibility // *hang not*: has no dependence  
 19 *holy-doctors-and-saints*: sainted Church theologians  
 19 *specially*: i.e., as a distinctively important and notable thing    20 *to . . . give*: i.e., listening to and giving  
 21 *them*: i.e., the evangelists and apostles    22, 23, 32 *place(s)*: passage(s)  
 24 *willing*: wanting / attempting // *false*: deliberately inaccurate // *understanding*: construing  
 25 *ween*: believe // *taketh*: accepts / makes use of // *manner*: kind of    25, 27 *of*: from  
 26 *in that manner*: i.e., anything of the kind; any such thing    28 *than*: i.e., than that of  
 29 *made*: i.e., had    36 *which*: i.e., which Comforter    37 *of the*: from the



And yet, for because we should not by these words ween that he would have no witnesses of men but those only that were with him in his own time while he lived here on earth, God saith by the mouth of Saint John the Baptist, in the third chapter of Saint John the Evangelist, “He that cometh from heaven is above all, and testifieth the things that he hath seen and heard... and his testimony no man receiveth. Whosoever do receive his record hath put his seal thereto that God is true.” And what is that to say but that every true-believing man is a witness that God is true?

And thus appeareth it not only that Tyndale hath mistranslated and misconstrued these words of Christ “I receive no witness of man” for the furnishing of his heresy by which he would take away the credence of Christ’s Catholic Church; but also ye see it proved, by these words of Saint John the Baptist, that every true-believing man, that believeth God’s word, is a good witness of God and his word; which clearly proveth that Christ’s Catholic Church is a very special witness. For only in that church is the number of true-believing men... and all that are fallen out of that Catholic, known church are very false-believing heretics.

And also since our Savior saith, “My chief witness I take not of man... but yet I say to you this” (that is to wit, the witness of the good, holy man Saint John) “because ye should be saved,” it appeareth that Tyndale, refusing all witness of man, is likely to be one of those that for unfaithfulness never shall be saved.

Now, albeit that I have in this chapter plainly convicted Tyndale of malicious falsehood used by him in perverting the Holy Scripture of God, as well in the words as in the sentence, for the setting forth of his pestilent heresy taking away the credence that men are bound to give to the church of God, and thereby the obedience that men are bound to bear to the church of God; and that he doth all this because he would instead of God’s church bring men into the congregation of the devil: yet forasmuch as I see that Tyndale setteth not a little by this chapter and would we should ween that it were highly well handled, I will a little

1 yet: also // for because: so that // by: on the basis of // ween: believe  
 2 witnesses of men: human witnesses 5 testifieth: testifies to 7, 11 receive(th): accept(s)  
 7 do: does // record: attestation 8, 9 true: trustworthy 9, 14, etc. true-believing: right-believing  
 10 appeareth it: i.e., is it made apparent 11 these words of Christ: i.e., those other words of Christ as  
 11 witness of: testimony from 12 furnishing of: providing of support for; buttressing of  
 13 credence of: belief in / reliance on 18 special: exceptionally good 19 number: i.e., total number  
 20 false-believing: wrong-believing 24 because: in order that // appeareth: is evident  
 26 for: on account of // unfaithfulness: unbelief 27–28 convicted Tyndale: proved Tyndale guilty  
 28 falsehood: dishonesty // used: perpetrated // perverting: twisting 29 in: with regard to  
 29 sentence: meaning 30 setting forth: promoting // pestilent: pernicious / noxious  
 31, 32 bound: obliged 35 setteth . . . by: esteems not a little; thinks not little of  
 35 chapter: i.e., section of his book  
 35–36 would . . . handled: i.e., would have us think it was extremely well managed

stick the longer therein, to the intent that I may make you the better and the more clearly perceive that all that he saith therein is either plain untrue... or else such part as is true proveth his purpose false.

- 5 And forasmuch as Tyndale is all in “the word of God”... and would thereby make us ween that men’s words should utterly serve of naught, not so much as for the witness of God’s word: ye shall understand that whereas Tyndale saith that the word of God “cleanseth” man’s soul from false faith, “John 15, ‘Ye be clean by reason of the
- 10 *[Jn 15:3] God’s word alone doth not cleanse the soul from false faith.* word,” it is not true that, as Tyndale would have it seem, “the word” *alone* cleanseth the soul from false faith, no more than faith alone, as he would have it also seem, cleanseth the soul from sin. For, besides the grace and
- 15 goodness of God preventing men’s will, with offering man by the hearing of his word a gracious occasion of faith; and besides man’s own will working with grace toward the captivating of his understanding toward the belief of God’s word; and besides the grace, aid, and help of God working with man’s will toward
- 20 that obedience whereupon followeth that grace that accomplisheth and perfecteth the full act of believing—besides all these, I say—there helpeth toward it another thing, without which many a man should never have come to it; and that is, besides the *word* of God, the wonderful *works* of God in doing great and
- 25 marvelous miracles, without which many a man should never have believed that he had been God; as himself testifieth in the fifth of Saint John, saying, “The works which my Father hath given me to do, the same works which I do... they be witness of me that my Father sent me.”
- 30 Will ye *see* that Christ putteth not all in his word, but joineth his work therewith? Hear what he saith in the fifteenth chapter of Saint John: “If I had not come and spoken unto them, they should have no sin; but now have they nothing to cloak their sin with. He that hateth me hateth my Father.” Now, though this be indeed
- 35 true—that if Christ had never come and spoken to them, there could not have been laid unto them the sin of that unbelief whereof they were now faulty when they refused to believe on him and hated him—yet to show that his only preaching was not the thing that so should bring them and bind them to believe upon pain

1 *stick* . . . *therein*: dwell . . . on it    3 *purpose*: thesis    5 *in*: i.e., into / about // *would*: attempts to  
 6 *ween*: think    6–7 *should* . . . *naught*: i.e., count for absolutely nothing    7 *the witness of*: i.e., witness to  
 15 *preventing*: acting in advance of    16 *gracious*: grace-filled    17 *captivating*: subjugating / leading  
 23, 25, 32 *should*: would    24 *wonderful*: wondrous // *works*: workings; actions  
 25 *marvelous*: stupendous; astonishing    26 *he*: i.e., God (the Son; Jesus) // *had been*: was  
 26 *himself*: he himself // *testifieth*: attests // *fifth*: i.e., fifth chapter [verse 36]  
 28 *be witness of*: i.e., bear witness to    30 *will ye*: do you want to  
 30 *putteth* . . . *word*: i.e., does not stake his claim to credibility on only his word    31 *work*: action  
 36 *laid unto*: charged against    37 *faulty*: guilty // *on*: in    38 *his only preaching*: his preaching by itself

of damnation... but if he wrought miracles among them for the *proof* of his word: therefore he saith further, “If I had not done works among them which none other man did... they should be without sin. But now they have seen, and yet have hated both me and my Father.”

Thus have I clearly shown you that whereas Tyndale would have it seem that God’s word alone always cleanseth men’s souls from false faith—he *teacheth* in that a false faith; for the miracles many times help to the cleansing of men’s souls.

And let Tyndale stick well to this point; for I intend shortly to show by this that the miracles wrought in Christ’s church clearly reprove all the false “faith” that he and his master, and all their whole hundred sects that are their offspring, preach.

But first, where Tyndale saith that God’s word is true, and layeth therefor the seventeenth of Saint John—no man saith nay to that. And where he saith further that God’s truth dependeth not of man’s word—we will grant him this, and much more, too, than he looketh for. For

*The truth of God doth not depend upon God’s own word.* I say further that the truth of God dependeth not upon God’s own word, neither...

but is absolutely true in itself, without any dependence upon his word at all. And as it is true that Tyndale saith—that God’s truth is not true because man so saith—so is this true also: that God’s truth is not true because God so saith. But, on the other side, likewise as this argument or consecution is true—“*God* saith that whoso believe not his church... is to be taken as a paynim; ergo, that thing is true”—so is this consecution true: “*Christ’s church* saith that whoso break his vow of chastity sinneth deadly, and whoso holdeth it for lawful holdeth a heresy; ergo, these two things be true”; and yet is neither the saying of the Church the cause of the truth of these two, nor the saying of Christ the cause of the truth of the other. But likewise as if I see one sit, it must needs be that he sitteth while I see him sit, because I could not see him sit but if he sit indeed; and yet he sitteth not *because* I see him sit, for sit he should though I saw him not; nor if I say that he sitteth, the truth of his sitting dependeth not upon my saying, but the truth of my saying dependeth upon the truth of his sitting: so doth the truth of God’s deed not depend upon the

1 *but if*: unless // *wrought*: worked 3 *none*: no // *should*: would 7 *alone*: by itself

9 *to the*: i.e., toward that 10 *stick well*: well object 11 *wrought*: worked / produced

12 *reprove*: disprove // *his master*: i.e., Luther

14–15 *layeth*... *seventeenth*: i.e., adduces for that the seventeenth chapter 16 *saith further*: goes on to say

16, 22, 23 *God’s truth*: i.e., divine truth / what is true in the eyes of God / what God says is true 16 *of*: on

16 *man’s word*: i.e., what man says 17 *looketh*: is hoping

18 *the truth of God*: i.e., divine truth / the trueness of what God says

18–19 *doth not depend upon / dependeth not upon*: is not contingent upon

19 *God’s own word*: i.e., what God himself says / his own saying of it 24 *side*: i.e., hand

24, 26 *consecution (is) true*: ratiocination (is) correct / inference (is) true 25, 27, 28 *whoso*: whosoever

25 *paynim*: heathen 27 *chastity*: perpetual sexual abstinence // *deadly*: mortally

28 *lawful*: morally permissible 29 *the saying of the Church*: i.e., the Church’s saying them

30, 31, 35, 36, 37 *truth*: trueness 30 *the saying of Christ*: i.e., Christ’s saying it 31 *one*: someone

31, 32, etc. *sit(teth)*: (is/was) sitting 32 *while*: when 33 *but if*: unless 34 *should*: i.e., would be

34 *though*: even if 35, 36 *dependeth (not) upon*: is (not) contingent on

35, 36 *saying*: statement 37 *depend*: hinge



15): when he sent his apostles and his disciples to preach, lest they should not have been taken for God's messengers—and that if they had but told the miracles that Christ did, the countries to whom they were sent would have went that they had lied and

5 feigned such fables themselves—therefore Christ caused them to do  
*Exodus 7—10* miracles in his name before the people...  
 as God caused Moses to do before Pharaoh.

And when the world was turned to him, and that apostles were not sent about, then was the Church of every time the apostle to such as  
 10 were born and came into the world in their time; of whom such as lived and remained after their time... were in their stead left for the apostle that should teach and preach to those others that should be born into the world in *their* time; and so forth, from age to age. And for because that they which from time to time come into this  
 15 world, newborn first of their fleshly father and mother, and after of God and their mother Holy Church by the water and the Spirit, should be sure that their said mother the Church *is* Christ's apostle and teacheth them the true doctrine, and neither deceiveth them with false scripture (as doth the congregation of Turks) nor  
 20 with false traditions (as do the synagogues of Jews), nor with false expositions (as do the false churches of heretics): he causeth his church to do miracles still in every age, and to be discerned and known by the plenteous working of God's wonders by himself wrought therein—so many, and so great, that no man can be ignorant  
 25 thereof but he that will neither see nor hear... or is so desperate and so sore set in an obstinate malice that he will to the devil willingly, by doing now as the Jews did of old and as Tyndale now doth of new... ascribing the miracles wrought by the goodness of God to be done in God's church by the power of the devil.

30 And yet when Tyndale is so devilish to tell us thus... he toucheth nothing this point which I laid against him in my *Dialogue*: that if his lie were true, then should it follow that of so many false churches of false heretics, there should some such miracles be wrought as well as in ours... since if that our church were a false  
 35 church, it were yet but one of the many. And if he will say that ours were the greatest and the falsest, and therefore false miracles therein greatest and busiest: yet must he tell us wherefore it is that

3 *but told*: merely related    4–5 *went* . . . *fables*: i.e., thought they were lying and had made up such unlikely stories

8 *when*: i.e., when the time came that // *turned*: converted    12 *for*: as; to be

14 *for* . . . *which*: in order that those who // *from time to time*: i.e., in their respective successive eras

19 *false*: inauthentic // *Turks*: i.e., Muslims    20 *false traditions*: invalid traditions

21 *expositions*: interpretations    22 *discerned*: distinguished    25 *will*: is determined to // *desperate*: far gone

26 *sore*: strongly / terribly // *will* . . . *willingly*: deliberately chooses to go to the devil    30 *to*: as to

30 *toucheth*: vitiates / discredits    31 *nothing*: not at all // *laid*: made

31 *Dialogue*: i.e., *Dialogue concerning Heresies*

33 *false*: truth-opposing / vile / [a polite-language equivalent of] damn // *some*: i.e., be some in which some

34 *if that* . . . *were*: if it were the case that . . . was    35 *were yet*: would yet be    36 *were*: is

36, 37 *greatest*: (the) biggest    37 *busiest*: most prolific // *wherefore*: why

among so many of their false churches more, God suffereth not at the leastwise for their little, pretty, small falsehoods, some little, pretty, small miracles to be done. But whereas of truth their falsehoods be so great and outrageous that they stretch from heaven to hell—

5 they have not yet, among them all, one miracle done, great nor small, neither by God nor devil.

And this I show you (for the order of the thing) that ye may perceive that the truth of God is justified in itself, and dependeth not upon his word, nor his word is not the cause of his truth...

10 but by his word he *showeth* his truth... and by his word we believe that he *doth* it; and by his apostles and evangelists we believe that he *said* it; and by the Church of every age following, we be taught and believe that the evangelists and the apostles preached and taught, partly by writing, partly by word without writing, such  
15 things as the Catholic Church of Christ telleth us to have been taught by them. And by the miracles done in the same Catholic Church, we know that the same church is the very church of God... and that the doctrine of the same church is revealed and taught unto it by the Spirit of God... and that all other congregations teaching  
20 the contrary be false churches, and either their writing be false scriptures or their expositions falsely confound the Scripture... since God hath left his miracles for a mark of his true church, and by the means thereof for a mark of his true doctrine, too... whereby it should be known where were his faithful folk, and his very words,  
25 with the right understanding of the same, from all the faithless and feigned-faithful folk, and wrong writing, and false interpretations, and counterfeited preachings, in the world, in that God would leave all those congregations void of all miracles—whereby hath been his perpetual custom to declare and magnify his truth from the  
30 beginning of the world unto this day... as I shall yet farther prove in a treatise apart, wherein I shall answer the words of Tyndale, as well in his book of *Obedience* as elsewhere, as near as I can gather them, by which he would make us believe that all true miracles were ended either in the apostles' days or soon after... and  
35 that all were false illusions of the devil that have been done ever since. Which if he will have believed... he must, I say yet again, tell us then wherefore miracles have all this while continued only

1 *suffereth not*: does not allow    2 *little*: few    //    *pretty*: insignificant / minor    3 *of truth*: in actuality

4, 5 *great*: big    4 *outrageous*: i.e., so far beyond the pale / so out of bounds    7 *show*: tell

7 *for . . . thing*: i.e., now putting this thing in its sequential order

8 *the truth of God*: i.e., divine truth    //    *is . . . itself*: i.e., is self-grounded; simply is what it is

8–9 *dependeth not*: i.e., is not based / is not contingent

9 *upon his word*: i.e., on God's word / upon what God says    //    *nor . . . not*: i.e., nor is his word / nor is what he says

9 *his truth*: i.e., divine truth / the trueness of it    10 *showeth*: makes known    10, 29 *his truth*: i.e., divine truth

11, 12 *it*: i.e., such-and-such    //    *by*: via    15 *to have been*: i.e., were    17 *very*: true    19 *all*: i.e., all those

21 *expositions*: interpretations    //    *falsely*: deceitfully    //    *confound*: subvert

22 *mark of*: distinctive feature of; way to identify    23 *a mark*: an indicator; an identifier    24 *very*: actual

25 *from*: i.e., as opposed to    27 *counterfeited*: spurious; inauthentic    28 *void*: devoid    29 *custom*: usual way

29 *declare*: make known    //    *magnify*: make more apparent

31 *treatise apart*: separate treatise [which never got written]    32 *near*: i.e., close together

35 *false*: deceitful; bogus    //    *of*: from    37 *wherefore*: why

in our Catholic church, and in no false church of heretics as well as with us, since himself cannot deny that of so many sects as they be, they must needs be all false save one.

5 And therefore, though it be true, as indeed it is, that the true doctrine doth prove the true miracles, and false doctrine proveth the false miracles; by which we be sure that the Christian miracles be true, and the paynims' miracles false: yet know we which *is* that true doctrine by the reason that the true doctrine hath been better proved, and daily is better proved, by more and greater than  
10 ever was the false doctrine, or ever shall be to the world's end. For  
*Jn 15:24* as our Savior saith himself—"If I had not come and wrought works *such as no man else had done*, they had been without sin." And he promiseth  
*Jn 14:12* that his preachers shall do the  
15 same and yet greater; and so *did* his apostles, and his disciples, and his holy doctors, ever since, in every age.

And as for false miracles, the Catholic Church of Christ, as it is taught by the Spirit of God, discerneth them well enough from the  
20 true... and therefore it discerneth and forbiddeth the marvels that appear in crystal stones, and such other superstitious conjurations... and is not moved anything to set by them, but condemn them though they be marvelous... and hath the Spirit of God, according to Christ's promise, assistant, whereby it both rejecteth the superstitious  
25 marvels and worketh the very-faithful miracles, for the proof of the true-faithful doctrine and the true mark and knowledge of Christ's very, true church, since none hath miracles but it.

Now, if Tyndale will say that the Doctors of the Catholic Church have not done miracles for *every* point of their doctrine:  
30 I say no more did the apostles themselves, though Tyndale say yes, which he shall never prove. But by their miracles they proved themselves true preachers and God's true messengers... and that thing sufficed for the proof of their whole doctrine. And so God hath done miracles since for all his saints in every age... and that sufficeth  
35 to prove that their faith was true and the contrary false.

And if he say farther that *every* man in the Catholic Church doth not miracles, nor every Doctor neither: to that I answer that of many men teaching all one faith, it sufficeth if any one of them do miracles. For when the Jews were in desert, *every* man that was

2 *himself*: he himself    4 *though*: even if    7 *paynims'*: non-Christians'  
8 *by the reason*: by reason of the fact    9 *greater*: i.e., greater wonders    13 *had been*: would have been  
15 *yet*: even // *greater*: i.e., greater works    16 *holy doctors*: sainted theologians  
20 *forbiddeth*: excludes; rules out    21 *crystal stones*: i.e., crystal balls  
22 *moved* . . . *by*: inclined to attach any value to // *but*: i.e., but rather to    23 *marvelous*: astonishing  
23–24 *according to*: in accord with    24 *assistant*: actively present  
25 *very-faithful miracles*: i.e., actual miracles, the marvels brought about in and through the true faith  
27 *very*: real    32 *true*: truth-telling / authentic / trustworthy  
33 *their whole doctrine*: i.e., their whole body of doctrine / everything they taught  
36–37 *every* . . . *doth not*: i.e., not every . . . works    38 *teaching all one*: all teaching the same  
39 *in*: in the    247/39—248/1 *every* . . . *did not*: i.e., not every . . . worked

of the well-believing sort did not miracles... nor Aaron also did no miracles; but Moses did, and God wrought wonders among them himself.

5 Nor when divers apostles went together... every one of them did not always a miracle by himself. But since they were all of one faith, it sufficed for the proof of the teaching of them all, that any one of them did.

10 If he will say that sometimes the doctors which we call holy saints have not all agreed in one... but some one hath sometimes thought in some one thing otherwise than others have done: I say that this his saying is nothing to purpose. For God doth reveal his truths not always in one manner... but *sometimes* he showeth it out at once as he will have it known and men bound forthwith  
 15 *Ex 3:10, 18–22* to believe it—as he showed Moses what he would have Pharaoh do. Sometimes he showeth it leisurely, suffering his flock to come and dispute thereupon... and, in their treating of the matter, suffereth them with good mind and Scripture and natural wisdom, with invocation of his spiritual help, to search and seek for the truth, and to vary for  
 20 the while in their opinions, till that he reward their virtuous diligence with leading them secretly into the consent and concord and belief of the truth by his Holy Spirit, “qui facit unanimes in domo”

*Ps 67:7 (Vulgate)* (“which maketh his flock of one mind in his house,” that is to wit, his church). So  
 25 that in the meanwhile the variance is without sin, and maketh nothing against the credence of the Church... except Tyndale will say that he will neither believe Saint Peter nor Saint Paul in anything that they teach... because that once they varied in the manner

*Gal 2:7–8, 11–21* of their doctrine, as appeareth. But he  
 30 shall never find that any of the holy doctors held obstinately the contrary of that thing which the whole Catholic Church had in his time determined for an article of the faith. For I dare surely say that if any so had done... he had repented and changed ere God did any miracle for him either  
 35 quick or dead.

And therefore as touching Tyndale and Luther and Friar Huessgen, this objection will not excuse their obstinate heresies held so

1 *well-believing sort*: right-believing set // *Aaron*... *no*: i.e., nor did also Aaron work 4 *divers*: several  
 4 *went*: went about 5 *by*: for 5, 12 *one*: the same 6 *that*: that which 8 *doctors*: theologians  
 8 *which*: whom // *call*: consider 9 *agreed in one*: been in unanimous agreement 10, 27 *in*: with regard to  
 11 *this his saying*: this thing he's saying // *is*... *purpose*: is totally beside the point / gets him nowhere  
 12–13 *showeth it out*: puts it out there; communicates it 13 *at once*: i.e., all at once 14 *showed*: told  
 16 *showeth it leisurely*: i.e., takes his time making it known // *suffering*: allowing // *dispute*: debate  
 17 *suffereth*: permits 18 *mind*: disposition; attitude 19 *vary*: be at variance; be in disagreement  
 20 *till that he reward*: i.e., till such time as he rewards 21 *with*: by // *secretly*: imperceptibly  
 21–22 *the*... *the*: i.e., consensus and accord regarding, and belief of, the 25 *variance*: disagreement  
 25–26 *maketh nothing*: militates not at all 26 *credence*: credibility // *except*: unless  
 28 *because*... *manner*: i.e., because they at one time clashed regarding the living-out of what they were teaching  
 29 *as appeareth*: as it appears 30–31 *holy*... *held*: i.e., sainted theologians died obstinately holding  
 31 *that thing*: i.e., something 33 *surely*... *done*: i.e., state for a fact that if any of them had ever taken such a stance  
 33 *he had*: i.e., he would have had to have 34 *ere*: before 35 *quick or dead*: i.e., while he was still living or after he died  
 36 *as touching*: as regards 37 *objection*: counterargument



stiffly against all the old holy saints, while they say now that friars may well wed nuns... but if they repent, and leave their heresies, and do penance, and teach truth; for by such means they may yet be saints too, and so I pray God make them.

5 Now, if Tyndale will yet further say that the Church itself have not always in every age utterly believed alike... but that the Church in some age hath believed otherwise than it hath in some other: I say that this can also nothing serve his purpose. For, whatsoever Tyndale say, never shall he prove the contrary but that God  
10 is at his liberty still, and ever still shall be, to teach his truths more and more, as his pleasure shall be to have them known, and to govern his church to his pleasure in diverse ages after diverse manners, such as himself list for to devise... whereof his church is by their whole consent sure. For else shall the Spirit of God—assistant  
15 ever with them, by God's promise, and leading them into all truth—never suffer his whole Catholic Church to consent thereto.

And if Tyndale say the contrary of this... he must also say that Christ hath broken his *promise*... and he must also tell us that we be still bound yet unto this day, and ever shall be bound still, to the  
20 law made by God and his holy apostles at Jerusalem, which they  
*Acts 15:20, 28–29* made and sent out in writing... where they forbade “fornication and eating the meat offered up to idols, and all meat of beasts suffocated or strangled, and the eating of any beast's blood.” Which ordinance if it now stand, and  
25 that we must now believe that it is not now lawful to do any of those things there forbidden (as we must indeed if God were not, for all that, at his liberty still in the governance and teaching of his church, what he will have believed and what he will have done), then is quite gone a good piece of their pleasant preaching of their  
30 evangelical liberty. For then whereas they preach that every man is at liberty to eat what he list... they leave no man at liberty to eat a poor pudding.

But his church is sure enough... by that they know well that their whole assent is not wrought without the Spirit of God assistant in his  
35 church. And that themselves *be* his very church they be sure enough... by that they see him specially present with them by his continual miracles, which fail in all false churches that be fallen out of this. All

1 *stiffly*: obdurately // *old holy saints*: holy saints of old // *while*: when 2 *may*: can  
2 *well*: legitimately; with moral rectitude // *but if*: unless // *leave*: abandon; give up  
5 *have*: i.e., has 8 *nothing*: in no way 12 *in diverse*: in different  
12–13 *after diverse manners*: in different ways 13 *himself*: he himself  
13 *list for*: i.e., so chooses // *whereof*: i.e., of which ways' being of God's devising  
14 *their whole consent*: i.e., by (the fact of its) unanimous agreement (on this)  
14–15 *assistant ever*: always actively present  
16 *suffer* . . . *to consent*: i.e., allow it to happen that . . . gives unanimous assent  
18 *his promise*: See Matthew 16:18 and John 16:13. 22 *meat*: food 23 *beasts*: animals  
24 *stand*: remains in effect 25 *lawful*: morally permissible 29 *pleasant*: cheery; blithe  
31 *what he list*: whatever he wants to 32 *poor*: mere; measly // *pudding*: blood sausage  
33 *sure enough*: i.e., confident enough about this 33, 36 *by*: i.e., by reason of the fact  
34 *whole*: unanimous // *wrought*: brought about // *assistant*: i.e., being present and active  
35 *very*: true 37 *fail*: are lacking // *out of this*: i.e., away from this church

which false churches this true church, of charity (Christ's proper  
*Christ's proper badge* badge), ceaseth not to solicit and labor  
 to revoke and receive again into the port  
 of salvation and the haven of heaven—except the devil, by their  
 5 deadly malice, drown them utterly with driving them down into  
 the depth of indurate heart, thoroughly pierced with their pestilent  
 heresy.

And yet I say further that this objection of diverse articles  
 believed by the Church in diverse times will not serve the heretics  
 10 for their defense... since that *they* teach such things for true as not  
 only all the holy doctors and all the holy saints of every time, but  
 also all the whole Church of every time, have ever taught to be false.  
 Or else they must show us some one man, at the leastwise, that in  
 this fifteen hundred years before their days hath held for good  
 15 and lawful that such persons as have vowed chastity to God may  
 run out of religion and wed harlots at their liberty.

Now, if Tyndale will take hold of that that I have said—that God  
 is at his liberty to reveal a thing when he will—and that he hath  
 now revealed this new article to him and his holy fellows: they  
 20 must, I say, then prove us by miracles that they be God's true  
 messengers; for else why should we believe them?

If he say that they prove it by Scripture, in that they preach his  
 word: I say again, the *Scripture* I know for God's word, but  
*them* I know not for God's *messengers*, because they will not be  
 25 acknownd of *all* God's words; for they will believe no word of his  
 without writing... and also, his words written they misconstrue.  
 And therefore, concerning the word of God written, the question  
 lieth between us not upon God's word, but upon the right  
 understanding thereof, wherein while all the old holy doctors be  
 30 quite against them, we say now to Tyndale that of reason we may  
 not believe him. For in these points wherein we vary—as, for example,  
 that friars may wed nuns—either the Scripture is plain and easy  
 to perceive, or doubtuous and hard to understand. If it be plain  
 and easy: we cannot think but that among so many of the old holy,  
 35 wise, and well-learned doctors, some one at the least, in all this long  
 while, should have been as able to perceive it as Luther and he now

1 *of*: out of    1, 2 *proper*: distinctive    2 *badge*: insignia. (See John 13:35.) // *solicit*: appeal to / plead with  
 2 *labor*: try hard    3 *revoke*: bring back    4 *except*: unless    5 *deadly*: lethal / implacable // *with*: by  
 6 *thoroughly pierced*: pierced all the way through // *pestilent*: noxious    8 *yet I say*: I say yet  
 8 *objection*: counterargument // *diverse*: i.e., a different set of    8, 19 *article(s)*: i.e., article(s) of faith  
 9 *believed*: i.e., having been believed // *diverse*: different    10 *since that*: since; seeing that  
 11 *holy doctors*: Church's theologians    12 *ever*: always    13 *show*: name  
 14–15 *good and lawful*: valid and legitimate / plenty morally acceptable  
 15 *chastity*: celibacy / perpetual sexual abstinence    16 *run out of religion*: abscond from religious life  
 17 *hold of*: shelter in / advantage of    18 *and that he*: i.e., and claim that God    19 *fellows*: cohorts  
 23 *again*: in reply    24–25 *be acknownd of*: acknowledge / accord recognition to  
 26 *without*: i.e., that he didn't give in // *written*: i.e., that *are* written in Scripture  
 26 *misconstrue*: i.e., give a wrong interpretation to    27 *written*: i.e., written there    29 *while*: since  
 29, 34–35 *old holy* (. . .) *doctors*: i.e., early sainted (. . .) biblical exegetes    30 *quite*: totally  
 30–31 *of* . . . *not*: i.e., reason dictates that we not    31 *in*: with regard to // *vary*: are in disagreement  
 33, 36 *perceive*: comprehend; grasp the meaning of    33 *doubtuos*: open to question    35 *wise*: intelligent  
 35 *well-learned*: well-educated / very learned

so suddenly. And on the other side, if he say that in that point the Scripture is dark and hard: then may we with reason think that Luther and he, and Friar Huessgen too, may as well misunderstand it now as all those holy, wise, well-learned saints all this fifteen  
 5 hundred years. So that yet again we be come to the point that Tyndale, if in his doctrine depending upon the exposition of Scripture he look to be believed that friars may wed nuns, against the doctrine of all those old holy doctors that in their expositions call it abominable lechery—he must needs do  
 10 miracles as they did, or else must Luther or Friar Huessgen, or some one of their fellows at the least.

For where he saith, in one place of his book against me, that we may require no miracles of them—if he had said because they *can* none do, I would have taken it for a final answer, and would have  
 15 troubled him no more with that troublous question. But, now, because he saith it *needeth* not... and would it should seem that the miracles which Christ and his apostles did should serve for the proof of his doctrine—my conscience cannot suffer me to let him go so.

For since our question is not upon Christ's and his apostles' words, which their miracles proved true, but upon the exposition and understanding that Tyndale and Luther giveth to them—which expositions all they that God hath, ever since the apostles' days hitherto, by miracles proved to be his true preachers... have plainly  
 25 taught to be false—Tyndale may not say for shame but that for his doctrine taught by those expositions, if he will be believed against many preachers proved true by many miracles, *he* must do miracles too... or else if we believe him before all them, we be much more than mad, especially but if some of his company and fellows in his  
 30 heresy did some miracles for him; which, our Lord be thanked, he suffereth no false church of heretics to do, but his own Catholic Church alone.

And now in such things as God seeth most need, and the heretics most busy to assault his church—there doth he most  
 35 specially fence in his church with miracles. As in the reverence of images, relics, and pilgrimages, and worshipping of saints,

1 *suddenly*: instantaneously // *side*: i.e., hand // *in*: with regard to 2 *dark*: unclear  
 2 *hard*: hard to grasp / problematical // *reason*: i.e., good reason  
 2–4 *that . . . may as well misunderstand . . . as*: it could just as well be that . . . misunderstand . . . as that did  
 4 *wise*: intelligent // *well-learned*: well-educated / very learned 6 *depending*: based  
 6 *the exposition*: interpretation 7 *look*: i.e., hopes for it 8 *old holy doctors*: sainted theologians of old  
 9 *expositions*: commentaries 11 *fellows*: cohorts 14 *final*: conclusive 15 *troublous*: troublesome  
 16 *it needeth not*: i.e., that's not needed // *would it should*: would have it 18, 31 *suffer(eth)*: allow(s)  
 19 *go so*: i.e., get away with that 20, 21 *upon*: about 21, 23, 26 *exposition(s)*: interpretation(s)  
 24 *hitherto*: i.e., on up to ours 24, 27 *true*: authentic / trustworthy  
 25 *may . . . but*: i.e., cannot be so shameless as to deny 26 *will*: i.e., is to  
 28 *before all*: in preference to all of 29 *but if*: unless // *company*: companions // *fellows*: cohorts  
 30 *heresy*: heretical sect // *for him*: on his behalf 33 *in . . . need*: i.e., concerning . . . need to do this for  
 34 *busy . . . church*: i.e., assiduously attacking his church on account of 35 *fence in*: fortify  
 35–36 *as . . . worshipping*: i.e., such things as the reverence shown toward images and relics, and in the making of pilgrimages, and in the veneration



hath done and daily doth for his saints, both while they were  
 here and after their departing hence—and hath also done and daily  
 doth at divers images and pilgrimages—as great miracles in  
 confirmation of our faith in that behalf as ever he did in the time  
 5 of the apostles. And therefore am I very sure that neither paynims nor  
 Turks be able to match our church in miracles; but that ours as  
 far pass all theirs, if they have any, as ever the miracles of

*Ex 7:8–12; 8:1–10*

Moses passed the witchcraft of the  
 Egyptian jugglers. And of this am I as

10 sure... as that the false churches of heretics do no miracles at  
 all.

Furthermore, as for miracles or marvels done among the Turks  
 or Saracens—since Tyndale is not yet, as far as I know, circumcised,  
 nor professeth not himself a Saracen, nor I know him not very  
 15 surely for a Turk but for a heretic, I shall not greatly need to  
 dispute with him upon miracles done among the Muhammadans...  
 but (which were as good as to do that he doth!) let him go circumcise  
 himself, and then come again and speak for Muhammad and  
 his men, and I shall answer him further for their miracles. But in  
 20 the meantime while I know him but for a heretic, it is enough  
 to tell him that among all the false churches of false heretics there be  
 no miracles at all. But God worketh his miracles in his true church,  
 to show his true church—that is to wit, his true apostle. And then, his  
 true preacher known—that is sufficient for all his preaching, and  
 25 to prove that he doth teach and expound the Scripture after the right  
 understanding... taught and inspired by the Spirit of God, sent to  
 dwell with his church forever, according to Christ's promise; and  
 therefore shall not need no particular miracles upon every article,  
 for Christ used not that himself.

30 And thus in this mine answer to his one chapter... which he so  
 gaily flourished that he had went the glittering thereof would have  
 made every man's eyes so a-dazed that no man should have spied his  
 falsehood and found out the truth—I have in such wise confounded  
 him and all his whole doctrine utterly... that if I never would write one  
 35 word more, yet should he never against this alone defend his  
 devilish doctrine while he liveth, and take all the devils in hell to  
 help him.

2 *hence*: from here    3 *divers*: various // *pilgrimages*: pilgrimage sites; shrines

5 *paynims*: pagans    6, 12, 15 *Turk(s)*: Turkish Muslim(s)    7 *pass*: surpass; outstrip

8 *passed*: transcended / outdid    9 *jugglers*: sorcerers    13, 14 *Saracen(s)*: Arab Muslim(s)

13 *yet*: i.e., as yet    16 *dispute*: argue; debate // *upon*: about

17 *were . . . that*: i.e., would be as good a thing to do as what

17–18 *circumcise himself*: i.e., get himself circumcised    18 *again*: back    19 *for*: regarding

21 *false [heretics]*: truth-opposing / vile / [a polite-language equivalent of] damn

23 *show*: make known    25 *after*: according to    28 *need*: be needed // *particular*: special

28 *upon*: i.e., for; to support    29 *used not that*: used not that approach; did not proceed in that way

30 *this mine answer*: this answer of mine // *his one chapter*: i.e., this one chapter of his

31 *gaily*: showily // *flourished*: i.e., filled with brilliant rhetoric / brandished // *went*: thought

32 *spied*: espied    33 *falsehood*: dishonesty; mendaciousness // *wise*: a way

33 *confounded*: confuted    34 *all his whole*: his whole entire    34, 36 *doctrine*: body of teaching

34 *never would*: were never to    36 *while*: as long as // *and take*: i.e., even were he to get

*Whether the Apostles Left Aught Unwritten  
That Is of Necessity to Be Believed*

We be come now, good Christian reader, unto that matter which is undoubtedly one of the most special points that are in debate between these heretics and us. For upon this question hangeth all their whole hold in the destruction of many holy things believed and observed in Christ's Catholic Church.

For if we speak of fasting the Lent or other holy vigils—they say we find it not in Scripture. If we speak of keeping the holy day—they say the Scripture appointeth none. If we speak of worshipping the Sacrament of the Altar—they say it is not commanded in Scripture; and so of every good thing, almost, in like wise. For in this point they end not. It serveth them but for a step forward. For after time that they have said this once, that every necessary thing is written; albeit that they say therein false and are never able to prove their saying true, as ye shall see anon: yet when they be confuted and concluded openly therein, they dissemble shamefully their confusion... and, making then as though their part were proved, they run on farther and will hear no more thereof... but deny also the things that be well and plainly written in Holy Writ indeed.

As, for example, when we say that Confirmation, Priesthood, and Matrimony be holy sacraments—Tyndale saith nay... for, he saith, “it is not written in Scripture.” We show him plain scriptures for them, of grace given in them “by the imposition of the hands,” by *1 Tm 4:14* the words of Saint Paul... and Tyndale laugheth his words to scorn, saying it was but a manner of the country, as a man layeth his hand upon a boy's head when he calleth him “Good son.” And as for Matrimony... *Eph 5:22–32* he saith that Saint Paul meant not in such wise... and that he can make as good a sacrament of salt, of mustard seed, of a key, or of a net.

So that, as I say, believe them once in this, that we be bound to believe nothing but the only Scripture; and take away the credence from the Catholic Church (as though that God, leaving his only Scripture therein, had broken his promise and taken his

1 *aught*: anything    2 *is . . . believed*: i.e., one must believe in order to make it to heaven  
 4 *undoubtedly*: unquestionably // *special*: important; pivotal    5 *hangeth*: is contingent  
 6 *hold . . . of*: i.e., claimed justification for trying to do away with    8 *the*: i.e., all through  
 10 *appointeth*: establishes    10–11 *worshipping . . . Altar*: i.e., genuflecting to the Blessed Sacrament  
 11, 24 *it*: i.e., this    12 *wise*: manner    14 *time that*: such time as // *necessary*: essential  
 15 *written*: i.e., written in Scripture    16 *anon*: presently  
 17 *concluded openly*: manifestly proved wrong    18 *confusion*: having been overcome / discomfiture  
 18 *part*: side (of the argument) / contention    20 *well and*: quite    22 *Priesthood*: i.e., Holy Orders  
 23 *for*: because    24 *show*: point out to    25–26 *by the*: according to the  
 27 *laugheth . . . scorn*: i.e., scornfully laughs off his words    27–28 *it was but*: i.e., that was just a local custom  
 28 *as*: i.e., like when    30 *not*: i.e., not the word “sacrament”    31 *such wise*: that way    32 *good*: bona fide  
 33 *in*: about    33–34 *be . . . Scripture*: are not obliged to believe anything but Scripture alone  
 35 *that*: i.e., it could be the case that    36 *his only*: only his

Spirit therefrom!): the very Scripture itself shall serve every foolish heretic for a bauble.

Now, forasmuch, therefore, as the matter of this chapter, wherein Tyndale, as he did in the chapter last before, in which I have

5 plainly confounded him, goeth about again to take away the credence of Christ's Catholic Church... which once fallen away, the credence and the fruit of Scripture and all goeth with it (for both would every sect of heretics wrest it unto their own

By the Church we know errors... and, as Saint Augustine saith, save  
10 the Scripture of God. for the Church we know not the Holy Scripture of God from unholy writing of

man)—I require the reader to consider well what he readeth, and pass it not over suddenly, but advise it sadly... and I doubt not then but he shall plainly see that Tyndale shall in this chapter, as

15 solemnly as he setteth forth, take a shameful fall. Hear now, therefore, what he saith.

### Tyndale

But did not the apostles teach aught by mouth that they wrote not? I answer, Because that many taught one thing, and every man

20 the same in diverse places and unto diverse people, and confirmed every sermon with a sundry miracle: therefore Christ and his apostles preached a hundred thousand sermons, and did as many miracles... which had been superfluous to have been all written.

### More

Now consider, good reader, that Tyndale's purpose is to prove us that the apostles wrote all that was of necessity to be done or to be believed. And remember that as yet he doth but *tell* us that they did so, and proveth it not yet... but he will anon, full worshipfully. But

25 in the mean way mark me this first: that he saith that Christ and his apostles did confirm every sermon with a sundry miracle. For till he prove me that by Scripture... I deny it plainly. For since neither Scripture teacheth it nor the Catholic Church preacheth it, nor any reason proveth it: I may well and boldly deny it, and so I do.

For I see well his falsehood for which he feigneth it. He seeth miracles wrought by God plenteously in his Church, and that thereby his

2 *bauble*: plaything    3 *matter*: content    4 *chapter last*: i.e., last chapter; chapter just

5 *confounded him*: confuted him / overthrown him // *goeth about*: attempts

5–6 *the credence of*: i.e., people's belief in    7 *credence*: i.e., believing    8 *wrest*: twist; distort

9–12: See Saint Augustine, *Against the Fundamental Epistle of Manichaeus*, 5.    11 *unholy*: nonsacred

12 *require*: ask    13 *pass . . . suddenly*: i.e., not quickly skim it // *advise it sadly*: take a serious look at it

15 *solemnly*: grandly    18 *ught*: anything    19 *because that*: because // *one*: i.e., one same

20 *the same*: i.e., that same thing // *diverse*: different

21, 30 *a sundry miracle*: a distinct miracle; a miracle done just to corroborate what was said in that particular sermon

23 *had . . . written*: i.e., it would have been superfluous to write down all of    25 *consider*: bear in mind

25 *purpose*: objective // *us*: i.e., to us    26 *all*: everything // *necessity*: i.e., necessity for getting to heaven

28 *so*: this // *anon*: presently; soon // *full worshipfully*: very awesomely    29 *meanway*: meantime

29 *mark me this first*: i.e., let's first note this    31 *plainly*: flatly    33 *reason*: argument from reason

33 *well and*: good and; quite    35 *falsehood*: i.e., deceitful intent // *feigneth it*: i.e., fabricates this; makes this up

Church and the faith thereof is confirmed; and therefore, to bring at the leastwise some part thereof in question, he would say that we find not special miracles done for every point. But I say no more did the apostles neither, nor Tyndale shall never prove it. For if

5 he will prove me that... he must prove me true not only the thing that himself saith, which is more than ever he shall prove true—that is to wit, that they proved every sermon with a sundry miracle—but also that either they never preached but one article in one sermon, or if they preached many... he must then prove me two

10 things: one, that they confirmed that sermon with as many miracles as they preached points; another, that they showed the people that the miracles which they then did was so many miracles for so many points; for else might all those miracles be done for the proof of one of those points, and all the remnant unproved.

15 For if Tyndale will say that thing needed not, forasmuch as any one miracle sufficed to prove them all, since it proved him a true preacher: then shall Tyndale say, lo, the thing that I would have him say; for then himself proveth that it needed not that they should prove every sermon with a several miracle made among

20 one people—nor peradventure any *one* sermon, neither, otherwise than as by miracles shown at other occasions beside their sermons, they proved themselves holy men and God’s messengers. For we find many miracles done by them at such times as they were not making of sermons. And yet, when they did them in Christ’s name...

25 we find not always that they added a special article of our faith, which specialty they would have by that miracle confirmed.

And thus ye see that here he affirmeth one thing that he shall never prove; which thing yet I would not vouchsafe to speak of, saving that he doth it of an evil purpose. For his master Martin

30 Luther, when Erasmus laid against him for man’s free will the doctrine of the old holy saints whose faith was approved by miracles, laid against him again that though they did miracles, Erasmus yet could not prove that any of them did a miracle specially for that article; and therefore he would have that article seem unproved

35 as for any miracle. And this way taketh Tyndale now for the selfsame intent... and therefore feigneth that the apostles “confirmed every sermon with a sundry miracle.” But I doubt not but that if

2 *in*: into // *would*: decided to 3, 25 *special*: particular 3, 11, etc. *point(s)*: article(s) (of the faith)  
 4 *nor . . . it*: i.e., nor will Tyndale ever prove that they did 5 *will*: is to 6 *himself saith*: i.e., he is saying  
 7, 37 *a sundry miracle*: See note for 255/21, 30. 8 *article*: i.e., article of the faith 11 *another*: i.e., the other  
 11 *showed*: told 12 *the*: i.e., the set of 14 *remnant*: rest (be) 15, 18 *needed not*: was not necessary  
 16–17 *him a true preacher*: i.e., that preacher to be a trustworthy, authentic one 18 *himself*: he himself  
 19 *several*: separate // *made*: produced // *among*: i.e., in the presence of  
 20 *one people*: i.e., one same group of people // *peradventure*: perhaps // *any*: i.e., even  
 21 *shown . . . sermons*: i.e., performed out in the open on occasions other than their givings of sermons  
 24 *making of*: giving // *yet*: furthermore // *when they did them*: i.e., while they did do their miracles  
 25 *special*: particular; specific 26 *specialty*: specific one 28 *vouchsafe*: bother  
 29 *evil purpose*: ill intent 30, 32 *laid*: adduced 31 *old*: early // *approved*: corroborated  
 32 *again*: in response // *though*: even if 33 *specially*: specifically 35 *way*: approach  
 36 *feigneth*: makes up the story 37 *doubt not but*: have no doubt



we should bid Tyndale here, or Luther himself, prove us every article of his faith which he would we should ween were the faith that the apostles preached—if we should, I say, bid them prove us that the apostles confirmed every article thereof by a sundry miracle—they should seek in Scripture till their eyes were sore ere they found it.

Moreover, Tyndale's words fight together, and one part cannot agree with another. For if these words be true—that they proved every sermon with a sundry miracle—then is it false that he saith here also: that is to wit, of miracles as many be written as needeth.

For if it be true that Tyndale saith, that the apostles “confirmed every sermon with a sundry miracle”; and that was not needful but because it was needful that every necessary point of faith that they preached should be proved by miracle: it followeth that every necessary point that they preached, they did prove by miracle.

Then, further, if every necessary point that they preached, they proved by miracle because it was needful that it should be, for credence to be given to that point for our souls' health—it was needful,

then, for the *conservation* of the same credence, if the *credence* could not be kept without writing, that of every such necessary

point of faith and necessary doctrine of theirs, without which believed we cannot be saved... there were one *miracle* written at the

least. But there is not of every such article one miracle written; ergo, it is not true that Tyndale goeth about to prove: that the miracles

as many be written as need... and that every necessary thing is

written. And verily if everything that we should necessarily believe had been the intent of God to have it put in writing... and that

it had been also necessary that every point were proved by one miracle...

and not sufficient that the preachers were proved by miracles

themselves, and thereby their doctrine to be believed: it were very probable,

then, both that the writers would have written some things much

more openly and plainly than they have done... and also that of every

necessary point of faith, they would have written one miracle at the

least. But, now, since God intended not to *give* his New Law by books,

but specially by the necessary points thereof written in men's

hearts... whereof himself would be the special inward master: he

hath provided the Scripture to serve for part, but not to serve alone

for all. And since such miracles as be written therein, suffice to prove

1, 3 *bid* . . . *prove*: challenge . . . to prove to      2 *would* . . . *were*: would have us think is

4, 8, 11 *a sundry miracle*: See note for 255/21, 30.      5 *should*: would // *ere*: before

6 *fight together*: clash with one another      7 *agree*: i.e., be reconciled      8, 10, 23 *it*: i.e., this thing

9 *needeth*: is necessary      11 *but*: except      12, 14, etc. *necessary*: essential (for salvation)

12, 14, etc. *point(s)*: article(s)      17 *health*: well-being / salvation      19 *writing*: i.e., scriptural backup

19, 22, 31 *of*: i.e., for      20 *believed*: i.e., being believed by us

21–22 *there* . . . *least*: i.e., there was at least one *miracle* recorded in Scripture      23 *goeth about*: is attempting

23–24 *the* . . . *be*: as many of the miracles are      24 *need*: i.e., are needed to be; is necessary

25–26 *verily* . . . *writing*: i.e., if in actuality it had been God's intent to have everything that we have to believe

in order to get to heaven put in scriptural writing      26 *that*: i.e., if      28 *proved*: i.e., proved trustworthy

29 *were*: would be      30 *writers*: i.e., scriptural writers      33 *books*: written documents

34, 35 *special(ly)*: preeminent(ly)      35 *master*: teacher

the apostles God's true preachers... and therefore needed not miracles to be *written* for every point of their preaching: no more needed there to be miracles *done* for every point of their preaching.

5 And for farther proof thereof... how many things preached the apostles by their epistles, with which we read not that they sent by the messengers for every point a miracle!

10 And thus, good readers, here ye see first that this point of Tyndale's preaching must be better proved... which point thus *reproved* answereth and reproveth clearly divers other places of his book hereafter. But yet is it farther to be considered and weighed in his words, that he saith:

15 [that] the pith and the substance, in general, of everything necessary to our souls' health—both of what we ought to believe and what we ought to do—was written. . . . So that whatsoever we ought to believe or do, that same is written expressly... or drawn of that which is written.

### More

*Lk 16:1–8*

20 In these words though I find lack of truth... yet I somewhat allow his wit... as our Savior said by the wicked bailiff which, though he played the false shrew for his master, provided yet wilily somewhat for himself. And so playeth Tyndale here. For now that he plainly perceiveth that the doctrine is plainly false which his master Luther and himself too have taught so plainly between them all this while—that is to wit, that there is no necessary truth to be believed but if it be proved by plain and evident Scripture—now cometh Tyndale and seeth that they shall be put to flight and fain to run away... and therefore wilily provideth a starting hole, stepping from “plain and evident Scripture,” their old specially plain, evident words, unto dark, debatable terms of “general,” “pith,” and “substance,” and of “drawing out” and “deducing” and “depending” upon Scripture... upon every which word he may make an argument when it cometh to the point.

35 But yet if he would honestly stand to his tackling in this point, and give us the like liberty that himself will take... and neither use false deductions of his own nor refuse our deductions if we deduce them well: we would never find fault in this point. But, now, let *us* deduce a thing never so strait, it cannot be allowed.

8 *reproved*: disproved    9 *reproveth clearly*: disproves completely // *divers*: several // *places*: passages  
 10 *it farther*: i.e., this also    13 *health*: well-being / salvation    14 *written*: i.e., written in Scripture  
 15, 16 *written*: i.e., written there    15 *drawn of*: extrapolated from    19 *truth*: honesty // *allow*: commend  
 19 *wit*: ingenuity / shrewdness    20 *by*: about // *bailiff*: steward // *which*: who  
 21 *false shrew*: double-crossing scoundrel // *for his*: toward his // *master*: employer // *somewhat*: something  
 25–26 *there . . . if*: i.e., nothing qualifies as a necessary-to-believe truth unless    26, 29, 30 *plain*: clear  
 26, 29, 30 *evident*: conclusive    27 *fain*: forced    28 *a starting hole*: an escape hatch  
 29 *stepping*: departing; making off // *old*: former // *specially*: particularly    30 *dark*: vague  
 31 *drawing out*: extrapolating    31–32 “*depending*” *upon*: relying on; going by    32 *upon every*: about every  
 32 *may*: can    34 *honestly . . . point*: i.e., have the decency to adhere to the position he's here claiming to take  
 36 *deductions*: inferences // *refuse*: reject    37 *in this point*: i.e., with what he's saying here  
 38 *never so strait*: i.e., with no matter how much logical rigor  
 38 *it . . . allowed*: i.e., that inference cannot be accepted as valid

Let *himself* draw it never so far awry... yet will he swear that it is right enough. I shall give you, for the more clearness, one example

*Mt 28:20; Jn 14:16–17* of either side. We say that since our

Savior hath himself promised, in the

- 5 Gospel, that himself and his Holy Spirit shall be with his church all days unto the end of the world—it followeth, say we, thereof, that his church shall never fail as long as the world lasteth. And because our Savior saith in like wise that his Holy Spirit, ever

*Jn 16:13* abiding with his church, shall teach

- 10 his church all things, and lead them into

every truth, and put them in remembrance of all that himself had or would say unto them—we deduce thereupon that he will not suffer his church fall into the erroneous belief of any damnable untruth... but lead them into the truth that is the contrary of that

- 15 untruth. And since he said not, “The Holy Ghost shall write unto you all things,” nor “. . . shall write you all truth,” but “. . . shall *lead* you *into* all truth”—we deduce thereupon that the belief whereinto the Spirit of God leadeth us, and planteth it in our heart, is as good and as sure to salvation of our souls without any writing at all as if

- 20 it were written in parchment with golden letters and Christ’s own hand.

Here have I shown you an example of our deductions... which I trust every man may see that we draw it not far of, but that the Scripture well and clearly maintaineth our deducing thereof. And the example also that I show you serveth much for our matter against Tyndale, that contendeth, and laboreth to prove, that we be *bound* to believe nothing but God’s promises... and here he seeth that God *promised*, not to put allthing in writing, but that the Holy Ghost should teach us by *leading* us *into* every truth.

- 30 Now shall I show you an example of Tyndale’s deduction upon Scripture, which, as God would, he bringeth forth himself in this same present chapter, to the intent that ye should not lack a show... whereby ye shall see how plainly he proveth his holy doctrine by the Holy Scripture.

- 35 *Mt 22:39* The Scripture saith, “Love thy neighbor as thyself.” Now, upon this text

deduceth Tyndale that women may christen, and consecrate the Body of Christ and say Mass too. How other men will allow this deduction, I cannot tell. But lest they that like it not might hap

- 40 to ween that he saith it not, I shall rehearse you his own very words.

1 *draw* . . . *awry*: i.e., give Scripture no matter how distorted an interpretation      5 *himself*: he himself  
 6 *thereof*: from that      7 *fail*: go out of existence      8 *in like wise*: along the same lines  
 11–12 *himself had*: i.e., our Savior himself had said      13 *suffer*: let      14 *but*: i.e., but rather, will  
 18 *planteth it*: i.e., that he implants // *good*: valid; sound      19 *sure to*: i.e., certainly conducive to the  
 19 *writing*: i.e., mention in Scripture      20 *in*: on      20–21 *Christ’s own hand*: i.e., by Christ’s own hand /  
 in Christ’s own handwriting      22, 30 *show(n)*: i.e., give(n)      22, 30, 39 *deduction(s)*: deducing(s)  
 22 *which*: i.e., in which      23 *may*: can // *draw* . . . *of*: i.e., come up with an inference that is not far-fetched  
 24 *well and*: quite // *maintaineth*: supports      25 *I show*: i.e., I’m giving // *matter*: case  
 26 *that* . . . *laboreth*: who . . . tries hard      26–27 *we* . . . *but*: i.e., there’s nothing we’re *obliged* to believe but  
 28 *allthing*: everything      29 *should*: would      30, 36 *upon*: i.e., from      31 *would*: i.e., would have it  
 33 *show*: demonstration      37 *christen*: baptize      38 *allow*: assess      39 *like it not*: do not approve of it  
 39 *hap*: happen      40 *ween*: think; believe // *rehearse*: quote // *very words*: actual words / words verbatim

## Tyndale

5 They will haply demand where it is written that women should baptize. Verily, in this commandment “Love thy neighbor as thyself” it is written that they may and ought to administer not only Baptism but all other [sacraments also] in time of need, if they be so necessary as they preach them.

## More

10 Lo, sir, here ye see that if the Mass be so necessary as the Church teacheth... which saith and hath ordained that it is necessary to be said unto the parish at the leastwise every Sunday: if the priest be not at home, then some goodwife may for a need step to the altar and say Mass in his stead... because the Scripture saith “Love thy neighbor as thyself.”

15 What is there that these folk may *not* prove by Scripture... if they may deduce it thus and have their deduction allowed? Uzzah made as good deduction as this, and yet had no thank. For

*1 Chr 13:9–10*

he thought that because of the commandment “Thou shalt honor thy Lord

20 God”... he might, and was bound to, set his hand unto staying and keeping up of the Ark of the Testament, that was about to fall. But God taught other men by that man’s sudden death... that he was too malapert, to meddle with that kind of God’s honor that was not meet for him. And Tyndale because a woman must love her neighbor as herself... will have her not touch the Ark, but the  
25 Blessed Body of God, and bodily consecrate it herself—which neither the Blessed Mother of Christ nor the highest angel in heaven durst ever presume to think, because God had not appointed them to that office. Such deductions upon Scripture made they of likelihood that took upon them in the Old Testament more than their  
30 part came to—as Korah and Abiram... and the king Uzziah, that would

*Nm 16:1–33*

needs play the priest and incense God

*2 Chr 26:16–23*

himself... for which honorable service our Lord sent him shame and sorrow.

35 Now, if Tyndale ask me why a woman may christen and not consecrate, since both be sacraments: I can answer him the common answer, that though both be necessary... yet both be not like great

2 *haply*: maybe // *demand*: ask peremptorily    3 *verily*: actually    5 *in time of need*: when need be  
6 *preach them*: i.e., preach them to be    8 *lo, sir*: i.e., oh boy    9 *teacheth*: i.e., teaches it to be  
9 *is necessary to*: i.e., needs to; must    11 *goodwife*: housewife // *for a need*: if need be  
11 *step*: sashay up    14, 15 *may (not)*: can(not)    15 *deduce*: i.e., deduce from  
15, 16 *deduction*: (an) inference / (a) deducing    15 *allowed*: approved; accepted as valid  
16 *had no thank*: i.e., received no favorable regard / got no credit for it    19 *might*: could rightly  
19 *bound*: obliged // *staying*: steadying    20 *Testament*: Covenant // *that*: which  
21 *sudden*: prompt; immediate    22 *malapert*: presumptuous // *to meddle*: in involving himself  
22 *God’s honor*: i.e., honoring of God    22–23 *was not meet for him*: i.e., it was not his place to try to do  
27 *durst ever*: ever dared // *think*: i.e., think of doing    28 *deductions*: deducings; inferences  
28 *upon*: from    28–30 *made . . . to*: i.e., were probably made by those in the Old Testament who took it upon themselves to do more than their position entitled them to do    30 *as*: such as // *that*: who  
30–31 *would needs*: was bound and determined to    33 *sorrow*: grief / affliction  
34 *christen*: baptize    36 *like*: equally

nor like necessary. For both is there greater reverence to be had to the sacrament of Christ's Body than to the sacrament of Baptism... and yet is Baptism of more necessity than the other, since that for fault of Baptism salvation faileth, and not for fault of housel. But  
 5 as for my part, I would give him none answer to that question other than the ordinance of God's Spirit... which I see that God hath taught his Church, and else would he not suffer them to believe that it were well done, whereof no man is bound to give a precise cause. But it were overmuch boldness to think that we could precisely  
 10 tell the cause of everything that it pleaseth God to devise... though Tyndale and his "spiritual" sort will not obey God's bidding till themselves, as he saith, have ensearched and found the very, full cause why.

It is to me, for all Tyndale's deduction, a greater question yet, saving for the custom of Christ's Catholic Church... why a woman may christen, than why she may not consecrate. For surely, since God  
 15 *sent out* only men to baptize, I would set no woman thereto for *any* need, no more than to be a confessor and assoil men of their sins for need... saving that I see the one ever used everywhere in  
 20 Christ's whole church, and the consent of holy saints approving and allowing the same. And in consecrating, never woman did it... nor good man believed that any woman might do it. Which belief if it were false, I doubt not but the Spirit of God, teaching his church, would ere this have led his church into the  
 25 contrary truth, according to Christ's promise.

But now, as I say, ye see by Tyndale's example for what intent and purpose he putteth in his deducing and drawing of articles of the faith out of the Scripture... wherein he may as well believe what he will and take what he list, not of the tradition of Christ's Catholic  
 30 Church, but of the tradition of Martin Luther's leman... as frame himself a faith by a deduction of Scripture deduced in such a fashion.

In the same manner, he draweth out of Scripture (in his book of *Obedience*, and in this book also) that a friar may marry a nun by  
 35 the authority of Saint Paul. For, being asked where he findeth it in Scripture, he saith it is written in these words to Timothy: "A bishop must be unreprouable and the husband of one wife."

1 *like*: equally // *greater* . . . *be*: i.e., to be greater reverence 1–2, 2 *to the*: toward the 3 *since that*: since  
 4 *fault*: lack // *faileth*: i.e., fails to occur / is unattained // *housel*: Holy Communion 5 *none*: no  
 7 *suffer*: allow // *them*: i.e., the members (and in particular the Magisterial ones) of the Church  
 8 *it* . . . *whereof*: i.e., this difference in practice is a right one, for which 8, 10, 12 *cause (of)*: reason (for)  
 9 *were*: would be 11 *sort*: set 12 *themselves*: they themselves // *ensearched*: gone in search of  
 12 *very*: real 14 *deduction*: deducing 15 *the custom*: i.e., its being the established praxis  
 16 *may (not)*: can(not) // *christen*: baptize // *surely*: assuredly 17 *any*: i.e., any kind or amount of  
 18 *assoil*: absolve 19 *one ever used*: i.e., one thing always in practice / one practice always in effect  
 20 *consent*: consensus 21 *allowing*: accepting as legitimate // *in*: i.e., as for  
 21–22 *never* . . . *nor*: i.e., never has it happened that a . . . nor that a 22 *might*: could  
 24 *ere this*: before now 26 *Tyndale's example*: i.e., what Tyndale gives as his example  
 27 *putteth in*: i.e. puts in that remark about // *drawing*: extrapolating 28 *may*: i.e., could  
 28 *well*: rightly; legitimately 29 *will*: wants to // *list*: chooses to / pleases 29, 30 *of the*: from the  
 30 *leman*: bedmate; cohabitee // *frame*: devise 31 *a deduction of*: an inference from  
 33 *draweth out of*: extrapolates from 35 *it*: i.e., this 37 *unreprouable*: irreproachable

*1 Tm 3:2* And in the words of Saint Paul “There  
*1 Tm 4:3* shall come false prophets that shall forbid  
*1 Cor 7:9* marriage.” And in this text also: “It  
 is better to marry than to burn.”

5 Is not this conclusion, trow ye, well deduced? In the first because  
 Saint Paul did put in this word “one” to forbid and exclude any  
*more* than one—Tyndale deduceth that a bishop must needs have

10 *1 Cor 7:7–8* he counseleth and wisheth that he should  
 rather have none.

In the second text because Saint Paul condemneth them that  
 would say it were not lawful for *any* man to marry—Tyndale  
 deduceth that *every* man may marry though himself have made  
 unto God a contrary promise before; and might as well deduce that no  
 15 man may be forbidden to marry though he have a wife already. For  
 the friar is as well and as clearly forbidden to marry by the scriptures,  
 that forbiddeth him the breach of his vow... as is the man forbidden  
 to marry that hath a wife already.

And upon the third text, because Saint Paul saith that it is  
 20 better to marry than to burn—Tyndale deduceth that it is better for a  
 friar to marry than to forbear lechery... and considereth not that when  
 he breaketh his vow and weddeth a harlot, *then* he burneth both  
 body *and* soul: first here in the fire of foul, filthy lust, and after  
 this world in everlasting fire of hell. Is not this conclusion worshipfully  
 25 deduced upon Scripture? It is marvel that he deduceth  
 it not rather upon the text that he speaketh of here—“Love thy neighbor

*Nm 30:2–3; Mt 22:39* as thyself”—and upon this text  
*Mt 7:12* also: “Do to another as thou wouldst be  
 done to thyself.” These have yet some

30 better color for Luther and his leman—and I doubt not but he  
 will find them at last and say that his marriage *is* grounded  
 there—because he loveth her with such a lewd, lousy love as the  
 lewd, lousy lover in lechery loveth himself... and is so righteously  
 disposed that he will never desire that she shall lie with him but  
 35 when he is even as well content that himself shall lie with her.

5 *trow ye*: i.e., don’t you think // *the first*: i.e., that first text 7, 13 *deduceth*: i.e., deduces from this  
 8 *false*: i.e., seem untruthful // *place*: passage 9 *wisheth*: i.e., says he wishes  
 12 *were not lawful*: i.e., is not morally right 13, 15 *though*: even if 13, 35 *himself*: he  
 13, 15 *have*: has 14 *might as well*: could as rightly 16 *well*: i.e., much  
 17 *that . . . breach*: i.e., which forbid him the breaking. (See Psalm 76:12, Numbers 30:2–3, and 1 Timothy 5:11–12.)  
 19, 25, etc. *upon*: from 21 *considereth not*: does not take into consideration 22 *he breaketh*: i.e., a friar breaks  
 24 *worshipfully*: admirably; impressively 25 *marvel*: a wonder; surprising 28 *as*: i.e., what  
 28 *be*: i.e., have be 30 *color*: appearance of justification // *leman*: bedmate; cohabitee  
 31 *find them at last*: eventually hit upon them 32, 33 *lousy*: filthy 34 *but*: except 35 *even*: just

This that we say now in sport... he will say once in earnest, I warrant you.

Now, for the declaration of his purpose in “drawing” and deducing of the article of their faithless faith out of Scripture of God, these examples suffice; and therefore I shall proceed farther.

Now, next he cometh to the purpose to prove you that every necessary thing that we be bound either to believe or to do is written in Scripture. And now hark, I pray you, how properly the good man proveth it. These are his words...

10 Tyndale

For if that I were bound to do or believe under pain of loss of my soul anything that were not written nor depended of that which is written, what helped me the Scripture that is written?

More

15 Lo, here is his first argument, that he setteth forth in the forefront of the field, as a specially strong band. Which argument whoso well advise and consider—if himself have wit—shall plainly say that it cometh out of a madman’s mouth.

For by this reason, till the Gospels were written... every man might have refused all the doctrine of Christ in every point that was not written in the Scripture before his day, nor drawn out thereof by a little straighter line than Luther draweth his. And when Christ taught them the counsel of virginity and many other wholesome things above the perfection of their Old Law—they might have said, “Show me this in writing.” And then if he had answered that himself being such as he was (and for such testified by writing, and by the word of his Father, and by his own wondrous works)—owed to be believed of them in *everything*, upon pain of the loss of their souls—they might have said again as Tyndale saith now: “If we be bound upon the pain of loss of our souls to believe anything that is not written nor dependeth of that which is written, what helped us the Scripture that is written?” This tale of Tyndale’s might they have told unto Christ himself, against the Sacrament of Baptism and the Sacrament of the Altar too.

35 *1 Cor 11:34* Now, when Saint Paul in his epistle to the Corinthians said, “I will order the

1 *in sport*: in jest // *say once*: one day say 2 *warrant*: bet 3 *declaration*: exposing  
 3 *his purpose in “drawing”*: i.e., the purpose of his speech about their “extrapolating” 4 *of the*: i.e., every  
 6 *the purpose to prove*: i.e., his objective of proving to 7 *necessary*: i.e., essential-for-salvation  
 7, 30 *bound*: obliged 8 *hark . . . how*: i.e., I ask you to please take note of how // *properly*: well / logically  
 11 *if . . . bound*: i.e., if it were the case that I was obliged 12, 31 *anything*: something  
 12–13 *were . . . me*: i.e., neither was given by God in writing nor followed from something that was, of what help to me would be 15 *lo*: look 16 *field*: i.e., battlefield // *band*: force  
 16–17 *whoso . . . consider*: whoever seriously looks at and reflects on  
 17 *if himself have wit*: i.e., if he himself has any sanity 19 *by this reason*: according to this reasoning  
 20, 24, 29 *might*: could rightly 20 *refused*: rejected 21 *drawn out thereof*: extrapolated therefrom  
 26 *testified by*: attested in 28 *of*: by 29 *again*: in reply // *as*: i.e., what  
 31–32 *is . . . us*: i.e., neither is given us by God in writing nor follows from something that is, then of what help to us is  
 32 *tale*: speech 33 *might they have*: they could have // *told*: i.e., made // *against*: about  
 34 *the Altar*: i.e., the Eucharist // *order*: set in order / regulate

remnant when I come myself”—they should by Tyndale’s reason have sent him his epistle again, and say, “If we shall be bound to do anything unwritten, what availeth us all that ever thou writest?”

5 But there needeth no places of Scripture to this blasphemous folly of Tyndale spoken *against* the Scripture... because God hath taught and left some part of his pleasure *without* Scripture. For if a man write certain rules to his household servants, and yet give them certain, besides, by his own mouth—such as peradventure should need  
10 no warning in writing because the continual use and exercise of them could not suffer them to be forgotten (in which kind of commandments be the blessed sacraments so daily used in Christ’s church that forgotten they cannot be, nor left they shall not be, for all the business that these heretics, the devil’s doctors, can make)—if this lord’s servants were so wise to learn this lesson of Tyndale  
15 and say, “Nay, sir; and ye leave these things unwritten, then a straw for all that ye have written!”: might not the master say that his men were a sort of malapert, foolish knaves? And this is, as ye see, Tyndale’s first reason wherewith he full properly proveth us that the apostles wrote altogether that ever we should be bound to believe.  
20 Which reason ye see yourselves is not worth one rush... but, rather, a plain unreasonable blasphemy foolishly spoken against the Scripture of God... which he saith serveth for naught if God bind us to believe any word of his besides.

Now let us proceed to the second... which is, I promise you, *very*  
25 second, for any fruit that ye shall find therein. These are his words...

#### Tyndale

Inasmuch as Christ and all his apostles warned us that false  
30 prophets should come with false miracles, even to deceive the elect if it were possible: wherewith should the true preacher confound the false, except he brought true miracles to confound the false, or else authentic scripture of full authority already among the people?

#### More

35 Great cause have we to give thanks to God... whose goodness wresteth the tongues of heretics and maketh them there speak most

1 *remnant*: rest (of these matters) // by Tyndale’s reason: according to Tyndale’s reasoning 2 *again*: back  
2 *say*: i.e., said 2, 19 *bound*: obliged 3 *anything*: i.e., something you haven’t commanded in writing  
3 *what availeth us*: of what good to us is 4 *there . . . to*: i.e., no scriptural texts are needed for answering  
4 *folly*: idiocy 5 *of*: by // *because*: i.e., just because 6 *his pleasure*: i.e., what he wants of us  
6 *without*: outside of 7 *to*: i.e., for and to 8 *certain*: some // *peradventure*: perhaps  
8–9 *need no warning*: not need to be given notice of 9 *use*: observance 10 *suffer*: allow  
10 *in which kind*: of which kind / in which class 11 *daily used*: routinely celebrated  
12 *left*: abandoned; dropped 13 *business*: commotion // *doctors*: theologians 14 *wise*: clever (as)  
14 *of*: from 15 *nay*: no // *and*: if 17 *men*: servants // *sort*: bunch // *malapert*: impudent  
17 *knaves*: scoundrels 18, 20 *reason*: argument 18 *full properly*: with complete logical rigor  
18 *proveth*: i.e., proves to 19 *altogether*: everything 19, 29, 30 *should*: would 20 *rush*: i.e., straw  
20–21 *a plain unreasonable*: i.e., is a transparently irrational 24 *second*: i.e., second argument  
25 *second*: second-rate; inferior 30 *it*: i.e., that // *wherewith*: with what  
31 *confound the*: confute the / discredit the // *except*: unless // *brought*: produced  
31 *to confound*: to prove inauthentic 36 *wresteth*: influences; disposes



against themselves where they ween to speak for themselves the best,  
 as he serveth Tyndale here. For these be the words that I would  
 have wished him to say! For whereas he meaneth that all must be  
 written because that else there were nothing that could confound  
 5 false prophets that should come and show false miracles, except  
 the true preachers should show true miracles against them: I  
 answer to Tyndale two things. The first is that it is plain false  
 that Tyndale taketh for a plain truth: that is to wit, that the true  
 preachers could have nothing to confound the false prophets that  
 10 should come with false miracles, but if all the truth were written  
 in scripture authentic among the people. And that if it so were...  
 then the true preachers had enough without true miracles to  
 confound the false prophets bringing false miracles. The second  
 thing that I answer him with is this: that if it were true that  
 15 he saith (that without miracles nothing would sufficiently serve  
 in such case except that every necessary thing were written in  
 authentic scripture), yet since himself confesseth that *true*  
*miracles might* in such case sufficiently serve the true preacher  
 and confound the false and save the faith upright—and that he  
 20 cannot say but that God is able to do them whensoever he list,  
 and will never leave his church destitute of help and comfort  
 necessary, and therefore in such necessity will not fail to do them—  
 Tyndale must needs agree (be he never so loath to come to it) that  
 God hath no necessity, for avoiding of such peril, to provide that  
 25 his church should have every necessary thing delivered unto  
 them, and evermore kept with them, in authentic scripture...  
 while himself, by his promise, would ever dwell with them, and  
 had, for the proof of their faith against false prophets and their  
 false miracles, the mighty means of true miracles, and out  
 30 of measure greater, in his own hand. Which means of miracles for  
     *A final stop against*            the true proof of his word among mortal  
     *all contradiction*            men... is and hath been, and ever shall  
    be, the final, peremptory stop against  
 all contradiction.

35        This second answer is open and plain enough in itself. And  
 forasmuch as the first appeareth not, peradventure, so fully plain at  
 the first sight... I shall make it clearer. When Tyndale saith that

1 *ween to speak*: think they're speaking    2 *serveth*: does to    3 *all*: everything  
 4 *written*: i.e., given by God in Scripture // *that else*: otherwise // *were*: would be  
 4, 9, etc. *confound*: decisively confute / prove inauthentic / discredit    5, 6 *show*: publicly perform  
 5 *except*: unless    7, 8 *plain*: patent(ly)    9 *nothing*: i.e., nothing with which  
 10 *but if*: except if; unless    11 *authentic*: i.e., held as authentic    12 *had*: i.e., would have  
 13 *bringing*: producing    16, 18 *such case*: such a situation  
 16, 25 *every necessary thing*: i.e., everything one must believe or do in order to get to heaven  
 16 *were*: was    17 *himself confesseth*: he himself acknowledges    18 *might*: could  
 19 *save . . . upright*: keep . . . intact    20 *say but*: deny // *list*: pleases    21 *comfort*: support  
 23 *agree*: grant; concede // *never so*: no matter how // *it*: i.e., this conclusion / this pass  
 24 *hath*: i.e., had    27 *while*: when; given that // *himself*: he himself    31, 33 *final*: conclusive  
 31, 33 *stop*: silencing proof    33 *peremptory*: incontrovertible  
 35 *open and plain*: clear and obvious    36 *peradventure*: perhaps // *plain*: evident

except all were written that we be bound to believe or to do, there were else nothing save miracles to confound false prophets that should come with false miracles—ye perceive well that he presupposeth that if every such thing *be* written in authentic scripture,  
 5 then *without* miracles the matter is safe enough... and the true preachers able enough to confound the false by the Scripture alone. For but if he say so, he saith no more for the alleging of Scripture than for the alleging of the faith without Scripture.

Now, Tyndale telling us thus... we must first wit of him which  
 10 false prophets he meaneth: paynims, Turks, or heretics. If he mean paynims or Turks, then goeth he very far wide; for the true preachers cannot confound them with our authentic scripture... for it is not authentic among them, but they say that it is false. If he mean heretics, he goeth almost as far wide; for  
 15 they will also, when they list, deny for Holy Scripture any part of Holy Scripture that proveth against their purpose—as they deny the Book of Maccabees because it proveth purgatory and prayers for them that are dead... and deny the Epistle of Saint James because it reproveth a bare faith without good works.

Now, if they admit the Scripture for Scripture, yet are ye never  
 20 the nearer... for they will deny the true sense thereof, and obstinately defend a false... so that the true preacher and that false prophet shall be still as far asunder as if they denied the very Scripture itself.

Now, when he speaketh of confounding them—we must wit of him  
 25 what he meaneth by “confounding” them. Whether he mean that the true preacher shall make the false prophet ashamed... or that he shall make the people perceive their doctrine for false. As for making the false prophets ashamed—ye see yourselves they be so shameless  
 30 that it will not be, for ye see they wed nuns openly. And when they be not ashamed to look folk in the face after that shameful sacrilege and abominable bitchery, whereof will they be ashamed? Now, if he mean that the true preacher shall by the authentic writing make the people perceive the false prophet false:

35 I say that shall he not do by Scripture anything more largely than he shall do the same by the word of God unwritten... which word

1 *except all were*: unless everything was // *be bound*: are obliged      2 *were else*: would else be  
 2 *save*: except // *to*: i.e., with which one could      2, 6, 12 *confound*: decisively confute / discredit  
 5 *matter is safe enough*: problem is well enough resolved      7 *but if he say so*: unless he's saying this  
 7 *he saith*: i.e., he's saying // *alleging of*: adducing of; appealing to      8 *alleging*: adducing  
 8 *without*: i.e., without appeal to; without any quoting of      9 *telling us thus*: i.e., in effect telling us this  
 9, 25 *wit*: inquire      10, 11 *paynims*: pagans // *Turks*: i.e., Muslims  
 11, 14 *wide*: i.e., wide of his mark; afield      13 *authentic among them*: i.e., taken by them as authoritative  
 15 *list*: please      15, 20 *for*: i.e., to be      16 *proveth against*: goes against / proves the opposite of  
 16 *purpose*: contention      17–18: See 2 Maccabees 12:42–45.  
 17 *purgatory and*: i.e., the existence of purgatory and the efficacy of      18–19: See James 2:14–26.  
 19 *reproveth*: i.e., disproves their thesis concerning // *bare*: mere  
 20–21 *yet . . . nearer*: i.e., you'll still have gotten nowhere with them      23 *asunder*: apart  
 30 *it will not be*: this is not going to happen      32 *whereof*: of what  
 34 *prophet false*: i.e., prophet to be a false one      35 *that*: i.e., that this // *anything*: at all  
 35 *largely*: extensively / fully      36 *unwritten*: i.e., not written there

Tyndale would have no man believe. For the perceiving whereof,  
 suppose me now that the true preacher and the false prophet came  
 together to dispute the truth, in a great audience of people, upon  
 some such article as the false prophet would teach against the  
 5 common faith of the Catholic Church. As, let me see, for example...  
 whether friars may wed nuns. Tut, nay; that can serve for no  
 example, it is too clear and too far undisputable for any false prophet  
 to find any reasoning therein... as the thing which never since the  
 10 world was peopled could have found any man to think it lawful,  
 till now... nor yet now, neither, findeth any that so *thinketh*, as many  
 wretches as so saith and so doth; nor it were not possible for the  
 false prophet to find any color therein but such as all the world  
 would wonder at—except such beasts as lust to see it so for hatred  
 and despite of honesty. But let us take therefore for example some  
 15 such heresy as hath been held and disputed of old. And what  
 rather than one of the greatest?—that is to wit, that heresy that Arius  
     *Arius' error*                      held, and his great company: that our Savior  
    Christ was not one equal God with his

Father.

20 Suppose me, therefore, I say, that some false prophet were so devilish  
 as to preach that point again... and that he had by false  
 preaching won unto him (as Arius had in his time) much  
 people already, of every state and degree... and that he should then  
 come in an open audience of a main multitude, to dispute with  
 25 any true preacher that would offer himself to defend in that point  
 the part and belief of the Catholic Church. Now, when the true  
 preacher and the false prophet were come together, and fallen in  
 dispicions in two pulpits on high, that all the people might hear  
 them; and that the one alleged divers texts of Scripture for the  
 30 truth, and the other as many for the false part, and each of them  
 gloss against gloss; and when the true preacher would lay thereto the  
 consent of all the old doctors, and of all the Catholic  
 Church of Christ this fifteen hundred years: the false prophet would  
 say again as the false prophet Luther saith himself—"I set not  
 35 by Jerome, I set not by Augustine, I care not for a hundred  
 Gregorys, I care not for a thousand Cyprians, *I* lay for *me* the

2, 20 *suppose me*: let's suppose      3 *dispute* . . . *upon*: i.e., debate, before a large audience, what the truth is about  
 5 *common*: universal      6 *tut*: The written representation of the sound one makes with one's tongue on the upper  
 gum of the mouth, to express disapproval.      6 *nay*: no      7 *undisputable*: undebatable  
 8 *find any reasoning*: i.e., find any room for argument // *as the thing*: i.e., its being something  
 9 *found* . . . *lawful*: come by anyone thinking morally permissible      10 *yet*: even  
 10 *findeth*: comes by / can there be found // *any*: i.e., anyone      11 *nor* . . . *not*: i.e., nor would it be  
 12 *color*: semblance of propriety // *all*: i.e., everyone in      13 *wonder at*: i.e., raise an eyebrow at; find preposterous  
 13–14 *for* . . . *honesty*: for hatred of, and contempt for, chastity      15, 24 *dispute(d)*: debate(d)  
 17 *great*: large // *company*: group of followers      21 *point*: tenet      22 *much*: a lot of  
 23 *state and degree*: walk and station of life      24 *in an open*: i.e., before a public // *main*: huge      25 *any*: some  
 25 *in that point*: on that issue      26, 30 *part*: side (of the argument)      27 *fallen*: engaged  
 28 *dispicions*: disputations      29 *that*: i.e., it happened that // *alleged*: adduced // *divers*: several  
 31 *gloss*: interpretation      32 *consent*: consensus // *old doctors*: early theologians      34 *again*: in response  
 34 *as*: i.e., what      34–35, 35 *set not by*: have no regard for      35, 36 *for*: about  
 36 *lay for me*: claim as my support

- plain word of God.* And for the ‘Catholic’ church that thou callest the ‘church of Christ,’ it is but a multitude of mortal men, whom if I should believe for the multitude, I must rather believe the paynims or the Muhammadans, which be many more. And thy
- 5 ‘saints’ whom thou layest for thee be *dead*; but the *word of God*, that I lay for *me*, *liveth*, and shall live forever! And the church of Christ is unknown to men, but it is well known to God... out of
- Jb 10:7; Jn 10:28–30* whose hand no man can take them, as our Savior saith, but though they sleep
- 10 now and rest in hope, as the Scripture saith, ‘My flesh shall rest in hope,’ they shall yet in the day of the
- Ps 16:9* Lord awake at the blast of the trumpet, and ever after live with the Lord in his reign. And of these, I doubt not, was that holy man Arius, and many another holy man of his sect.”
- 15 Now, if against all this the true preacher fall in farther dispicions again... as well about his first question as about the Church, with divers others that incidentally fall in debate between them... and then, for the final end and plainest proof, conclude and rest upon the Scripture, and say that he hath proved his part
- 20 well thereby, and that his texts be clear, and the texts of the other part are falsely wrested, and his own answers effectual, and the others but sophistical; and then the false prophet for himself again say that he joyeth much that their disputation is come to so good a point... for he knoweth well that he hath alleged the scriptures
- 25 right, and construed them in their true sense... and that his adversary is adversary of the plain, open truth, and preacheth and teacheth against his own conscience, and thereby sinneth against
- Mt 12:31–32; Nm 31:8, 16* the Holy Ghost, which “shall never be forgiven in this world nor in the world to
- 30 come”... for whose irremissible sin himself is full sorry... and exhort him to remember the false prophet Balaam and beware betimes lest he come to like end... and then say that he is yet glad, again, on the other side, and highly thanketh the Lord, that hath by his true teaching there opened the eyes of the people about them, that they now
- 35 clearly see the light of truth... which hath now put away the darkness of their ignorance wherein the blind leaders, the false, popish preachers, have led them wrong all this while before... the

1 *plain*: unvarnished // *for*: i.e., as for 3 *for the multitude*: i.e., because of their numerousness  
 4 *paynims*: pagans // *which*: who 5 *thou . . . thee*: i.e., you adduce for yourselves  
 6 *lay for me*: i.e., claim as my support 11 *in*: on 13 *of*: i.e., one of; among  
 14 *sect*: religious persuasion 15 *fall in*: i.e., were to launch into // *dispicions*: disputations  
 16 *again*: in response 17 *divers*: several // *incidentally*: by natural consequence // *fall in*: come into  
 18 *final*: conclusive; decisive // *conclude*: argue from 19 *rest*: rely 19, 21 *part*: side (of the debate)  
 20 *clear*: unadulterated // *of*: i.e., adduced for 21 *falsely*: deceitfully // *wrested*: twisted; distorted  
 21 *effectual*: sound / compelling 23 *again say*: say in response // *joyeth much*: greatly rejoices; is very glad  
 24 *point*: culmination // *alleged*: adduced 26 *open*: obvious 28 *which*: i.e., which sin  
 31 *beware*: take warning / take heed // *betimes*: in good time 32 *again*: then again 33 *side*: i.e., hand  
 33 *that*: who 34 *about*: i.e., present with 35 *put away*: dispelled 36 *blind*: clueless / deceitful

error of whom he doubteth not but that God hath by him made them  
now so plainly to perceive that he well dare, and so doth, make  
them all his judges, whither of them both hath defended his part  
better... and therefore prayeth them to speak and show their minds

- 5           1 Cor 14:29           therein, “for the Apostle saith, ‘While other  
  speak, the congregation must judge,’” and  
“every man” (saith Luther) “for his own soul believeth or believeth  
not upon his own peril, and therefore upon his own belief—what  
he should believe, and what not—must needs be judge himself”: now,  
10   good readers, when they thus have spoken both... think ye, by your  
troth, that the people unlearned of their audience shall be meet to  
discern and judge whither of them hath spoken better, and whither  
part is between them better proved by Scripture? Are not the people  
well likely with such doubtful dispicions to be rather led out of  
15   the truth than well confirmed in it? Namely since many of them  
shall be corrupted in corners and drawn into that false faith before, as  
the guise of heretics is!

- But, now, how much peril were there more if this false prophet  
should, as Tyndale putteth his case, come forth with false miracles too...  
20   and in the end of his disputation and his holy exhortation thereupon,  
say farther to the people thus: “Dear brethren, in the love of  
the Lord the Father and his only-begotten Son, our Savior Christ,  
that came into this wretched world to show it example of meekness,  
and not to make himself as great a god as his Father, as the popish  
25   preachers preach unto you... which thereby make you believe that our  
master Christ passed in pride the proud angel Lucifer, that for the  
same pride was deprived of heaven and thrown into hell, where he  
reigneth as prince upon all the sons of pride: I am come, as ye see,  
sent by the blessed Spirit of the Lord, that hath prayed for you  
30   with sighs unspeakable, that ye might be delivered from this error  
that this false preacher here and I have disputed upon in your  
presence... where you see and, I am sure, perceive full well that I have  
with the word of God overcome him utterly, though he babble on  
still. But yet—because the truth standeth not in words, but in virtue  
35   and power of deed—it pleaseth God that for the strengthening of weak  
consciences, I shall show you more proof of the glory of God. For  
since this evil man, misled with an evil spirit, would lead

1 *error*: erroneousness // *by*: by way of   3, 12 *whither of them (both) hath*: which of (the two of) them has  
3 *part*: side (of the debate)   4 *prayeth*: invites

4–5 *speak . . . therein*: i.e., speak up and express their thoughts about that   5 *the Apostle*: i.e., Saint Paul

5–6 *while other speak*: i.e., when different individuals speak   8 *upon his own peril*: at his own risk

8 *therefore upon*: therefore about   10–11 *by your troth*: upon your honor / in all seriousness

11 *people unlearned of*: uneducated people in // *meet*: qualified

12–13 *whither part*: i.e., which side of the debate   14 *well*: very // *with*: by // *doubtful*: unsettled / confusing

14 *dispicions*: debates   15 *namely*: especially   16 *corners*: secret meeting places

16–17 *as . . . is*: as is the typical way that heretics operate   18 *peril . . . more*: more danger would there be

20 *in*: at // *disputation*: discourse   21 *say farther . . . thus*: i.e., go on to say to the people something like this

23, 26, 29 *that*: who   24 *himself*: i.e., himself out to be   25 *which*: who   26 *passed*: surpassed; exceeded

27 *deprived of*: debarred from   28 *upon*: over   33 *overcome*: defeated; vanquished

34 *standeth*: subsists // *virtue*: i.e., the potency   37 *misled with*: led astray by

269/37—270/1 *would lead you still in a wrong way*: i.e., is still wanting to lead you down a wrong path

you still in a wrong way, and make you misunderstand the  
 Scripture... saying that I take it wrong and teach you false: whereas  
 I made yourselves judges of the matter, I shall now call *God* to judge it  
*himself*, in your sight, by some show of his special presence and  
 5 power!" And then, after this spoken... should call up unto him some  
 well-known-blind man, and in the sight of all the people suddenly  
 make him see. What saith Tyndale to this? Here is his own case.  
 Were the authentic scripture in this case likely to stay the people?  
 Surely meseemeth nay. For though the Scripture be *true* in itself,  
 10 *Many great difficulties* yet since it is not so *plain* but that many  
*arise upon Scripture.* great difficulties arise thereupon... in  
 which though he which upon the  
 study thereof hath bestowed many years may perceive the true  
 part from the false—yet unto the unlearned it shall be likely, full oft,  
 15 that in such dispicions the false part may seem truest. And  
 then how much more if he see in his own sight miracles set thereto!  
 But now say I that, on the other side, the word of God *unwritten*  
 may stay altogether. For I say that the truth of that article  
 taught and believed as the Church without any doubt or question  
 20 believeth... may be so surely engraved in man's heart that though he  
 never have read, nor heard, neither, any scripture in that point—  
 yet presupposing it for an undoubted truth, he shall set at naught  
 all the false-wrested Scripture of the false prophet, and all his false  
 miracles too... and shall ever construe the Scripture by the known  
 25 article of the Catholic faith, which was taught and believed before  
*The strength of the* those texts of Scripture were written,  
*word unwritten* and hath yet the same truth now that it  
 had then, notwithstanding all the  
 texts that seem to say the contrary. And by this faith in the word  
 30 of God unwritten in their Books... and yet written in their souls, did  
 there many martyrs stand and shed their blood in witness of the  
 truth thereof, that never read nor heard the Scripture in their days—  
 and would, in the same word unwritten, with God's grace have withstood  
 false miracles too; which had yet been undoubtedly the sorest  
 35 pinch, saving for the more, and more marvelous, miracles that themselves  
 saw or believed done on the other side, for the truth.

But I say, therefore, as I have often said before, that as for miracles,

6 *well-known-blind man*: i.e., man well known to be blind // *suddenly*: instantaneously  
 7, 8 *case*: (hypothesized) situation. (See 264/28–33.) 8 *were . . . likely*: would . . . be likely  
 8 *stay*: i.e., satisfy / keep in the right belief 9 *meseemeth nay*: to me it seems not 10 *plain*: clear  
 12 *he which*: someone who 13 *may perceive*: i.e., may be able to tell 14, 15 *part*: contention  
 14 *full oft*: quite often 15 *dispicions*: debates 17 *side*: i.e., hand // *unwritten*: i.e., *not written* in Scripture  
 18 *stay altogether*: do all the keeping in place / take care of everything 21 *in*: regarding // *point*: tenet  
 22 *undoubted*: unquestionable; incontrovertible // *set at naught*: disregard 23 *false-wrested*: deceitfully twisted  
 27 *yet*: still // *truth*: trueness / trustworthiness 30 *unwritten*: not written // *Books*: Bibles  
 31 *stand*: i.e., stand firm 32 *in*: i.e., in all 33 *in*: by means of // *unwritten*: i.e., not written in Scripture  
 34 *had yet*: yet would have // *sorest*: worst 35 *pinch*: complication; problem // *saving*: i.e., were it not  
 35 *the more*: i.e., the more numerous // *marvelous*: phenomenal // *themselves*: they themselves

he hath so specially kept for the proof of the truth, that all the miracles which the paynims or other infidels have done except heretics... he hath ever made his true preachers to do greater miracles against them, and by the greater miracles to destroy them—  
 5 as he did in Moses and in Elisha, and in his holy apostles, and other holy saints after them. But as for heretics, God hath never suffered them to do any miracles at all... because he would have by the mark

*The true church is known of miracles his very, true church known  
 by miracles. from all the false churches of heretics.*

10 Nor never *shall* he suffer them to do any, till the great archheretic Antichrist come himself... which, as help me God, I fear be very near his time, and that Luther is his very foregoer and his Baptist, to make ready his way in the desert of this wretched world... and Tyndale, Friar Huessgen, and Zwingli, his very  
 15 false prophets to preach for him. But when he shall come himself and work wonders, to pervert (if it might be) the very chosen too—yet shall he not work miracles alone, but God shall for his Church in miracles far pass him... for anger whereof he shall kill them and trust all in strength of sword. And because he shall have so many  
 20 ways to turn the people wrong, God shall not suffer the wretch  
     *2 Thes 2:7-8* long, but shall shorten his days... and, putting strength and miracle together, shall kill him with the spirit or blast of his holy mouth. And thus, good readers, ye plainly now perceive that since the Scripture alone  
 25 against heretics-and-miracles may not sufficiently serve to unlearned people otherwise than may the belief without the Scripture; and also that heretics shall do no miracles till Antichrist come... and yet then shall have also greater miracles wrought against him, and that his time shall be but short, and himself finally by miracle  
 30 destroyed and killed: ye see proved plainly that Tyndale's second reason with which he would prove that the apostles left no necessary thing unwritten... hath in it no reason at all.

### Tyndale

35 Some man would ask, How did God continue his generation from Adam to Noah, and from Noah to Abraham, and so to Moses, without

1 *kept*: i.e., kept them    2 *paynims*: pagans    4, 30 *destroy(ed)*: discredit(ed)  
 5 *in*: i.e., with / for    6, 10 *suffer(ed)*: allow(ed)    7 *mark*: sign; distinctive feature of the presence  
 8 *very*: real    11 *which*: who // *as*: i.e., so    12 *be*: is // *his very*: his veritable  
 13 *Baptist*: i.e., John the Baptist    14 *very*: veritable    16 *pervert*: turn astray // *it*: i.e., that  
 16 *might be*: could happen; were possible // *chosen*: elect    18 *far pass*: greatly outdo  
 18 *whereof*: i.e., whereat // *them*: i.e., Catholics    19 *trust all*: put all his trust    20 *suffer*: tolerate  
 23 *blast*: strong gust of breath    25, 26 *may (not)*: can(not)    25 *serve*: be of service    28 *yet*: even  
 29 *finally*: in the end    31 *reason*: argument // *with*: by // *would*: wanted to / attempts to  
 31–32 *no . . . unwritten*: i.e., unwritten nothing one must believe or do in order to get to heaven  
 32 *reason*: rationality    34 *would*: i.e., might want to // *generation*: i.e., special set/race of people

writing... but with teaching from mouth to mouth? I answer first  
that "There was no Scripture in the world all the while"—*that* shall  
they prove when our Lady hath a new son!

More

- 5 Tyndale saith that "some" man "would" ask this question. But  
he knoweth well enough that *I lay* this against him, in my *Dialogue*,  
because *he* so precisely saith that nothing may be certainly  
known, to be believed, but by Scripture. And now he answereth me  
that our Lady shall have a new son ere I can prove that there  
10 was not Scripture from the beginning! He weigheth his words  
wisely when he saith that our Lady shall have a new son first  
(which he might as well say by every woman that is past this world),  
saying that "our Lady never had a new son besides our Savior Christ"  
is none article of his false faith, as himself plainly confesseth...  
15 because it is not plainly written in Scripture.
- But is not this a proper answer, now? Whereas against his false  
ground that there can be no true faith but if it be written in  
Scripture, I objected against him the faith of many good-faithful  
men... in whose days we cannot prove that their faith was written,  
20 and yet we doubt not but that they were good and faithful: he saith I  
cannot prove that they had no Scripture. If he will say (as he  
doth) that they *could* have no good and sure faith without Scripture...  
and will also confess (as he doth) that they *had* good and sure  
faith: he must himself prove that they *had* Scripture... and not tell  
25 me that our Lady shall have a new son ere I prove that they had no  
Scripture. For it is enough for me that our Lady shall have two new  
sons ere Tyndale prove that some of those faithful folk in the  
first or second generation had any writing at all; and that our  
Lady shall have five new sons ere Tyndale prove that the faithful  
30 people had before Moses' days any scripture such as Tyndale  
must mean but if he go about to beguile us with sophistical  
equivocation. For our matter is not of "scripture" as it is taken for bare  
writing, such as every scrivener's boy writeth in his master's  
shop... but as it signifieth such holy writing as God causeth to  
35 be written and bindeth folk to believe upon the peril of their soul  
health. And then I say yet again that it is enough for me that our  
Lady shall have fifteen new sons ere Tyndale be able to prove me  
that some of those whom I allege and he confesseth for faithful folk  
had any such scripture at all.

1 *writing*: i.e., putting anything in writing // *but . . . to mouth*: i.e., except by way of oral transmission  
2 *all the while*: in all that time 5–6: See *DH* 252/7—253/21. 5 *would*: might want to  
6 *lay this*: i.e., make this argument 7 *precisely*: expressly / categorically // *may*: can 9, 25, etc. *ere*: before  
10 *weigheth*: i.e., chooses 12 *might . . . by*: could as rightly say about 14 *none*: no // *himself*: he himself  
14, 23, 38 *confess(eth)*: acknowledge(s) 16 *proper*: fine / logical 17 *ground*: premise  
17 *there . . . no*: i.e., no belief can be a part of the 17, 31 *but if*: unless 18 *objected*: submitted; brought forward  
18 *good-faithful*: right-believing 20, 27, 29, 38 (*good and*) *faithful*: (quite) right-faith-possessing  
22, 23 *good and sure*: i.e., valid and sound / quite definitely correct 31 *he go about*: i.e., he is trying  
31 *beguile us*: hoodwink us; pull the wool over our eyes 32 *matter*: dispute // *of*: about  
32 *as . . . bare*: i.e., in the sense of mere 33 *scrivener's boy*: copyist's helper  
35–36 *peril of their soul health*: i.e., jeopardizing of their salvation 37 *prove*: prove to



And Tyndale, feeling full well that this point pricketh him,  
 shrinketh hither and thither thereat, and seeketh many shifts. And  
 for all the shifts that he findeth here, because they all satisfy not  
 himself... he is fain afterward in his *Answer to my Dialogue*  
 5 to seek up some new... and saith that in Noah's days, when the Flood  
 came, there were no more left that believed right but those that were  
 saved in the ship. In which place he jesteth upon that virtuous,  
 cunning man Nicholas de Lyra, saying, "Lira delirat." But it is more  
 easy for Tyndale to make a mock upon his name... than to obtain  
 10 his virtue and learning. But what winneth Tyndale by that answer  
 there? If he said true... yet were he never the nearer. For if the whole  
 world were at that time fallen from the faith save those few—yet  
 were it for my purpose sufficient that the true faith had first  
 from God to man, and so forth from man to man, come by mouth  
 15 without Scripture unto those few... though all the remnant that  
 had heard thereof had then been fallen from the belief thereof  
 except only those few... as all the known nations of the world that  
 hath heard of Christ's faith and Holy Scripture, too, be now fallen from  
 both twain, save only these few that yet remain. And of them,  
 20 some fall from the faith and from the effect of Scripture by false  
 interpretation—as they that fall from the sacraments, and that so  
 construe the Scripture that they would make it say that friars may  
 wed nuns. Of both which sorts if there went so many away that  
 the remnant which were left were as few as were taken into  
 25 *Note* Noah's ship—yet should always those few  
 be the very church of God upon earth because  
 of the right belief, although that of those few some were  
 naught of living. And among them should there miracles of God  
 continue, to show the presence of God, and strengthen them in the faith,  
 30 and make his church known... that such as are out may find the way  
 to it to come in if they will; as he ceased not to walk with the  
 Jews by miracles although there were many naught, till he quite  
 forsook them—which by his promise he shall never do Christ's  
 Catholic Church.

35 Tyndale  
 God taught Adam greater things than to write.

#### More

If he mean of spiritual revelations, it maketh little to the purpose;  
 if of worldly things, I think well he taught him things of

1 *feeling*: realizing // *pricketh*: impales 2 *shrinketh* . . . *thither*: recoils this way and that 2, 3 *shifts*: subterfuges  
 3 *findeth*: comes up with 4 *fain*: constrained // *afterward in*: i.e., later on in / in a later section of  
 5 *new*: i.e., new ones 7 *jesteth upon*: makes a crack about 8 *cunning*: learned // *delirat*: talks nonsense  
 9 *a mock upon*: a mockery out of 10 *winneth Tyndale*: i.e., does Tyndale stand to gain  
 11 *he said*: i.e., what he said were // *yet* . . . *nearer*: i.e., it still wouldn't get him anywhere  
 12, 16, etc. *fall(en)*: fall(en) away 13 *were it*: would it be 15, 27 *(al)though (that)*: even if  
 15, 24 *remnant*: rest (of the people) 19 *twain*: i.e., the one and the other 20 *effect*: reality 21 *as*: such as  
 21 *and*: i.e., and those 23 *both*: i.e., both of 26 *very*: true 28, 32 *naught*: (who were) bad  
 28 *of living*: i.e., in their ways of living 30 *out*: i.e., outside of it 32 *quite*: completely 33 *do*: i.e., do to  
 38 *mean of*: has in mind // *it* . . . *purpose*: this has little relevance 39 *think well*: well suppose; certainly think

greater necessity—as, peradventure, tillage of the ground. But as for writing, I ween, as long as he lived, was found yet long after Adam's days. For though Adam had as great a wit as any man had since—yet he found not out everything that

- 5 many a more mean wit hath found since... except Tyndale tell us that Adam printed books, and made glasses, and shot guns, too.

Tyndale

And that there was writing in the world long ere Abraham—yea, and ere Noah—do stories testify.

- 10 More

*Jn 19:35*

Full well. But there is none of those stories anything sib to Saint John's Gospel. He findeth not in *them* "Qui vidit, testimonium perhibuit," nor "verum est testimonium eius."

- 15 There were stories which, as Saint Augustine saith, wrote of things done thousands of years before the world was made. And though it were proved (as it is not) that there were writing from the beginning—yet, as I said before, it would not prove that there was Holy Scripture that time... which is the only writing that must  
20 be proved or else all that he proveth is as good unproved.

Tyndale

Notwithstanding, though there had been no writing—the preachers were ever prophets glorious in doing of miracles, wherewith they confirmed their preaching.

- 25 More

This is right well said and very largely... and lacketh nothing now but even to be as well and largely proved. Which when he shall so largely prove me by plain Scripture (without which, by Luther's own rule, Luther's own scholar may not look to be believed)—  
30 he shall have much ado, I trow. For he saith that by all this time which was the space of so many hundred years, the preachers were "ever prophets" and "glorious in doing of miracles, wherewith they

*Gn 6:5—7:23*

confirmed their preaching." Verily, Noah—  
35 we find that he confirmed his preaching with miracle, that was with the flood that drowned the whole world.

1 *as*: such as // *peradventure*: perhaps    2 *ween* . . . *he*: i.e., think that this, no matter how long he  
2 *found yet*: i.e., yet devised    3, 17, 22 *though*: even if    3, 5 (*a*) *wit*: (an) intellect  
4 *found not out*: did not learn    5 *more mean*: more average / lesser // *found*: devised; come up with  
5 *except*: unless    6 *glasses*: glass objects    8, 9 *ere*: before    8 *yea*: yes    9, 12 *stories*: historical records  
9 *testify*: attest    11 *full*: very // *none*: not one    12 *anything sib*: that is at all comparable  
13 "*Qui* . . . *perhibuit*": "He who saw it, testified to it."    14 "*verum* . . . *eius*": "his testimony is true"  
15–16: See *City of God*, 11.    15 *stories*: i.e., purportedly historical accounts  
15 *wrote of*: i.e., were written about    17 *there were*: i.e., there was    19 *that time*: i.e., at that time  
20 *proved*: i.e., proved existent from the start    26, 27, 28 *largely*: expansively / comprehensively  
27 *even*: just    28 *shall* . . . *prove*: i.e., goes about . . . proving to    29 *scholar*: pupil / protégé  
29 *may not look*: i.e., cannot reasonably expect    30 *much ado*: a lot of trouble // *trow*: feel sure // *by*: through  
31 *space*: duration    33 *verily*: indeed    35 *that was with*: i.e., the one that was

But else, in that age from Adam to his day... what miracles findeth Tyndale done by the preachers? Now, from Noah to Abraham, how many miracles findeth he done by the preachers? Nor from Abraham to Moses neither, he findeth not very many; so that it will, I ween,  
 5 be very hard for him to prove that the preachers did always prove, all that while, their preaching by miracles.

But I am very glad to hear him say so... and am content to discharge him of the proof, and agree that he saith truth. And then say I that since himself agreeth that for the proof of the preachers' doctrine preaching all one thing down from generation to  
 10 generation by the space of so many hundred years, holy preachers and miracles were so necessary that for the necessity thereof he presumeth that it was so: it is reason that he agree also that by this whole time of fifteen hundred years of *Christ's* church, holy preachers  
 15 with miracles have been as necessary. And then since he must also grant that God hath as much cure of the church of his Son as he had of any church before: he must grant that of each thing necessary God hath as well provided for it as ever he did for any. Whereof it followeth that since holy preachers and miracles were  
 20 always so necessary in the other that God always provided them so plenteously that they never lacked: he hath in like wise all this while provided that in his own church holy preachers and miracles have also continued and have never lacked. And then followeth further that since in all this while there hath never been in  
 25 any church of heretics (as many as have been of them!) neither saint nor miracle... but both twain ever, plenteously, continued in this only church which is the common-known Catholic Church of Christ: thereupon followeth it, finally, that only it is the true church of God... and that all the others be false churches of the devil.

Now if Tyndale will say that it is now *not* like... for there is no cause neither of holy preachers nor miracles, because we have the  
 30 *Lk 16:27-31* scriptures—as Abraham said unto the rich glutton that lay in hell and would have Lazarus sent into his father's house to give his brethren warning,  
 35 “They have already Moses and the prophets; and if they believe not them, no more will they believe one that were come hence, neither”—this will not serve Tyndale. For they were not excusable which then had the scriptures, considering that the Scripture had been, and yet *every* age were, well testified with *miracles*, in that the

4 *ween*: think      7 *so*: i.e., this // *content*: willing

8 *discharge* . . . *proof*: i.e., let him off the hook with regard to the proving

8 *agree* . . . *truth*: i.e., grant for the sake of argument that what he's saying is true      9 *himself*: he himself

9 *agreeth*: grants      9–10 *preachers'* . . . *thing*: i.e., doctrine of preachers who all preached the same thing

11, 13 *by*: throughout      11 *space*: span      12 *for*: on account of      13 *reason*: i.e., only reasonable

13 *agree*: grant      16 *hath* . . . *cure of*: has as much concern for / takes as good care of      17 *had of*: had for / took of

18 *provided*: made provision // *it*: i.e., this church      21 *never lacked*: were never lacking // *wise*: manner

23 *continued*: i.e., continued to be present // *lacked*: been lacking      25 *have*: i.e., there have

26 *both twain* . . . *continued*: i.e., both of these two kinds of marvels have . . . continued to be found

27 *only church*: church alone // *common-known*: common-knowledge      31 *cause neither of*: i.e., need for either

33 *would*: wanted to      36 *one*: someone // *hence*: from here

37 *serve Tyndale*: help Tyndale; get Tyndale anywhere // *which*: who

39 *yet every age were*: furthermore was in *every* age // *testified with*: attested by

prophets and preachers thereof, and the places where it was preached  
 and occupied in God's service, were by God illustrated and set out  
 with miracles... insomuch that he did not only send into the  
 world his prophets and true preachers with miracles, but also  
 5           2 Kgs 13:21           by the bones of *them* raised and sent into  
   the world dead men also, to give the  
 world warning too—though he listed not to do so much at that  
 wretch's request. And finally, when all was too little, and that they fell  
 to false construing of the Scripture, and so began to multiply  
 10   their false doctrine that they made the better-believing folk the  
 fewer and the false part the greater—he tarried not long, but came himself  
 to reform it and begin his own special church with his  
 own preaching and his holy apostles'... not with bare dispicions,  
 and bearing men in hand the words of the Scripture were plain  
 15   enough... but with plenteous miracles to reprove the false doctrine  
 of the false Pharisees that had begun to teach contrary to their old  
 holy fathers before. And thus hath God ever since sent holy saints  
 into his church, as the reason of his goodness required that he should.  
 And where these new Pharisees, these manifold sects of heretics,  
 20   both now do and from the beginning have done, misconstrue the  
 Scripture of God against the mind of Christ and his apostles: our  
 Lord sendeth and ever hath sent not only good, virtuous preachers  
 against them, but also reproveth and ever hath reproveth their  
 most common heresies, against saints and sacraments, with daily  
 25   marvelous miracles... and neither suffereth nor never suffered any one  
 to be wrought among all them, but such as he worketh sometimes  
 where he maketh an image to speak, or the Blessed Sacrament to  
 bleed, to detect their despiteful dealing, and make them be  
 burned therefor... whereas they shall never find in Scripture that  
 30   ever God suffered false miracle either by man or devil to be done to  
 the confusion of his true prophet. And therefore it is plain yet  
 again that the Catholic Church is the true church, and all these  
 heretics' "congregations" false.

#### Tyndale

35           And beyond that, God wrote his testament unto them always, both  
                   what to do and what to believe, even in sacraments. For the sacrifices

2 *occupied*: used // *God's service*: i.e., the liturgy / public worship services

2 *illustrated*: added luster to / illuminated // *set out*: distinguished

5 *them*: i.e., those prophets and true preachers of his   7 *listed*: chose   8 *all*: i.e., all that

8–9 *that . . . construing*: i.e., the false preachers started resorting to deliberately inaccurate interpreting

9 *multiply*: proliferate   11 *tarried*: hung back   12 *it*: i.e., the situation

13 *bare dispicions*: mere disputations   14 *bearing men in hand*: telling people that / trying to convince people that

15, 23 *reprove(th)*: disprove(s); prove(s) false   16 *false*: unfaithful / erroneous / treacherous

20 *misconstrue*: misinterpret   24 *against*: about   25 *marvelous*: astonishing

25 *neither . . . any*: neither allows nor ever did allow even   26 *but*: except   27 *an image to*: a statue

28 *to*: in order to // *detect*: expose // *despiteful dealing*: i.e., insulting treatment of it   29 *therefor*: for that

30 *suffered*: i.e., allowed a   31 *confusion*: discomfiture / bringing down // *plain*: clear

35 *testament*: covenant / will   36 *even*: equally

which God gave Adam's sons were no dumb popetry or superstitious  
Mahometry, but signs of the testament of God; and in  
them they read the word of God as we do in Books.

More

- 5 Tyndale telleth us here another fair tale. But in this I say as I  
said before in the other: that his tale lacketh but all that it  
should have—that is to wit, the proof. For ye shall hear now how he  
would seem to prove it.

Tyndale

- 10 The testament which God made with Noah, that he would no more  
drown the world with water... he wrote in the sacrament of the  
rainbow. And the appointment made between him and Abraham...  
he wrote in the sacrament of circumcision. And therefore said  
15 Stephen (Acts 7), "He gave them the testament of circumcision"; not  
that the outward circumcision was the whole testament... but the  
sacrament or sign thereof. For circumcision preached God's word  
unto them, as I have in other places declared.

More

- 20 Is not this well proved now! He showeth us of sacrifices, of circumcision,  
and of the rainbow—which he coupleth with sacrifices  
and circumcision, and calleth it a "sacrament," like the others, because  
he would have us ween that no sacrament either then did or  
now doth any more profit the soul than doth the rainbow!  
Which rainbow whether God made new, to make men sure of his  
25 promise by the marvelous new sight thereof, or that it being but  
an appearance natural, by the reflection of the sun—I will not  
dispute because of other men's writing. But this I wot well:  
I see no man write thereof that ever saw it before.

- Nor if it had never been seen yet... there would, I ween, for all the  
30 natural reasons that men make now therefor, never a man have  
missed it. But as I say, were it the one, were it the other... God  
*Why God made the rainbow* either made it or appointed it but for a  
sign of bodily health, and the world to  
be preserved from universal flood; whereas sacrifices and circumcision,  
35 and much more the blessed sacraments of Christ's church,  
pertain to the soul health... not as bare signs, but as things well

1 *dumb*: unintelligible; mumbo-jumbo    2 *Mahometry*: Muhammadanism  
2 *testament of God*: i.e., God's covenant with them / God's will for them    3 *Books*: Bibles    5 *fair*: good-sounding  
5, 6 *tale*: story // *in*: about    5 *this*: i.e., this one // *as*: i.e., what    6 *but*: i.e., nothing but    8 *would*: hopes to  
10, 14, 15 *testament*: covenant    10 *no more*: never again    12 *appointment*: agreement; contract  
15 *outward*: external    17 *declared*: explained    19 *showeth*: speaks to    20 *coupleth*: links / lumps in  
22 *ween*: believe    24 *new*: i.e., then for the first time // *make . . . of*: i.e., give men a guarantee of his keeping of  
25 *marvelous*: wondrous; astonishing  
27 *dispute . . . writing*: i.e., do any arguing about what different men have written on this subject // *wot*: know  
28 *it before*: i.e., a rainbow before the time of Noah    29 *ween*: think // *for*: despite  
30 *reasons . . . therefor*: i.e., explanations that men now give for it    32 *appointed*: designated  
33 *bodily health*: bodily well-being / physical salvation  
36 *the soul health*: the soul's well-being / spiritual salvation // *bare*: mere // *well*: really

helping thereunto—as prayer doth, and all reverent manner and devout fashion used by man therein. But this is all Tyndale’s purpose: to pull down the sacraments and have them taken for bare, simple signs. For surely to couple the sacrifice of Abel or the sacrament of circumcision with the sign of the rainbow... is almost as well likened as to liken the Matins that men sing at church, or the Blessed Sacrament at the Mass, to the sign of the Saracen’s head.

But now consider how well these things prove his ghostly purpose. He saith that from Adam to Moses, God taught them in sacraments always both what they should do and what they should believe; and he proveth it because God did so in three. And so this is his argument: God did so thrice, ergo he did so always; God did so in three, ergo he did so in all; God in sacraments taught them some things, ergo in sacraments he taught them all things.

Where findeth Tyndale that God taught Abraham what thing the circumcision should signify, or wherefore he should do it, other than that he would have him and all his do it? What moral virtue he should understand thereby—as the cutting off and casting away of all superfluous carnal things, or any such other thing—what did he teach him? Or where findeth he that to the people was any such thing preached thereby, when the circumcision was given and commanded?

In the sacrifice of Abel in killing and offering the beasts... where findeth Tyndale that there was taught unto Abel, or any man else, that it should signify the killing of fleshly lusts, or any such other things... saving that they should serve God in that manner?—which yet we rather gather by reason than find it written in Scripture.

Where findeth he that Abraham was taught that in offering up his son Isaac, and then the sheep in his stead... it should signify the offering of Christ upon the cross, or *anything* else but his thankful obedience and proof of his fast faith and hope in God?

And though it may appear in every sacrifice, and in every prayer unto God, that men should love God above all things—yet in what sacrifice were they learned to love their neighbor?

This is a vain tale of Tyndale which he shall never prove while he liveth. And yet the better he proveth it if he could prove it... the worse should he make his matter. For if sacraments *were* with *them*, in all that time, able to be profitable without Scripture: then so

1 *all*: every // *manner*: approach / convention      2 *devout fashion*: devotional style  
 2 *all . . . purpose*: Tyndale’s whole objective      3 *pull down*: downgrade / truncate // *bare*: mere / empty  
 4 *surely*: certainly // *couple*: link / lump in      5–6 *almost . . . likened*: i.e., about as good a comparison-making  
 7 *sign . . . head*: sign of the Arab’s head; i.e., typical tavern sign      8 *ghostly purpose*: holy point  
 9, 13, 14 *in sacraments*: i.e., by way of sacraments      11 *because*: i.e., by the fact that  
 11, 12–13 *in three*: i.e., in three instances      16, 30 *should signify*: was to signify      16 *wherefore*: why  
 18 *as*: such as      19 *carnal*: corporeal      21 *circumcision*: i.e., sacrament of circumcision      23 *beasts*: animals  
 25 *should*: was to      26 *saving*: i.e., anything other than // *should*: were to      32 *fast*: steadfast; firm  
 33 *appear*: be evident      35 *learned*: taught      36 *vain tale of*: meritless thing said by // *while*: as long as  
 38 *worse should*: less well would // *matter*: case      39 *without*: i.e., apart from / in a way not stated in

may ours be now profitable without Scripture... except he find  
therefor a *prohibition* in Scripture; which neither he nor none of  
his fellows ever found yet, nor never shall find while they live.  
For whereas they lay for a prohibition the words of Moses (in the

5           *Dt 13:1*           Deuteronomy) commanding that no  
  man shall add nor minish—they that  
lay that text for a prohibition of our sacraments unwritten... be,  
as I shall show you afterward, surely too mad to live.

Now seeth Tyndale this to be very truth himself: that if sacraments  
10 were without Scripture profitable unto them, and stood  
them in the stead of Scripture—it might be by the same reason  
in like wise profitable to us, and stand us in stead; which thing  
destroyeth all his whole purpose. And therefore, to answer that  
with... he saith that “[so it might indeed,] if that the wicked pope had  
15 not taken away the significations of our sacraments from us, as he hath robbed  
us”—saith Tyndale—“of the true sense of all the Scripture.”

Tyndale must here tell us *which* pope hath taken from us the  
signification of the sacraments, and robbed from us the true sense  
of the Scripture. If any pope this eight hundred years (by all which  
20 time Tyndale saith they have been *all* naught) have done anything  
therein contrary to the old popes that were by the space of seven hundred  
years next before that, which popes he denieth not for good nor cannot  
deny: let him tell which, and wherein, and whereby he can prove  
it. But that am I sure he shall never show while he liveth. For I  
25 wot well that the old holy works that have been made, as well by  
old holy popes (as Saint Gregory, Saint Leo, and others) as by the  
old holy doctors (as Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine, and other),  
concerning as well the significations of sacraments as the true  
sense of Scripture, do consent and agree together against Tyndale  
30 and Luther and Friar Huessgen and all their fond fellows. And if  
Tyndale say nay, let him show me which old holy popes were  
they that ever held that the Sacrament of the Altar is such a bare,  
simple sign, and set but only to signify the memorial of  
Christ’s Passion, and unity of him and us, with love and concord  
35 among ourselves... and that it were sin to think it were not bread  
still, as Luther saith, or to think it were anything else, as Tyndale  
and Friar Huessgen saith... and great sin to worship it, as

1 *may*: i.e., could    1, 10 *without*: i.e., apart from / in a way not stated in    1 *except*: unless  
2 *therefor*: i.e., for them    3, 30 *fellows*: cohorts    3, 24 *while*: as long as  
4, 7 *lay (that text) for*: claim (that text) to be    4 *in the*: i.e., in the Book of; in    6 *minish*: subtract / remove  
8 *afterward*: later    9 *very*: i.e., the actual    11 *it*: i.e., our set of sacraments    11, 14 *might*: could  
11 *reason*: line of reasoning    12 *wise*: manner    13 *all his whole purpose*: his whole entire case    14 *if that*: if  
19 *this*: i.e., this last // *by*: throughout    20 *been all naught*: i.e., *all* been bad // *have done*: has done  
21 *old*: i.e., former // *were*: i.e., were in office // *by the space of*: in the span of the    22 *next*: i.e., right  
22–23 *denieth . . . deny*: i.e., does not, and cannot, deny to have been good ones    24 *show*: state    25 *wot*: know  
25, 26, 27, 31 *old*: early    25 *made*: written    26, 27, 31 *holy*: i.e., sainted    26, 27 *as Saint*: such as Saint  
27 *doctors*: theologians // *other*: i.e., others    29 *consent*: concur; form a consensus  
30 *fond*: foolishly self-confident / imbecilic    31 *show*: tell    32 *a bare*: i.e., an empty    33 *simple*: ordinary  
33 *memorial*: commemorating    35 *were sin* would be a sin    35–36 *were not bread still*: was not still bread  
36 *were*: was    37 *great*: a grave

Luther, Huessgen, and Tyndale say. And as concerning the “true sense” of Scripture which he saith the “pope” hath robbed from us... and meaneth the popes of eight hundred years last past... which true sense Tyndale now bringeth again: let him show, then, which  
 5 popes of the other seven hundred years before, or which holy doctors of all that long time before... did construe the Scripture so that any of them would say that a monk might wed a nun! And lo, thus ye see, good readers, in what worshipful wise Tyndale proveth all his purpose. But now will we go farther.

10 Tyndale

But in the time of Moses, when the congregation was increased, that they must have many preachers and also rulers temporal— then all was received in Scripture . . .

More

15 Here is his whole ground whereupon he will anon conclude that since all was then received in Scripture among the Jews... so must it follow that all was received by Scripture among Christian men. Which followeth not, as I will after show you, though he said true... in that he saith that in the time of Moses all was received  
 20 in Scripture.

But since that thereupon is all his whole matter grounded, let him prove you that point first. For ye consider well that it is not enough to him that they then received Scripture, but he must prove that then they received *all* in Scripture... and that *everything*  
 25 that they should do or believe was then delivered them in Scripture. And therefore, since that this is the point and the thing that he saith, and proveth not: let him prove you this well first, and then go further in God’s name. What proof he bringeth ye shall see... and how true it is ye shall soon judge. Thus he saith...

30 Tyndale

[All was then received in Scripture;] insomuch that Christ and his apostles might not have been believed without Scripture, for all their miracles.

More

35 Lo, this is all the whole proof that ever he bringeth forth for this point whereupon his whole purpose hangeth. And indeed it were

3 *of*: of the 4 *now bringeth again*: i.e., is now bringing back // *show*: state  
 5–6 *holy doctors*: theologians 6 *so*: in such a way 7 *might*: could legitimately  
 8 *worshipful*: impressive / awe-inspiring // *wise*: way 9 *all his purpose*: his whole thesis  
 11 *increased, that*: i.e., increased to the point that 12 *must*: had to // *rulers temporal*: secular rulers  
 13, 16, 17, 19, 24, 31 *all*: everything 15 *ground*: basis // *anon*: presently 17 *by*: by way of  
 18 *after*: later 18–19 *though he said true*: even if he was telling the truth 19 *in . . . saith*: i.e., in saying  
 21 *since that*: given that // *all his whole matter*: his whole entire case 22 *consider well*: well realize  
 23 *to*: i.e., for 24, 25 *then*: back then; at that time 25 *should*: were supposed to; were duty-bound to  
 26 *since that*: since 28 *go further in God’s name*: by all means go further 29 *soon*: readily; easily  
 31 *insomuch that*: i.e., so that; to such an extent that 32 *might . . . been*: i.e., could not have gotten  
 32 *without Scripture*: i.e., without the help of Scripture; without scriptural backing  
 36 *purpose*: case // *hangeth*: is contingent // *were*: would be



somewhat... if it were as true as it is false. For he neither hath any scripture to prove it... and all reason is quite against it. First, as for Scripture, though Christ showed to the Jews, as the truth was, that the Scripture made mention of him—yet he never said unto them  
 5 as Tyndale saith, that he might not be believed else; nor no scripture so saith. He saith no more of Scripture than of Saint John the Baptist. For he saith that the Scripture beareth witness of  
*Jn 5:33, 39* him, and so saith he of Saint John too.

10 But, because Tyndale compareth the Scripture with miracles, and setteth so little by God's word unwritten: Christ said somewhat more by *miracles*, and by his own word at that time *unwritten*, than he said either by Saint John or by the Scripture either. For  
*Jn 15:22, 24* he said of *those* twain that if either of  
 15 both had lacked... they had not been in the sin of infidelity. And he saith not so much of Saint John, nor of the Scripture neither.

Now, reason is clear against Tyndale in that he saith that Christ and his apostles could not be believed for all the miracles. For though  
 20 God had never given warning by Moses that there should come another prophet—yet except God had expressly said that he would never send more (which he said not), what should let Christ to be believed coming with miracles... and though he would teach in the belief, not contrary articles to those that were before taught, but  
 25 other revelations farther that were not taught before, and in works make what change that God list to command? God's word when it was brought unto the people by Moses—was it believed for God's sake, or for Moses'? If for God's sake: then though Christ had not been God (as he was), yet since God sent him with miracles as  
 30 he sent Moses, what should let him to be believed as well as Moses though he had never been spoken of before? Now, if for Moses' sake: Christ was as good as Moses was, all had he not been God; and incomparably better since he *was* God. Why could he not, then, have been believed without the witness of Moses, coming  
 35 with miracles more than ever Moses did or all the prophets besides—and namely doing so many in his own name?

And, because that in the credence given unto Christ, Tyndale

1, 11 *somewhat*: something    3 *showed*: i.e., did tell // *as the truth was*: i.e., insomuch as this was true  
 5 *as*: i.e., what // *might . . . else*: otherwise could not legitimately be believed  
 5–6 *nor no scripture so saith*: i.e., nor does any scripture say that  
 6 *saith . . . than of*: i.e., goes no further in what he says about Scripture than in what he says about  
 10 *compareth the Scripture*: puts Scripture on a par    11 *setteth so little by*: has so little regard for  
 11, 12 *unwritten*: i.e., not written in Scripture    12, 13 *by*: i.e., for    14 *those twain*: i.e., those first two attestors  
 15 *lacked*: been lacking // *they had not*: i.e., those people would not have // *in*: i.e., guilty of / in the state of  
 18 *clear*: completely    19 *be*: i.e., have gotten // *for*: on account of    19, 23, etc. *though*: even if  
 20 *warning*: notification // *by*: via // *should*: would    21 *except*: unless    22 *more*: i.e., any more prophets  
 22 *let Christ to be*: stand in the way of Christ's being    23 *would*: were to    26 *what*: whatever  
 26 *list*: chose    29 *as*: i.e., which    30 *let him to be*: i.e., have kept him from being // *well*: rightly / fully  
 32 *all*: i.e., even    36 *namely*: especially    37 *because that in*: i.e., since with regard to

giveth so great preeminence to the Scripture above the miracles of Christ (that is to say, to the word of God written, above wonderful works of God done)—let Tyndale understand that the cause *why* the witness of Scripture helped unto the credence of Christ was by reason of miracle: that is to wit, because it *prophesied* of him.

Which thing that shall come so long after... is a great miracle!

And, yet farther, they that would not believe in Christ for his miracles... would not believe in him for the Scripture neither.

And yet, for the final confutation of Tyndale's folly in saying that Christ for all his miracles could not have been believed but for the Scripture: Every fool knoweth that all the world save the Jews, in their turning to Christ's belief, were not led by the Scripture, but by the *miracles*... and believed not Christ for the Scripture, but believed the Scripture for Christ, and Christ for the miracles. And the Jews, which people most believed the Scripture—of them, I say, fewest believed in Christ.

### Tyndale

Wherefore, forasmuch as Christ's congregation is spread abroad into all the world, much broader than Moses'; and inasmuch as we have not the Old Testament only but also the New, wherein all things are opened so richly, and all fulfilled that before was promised; and insomuch that there is no promise behind, of aught to be shown more, save the resurrection; yea, and seeing that Christ and all the apostles, with all the angels of heaven, if they were here, could preach no more than is preached, of necessity to our souls: how, then, should we receive a new article of our faith, without Scripture, as profitable unto my soul . . . as smoke for sore eyes?

### More

Here Tyndale maketh his conclusion that since Moses, because the people "was increased," so fully received all things necessary to be believed *in* Scripture... that Christ himself "might not have been believed *without* Scripture" (which thing is very false), therefore it followeth that "Christ's congregation" hath all things necessary to be believed written in Scripture; which thing is as false; and reason it is that it be false, when he concludeth it upon false. But Tyndale—perceiving well himself how false his foundation is, and how feeble his building is that he setteth thereupon—hath therefore, to make it

1 *so*: such    1, 2 *above*: over    2 *wonderful*: wondrous; astounding    7, 8, 13, 14 *for*: on account of  
 9 *yet*: also // *folly in*: i.e., blunder of    11 *all*: i.e., all the people in // *save*: except for  
 12 *turning to Christ's belief*: converting to belief in Christ    18 *abroad*: out; far and wide  
 19 *broad*: i.e., more far and wide    21 *opened*: revealed / explicated // *all*: everything  
 22 *behind*: remaining; left not yet fulfilled    22–23 *ought . . . more*: i.e., anything more to be carried out  
 23 *resurrection*: i.e., general resurrection    25 *of*: i.e., that is of    26 *how*: i.e., why // *receive*: accept  
 26 *without*: i.e., that comes to us from outside of; that is not found in  
 27 *as profitable*: i.e., that would be as profitable // *as smoke*: i.e., as is smoke  
 30 *people*: i.e., Israelite population    30–31 *all . . . Scripture*: i.e., in Scripture all things that must be believed in  
 31 *might not have been*: i.e., could not have gotten    32 *without*: i.e., without scriptural backup  
 33–34 *hath . . . Scripture*: i.e., has in Scripture all things that are obligatory to believe  
 34–35 *reason . . . be*: i.e., it stands to reason that it should be    35 *when*: i.e., since  
 35 *upon false*: i.e., from false premises    36 *false*: untrue / shaky // *feeble*: unsound; flimsy

stand the surer, undershored and underpropped it with certain other strong posts made of rotten reeds.

- One is that all things be now, beside the Old Testament, opened richly in the New Testament, that before were promised. This  
 5 underpropper is not very proper for to bear up his building; for it is the selfsame thing that is in question. For *we* say that if he take the “New Testament” for the book of that scripture written, he must not only say but also *prove* that everything is opened therein that of necessity for our soul health is to be believed or done;  
 10 and this is the thing itself that is in debate. And therefore while he doth but *tell* us, and prove it not... and so underproppeth his assertion with itself—he showeth himself as wise as one that, lest his rotten house should fall, would go about to take down the roof, and pull up the groundsill, to undershore the sides with the same.  
 15 Then setteth he to it another shorer: that allthing is in the New Testament fulfilled that was promised before... and also that “there is no promise behind, of aught to be shown more, save the resurrection.” Now, this shorer is so surely set that it is shortly blown down quite, if a man say no more but “What then?” For besides that  
 20 as there lay more promises in the Old Testament than every man well understood, so may there yet, peradventure, lie more promises unperceived yet, either by Tyndale or me, both in the Old and in the New; but, I say, besides this... and besides this also—that Tyndale saith here untrue (for besides the resurrection, there are yet unfulfilled as  
 25 well divers promises of tokens and things that shall come before the resurrection, and all those things, pardie, that are promised to come after, as the Judgment itself, and bliss or pain everlasting to the judged bodies)—but yet, I say, besides all this... what *if* all the promises be fulfilled saving the resurrection? Doth that prove  
 30 that there could be nothing of necessity believed without Scripture? Is there nothing to be believed but promises? If God tell me a thing, or bid me do a thing... am I not bound to believe the one nor to do the other, because they be no promises? If Tyndale speak wisely in this, I must needs confess my folly; for in good faith, I  
 35 can see no wit therein.

But finally he setteth to a mighty strong post, able to bear down all, when he saith that Christ, and all his apostles, and all the

1 *surer*: more securely    3 *beside*: i.e., in contrast to    3, 8 *opened*: revealed / explicated    5 *proper*: suitable  
 5 *bear up*: hold up; support    9 *soul health*: spiritual well-being / salvation    10 *while*: as long as    11 *so*: thus  
 12 *wise*: sensible // *one that*: someone who // *rotten*: rotting / dilapidated    13 *go about*: set out  
 14 *groundsill*: foundational timber    15 *setteth*: attaches    15, 18 *shorer*: reinforcement; buttress  
 15 *that allthing*: i.e., the claim that everything    16–17: See notes for 282/22–23.  
 18 *surely set*: securely affixed    19 *quite*: completely // *What then?*: So what? // *that*: the fact that  
 21, 24 *yet*: still    21 *peradventure*: perhaps    23–24 *Tyndale saith here*: what Tyndale says here is  
 24, 26, etc. *resurrection*: i.e., general resurrection    25 *divers*: several // *tokens*: portents  
 26 *pardie*: by golly; by George    27 *as*: such as    29 *saving*: except  
 30 *of . . . without*: i.e., one has to believe that is not in    31 *to*: i.e., that must // *tell*: i.e., tells  
 31–32, 32 *a thing*: something    32 *bid me*: i.e., commands me to // *not bound*: under no obligation  
 32 *one*: i.e., one thing    33–34 *speak wisely*: is speaking intelligently    34 *folly*: stupidity  
 34 *in good faith*: in all honesty    35 *wit*: sense    36 *setteth to*: affixes // *bear*: hold  
 37 *all*: everything (from being blown away)

angels of heaven, could preach no more than is preached, of necessity to our souls. And therefore, and for all the wise and well-framed reasons which I have reproved and proved unreasonable before, he saith that to receive a new article of faith without

5 Scripture were as profitable for our souls “as smoke for sore eyes.”

This is a substantial shorer, lo, and very surely set, I assure you.

For, first, I might agree all that he saith, and his purpose never the more proved. For where he saith that all is already preached that is necessary or can be necessary to the soul—if I would answer and say,

10 “That is very true, all such things is already preached; but all such preaching is not written”... where were now Tyndale’s conclusion?

But I will not be so mad to grant him that all is either written or preached, either, that can be of necessity to man’s soul. For

15 who would be so mad to think that God knoweth not many things that we know not—and that he can if it please him reveal and show us any of those, and command us to believe them, whensoever he list? And when he so would do... then were they of

necessity to our soul’s salvation to be believed. And he may when it please him command us to do some other things that he hath

20 not commanded yet... and then should we be bound to do them.

And he may command to leave undone some things that he hath before commanded to be done... and then should we be bound to

leave them undone. And this is so plain and evident to every man that hath any spark of reason in his head... that I wonder where

25 Tyndale had left his wit when he wrote this!

And this was also a wise temperance of the matter: that he saith for these wise causes that it were as wholesome for our souls as smoke for sore eyes if we received any new articles of faith without

30 Scripture. If the eyes of his soul were not sore bleared or stark blind with the smoke of the smoky fire of hell, he would soon have seen with his two eyes his two follies in these few words. For he saith if

we received a new article “without Scripture”... whereby he confesseth that if God will give us a new article *in* Scripture, as he gave Moses...

35 it were not unwholesome. And what can he then say but if God give it *without* Scripture, he must be believed?—but if Tyndale dare say that the truth of God do depend upon his writing, and that his

word be naught worth till it be written! Another folly is this: that he saith if we receive “a new article”... and then all the examples that he putteth be old. And we shall put him some others as old.

1 *preached, of*: preached, that is of 2–3 *wise . . . reasons*: brilliant and well-constructed reasonings

3 *reproved*: refuted // *unreasonable*: fallacious / irrational 4–5, 27–29: See notes for 282/26–27.

6 *shorer*: support // *lo*: i.e., oh yes // *surely*: securely 7 *might agree*: could grant 7, 8, 12 *all*: everything

7 *that he saith*: i.e., he is saying // *his purpose never*: i.e., his point would be not at all 9 *and say*: i.e., by saying

10 *all such things*: i.e., every such thing 10–11 *but . . . not*: i.e., but not all of those preached things are

11, 12, 37 *written*: i.e., written in Scripture 11 *were now*: would now be 12, 14 *mad to*: crazy as to

15–16 *reveal and show*: reveal to us and tell 17 *list*: chooses // *were they*: would they be

20, 22 *bound*: obliged 21 *command*: i.e., give the command 23 *plain and evident*: clear and obvious

25 *wit*: mind 26 *wise . . . matter*: i.e., sensible restraint he showed in the making of his claim

27 *for . . . were*: i.e., that for these brilliantly deduced reasons it would be // *as smoke*: i.e., as is smoke

28, 32, 38 *receive(d)*: accept(ed) 29 *sore*: terribly // *bleared*: beclouded 31, 37 *folly/follies*: idiotic blunder(s)

32 *confesseth*: admits 34 *were not*: would not be // *if*: i.e., that if 35 *without*: outside of; apart from

35 *but if*: unless 36 *the . . . God*: divine truth // *his writing*: what God writes 37 *naught worth*: worth nothing

## Tyndale

What helped it me to believe that our Lady's body is in heaven?

## More

5 If this be a new-believed article... let Tyndale tell when this belief began; and he shall find that it hath been thus believed even from the time of her decease. And now the thing that almost fifteen hundred years hath been believed... he calleth a new article. But, now, how like is this belief, of this new article of fifteen hundred years old, unto his example of smoke and sore eyes? For, first, if it helped him not... yet

10 at the least it hurt him not, as smoke doth sore eyes. But since it is  
*True it is that our Lady is in* true, and taught unto the Church by the  
*heaven both body and soul.* Spirit of God, which leadeth the Church  
*Jn 16:13; Ps 67:7 (Vulgate)* into every truth; and the Church grown  
 into the consent and agreement thereof by

15 the same Spirit of concord and agreement which "maketh all the house of one mind"; and though the belief thereof *were* very new: yet it helpeth him and doth him good to believe it... as it helpeth him and doth him good if he believe other truths which God hath revealed and shown by writing before; except Tyndale  
 20 trust not God upon his word but if he give him his writing thereupon, and his letters patent, under his great seal. For else why should it not help him as much to believe that our Lady's body and soul is in heaven, since God hath taught his church so to believe... as  
*Gn 5:24* it helpeth him to believe that Enoch or  
 25 *2 Kgs 2:11* Elijah is body and soul in paradise, since he may do the one that doth the other?

And he saith the one that saith the other... though he say them not both in one manner, but the one by writing, the other by mouth. For the inward inspiration of his Spirit... is his mouth unto his  
 30 reasonable creatures.

Howbeit, he saith and speaketh indeed the one thing and the other both of one fashion. For if he speak... he but inspireth his word into some creature, that speaketh it out. And as he speaketh he writeth. And therefore whoso better believeth the word of God written  
 35 than the word of God unwritten—that is to wit, the Scripture than the inspiration—he believeth better the creature that wrote it than God himself that inspired it.

2 *what*: how    4 *new-believed*: newly believed    5 *even*: right    13 *grown*: i.e., has come

14 *the consent*: i.e., its consensus // *thereof*: i.e., on that    16 *though*: even if

19 *shown . . . before*: i.e., communicated before, in scriptural writing // *except*: unless    20 *but if*: unless

22–23 *our . . . heaven*: i.e., our Lady is in heaven body and soul

25 *paradise*: The intermediate state of heaven, between earthly life and the resurrection to a glorified body.

26 *may*: can    28 *in one*: in the same // *the one*: i.e., the one thing    30 *reasonable*: reason-endowed

31–32 *saith . . . fashion*: i.e., actually communicates and speaks both the one thing and the other in the same manner

34 *whoso*: whoever    36 *wrote it*: i.e., wrote it down; wrote it out

If Tyndale will avoid this and say, “Nay, but I believe better these *men* that wrote the one, of Enoch and Elijah, than I believe these *men* that tell me the other, of our Lady”: then must Tyndale tell us *why* he better believeth those than these. Wherein what hath he to say but that those that wrote it in the Scripture were inspired of God, and so he believeth it as the word not of men but of God? Then answer we again that they that tell me the other, of our Lady, were inspired of God... and therefore it helpeth him to believe it as the word not of men but of God. If he ask how shall he know that God inspired the men that tell him the tale of our Lady: we must ask him again how knoweth he that God inspired them that wrote the tale of Enoch or Elijah. If he say that he knoweth it because it is Holy Scripture: we then shall ask him further how he knoweth that it is Holy Scripture. And then is he driven to the point that, when he hath all done... he must be fain to flee to the Church, and say that he knoweth it by “the church.” And when he shall show you by *which* church he knoweth it, he must needs show you some church which himself may know; for else—how should any such church tell it him as himself knoweth not? And when he showeth you any known church... he is doubly confounded. For both he destroyeth his heresy that no church should be believed but elects... and also shall be driven to confess that he knoweth the Scripture by our church—that is to wit, Christ’s Catholic Church, which he refuseth. And then shall we further tell him, for his third confusion, that by the same-self church doth he know that God hath inspired that other article, of our Lady. And yet, for his fourth confusion, we shall tell him further that the selfsame scripture which himself, by the means of the Church’s teaching, believeth to be the word of God... teacheth him also to believe that this thing which it believeth of our Lady is either good to believe or at the leastwise not evil, nor like smoke to sore eyes... since our Savior himself, in *Jn 14:26; 16:13* the same scripture, saith that the Spirit of God shall teach them all truth, and lead them into every truth, and that forever; since himself there promiseth that he will not leave them, but be with them forever, unto the world’s end.

And thus, good Christian readers, ye see to what worshipful conclusion, with a fourfold confusion, Tyndale hath brought himself

1 *will*: . . . *say*: i.e., tries to get around this by saying // *nay, but*: i.e., no, that’s not it; it’s that  
 2 *wrote*: i.e., wrote down // *one*: i.e., one thing 2, 3, 7, 26, 30 *of*: about 5, 8 *of*: by  
 7, 11 *again*: in turn 7 *other*: i.e., other thing 10, 12 *tail of*: i.e., thing about  
 12 *it is*: i.e., that is 15 *hath*: i.e., is // *must be fain*: inevitably is forced  
 16 *shall show*: sets out to tell 17, 20 *show(eth)*: name(s) 18, 19, 28 *himself*: he himself  
 18 *may*: can 20 *any*: some // *confounded*: confuted / done for 21 *destroyeth*: demolishes  
 22 *elects*: i.e., that made up of only the elect // *confess*: admit 24 *refuseth*: rejects  
 24, 26, 38 *confusion*: confutation / undoing / downfall 25 *same-self*: very same 26 *yet*: also  
 31 *evil*: bad 34–35 *since himself*: . . . *he*: i.e., and since he . . . he himself 35 *be*: i.e., will be  
 37 *worshipful*: impressive

with laying this article, whereby he would diminish the worship of our most blessed Lady.

But likewise as he speaketh here of the Assumption of our Lady, the belief whereof he would should seem to serve of naught: the same  
 5 saith he, in divers places, of the belief of the perpetual virginity of our Lady... saying that it is nothing pertaining to the salvation of our soul. But I say that the Catholic Church of Christ believeth that the belief thereof—being (as it is, and from the beginning hath been) taught by the Holy Ghost—so pertaineth to the  
 10 salvation of our souls that the contrary belief pertaineth to the damnation of our souls if heresy be damnable. And that this is no new article well appeareth by that that the old holy doctor Saint Jerome so far forth reckoned it for heresy that he wrote a whole book against the old heretic Helvidius for the confutation of  
 15 that heresy. In which virtuous book Saint Jerome neither proveth nor goeth about to prove her perpetual virginity by Scripture... but only proveth that the places of Scripture which Helvidius brought forth for the contrary were not effectual to prove his malicious purpose against the common-received faith of Christ's Catholic  
 20 Church. Against which we may be very sure that the Scripture never speaketh in deed... how apparent soever a heretic make it seem.

For likewise as, though a sophist would with a fond argument prove unto a simple soul that two eggs were three, because that  
 25 “there is one, and there be twain, and one and twain make three,” that simple, unlearned man, though he lack learning to assoil his fond argument, hath yet wit enough to laugh thereat, and to eat the two eggs himself and bid the sophister take and eat the third—so is every faithful man as sure in the sight of his soul, how  
 30 apparently soever a heretic argue by Scripture to the contrary, that the common faith of Christ's Catholic Church is out of question true... and that the Scripture, understood right, is never thereto contrary... since he wotteth well, both by his faith and by the Scripture, that the Church is taught its faith by God and his Holy  
 35 Spirit... according to Christ's *promise*, that can never be false; and wotteth well also that God never teacheth against the truth, nor writeth against his word, but that the contrariety that seemeth, ariseth of heretics' malicious subtlety, or, as holy Saint Augustine

1 *with laying this article*: i.e., by bringing up this article of the faith // *would*: i.e., was hoping to  
 1 *worship*: prestige / honoring 4 *should seem*: have appear to  
 4 *serve of naught*: serve no purpose / be of no avail 5 *divers*: several // *of the belief*: about the belief  
 6 *is nothing pertaining to*: has no bearing on 9 *so pertaineth to*: has such a bearing on  
 10 *pertaineth to*: i.e., has attached to it 12 *well appeareth by that*: is made quite evident by the fact  
 12, 14 *old*: early 12 *holy doctor*: theologian 13 *reckoned it for*: i.e. considered the contrary belief  
 16 *goeth about*: attempts 17 *places*: passages 18 *were . . . prove*: were not convincing proof of  
 19 *purpose*: thesis / contention // *common-received*: universally accepted 20 *may*: can  
 21 *in deed*: in actuality 21–22 *how . . . seem*: i.e., no matter how obvious a heretic makes it seem that it does  
 23 *though*: if // *would*: tried to 23, 27 *fond*: silly 24 *because*: by reason 25 *twain*: two  
 26 *to assoil*: i.e., by which to refute 27 *wit*: sense 28 *bid . . . take*: invite the logic chopper to take  
 29 *faithful*: i.e., right-believing 30 *apparently*: seemingly plausibly 31 *common*: universally shared  
 31 *out of*: beyond 33, 36 *wotteth*: knows 34 *and his*: i.e., the 35 *that*: which  
 37 *the . . . seemeth*: i.e., whatever contradiction there seems to be 38 *of*: from // *subtlety*: craftiness; guile

saith, for lack of well understanding. Which misunderstanding may soon mislead that man which list to leave the faith of Christ's Catholic Church and lean to the doctrine of a false heretic or to the liking his own wit.

- 5 But, for because Tyndale will, when we have all said, stick still at one point... and ask us what shall profit his soul to believe that our Lady is in heaven body and soul (of which he plainly believeth the contrary, both for her body and her soul; for he
- 10 *O fond opinion!* believeth with Luther that all souls sleep, and sleep shall till the Day of Doom), and will ask us also what profiteth him to believe that our Lady was a perpetual virgin and never had child but Christ... since none of those both articles is proved by plain Scripture... and we might be saved well enough though our Lady's body came not in heaven till
- 15 Doomsday... and also though she had more sons than one, and more husbands too: I will ask him then again what profiteth him to believe that our Savior himself died a virgin and never had wife nor child... since that article is not proved by very plain Scripture neither, and he might by his Passion have wrought our redemption
- 20 although he had wedded, and begotten children too.

- And in good faith, I ween we shall see those folk fall so frantic once... that they shall not let at last to say he *did* so, too... and bid us go prove the contrary by Scripture, or else they be at their angelical liberty to believe which way they list. But now come
- 25 we to Tyndale's other example that he putteth, of purgatory.

Tyndale

What am I the better for the belief of purgatory?

More

- 30 In good faith, not the better of a halfpenny, while ye believe it no better than ye do. But surely if ye believed it well... ye might be both the better for purgatory and the farther from hell.

Tyndale

"To fear men with," thou wilt say.

More

- 35 He maketh men answer as it pleaseth himself. But we will *not* say so; for it were a foolish saying, to say, "Tyndale is the better for

1 *well*: right // *misunderstanding*: wrong understanding 2 *may soon*: can easily // *which list*: who chooses  
 2 *leave*: depart from 3 *lean to*: rely on // *doctrine*: teaching // *false*: mendacious / treacherous /  
 [a polite-language equivalent of] damn 4 *to . . . wit*: i.e., to go by his own judgment 5 *all said*: i.e., said all this  
 5–6 *stick still at one point*: persist in arguing the same point / keep harping on that same subject  
 6 *what shall profit*: what good it will do 7 *plainly*: clearly 8 *both for*: about both  
 9 *O fond opinion!*: i.e., What a ridiculous idea! // *with*: along with 9–10 *sleep . . . sleep shall*: i.e., are asleep . . .  
 asleep shall be 10 *the Day of Doom*: Doomsday; Judgment Day 11, 16 *what profiteth*: what good it does  
 12–13 *none . . . both*: i.e., neither one of those two 13, 19, 30 *might*: could 14, 15, 20 *(al)though*: even if  
 14 *in*: into 16 *again*: in response 19 *wrought*: accomplished 21 *in good faith*: in all seriousness  
 21 *ween*: think 21–22 *fall so frantic once*: eventually go so bonkers 22 *not let at last*: finally not forbear  
 22–23 *bid us*: tell us to 24 *which*: whichever // *list*: want to 25 *putteth*: gives 27 *what*: how  
 27, 29, 31, 36 *better*: better off 29 *in good faith*: in all honesty // *of*: i.e., by // *while*: as long as  
 30 *surely*: assuredly 33 *fear men*: scare people 36 *so*: that // *were*: would be // *saying*: utterance



the belief of purgatory to fear men with.” What fool would say so but Tyndale? For Tyndale’s belief cannot fear folk, no more than other men’s belief feareth Tyndale; nor Tyndale is not the better though other men be afeard. And therefore that question, as he

5 foolishly frameth it, so he foolishly answereth it.  
*Why purgatory is ordained* But I say that purgatory is ordained  
 for the punishment of such sins as  
 were either venial in the beginning... or from mortal turned to  
 venial by the forgiveness of the mortality.

10 *The belief of purgatory doth* And I say that the belief thereof  
*profit us two ways.* profiteth two manner of wise. One wise, in  
 that it maketh a man to be preserved  
 thence, or to be the less while there, by that it maketh him do  
 penance and good works here (of which two things Tyndale  
 15 abhorreth to hear).

Another way the belief thereof profiteth, in that as for so far  
 forth it keepeth the believer from hell... into the fire whereof for the  
 contrary belief, and heresy, held against it, he should else fall  
 headlong down... believed he never so well, and lived he never so well  
 20 also, beside. And therefore of the belief of purgatory there cometh  
 these profits to *other* folk... though *Tyndale* be never the better for  
 the belief thereof, which believeth it not.

#### Tyndale

25 Christ and his apostles thought hell enough. And yet—besides that  
 the fleshly imaginations may not stand with God’s word—  
 what great fear can there be of that terrible fire... which thou  
 mayest quench almost for three halfpence?

#### More

30 Nay, surely that fire is not so lightly quenched that folk should  
 upon the boldness of pardons stand out of the fear of purgatory.  
 For likewise as, though the Sacrament of Penance be able to put  
 away the eternality of the pain... yet hath the party, for all that, cause  
 to fear both purgatory and hell too, lest some default upon his  
 own part letted God in the sacrament to work such grace in him

35 *Pardons discharge us* as should serve therefor: so, though the  
*from purgatory.* pardon be able to discharge a man of  
 purgatory... yet may there be such default

1, 2, 3 *fear(eth)*: scare(s)    1 *so*: that    3 *nor . . . better*: nor is Tyndale the better off    4 *though*: if  
 5 *frameth*: contrives    6–7 *is . . . for*: is established for / has as its purpose    8 *in the beginning*: to start with  
 9 *mortality*: what constituted its grievousness / debt of eternal death    11 *two . . . wise*: in two kinds of ways  
 12–13 *preserved thence*: i.e., saved from having to go there    13 *by . . . him*: i.e., by its inducing him to  
 15 *abhorreth*: hates    16–17 *profiteth . . . it*: i.e., is beneficial is that just by being present, it to that extent  
 17 *from*: i.e., from going to    19 *never so well*: no matter how rightly    20 *beside*: otherwise; apart from that  
 20 *belief of*: belief in    21 *never the better*: not at all the better off    22 *which . . . not*: who does not believe in it  
 25 *may not stand*: cannot be reconciled    27 *almost for*: for little more than    // *halfpence*: halfpennies  
 29 *surely . . . is*: i.e., that fire is certainly not    // *lightly*: readily; easily    30 *upon the boldness of*: in reliance on  
 30, 36 *pardon(s)*: indulgence(s)    30 *stand out*: live free / be devoid    31–32 *put away*: do away with  
 32 *pain*: pain / punishment    33, 37 *default*: defect; deficiency  
 34 *letted . . . work*: stood in the way of God’s working in the sacrament    35, 36 *discharge*: disburden; free  
 35 *therefor*: for that; i.e., to keep him from going to either purgatory or hell  
 36 *from/of*: i.e., of having to suffer in    37 *such*: i.e., such a

in the party to whom the pardon is granted, that though he give for three halfpence three hundred pounds, yet shall he receive no pardon at all. And therefore can he not be for three halfpence out of fear of purgatory, but ever hath cause to fear it. For no man, except revelation,

5 can be sure whether he be partner of the pardon or not...  
though he may have, and ought to have, both in that and every good thing good hope.

And if the fear of purgatory *were* so clear gone because it might be quenched with the cost of three halfpence—then were the fear of  
10 hell gone too, by Tyndale's teaching... since bare faith and slight repenting putteth out that fire clean, without the cost of a penny.

And where he saith that Christ and his apostles thought hell enough—I ask him how he proveth that. For we see well by experience that hell and purgatory too be scant enough, between them both,  
15 to refrain folk from sin. We see also that both Christ and his apostles have shown us that there *is* purgatory. And that have they shown us not only by mouth, which were sufficient to faithful folk... but by the Scripture too. And yet both twain be not enough to Tyndale. For his fellows and he will not understand those  
20 places of Scripture but after their own fashion.

And therefore, now, whereas he calleth as unprofitable to the soul as smoke to sore eyes all things that be not either written in Scripture or deduced thereupon... and put the examples of the Assumption of our Lady and purgatory: he must add unto them  
25 as many things more as himself putteth in the same case. And so thereby ye see that he saith now that a child to be confirmed, or to be christened either, if it be christened in Latin; or a man to shrive himself of his sins, or to do penance, or to do any good works toward heavenward, or to be aneled, or to pray to saints, or to  
30 believe in the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, the Blessed Body and Blood of Christ, or to do any honor unto it—all these things be, by Tyndale, as profitable for the soul as smoke is for sore eyes. But I pray God that the sore eyes of his sick soul may once look up better... lest he finally fall into the foul smoke of hell, where he  
35 shall never see after.

### Tyndale

And that the apostles should teach aught by mouth that they would not write—I pray you for what purpose?

1, 2, 5 *pardon*: indulgence    1 *though*: i.e., even should // *for*: instead of    2, 3, 9 *halfpence*: halfpennies  
3 *out of*: free of; devoid of    4 *except*: i.e., barring some special    5 *partner*: a recipient  
6 *in*: with regard to    8 *clear*: totally // *it might*: i.e., that fire could    9, 17 *were*: would be  
10, 31 *by*: according to    10 *bare*: mere // *slight*: i.e., a slight; a cursory    11 *clean*: completely  
14 *scant*: scarcely    15 *refrain*: hold back    16, 17 *shown*: told    17, 19 *to*: for  
17 *faithful*: i.e., right-faith-possessing    18 *twain*: i.e., of those two ways    19 *fellows*: cohorts  
19 *will not*: are determined not to    20 *places*: passages; texts    23 *thereupon*: therefrom // *put*: gave  
25 *himself*: he himself // *case*: category    26, 27 *a*: i.e., for a    27 *christened*: baptized  
27–28 *shrive himself*: make a sacramental confession  
29 *toward heavenward*: i.e., with a view toward getting to heaven or being rewarded there  
29 *be aneled*: receive the Anointing of the Sick    31 *honor unto*: i.e., venerating of    33 *pray*: pray to / beseech  
33 *once*: one day    34 *finally fall*: end up falling    37 *ought*: anything    38 *pray*: ask

## More

Now have ye heard already by what high reasons Tyndale hath proved you the thing that he affirmeth—that is to wit, that the apostles wrote, and left in writing, everything that is of necessity  
 5 for the soul either to be done or to be believed.

But since he seeth himself that in his reasons for his own part there is so little pith... and that he can never prove, nor no man else, the things that Tyndale must prove or else prove himself a fool for falling from the faith of Christ's church; that is to say, that the  
 10 apostles left all such necessary points of the faith in writing: he leaveth off now his part himself, and asketh us *why* they left aught unwritten—as though if I, that never was of counsel with them, cannot tell unto Tyndale plainly wherefore and why the apostles left aught unwritten, he might thereupon conclude that they wrote altogether.  
 15 Is not this a wise and a worshipful reason?

This manner is much like as Tyndale would affirm that all the laws of England be written, and whatsoever were unwritten were no law; and when he had long wrestled therewith and could not prove it... would then ask me, “Hath the realm of England any laws that  
 20 be not written? To what purpose, I pray you, should they be left unwritten?”—and then if I could not give him an answer thereto such as could content him, he might therefore with good reason take his part for proved... and well and worshipfully conclude that all that ever are unwritten are no laws! But now in my name he  
 25 answereth his question... and then confuteth that answer.

## Tyndale

“Because they should not come to the hands of the heathen; for mocking,” saith Master More. I pray you, what thing more to be  
 30 mocked of the heathen... could they teach than the Resurrection, and that Christ was God and man and died between two thieves, and for his death's sake all that repent and believe therein should have their sins forgiven them? Yea, and if the apostles understood thereby as we do... what madder thing unto heathen people could they have taught than that bread is Christ's body and wine his blood? And yet  
 35 all these things they wrote. And again purgatory, confession in the ear, penance and satisfaction for sin to-God-ward with holy deeds, and praying to saints, with suchlike—as dumb

2 *high*: weighty    2, 6 *reasons*: arguments    4, 35 *wrote*: i.e., put in writing  
 6, 11, 23 *part*: i.e., side of the controversy    7 *pith*: substance    9 *from*: away from  
 11 *leaveth off*: abandons; drops    11, 14 *ought*: anything    12 *that*: who  
 12 *of counsel with them*: taken into their confidence    13 *wherefore*: for what purpose; what for  
 14 *might*: i.e., can rightly // *altogether*: everything    15 *wise* . . . *reason*: sensible and respectable argument  
 16 *manner*: approach // *as*: if // *would affirm*: were to assert    20, 28 *pray*: ask    22 *content*: satisfy  
 22 *might*: could    23 *well and worshipfully*: quite respectably    27 *because*: so that  
 27, 31 *should*: would    27 *to*: into // *for mocking*: i.e., as a precaution against their being ridiculed  
 28 *more*: i.e., more likely    29 *mocked of*: ridiculed by    33 *madder*: crazier  
 35 *again*: contrariwise; on the other hand    35–36 *confession in the ear*: auricular confession  
 36 *satisfaction for sin to-God-ward*: i.e., the making of satisfaction to God for sin    37 *as*: i.e., they being  
 37 *dumb*: meaningless / senseless

sacraments and ceremonies—are marvelously agreeable unto the superstition of the heathen people; so that they needed not to abstain from writing of them for fear lest the heathen should have mocked them.

5 More

This was a happy hap for Master Tyndale—that it happed Master More, with the laying of such a slender cause, to minister Master Tyndale so much pleasant matter of replication. For if I had not happed to have said that the apostles forbore the writing of some things for eschewing of infidels' mocking, Tyndale had had now no more to say, but had left off with shame enough... whereas now, by this point, he hath occasion of much matter and winneth much worship therewith.

15 But, now, if I would be content to say that I was overseen in so saying... and that I cannot defend my words that they forbore to write any manner thing for any such cause; and that also I cannot tell why, nor for what cause, the apostles wrote some necessary things and left some necessary things unwritten... no more than I can tell why that every evangelist writeth many things that his fellows have, and yet leaveth out some as great and as necessary as some that he writeth in—if I would for Tyndale's pleasure say this (which if I did, I needed not much to force for any great harm that my part could take thereby; for the thing were in itself nevertheless true—that the apostles so did indeed—though I could not tell why)—then had I taken away quite all Tyndale's pleasure in his present babbling, and left him only to those reasons that he hath laid before; in all which he is, as ye see, too shamefully confounded.

20 But yet if it like you, good readers, to read mine own words as I wrote them, which ye shall find in the First Book of my *Dialogue*, the twenty-fifth chapter: there shall ye perceive it... that it is not fully so far from all reason as Tyndale would have it seem. For I show there that the apostles *did* more plainly speak, and more openly declared, many things by mouth among the Christian folk, because their audience was more meet while they were only among themselves... than they did by their writing, which might percase come into the hands of heathen men that would laugh some such things to scorn. Now cometh Tyndale and sheweth that this is fondly said,

1 *ceremonies*: rituals 1–2 *agreeable* . . . *superstition*: congruous with the superstitiousness

6 *happy hap*: fortunate happenstance 6–7 *it* . . . *More*: i.e., that Mr. More happened

7 *with* . . . *cause*: i.e., by that positing of such an implausible motive

7–8 *minister* . . . *replication*: i.e., furnish Mr. Tyndale so much fun stuff to say in reply 9 *happed*: happened

10 *for* , , , *mocking*: i.e., to avert the danger of unbelievers' making fun of those things // *had*: would have

11 *but had*: but would have 12 *point*: i.e., particular assertion // *of much matter*: i.e., to say a lot

13 *winneth much worship*: gains a lot of admiration 14 *content*: willing // *was overseen*: made a mistake

15 *words*: assertions 16 *manner*: kind of 17, 18, 24 *tell*: i.e., tell him; say 19 *why*: i.e., why it is

19 *fellows*: fellow evangelists 20 *have*: i.e., have written // *some as*: i.e., some that are as // *great*: important

22 *needed* . . . *force*: wouldn't much need to worry about // *part*: side of the argument 23 *take*: suffer

23 *were* . . . *nevertheless*: i.e., itself would nevertheless be 24 *though*: even if 25 *had I*: would I have

25 *quite*: entirely 26 *reasons*: arguments // *laid*: presented 27 *confounded*: overthrown 28 *like*: please

30 *fully*: quite 32 *openly declared*: clearly explained 34 *audience*: i.e., hearing these things // *meet*: appropriate

34 *while*: when 35 *percase*: perchance 37 *showeth*: claims // *fondly said*: i.e., a stupid thing to say

- since the apostles letted not to write the thing that the heathen would most mock of all... and that purgatory and the sacraments were least likely to be mocked among them, for that they were most agreeable unto their own superstition. But, now, lest he should have
- 5 encumbered himself somewhat with the answer, and have defaced therewith the beauty of his own tale—he leaveth out here all such things as I laid in that place for the proof. Howbeit, those things will yet, I trust, serve me sufficiently against all Tyndale’s scoffs. Among which, yet, where he weeneth that he speaketh wisest... he
- 10 helpeth me somewhat himself even here, unawares. For first, though I could not tell why they wrote somewhat that the heathen men will mock, and yet leave out somewhat lest they should mock—though I could not, I say, tell *why* they did this—yet is it enough if I prove *that* they so did indeed. For the proof whereof I may lay, and so did
- 15 in my *Dialogue* (which Tyndale here leaveth out), that not only Saint Peter so did, in the second chapter of the Acts, where he forbore  
*Acts 2:22–36; Jn 10:33–38* to call Christ God lest it should have hindered the faith in that audience... but that our Savior did the same himself in the manifest preaching
- 20 of his Godhood, as appeareth in the tenth chapter of Saint John. Now, since ye see that thus they did indeed... what needeth me to care for all Tyndale’s whys? Why they forbore this where was less cause to fear, and why they wrote this where was more cause to fear—since he cannot say nay but that they so *did*, am I bound to give the
- 25 reckoning why and wherefore they so did? This dare I be bold to say: that they never taught thing of difficulty by writing but that they taught it more plainly by mouth; by which explanations by mouth, the people came into the undoubted truth and faith of the matter, were the writing never so full of doubt.
- 30 For the proof whereof... Tyndale hath here, as I said before, by reason of his heresy with false understanding of Saint Paul... brought forth a right good example. For thus he saith...

### Tyndale

- 35 Yea, and if the apostles understood thereby as we do... what madder thing unto the heathen people could they have taught than that bread is Christ’s body and wine his blood? And yet all these things they wrote.

1 *since*: seeing that // *letted not*: did not forbear      2, 3 *mock(ed)*: ridicule(d); laugh(ed) at  
 2 *were*: i.e., were the things  
 3–4 *for* . . . *superstition*: they being the ones most congruous with the heathens’ own superstitiousness  
 5 *encumbered*: stymied; disadvantaged      6 *tale*: narrative      7 *laid*: adduced / presented // *howbeit*: however  
 9 *yet*: moreover // *weeneth*: thinks // *wisest*: the most sagely / the most brilliantly      10 *even*: right  
 10, 12 *though*: even if      11, 13 *tell*: say      11, 12 *somewhat*: something      12 *mock*: i.e., make fun of (it)  
 14 *lay*: submit      16–17 *forbore to call*: refrained from calling      19 *in*: regarding      20 *appeareth*: is shown  
 21 *what . . . all*: why need I concern myself with all of      22 *forbore*: i.e., refrained from writing  
 24 *say nay but*: deny // *bound*: obliged      24–25 *the reckoning*: the account of      25 *wherefore*: what for  
 25 *be bold*: venture      26 *thing*: i.e., one thing // *by writing*: i.e., by way of writing / by written document  
 28 *undoubted*: unquestioned / incontrovertible // *of*: regarding      29 *writing*: written document  
 29 *never so*: no matter how // *doubt*: ambiguity / puzzlingness      31 *heresy*: heretical stance  
 31 *with false understanding*: together with an inaccurate taking      34 *madder*: crazier

## More

Lo, here ye see that Tyndale himself doubteth upon Saint Paul's words, whether he meant as "we" do... which yet mean not as Tyndale doth—that bread *is* Christ's body, and wine his blood, so that the bread and wine still remain, as Tyndale saith that the apostles write—but that the bread, and wine, is converted and changed *into* Christ's body and blood; and that by what words soever the apostles write it, yet that is the thing that they mean; and that albeit that they have written it plainly enough in Scripture, yet both Christ and they with many words so clearly did declare it by mouth that in that article neither then nor never after was there any doubt arose, till that these heretics here now, of late years, make doubts upon the writing... contrary to the declaration made by Christ and his apostles, and well and surely written in men's hearts, fourteen hundred years before. Such peril is it, lo, to fall from the undoubted faith unto the dispicions of the Scripture, which *by* the faith is understood as the Scripture itself. For likewise as it saith

*Jn 5:39; Is 7:9* plainly, "Scrutamini scripturas" ("Search ye in Scripture"), so saith it as plainly, "Nisi credideritis non intelligetis" ("But if ye believe, ye shall not understand").

And here ye see that though Tyndale will not confess that the apostles left anything unwritten, nor that they wrote anything the more covertly for the mocking of the heathen... yet he saith himself that the apostles wrote so that men might doubt what they meant. And that I dare well say that in the Christian flock they presently so far forth declared it... that they left no such doubt therein. And also dare I say that they taught things by mouth which they wrote not—partly for the cause aforesaid, partly for that it needed not—and this I say boldly. For though Tyndale say nay—yet Saint Paul said yes himself, when he wrote unto the Corinthians, "Caetera

*1 Cor 11:34* quum venero ipse disponam" ("The other things I will dispose," or "order," "when I come myself").

But the sacraments so sore aggrieve Tyndale's sore eyes that he may not abide the sight of them; and therefore he goeth on against them still...

2 *lo*: behold    2–3 *doubteth upon* . . . *whether*: expresses uncertainty about . . . as to whether  
 3 *meant as*: i.e., meant by them what // *do*: i.e., understand by them / say // *which*: who  
 3 *mean not as*: i.e., say not what    10 *declare*: articulate    11 *in that article*: i.e., regarding that article of faith  
 11–12 *doubt arose*: i.e., question raised    12 *till*: i.e., till its coming to be // *late*: recent  
 12–13 *make doubts upon*: raise questions about / manufacture doubts on the basis of  
 13 *the writing*: i.e., what is and is not written about this in Scripture // *contrary to*: i.e., that contravene  
 13 *declaration*: explication(s)    14 *well and*: quite    15 *from*: away from  
 15 *undoubted*: incontrovertible; definitely true    16 *the dispicions of*: debates about  
 19–20: This is from not the Vulgate, but a Latin translation of the Septuagint.    20 *but if*: unless  
 21 *confess*: acknowledge    23 *for* . . . *heathen*: i.e., to keep it from being ridiculed by heathens  
 24 *so*: in such a way // *might doubt*: could be in doubt as to // *And*: i.e., And you see  
 25 *dare well*: i.e., am right in daring to // *presently*: in person    25–26 *so far forth*: to such an extent  
 26 *declared it*: i.e., made clear what they meant by what they wrote    28 *cause aforesaid*: above-mentioned reason  
 28 *for* . . . *not*: i.e., because there was no need for them to write those things    29 *boldly*: with assurance  
 32 *order*: set in order    34 *sore*: terribly // *aggrieve*: irritate    34–35 *may not*: cannot

## Tyndale

Moreover, what is it that the apostles taught by mouth and durst not write? The sacraments? As for Baptism and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, they *wrote*; and it is expressed what is signified by them. And also, all the ceremonies and sacraments that were from Adam to Christ had significations... and all that are made mention of in the New Testament. Wherefore, inasmuch as the sacraments of the Old Testament have significations... and inasmuch as the sacraments of the New Testament (of which mention is made that they were delivered unto us by the very apostles, at Christ's commandment) have also significations; and inasmuch as the office of an apostle is to edify in Christ... and inasmuch as divine ceremony edifieth not, but hurteth altogether (for if it preach not unto me, then I cannot but put confidence therein that the deed itself justifieth me—which is the denying of Christ's blood!); and inasmuch as no mention is made of them as well as of others... nor is known what is meant by them: therefore it appeareth that the apostles taught them not, but that they be the false merchandise of wily hypocrites.

## More

If a man read over these words and examine them not... he may be soon abused. But whoso well weigh them, and consider every part... shall soon perceive that this process is filled up with malice, falsehood, and folly. First, he would that because the apostles have written the two sacraments, that is to wit, Baptism and the Sacrament of the Altar, and the significations of them... and of the other five (as he saith) have not written—he would, I say, therefore that we should take it as proved that the other five were no divine sacraments, nor delivered to the Church by Christ nor his apostles. Now is this argument, though his antecedent were true... yet as wisely concluded as this is of the laws of England: Men have written some; ergo, they have written all.

By the title of his chapter, he taketh in hand to prove that the apostles have left no necessary thing unwritten. And now he proveth it by that that they have written some. For of his reason—yea, and of all his reasons—in conclusion this is the whole sum. Which sum what effect it hath every fool may see... but if Tyndale prove

2 *durst*: dared    3 *write*: i.e., mention in writing    4 *wrote*: i.e., wrote about them  
 5 *ceremonies*: rituals    6 *that were*: there were    10 *very*: actual    12 *edify*: build up  
 13 *divine*: Tyndale says here not "divine," but "a dumb" (as More quotes him at 304/7).  
 13 *hurteth altogether*: does nothing but harm / is downright detrimental    14 *but*: i.e., help but  
 16–17 *no . . . others*: An apparently deliberately ambiguous assertion; see More's discussion beginning at 296/36.  
 18 *appeareth*: is evident    19–20 *the false merchandise of*: i.e., a bill of goods sold by    21, 37 *may*: can  
 22 *be soon abused*: easily get fooled    23 *process*: line of argument    24 *falsehood*: dishonesty  
 24 *folly*: idiocy // *would*: i.e., would have it    25 *written*: written of / mentioned in writing  
 26 *and of*: and about    27 *as he saith*: says he; according to him    28 *that we should*: have us  
 30 *though*: even if // *antecedent*: premise    31 *wisely*: intelligently / soundly  
 31 *as this is of*: i.e., as is this one about    33 *by*: according to // *taketh in hand*: is undertaking  
 35 *that that*: the fact that    35, 36 *reason(s)*: argument(s)    36 *in conclusion*: in the end    36, 37 *sum*: upshot  
 37 *effect*: force // *every*: i.e., any // *but if*: unless

me farther that the apostles promised that they would write all;  
*Jn 21:25; 2 Thes 2:15* whereof Saint John professeth plain the  
 contrary, and so doth Saint Paul too.

Now yet in this reason of his, as faint and as feeble as it is, he is  
 5 fain to presuppose false. For he presupposeth that of any of the  
 remnant... the apostles have not written. Which is so plain false  
*Acts 8:14–18* that if there were any shame in him, he  
*Heb 6:12* might not for shame say it. Of Confirmation  
*Eph 5:12–32* writeth Saint Luke in the Acts  
 10 *1 Tm 4:14* plainly... and Saint Paul to the Hebrews  
*Jas 5:14–15* as plainly. Of Matrimony and Priesthood,  
*Mk 6:13* Saint Paul manifestly; the one to the  
 Ephesians, the other to Timothy. Aneling,  
 Saint James—and Saint Mark in the Gospel, also. And of Penance,  
 15 and the parts thereof—every man, almost, in every part of Scripture.  
 And this thing Tyndale so well knoweth... and that it hath been so  
 often so plainly proved unto them that they could never yet, nor  
 never shall while they live, be able to withstand it neither with  
 Scripture nor with reason, but with railing and babbling—and  
 20 therefore, as I say, this knoweth Tyndale so well—that it is more than  
 shame for him now so to write as though the apostles had never  
 written of them. Which if they never had done indeed... yet were  
 the sacraments sure enough, which hang upon God's word as  
 sure as all their writing... and of which unwritten word we be  
 25 certain and sure by the selfsame means by which we know their  
 books for holy writing: that is to wit, by the relation of the Catholic  
 Church of Christ, and by the Spirit of God that leadeth the  
 Church into the belief of the truth... and leadeth every well-willing  
 person apart... into the believing of the Catholic Church, and by the  
 30 believing of the Church, into the right belief of every necessary  
 truth... and by the grounds thereof first had, into the right understanding  
 of Holy Scripture... whereby the faith, before had, is more  
 and more fastly confirmed... and without which faith before had,  
 the wit of man might abuse the Scripture to the occasion of infidelity  
 35 and unfaithfulness.

But yet, because I would be loath that Tyndale might say that I  
 mistake him in anything and then ground my reason against

1 *all*: everything    2–3 *plain the contrary*: explicitly the contrary / the exact opposite  
 4 *yet*: also // *reason*: argument // *faint*: weak // *feeble*: flimsy; unconvincing    5 *fain*: constrained  
 5 *false*: inaccurately / dishonestly // *of any*: about any    6 *remnant*: rest (of the sacraments)  
 6 *plain*: obviously    7 *shame*: decency    8 *might not for shame*: i.e., could not be so shameless as to  
 11 *Priesthood*: i.e., Holy Orders    13 *Aneling*: the Anointing of the Sick    14 *the*: i.e., his  
 15 *almost*: just about    18 *while*: as long as // *withstand*: gainsay    19 *but*: only  
 20–21 *more than shame for*: i.e., exceedingly shameful of  
 22–23 *were . . . enough*: i.e., would the sacraments be firmly enough established  
 23–24 *which . . . as*: i.e., they being as solidly anchored in God's word as is  
 26 *relation*: pronouncement; say-so    28–29 *well-willing person apart*: i.e., non-Catholic person of good will  
 33 *fastly*: fixedly    34 *wit of man*: human intellect // *abuse*: distort // *to the*: i.e., into an  
 36 *be . . . say*: hate to have Tyndale be able to say  
 37 *mistake him in anything*: take him wrongly about something // *ground my reason*: base my argument



him upon my own mistaking of his words: I will yet a little  
 examine his words better... when he saith that the remnant of the  
 sacraments besides Baptism and the Sacrament of the Altar be no  
 profitable sacraments, nor have no promise of grace, because the  
 5 apostles wrote not of any of them “as” they did of the other twain.  
 I would wit of Tyndale whether he mean that of any of the other  
 five the apostles wrote nothing at all; or else that they wrote not  
 of any grace promised unto any of them; or else that of none of them  
 the apostles wrote any proper significations of their outward  
 10 *Col 2:12; 1 Cor 10:16–17* signs... as Saint Paul did of Baptism  
 when he resembled it unto Christ’s  
 burying and resurrection, and of the Sacrament of the Altar when  
 he teacheth the Corinthians that one loaf is made of many grains  
 of corn, and the wine of many grapes, and that Christian men should  
 15 in like wise, being many in person, be made one in love and concord,  
 and, as it were, made all one body in and with our Savior  
 Christ himself. If he mean the first way—that is to wit, that of  
 any of the said five sacraments the apostles wrote nothing at all—  
 then shall he show himself too shameless. For the words be clear,  
 20 both of Confirmation, Priesthood, Aneling, and both the other  
 twain. If he mean of the second manner... his saying shall be as  
 shameless as in the first. For it is evident in all the three foreremembered  
 that the apostles write of grace given with the putting-upon  
 of the hands. And therein when Tyndale seeketh an evasion  
 25 in his book of *Obedience*, saying that the putting of the hands was  
 but a manner of men in that country, as it was to stretch out the  
 arm in preaching, or to lay a hand upon a boy’s head and call  
 him “Good son”—this evasion is none evasion. For in the sixth  
 chapter of Saint Paul unto the Hebrews... Saint Paul would not  
 30 have made so serious and earnest remembrance of the putting-upon  
 of the hands (which he rehearseth as earnestly as Baptism) if it  
 were but such customable manner that men may do and leave undone  
 as they list. Nor if it were but such a thing... he would not so  
 expressly say to Timothy that he had grace given unto him *by* the  
 35 *Heb 6:2; Tm 4:14* putting of his hands upon him. These  
 places of Scripture—and many more, too—be

1 *mistaking*: wrong taking    2 *when*: i.e., where // *remnant*: rest    5, 21 *twain*: two    6 *wit*: inquire  
 6, 8, 17–18 *of any*: about any    9 *proper*: distinctive    11 *resembled*: likened  
 13–17: The mentions of grain, wine, and grapes are made by not Saint Paul but Saint Augustine, in his  
*Tractates on the Gospel of John* (26.17–18).    14 *corn*: wheat    15 *wise*: manner    17 *mean*: i.e., means it  
 18 *the said*: i.e., aforementioned other    20 *Priesthood*: i.e., Holy Orders // *Aneling*: the Anointing of the Sick  
 21 *mean of*: i.e., means it in // *manner*: way // *his saying*: what he says  
 22 *as in the first*: i.e., as it would be if he’d meant it in that first way  
 22 *in all the three foreremembered*: i.e., in the cases of all three of the above-mentioned sacraments  
 23–24, 25, 30–31 *putting(-upon) of (the) hands*: laying on of hands    26, 32 *manner*: convention; habitual gesture  
 28 *none*: no    30 *made so . . . remembrance of*: given such a . . . reminder about    31 *rehearseth*: mentions  
 31–32 *if it were but*: i.e., had it been nothing but    32 *such customable*: such a customary // *that*: i.e., as  
 33 *list*: please    36 *places*: passages

for this matter so plain against Tyndale, and so evident...  
 that when he wrestleth with them and would fain escape away with  
 some gay gloss of his own device, he fareth like a butterfly fallen  
 on a lime twig, which the more it striveth and fluttereth, ever the  
 5 faster it hangeth.

Now, if he mean in the third fashion... that is to wit, that the  
 apostles of those five sacraments do not besides the common signification  
 of grace write any special and proper significations of the  
 outward tokens, to which significations the same outward tokens  
 10 had such resemblance and likeness that they were therefore  
 appropriated unto them... as water in Baptism hath by the washing of  
 the body a resemblance unto the cleansing of the soul; if Tyndale  
 mean in this manner—as it seemeth that he doth. For when Luther  
 and he, and all the sort of them, had long labored against the  
 15 blessed sacraments, and had first assayed to say that five of  
 them were not in Scripture spoken of at all... and when that would  
 not be bidden by, then that there was at the leastwise no grace  
 promised with them; when they see themselves shamefully convicted  
 and reprov'd in that point too: then fell they finally to the third  
 20 point... and would, notwithstanding that the Scripture make mention  
 of them... and of grace also granted with them... yet would the  
 wise men make us so mad as to take them all for naught but if we  
 find in Scripture what *other*, *special* signification *every* outward  
 token hath... and preach that signification to the people as the  
 25 special thing and the whole effect of the sacrament, letting the  
 grace go by... which these men would were clean forgotten, and in no  
 wise believed, but—whereas in all their writings they rail upon  
 allegories, and cry out upon such holy doctors as preach them—  
 yet the holy sacraments themselves they would should serve for allegories  
 30 only, and for nothing else.

Now, then, I say, *since* Tyndale meaneth thiswise, and therefore  
 saith in his words foreremembered that otherwise preached they  
 do no good, but hurt altogether (for it maketh, he saith, the  
 audience to put confidence therein that the deed itself justifieth  
 35 a man, which “is the denying of Christ’s blood”)—since Tyndale, I  
 say, saith thus—I would wit of Tyndale whether the sacraments

1 *plain*: manifestly / directly // *evident*: conclusive    2 *would fain*: tries hard to  
 3 *gay*: plausible-sounding // *device*: thinking up / invention  
 4 *lime*: birdlimed. (Birdlime is a sticky substance put on twigs to catch small birds.)    5 *faster*: i.e., more firmly stuck  
 6 *if*: ... *fashion*: i.e., if his meaning is that third one    7 *of*: about // *common*: shared    8 *special*: specific  
 8 *proper*: distinctive    9, 24 *token(s)*: sign(s)    11 *appropriated unto*: assigned to them as properly pertaining to  
 13, 31 *mean(eth)*: i.e., means that assertion of his    13 *manner*: way    14 *all the sort*: the whole lot  
 14 *labored*: campaigned    15 *assayed to say*: tried saying    17 *bidden by*: submitted to; gone along with  
 18 *convicted*: overcome    19 *reprov'd*: proved wrong    20 *make*: i.e., does make    22 *wise*: sagacious  
 22 *mad*: demented // *naught*: worthless // *but if*: unless    26 *would were*: would have be // *clean*: completely  
 26 *forgotten*: i.e., forgotten about    26–27 *in no wise believed*: by no means believed in  
 27 *rail upon*: rail about; denigrate    28 *cry out upon*: vehemently criticize  
 28 *holy doctors*: i.e., Fathers and Doctors of the Church / sainted exegetes/theologians    29 *would should*: would have  
 29 *allegories*: i.e., allegorical representations    32 *words foreremembered*: above-related words. (See 295/2–19.)  
 32 *they*: i.e., the sacraments    33 *hurt altogether*: nothing but harm / are downright detrimental  
 34 *audience*: i.e., hearers of the sermon    36 *wit*: inquire

and the ceremonies of the Old Law were by God provided to be well  
 and with their profit delivered and taught by Moses unto the Jews.  
 I think that Tyndale will not be so mad to say that God did  
 by Moses teach them to serve him with those sacraments, sacrifices,  
 5 and ceremonies... displeasing to himself, thankless toward  
 themselves, and also to their hurt. Wherefore, if he have either wit  
 or grace... he must needs grant and agree that they were by Moses  
 taught unto the Jews very well and agreeable to God's pleasure and  
 their wealth. But then say I that those special and proper significations  
 10 of *every* sacrament, sacrifice, and ceremony were not  
 taught them... nor they understood them not: wherefore it followeth  
 that Tyndale saith false... in that he saith that the knowledge of  
 them was so necessary for the soul health that without that knowledge  
 the use of them must needs be noyful and not lawful unto  
 15 them. For but if Tyndale teach false in this... God had taught his  
 people in the beginning to serve him with damnable ceremonies  
 himself.

Now, if Tyndale will at this clap turn his cheek aside... and  
 say that because that *else* all their service to God done with those  
 20 sacraments and ceremonies *had* been damnable... therefore it  
 appeareth well that all the significations of them *were* taught them...  
 and so the minor of mine argument false: yet in turning the one  
 cheek from me, he turneth the other very fair to me; so that he  
 will have a clap on the one cheek or the other, make what skift he  
 25 can.

For then say I this unto him: that if the knowledge of all these  
 significations *was* so necessary to them that without that knowledge,  
 the doing of those things which without sin they might not  
 leave undone were sin as oft as they did them; and that therefore,  
 30 lest we should be so wretched to ween God had on every side so bewrapped  
 his people in sin himself, by his own special  
 provision, that they could not by no means escape... we must needs  
 perceive that God caused them to be by Moses taught all those  
 significations—then say I that since they were *not* written unto  
 35 them in the Scripture, they were, if Tyndale told us true, taught  
 them but only by mouth... and so, from mouth to mouth, taught and

1, 5, etc. *ceremonies*: rituals    1 *well*: rightly    2 *with*: to    3 *mad*: demented as    4 *by*: by way of  
 5 *displeasing*: i.e., their being offensive // *thankless toward*: without benefit to  
 6 *to their hurt*: detrimental to them // *wit*: i.e., any sanity / good sense  
 7–8 *they were . . . very well*: i.e., their being . . . was very good    8 *agreeable to*: concordant with  
 9 *wealth*: well-being // *proper*: distinctive    10 *ceremony*: ritual    13 *the*: i.e., those people's  
 13 *soul health*: spiritual well-being / salvation    14 *use*: i.e., celebrating / offering / carrying out  
 14 *must needs be*: i.e., would have had to have been  
 14 *noyful . . . unto*: deleterious and not morally permissible to    15 *but if*: unless // *had*: i.e., will have  
 18, 24 *clap*: slap    19 *service to*: i.e., worshipping of    20 *had*: would have    21 *appeareth well*: is quite evident  
 22 *minor*: minor premise // *mine*: my // *false*: i.e., is false    23 *from*: away from // *fair*: directly / fully  
 24 *have*: get // *make what skift*: i.e., let him make whatever maneuver    28 *sin*: i.e., sinning // *might*: could  
 29 *were*: i.e., would have been a // *as oft as*: i.e., every time    30 *to ween*: as to think that  
 30 *bewrapped*: enveloped / trapped    35 *if . . . true*: i.e., if what Tyndale has told us is true  
 36 *so*: in that same way // *from mouth to mouth*: by oral transmission

continued among them, till men by their folly and sloth fell to forget them or little to force of them, and then to not believe them; as these heretics fare by the right faith at this day.

And then say I that thereupon it very well followeth further that

5 Tyndale, saying that Moses received all necessary things in writing, said very false and like a very fool; for the knowledge and understanding of those significations of all their sacrifices and ceremonies, he confesseth to be necessary upon peril of their souls, and yet he confesseth that they were not written in the  
10 Scripture.

And if Tyndale ween to wry aside and escape by that he saith that those sacraments and ceremonies *served* them for Books... and that they read all the significations in them *as* in Books: I ask him whether the ceremonies were tokens so like the significations that  
15 they were able to teach the significations, and keep them, by the beholding of the ceremonies, or not. If they were... they had not been forgotten. If they were not, and yet the significations so necessary... then yet again was not everything necessary delivered Moses in writing.

20 But letting Tyndale with his folly pass, the truth is that the Jews *had* necessary things taught them *beside* the writing... and had an expectation of Christ, and of redemption by him, before the Law written... and in that time, and after, and the Jews look for it yet... and they know that without him all their sacraments could not for  
25 their final salvation serve them. But when they began little and little to fall from that faith... and began to trust in the Law, and the works of the Law, alone... leaving off this point of *faith* which was of the Law, sacraments, and ceremonies, and all their bodily works of the soul—then went they wrong. And that is the thing which Saint  
30 Paul so sore reproveth in their trust and confidence to be saved by the works of the Law; whereas if they had not left off the force and strength of faith... both works of the Law and the ceremonies, too, had stood them in stead of heaven. And therefore this nothing toucheth the church of Christ when they put trust in the sacraments; for  
35 they do it not without the faith that all the force and strength of them cometh of Christ's Passion; for this they believe, and this they teach.

1 *folly*: stupidity // *sloth*: indolence // *fell*: began to // 2 *forget*: drop the practice of

2 *little to force of*: i.e., to attach little importance to // *believe*: believe in // 3 *fare by*: behave toward

5 *saying*: in saying // 6 *said very false*: spoke very dishonestly // *very fool*: literal idiot

8, 12, etc. *ceremonies*: rituals // 8 *confesseth*: professes; claims // *be*: i.e., have been

9 *confesseth*: acknowledges // 11 *ween*: thinks // *wry*: swerve // *by that he saith*: i.e., via that assertion of his

12, 13 *Books*: Bibles // 15 *keep*: preserve // 16 *they had not*: i.e., then the significations were not

17 *so*: i.e., were so // 18 *was . . . delivered*: i.e., is it proved that not everything necessary was delivered to

20 *folly*: idiocy // 21 *beside*: apart from // 23 *written*: i.e., was written // 25 *and*: by

26 *from*: away from // 27 *leaving off*: i.e., leaving out of consideration // *which was of*: i.e., which there was to

30 *sore reproveth*: strongly criticizes // *in*: about // *to be*: i.e., of being // 31 *off*: i.e., out of the equation

32 *had*: would have // 33 *stead of*: i.e., good stead for their getting to

33 *this nothing toucheth*: i.e., this criticism made by Saint Paul is in no way applicable to

Note

And it is no doubt but that the Jews never  
 knew the special significations of *all*  
 their sacraments, sacrifices, and ceremonies, other than grace and  
 remission of sins, or peradventure that they were figures and tokens  
 5 of things that should fall, not yet perceived by them; as we know our  
 sacraments be effectual signs of grace. And it is undoubted that both  
 they and we which in faith, hope, and charity do any such thing as  
 God commandeth, and serve him in such fashion as he biddeth us...  
 although we know not *why* he will be served in such wise,  
 10 no more than Abraham knew why God bade him to serve him with  
 the sacrificing of his own son—yet is that doing of that deed,  
 done in that wise, pleasant and acceptable to God, and profit to  
 man's soul... whatsoever Tyndale tell us, and his master Martin  
 too, and Friar Huessgen also, and take their wise wives with them. And  
 15 therefore all this tale of Tyndale against the "sacrament"... is not worth  
 the least feather of a wild goose's wing.

But yet consider one thing, by the way, that ye mistake him not,  
 nor be not by a fair word led out of your way. He calleth the  
 Sacrament of the Altar the "sacrament of the body and blood of Christ"...  
 20 in which words he calleth it well, but yet meaneth he not so well  
 thereby as good Christian men do, nor as himself would seem to do.  
 For he meaneth not that there is the very body and blood of Christ in deed,  
 though he say there is the "sacrament" thereof. For by that  
 meaneth he nothing else but only a bare sign, and token, and  
 25 a memorial, thereof.

For the great heretic Thorpe, in his examination, calleth the  
 sacrament aright, and by the same name that Tyndale now doth... so  
 that a man would at the first hearing find no fault therein, but mistake  
 him for a good Christian man. But afterward he declareth himself  
 30 well and clearly that he meaneth like a naughty heretic... as  
 Tyndale doth also in sundry places of his book. For he saith that "sacrament,"  
 "sign," and "token" be but three names of one thing... and that  
 the Sacrament of the Altar is very bread still. And he mocketh at  
 them that teach it to be the very body of our Savior himself—  
 35 and he is wood with them that do it any honor.

And so, in this point concerning the Blessed Sacrament of the  
 Altar, Tyndale is yet a much more heretic than Luther is himself  
 in his writing... although, indeed, it appeareth well that *he* meant as

1 *it is no doubt*: there is no question    3 *ceremonies*: rituals    4 *peradventure*: perhaps // *figures*: prefigurements  
 4 *tokens*: portents    5 *should fall*: were to come    6 *undoubted*: beyond question    8 *biddeth us*: tells us to  
 9 *although*: even if // *will*: wills to / wants to    9, 12 *wise*: (a) way    10 *bade*: told // *with*: by  
 12 *pleasant*: pleasing    14 *wise*: sagacious; enlightened    15 *tail . . . against*: i.e., stuff Tyndale says about  
 17 *by the way*: as a side note // *that*: in order that    18 *a fair word*: an error-free expression  
 18 *led out of your way*: misled    19 *Sacrament of the Altar*: Eucharist / Blessed Sacrament    20 *calleth*: identifies  
 21 *himself would*: he wants to    22, 34 *very*: actual    22 *deed*: reality    24 *bare*: mere    24, 32 *token*: symbol  
 25 *memorial*: reminder    26 *great heretic*: i.e., very heretical // *Thorpe*: William Thorpe (d. 1407); see 8/25—9/2.  
 26 *examination*: trial    29 *he declareth himself*: he himself makes known    30 *well and*: quite  
 30 *naughty*: no-good    32 *names of one*: i.e., words for the same    33 *Sacrament of the Altar*: Blessed Sacrament  
 33 *very*: literal // *mocketh at*: ridicules    34 *them . . . be*: those who teach that it is    35 *wood*: furious  
 35 *it any honor*: i.e., any venerating of it (especially by genuflecting to it)    36 *in*: with regard to  
 37 *yet . . . than*: much more of a heretic than even    38 *appeareth well*: is quite evident

much in the beginning, till he withdrew himself for envy of others that hastened forward and set forth that heresy before him.

And of truth, I am right credibly informed (by a very virtuous man whom God hath of his goodness illumined and called home again out of the dark Egypt of their blind heresies) that at such

*Friar Barnes*

time as Friar Barnes and Tyndale first met and talked together beyond the sea

(after that he fled out of the friars where he was enjoined to tarry for his penance after he had borne his faggot), Tyndale and he were of sundry sects. For Friar Barnes was of Zwingli's sect against the Sacrament of the Altar, believing that it is nothing but bare bread. But Tyndale was yet at that time not fully fallen so far in that point, but, though he were bad enough beside, was yet not content with Friar Barnes for the holding of that heresy.

But within a while after (as he that is falling is soon put over), the friar made the fool mad outright, and brought him blindfolded down into the deepest dungeon of that devilish heresy; wherein he sitteth now as fast bound in the chair of pestilence, with the chain of pertinacity, as any of his unhappy fellows. And this I give you knowledge of... because I would not in any wise that ye were deceived with him, where he speaketh well and yet meaneth naught. But now let us yet farther consider well his words. Thus he saith...

#### Tyndale

All the ceremonies and sacraments that were from Adam to Christ had significations... and all that are made mention of in the New Testament.

#### More

Upon this he concludeth after, that except Baptism and the Sacrament of the Altar... all the remnant be no true sacraments, for lack of significations. But ere he can so conclude... he must first prove not only that all the sacraments and ceremonies from Adam to Christ *had* significations... but also that all those significations were then to the people known and understood. For else, though God did set things to signify and to be done, yet if he commanded them to do it and *told* them not the significations,

1 *withdrew himself*: backtracked    2 *before him*: i.e., before he did  
 3 *of truth*: indeed    4 *illumined*: enlightened    4-5 *home again*: back home  
 5 *blind*: devoid-of-spiritual-light / deceptive / stupid    7 *beyond the sea*: overseas  
 8 *after . . . friars*: i.e., after Barnes's having run away from the friary // *tarry*: stay for a while  
 9 *borne his faggot*: i.e., made his abjuration. (Convicted heretics had to carry in procession a bundle of sticks, as a part of the abjuration ceremony.)    10 *sundry*: different  
 10 *sect(s)*: heretical persuasion(s)    11 *against*: concerning    12 *bare*: mere  
 12 *fully fallen so*: fallen quite that    13 *point*: i.e., regard // *were*: was // *beside*: otherwise  
 14 *content*: happy // *Barnes for the*: Barnes's / Barnes because of his    15 *soon*: easily  
 15 *put over*: knocked down    16 *mad outright*: out-and-out crazy    18 *fast*: tightly / securely  
 18 *pestilence*: perniciousness    19 *pertinacity*: perverse obstinacy // *unhappy*: wretched  
 19 *fellows*: cohorts / fellow heretics    20 *not in any wise*: by no means have it  
 21 *deceived with*: taken in by // *speaketh well*: i.e., says something good  
 21 *naught*: i.e., something bad    24, 31 *ceremonies*: rituals    24 *were*: i.e., there were  
 29 *remnant*: rest    30 *ere*: before    34 *though*: even if    35 *it*: i.e., such-and-such

but would leave them to be shown and disclosed at such time afterward  
as it should like himself—it was no *sin* for them in the

*Note*

meanwhile to do the things that God  
bade them do... but great *merit* to them,

- 5 though they understood not what the things signified that they  
did; no more than my servant that can no more but write is  
worthy rebuke and blame in the writing of a Latin book at my  
bidding, whereof he wotteth not what any one word meaneth. Now,  
that *all* the significations of *all* the sacraments and ceremonies  
10 from Adam to Christ were understood of the people: that shall  
not Tyndale prove me though he should live as many years as were  
between the creation of Adam and the birth of Christ. And therefore as  
many years must he needs have also, ere ever he make his conclusion  
follow and his argument good. For if God gave them ceremonies  
15 and sacraments whereof he gave them not the significations—  
then so might he likewise give us if it so please him to do.  
And farther, if they, by the doing of those not-understood ceremonies  
and sacraments in obedience of his bidding, did not  
sin, but deserved thank (all such, I say, as did them in due  
20 faith of salvation by Christ that was to come), then may we also by  
the observing of sacraments and ceremonies having some significations  
farther than we perceive (for one general signification  
of them all we know: that they be all good tokens and significations  
of grace... in that they be taught by God and his Spirit that  
25 in such things doth instruct his church)—we may likewise, I say,  
observe them without sin, and not without thank of God. And  
so Tyndale's argument goeth to ground quite—although our sacraments  
and ceremonies were not good indeed. For they *may* be good,  
for any reason that he maketh to the contrary.  
30 But, now, that they be good indeed, and delivered unto Christ's  
Catholic Church by himself and his Holy Spirit sent by himself  
to dwell therein, to teach it all necessary truth, and thereby  
necessarily to preserve it from all damnable untruth, false belief,  
and idolatry (as the sacraments and the ceremonies were if they  
35 were false): this have I proved to Tyndale ofter, I trow, than fifteen  
times; to which in fifteen hundred years he shall, I am sure, never  
make one good answer.

1 *shown*: revealed    2 *like*: please    4 *bade them*: enjoined them to; told them to  
6 *no more but write*: do no more than transcribe    7 *worthy*: deserving of // *the writing*: i.e., his transcribing  
8 *wotteth*: knows    9, 14, etc. *ceremonies*: rituals / rites    10 *of*: by    11 *were*: i.e., there were  
13 *ere*: before    14 *good*: valid; sound    16 *might*: could    17 *farther*: furthermore    19 *deserved*: merited  
19, 26 *thank (of)*: reward (from)    20 *of salvation by Christ*: i.e., in the Messianic salvation  
22 *farther than*: i.e., beyond those that    23, 30 *good*: bona fide / authentic / legit  
27 *goeth to ground quite*: totally collapses / completely falls apart // *although*: even if  
28 *good indeed*: actually bona fide // *may*: could    29 *reason*: argument    34 *as*: i.e., which  
34 *were*: would be    35 *false*: unauthentic; spurious // *oft*: more often // *trow*: suppose  
36 *sure*: certain    37 *good answer*: cogent answer / rebuttal that holds water

## Tyndale

Wherefore, inasmuch as the sacraments of the Old Testament have significations... and inasmuch as the sacraments of the New Testament (of which mention is made that they were delivered unto us by the very apostles, at Christ's commandment) have also significations; and inasmuch as the office of an apostle is to edify in Christ... and inasmuch as a dumb ceremony edifieth not, but hurteth altogether (for if it preach not unto me, then I cannot but put confidence therein that the deed itself justifieth me—which is the denying of Christ's blood!); and inasmuch as no mention is made of them as well as of others, nor is known what is meant of them: therefore it appeareth that the apostles taught them not... but that they be the false merchandise of wily hypocrites.

## More

He repeateth here and heapeth up all his proofs together, which proofs I have reprov'd piecemeal altogether... and so his conclusion which he deduceth upon them is already reprov'd altogether. But yet for his double confusion can I not forbear to touch one piece again which in his repetition here he seemeth to set out more open and more clearly to declare.

This piece is where he saith that all the sacraments of the New Testament have significations also... and then expoundeth which "all" he meaneth, saying all "of which mention is made that they were delivered unto us by the very apostles, at Christ's commandment." It is to me more than wonder what this man meaneth. First, it must needs be that he accounteth among such as he saith there is no mention made of their delivery by the very apostles, all those five which he so often and so fully refuseth to take for sacraments: that is to wit, Confirmation, Penance, Wedlock, Holy Order, and Aneling. For he saith always that the other two, that is, Baptism and the Sacrament of the Altar, have significations, and that these have none; and by this reason he would now conclude that only those two be very sacraments, and none of all these five.

But, now, his words will rather prove that these five have significations too. For he saith that all have significations whereof "mention is made that they were delivered unto us by the very apostles." Wherefore, Tyndale doth here either confess that these five

5, 24, 27, 36 *very*: actual    7 *edify*: build up // *dumb*: soundless / unintelligible // *ceremony*: ritual  
 8 *hurteth altogether*: does nothing but harm / is downright detrimental    9 *but*: i.e., help but  
 10–11 *no . . . others*: See note for 295/16–17.    12 *of*: by // *appeareth*: is evident  
 13 *the false merchandise of*: i.e., a bill of goods sold by    16, 17 *reprov'd*: disproved  
 17 *upon*: from / on the basis of    18 *confusion*: confutation / overthrow // *touch*: discuss  
 20 *out more open*: i.e., more out in the open // *declare*: articulate    22 *expoundeth*: explains  
 25 *more than wonder*: i.e., an exceedingly baffling mystery    30 *Aneling*: the Anointing of the Sick  
 31 *Sacrament of the Altar*: Eucharist    32 *reason*: reasoning    33 *very*: real  
 35 *all have significations*: i.e., significations are had by all the sacraments    37 *confess*: admit



have significations also... and then confesseth his words false by which he so often saith they be no sacraments because they have no significations (for lack whereof he calleth them “dumb ceremonies”); or else he saith here that there is no mention made that

- 5 any of these five were delivered us by the very apostles... and then is he therein too plainly proved false. For every man seeth that there is none of all these five but that, as I have often shown, mention *is*
- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 10 | <i>Acts 8:14–18</i><br><i>1 Tm 4:14</i><br><i>Eph 5:12–32</i><br><i>Jas 5:14–15</i><br><i>Mk 6:13</i> | made of them by the evangelists and the others of the apostles... if they be the “very apostles” whom he and we both call the apostles: Saint Peter, Saint Paul, Saint James, and their fellows. So that I wonder what the mad man meaneth, to speak in this matter so solemnly and handle it so madly. For when <i>they make</i> mention of them—the wise man may well wit that they did not begin by any wily fox after... but by Christ himself, that taught those things to them, and they forth to his church. |
|----|---|---|

#### Tyndale

- 20 And thereto, priesthood was in the time of the apostles an office—which if they would do truly, it would more profit than all the sacraments of the world.

#### More

- 25 Is not here another mad reason? His purpose is to prove that the apostles left no necessary thing unwritten... and Tyndale proveth it thus: “In the apostles’ time, priesthood was an office—which, if the priests would do it truly, would more profit than all the sacraments in the world.” Now, ye wot well his conclusion must needs be this: “And therefore it followeth that the apostles left no
- 30 necessary thing unwritten.” Is not this a madly concluded argument? And yet are there in his words more follies than one besides. For, granted that priesthood was an office... yet might that officer be consecrated with a sacrament, and so was indeed. And a part of his office was also to administer the sacraments to the people.
- 35 Now, if that office well occupied *were* more profitable than all the sacraments besides—what letteth the other sacraments to be

1 *confesseth* . . . *false*: i.e., admits are false his words      3 *dumb*: meaningless / unintelligible  
3 *ceremonies*: rituals      5, 9 *very*: actual      6 *false*: dishonest  
9–10 *they be the* . . . *whom*: i.e., the . . . are those men whom      12 *fellows*: confreres  
13 *mad*: crazy      14 *in*: on // *matter*: subject // *solemnly*: somberly; straight-facedly  
14, 24, 30 *mad(ly)*: insane(ly)      15 *the wise man*: the brilliant man / anyone with any sense  
15 *wit*: know      16 *did not begin*: i.e., were not originated      17 *that*: who      20 *thereto*: moreover  
20, 26, 32 *an office*: a function / a job      21, 27 *do (it)*: carry (it) out / do (it) // *truly*: rightly  
21 *more*: i.e., be of more      22 *of*: in      24 *reason*: argument // *purpose*: objective  
28 *wot well*: well realize that      31 *follies*: idiocies      32 *officer*: functionary / job holder  
34 *office*: job      35 *office well occupied*: job well performed / position well occupied  
36 *besides*: i.e., besides Holy Orders  
36 *what letteth* . . . *to be*: i.e., how would that prevent . . . from being

good and necessary to salvation? Were this a wise argument—  
 “Better is it to forbear sin than to do penance for sin; ergo, to  
 do penance for sin is not necessary”? Now, after this goodly argument  
 goeth he to another as gay, and saith...

5 Tyndale

And again, God’s holinesses strive not one against another,  
 nor defile one another. Their sacraments defile one another. For  
 wedlock defileth priesthood, more than whoredom, theft, murder,  
 or any sin against nature.

10 More

Here is but one argument, and that but short; but here be two  
 lies long and loud enough. For first, where he groundeth himself  
 upon this—that “God’s holinesses strive not one against another,  
 nor defile one another”—he saith plain false and against Holy  
 15 Scripture quite. For the burying of dead men ever was and is a  
 holy deed and well allowed with God... and yet would he not suffer the  
 bishop to bury any man, and though it were his father. And also,  
 if Tyndale will abide by this, either he must say that perpetual  
 virginity is naught and not holy... contrary to Saint Paul and our  
 20 *1 Cor 7:7–8, 32–35; Mt 19:12* Savior himself, who take it and teach  
*Mk 10:29–30; Gn 1:27–28* it for holy and prefer it before wedlock  
 with its work; or else he must say that wedlock with its  
 work is naught and not holy, which God himself both blessed  
 and commanded in Paradise... and which Holy Scripture commendeth  
 25 *Heb 13:4* where it saith that wedlock is  
 honorable where the bed is undefiled  
 with adultery. And then must he confess also that his own master  
 Martin Luther (if the work of wedlock be foul and sinful) hath  
 sinfully doubly defiled himself with wedding of his nun. Or  
 30 else, finally, must he confess himself for a fool in saying that  
 God’s holinesses strive not one against another... but if he save himself  
 and say that perpetual virginity and the work of wedlock  
 be not repugnant, the one to the other; and then he shall not need  
 to confess himself a fool, for the whole world will confess it for  
 35 him.

Now maketh he another lie... where he saith that “wedlock defileth  
 priesthood, more than whoredom, theft, murder, or any sin against

1 *good*: bona fide // *to*: for // *were this*: would this be // *wise*: sensible 2 *forbear*: i.e., not commit  
 3 *goodly*: splendid 4 *gay*: brilliant / specious 6 *again*: furthermore  
 6, 13, 31 *strive not one against another*: are not in conflict with one another 8, 37 *than*: i.e., than does  
 8, 37 *whoredom*: fornication  
 9 *against nature*: i.e., frustrating the natural orientation of sexual activity toward procreation  
 12 *loud*: conspicuous 14 *he saith plain*: i.e., what he says is manifestly  
 14–15 *against . . . quite*: utterly against Holy Scripture 16 *allowed with*: sanctioned by  
 16–17: See Luke 9:59–62. 16 *suffer the*: i.e., permit a 17 *and though*: i.e., not even if  
 18 *abide by*: consistently hold to 19, 23 *naught*: immoral 21 *prefer it before*: rank it ahead of  
 22, 23 *work*: act 24 *Paradise*: the Garden of Eden 26–27 *undefiled with*: not defiled by  
 27, 30 *confess*: acknowledge 28, 32 *work of wedlock*: marital act 30 *for*: i.e., to have been  
 31 *but if*: unless 31–32 *save . . . say*: i.e., spares himself that humiliation by saying  
 33 *repugnant . . . other*: contradictory . . . other; mutually exclusive 36 *maketh*: tells

nature.” For if he say this as of himself... it is a foolish lie. But if he say it, as he doth, in the person of the Catholic Church, to make men believe that the Church teacheth so: then is it a very malicious lie. For it is not true, nor the Church teacheth not so. For the Church

5 plainly teacheth that whoredom, theft, murder, and sin against nature could *never* be lawful, neither to priest nor layman. But the Church both knoweth and confesseth that wedlock and priesthood be not repugnant but compatible of their nature... and that wedded men have been made priests and kept still their wives. But since

10 perpetual chastity and the forbearing of the work of wedlock is *more* acceptable to God than the work of wedlock in Matrimony: therefore the Church taketh none to be priests but such as promise

*Priests profess perpetual chastity.* and profess never to be married, but keep perpetual chastity. And then doth marriage

15 after the promise made—not by reason of the *priesthood* taken upon them, but by reason of the *promise* made unto God and broken—defile the priest, I will not dispute whether as much as theft, murder, or the sin against nature... but I am sure as much as whoredom doth. For since the marriage is no

20 marriage... it is but whoredom itself. And I am sure also that it defileth the priest more than double and treble whoredom... since that his marriage being, as it is, unlawful, and thereby none other but whoredom, doth openly rebuke and shame two sacraments there at once—that is, both Priesthood and Matrimony—and besides that, not only

25 *committeth* whoredom, but also saith openly that *he will* commit whoredom... and, as a bold beast and a shameless whoremaster, plainly professeth before the face of God and all Christian people that in stead and despite of his professed chastity, he cometh there to *bind* himself to shameless perpetual *whoredom*. And thus, good

30 Christian readers, ye see how well this wise argument serveth him.

And now putteth he after it his great, solemn question where he findeth in Scripture that women may christen children; which joineth to his words before, near enough in the book, but in reason as far off as the scripture that he layeth therefor is far off from the

35 matter; as I have touched before.

And surely, through all his book and almost everything that he maketh, sometimes the chapters, sometimes the paragraphs and

1 *of himself*: i.e., as something he himself is asserting      3 *so*: this      4 *nor . . . so*: nor does the Church teach that  
 5, 19, etc. *whoredom*: fornication      5–6, 18 *against nature*: See note for 306/9.      6 *lawful*: morally permissible  
 7 *confesseth*: acknowledges      8 *repugnant*: contradictory; mutually exclusive // *of*: by  
 10, 14, 28 *chastity*: continence / celibacy      10, 11 *work of wedlock*: marital act      11 *acceptable*: agreeable; pleasing  
 12 *none . . . such*: i.e., no one into the priesthood but such men      17 *dispute*: argue      19, 20 *sure*: certain  
 21 *treble*: triple // *since that*: since; given that      22 *unlawful*: nonlegit; not one in the eyes of God  
 22 *none other but*: nothing other than      23 *doth . . . there at*: i.e., he does at the “wedding” and in the “marriage” . . . at  
 23 *rebuke*: demean      24 *Priesthood*: i.e., Holy Orders      26 *bold*: brazen // *whoremaster*: lecher  
 28 *stead*: place // *despite*: scorn      30 *wise*: brilliant      31–35: See 259/35—260/25.      31 *putteth*: poses  
 31 *solemn*: portentous // *where*: i.e., of where it is that      32 *christen*: baptize  
 33 *joineth . . . enough*: to his previous statements is in close enough proximity      34 *layeth therefor*: adduces for it  
 35 *matter*: subject; point at issue // *touched*: discussed      36 *surely*: indeed      37 *maketh*: writes

reasonings within the chapter, have so evil dependence one toward another... that it seemeth the matter to be gathered by diverse folk... and as they come to him in diverse papers, so he without order and at adventure patcheth in his pieces nothing like together,  
 5 with great sack seams, and some seem rent-between. And in like wise joineth he now the final clause of this chapter unto the remnant... so that whoso consider what and how many things go between it and the thing whereupon he concludeth it... shall surely ween it were a poisoned, stinking tail of some stinking  
 10 serpent, that were quite cut off and after laid aside, far from the poisoned body. For this is his final clause and his whole conclusion...

### Tyndale

And finally, though we were sure that God himself had given us a sacrament, whatsoever it were: yet if the signification were once  
 15 lost... we must of necessity either seek up the signification, or put some other signification of God's word thereto, what we ought to do or believe thereby, or else put it down. For it is impossible to observe a sacrament without signification, but to our damnation. If we keep the faith purely, and the law of love undefiled—which  
 20 are the significations of all ceremonies—there is no jeopardy to alter or change the fashion of the ceremony, or to put it down if need be.

### More

Lo, good readers, here ye see finally how well and how wisely, and  
 25 thereto how virtuously, Tyndale finisheth this chapter. For the whole effect of all these words is in this world nothing else... but that if God bid you do a thing and he tell you not what he meaneth thereby, and for what cause he will have you do it: ye must needs leave it undone and bid him do it himself. Would  
 30 Tyndale, ween you, be well content with his own servant that would serve him of the same fashion? Not do what he biddeth him till he tell him *why* he biddeth him? Would it not have become Adam well, when God forbade him the Tree of Knowledge, to have asked God again why he did so... and say, "Tell me, good Lord, wherefore, and  
 35 what thou meanest thereby, and why should I more die for eating thereof than of another tree; tell me this, good Lord, ere thou go,

1–2 *have . . . another*: so poorly hang together; have so little connection with one another  
 2 *it . . . matter*: the book's content seems // *by*: from 2, 3 *diverse*: different 3 *papers*: manuscripts  
 3–4 *without order*: in no particular order; unsystematically 4 *at adventure*: at random; haphazardly  
 4 *pieces nothing like*: completely dissimilar pieces 5 *great*: big // *sack*: i.e., burlap-sack  
 5 *rent-between*: torn-between 6 *wise*: manner 6, 11 *clause*: i.e., paragraph 7 *remnant*: rest  
 7 *whoso consider*: whoever considers 8 *go*: i.e., come 9 *ween it were*: think it was  
 9, 11 *poisoned*: venomous 10 *were quite cut*: was completely cut off // *after*: afterward  
 13 *though*: even if 14 *once*: ever 15 *seek up*: search for and find  
 17 *put it down*: i.e., suppress the sacrament 18 *observe*: i.e., celebrate or receive  
 20 *ceremonies*: i.e., religious rituals // *there is no jeopardy*: i.e., it is not at all unsafe  
 21 *put it down*: suppress it; do away with it 24 *wisely*: sagaciously  
 25 *thereto how virtuously*: how virtuously too 26 *effect*: upshot 27 *bid you*: tells you to  
 27 *a thing*: something // *tell you not*: does not tell you 28 *cause*: reason  
 29, 31 *bid(deth) him*: tell(s) him to 30 *ween you*: do you think // *well content*: very happy 31 *of*: in  
 32 *biddeth him*: i.e., is giving him that command 33 *forbade him*: i.e., forbade him to eat of  
 34 *again*: in reply // *so*: that // *wherefore*: i.e., your reason for giving me this prohibition  
 35 *more die for*: i.e., any more have to die on account of 36 *ere*: before

for else, be thy back turned once, I will eat thereof whether thou wilt or no!”

When God taught Moses the making of the tabernacle, the temple, and all things belonging thereunto—would it not have done well in Moses’ mouth to have said unto God, “Tell me what it *meaneth* that thou wilt have the tabernacle made of this manner, or else it shall lie unmade for me!”

*Mk 16:15–18*

*Mk 6:13*

When our Savior himself sent out his disciples, and bade them, in the confirmation of their doctrine, lay their

hands upon sick folk and they should be whole, and that they should anoint some with oil—would it not, ween ye, have done very well that they should have said nay but if he would tell them why lay their hands more than speak their bare word, and why anoint them with oil rather than smear them with butter? Surely the devil hath made this man mad; he would else never say as he saith. For if it were impossible to use a ceremony but unto damnation, and that obedience to God’s bidding be evermore deadly sin, but if the signification be known: then lived the chosen people of God in the Old Law in a strange perplexity. Which, whatsoever Tyndale say, shall never be proved to have understood the significations of *all* the ceremonies which God *expressly* commanded them to fulfill and observe—though he would not that they should ween that the observing of them without faith and other good works should suffice them as Tyndale and Luther say... that faith alone shall save us without good works... as they said of old, and as he saith now, without sacraments too. For this is his final conclusion of all: that if we “keep the faith and the law of love undefiled,” there is no peril at all to “alter and change the fashion” of the ceremonies, and to put them down, too; meaning, as it seemeth, that if we keep the faith, and believe with Luther, that there needeth no more but faith... and then, therewith, keep the law of love after Luther’s loving manner, in lodging lovers—friars and nuns—lovingly together, then we shall never need to care whether we change or put down ceremonies and sacraments and all.

And surely very sooth he saith. For when we fall once to be content with that—there will, but if we change that mind and amend, neither any ceremony nor any sacrament serve us.

1 *be* . . . *once*: once your back is turned    2 *wilt*: will me to / like it    // *no*: not  
 3 *the making of*: i.e., to, and how to, construct    6 *of*: in    7 *lie*. . . *me*: remain unmade as far as I’m concerned  
 9 *bade* . . . *the*: told them to, in    11 *should be whole*: would get well    12 *ween ye*: i.e., don’t you think  
 13 *nay*: no    13, 18–19, 37 *but if*: unless    13–14 *why* . . . *word*: i.e., why their also laying their hands on the  
 sick person would work better than their just speaking their words    14 *why*: i.e., why they were to  
 16 *mad*: insane    // *as he saith*: i.e., what he’s saying    17 *use*: carry out / use  
 17, 38 *ceremony*: ritual / ritual element    18 *that*: i.e., true that    // *be* . . . *sin*: is always a mortal sin  
 20 *in the*: i.e., under the    // *strange perplexity*: i.e., bizarre predicament    // *which*: i.e., which people  
 23 *fulfill*: carry out    23–24 *that* . . . *ween*: have had them think    26 *of old*: i.e., previously  
 29 *there* . . . *all*: i.e., it is not at all perilous    30 *put them down*: suppress them; do away with them  
 32 *needeth*: i.e., is needed    // *but*: i.e., than    33 *after*: in accord with  
 34–35 *care* . . . *down*: i.e., have any qualms about changing or getting rid of  
 36 *surely* . . . *saith*: certainly what he’s saying is very true    // *when* . . . *once*: once we start    // *content*: all right  
 37 *mind*: disposition    38 *serve us*: do us any good

And yet if faith and love be, as Tyndale here saith, the significations of all the sacraments, what peril is there to keep all the ceremonies with them twain, without any other significations? And thus by Tyndale's own tale we shall neither need to put  
 5 them down, alter, nor change them... whereas he saith before we must seek the significations again or put down the ceremonies, upon pain of damnation.

And here have ye now seen all that ever he saith for the proof of the thing that he hath in this chapter taken in hand to prove:  
 10 that is to wit, that the apostles have left written in Scripture all things that of necessity pertain to the soul health, both in things to be done and things to be believed. And now perceive ye perfectly also... that all that ever he saith, there is not any one thing that to the proof of his purpose serveth him worth a rush.

Here might I now well leave, ye see well, as for this matter... since I  
 15 have sufficiently confuted and avoided clearly all that Tyndale hath alleged for his part in this chapter... in which he would prove that the apostles have left *written*, in Holy Scripture, everything necessary to be believed or done for the salvation of our  
 20 souls... and that so *fully* that whatsoever is not written in Scripture nor "deduced" thereupon (by which "deducing" what he meaneth, I have by his own example shown you!), that thing is not (as he saith) to be believed nor to be done of necessity... but men be at their liberty, in all such manner thing, to do it or do it not, believe it or  
 25 believe it not—or rather, in *sin* to believe it or do it—though all the Catholic Church of Christ both do believe and many hundred years have believed that the thing is of necessity to be done or believed. In which matter, as I say, since Tyndale hath failed of his proof, I might here make an end... saving that I have thought it  
 30 convenient, for his more utter confusion, to bring in by and by such things as I find written by him for his part in this matter besides... that ye may see, without farther seeking for it, all that he can say, at once. I shall therefore show you his answers to such things as I in the twenty-fifth chapter of the First Book of my *Dialogue*  
 35 alleged for the proof that *all* necessary things were not written in Scripture, but some such only taught and delivered unto the Church by mouth. And when ye shall here have heard Tyndale's answers unto those things—ye shall then the more clearly perceive how foul a fall he hath in this matter upon which the great part

2 to keep: i.e., in keeping    3 ceremonies: rites / rituals    //    them twain: those two    4 tale: account  
 4–5, 6 put (them) down: i.e., suppress; do away with    5 change: replace  
 6 seek . . . again: try (and manage) to rediscover the significations    9 taken in hand: undertaken  
 11 of necessity pertain: in an essential way have to do with    //    the soul health: spiritual well-being / salvation  
 11 in: regarding    13 all: i.e., in all    //    any: i.e., even    13–14 that to . . . rush: i.e., that toward the proving of his thesis does him the least bit of good    15, 29 might: could    15 well: justifiably  
 15 leave . . . as for: i.e., end . . . my discussion of    16 avoided: disproved; proved meritless  
 16 clearly all: absolutely everything    17 alleged: asserted    //    part: side (of the controversy)  
 17 would: attempted to    19–20 necessary . . . the salvation of our souls: i.e., that has . . . our souls to be saved  
 22 as he saith: says he    24 in . . . manner: with regard to every such kind of    30 convenient: fitting / a good idea  
 30 confusion: confutation / overthrow    //    by and by: one by one    31 part in this matter: side of this controversy  
 33 can: i.e., has to    35 alleged: adduced    //    all . . . were not: i.e., not all . . . were    39 foul: nasty  
 39 hath: i.e., has taken    //    in this matter: regarding this thesis    //    great part: greater part; preponderance

of all his heresies dependeth; and over that, ye shall right easily judge what pith and substance is in his book of answers wherewith he would fain seem clearly to confute my *Dialogue*.

- 5 I showed there in my *Dialogue* by the authority of Saint John the Evangelist in the last chapter of his Gospel... that allthing was  
*Jn 21:25* not written. For there he saith himself,  
 “Many things did Jesus... which if they  
 were all written, the world would not receive the books.” To this  
 answereth Tyndale thus...

- 10 Tyndale  
 [He juggleth. For] John meaneth of the *miracles* which Jesus did—  
 and not of the necessary points of the *faith*.

### More

- 15 Ye see well now that Tyndale well feeleth that since the evangelists did not go together by appointment to write their gospels... nor, when they had written them, conferred their books together, to see whether every necessary point were written in among them all... or else at that collation to put it in some one (as we find that  
*Gal 2:6–21* Saint Paul had conference with Peter  
 20 and others of the apostles, to come and  
*speak* of the faith among them, but not to write it all out in books); but every evangelist, of occasion offerred unto himself, as God put in his mind and remembrance, wrote his own gospel severally, by himself, and their epistles in like wise... and peradventure one  
 25 of them in all their lives never read the gospel that the other wrote; this, I say, being thus: except that God beside their purpose provided that among them all every necessary point should be written (which thing Tyndale neither doth nor can by reason or Scripture prove), else if *any* of them left unwritten *any*  
 30 point necessary to be believed, Tyndale cannot say but that every of the other apostles might do the same; and then hath Tyndale no surety that every such thing was written.

- And therefore Tyndale feeleth full well how near this place of Saint John pricketh him... if in those words of Saint John might be  
 35 understood that *he* had not written every necessary point of our belief.

And therefore, to avoid this pinch... Tyndale saith that I juggle. For Saint John, he saith, meant only of Christ's *miracles*, and not of any necessary point of the faith.

1 *over that*: moreover    2 *pith*: force    3 *would fain*: i.e., so much hopes to // *clearly*: totally  
 4 *authority of*: proof text from    5–6 *allthing was not*: not everything was    8 *receive*: be able to contain  
 11, 37 *he/I juggle(th)*: he's/I'm pulling a fast one / he's/I'm playing games    11 *meaneth of*: is referring to  
 12 *not of*: i.e., not to    14 *well feeleth*: is well aware    15 *go*: i.e., come // *appointment*: prearrangement  
 16 *conferred*: compared // *together*: with one another    17 *were*: i.e., was // *among*: i.e., somewhere among  
 18 *collation*: comparison of texts // *in some one*: i.e., into at least one of them    22 *every*: each  
 23 *severally*: separately    24 *wise*: manner // *peradventure*: perhaps    26 *except that*: unless  
 26 *beside their purpose*: apart from their intent; i.e., without their trying to make this happen    30 *say but*: deny  
 30 *every*: every one    31 *do*: i.e., have done    32 *surety*: guarantee    33 *feeleth full well*: is very well aware of  
 33 *near*: vitally; seriously // *place of*: passage from    34 *pricketh*: injures // *might*: could rightly  
 37 *avoid*: get out of // *pinch*: predicament    38 *meant only of*: was referring only to    39 *of any*: i.e., to any

I juggle not. For I say not nay but that Saint John meant of miracles.  
 And in the one place of the *twain*, he speaketh of miracles by name,  
 saying, “Jesus wrought many other miracles in the presence of his  
 disciples, that be not written in this book.” In the other place, in the  
 5 very end, he saith that Christ “did many other things... which if  
 they should be all written, all the world could not receive the books  
 that should be written.” In which words I deny not but that Saint  
 John meant of Christ’s miracles *too*; and therefore I juggle not. But  
*Tyndale*, that in that second place, *where* Saint John meaneth no  
 10 miracles, there excludeth his doctrine... and would make us ween that  
 Saint John left not unwritten any necessary point of faith—he  
 juggleth, and goeth about to beguile us.

I think he taketh not so great hold upon this word “did”... in  
 that Saint John saith Christ “*did* many other things,” and saith  
 15 not Christ “*taught* many other things.” For this word “doing”  
*includeth* teaching, talking, speaking, and all. As if a man would  
 say, “Christ prayed, preached, and taught; this did he day and  
 night.” And therefore, since Saint John’s whole book was made not only  
 of Christ’s miracles, but also of his doctrine, and as well word as deed...  
 20 and then he saith, in the very end of his book, that Christ “did many  
 things more, whereof if all were written the world could not receive  
 the books”—why may not this be understood of words and deeds  
 and all... but if Tyndale ween that the books would be the fewer if  
 the doctrine were in them too!

But now let us see whither of us two play the false juggler: I, that  
 tell you that every necessary point of belief is not written in Saint  
 John’s Gospel; or Tyndale, that would make you ween that  
 whatsoever ye find not written there, ye were not bound to take  
 it for any necessary point of faith. For *else* if Tyndale would  
 30 grant that Saint John had not written in deed every necessary  
 point of faith—then is it as good for Tyndale that Saint John say  
 so as that in deed it be so. Let us, therefore, leave disputing upon the  
 word, and look upon the deed, and see whether it be so or not. If a  
 man seek among the other evangelists, he shall find more necessary  
 35 things than one left out in Saint John... and in each of them somewhat  
 that some other hath. And if a man look further in the book of  
 faith written in the hearts of Christ’s whole Catholic Church, he shall

1, 8 *juggle not*: am not pulling a fast one / am not playing games      1 *say not nay but*: do not deny  
 1, 8 *meant of*: was referring to      2 *the one . . . twain*: i.e., one of the *two* proof texts in John [20:30 and 21:25]  
 2 *by name*: explicitly      3 *wrought*: worked      5–6 *which . . . written*: if all of which were to be written  
 6, 21 *receive*: contain      7 *should*: would      9 *that in*: who in  
 9 *meaneth no*: i.e., speaks with no particular reference to      10, 19, 24 *doctrine*: teachings  
 10, 27 *would*: wants to      10, 23, 27 *ween*: think(s) / believe(s)  
 11, 26, etc. *necessary point*: essential (for salvation) article      12 *juggleth . . . about*: i.e., is playing games, and trying  
 13 *taketh . . . upon*: gets not such great support from      16 *talking*: conversing // *speaking*: i.e., public speaking  
 16 *a man would*: one were to      18 *made*: written      19 *of*: about      22 *of*: i.e., as referring to      23 *but if*: unless  
 25 *whither*: which // *play*: i.e. is playing // *false juggler*: deceitful trickster      26 *every . . . is not*: not every . . . is  
 28 *were*: i.e., are // *bound*: obliged      29 *else*: otherwise      30 *not written in deed*: in fact not written  
 31 *good*: beneficial      32 *deed*: fact  
 32–33 *leave . . . word*: i.e., stop debating the issue of what Saint John is saying here  
 33 *upon the deed*: i.e., at what he did // *it be so*: i.e., what Tyndale is saying is true      34 *seek*: search  
 34–35 *more . . . one*: i.e., more than one necessary thing that is      35 *and*: i.e., and left out // *somewhat*: something



find some things that none of them all hath written, and yet necessary points of faith; as I have shown you examples and shall.

But now, because of Tyndale... let us take some one. And what thing rather than the Last Supper of Christ, his Maundy with his apostles... in which he instituted the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, his own Blessed Body and Blood? Is *this* no necessary point of faith? Tyndale cannot deny it for a necessary point of faith... and though it were but of his own false faith agreeing with Luther, Huessgen, or Zwingli. And he cannot say that Saint John speaketh anything thereof—specially not of the institution. Nor he cannot say that Saint John speaketh anything of the *sacrament* at all, since that his sect expressly denieth that Saint John meant the sacrament in his words where he speaketh expressly thereof, in the sixth chapter of his Gospel.

And thus ye see how wisely Tyndale sticketh with me in the sentence of Saint John's *words*... when the thing that I intend thereby is proved by his *deed*.

And yet... because Tyndale will nothing allow but the word... if he pull from me that word of Saint John, I shall prove him the same purpose by the word of Saint John's master, our Savior Christ himself; and Saint John shall bear me record that it was Christ that said it. For our Savior, lo, as witnesseth Saint John in the sixteenth chapter, said unto his disciples himself, "I have yet

*Jn 16:12-13* many things to say to you, but ye cannot bear them now; but when that the Spirit of truth is come, he shall teach you all truth."

Lo, here ye hear our Savior say himself that he left and would leave some things—and that great things, and therefore of likelihood necessary—that they should not hear till after his Passion, that the Holy Ghost should come and teach them; and, well ye wot, *that* Saint John endeth his book before. And therefore, as for this authority of Saint John that I laid in my *Dialogue*—Tyndale's answer, wherein he calleth me a juggler, hath not yet juggled away the force... but hath, by his false cast of juggling, featly conveyed himself out of the frying pan fair into the fire.

Whereas I show in my *Dialogue* that it is not written in Scripture

1-2, 6, 7 *necessary point(s)*: essential (for salvation) article(s)    2 *shown*: i.e., given  
 4-5 *his Maundy with his apostles*: i.e., the occasion of his washing of his apostles' feet  
 5 *in which*: i.e., during which supper    7-8 *and though*: i.e., not even if    10 *anything*: at all  
 10 *specially not*: not specifically    // *nor he cannot*: i.e., nor can he    11 *anything*: in any way  
 11-12 *since that*: given that    12 *meant*: had in mind    15 *wisely*: sensibly    // *sticketh*: quibbles  
 15 *in*: about    16 *sentence*: meaning    // *intend*: understand    18 *yet*: moreover    // *allow*: take into account  
 19 *pull from me*: deprives me of    20 *purpose*: point    21 *record*: witness  
 23 *chapter*: i.e., chapter of his Gospel    25 *that*: i.e., the time comes that    27, 28 *left/leave*: i.e., left/leave unsaid  
 28 *that great things*: i.e., big things at that    28-29 *of likelihood*: probably    29, 30 *should*: would    30 *wot*: know  
 31 *that*: i.e., that time of the Holy Spirit's coming    32 *authority of*: proof text from    // *laid*: adduced  
 32 *Dialogue*: i.e., *Dialogue concerning Heresies*    33 *juggler*: trickster; con artist  
 33 *juggled away*: by sleight of hand removed / prestidigitated away    // *the*: i.e., its    34 *hath*: i.e., rather, he has  
 34 *false cast of juggling*: dirty trick of trying to pull a fast one / faulty act of sleight of hand    // *featly*: deftly  
 35 *fair*: directly; right    36 *show*: point out    313/36—314/2: See *DH* 115/32-36; 150/1—151/28.

that our Lady was a perpetual virgin, and yet it is a necessary point to be believed: this is his answer thereto...

### Tyndale

- 5 And how bringeth he in the perpetual virginity of our Lady?—which, though it be never so true, is yet none article of our faith to be saved by... but we believe it with a *story* faith, because we see no cause reasonable to think the contrary.

### More

- 10 By this answer it appeareth well that, God be thanked, he findeth not yet the people's devotion so far fallen from our Lady... that he dare be bold to say all that he thinketh. For else he would say more than he doth. And like as he forbiddeth folk to pray to her (and especially misliketh her devout anthem *Salve Regina*), so would he not fail, if he saw the people frame all after his fantasy, to  
15 blaspheme her in this matter of another fashion... as others of his fellows have done before his days.

- But now, for the meanwhile, he is content that men may think themselves at liberty to believe it or not believe it as they list, as a thing of no necessity to be believed upon salvation of our souls.  
20 And full well he wotteth that, though he say now that he can see no reason why “to think the contrary,” yet if he could bring us once in the mind that there is no peril therein, he might afterward well enough tell us, when he would, the contrary... and say that with better looking thereon, he hath now found that Helvidius and other  
25 elder heretics of the same sect said therein very well, and that reason and Scripture is with them... and that Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome and all the remnant say wrong, because their part is not written in Scripture.

- This will not Tyndale hereafter let to say when he list... if he may  
30 make us ween in the meanwhile that we may choose whether we will believe this point or not.

- But I say that in that point Tyndale saith wrong. For in any such thing as we be bound to believe... if I believe it in deed, and yet believe therewith that I may lawfully choose whether I will  
35 believe it or not: I say that in so believing I believe naught, nor my belief shall not serve me.

1–2 *it . . . believed*: i.e., this is something it is obligatory to believe    4 *how*: i.e., why    5 *never so*: no matter how  
5 *none*: not an    6 *a story faith*: the kind of faith one has in historical narratives; an intellectual faith  
9 *by . . . appeareth well*: from . . . is very evident    10 *so . . . Lady*: i.e., to our Lady so far in decline  
11 *be bold*: venture    13 *misliketh*: disapproves of    // *her devout anthem*: i.e., the devotional Marian hymn  
14 *frame . . . fantasy*: order everything to his liking / view everything as he wants them to    15 *of another*: in another  
15–16 *others of his fellows*: i.e., some of his fellow heretics    17 *meanwhile*: time being  
17 *that men may*: i.e., to have people    18 *list*: please    19 *of . . . upon*: i.e., there is no need for us to believe for  
20 *wotteth*: knows    21–22 *bring . . . mind*: i.e., ever get us to take the view    22 *might*: could  
23 *would*: wanted to    23–24 *with . . . thereon*: i.e., after taking a better look at what they said    25 *elder*: earlier  
25 *sect*: religious persuasion    // *said . . . well*: were very correct in what they said about that  
26 *with them*: on their side    27 *remnant*: rest    // *their part*: i.e., what they assert    29 *let*: forbear  
29 *list*: wishes to    29, 34 *may*: can    30 *ween*: think    31 *point*: i.e., article of the faith    32 *point*: contention  
33 *bound*: obliged    // *believe it in deed*: do in fact believe it    34 *lawfully*: legitimately    35 *naught*: badly  
35 *nor*: i.e., and that    36 *serve me*: be to me of any avail

Then say I farther that this article *is* such that we be bound  
to believe it. For he that believeth it not is a heretic—as it  
plainly appeareth both by Saint Augustine, in his book to Quodvultdeus,  
and by Saint Jerome, in his book against Helvidius; and by the  
5 other holy saints and martyrs who, as Saint Jerome and Saint  
Augustine rehearse, did write against heretics before... and called  
*Antidicomarianites* them “Antidicomarianites,” that is to say,  
Mary’s adversaries.

Then say I finally that forasmuch as it well and plain appeareth  
10 that all those holy cunning men and blessed saints, and therewith  
all the whole Catholic Church beside, have ever hitherto taken the  
perpetual virginity of our Blessed Lady for so sure a point of Christian  
faith and belief that they have ever condemned the contrary for a  
heresy; and then since that article is not in Holy Scripture written... but  
15 that the words of Scripture, not well understood, seem to say the  
contrary: I may and do against Tyndale and his fellows well and fully  
conclude that there *is* something necessary to be believed and yet  
is not written in Scripture. And so to my second argument, ye find  
his answer fond. For as for his “story faith,” with only which he  
20 saith we believe this point, I shall touch it, I trust, in such wise—and  
his “feeling faith” therewith when I come thereto—that every man shall  
feel with his fingers’ ends that Tyndale feeleth neither faith,  
learning, reason, wit, nor grace. I alleged in my *Dialogue* the words  
of Saint Paul to the Corinthians where he writeth unto them of the  
25 *1 Cor 11:23–34* holy housel, “As our Lord hath delivered  
it to me, so have I delivered it to you.”

To this doth Tyndale answer thus...

#### Tyndale

30 And when he allegeth Paul to the Corinthians: I say that Paul  
never knew of this word “Mass”; neither can any man gather thereof  
any strange holy gestures, but the plain contrary... and that there  
was no other use there than to break the bread among them at supper,  
as Christ did. And therefore he calleth it Christ’s “supper,” and not “Mass.”

#### More

35 Here goeth Tyndale about to juggle; but his galls be too  
great. I laid those words for none other cause but to prove that

1–2 *article . . . believe it*: i.e., article of the faith *is* such a one as we are obliged to believe  
2–3 *as . . . appeareth*: as is made clearly evident    6 *rehearse*: relate    9 *well . . . appeareth*: is quite clear to see  
10 *cunning*: knowledgeable    11 *all . . . beside*: the whole entire rest of the Catholic Church    12, 20 *point*: article  
14 *but*: i.e., but in such a way    15, 16 *well*: rightly    16 *may*: can // *fellows*: cohorts; like-minded fellow heretics  
17 *necessary to be believed*: i.e., that must be believed    19 *fond*: ridiculous // *story faith*: See note for 314/6.  
19 *only which*: which alone    20 *touch*: discuss / critique // *wise*: a way    22 *fingers’ ends*: fingertips  
22 *feeleth*: i.e., currently has experience of    23 *wit*: good sense    23–26: See *DH* 148/3–32.    23 *alleged*: cited  
24–25 *of the holy housel*: about Holy Communion    29 *allegeth Paul*: i.e., cites Paul’s First Letter  
30 *knew of*: i.e., heard of // *gather*: i.e., infer // *thereof*: i.e., from that passage  
31 *any strange*: i.e., the use of any esoteric // *but the*: i.e., but rather, the    32 *use*: customary form of observance  
35 *goeth . . . juggle*: Tyndale tries to do some sleight of hand  
35–36 *his . . . great*: i.e., the balls he is using are too big    36 *laid*: adduced // *cause*: objective

the Apostle before his writing taught them that great mystery by mouth... and showed them the manner himself before his epistle written... which he would not have written unto them at all if he might then conveniently have been present with them. And now,  
 5 whereas I said that it was well likely that of Saint Paul by his *present tradition* was received holy gestures as the Church useth in the Consecration—he answereth me that there is no such thing there spoken of in the *epistle*. Which I said not there was; but I say that he findeth no word in the epistle that proveth that Saint Paul  
 10 therein wrote everything that he presently spoke or did. But it appeareth well that Saint Paul speaketh of that thing in that chapter, not to put in writing allthing that he had before told them by mouth... but only to put them in remembrance that the thing which they there received in the form of bread, though it were  
 15 *called* bread, was yet in deed the very Blessed Body of Christ. And for the more clear proof thereof: he put them in *remembrance* that as he had *before* shown them, our Savior himself told him so. And this he remembered them of by writing, to make them use themselves thereafter the more reverently. For lack whereof he writeth to  
 20 them that sickness and death by the vengeance of God fell among them—because they did not use such reverence and honor as they should do to the Precious Body and Blessed Blood of Christ. And in that chapter Saint Paul speaketh but of certain unreverent points in special... and concludeth saying, “Caetera autem quum venero disponam”  
 25 (“The remnant,” or “all the other things,” “I will myself order at my coming”). Here may we see, whatsoever Tyndale say, that Saint Paul, besides this that he *wrote* of the Sacrament, gave the people other traditions thereof by *mouth* (as I said in my *Dialogue*), pertaining to the reverence and honor thereof; and Tyndale saith  
 30 here the contrary. But now let the Book be judge... and by that chapter judge also the false faith of Tyndale, that saith it is sin to do any honor to it.

And where Tyndale saith that Saint Paul never knew this word “Mass”—I believe that well enough... for I never heard that he spoke any  
 35 word of English. But that he knew not the thing that Englishmen call “the Mass”... Tyndale hath not proved yet, nor will not do this week. For he must prove it better than by that Saint

1 *the Apostle*: i.e., Saint Paul // *before his writing*: i.e., before he wrote about it  
 2 *showed*: made known to // *the manner*: the how-to; the (proper) procedure (for the celebrating of Mass)  
 2 *epistle*: i.e., epistle was // 4 *might*: could // *conveniently*: opportunely // 5 *well*: very // *of*: from  
 6 *present tradition*: i.e., instruction-delivering done orally and in person // *was*: were // *holy*: i.e., such holy  
 10 *presently spoke or did*: i.e., said or did when present with them // 11 *appeareth well*: is quite evident  
 12 *allthing*: everything // 14 *though it were*: even if it was // 15 *deed*: fact; reality // *very*: actual  
 16 *clear proof thereof*: i.e., complete proving of this (assertion of mine) // 17 *shown*: made known to  
 17 *so*: i.e., this // 18 *remembered*: reminded // *by*: in // *use*: conduct  
 19 *lack whereof*: i.e., deficiency in this regard // 21 *use*: show  
 23–24 *points in special*: i.e., behaviors in particular // 25 *remnant*: rest // *order*: set in order; regulate  
 26 *may*: can // 27 *of*: about // *Sacrament*: Blessed Sacrament // 28 *traditions*: instructions; ordinances  
 28 *thereof*: about it // 29 *reverence*: i.e., reverencing  
 29, 32 *honor (to)*: i.e., venerating (of—especially by genuflecting to) // 30 *the Book*: i.e., that book of Scripture  
 31 *that*: who // 33, 35 *knew (not)*: (never) heard of // 37 *that*: the fact that

Paul spoke of God's "supper." For we call the houseling of the people "God's board" and "Christ's table"... and yet we know "the Mass" too, for all that, besides. And the apostles themselves, I doubt not, said Mass many a time and oft before any Gospel written. And holy Saint  
 5 Chrysostom saith that the apostles in the Mass prayed for all Christian souls.

Whereas I said that of the apostles' tradition was learned the manner of Consecration: that answereth Tyndale in this wise...

Tyndale

10 A great doubt! As though we could not gather of the Scripture how to do it!

More

Surely, men setting no more thereby than Tyndale and his fellows do... may gather out of the Gospel, or the Epistle either, or out of what  
 15 they will, the manner of the Consecration, and saying of the Mass, that shall serve themselves... while they say it they care not how, and believe they care not what; while they believe it to be none oblation, host, nor sacrifice... nor the Body nor Blood of Christ to be in the sacrament... nor that the Mass doth any man good at all, save only  
 20 to the priest himself. For what care *they* how they say Mass... which the more sinful they be, and the more encumbered conscience that they have... the more encumbered—and the more boldly, as Luther biddeth in *Babylonica*—presume they to God's board! But undoubtedly whoso have a reverent care thereof, and right faith of the  
 25 *The Spirit of God taught the sacrament... well perceiveth that how to*  
*apostles to say Mass. say Mass hath been taught the apostles*  
*by the Spirit of God, and by the apostles*  
 forth. And if Luther, Friar Huessgen, Zwingli, Tyndale, and Lambert had never known it before... but should have taken the Scripture  
 30 in their hands, and each of them devise a manner of saying Mass by himself—I dare well say, for all Tyndale's boast, each of them should have devised a sundry fashion, and yet never one of the right. For proof whereof: Luther himself—casting away the holy Canon of the Mass—frameth after his fond fashion a manner of  
 35 consecration, and saying of the Mass, in his book of *Babylonica*. Which foolish invention of his, Rosseus impugneth, and plainly proveth that saving for the tradition of the Church, Luther could never tell how or in what wise to consecrate, or say Mass... and that

1–2 *houseling of the people*: people's Holy Communion    2 *know*: are familiar with    4 *written*: was written  
 4–6: See his *Homily 3 on Philipians* (v. 24).    7 *of*... *tradition*: by oral, in-person instruction from the apostles  
 7–8, 15 *manner of*: how-to of / procedure for (the)    8, 38 *wise*: way    10 *a great doubt*: i.e., some big problem  
 10, 14 *gather (out) of*: extrapolate from    13 *surely*: assuredly // *setting*... *thereby*: having no more regard for it  
 13 *fellows*: cohorts    14 *may*: can    14–15 *what they will*: whatever they want to    16 *serve*: suit  
 16, 17 *while*: when    18 *host*: expiatory offering    21 *which*: who    21, 22 *encumbered*: guilt-laden  
 23 *biddeth*: i.e., encourages them to // *to God's board*: i.e., to go up and receive Holy Communion  
 24 *care thereof*: regard for it // *of*: concerning    26 *to*: i.e., how to  
 30–31 *devise*... *himself*: figure out on his own a way to say Mass    32 *should*: would // *devised*: come up with  
 32 *sundry*: different // *never one of*: i.e., not a one of them    33 *casting away*: throwing out    34 *frameth*: makes up  
 34 *after*: i.e., in // *fond*: foolishly self-confident // *manner of*: way to do the    36 *invention*: contrivance  
 36 *Rosseus*: More wrote his *Responsio ad Lutherum* under the pseudonym Guilielmus Rosseus.

the way that Luther deviseth is insufficient and uncertain by  
Luther's own rule. And I doubt not but that Tyndale hath  
read both Rosseus and Luther in those places; and therefore I  
marvel so much the more that he dare be so bold to say it...

5 when, being himself but Luther's scholar, he seeth his master made  
a fool therein already.

Whereas I in my *Dialogue* allege that the priest in the Consecration  
putteth water into the wine, whereas the Scripture speaketh  
but of wine: thereto answereth Tyndale thus...

10 Tyndale

A great doubt also, and a perilous case, if it were left out! For  
either it was done to slake the heat of the wine... or put to after a  
ceremony, to signify that as the water is changed into wine, so are  
15 we changed (through faith), as it were, into Christ, and are one with  
him. Howbeit, all is to their own shame that aught should be done  
or used among us Christians whereof no man wist the meaning. For  
if I understood not the meaning... it helpeth me not one corn  
(1 Cor 14, and as experience teacheth). But if our shepherds had  
been as willing to feed as to shear, we had needed no such  
20 dispicience, nor they to have burned so many as they have.

More

Whereas Tyndale saith in scorn (as he gladly scorneth always when  
he speaketh of the Sacrament!) that it were a "great doubt" and a "perilous  
case" to leave the water out, I am very sure that if there had been  
25 no doubt nor peril to leave it out... there was never good Christian  
man that any reverence had to Christ, but he would have put great  
doubt, and have thought it great peril, to put any water in. For what  
beast would be so bold, when he findeth not that Christ, in the consecration  
and change of the wine into his own blood, used any  
30 other thing than wine... and spoke also himself of the only  
liquor of the grape—who durst, I say, have put thereto anything  
else... and to have consecrated his blood of wine and *water*? But one  
thing is there that maketh Tyndale in this point so bold: that is to wit,  
his own spiritual rule, that he so much boasteth of, in searching out  
35 the cause... and then ruling allthing by some cause of his own  
making. As here, he guesseth here two causes why the water is put

1 *deviseth*: comes up with // *insufficient*: unsatisfactory // *uncertain*: dubious  
4 *marvel*... *more*: am that much the more surprised // *be*... *it*: i.e., say it so boldly 5 *scholar*: pupil / protégé  
5 *master*: teacher / mentor 7–9: See *DH* 148/15–32. 7 *allege*: adduce the fact  
7 *in the*: i.e. in the preparation for the 9 *but*: only 11, 23 *great*: big // *doubt*: problem  
11, 24 *case*: eventuality; situation 12 *it*: i.e., the putting in of water // *slake*: reduce // *heat*: intoxicating effect  
12–13 *put*... *ceremony*: i.e., added as a symbolic element 15 *howbeit*: but be that as it may // *all is*: i.e., it's all  
15 *ought*: anything 16 *used*: practiced // *wist*: knows 17 *one corn*: An apparent misreading or mishearing (by  
someone involved in the printing of Tyndale's book) of "1 Corinth." 19 *shear*: fleece  
19–20 *had*... *dispicience*: would have had need of no such discussion 20 *many*: i.e., many of us Christians  
22 *gladly*: gleefully 23 *were*: would be 24–25 *if*... *peril*: i.e., had it been not at all problematic or perilous  
25 *good*: i.e., one bona fide 26 *to*: toward  
26–27 *put*... *in*: had a lot of misgivings about, and have considered very perilous, the putting in of any water  
30 *of the only*: only of the 31 *liquor of the grape*: i.e., liquid that comes from grapes  
31 *who*... *thereto*: who, I say, would have dared add to it 32 *of*: out of 34 *in*: i.e., of  
35 *allthing*: everything 36 *guesseth*... *causes*: i.e., makes two guesses at the reason

in. And though he wot ne'er whither of the twain is the truth... yet he maketh himself sure that it must needs be the one. And then reckoneth he the causes, both twain, so substantial... that it maketh in his mind no matter whether the thing be done or undone.

5 Luther was himself also so enmeshed in this matter, when the King's Highness laid against him the putting of the water into the wine, that in his frantic answer he fared as Tyndale doth here... and not witting what to say thereto, began to guess at the cause wherefore it was put in; wherein he sought so far... that at last he  
10 found that whether it were in or out made no matter, because, he said, it was a thing impertinent to the matter... so that by him, a man might put into the wine what he would beside. Yet then found he further that it is evil done to put it in. For he said it had an evil signification... and signified that the sincerity of Scripture was  
15 watered with men's traditions. Lo, so was he bewrapped therein that he could not in this world wit what to say thereto... but, faring like a frantic fool and answering this and that, he wist ne'er what, nor at what point to hold him, finally fell to blasphemy. And now his good scholar Tyndale will be nothing acknown of his  
20 master's folly, but divineth and deviseth two new causes of his own brain... and affirmeth that some one of those twain must needs be the very cause—as though God himself could find no further cause than Tyndale hath searched out!—and then he thereupon concludeth that the water may be as well left out as put in.

25 But whatsoever Tyndale say, there was never good man yet this fifteen hundred years that durst leave it out... nor otherwise use it than God hath taught his apostles with his own word unwritten any other wise than in Christian hearts.

Holy saints also have thought upon other causes. For some have  
30 thought that God ordained the water to be mingled with the wine as the water welled out with the blood out of his blessed heart upon the cross. And holy Saint Cyprian, that cunning doctor and  
*The saying of Saint Cyprian* blessed martyr, thereupon saith that our Savior himself, at the time of the institution  
35 of that blessed sacrament, did put water into wine; though there was no mention made thereof in the writing... no more than

1 *wot* . . . *truth*: i.e., has no idea which of those two possible reasons is the real one    2 *maketh* . . . *sure*: rests assured; takes it as a certainty    3 *one*: one or the other    4 *reckoneth* . . . *so*: accounts he those reasons, both of the two, so  
3–4 *maketh* . . . *matter*: in his opinion it doesn't matter    5 *undone*: not done    6 *enmeshed*: caught in a web  
5 *in*: regarding    5–6 *the King's Highness*: i.e., His Majesty the King    6 *laid*: adduced  
7 *fared as*: acted as; did what    8 *witting*: knowing    8, 20, etc. *cause(s)*: reason(s)    10 *made no*: did not  
11 *impertinent*: irrelevant // *by him*: as far as he was concerned    12 *might*: could legitimately  
12 *what he would beside*: whatever else he wanted to    13 *further*: also // *evil done*: ill done; a bad thing to do  
13 *an evil*: a bad    14 *sincerity*: authenticity / purity  
15 *watered with*: i.e., being watered down with / being adulterated by // *bewrapped*: entangled  
16 *in* . . . *wit*: i.e., for all the world figure out // *faring*: acting    17 *wist ne'er*: never knew  
18 *hold him*: settle himself; hold still and refrain from going further // *fell to*: fell into    19 *scholar*: pupil  
19–20 *be* . . . *folly*: not admit to knowing anything about that foolish behavior of his teacher    20 *divineth*: conjectures  
20 *deviseth*: comes up with // *of*: out of    21 *affirmeth*: asserts // *twain*: two    22 *very*: real    24 *may*: can  
24 *well*: rightly    26 *durst*: dared    28 *wise*: way    29 *upon other*: i.e., of other possible  
30 *ordained* . . . *to*: decreed that the water    32–35: See St. Cyprian, *On the Sacrament of the Cup of the Lord*, 9.  
32 *cunning doctor*: erudite theologian    33 *the saying of Saint Cyprian*: i.e., what Saint Cyprian said  
33 *thereupon*: on that subject    36 *the writing*: the written record (of that institution)

there was of divers other things that our Savior did (as Saint John saith), and that he would have to be done in his church ever after. Of which things this infusion of water is one taught undoubtedly by God to his apostles, and by them forth... and so this

5 fifteen hundred years continued in Christ's church, without any mention thereof made in Scripture, and yet men of necessity bound to observe it; nor no man ever thought or durst think the contrary, till now Luther and Tyndale and such others of their sort which set so little by that blessed sacrament that they would  
10 have all honor and reverence taken from it, and reckoned for a bare sign set but only to signify, without any giving of grace... and therefore they would have it homely handled howsoever men list. Devise once some signification... and then would those heretics, by their wills, that instead of wine and water, men would consecrate  
15 new ale in corns.

Now, where he saith that it is the shame of the clergy if aught be used among Christian men whereof "no man wist the meaning"—why more than for Moses to deliver and leave to the people many ceremonies commanded by God, whereof the people, whatsoever Tyndale say,  
20 never understood the meaning? Would the wise man that if God bid a man do a thing... he shall say him nay but if he tell him why?

Then finisheth he this matter with a proper taunt: that "if our shepherds were as willing to feed as to shear, we had needed no such dispicions, nor they to have burned so many as they have."  
25

Lo the great fault that Tyndale findeth in that the prelates do not as he doth—devise causes at adventure and warrant them for true—nor leave out the water boldly upon his ghostly counsel now, against the faith of all faithful folk this fifteen hundred years before!

30 And where he layeth that the slackness of feeding hath caused so many to be burned—I will not say nay but that it might have been better with some if there had been used more diligence in preaching. But as for many such as have been burned... all the preaching in the world would not have helped their obstinacy. But sure, if the prelates  
35 had taken as good heed in time as they should have done, there should peradventure at length fewer have been burned, thereby. But there should have been more burned, by a great many, than there have been, within this seven years last past. The lack whereof, I fear me, will

1 *divers*: several    2 *would have to be*: would have be / wanted    3 *infusion*: pouring in  
3 *undoubtedly*: unquestionably    6 *of . . . bound*: necessarily obliged    7 *durst*: dared    9 *sort*: ilk  
9 *which*: who // *set so little by*: have so little regard for    10 *from*: away from // *reckoned*: i.e., it reckoned  
10 *bare*: mere    12 *homely*: casually // *list*: please    13, 27 *devise*: think up    13 *heretics*: i.e., heretics have it  
14 *wills*: wishes / fiat    15 *new ale in corns*: i.e., beer as drawn off the malt  
16 *the shame of*: i.e., to the shame of; a black mark on // *ought*: anything    16, 32 *used*: practiced  
17 *wist*: knows    18 *ceremonies*: rituals    20 *wise man*: i.e., brilliant man have it  
21 *bid . . . thing*: tells a man to do something // *say him nay*: say no to him // *but if*: unless  
23 *this matter*: i.e., his discussion of this subject // *a proper taunt*: an ad hominem attack    24 *shear*: fleece  
24 *had needed*: would have had need of    25 *dispicions*: discussions  
25 *many*: i.e., many of us Christians. (See 318/15–20.)    26 *lo*: behold // *as*: i.e., what  
27 *devise causes at adventure*: contrive reasons willy-nilly    28 *ghostly*: holy    30 *layeth*: claims  
31 *say nay but*: deny // *been*: i.e., gone    34 *helped*: remedied    36, 37 *should*: would  
36 *peradventure*: perhaps // *at length*: in the long run    38 *I fear me*: I'm afraid



make more burned within this seven years next coming... than else should have needed to have been burned in sevenscore.

Where I alleged the change of the Sabbath day into the Sunday without Scripture: thereto he answereth thus...

5 Tyndale

As for the Sabbath—a great matter! We be lords over the Sabbath day, and may yet change it into the Monday, or any other day, as we see need... or may make every tenth day holy day, only if we see a cause why. We may make two every week if it were expedient, and one not enough to teach the people. Neither was there any cause to change it from the Saturday, than to put difference between us and the Jews... and lest we should become servants unto the day, after their superstition. Neither needed we any holy day at all, if the people might be taught without it.

15 More

Tyndale maketh the change of the Sabbath day a very slight matter. And because that our *Savior* said of *himself* that “the Son of Man,” that is to wit, he himself, was “lord of the Sabbath day”: therefore, as though every man were God Almighty’s fellow, *Tyndale* saith that *we* be lords of the Sabbath day, so that we may change the Sunday into Monday.

He saith that there was never cause to change it from Saturday but only to put a “difference between us and the Jews,” and “lest we should become servants unto the day, after their superstition.” But I think there was besides this another cause more principal than any of both those. For the Jews and the Christians had other differences and distinctions between them—as Baptism and circumcision. Nor it had not been so great inconvenience that they should both have served God on one day, that for the avoiding thereof we should have left the day that God himself appointed in the beginning. And also, Christian men both might have kept the same day that the Jews kept and yet have left the superstition thereof that the Jews use... and may now also (as haply some do) keep the Sunday with like superstition as the Jews do the Saturday. And

1 *make more*: i.e., cause more to be    2 *needed*: i.e., had // *sevenscore*: 140  
 3–4 *alleged* . . . *without*: i.e., adduced the fact that the change of the Sabbath-day observance from Saturday to Sunday is not mentioned in    6 *a great matter*: big deal    7, 8 *may*: can    7 *yet*: even // *into the*: i.e., to  
 8 *holy*: i.e., a holy // *only if*: if only; simply if    9 *cause*: i.e., good reason // *may*: could    10 *neither*: nor  
 11, 23, 26 *cause*: (any) reason    11 *than*: other than  
 11, 24 *put (a) difference*: establish a distinction / put a distance    13, 25 *after*: i.e., emulating  
 13, 25, etc. *superstition*: excessive punctiliousness    13 *neither needed we*: nor would we need  
 14, 32 *might*: could    16–17 *maketh* . . . *matter*: i.e., makes out the changing of the Sabbath day to be a very little deal  
 17 *because*: by reason of the fact    20 *fellow*: equal    21 *so*: such  
 21–22 *may* . . . *into*: i.e., could change it from Sunday to    24 *but*: except    27 *any*: either  
 28 *as*: such as // *and*: i.e., versus    29 *it* . . . *inconvenience*: would it have been such a great impropriety  
 30 *served*: publicly worshipped // *one*: the same    31 *left*: relinquished; given up  
 33 *left*: i.e., left alone; eschewed    33–34 *thereof* . . . *use*: i.e., with which the Jews observe it  
 34 *may now also*: i.e., also can now // *haply*: maybe

therefore these causes be but divined and guessed at, and seem but

*The cause why the Sabbath day was changed into the Sunday* very secondary. But the very cause of the change is... that *men* were *not* the lords of the Sabbath day; nor men were not the principal

5 authors and makers of the change;

but *the Son of Man*, our Savior Christ himself, being (as he said himself) lord even over the Sabbath day too... and which, as God, had made and ordained the Sabbath day for man, and not man for the Sabbath day, and yet nevertheless subdued man unto certain

10 order of serving, not the Sabbath day, but God upon the Sabbath day—he, I say, *himself*, when he delivered the people from the observance of the Old Law, did, as lord of the Sabbath day, discharge them of the Sabbath day.

And yet—because they should *not* have such a lordly mind as Tyndale here teacheth us to have... as to think they might at their pleasure take what day they would, and make and break as they list—he *appointed* them (himself and his own Holy Spirit) the day of his own resurrection. Which glorious rising of his blessed body not only to rest, but also to eternal glory, it pleased him to have

20 weekly celebrated with the resting day drawn from worldly business to the desire of heaven and acceptable service of God. And for

*Our Lord's day* this is it, and ever hath been, specially called “our Lord's day.” Whereof to say that

*we* be now the lords, and able to change it to Friday for our pleasure, or turn it to every tenth day when we list—I ween that none will say so but lurdans that longed to make gauds of God's Passion, or make him honored selder than he should. For as for need... fell there never none such yet, to change this day that Christ hath ordained himself. And he is as able to keep it from such need of

30 change forever hereafter... as he hath kept it this fifteen hundred years before.

If Tyndale stick still in this point... and say “the Church made it, and the Church may break it”: I say that the Church, *as* it made it, so it may break it. That is to wit, that as it made it by the Spirit of God, so it may break it by the same Spirit. That is to say that as

35 *God* made it, so *himself* may break it, if it so shall please him. For in such things, though the Church have ordained it—yet hath

1 *causes*: reasons (for the change) // *divined*: conjectured 2 (*very*) *cause* (*of*): (real) reason (for)

4 *nor men were not*: nor were men 5 *authors*: originators 7 *which*: who

9–10 *subdued*... *order*: subjected man to a certain *modus operandi* 14 *because*: so that

14 *mind*: disposition; attitude 15 *might*: could

16 *take*... *would*: i.e., pick whatever day they wanted to // *list*: pleased 17 *appointed*: prescribed for

19 *rest*: restored vigor 20 *from*: away from 21 *business*: activity // *acceptable*: due / fitting

22 *specially*: specifically / uniquely 25 *turn*: alter // *when we list*: i.e., if and when we so choose

25 *ween*: think 26 *none*: no one // *so*: this // *lurdans*: lazy bums // *gauds*: mockeries

27 *make*: i.e., to make // *selder*: less often // *should*: i.e., should be

28 *fell there never none*: there has never arisen any 29, 37 *ordained*: decreed

32 *if Tyndale stick still in*: should Tyndale persist in arguing 33 *and*: i.e., so 33, 34, etc. *may*: can

33, 34, etc. *break*: i.e., nullify or change 34 *to wit*: to say 36 *himself*: he 37 *though*: even if

37 *have ordained it*: i.e., has commanded it; has made it a law

the *Church* not *done* it, but the Spirit of God; as holy Saint Augustine saith in the receiving of our housel, where he saith that  
*A saying of Saint Augustine* it hath pleased the Holy Ghost that whereas  
 in the beginning it was received after

5 other meats, it should be now received of folk while they be fasting.

And in like wise the apostles—to give us knowledge that though the Church make the ordinance, yet the Spirit of God is the worker thereof—wrote, as is remembered in the fifteenth of the Acts, “It hath pleased  
 10 the Holy Ghost and us,” and so forth showed what laws they had made... declaring thereby that though themselves made them, yet made they them not without the motion of God’s Holy Spirit. And never shall the whole Catholic Church neither make without God nor break again without him; but he shall, with his presence and his  
 15 Holy Spirit, so guide and govern his church in such manner of things... that they shall not change the Sunday neither of lordly mind, pleasure, nor necessity. Nor, I think, he shall never suffer the Church to change it, but it is a change once so made and established by our Savior himself that, as the Saturday was  
 20 ordained by God himself to stand unchanged till Christ came... so is Christ’s day so ordained by himself that it shall stand unchanged till himself come again, and change all the week and all the year, too, into one eternal day without either week or year. And this change hath he made, I say, from Saturday to Sunday, himself  
 25 without Scripture... which we be bound without Scripture obediently to keep and observe, whatsoever Tyndale babble and scoff against it.

For where Tyndale saith that “we” be such lords over it that “we” may change and make our Sabbath day as well upon any other  
 30 day as upon the Sunday—I would wit of him, which “we”? Whether the whole Catholic Church, or every particular province... and if so, then every diocese... and by the same reason, every parish by itself... and then any household... and finally, any one man is by himself at the same liberty to keep for his own Sabbath day  
 35 which day he list himself, and need not to come to church with others but when there is a sermon. And then, ye wot well, this way would do well. Now, if he mean by “we” all we the whole church

1 *done it*: brought it about

1–6: See Saint Augustine, Letter 54 (aka *Book I of Replies to Questions of Januarius*), 8.

2 *in . . . housel*: concerning our receiving of Holy Communion 5 *meats*: foods // *of*: by

7 *wise*: manner 8 *make*: enact // *worker*: producer 9–10: See Acts 15: 28–29.

9 *remembered*: recorded // *fifteenth of the*: i.e., fifteenth chapter of

10 *so forth showed*: then proceeded to tell 11 *declaring thereby*: thereby making it clear

11 *themselves*: they themselves 12 *the motion of*: the instigation of; being moved thereto by

13 *make*: i.e., make any law 14 *break again*: i.e., revoke or change it 16 *Sunday*: i.e., Sunday precept

17 *mind*: disposition // *pleasure*: i.e., self-gratification 18 *suffer*: allow // *once*: once and for all

25 *Scripture*: i.e., scriptural mention of this // *bound*: obliged 29 *may*: can // *well*: rightly

30 *wit*: inquire 31 *the whole Catholic Church*: i.e., the Catholic Church as a whole

31 *particular province*: i.e., province individually 32 *reason*: reasoning

35 *which . . . himself*: whichever day he himself chooses to 36 *but*: except // *wot well*: well realize

of Christ by a common consent—then must he tell us which is it; and then must he needs assign a known church. Where is then become his heresy of their secret, unknown church of elects and penitents-without-penance?

5 And where he saith we need no holy day at all “if the people might be taught without it”—this is one draught of his poison put forth under the sweet pretext of preaching. Whereby, since preaching is necessary... he would make men believe that coming to church on the holy day—or there to honor God with divine  
10 service and prayer—were but a thing of naught; whereas the apostles came themselves into the temples in the holy days to pray.  
*Is 56:7; Mt 21:13* And our Savior allegeth himself the words of Isaiah “My house shall be called the house of prayer.”

15 Now, whereas I alleged in my *Dialogue* the words of Saint Paul unto the Thessalonians, to whom he writeth in this wise: “Keep you my traditions which I have taken you either by word or letter”—to this doth Tyndale answer nothing to me but this...

Tyndale

20 I have [to that] answered Rochester in the *Obedience*... that his “traditions” were the Gospel that he preached.

More

In very deed, Tyndale in his book of *Obedience* laboreth sore to wade out of those words of Saint Paul... in which, as my Lord of  
25 *2 Thes 2:15* Rochester said, it appeareth plainly that Saint Paul saith himself that he taught things by mouth which he wrote not. And what saith Tyndale to it there? He saith nothing else in this world but as he saith here: that the things which Saint Paul taught by mouth were the selfsame  
30 things that he wrote. And then goeth he forth with a long babblery, part to no purpose and part plain heresy... and fareth as though himself had stood by all the while that Saint Paul taught anything by mouth. Now, whether his words be to purpose or not... I pray you consider yourself.

35 We say that these sacraments and many holy ceremonies used in the church in the Mass and in other parts of divine service... were taught by the Spirit of God and delivered by his blessed

1 *common*: universal / shared // *consent*: consensus // *which is it*: i.e., which church that is  
2 *needs*: necessarily // *assign*: specify; name 2–3 *where is then become*: i.e., what is then become of  
3 *secret*: unidentifiable; unperceivable 6 *might*: could // *draught*: drink / serving  
7 *sweet*: innocuous-sounding; palatable 9 *divine*: i.e., liturgical 10 *were*: i.e., is  
10 *naught*: i.e., no account 11 *in*: on 12 *allegeth*: cites 15 *alleged*: adduced  
16 *in this wise*: words to this effect 17 *taken*: committed to // *word*: word of mouth  
20, 24–25 (*my Lord of*) *Rochester*: i.e., John Fisher (the bishop of Rochester) 20 *his*: i.e., Saint Paul’s  
23 *In very deed, Tyndale . . . laboreth sore*: i.e., Tyndale . . . does in fact try hard  
24 *wade out of*: escape from; get around 25 *appeareth plainly*: is clear to see 28 *it*: i.e., this  
28 *as*: i.e., what 31 *fareth*: acts 32 *himself*: he himself // *stood by*: i.e., stood right by him  
34 *pray you consider yourself*: i.e., ask you to judge for yourself 35 *ceremonies*: rituals  
35 *used*: i.e., celebrated / observed 36 *divine service*: i.e., the Church’s public worship  
37 *delivered*: handed on

apostles. “Nay,” saith Tyndale, “that could not be; for all necessary things that they taught, they wrote.” “Prove that,” say we, “and take all.”

But we will prove, by Saint Paul’s own words, that he taught things that he wrote not; for he biddeth the Thessalonians keep  
5 and observe well all that he had taught them “either by mouth or letters.” And then that none of them were any necessary points, that point we bid Tyndale prove. His proof therein, ye have heard before...

that if the apostles wrote not *all* such things, what could it avail that they wrote any things at all? And that reason ye remember that  
10 we have answered before... and proved it a great folly to reckon that in our own realm “no law bindeth that is unwritten, because there be many written”; or that their writing were unprofitable that wrote us part, because they wrote us not all. But, now, in that place

of the *Obedience* where the rude ribald raileth against the  
15 Reverend Father my Lord Bishop of Rochester, he saith stiffly that none of those things which we speak of, and especially sacraments or ceremonies, were any of those things that Saint Paul taught by mouth. Then ask we him, “Whereby know you that?”

“Marry,” saith he, “for I shall tell you *what* he taught. He taught the same that  
20 he wrote; and his ‘traditions’ were the Gospel that he preached... and good manners, and virtues, and some good customs, too, that be since for abuses changed, as kissing each other. And some he taught as precepts, and some as good counsels... as virginity, and widowly chastity, not to win heaven thereby (‘For neither circumcision nor uncircumcision is anything at all, but the  
25 keeping of the commandments is altogether’), but that they might be without trouble, and the better wait on God’s words, and the freelier serve their brethren.”

Here I pass by his heresies that in these words appear both against virginity and widowly chastity... which he meaneth to be  
30 nothing worth as touching any reward to be given for them in heaven. For though he say no further here but that they *win* not heaven—which every man agreeth—yet meaneth he further, as he declareth in many other places... and as it here appeareth by his example of circumcision. I let pass also his heresy concerning the  
35 circumcision, which, with his false understanding of Saint Paul, he would have taken to have stood in no stead at all toward heaven; and by the same reason, no more he would that Baptism neither, as he hath oftentimes declared.

2 *take all*: you win it all    4 *biddeth*... *keep*: tells... to keep    6 *them*: i.e., those things he had taught only orally  
7 *bid*: tell / challenge // *prove*: i.e., to prove    8 *what*... *avail*: of what avail could it be    9 *reason*: argument  
10 *great folly*: i.e., large-scale fallacy / very unsafe blunder    12–13 *their*... *part*: i.e., what was written by anyone  
who wrote us only part would do us no good    13 *place*: passage    14 *of the*: i.e., of his book  
14 *rude ribald*: boorish jackass    15 *of Rochester*: i.e., John Fisher // *stiffly*: obdurately    16 *speak*: are speaking  
17 *ceremonies*: rituals    18 *whereby*: how    19 *marry*: i.e., oh, for heaven’s sake    21 *manners*: behaviors  
21 *for*: on account of    22 *as kissing each other*: i.e., such as their greeting of one another with a “holy kiss.” (See  
1 Corinthians 16:20.)    23 *as*: such as    23, 29 *widowly chastity*: i.e., not remarrying after being widowed  
24–25: See 1 Corinthians 7:19.    24 *is*: i.e., counts for    25 *altogether*: everything    26 *wait on*: attend to  
28 *pass by*: let slide    29–30 *meaneth*... *touching*: implies are worth nothing as for    32 *agreeth*: grants  
33 *declareth*: makes clear // *appeareth*: is made evident    34 *let pass*: let slide  
35 *false understanding*: inaccurate interpretation    36 *would have*: i.e., hoped to get  
36 *stood in no stead*: been of no avail // *toward*: i.e., for getting to    37 *reason*: line of reasoning  
37–38 *no*... *neither*: i.e., of no more such avail would he have Baptism taken either    38 *declared*: made clear

1 Cor 7:19

I let pass also... that by those words of  
Saint Paul which himself now bringeth  
in, that “the keeping of the commandments is altogether,” his  
own heresies be overthrown. For if the keeping of the commandments  
5 be altogether... then faith alone is not altogether;  
but rather, as he maketh circumcision nothing because the commandments  
be all, so might he make faith nothing because the  
commandments be altogether. But he maketh Saint Paul’s  
words to serve him for his juggling stick. For Saint Paul  
10 meaneth of circumcision alone in the Old Law—with faith *and*  
good works... as Saint James speaketh of faith. And in the New Law,  
now, it is nothing at all indeed.

These words also, of Saint Paul, destroy Tyndale’s heresy that  
men’s good works be not rewarded in heaven... and that it is  
15 idolatry to serve God with any bodily works, or to do any of them  
to come the rather to heaven. For if the keeping of the commandments  
be altogether... and some of them be bodily works: a man  
may lawfully do them for God’s sake, and to his worship too, and  
have his reward in heaven too.

20 But now letting these points pass, as I say—I would ask Tyndale  
whether among those points that Saint Paul taught by mouth  
and which he wrote not... were any things necessary to be believed  
or done upon peril of our souls’ health. If he say yea: then destroyeth  
he his whole reason that he made before for the contrary... where he  
25 said that if the apostles taught any such things and wrote them  
not, what availeth all those things that they wrote? If he say nay...  
but that all the things that he taught by mouth were things of  
little weight, and not worth the writing; and that therefore he wrote  
unto the Corinthians that all the “other things” he would dispose and  
30 ordain himself at his coming, because he reckoned them not  
worthy to occupy place in his epistle: if Tyndale tell us this, we will  
ask him who told him so... and whereby he knoweth that Saint  
Paul taught the people by mouth no more things, nor of none other  
kind, than Tyndale saith he did. Was himself at that time companion  
35 to Saint Paul... and that so continual and inseparable that  
day nor night he never departed from him, but ever watched him

3, 5, 17 *altogether*: everything      6, 7 *make(th)* . . . *nothing*: i.e., make(s) out . . . to be nothing

7 *might*: could      9 *juggling stick*: magic wand / trickery device

10 *meaneth* . . . *alone*: i.e., is talking about circumcision only as it was // *with*: i.e., accompanied by

13, 23 *destroy(eth)*: demolish(es)      15, 17 *works*: deeds      16 *come the rather*: be the more likely to get

17 *them*: i.e., those things commanded      18 *may*: can // *lawfully*: legitimately      19 *have*: receive

23 *health*: salvation      24 *reason*: argument      26 *what availeth*: of what use are      28 *weight*: importance

28 *the*: i.e., putting in      30 *ordain*: stipulate / regulate // *reckoned*: considered

31 *worthy to occupy place*: i.e., worth having take up space      32 *so*: this // *whereby*: by what means; how

so surely that he could never say nothing but Tyndale stood by and heard him?

5 Tyndale in this point well perceiveth himself how hard a part he hath to prove. And therefore, seeing that he hath entered a matter that he cannot end... and hath said that he can never make good: at last he waxeth angry. And because he cannot tell allthing that Saint Paul taught (as he began to take upon him)—  
he concludeth nothing but that Saint Paul taught none of the sacraments nor ceremonies that Luther and he reprove. And thus  
10 he saith...

#### Tyndale

But that the apostles gave us any blind ceremonies, whereof we could not know the reason: that I deny and also defy.

#### More

15 Forsooth, save for the rhyme, I would not give a rush neither for his denying nor for his defying, nor for any reason that he layeth forth therefor.

For whereas he saith that it is “contrary to the learning of Saint Paul everywhere,” I say that therein Tyndale saith not true. For  
20 Saint Paul reproveth but the superstitious trust that the Jews had as well in their ceremonies and sacraments as in the works of their law, without faith and justice and deeds of charity; and the superstition of them also that thought themselves bound of necessity to keep them still after the New Law promulgated and  
25 spread about—when the time of those old ceremonies, sacraments, judicials, and all was gone... saving for as far forth as the church of Christ by the Spirit of God hath taken up any again. But let Tyndale bring of Saint Paul all the places that he possibly can...  
30 and he shall never find one while he liveth, among them all, in which Saint Paul reproveth any sacrament or ceremony taken up and accounted for good through Christ’s whole Catholic Church—nor yet the Jews for using the ceremonies given by God to Moses, and by Moses to them, for the time while they served, though they knew not the significations... except it were for lack  
35 of some other virtue, which they left off and rought not for... and thereby lost the fruit of their ceremonies and all.

1 *surely*: steadfastly // *by*: nearby 4 *part*: position; contention

4–5 *entered* . . . *end*: started something that he cannot finish 5 *said that*: said something that

5–6 *make good*: substantiate 6 *at last he waxeth angry*: i.e., he finally resorts to waxing irate

6 *tell*: relate; tell us // *allthing*: everything 7 *as . . . him*: i.e., which he started out undertaking to do

9, 12, etc. *ceremonies*: rituals 9 *reprove*: find fault with / reject 12 *blind*: incomprehensible

15 *give a rush* . . . *for*: give a straw . . . *for* / care in the least . . . about 16 *for*: for / about

16 *reason*: reasoning; argument 17 *therefor*: i.e., for his denying and defying

18–19 *the . . . everywhere*: i.e., what Saint Paul teaches everywhere in his epistles

19 *therein* . . . *saith*: i.e., what Tyndale says there is 20 *reproved but*: found fault only with

20 *superstitious*: inordinate / excessive 22 *justice*: moral uprightness 23 *superstition*: scrupulosity

24 *promulgated*: i.e., had been promulgated 26 *judicials*: ordinances // *saving*: except

27 *any*: i.e., any of them 28 *of*: from // *places*: texts 29 *while*: as long as

30 *reproveth*: finds fault with / proves nonlegit 31 *good*: bona fide / legit 32 *nor yet*: i.e., or even criticizes

32 *using*: observing / carrying out 33 *served*: were in force 34 *though*: even if // *except*: unless

35 *left off*: stopped practicing // *rought not for*: did not concern themselves about

One other thing he saith which he taketh for a high point to prove that Saint Paul taught no ceremonies or sacraments but such as he taught also their significations. And that he proveth thus...

5 Tyndale

Paul commandeth that no man once speak in the church, that is, in the congregation, but in a tongue that all men understand... except that there be an interpreter by.

More

10 And what then? At such time as the Law was given first to the children of Israel... it was indeed written in a tongue that the people understood. But yet the ceremonies, though they were written in the same tongue, yet were there many of them that the people never understood what they meant—nor, peradventure, Moses neither—and  
15 yet were they bound of obedience to observe them; and their obedience was fruitful, too, but if that some other fault made it lose the fruit.

And therefore, where Tyndale telleth a long tale that Saint Paul “commandeth” them to “labor for knowledge, understanding,  
20 feeling,” and “beware” of “hypocrisy,” “ceremonies,” and “all manner of disguising,” and many such words more, some of Saint Paul and some of his own planted in among them: his tale seemeth somewhat solemn, but it is nothing substantial. For the sacraments and ceremonies given by God unto his church be neither hypocrisy nor  
25 Judaic ceremonies, nor “disguisings,” neither... which word Tyndale setteth in himself, in scorn, as it seemeth, of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar. Nor Saint Paul, though he would have them “labor for knowledge,” meaneth not, yet, they shall leave the sacraments unserved which God hath taught, till he teach them the  
30 knowledge *why* he taught them, and what special signification every sacrament and ceremony had.

For whereas Tyndale rhymeth it out and saith that he both denieth and also defieth that the apostles taught any ceremony whereof the reason could not be known: for all his denying and  
35 also defying, a better man than the apostles did—our Savior Christ himself, when he sent his disciples forth to baptize and to preach—

1–2 *a . . . prove*: an important point for proving / an excellent way to prove    2, 12, etc. *ceremonies*: rituals  
6–8: See 1 Corinthians 14:1–28.    6 *once*: ever    7 *congregation*: assembly // *but*: except  
7, 11, 13 *tongue*: language    7–8 *except that*: unless    8 *by*: nearby; present    10 *and what then*: well, so what  
10 *given first*: i.e., first given; given for the first time    14 *peradventure*: perhaps    15 *bound*: obliged // *of*: i.e., in  
16, 17 *fruit(ful)*: profit(able)    16 *but if that*: unless // *fault*: lack    18, 22 *(a long) tale*: i.e., (his long) story  
19, 28 *them*: i.e., the Corinthians // *labor*: strive    21 *disguising*: changing of appearance / role-playing: a reference to the priest’s wearing of special clothes and acting *in persona Christi*, particularly in the Mass.    21 *of*: from  
22 *planted in*: inserted    23 *solemn*: impressive // *is nothing substantial*: has no merit; does not hold water  
25 *disguisings*: playactings    26 *setteth*: adds    28 *they*: i.e., that they    29 *unserved*: unadministered  
31 *every*: each



he taught them how they should go and what they should do; but the reason and cause of every ceremony, *that* find we not that ever he taught them... but at some of them he suffered both them then, and us ever since, to guess and to divine.

- 5            *Lk 9:3; 10:4*            For that he would have them neither  
    bear wallet nor satchel, nor shoes upon  
    their feet, nor stick in their hand, nor salute any man by the way,  
    nor why he chose water and Baptism instead of circumcision, nor  
    why he would they should lay their hands upon some sick folk  
 10            whom they should heal, nor why they should anoint sick folk with  
    oil and heal them by that means: the causes, I say, and the proper  
    significations of all these ceremonies and many others, we find not  
    that our Savior, when he sent them, showed them; and yet he bade  
    them do it, and they were bound to obey, and merited and  
 15            deserved by their obedience. Much more than he should have done,  
    whoso would have said, "Tell me first, good Lord, why may I not  
    put on my shoes? Why may I not take a stick in my hand?  
    What art thou the better though I go barefoot? What shall it hurt  
    the matter though I bear a stick? Why were it not as good to smear  
 20            a sick man with butter as anoint him with oil? Tell me the causes  
    of all those things, and the proper signification, ere I go. For else,  
    to say that I will be sent out with such dumb ceremonies whereof  
    I know not the causes—that I deny and also defy." He that thus should  
    have said like Tyndale... should have gotten little thank.  
 25            And as I have before somewhat said, Almighty God taught  
    many ceremonies to Moses, and he forth to the people... and neither  
    can Tyndale nor any man else prove me by Scripture that the  
    people understood all their significations; no, nor Moses neither.  
    And where is then Tyndale's worshipful rhyme, that I deny and  
 30            also defy?  
    I let pass all the ceremonies taught about the Ark, the Temple,  
    the sacrifices, and many other things... and will wit but how  
    Tyndale can prove me that the children of Israel, or, as I say,  
    Moses either, understood all the ceremonies commanded by God  
 35            *Divers ceremonies*            about their departing out of Egypt.  
    Why a lamb? Why a kid? Why of one

1 *go*: travel    2 *reason and cause of*: i.e., rationale and reason for // *ceremony*: procedure / directive  
 3–4 *at some* . . . *guess*: i.e., some . . . guess at    3 *suffered*: allowed    4 *divine*: intuit  
 7, 17, 19 *stick*: walking stick    7 *salute* . . . *way*: greet anyone along the way  
 9 *would they should*: would have them    11, 20, 23 *causes*: i.e., wherefores    11, 21 *proper*: distinctive  
 12, 26, etc. *ceremonies*: procedures / directives    13 *showed*: made known to    13–14 *bade them*: told them to  
 14 *bound*: obliged // *merited*: gained merit    15 *deserved*: became deserving of reward    16 *whoso*: whoever  
 17 *take*: hold    18 *what* . . . *go*: how are you the better off for my going  
 18–19 *what shall* . . . *though*: what harm will it do if / how will it hurt anything if    19 *bear*: carry  
 19 *were it not as good*: wouldn't it be as good / wouldn't it work as well  
 21 *signification*: i.e., signification of each and every one of them // *ere*: before    22 *dumb*: seemingly meaningless  
 24 *said*: spoken // *should*: would // *thank*: commendation    25 *somewhat said*: said something to the effect of /  
 to some extent said    27, 33 *prove*: prove to    29 *worshipful*: awe-inspiring; redoubtable // *deny*: gainsay  
 31 *Ark*: i.e., Ark of the Covenant    32–33 *wit but how Tyndale*: just inquire of Tyndale how he  
 35 *divers*: all kinds of    36 *kid*: young goat // *one*: i.e., the age of one    329/32—330/5: See Exodus 12:3–13.

year? Why without spot? Why taken the tenth day? Why offered the  
fourteenth? Why the vengeance of God put from the house at the token of the  
blood put upon the posts? Why eaten by night? Why none left till  
the morrow, but rather the remnant burned? Why unleavened bread?

5 Why wild lettuce? I know well *God* wist why he commanded all  
those ceremonies; but I say Tyndale cannot prove that the *people*  
understood them all, nor, peradventure, that Moses neither...

If Tyndale yet say that the people understood all those ceremonies:  
I will first bid him prove me that point by Scripture. And then  
10 for some likelihood toward a proof of the contrary... I will lay forth,  
for authority against William Tyndale, the words of one man whom  
Tyndale would were most believed of all men; that is to wit, the  
words of William Tyndale himself. For himself saith, in his  
book against me...

15 Tyndale

Christ asked the apostles (Mt 16) whom they took him for. And  
Peter answered for them all... saying, "I say that thou art Christ, the  
Son of the Living God, that art come into this world." That is, "We  
believe that thou art he that was promised unto Abraham should  
20 come and bless us and deliver us." Howbeit, Peter yet wist not by  
what means. But now it is opened throughout all the world: that  
through the offering of his body and blood. . . .

More

Now, since, as Tyndale saith himself, Saint Peter at that time did  
25 not know by what means Christ should redeem us; and it is very  
likely that Saint Peter, albeit he was not yet fully learned, did yet  
at that time, going to school with Christ, understand as much at the  
leastwise as the common people did even in Moses' days: I think,  
therefore, that Tyndale should himself agree, contrary to that himself  
30 hath said before, that the people understood not all the ceremonies.  
And yet I think he will not say that they might at  
that time leave all such undone... and say as Tyndale saith—"All that,  
utterly we deny and also defy."

I would fain wit wherefore Tyndale should take it for so strange  
35 that God or his apostles should give unto Christ's church any  
ceremonies whereof they should not understand the reason... when

1 *spot*: (any) defect // *taken*: procured // *the*: i.e., on the // *day*: i.e., day of the month (of Abib)

2 *put*: deflected / averted // *at*: i.e., by // *token*: sign 4 *the morrow*: the next day // *remnant*: rest

5 *wild lettuce*: i.e., bitter herbs // *wist*: knew 6, 8, etc. *ceremonies*: rituals / observances

7 *peradventure*: perhaps // *neither*: i.e., did either 8 *yet*: still

9 *bid him prove me*: challenge him to prove to me 10 *some likelihood*: i.e., something likely to work

11 *one*: i.e., the one 12 *would were*: i.e., would have been // *of*: of / by 13 *himself saith*: he says

18 *that . . . world*: This was actually said by not Peter but Martha; see John 11:27. 20 *howbeit*: however

20 *yet wist not*: did not yet know 21 *opened*: revealed; made manifest 26 *albeit*: although

26 *learned*: instructed 27 *with*: under the tutelage of 28 *even*: i.e., back 29 *should*: would

29 *agree*: grant // *that himself*: what he 31 *might*: could legitimately 32 *leave*: i.e., have left

32 *say as*: i.e., have said what 34 *fain wit wherefore*: like to know why // *strange*: absurd / unaccountable

40

he seeth well that God hath spoken to his people many words by his prophets, and his own Son, and his Son's apostles too, and caused them to be written also in Holy Scripture... in which texts men be no more sure of the very sentence than of the very signification of

- 5     *Why God hath left many things*   those ceremonies. But God hath not without  
       *unknown to us*                      our fruit left such things unknown  
   unto us—to quicken and exercise, as

- Saint Augustine saith, some men's minds in the study and devising thereupon... which if all were open and plain, would  
 10   wax negligent and dull... and now, in the devising thereupon, find out good and fruitful things (allegories and others), not affirming those to be the very things there intended, but things that devoutly and fruitfully may be thereon taken and turn men to devotion, and this as well in the ceremonies as in those hard and  
 15   not intelligible texts. And if Tyndale deny this... because he would seem sure of allthing, and that there were no place in Scripture to him not understood: he shall, while he would seem so wise, prove himself a fool in the judgment of all men that anything labor in Scripture. And thus ye see now in what substantial  
 20   wise that Tyndale hath answered my Lord of Rochester, unto the plain words of Saint Paul written unto the Thessalonians... by which words he showeth plainly himself that he wrote not all that he taught. And then that these things which Tyndale impugneth, why that they might not be among those things that  
 25   Saint Paul taught by mouth... ye have heard, I say, how worshipfully Tyndale hath proved.

- I were loath to leave untouched anything that Tyndale anywhere saith against my purpose in this matter. And therefore, since I find  
 30   in his *Answer* to my *Dialogue* yet another patch wherein I perceive he taketh great pleasure... and weeneth—or would, at the least, that other men should ween—that he had therewith utterly proved his part and clearly reprov'd mine: I will withdraw none of his glory, and therefore ye shall hear that too. In his answer to the twenty-ninth chapter of my First Book, these are his words...

### 35                                      Tyndale

In the twenty-ninth [chapter, M. More] allegeth that Christ said not "the Holy Ghost shall *write*," but "... shall *teach*." It is not the use to say the Holy Ghost "writeth," but "... inspireth the writer."

3 *in which*: i.e., of which     4 *very* . . . *very*: i.e., actual meaning than they are of the actual  
 5, 14 *ceremonies*: ritualistic observances     6 *our fruit*: benefit to us     7–15: See Saint Augustine's *On True Religion*, 33.     7 *quicken*: activate     9, 10 *devising*: meditating     9 *open and plain*: clear and obvious  
 10 *wax*: become     11 *find out*: come up with     12 *very*: literal // *intended*: meant     14, 20 *in/unto*: regarding  
 15 *intelligible*: i.e., completely decipherable     16 *would seem*: i.e., wants it to seem that he is // *allthing*: everything  
 16 *were*: i.e., is // *place in*: passage of     17 *to*: by // *while*: when // *would*: wants to     18 *wise*: brilliant / astute  
 18–19 *anything labor*: do any work     19–20 *in what substantial wise that*: i.e., in how sound a way  
 20 *my Lord of Rochester*: i.e., Bishop Fisher     21–23: See 2 Thessalonians 2:15.     23 *impugneth*: assails as erroneous  
 24 *that they might*: i.e., they could     25 *worshipfully*: admirably     27 *were loath*: would be loath; would hate  
 27 *untouched*: undiscussed     28 *purpose*: contention     29 *patch*: section     30, 31 *ween(eth)*: think(s)  
 30 *would*: wants     30–31 *that . . . should*: to have other men     31 *part*: side of the argument  
 32 *clearly reprov'd*: completely disproved // *withdraw*: i.e., deprive him of     36 *allegeth*: advances as an argument  
 37–38 *It . . . writer*: i.e., No one is saying the Holy Ghost "writes"; we say he *inspires* the writer.

More

Properly answered, if I would hold my peace. But I must put Tyndale again in remembrance, because he believeth nothing but Scripture, and then draweth “all the Scripture” into “God’s promises”—  
 5 I must, therefore, I say, put him in remembrance that I brought in that authority to show him that God made no *promise* that he would *write* all his new testament, nor cause it to be made all in Books... but that he would send his Holy Ghost to “teach” his church, and to “lead” them “into every truth.” And whereas Tyndale saith it is not the  
 10 use to say the Holy Ghost “writeth,” but “. . . inspireth the writer”: I say again that the *Scripture* letteth not to speak of God’s *writing*, and to tell how he will “write” his new testament, when he saith by the mouth of the  
     *Jer 31:33*                      prophet Jeremiah, “I shall give my law in  
     *2 Cor 3:3*                      their bowels... and I shall write it in their  
 15 hearts.”

Lo, here he telleth what manner of writing he will use in writing of his New Law... because we shall *not* excuse ourselves and say that we will not believe no more thereof than we shall find written in Books. He maketh us no promise that he will cause it to be written in  
 20 Books; but, pursuing these words of the prophet, he said himself—his own mouth—that he would send the Holy Ghost to come “teach” his church and “lead” them “into every truth.” To this will Tyndale haply say, “In that word he meant—and so did the prophet, also—that he would write it in the hearts of the evangelists and apostles, and teach  
 25 *them*, and lead *them* into every truth... which should put all the necessary truth in writing.” Let Tyndale prove this meaning by some one text of Scripture, or some one necessary reason; of which neither himself nor any other of his fellows have found any one yet. And the words as well of the prophet as of our Savior himself  
 30 declare themselves to the contrary. For the prophet *and* the evangelist  
     *Is 54:13*                      saith that “they shall be all” God’s  
     *Jn 6:45*                      own scholars; which signifieth that the congregation and company shall be  
     taught by God and his Spirit, that shall write the New Law—the right  
 35 faith—in the hearts of his church. And our Savior said, “I shall send  
     *Jn 14:26; 16:13*              the Holy Ghost, that shall teach you allthing,  
    and lead you into every truth.”

2 *properly*: well      4 *draweth*: i.e., filters      6 *authority*: proof text      7 *all*: i.e., all of  
 7, 12 *testament*: attestation      7 *to be made all*: i.e., all to be written      8, 19, 20 *Books*: i.e., books of Scripture  
 9–10 *it . . . writer*: See note for 331/37–38.      10 *again*: in response      11 *letteth not*: does not forbear  
 14 *bowels*: guts; innermost being      16 *lo*: see      17 *because*: so that  
 17 *excuse ourselves and say*: try to exempt ourselves therefrom by saying      20 *pursuing*: following up on  
 21 *his own*: i.e., with his own      22 *haply*: maybe      23 *in that word*: by that statement  
 25 *them*: i.e., those men      // *which should put*: i.e., who would be putting  
 27 *necessary reason*: compelling argument from reason      28 *himself*: he himself  
 28 *any other of his fellows*: i.e., anyone else of his ilk      // *have found any one yet*: i.e., has yet found a one  
 30 *declare themselves to*: i.e., show them to be saying      31 *be all*: all be      32 *scholars*: pupils  
 33 *company*: i.e., whole community      34 *God and his Spirit*: i.e., God, and in particular God the Holy Spirit  
 34, 36 *that*: who      36 *allthing*: everything

He said not, “The Holy Ghost shall teach some of you, that shall write it out unto the remnant.” And therefore Tyndale’s comely gloss will not so substantially serve him as he would have it seem. For as that Holy Spirit inspired more than them that wrote... so  
 5 inspired he the writers in more things than they wrote... which things they taught by mouth, and left it with the people by Tradition, as God left it with them; which thing doth by their

*Jn 21:25; 2 Thes 2:15; own words well appear: Iohannis 21; ad  
 1 Cor 11:2, 23–24 Thessalonicenses; ad Corinthios 11.* And if

10 these plain texts seem not yet sufficient for our part... let him and all his fellows bring forth some half text half so sufficient for their part, proving that all is written, and take altogether.

But yet goeth he farther and would seem of his courtesy to help me somewhat forth, and say more than I could for mine own part...  
 15 and yet avoid it, too. For thus he saith...

#### Tyndale

I marvel that he had not brought, as many of his brethren do, Matthew in the last—where Christ commanded the apostles to go and “teach” all nations, and said not “write.”

20 More

Indeed, this would have been well brought in there; and many of my brethren have, as he saith, brought it in, and myself also somewhere else (in places more than one)—which I now boast of because ye shall see that Tyndale hath not yet so gaily answered it as to make  
 25 me ashamed to lay it forth again. For if he could bring out one text so good for him as that is for us—that is to say, that like as my brethren find out that text by which Christ biddeth all his apostles go preach and teach his Gospel, so if Tyndale or any of his brethren could find out any text in which Christ had  
 30 bidden any of them go write his Gospel—Lord God, how solemnly Tyndale would set it out to the show! And whereas he now maketh little ado of Christ’s word bidding them go preach—he would make much ado of his word bidding them go write. But now ye shall see what answer he maketh, and what he bringeth for the sheet anchor  
 35 of all his shift... to prove that they wrote every necessary point.

1 *that*: who    2 *remnant*: rest // *comely*: good-sounding    8 *well appear*: become quite apparent  
 10, 11 *for*: i.e., support for    10, 12, 14 *part*: side of the argument; contention  
 11 *fellows*: cohorts; accomplices // *text half*: i.e., verse that is half  
 12 *take altogether*: take all; win the whole thing    15 *avoid*: refute  
 17 *I marvel that he had not brought*: i.e., I’m surprised that he didn’t bring up  
 18 *Matthew in the last*: i.e., the last verse of the Gospel of Matthew    23 *because*: so that  
 24 *gaily*: splendidly    27, 29 *find out*: hit upon / dig up    27–28 *biddeth . . . go*: tells . . . to go  
 30 *solemnly*: grandly    31 *set it out to the show*: put it on display    32, 33 *bidding them go*: telling them to go  
 34 *sheet anchor*: emergency anchor; i.e., last-resort argument    35 *shift*: machination  
 35 *every necessary point*: i.e., everything one must believe or do in order to get to heaven

## Tyndale

5 I answer that this precept "Love thy neighbor as thyself, and  
 God above allthing" went with the apostles and compelled them  
 to seek God's honor in us, and to seek all means to continue the  
 faith unto the world's end. Now, the apostles knew before that  
 heresies should come... and therefore wrote that it might be a remedy  
 against heresies; as it well appeareth, John 20, where he  
 saith, "These are written that ye believe, and through belief have life."  
 10 And in the second of his first epistle he saith, "These I write because of  
 them that deceive you." And Peter and Paul thereto warn us in  
 many places. Wherefore it is manifest that the same love compelled  
 them to leave nothing unwritten that should be necessarily required...  
 and that if it were left out should hurt the soul.

## More

15 Lo, now have ye heard his uttermost whereby he proveth us that  
 they wrote altogether that is of necessity to be known. Which he  
 proveth not, as ye see, by any scripture proper for the point—as that  
 any of them had any special commandment to *write*—but that  
 their charity drove them to it. Which he proveth by a deduction  
 20 upon this commandment "Love God above allthing, and thy  
 neighbor as thyself." For thereupon as he deduced before that  
 women may sing Mass, and must in time of need: so he deduceth  
 now that the apostles were by the same charity driven by their  
 writing to provide against heresies which they saw should  
 25 come; and that could they not sufficiently do but if they provided  
 alike against all heresies; ergo, they wrote every necessary truth.  
 This argument is, God wot, full poor, sick, and sore... and might sit  
 at St. Savior's a-begging with a dish and a clapper, for anything  
 that it can help itself... it is so blind and lame, and lacketh  
 30 so many limbs—and yet hath it one the more for me that Tyndale  
 forgot to set in. But yet lacketh he both his legs, for all that, and  
 his eyes, and his hands, and his brain too. For he must set in  
 that they which wrote... knew well every heresy that ever should  
 spring after their days; and this must he prove by Scripture.

35 He must also set in that no more of the apostles knew that  
 point but only those that wrote; or else that the others could not

3 *above allthing*: i.e., more than all else    5 *before*: ahead of time    6, 12, etc. *should*: i.e. would  
 6 *that it*: i.e., in such a way that what they wrote // *a remedy*: an antidote / a countermeasure  
 7 *it well appeareth*: i.e., is clearly seen    8, 9 *these*: i.e., these things    8 *believe*: i.e., may believe  
 9 *second*: i.e., second chapter // *he*: i.e., John    9–10 *because of them*: i.e., on account of those  
 10 *that deceive you*: i.e., who are trying to deceive you // *thereto warn us*: i.e., also warn us about that  
 11 *places*: i.e., passages of their epistles    13 *if it were left out*: i.e., their leaving out // *hurt*: harm  
 16 *altogether*: everything    17 *proper for the point*: germane to the issue // *as*: such as  
 18 *had*: received // *special*: particular / express // *but*: i.e., but only by the assertion  
 19–22: See 260/2–6.    19–20 *a deduction upon*: i.e., an inference he makes from  
 22 *sing*: i.e., celebrate    25 *but if*: unless    27 *wot*: knows // *full*: very // *sick*: diseased / unsound  
 27 *sore*: blemished / infirm // *might sit*: could be sitting    28 *dish*: cup // *clapper*: rattle  
 29 *help*: i.e., do for    30 *for me*: i.e., that I can think of  
 33 *they which wrote*: i.e., those apostles who wrote the epistles    34 *spring*: i.e., spring up  
 35–36 *knew that point*: i.e., had that knowledge (of every heresy that would ever arise)

write, nor God could not teach them; or, finally, that each of them read others' writing, and so saw that all was written by their fellows—and then carried all their fellows' writing with them into the countries where themselves preached, and left it there. And this must

5 he prove me by Scripture; for else he saveth not upright the charity of Saint Andrew nor Saint Bartholomew, that wrote nothing at all; nor of Saint Peter in writing less than Saint Paul; nor of Saint John, for leaving out the Consecration at Christ's Maundy.

10 He must also put in that they saw that without writing, God could not keep the points of faith among the people; for else the charity strained them not of necessity so sore to put altogether in writing.

He must also put in that all their writing is kept and reserved safe, and ever shall till the Day of Doom; for else, he seeth what  
15 followeth. And then knoweth he well that besides corruption of Books, much thereof is lost... but if he will say that in that scripture was nothing necessary but that it is in this that remaineth. And then must he prove me *that* by Scripture, ere I believe him. And over this  
20 must he put in that they have written allthing as clear as they might have done to answer all heretics with; for that thing belonged to charity too, if of charity their purpose was to write against all heresies.

And yet, which I had almost forgotten, he must put in, too, this argument also: that they have given us *warning* that they have  
25 written altogether that either then needed, or at any time after should need, to be believed or done upon pain of deadly sin. For this is one of the very chief points of all; and therefore this must he prove by Scripture. For else they left us in danger to believe some other things more than they write—namely since that some wrote not  
30 so much as their fellows, some confess that they taught by mouth more than they wrote... and some wrote nothing at all; and of that the others wrote, good part lost; and of that writing that remaineth, some corrupted by writers, some by printers, and much so hard that no man understandeth.

35 And finally must he put in, too, this argument also: that after their days Christ would never show nor reveal anything to his Church more... nor bid any of them any other thing believe or do

1 *nor God could not teach them*: i.e., nor could God teach them how to      2 *others' writing*: i.e., what the others wrote  
3, 30 *fellows*: i.e., fellow apostles      5 *saveth not upright*: i.e., does not keep unquestioned      6 *that*: who  
8 *for*: i.e., because of his // *Maundy*: Last Supper      9 *without*: i.e., without their putting them in  
10 *points of*: articles of the      11 *strained*: constrained // *necessity so sore*: such terrible necessity  
11, 25 *altogether*: everything      13 *reserved*: preserved      14 *safe*: intact; undamaged // *shall*: i.e., will be  
14 *the Day of Doom*: Doomsday; Judgment Day      15 *corruption*: deterioration / accidental alteration  
15 *Books*: i.e., scriptural texts      16 *but if*: unless      17 *but that it is*: i.e., that is not      18 *ere*: before  
18 *over*: in addition to      19 *allthing*: everything // *clear*: clearly / completely      20 *might*: could  
21 *belonged . . . too*: it was also their duty in charity to do // *purpose*: aim      23 *yet*: furthermore  
24 *warning*: notice      26 *should*: would // *deadly*: mortal      28 *to believe*: i.e., of believing  
28–29 *some . . . than*: i.e., some more things, other than the ones      29 *namely since that*: especially given that  
30 *confess*: profess      31 *that*: i.e., that which      32 *good part*: i.e., a good part has been  
33 *corrupted*: i.e., has been accidentally altered // *writers*: transcribers // *much*: i.e., much is  
33 *hard*: abstruse / untransparent      34 *understandeth*: i.e., understands it      36 *show*: tell  
36–37 *anything . . . more*: i.e., anything more to his Church      37 *bid*: command // *them*: i.e., its members  
37 *believe*: i.e., to believe

than was put in writing already by his apostles; or else that though he would bid them any further thing at any time after either believe or do—yet would he never be angry with them though they would neither believe that he told them nor do that he bade them... but tell him well and plainly to his teeth that if he would be believed or obeyed, he should have made his apostles write it! This point specially must Tyndale among others prove me by plain and evident Scripture. For else were it, ye wot well, a great peril for any man to say nay to God's special bidding... though that special bidding were not specified in Scripture... but if God have plainly spoken in Scripture that he will never while he liveth either tell or bid any other thing than he hath already revealed or commanded in Scripture.

Now see you, good readers, how sick, how sore, and how feeble his argument is... by which he would prove us that the charity of the apostles drove them to put all necessary things in writing. But yet had there, almost, one reason of his passed me unawares... which if I had left untouched, Tyndale would have said I had dissembled, and left unanswered his chief reason of all. For whereas his feeble argument before touched was but the cause that drove the *apostles* to leave nothing unwritten—he hath yet one that showeth the cause why and wherefore *God* would, himself, have every necessary thing written; and that, ye wot well, must needs be strong; and therefore what strength is in it ye shall hear. Thus he saith...

#### Tyndale

Now, sir, God hath made his last and everlasting testament, . . . and no more behind than the appearing of Christ again. And because he will not stir up every day a new prophet with a new miracle, to confirm new doctrine, or to call again the old that was forgotten: therefore were all things necessary to salvation comprehended in scripture ever to endure.

#### More

If Tyndale's bare word be worthy to be taken for so great authority that whatsoever he say, men must believe it only because Tyndale saith it: then is this argument very sure and strong—but then it is superfluous and a great deal too long. For then it should

2, 9 *though*: even if    2 *would*: were to    2, 12 *bid*: command    3 *believe or do*: i.e., to believe or to do  
 3 *though*: if    4 *that*: what    4–5 *bade them*: commanded them to    5 *tell*: i.e., would tell  
 5 *well* . . . *teeth*: i.e., quite bluntly to his face // *would*: wanted to    6 *made*: i.e., had    7 *specially*: in particular  
 7, 15 *prove*: prove to    7–8 *plain and evident*: clear and conclusive    8 *else were it*: otherwise it would be  
 8, 23 *wot*: know    8 *great peril*: very dangerous thing    9 *nay*: no    9, 10 *special bidding*: express command  
 10 *were not specified*: i.e., was not articulated explicitly // *but if*: unless // *have*: has    11 *spoken*: said  
 11 *while*: as long as    14 *see you*: you see // *sick*: diseased / unsound // *sore*: blemished / infirm  
 14, 20 *feeble*: weak; lame    17, 19 *reason*: argument    17 *passed me unawares*: escaped my notice  
 18 *untouched*: undiscussed    19 *dissembled*: deliberately ignored; turned a blind eye to  
 20 *before touched*: previously discussed // *was but*: i.e., was only about    21 *yet*: also // *showeth*: tells  
 27 *testament*: covenant / attestation    28 *behind*: i.e., is still to come; remains as yet unfulfilled  
 29 *will not*: does not want to // *stir*: raise    30 *call again*: bring back to mind  
 30 *the old that was*: i.e., an old one that has been    31 *necessary to*: i.e., needed for // *comprehended*: included  
 34 *bare*: mere    35 *only*: just; simply    36 *sure*: sound    37 *should*: would



suffice him to say “The apostles have left allthing in writing,”  
and let all his reasons alone. But surely if Tyndale be no better than  
other men—so that, as he will believe no man without plain Scripture,  
no man without plain Scripture is bound to believe him—

5 then is this argument more feeble yet than the other. For he shall  
never make it strong, neither by plain Scripture nor good  
deduction, nor necessary consequence, nor any probable reason.

For first, how proveth he that allthing is open? How proveth  
he that he understandeth every place in Scripture? Every place in  
10 Genesis, every place in the prophets, every place in the Psalter,  
every place in Saint John’s Gospel, every place in Saint Paul’s  
epistles, every place in the Apocalypse—be all these things open to  
Tyndale? Is any man so mad to believe him therein upon his  
word?—because he boldly saith, in many places of his ungracious  
15 books, that the Scripture is easy to understand? Which thing he  
saith of an ungracious mind—to make every simple person bold  
to take himself for an interpreter!

But I dare be as bold to say that the Scripture, albeit many  
places be plain, and in the hardest place good folk may take fruit if  
20 they play not as Tyndale doth—be bold upon it like Blind Bayard,  
and think it plain and open—yet is it not so open but that there is many  
*There are many hard and dark a place, in every part thereof, so dark and*  
*places in Scripture. of such difficulty... that there neither is nor,*  
*I ween, never was since the apostles’ days*  
25 (nor, peradventure, every man among *them*, neither) that durst have  
been so bold to say that allthing was so open to him... but that there may  
lie yet therein, for all the understanding that men have thereof, many a  
great mystery hidden that never shall be clearly understood... till such  
time as God, upon the thing done and shown, shall, by his Spirit  
30 promised, sent, and assistant unto his church, in the times convenient  
and by God appointed thereunto, reveal it; which things  
shall then be necessary points to be believed, and now neither  
necessary to believe nor possible to be thought upon.

But when it shall please God any such things to do, show, and  
35 reveal—he shall then send no Luthers, nor no Tyndales, nor no  
Huessgens, nor no friar out of a nun’s bed, to preach it... but he

1 *suffice him to*: i.e., be satisfactory for him to just 1, 8, 26 *allthing*: everything  
2, 7 *reason(s)*: reasoning(s) / premise(s) 2 *surely*: assuredly; certainly 4 *bound*: obliged  
5 *more feeble yet*: even weaker 6–7 *good deduction*: valid inference (from Scripture)  
7 *necessary consequence*: i.e., inevitable consequence of what Scripture says // *probable*: plausible  
8, 12 *open*: clear; manifest 9, 10, 11, 12, 19, 22, 23 *place(s)*: passage(s) / verse(s)  
12 *Apocalypse*: Book of Revelation 13 *mad*: demented as 14 *because*: i.e., just because  
14, 16 *ungracious*: ungodly 16 *mind*: intent  
16 *make . . . bold*: i.e., embolden every person of little intelligence or education 17 *interpreter*: exegete  
18 *be as bold to*: i.e., as boldly 19, 22 *hard(est)*: (most) opaque / (most) untransparent  
20 *be bold upon*: recklessly tackle // *Blind Bayard*: i.e., a wild horse 21 *plain and open*: clear and obvious  
21, 26 *so open*: so obvious; so manifest 22 *dark*: cryptic / unclear 24 *ween*: suppose  
25 *peradventure*: perhaps 25–26 *that . . . bold*: i.e., any man who would have dared be so presumptuous as  
28 *clearly*: completely 29 *thing*: i.e., thing’s being // *shown*: actualized / carried out  
30 *convenient*: appropriate; suitable 31 *it*: i.e., that mystery  
32 *necessary points to*: i.e., articles of the faith, that must // *now*: i.e., now are  
33 *possible to be thought upon*: i.e., even possible to think of 34 *show*: actualize / carry out

shall send such holy messengers as he hath been ever wont about  
 such business to send, that shall not come with a false faith and  
 evil works (and be accursed out of Christ's church!), but with the  
 true Catholic faith, and holy living, and reverent handling  
 5 of Holy Scripture, and some of them with many great miracles confounding  
 the false wonders of Antichrist... as the miracles that

*Ex 7:8–12; 8:1–10*      Moses wrought confounded the marvels  
 that were wrought by the witchcraft

of the Egyptian jugglers. And he shall not send such fond  
 10 fellows as would be so shameless without any miracle shown to  
 bid all the world believe them—upon their bare word—in the  
 understanding of Holy Scripture, against all holy saints and  
 cunning doctors of fifteen hundred years past... and bear men in  
 hand that all is open and plain, and prove it by nothing else  
 15 but by that there is no place of Holy Scripture so hard but that themselves  
 can expound it in such wise that it shall serve them  
 shameful for jesting and railing against God and all good men,  
 against all good works, against all religion, fasting, prayer,  
 devotion, saints, ceremonies, and sacraments... and to set forth  
 20 vice in boldness of faith, and to praise lechery between friars and  
 nuns and call it matrimony, and thus make mocks of Holy  
 Scripture solemnly, with such open, shameless, abominable blasphemy  
 that if the zeal of God were among men that should be, such  
 railing ribalds that so mock with Holy Scripture should at every  
 25 such exposition have a hot iron thrust through their blasphemous  
 tongues!

Such false prophets shall God, as I say, send none of his errand!  
 But Tyndale cannot prove it true that he saith, that allthing is  
 yet so fully finished but that the time may come when God may yet  
 30 show things whereof we yet nothing think, and yet, peradventure,  
 written of in the Scripture... and may, if he list, do and show also  
 more things yet, whereof nothing is written... for any word that is  
 written to the contrary. And that besides Christ's own appearing  
 at the Doom there yet resteth some reckonings to come... well and  
 35 plainly appeareth by Scripture, both concerning Tyndale's great  
 master Antichrist (though Tyndale and Luther list lewdly to rail

3 *accursed out of*: excommunicated from      5 *confounding*: bringing to naught; putting to shame  
 6 *false*: deceptive / counterfeit      9 *jugglers*: sorcerers // *fond*: daft / foolishly confident  
 10 *fellows*: lowlifes // *without . . . to*: i.e., as without having any miracle to show for them, to  
 11 *bid all the world*: tell everyone to // *bare*: mere // *in*: regarding      12 *all*: all the  
 13 *cunning . . . past*: i.e., learned exegetes of the last fifteen hundred years  
 13–14 *bear men in hand*: make to people the assertion      14 *all*: everything // *open and plain*: clear and obvious  
 15 *that*: i.e., the fact that // *place*: text // *hard*: hard to determine the meaning of  
 16 *such wise*: such a way      17 *shameful*: shamefacedly / scandalously // *jesting*: leveling insults  
 18 *religion*: i.e., religious orders / living of religious life      19 *ceremonies*: (religious) rituals / sacramentals  
 19 *set forth*: promote      20 *vice . . . faith*: i.e., living immorally, in bold confidence in faith  
 21 *mocks*: mockeries      22 *solemnly*: in all seriousness // *open*: overt; manifest  
 24 *ribalds*: sacrilegious jackasses // *mock*: trifle      25 *exposition*: expounding (of it)  
 27 *none of his errand*: i.e., none of on his mission      29 *yet so*: already so // *but*: i.e., that it cannot be  
 30, 31 *show*: actualize / carry out / make known      30 *nothing think*: have no thought // *peradventure*: perhaps  
 31, 36 *list*: (so) choose(s)      32 *for*: i.e., this possibility not being ruled out by      34 *Doom*: Last Judgment  
 34 *resteth*: remain //  *reckonings*: expectations      34–35 *well . . . appeareth*: is made quite clear  
 36 *lewdly*: crassly / vilely / ignorantly      338/36—339/1 *rail with*: use for vituperating (the clergy, etc.)

with those holy places of Scripture), and also concerning Enoch and Elijah. And therefore where Tyndale saith...

### Tyndale

5 [Because all is done save the Doom,] and because God will not stir up every day a new prophet with a new miracle, to confirm new doctrine or to call again the old that was forgotten: therefore were all things necessary to salvation comprehended in scripture ever to endure . . .

### More

10 . . . lo, now have we heard him say it; and now lack we no more but even to hear him prove it. For when Tyndale proveth not that the thing is so done indeed... but layeth us only the causes for which, he saith, God caused it to be done: in this doth he nothing else but tell us what God should have done if he had taken him to counsel.

15 Tyndale proveth not that God hath shown him that all is done save only the Day of Doom; which he must prove or else we will deny it him. Nor he proveth not that God hath shown him that he would not stir up, if need were, every day a new prophet, and that with new miracles, too, rather than bind himself that  
20 he should never teach anything more, or have his old doctrine forgotten, either. Which thing he must prove, or else will we deny it him... since God hath taken more labor and greater pain for his Church than that. For he hath shed his blood for it, and might do all that with the least word of his mouth.

25 And we say also that God hath daily stirred up, and daily doth stir up, new prophets in sundry parts of his Catholic Church— holy doctors, and preachers, and faithful men, and good livers... for whom both quick and dead he doth show miracles in his Catholic Church, and thereby approveth the faith and works that  
30 they lived and died in, as he stirred up prophets among the Jews in sundry ages, for all the miracles done by Moses—and doth not so for no church of heretics.

Nor he proveth not that the points of faith must needs have fallen away but if they had been written. Which thing he must  
35 prove us; for else will we boldly deny it, and go near to prove the contrary. For we see that the Church hath kept divers things

1 *places*: texts    4, 15 *all*: everything    4, 16 *save*: except // *Doom*: (the) Last Judgment  
4 *will not*: does not want to    4, 18, etc. *stir(red)*: raise(d)    6 *call again*: bring back to mind  
6 *the old that was*: i.e., an old one that has been    7 *to*: i.e., for // *comprehended*: included  
10 *lo*: behold    11 *even*: only; just    12 *layeth*: presents to // *causes*: reasons  
14, 20 *should*: would    14 *to counsel*: into consultation    15, 17 *shown*: made it known to  
20 *old doctrine*: former teaching    22 *taken* . . . *and*: i.e., gone to more trouble and suffered  
23 *that*: i.e., that would entail // *might*: could  
24 *all that with*: i.e., all of this stuff (the providing of a new prophet, together with new miracles, every day) with  
24 *word*: utterance    26, 31 *sundry*: various    27 *holy doctors*: theologians  
27 *faithful*: faith-filled / right-believing // *good livers*: i.e., right-living ones  
28 *quick and dead*: i.e., while they are living and after they have died // *show*: i.e., perform manifest  
29 *approveth*: shows his approval of    31 *for*: notwithstanding    33 *points of*: articles of the  
33 *must needs*: would inevitably    34 *but if they had*: i.e., had they not // *written*: i.e., written in Scripture  
35 *go near to prove*: come within easy reach of proving    36 *divers*: several

without Scripture this thirteen hundred years, and, as it is thought, two hundred years before; and is yet as likely to keep it as many more, and twice as many more, if the world last so long.

Now have they been kept so long either by man, or by the devil, or else by God. And if Tyndale say that either man or devil have kept them all this while: we may be bold to tell him that then was God as able to keep them as was any of those both... and needed no more Scripture thereto than needed either man or devil.

Tyndale proveth us not, neither, that when the things were written they were thereby sure, as he saith, to endure forever. For he proveth not by Scripture that the Scripture shall endure forever. For though the Scripture say that the word of God shall last forever, and that

*Is 40:8* there shall not thereof the least letter be

*Mt 24:35; Lk 16:17* lost—yet is that meant of the Son of God,

and of the matter, and of the word unwritten, and not of the words written in Scripture... except none of Saint Paul's epistles be lost, or such as be lost was no Scripture, or that in those epistles were no letters.

Nor Tyndale hath not proved that the Scripture is so clearly written but that God needeth as well to stir up prophets with miracles for the declaration of the truth thereof, while the false expositors be so contentious... as he should have needed for the teaching, keeping, and confirmation of the points of faith unwritten.

And, as I before said, even so he doth. And thus ye see that these words are to Tyndale very little worth. But then saith he farther...

#### Tyndale

By the *Scripture* the councils general, and not by open miracle, have concluded such things as were in them determined—as stories make mention.

#### More

Let Tyndale bring forth one story that saith as he saith, and then let him tell us the tale again. I make myself very sure that he shall find no story that shall say that the general councils, in their conclusions, regarded no miracles but only Scripture. For he shall find in the stories that the good holy fathers that were in

1 *without*: i.e., that are not in    2 *yet*: also // *it*: i.e., this set of beliefs for    3, 4 (*last*) *so*: i.e., (lasts) that  
4, 6 *kept*: preserved    5 *have*: i.e., has    6 *may be bold to*: can with assurance    7 *keep*: preserve  
7 *any of those both*: i.e., any man or devil    8 *thereto*: for that    10 *sure*: made certain; guaranteed  
12 *say*: i.e., does say    14 *of the*: i.e., with reference to the    15 *of*: i.e., to  
15 *the matter*: i.e., the things being said in God's scriptural utterances    16 *except*: unless  
16 *none . . . lost*: See 1 Corinthians 5:9, where Saint Paul alludes to a previous letter to the Corinthians.  
17 *such as be*: i.e., any such one as is    19 *nor . . . not*: i.e., nor has Tyndale // *clearly*: clearly / completely  
20 *sir*: raise    21 *declaration*: clarification // *while*: when    23 *keeping*: preserving  
23 *points of*: articles of the // *unwritten*: i.e., that are not spelled out in Scripture  
24 *even so he doth*: i.e., God does that very thing    25 *to Tyndale*: i.e., for the making of Tyndale's case of  
28 *councils general*: ecumenical councils // *open*: out-in-the-open; manifest  
30, 32, etc. *stories/story*: historical document(s)    32 *as he saith*: i.e., what he is saying  
33 *tell us the tale*: i.e., tell us this thing / make us this assertion // *make myself*: feel  
35 *regarded*: took into account

divers of the general councils (of whom there be many that all Christian people honor and worship for saints) had many things to move them to determine and conclude against heretics; of which things the Scripture was one, and was not all.

5 For when the Arians and the Catholics were in debate upon the understanding of the scriptures (as the Catholics be with these heretics now), the Catholics did not only see then that the heretics wrested and misconstrued the Scripture (as we see that these heretics much more miswrest it now), but they saw also  
10 that the common faith of the Catholic Church was received and believed before that heresy begun; and being very sure, by the promise of God, that if that faith had been false, the Spirit that God sent unto his Church would never have suffered the Catholic Church, the corps of Christian people, the Mystical Body of Christ, to fall into that  
15 belief: they were *thereby*—with that faith written by the finger of God in their Christian hearts—very sure that the Arians were heretics; and so should they have been though never word of Scripture had been written... and should have concluded against the Arians in like wise as they did.

20 They saw also that God did miracles in his Catholic Church, and suffered none among the Arians... saving in the taking of  
*Arius' death* vengeance upon them to their pain and shame, as when Arius' guts fell out of his belly into the draught. (As we daily see that he doth, and ever  
25 shall see that he shall do, in his Catholic Church, and suffereth none to be done among all the skulks of heretics, nor never shall suffer till the Doom near approach, but only in detecting their wickedness and bringing them to the fire... as our Lady by miracle brought Berquin of late, at Paris.) This thing undoubtedly not a  
30 little confirmed the faith, and made the Church boldly conclude against the Arians.

And this thing appeareth well in stories very old and authentic. And Tyndale shall, I am sure, never bring us forth his stories saying that the general councils had no regard to miracles. And if  
35 he will say that the stories tell that there was none open miracles done *at* the general councils—yet, I ween, shall he find none such stories neither. And if he will say that the stories do not *tell* of any

1 *divers*: several    1, 34, 36 *general*: ecumenical    2 *worship for*: venerate as    3 *to move*: i.e., move  
5–6 *debate upon the*: i.e., controversy over the right    8 *wrested and misconstrued*: twisted and misinterpreted  
9 *miswrest*: distort    10 *common*: universal / consensus    11 *begun*: i.e., was begun // *by*: i.e., made so by  
13, 27 *suffer(ed)*: allow(ed)    15 *with*: i.e., on account of    17, 18 *should*: would    17 *though*: even if  
17–18 *never . . . had*: i.e., not one word of Scripture had ever    19 *wise*: manner  
21 *suffered none*: i.e., did not allow any to take place // *saving in the*: i.e., except in his    23 *as*: like  
24 *draught*: latrine    25 *suffereth*: allows    26 *skulks*: skulking bands  
27 *Doom*: i.e., the day of the Last Judgment // *detecting*: exposing    29 *Berquin*: Louis de Berquin (d. 1529).  
29 *of late*: recently // *at*: in    30 *boldly*: confidently    32 *appeareth well*: is well evidenced  
32, 33, etc. *stories*: historical documents    34 *had . . . to*: i.e., took no regard of    35 *tell*: i.e., tell us; say  
35 *was none*: were no // *open*: out-in-the-open; manifest    36 *ween*: think

open miracles done at the general councils... then shall he tell us  
a tale to little purpose. For surely, so many as were shown beside, it  
was a thing that needed not. But then goeth he farther and saith...

### Tyndale

- 5 And by the same scriptures we know which councils were true  
and which false.

### More

- This is a pretty point, lo! For now may ye see for what cause he  
saith that the general councils made their determinations by  
10 Scripture and not by miracle: because he would have it seem that  
there were nothing of God's Spirit working with the general  
councils, but only the wit and affections of men; so that he  
would, as appeareth plainly by this word, have them serve all of  
naught, but every heretic left at liberty to say nay to them all.

- 15 For he saith that by the Scripture we know which of those  
councils were true and which false. But where he saith "we"  
know, I would wit of him which "we" he meaneth; which of his  
hundred new sects he calleth his "we." For they agree so evil together  
that the thing which the one saith that by the Scripture he knoweth  
20 for true, the other saith that by the Scripture he knoweth for false.

- Tyndale's master Martin Luther and all the sects in Almaine  
call for a general council. Now would I wit to what purpose, if  
all that were concluded therein should be never the surer... but that  
every froward fool may as well after as he might before, say that  
25 he knoweth by Scripture that the council was false, and all  
that was determined therein was naught. Thus might an Arian  
and arrant heretic say now that he knoweth by Scripture that all  
was false that was determined in the councils against the Arians

- 1 Cor 14:29 of old. Saint Paul will that when one  
30 speaketh, the "remnant"—that is, the whole  
congregation—shall judge. As yet at this day, if a preacher preach  
heresy, God hath, by the faith written in Christian men's hearts,  
made the people able to know him for naught—except it be a false  
preacher with a false company, willingly drawn together, and  
35 fallen from the Church; which false preacher and his company is  
ever able to be judged by the whole church remaining still in the

1 *open*: manifest    2 *a tale*: i.e., something // *so . . . beside*: i.e., there being so many done elsewhere  
2–3 *it . . . not*: i.e., that was something there was no need for    5, 16 *true*: bona fide; authentic (ones)  
6, 16 *false*: spurious; nonlegit    8 *pretty*: clever // *lo*: oh yes // *may*: can // *cause*: reason / motive  
11 *were*: was    12 *wit*: judgment; thinking // *affections*: inclinations; predilections  
13 *appeareth . . . word*: is clearly shown by this statement    13–14 *serve all of naught*: i.e., all count for nothing  
14 *say nay to*: gainsay; dissent from    17, 22 *wit*: inquire    18, 21 *sects*: heretical groups  
18 *agree so evil together*: are in so little accord with one another    21 *Almaine*: Germany  
22 *call*: i.e., are asking    23 *should*: would // *never*: not at all // *surer*: more firmly established; more settled  
24 *froward*: headstrong; obstreperous // *may/might*: could // *well*: rightly; justifiably  
25 *false*: nonlegit; not a bona fide one    26 *naught*: worthless / wrong    29 *will*: i.e., gives the directive  
29–30 *one speaketh*: i.e., one man in the church is speaking    30 *remnant*: rest  
31 *congregation*: i.e., assembly of the hearers // *judge*: i.e., judge whether what he says is true or false  
33 *naught*: bad // *except*: unless    33, 34, 35 *false*: heterodox    34, 35 *company*: assembly  
34 *willingly drawn*: intentionally come    35 *fallen*: fallen away    36 *judged*: discerned

former faith. And now will Father Tyndale that every obstinate heretic, every prattling fool, every smatterer in Scripture... shall be judge over all the general councils, and over all the whole corps of Christendom—to tell them all that himself understandeth the  
 5 Scripture better than they all. Is not this, ween ye, a godly-wise way? Then goeth he further yet, and saith...

#### Tyndale

And by the same Scripture shall we, if any new question arise, determine it also. For Abraham answered the rich man, "They have  
 10 Moses and the prophets—let them hear them"; and said not, "They have the scribes and the Pharisees," whom they should hear preaching out of the seat of their own doctrine, without Scripture.

#### More

I had little went that Tyndale would have brought in this point of Abraham, Lazarus, and the rich glutton in hell. For Tyndale seeth well enough that though that same Lazarus was not raised by Abraham and sent unto those folk at his request—yet was another Lazarus raised afterward by Christ, and sent among men again, at good  
 20 folks' request; where though he came for the glory of God and for the show of the Godhood of his only Son... yet is it no doubt but though his words be not written, he did in that point also, much good unto men of the mean sort... though some such as were obdurate in malice, as were some Pharisees, or drowned in the credence of their false sect, as were some Sadducees, believed no more him than  
 25 Moses... but in that point misconstrued the one and mocked or hated the other.

And Tyndale seeth also full well that those words of Abraham nothing touch the New Testament, nor nothing that this question hangeth upon. For those words were spoken by Abraham  
 30 peradventure long before Christ's coming, and at the least before any word of the New Testament written. And therefore, though they might be drawn to touch the traditions which the false Pharisees gave unto the Jews—yet could they not be drawn to touch the traditions which the true Spirit of God, by Christ's promise,  
 35 hath given unto his Church. And that *all* those be written... Tyndale seeth full well those words of Abraham prove nothing at

1 *that*: i.e., have it that    2 *smatterer*: dabbler    5 *ween ye*: i.e., don't you think  
 5 *godly-wise way*: i.e., religiously sensible tack to take    9 *determine*: settle    9–10: See Luke 16:29.  
 10, 11 *hear*: listen to    12 *out of the seat*: i.e., on the authority // *doctrine*: set of teachings  
 12 *without*: i.e., not found in    14 *had little went* . . . *have brought in*: i.e., little would have thought . . . adduce  
 14–15 *point of*: i.e., thing about    17 *his request*: i.e., the request of that rich glutton  
 18 *sent among men again*: sent back among men    20 *no doubt but*: undoubtable that  
 21 *in that point also*: i.e., also by what he *said* after coming back to this life    22 *mean*: average  
 23 *drowned in*: besotted with    24 *sect*: i.e., distinctive tenets    25–26: See Matthew 22:23–46 and John 12:9–11.  
 25 *in that point*: i.e., regarding what Moses and Lazarus each said on that subject  
 28 *nothing touch*: apply not at all to // *nor nothing*: i.e., nor to anything    29 *question*: i.e., issue of ours  
 29 *hangeth*: hinges    30 *peradventure*: perhaps    31 *written*: i.e., was written // *though*: even if  
 32, 33–34 *drawn to touch*: stretched to apply to    32 *false*: aberrant / delusive  
 35 *written*: i.e., written in Scripture    36 *nothing*: in no way

all. And therefore it is to me more than marvel that he is not ashamed to lay those words for this purpose.

For where he saith that every new question that may arise, we shall determine by Scripture: ye see yourselves very well he speaketh  
 5 of an ungracious purpose... willing to bring in his poisoned heresies under that pretext, since that he knoweth that the Scripture proveth not the perpetual virginity of our Lady, which he would have no man bound to believe; and also concerning the sacrament himself saith is but bread, and that there ought none honor  
 10 to be done thereto—and falsely defendeth the one by the words of evil-construed Scripture, and the other because it is not *commanded* in Scripture.

And yet see ye farther that he speaketh as though he heard not his own voice. For he said before that by the Scripture we judge the  
 15 councils. And then how can anything be determined by Scripture... when of the right understanding thereof there can never any determinate end be made, though all Christendom should come together and agree thereon, but that every foolish heretic may say that all they understood it wrong, and himself only right? This  
 20 is a substantial reason of Tyndale, be ye sure! But because he will that with Scripture the general councils must be judged: what scripture alleged the apostles for their determination (in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts) where they in their council said, and by their epistle wrote, “The Holy Ghost and we have seen it good to put no  
 25 more burden upon you than these necessary things... that is to wit, that you abstain from things offered to idols, and from blood, and allthing that is strangled, and from fornication... from which things if ye keep yourselves, ye shall do well”?

What scripture laid they for this general council of theirs?  
 30 For though there were scripture, in the Old Testament, that *forbade*  
*Acts 15:19–29* these things, and others too—yet was  
*Leviticus 17–19* there no scripture whereby they concluded those things to be kept and observed partly forever, partly for a time, rather than the other commandments of the Law. Was not  
 35 the authority thereof by the reason of Christ’s word “He that heareth

1 *more than marvel*: exceedingly surprising    2 *lay*: claim support from    // *purpose*: thesis; contention  
 4, 15 *determine(d)*: settle(d)    5 *ungracious*: unholy    // *purpose*: intent    // *willing*: wanting  
 5 *bring in*: introduce    // *poisoned*: poisonous    6 *since that*: since    8 *bound*: obliged  
 9 *himself*: he himself    // *honor*: obeisance; i.e., genuflection    10 *falsely*: with deliberate untruthfulness  
 10 *the one*: i.e., the first of these last two assertions    11 *evil-construed*: wrongly interpreted  
 11 *because*: i.e., by the fact that    17 *determinate end*: definitive settlement    // *though*: even if  
 18 *every*: any    19 *all they*: i.e., all of them    // *only*: alone    20 *substantial*: solid; sound  
 20 *reason of*: argument from    // *be ye sure*: i.e., to be sure    // *will*: maintains    21 *with*: by means of  
 22 *alleged the apostles*: did the apostles adduce    24 *their epistle*: i.e., letter from all of them  
 24 *seen it*: seen it as; deemed it    27 *allthing that is*: i.e., everything having been  
 29 *laid they*: did they claim as support    // *council*: council / counsel    30 *were*: was  
 33 *those things*: i.e., that those things were    // *kept*: i.e., kept in force    34 *rather than*: in contrast to  
 35 *word*: pronouncement    // *heareth*: listens to    344/35—345/1: See Luke 10:16.



Lk 10:16

you heareth me”? Which word had as  
great strength before it was written as

ever it had since!

Now, this same authority hath Christ’s church, assembled in the  
general councils; and the same Spirit inspireth them, and the  
same words of Christ bindeth his flock to obey them, that bound  
them to obey his apostles.

Tyndale

“Nay,” saith Tyndale, “not so.” When [M. More] alleged “He that heareth  
you heareth me,” and [also this,] “If any man hear not the church, take  
him for a heathen,” concluding that we must believe whatsoever  
is shaven, in all that he affirmeth, without scripture or miracle:  
I would fain wit in what figure *that* syllogism is made!

More

I would fain wit of Tyndale in what place of my book he findeth  
that I make that “conclusion” with which it pleaseth him to belie  
me to sweeten his own answer with! For I never concluded nor said  
that we were bound to believe all that is “shaven” in all that ever he  
saith. But I then said, and yet I say, that these words of our Savior  
Christ “Whoso heareth you heareth me” were no more proper commandment  
to bind any man to believe the apostles than to believe  
the whole Catholic Church, and general councils that represent  
that whole body of the Catholic Church; and that they were not  
spoken to the apostles only, no more than the Holy Ghost was promised  
by Christ to be sent unto the apostles only. And Christ no  
more promised to send the Holy Ghost unto the apostles only... than  
he promised to *be* with the apostles only, all the days unto the end  
of the world.

Mt 18:17

Now, these words of Christ, “If any man  
hear not the church, take him for a heathen”—

every man well wotteth that this is manifestly spoken not of the  
apostles only, for their time, but of the Church as long as the world  
shall last. For so long *shall* the Church endure, do these heretics  
whatsoever they can to the contrary. And as it is true of every

1, 9, etc. *hear(eth) (not)*: (does not) listen(s) to    1 *word*: pronouncement    2 *strength*: force  
9 *M.*: Abbreviation for “Master”; i.e., Mr. // *alleged*: cited    11 *whatsoever*: i.e., whatever man  
12, 18 *shaven*: tonsured; i.e., ordained // *in all*: about everything  
12 *without*: i.e., that is backed up by no    13, 15 *I would fain*: I’d like to    13 *wit*: know  
15 *wit of*: hear from / inquire of    16 *belie*: misrepresent  
17 *sweeten his own answer*: make his own answer more palatable    18 *bound*: obliged  
18 *all that is*: every man that is    19 *yet I*: I still  
20–21 *no . . . apostles*: i.e., a mandate no more obliging anyone to believe the apostles in particular  
31 *wotteth*: knows // *not of*: with reference not to    32 *of*: to    33 *so*: that

particular church, and the governors thereof, as long as it swerveth  
not from the whole body of the Church universal: so is it much more  
properly meant of the whole universal Church itself, and of  
the councils general representing that whole Church, whereof  
5 every particular church is but a member.

And therefore, whereas Tyndale saith he would fain find in what  
figure the syllogism is made which he saith I conclude: he  
must go light a candle and seek up that himself; for it is his own  
syllogism and not mine, for himself maketh that conclusion and  
10 not I.

*A true syllogism*

But *my* syllogism is *this*: Every Christian  
man refusing to hear, believe, and obey  
the *Church*... is to be taken as a heretic and a heathen; but so it is  
that Tyndale—being a Christian man, and taking upon him, in the  
15 understanding of Scripture, to control and condemn the Church—  
refuseth to hear, believe, and obey the Church; ergo, Tyndale is to  
be taken as a heathen man and a heretic.

*This* syllogism is mine. And *this* syllogism, if Tyndale would  
fain wit in what figure it is made—he shall find it in the first  
20 figure, and the third mode... saving that the minor carrieth its proof  
with it, which would else, in the same figure and the same mode,  
have made another syllogism.

Now knitteth he up all this gear with another syllogism of his  
own making. And in what figure he maketh that, let him tell  
25 that can; for surely that can I not. These are his words...

Tyndale

Christ's disciples taught Christ's doctrine confirming it with  
miracles... that it might be known for God's and not theirs. And  
even so must the church that I will believe... show a miracle or  
30 bring authentic scripture, that is come from the apostles, that  
confirmed it with miracles.

More

Now may I be bold to make the conclusion of his argument for  
him. For since he goeth about in his book to teach not himself, but  
35 others that shall read his book, his conclusion can be no other

1–2 *swerveth not*: does not deviate    3 *properly*: literally / essentially // *of the*: with reference to the  
3 *and of*: and to    6 *he . . . find*: he'd like to find out    7 *conclude*: construct / reason through to its conclusion  
8 *seek up*: search out    9 *for himself*: i.e., since it is he that  
9 *maketh that conclusion*: does that deducing / draws that conclusion    12, 16 *hear*: listen to  
13 *so it is*: it is the case; it is a fact    14 *taking upon him*: i.e., taking it upon himself // *in*: regarding  
15 *control*: check for errors / challenge / take to task  
18–22: For an extensive explanation of these terms, see the Yale note for 346/6–7.    19 *fain wit*: like to know  
20 *saving*: except    23 *knitteth . . . gear*: he finishes off this whole business    25 *surely*: certainly  
27 *doctrine*: body of teachings    29 *even*: just // *show*: produce / present    30 *bring*: advance; adduce  
30 *apostles, that*: apostles, who    33 *be bold*: take the liberty    34 *goeth about*: is endeavoring

but that *no* man *should* believe any church without miracle or authentic scripture. Whereof the cause is because *he will* not otherwise believe any. Let him put *that* in figure when he can—and set thereto the cause that moveth him thereto, to believe no church without  
 5 Scripture or miracle—and yet will altogether, with sixteen syllogisms, bring him short home.

For when he saith that Christ's disciples taught his doctrine “confirming it with miracles,” and “so must” the church that he will believe, or else “bring authentic scripture”: I say that he  
 10 must prove the thing that he so often saith, and never proveth, nor never can—that is, that the apostles proved every point by a special miracle. Which point I have reprov'd before; and yet I ask him now again, what miracle wrought the apostles for every point of their doctrine in their letter that I spoke of, mentioned in the fifteenth  
 15 chapter of the Acts? Or where is it written that they wrought any one for them all? I say also that the Catholic Church bringeth miracles for their doctrine as the apostles did for theirs, in that that God ceaseth no year to work miracles in his Catholic Church many and wonderful, both for his holy men, quick and dead, and for the  
 20 doctrine that these heretics impugn—as images, relics, and pilgrimages, and the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar. And these so many, and in so many places, that these heretics themselves cannot deny it, but are shamefully driven to say, like the Jews, that it is the devil that doth them.

I say, therefore, farther, that Tyndale doth but mock and trifle when he saith he will believe no church without miracle or authentic scripture. For he refuseth to believe the Church though it bring both twain. For if we bring authentic scripture, he will not let to say that it is not authentic—as he playeth by the Maccabees, and his  
 30 master by Saint James' epistle. If he deny not, then will he say that the Church understandeth it wrong; so that the Church hath need to bring miracles to prove him that the Scripture is the Scripture, and that they all together understand it better than he alone, as well as that the Church is *the* church. And yet when the Catholic  
 35 Church bringeth miracles wrought by God in it, and for it, and that plenteously... and no church any one but it: then saith Tyndale that they be all wrought by the devil. And thus ye may see when he hath

3 *put* . . . *figure*: i.e., put *that* argument in a syllogistic form      5 *altogether*: i.e., all of that  
 6 *bring him short home*: land him short of his objective      7, 14, etc. *doctrine*: (body of) teachings  
 9, 27, 28, 32, 35 *bring(eth)*: i.e., bring(s) forward; adduce(s)      11 *point*: i.e., article of the faith  
 11 *special*: particular; respective      12 *point*: i.e., contention / article of his faith // *reprov'd*: refuted  
 13 *wrought the apostles*: did the apostles work // *every*: each      15, 35, 37 *wrought*: worked  
 15, 36 *any*: so much as; even      16 *bringeth miracles*: i.e., does have miracles to show  
 17 *in that that*: i.e., in that; inasmuch as      19 *wonderful*: wondrous; astounding // *quick*: living  
 20 *impugn*: assail // *as*: such as (those regarding)      25 *mock*: bluff; posture // *trifle*: play games  
 28 *twain*: i.e., of those two things // *let*: scruple  
 29 *as* . . . *Maccabees*: i.e., as is his ploy with 2 Maccabees      29–30 *his master by*: i.e., as is Luther's with  
 32 *prove*: prove to      33 *they all*: i.e., all the members of the Church      37 *may*: can

all said... he neither regardeth miracle nor Scripture neither, but mocketh both twain.

Now have ye heard all that I find Tyndale answer against such things as I laid before (in my *Dialogue*) to prove that allthing necessary is not written in Scripture. And then what proof he can make for his own part, to prove that all *is* written, ye have heard already; wherein how little pith there is, every child may perceive.

And then may ye surely reckon that since this is his last book—and the place in which he maketh a special title for the matter—he bringeth in all the best that he can find. And if he find anything elsewhere written (by his master or himself, or any other of his fellows) for that purpose, which he leaveth out here... ye may be fast and sure he seeth well he should have but shame to bring it in. As the words of Christ “Scrutamini scripturas, quoniam

*Jn 5:39* ipsae testimonium perhibent de me” (“Look you in the scriptures, for they bear witness of me”). Which thing no man denieth; but we deny them that nothing witnesseth Christ *else* but the Scripture alone. For our Savior

*Jn 5:32–39* himself, which said those words, said that Saint John also bore witness of him beside the Scripture... and that his Father bore witness of him beside the Scripture... and that his own works bore witness of him beside the Scripture... and that the Holy Ghost at his coming

*Acts 1:8; 5:32* bore witness of him beside the Scripture; and his apostles (as himself said they should) bore witness of him beside the Scripture. And now, that all that ever they all witnessed of Christ’s will to be necessarily believed or done is, since those words of Christ spoken, by his apostles written in the Scripture—this seeth Tyndale well that he must prove us by Scripture... and not bind us only to the Scripture by those words of Christ “Search you the Scripture”... which were spoken of Christ before all the *new* Scripture, and should serve to strain us to prove allthing by the old Scripture, and to believe nothing farther than we find written in the Old Testament. And therefore Tyndale had yet some wit when he left those words out.

And likewise he saw that it had not been to purpose to bring in those words which some of that sect bring forth full solemnly:

1 *neither regardeth* . . . *neither*: i.e., pays heed to neither . . . either    2 *mocketh*: i.e., is bluffing about  
 4 *laid*: adduced; presented // *in my Dialogue*: See, e.g., *DH* 147/31—148/32 and 150/1—151/28.  
 4–5 *allthing* . . . *not*: i.e., not everything essential for salvation is    6 *part*: contention    7 *pith*: substance; merit  
 7 *every*: any // *may*: could    8 *may* . . . *reckon*: can you safely figure // *last*: latest  
 9 *place* . . . *matter*: i.e., section of it that he explicitly titles as being on this subject. (See 254/1–2.)  
 11–12 *any other of his fellows*: i.e., anyone else of his stripe    12 *that purpose*: i.e., the making of that argument  
 13 *may*: can // *fast and*: quite    13–14 *should* . . . *in*: i.e., would get nothing but shame by putting it in  
 14 *as*: such as    17 *deny them*: gainsay their claim    17–18 *nothing* . . . *but*: nothing *else* witnesses to Christ but  
 19 *which*: who    20 *John*: i.e., John the Baptist    21, 22, etc. *beside the*: outside of  
 25 *himself*: i.e., our Savior himself    26 *should*: would  
 27 *they* . . . *be*: i.e., any or all of them attested to be by Christ’s will  
 28 *since* . . . *spoken*: since Christ’s speaking of those words    29 *prove*: prove to    30 *only*: solely  
 31 *spoken of*: spoken by    32 *all the new Scripture*: i.e., any of the new Scripture (the New Testament) was written  
 32 *and should*: i.e., and thus such a binding would // *strain*: constrain    33 *allthing*: everything  
 34–35 *had* . . . *wit*: still had some sense    36 *had* . . . *purpose*: would not have achieved the desired result  
 36 *bring in*: adduce    37 *some* . . . *sect*: some people of that heretical persuasion // *full solemnly*: very portentously

that is to wit, the words of Saint John in the Apocalypse, where he  
*Rv 22:18–19* saith, “If any man anything set to these  
 things... God shall put upon him the  
 plagues written in this book. And also, if any man anything minish  
 5 of the words of the books of this prophecy... God shall take from him  
 his part of the Book of Life, and of the Holy City, and of those  
 things that are written in this book.”

By which words he meaneth not that no man shall never after  
 be so hardy to write any prophecy, if ever it please God any other  
 10 thing to reveal. And much less he meaneth to put God to silence,  
 that he shall never any other thing reveal if him list; nor saith  
 not that God hath shown him that he never will. But he giveth a  
 charge that men use diligence and truth in the writing out of  
 his *own*. And much-like charge (albeit not of like authority)  
 15 have other writers given for their own books, as it is to see in the  
 end of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, translated, I trow, by Saint Jerome;  
 and in Saint Irenaeus’ works the same charge given in like wise,  
 with much-like adjuration joined thereunto.

And therefore, as solemnly as some of his brethren bring forth  
 20 these words of Saint John—Tyndale saw yet that they would not  
 serve, and therefore he left them out.

Now lay some folk for this purpose the words of Moses in  
 the twelfth of the Deuteronomy, where he saith, “The thing that I  
 command thee, that thing only shalt thou do to God... and thou  
 25 shalt neither anything add nor minish.” Which words be yet,  
 in this matter, less to the purpose than the words before-rehearsed, of  
 the Apocalypse. For whoso look in the place, and read over the chapter...  
 he shall see that Moses said those words only for fear that he  
 had... lest, since he had on God’s behalf commanded them some  
 30 certain sacrifices unto God, the people prone to idolatry would  
 add, of their own minds, either some sacrifice unto idols... or  
 unto God some kind of such abominable sacrifice as the Gentiles  
 offered unto their idols. And for fear *thereof* he said unto them,  
 “Thou shalt do unto God that thing only that I command thee,”  
 35 and “thou shalt neither anything add nor minish.” But he told  
 the cause before, and said, “When the Lord thy God shall have destroyed  
 before thy face the Gentiles upon whom thou shalt enter to take

1, 27 *Apocalypse*: Book of Revelation    2 *set*: add    3 *put upon*: inflict on    4, 25, 35 *minish*: subtract; remove  
 6 *part*: inclusion / share    // *of the/those*: in the/those    9 *so hardy*: so reprehensibly audacious as; so nerry as  
 11 *if him list*: if he wants to    12 *shown*: told    13, 14, 17 *charge*: injunction  
 13–14 *use . . . own*: i.e., exert diligence, and be faithful, in their transcribing of what *he* (John) has written  
 14 *and*: i.e., and a    15 *as . . . in*: as can be seen at    16 *trow*: believe    17 *given*: i.e., is given    // *wise*: manner  
 18 *adjuration*: earnest entreating    19 *solemnly*: portentously    21 *serve*: i.e., do him any good; get him anywhere  
 22 *lay*: adduce    // *purpose*: contention (of theirs)  
 23 *twelfth*: i.e., twelfth chapter. (In the NAB Revised Edition this verse is the beginning one of chapter 13.)  
 24, 34 *(un)to*: i.e., as your way of worshipping    25 *yet*: even    26 *in*: with regard to  
 26 *words . . . of*: above-quoted words, from    27 *look in the place*: i.e., will look up that verse  
 31 *of their own minds*: on their own initiatives    36 *before*: i.e., right before this. (See Deuteronomy 12:29–31.)  
 349/37—350/1 *Gentiles . . . possession*: i.e., nations you are going to invade to dispossess

them in thy possession; and when thou shalt have them in thy possession, and shalt dwell in the land that belonged unto them: beware that thou follow not them, after that they shall be, by thy coming in, overturned; beware, I say, that thou seek not after their ceremonies and say, ‘As these people were wont to worship *their* gods, even so will I worship too.’ Thou shalt *not* do likewise to the Lord thy God. For they have done unto their gods all the *abominations* that *our* Lord *hateth*—offering their own sons and daughters, and burning them up in fire!” And then setteth Moses thereunto the words before rehearsed, willing them that they shall neither leave undone any of those ceremonies and sacrifices that he had commanded nor add any new kind of their own mind... lest they might hap to fall to those kinds of sacrifice of the paynims that were abominable before the face of God.

Now, what serve these words of Moses to our present purpose? For first, if Moses had *not* meant as I say (and as the circumstance of the text showeth), but had utterly meant to command them that they should nothing add at all, in no manner thing, unto those things that he commanded them himself (as the words sound): then had he forbidden them to believe or obey any prophet that ever should come after him... except only the prophet of whom he prophesied, and bade they should hear him. And yet might they think *that* prophet restrained by those words, in such things as should pertain to the service of God.

Also, if that Moses had not meant as I say, but precisely forbidden them to add anything at all unto his institutions—they might never have added any new feast of holy days unto those that God had by Moses appointed them already. And then how might the feast called *Festum encaeniorum* have been instituted afterward, which was long after Moses’ days instituted, and very solemnly observed... and God therewith so well content that our Savior

*1 Mc 4:52–59; 2 Mc 10:5–8* honored it with his own blessed presence  
*Jn 10:22–23* himself!

But now suppose that Moses had himself meant as straitly as their unreasonable construction would strain his words to: what

1–2 *them in thy possession*: dispossessed them / those people under your control    3, 4 *beware*: take care  
3 *follow*: imitate // *after that*: i.e., after such time as    4 *overturned*: overthrown  
4 *seek not after*: i.e., not try to appropriate    5, 11 *ceremonies*: (religious) rituals    6 *even so*: in just the same way  
7 *(un)to*: i.e., in worship of    9 *setteth*: adds    10 *before rehearsed*: previously related // *willing*: ordering  
12–13 *of . . . mind*: of . . . accord; on . . . initiative    13 *hap*: happen // *fall to*: go in for    14 *paynims*: pagans  
14 *before the face*: in the eyes    16 *what serve . . . to*: i.e., what impact do . . . have on // *purpose*: argument  
17 *meant . . . say*: i.e., meant them as I say he did // *circumstance*: context    18 *the text*: i.e., that verse  
18 *utterly*: absolutely // *them*: i.e., the Israelites    19 *in no manner thing*: i.e., under any kind of circumstance  
20 *words sound*: i.e., words themselves suggest    22–23: See Deuteronomy 18:15.    23 *bade*: i.e., said  
23 *hear him*: i.e., listen to    23–24 *yet might they think*: i.e., they could justifiably have thought even  
24 *restrained*: restricted // *in*: regarding    25 *service*: communal worship    26 *if that*: if it were the case that  
26 *had . . . say*: i.e., did not mean those words as I say he did // *precisely forbidden*: i.e., was categorically forbidding  
27 *institutions*: instructions    27–28 *might never have*: could never have legitimately    28 *feast*: celebration  
29 *appointed*: prescribed for; established for // *might*: could    30 *feast*: festival  
30 *Festum encaeniorum*: Feast of Lights; i.e., Hanukkah    32 *well content*: well pleased / very happy  
35–36 *meant . . . to*: i.e., meant those words of his in as restricting a way as these heretics’ illogical interpretation would bind them to

would all that serve unto their purpose in our matter? May Christian men do nothing but that that Moses bade... because the *Jews* might do nothing but that that Moses bade? Where were then become the Sacrament of Baptism, and the Sacrament of the Altar? “Yea,” say they, “but this proveth that the *Church* should add nothing of *their* own mind unto God’s word”—for such a note in the Bible some have set solemnly in the margin upon those words. But I dare be bold to tell them again that they may better scrape that note out again than use it unto this purpose. For first, those words proveth no such thing at all, but if Moses had meant as straitly as they strain him; in which I have proved that they take him wrong.

Secondly, I say that if Moses *had* meant as precisely as they mistake him, yet had it touched but the Jews... and us Christian men nothing at all.

Thirdly, I say that in the things which Tyndale reproveth the sacraments of the Church... the Church hath added nothing unto the word of God. For we say that they *be* the word of God, well written in Holy Scripture, as hath been plainly proved them; and that himself well knoweth, but that he listeth to play his part and say nay still, be the proof never so clear.

Fourthly, we say that any such thing as the Church useth or believeth as necessary—though it be not written, yet add they thereby nothing unto God’s words. For we say that it *is* God’s word

*The authority of the word unwritten*      *unwritten*, and of as great authority as is his word written... as the things that partly were delivered to the Church by the apostles, and partly taught unto the Church by that Holy Spirit of God that was by Christ’s promise sent unto the Church to be with it forever, to teach it and lead it into every truth.

Finally, for conclusion, to prove you the folly of that allegation—ye know well all our question is no more but whether the apostles left every necessary thing in writing, as Tyndale affirmeth. And now consider you whether this be a good proof or not... though Moses’ words were taken as strait as these men mistake them. Were not this, ween ye, well argued: “Moses forbade the Jews to add or minish to or from anything that he commanded; ergo, the apostles have left no necessary thing unwritten”!

1 *serve . . . matter*: contribute to their contention in our controversy      2, 3 *that that*: that which // *bade*: decreed  
 2–3 *might do nothing*: i.e., were not allowed to do anything in worshipping      3 *where . . . become*: where would then be /  
 what would then become of      4 *the Sacrament of the Altar*: i.e., that of the Eucharist // *yea*: i.e., well, all right  
 5 *Church*: i.e., Church authorities      6 *mind*: accord      7 *solemnly*: portentously // *upon*: i.e., beside  
 7–8 *be bold*: venture      8 *again*: in reply      8–9 *may . . . than*: would do better to scratch that note back out than to  
 9 *unto this purpose*: i.e., to help make this argument of theirs      10 *but if*: unless      10, 12 *meant*: i.e., meant them  
 10–11 *as straitly . . . him*: i.e. in as restrictive a way as these people bind him to      12 *precisely*: literally / categorically  
 13 *mistake him*: wrongly take him (to have) // *yet had it*: this nevertheless would have  
 13 *touched but*: affected only / applied only to      14 *nothing*: in no way      15 *in*: regarding  
 15–16 *reproveth the*: i.e., argues are not. (See 15/27–32.)      18, 30 *prove(d)*: prove(d) to      19 *himself*: he himself  
 19 *but that*: i.e., it’s just that // *listeth*: wants      20 *say nay still*: keep saying no; persist in denial  
 20 *never so*: no matter how      21 *useth*: practices      22 *add they*: i.e., the Church authorities add  
 30 *the . . . allegation*: i.e., the foolishness of heretics’ adducing that scriptural text      31 *all our*: i.e., that our whole  
 33 *good*: valid; sound // *though*: even if      34 *strait*: i.e., restrictively // *mistake*: wrongly take  
 34–35 *were . . . ye*: wouldn’t this be      35 *ween ye*: i.e., don’t you think      36 *minish*: subtract

Besides that this argument is very foolish in itself, yet have I before, at large, opened you the lacks thereof, where I answered Tyndale concerning his high reason of the apostles' charity compelling them to leave nothing unwritten. And besides that, one

5 plain difference is there: that Moses was commanded to write, and the apostles were not commanded at all; though God allowed, assisted, and aspired them his grace therein, as he doth many good men in many good works beside any commandment.

10 And Moses also, commanded to write as he was... was not commanded, yet, to put altogether in writing that the people should be bound to do or believe, by any text that Tyndale hath shown us yet, or ever shall show, I suppose.

Howbeit, as for *this* allegation—though some others have thought it gay, Tyndale yet perceived it for such as he saw well would not serve him; and therefore he left it out.

15 Yet are there some, and among them Friar Barnes... that layeth for that purpose the words of our Savior written in the twenty-third of Matthew, where he saith, "Upon the chair of Moses are now set the scribes and the Pharisees. All things that ever they say unto  
20 you, observe them and do them; but the things that they do, do not you. For they bind unportable burdens and lay them upon other men's shoulders, and will not so much as with a finger of their own once stir them." By these words would Friar Barnes that there should nothing be taught but only Scripture. And over that, he  
25 would by these words that a man might break all the laws that the whole Church maketh, beside the express precepts of God contained in the Scripture, without any scruple of conscience... so that he do it secretly, where there were no weak conscience of feeble-faithed folk offended. Whereas undoubtedly those words neither  
30 prove his purpose in the first, and prove clean against his purpose in the second. For, beginning with the second... those words plainly declare that, because our Savior both then intended to show and often before *had* shown that the scribes and Pharisees were naught—yet lest the people might hap to think that he  
35 would therefore they should be set at naught and not obeyed... he gave them not warning only, but also plain *commandment*, that since they were in the authority, and occupied the place, of Moses (that gave the Law), and were the rulers and governors of the people,

2 *at large*: at length // *opened*: explained (to) // *lacks*: deficiencies 3 *high*: lofty / sublime // *reason*: argument  
5 *plain*: obvious 6–7 *allowed*... *aspired*: i.e., approved of their writing, assisted them in it, and inspired in  
8 *beside*: i.e., that do not fall under 10 *altogether*: everything 11 *bound*: obligated // *by*: according to  
11, 12 *show(n)*: set forth (to) / adduce(d) (to) 13 *allegation*: i.e., sometimes cited text  
14 *gay*: persuasive / promising 16 *yet*: also // *layeth for*: adduce for; submit as supporting 17, 30 *purpose*: thesis  
17 *twenty-third*: i.e., twenty-third chapter 21 *unportable*: unbearable 23 *stir*: budge 23, 25 *by*: on the basis of  
23–24 *that*... *taught*: have it that there be taught nothing 24 *over*: on top of 25 *that*: i.e., have it that  
25 *might*: could 26 *beside*: other than 27 *so that*: so long as; provided that 28 *were*: would be  
29 *offended*: scandalized // *undoubtedly*: unquestionably 30, 31 *in the*: i.e., regarding that  
30 *first*: i.e., first thing [teaching of Scripture alone] // *clean*: totally  
31 *second*: i.e., second one [guilt-free breaking of Church laws] 33 *show(n)*: indicate(d) 34 *naught*: bad  
34 *hap*: happen 35 *they*... *naught*: i.e., have them disregarded 36 *warning*: instruction // *plain*: (an) explicit  
37 *authority*: i.e., line of authority 38 *that*: who



they should *obey* them and fulfill that they commanded them. And lest the people should take him as Friar Barnes doth, and ween because he spoke of Moses' chair, that therefore they should obey him in nothing else but as far as they should read in Moses' books...

5 and upon *everything* that they should be bidden, should say, "Show me that written in Moses' books"—Christ therefore commanded them that they should observe and fulfill *all* their commandments. Not meaning by that generality that they should obey any commandment that by God were forbidden—nor to set God's law aside for

10 *Note how superiors' men's traditions, as himself said in commandments ought the fifteenth of Matthew—but forbidding them to be obeyed. to refuse to fulfill the commandment of their rulers whereof there were no mention*

made in Scripture, where the commandment tended to virtue, good manners, or God's honor. Now, the words of Saint Augustine which Friar Barnes bringeth in do nothing prove the point that Barnes would prove by them. For he would have it seem that Saint Augustine taketh those words of Christ as himself doth.

But Saint Augustine there, by the allegory of "the chair of Moses" occupied by "the scribes and Pharisees," expoundeth those words of a preacher that is not the very, true shepherd that in his preaching seeketh nothing but the profit of the sheep and the glory of Christ, but that is a mercenary preacher and a hired, which seeketh his own temporal advantage and commodity. Of whom Saint Augustine giveth warning that yet even such preachers, naught as they be... yet, for the while that they be suffered to preach, in all that they say well and according to the law of God, we should hear them and allow them therein, and learn to live thereafter. But on the other side, if they would, when they have begun with good things for a countenance, to get them in credence... then leave off such things and preach of that they seek for—that is to wit, fantasies of their own invention, and for themselves and their own commodity—therein be they not to be heard or believed. And this is the mind of Saint Augustine, as every man that will consider his words in the place where they be written (the forty-sixth treatise upon Saint John) shall very plainly perceive. And thereby shall he that there readeth them as plainly perceive that those words of Saint Augustine brought forth by Barnes do nothing prove Barnes' purpose; that is to

1, 8 *should*: were to    1 *fulfill that*: carry out what    2 *ween*: think that    5 *upon*: about  
5 *bidden*: i.e., told to do or not do    8 *any*: i.e., a / some    9, 13 *were*: i.e., was    10 *himself*: he himself  
10 *said*: i.e., directly made clear    11 *fifteenth*: i.e., fifteenth chapter    12 *the*: i.e., a  
14 *tended to*: was directed toward; was conducive to    15 *manners*: behaviors // *honor*: i.e., being honored  
16, 38 *nothing*: not at all    17 *would prove*: attempts to prove  
19 *by the allegory*: i.e., concerning the allegorical element    20 *occupied*: i.e., being occupied  
20 *of*: i.e., as referring to    21 *very*: real    23 *hired*: bribed (one) // *which*: who    24 *temporal*: worldly  
24, 32 *commodity*: benefit    25 *warning*: instruction // *naught*: bad    26 *suffered*: allowed  
26 *in all*: with regard to everything    27 *well and according to*: i.e., that is in quite good accord with  
27, 33 *hear(d)*: listen(ed) to    28 *allow*: commend // *thereafter*: in accordance therewith    29 *side*: i.e., hand  
30 *for a countenance*: for appearances' sake / for a front // *get . . . credence*: get themselves trusted  
30 *leave off*: depart from    31 *of that they seek for*: i.e., about those that they're seeking to get accepted  
31 *fantasies*: delusive ideas    32 *invention*: thinking up  
34 *consider his words*: i.e., look at those words of his    38 *purpose*: thesis



Luther and Tyndale will have now but one, till another may better  
make for their own purpose; for then they will not let to make  
fifteen. But, though those words may be so expounded—yet, as I said,  
it appeareth well that the very proper sense is of their own *traditions*

5 *beside* Moses' law... in that Christ said that the scribes and  
Pharisees did *bind* grievous burdens and importable, and *lay*  
them on other men's shoulders. For every man well wotteth that  
neither the scribes nor the Pharisees did bind and lay on men's  
shoulders the burdens of the Law, but our Lord himself. And  
10 which, at that time while he would yet have them kept, he would  
not have dispraised with calling them grievous and importable...  
though the apostles did afterward, when time came to cast them off.

And therefore, as I have said, those words of Christ's were  
properly meant of the traditions and commandments of the scribes  
15 and Pharisees themselves, beside the Law; which things our Savior  
there commanded to be kept and observed (wheresoever they were  
not superstitious, nor contraried not the laws and commandments  
of God, but were tending to his honor, or to virtue,  
or to the common weal), for the place and office that the scribes  
20 and Pharisees kept, though themselves were naught. And their good  
traditions did never Christ dispraise—though he sometimes dispensed  
with his disciples concerning them and the Law too.

Now, there is no man, I think, so mad—when he doubteth not but  
the servants in a man's household are so bound to fulfill and  
25 obey their master's lawful commandments that if they would  
refuse at his bidding to kneel down and say certain prayers with  
him to-bed-ward (all the whole house together) till he should show  
them “some such commandment in Scripture,” they were well  
worthy to go to the devil for their proud disobedience in the  
30 defense of their false evangelical freedom—he that doubteth not, I  
say, of this (of which I think no good man doubteth) cannot be so  
mad to think that neither bishop nor pope, nor whole  
general council, nor all Christian people together, though they  
were all assembled upon a plain, were able so to command so  
35 much as a general procession upon any certain day... but that  
any lewd, lither losel that list not to rise may lie still in his

1 *one*: i.e., one interpretation // *may*: i.e., comes along that can // 2 *make for*: support // *purpose*: contention  
2 *let*: scruple / hesitate // 4 *appeareth well*: is quite evident // *very proper*: actual literal  
5, 15 *beside*: apart from // 6, 11 *importable*: unbearable // 7 *wotteth*: knows  
7–8 *that . . . did bind and lay*: i.e., that it was . . . who bound and laid // 10 *which*: i.e., that those burdensome laws  
11, 21 *dispraise(d)*: deprecate(d) // 11 *with*: by // 12 *time*: i.e., the time  
14 *properly meant of*: i.e., literally meant as referring to // 17 *superstitious*: unreasonable; excessively rigid  
17 *contraried*: contradicted // 18 *tending*: directed / conducive // 18, 19 *to*: toward / to  
18 *his honor*: i.e., the honoring of him // 19 *common weal*: common good // *for*: on account of // *place*: position  
20 *kept*: held // 20, 33 *though*: even if // 20 *themselves*: they themselves // *naught*: bad  
21–22 *dispensed with*: gave dispensations to // 23, 32 *mad*: demented // 23 *but*: i.e., that // 24 *bound*: obligated  
25 *lawful*: i.e., legal and moral // 27 *to-bed-ward*: at bedtime // *house*: household  
28–29 *were well worthy*: would well deserve // 30 *false*: so-called / bogus // *doubteth not*: has no doubt  
31 *doubteth*: has any doubt // 32 *to*: as to // 34 *were*: would be  
36 *lewd, lither losel*: sorry, lazy good-for-nothing // *list not to rise*: doesn't want to get up // *lie still*: continue to lie

bed, and say he is not bound to obey “men’s traditions,” nor nothing but Scripture, except for avoiding of slander... and then there shall be so many at the procession that he shall not be missed, and if he be, some man may say he is sick.

5        Upon these words, concerning their traditions, would I not have been so long, saying that both Friar Barnes royally triumphed with them against the laws of the Church... and also that Tyndale, in his answer to the eighteenth chapter of my *Dialogue*, bringeth in the same for the like intent. Which intent how properly they prove between  
10        them both, now ye may partly see... and yet farther shall, by God’s grace, when I shall hereafter, God willing, come to touch the place in Tyndale’s answer to me.

      But now that I have proved that those words of Christ make not only nothing for their purpose against the laws of Christ’s church...  
15        but also make plainly *for* the laws, *against* their purpose: I shall not need long to tarry you for the other point—that is to wit, to prove you that those words of Christ nothing make against our principal purpose. For they nothing prove that every necessary thing is written... though we construe Christ’s words not of the  
20        traditions (of which they be properly spoken indeed), but of the law of Moses... and set thereunto the words of Saint Augustine also, with which Barnes would seem so well to furnish his matter. For first, as for Christ’s words, if they had been plainly and expressly these—“Whatsoever the scribes and Pharisees bid you do that is  
25        written in the law of Moses, I warn you, see that you do it”—yet while he said not farther, “And I warn you, believe them not in anything else,” these words were no proof that altogether was written wherein the people should believe them, no more than that allthing wherein they should believe them was written in Moses’ books. Which if it were  
30        taken so... then were all that they might teach the people written in Isaiah, Jeremiah, or Ezekiel, by Christ’s word wiped out of credence.

      Therefore, by those words—expounding them of the doctrine of Moses, and not of the traditions of the scribes and Pharisees—yet  
35        is there nothing proved that they were not to be believed in anything that they should teach beside Moses, nor beside *all* the Scripture, neither. Nor those words of Christ be not contrary but

1 *bound*: obliged    2 *slander*: (giving) scandal    2–3 *then there*: i.e., then too, there  
4 *some man may*: someone can    6 *been*: dwelt // *triumphed*: boasted victory  
8 *Dialogue*: i.e., *Dialogue concerning Heresies*    9 *intent*: implication // *properly*: well / logically / thoroughly  
11 *touch*: discuss    12 *the place*: i.e., the section on that subject    13–14 *make . . . for*: not only in no way support  
14, 15, 18 *purpose*: argument    15 *make*: militate    16 *tarry*: detain // *for*: i.e., for the making of  
17 *prove*: prove to // *nothing make*: in no way militate    18 *nothing*: i.e., do not at all  
19, 27 *written*: i.e., written in Scripture    19 *though*: even if // *not of*: as referring not to    20 *properly*: literally  
20 *of the*: i.e., to the    22 *furnish*: buttress // *matter*: case    25, 26 *warn*: instruct    25 *while*: so long as  
26 *in*: about    27 *were*: would be // *altogether*: everything    27, 28 *wherein*: about which  
28 *allthing*: everything  
30 *then . . . written*: i.e., then would everything that they could have taught the people that is written  
31 *wiped*: i.e., be wiped    33 *expounding them of the doctrine*: i.e., interpreting them as referring to the teachings  
34 *not of*: not to    35 *there nothing*: i.e., it not at all // *in*: concerning    36 *beside*: apart from  
37 *nor . . . but*: i.e., nor do those words of Christ gainsay

that there might be yet at those days truths kept among the people by Tradition from the beginning, which the scribes and Pharisees both might preach and remember to the people as they might the Scripture... and be therein believed. And therefore our Savior  
 5 said not, “Believe them in nothing but the books of Moses or other books of Scripture,” but he said, “Do not as they do”... not forbidding them to *believe* them in many other things, but forbidding them to follow them in their vices.

Now, if Christ had said farther to the Jews, “All things necessary  
 10 be written, and therefore believe the scribes and Pharisees no farther than ye find written in Moses and in the prophets”—had this proved that allthing that Christian men must believe is written in the apostles and the evangelists? Now, the words of Saint Augustine which Friar Barnes addeth thereunto... do for this purpose nothing  
 15 advance the matter. For when Saint Augustine applieth those words of Christ to a preacher that is not a very, true shepherd, seeking only the weal of the flock and the pleasure of Christ... but mercenary and a hired man, that preacheth for lucre or other worldly affections of his own; and then saith that in the “chair of Moses”  
 20 is understood the learning of the law of God, and saith that therefore God doth teach us by them, that is to wit, by those mercenary preachers, too; and therefore when they teach the law of God, hear them and do thereafter; but and if they will teach their *own* doctrine, hear it not, do it not... for such men seek “that is  
 25 theirs and not Christ’s,” that is to wit, their own commodity and not the pleasure of God: “lo,” saith Barnes, “these words of Saint Augustine be plain against all them that preach anything but the law of God only.” And forthwith, well and wisely, instead of preaching he putteth example of statutes-making—as though it were both one  
 30 thing, one man to preach, and all the Church to make a statute. And because ye should see yet *his* plainness and sincerity therein... he feigneth that the Church maketh some “openly and directly against the word of God, and to the destruction of the faith”—as is “that statute,” saith he, “whereby they have condemned the New Testament, and also  
 35 forbidden certain men to preach the word of God... having no cause against them, but all only their own malicious suspicion.”

1 *might be yet at*: i.e., could also have been in    3, 4 *might*: could    3 *remember*: recall    5, 7 *in*: regarding  
 8 *follow*: go along with / emulate    10 *written*: i.e., written in Scripture    11 *had this*: would this have  
 12 *allthing*: everything    // *the*: i.e., the Books of the    14 *purpose*: contention    // *nothing*: not at all  
 15 *matter*: case    16 *very*: real    17 *weal*: well-being; good    18 *hired*: bribed    // *lucre*: monetary gain  
 19 *affections*: desires    19–20 *in . . . is*: by . . . is to be    20 *learning*: possession of knowledge  
 23 *hear . . . thereafter*: i.e., we should listen to what they say and act accordingly    // *but and if*: i.e., but, now, if  
 23 *will*: decide to    24 *hear*: i.e., we should listen to    // *that*: that which    25 *commodity*: advantage  
 26 *lo*: behold    27 *plain*: unambiguously / straightforwardly    28 *well and*: very  
 28 *wisely*: sensibly / astutely    29 *putteth*: i.e., gives an    // *one*: the same    30 *all the*: the whole  
 31 *because . . . yet*: i.e., so that you can see also    // *plainness*: straightforwardness    // *sincerity*: candor  
 32 *feigneth*: fictitiously asserts    // *some*: i.e., some statutes that go    // *openly*: manifestly

Now, of truth, there is no such statute made, nor no such thing done, neither concerning the one point nor the other. For as for the “New Testament”—if he mean the testament of Christ, it is not condemned, nor forbidden, neither, no more than was the holy Ark, though every man might not be so bold to touch it. But of truth, there is a false English *translation* of the New Testament, newly forged by Tyndale, so altered and changed in matters of great weight, maliciously to set forth against Christ’s true doctrine Tyndale’s anti-Christian heresies... that it was not worthy to be called Christ’s testament, but either Tyndale’s own testament or the testament of his master, Antichrist. And therefore *that* book *is* condemned, as it is well worthy; and the condemnation thereof is neither openly nor privily, directly nor indirectly, against the word of God, nor tendeth not to the destruction of the faith, but very consonant with the word of God “Auferte malum ex vobismet ipsis”... and greatly tending to the maintenance of the faith.

And concerning that “testament,” I have, both in my *Dialogue* and in the Second Book of this work, well proved this point; whereunto when Tyndale weeneth to find any farther defense, let him lay it forth!

There is also no statute made by the Church to forbid any man to preach the word of God... having no cause against him but their own malicious suspicion. Nor God, I doubt not, will never suffer his Church to fall so mad as to make such a law. If Friar Barnes find any law made of such matter, let him rehearse it... and I warrant you he shall find no such words in it. There is indeed a law made, both by the Church and, in this realm, by the Parliament too, that no man shall be suffered to preach in any diocese against the bishop’s will. And I ween that law be not against God’s law, nor against reason neither... except either God’s law or good reason should suffer that one man should meddle with another man’s charge, maugre his teeth to whom the charge belongeth... or else should be suffered to sow shrewd seed of heresies, schisms, and seditions among the people first, and then be burned up after, at leisure. Such folk, I suppose, were better prohibited betimes, ere they be suffered long to go forward, to the peril of other men’s souls and their own

1 *of truth*: actually; in point of fact      4 *Ark*: i.e., Ark of the Covenant (also called the Ark of the Testament)  
 5 *every . . . bold*: i.e., not every man was permitted the liberty. (See Numbers 1:51 and 4:15.) // *of truth*: indeed  
 6 *a false*: an intentionally unfaithful      7 *forged*: contrived // *so*: i.e., that is so      8 *set forth*: advance; propagate  
 10 *but*: i.e., but should be called      12 *is well worthy*: i.e., well deserves to be // *openly*: manifestly  
 13 *privily*: stealthily      14 *tendeth not*: i.e., conducive      15–16 “*Auferte . . . ipsis*”: “Remove what is bad from among yourselves.”      16 *tending*: conducive // *maintenance*: keeping / preservation  
 18 *in my Dialogue*: See *DH* 284/25—293/11.      20 *weeneth to find*: i.e., thinks he has found  
 24, 29, etc. *suffer(ed)*: allow(ed)      25 *fall so mad*: go so crazy      26 *of such matter*: i.e., to such an effect  
 26 *rehearse*: relate // *warrant*: guarantee      30 *ween*: think      31 *except*: unless // *good*: sound  
 32 *meddle*: interfere      33 *charge*: (carrying out of his) duty/responsibility  
 33 *maugre his teeth*: i.e., regardless of how strongly this interference is objected to by him  
 34 *shrewd*: bad; noxious      35 *at leisure*: i.e., eventually; someday or other      36 *suppose*: believe  
 36 *were*: i.e., are // *prohibited*: denied that faculty // *betimes*: in good time // *ere*: before

too. Such have we had some prohibited here of late... of which one was yet so sore set upon evil preaching that after the prohibition and abjuration too, yet would he preach heresies still... until at the last, God caused him to be taken, and Tyndale's books with him too, and both

5 two burned together—with more profit unto his soul than had been, haply, to have lived longer and after died in his bed. For in what mind he should then have died, our Lord knoweth; whereas now we know well he died a good Christian man. And when he wist well his revocation could not save his body, yet revoked he his heresies

10 *But so did not Cranmer!* and abhorred Tyndale's books for to save his soul.

Now *here* serve well the words of Saint Augustine *against* Barnes... which words Barnes bringeth for him. For when we hear such a mercenary preacher as these heretics be: for the time that we hear

15 them, if they say aught well and according to the Catholic faith (as they cannot, for shame, say all naught at once)—then take it. But when we hear them preach their own heresies for the reward of worldly praise, or delight of their own singular pride, and so seek their own and not Christ's—then hear them not, but put them

20 to silence and prohibit them to preach anymore.

This allegory will agree with the said words of Saint Augustine, and of Christ's words, too. And yet so much the better in that these heretics may properly be called not only "mercenaries," of whom Saint Augustine speaketh... but also very scribes and Pharisees, of

25 worse kind than were those of whom Christ in that Gospel speaketh. For *these* be *false* scribes; that is to wit, writers not writing any true books of Scripture, but false glosses and contrary comments upon Scripture, and erroneous books of devilish heresies devised of their own frantic brains... to the color whereof they *abuse* the Scripture, and when they list they also *deny* the Scripture. These be also the worst kind of Pharisees. For these have divided themselves not from the other people by any profession of a more honest and more virtuous living... but have divided themselves from the Catholic Church of Christ by abominable heresies, and from all

35 honest people by the contempt of all good works, and by the beastly profession of friars and nuns living together in lechery and preaching their whoredom for honest matrimony.

1 *such* . . . *late*: i.e., some such individuals, debarred from preaching, we've had here recently // *which*: whom  
 2 *sore*: strongly 3 *abjuration*: (his professed) recanting 4 *taken*: i.e., taken into custody  
 4–5 *both two*: i.e., both that man and those books 5–6 *had* . . . *have*: i.e., there would have been, maybe, had he  
 7 *mind*: i.e., state of mind 8 *wist*: knew 9 *revocation*: recanting 10 *abhorred*: repudiated  
 12–13 *the* . . . *him*: i.e., *against* Barnes those words of Saint Augustine which Barnes adduces as being for him  
 15 *ought* . . . *to*: i.e., anything that is in quite good accord with 16 *all naught*: i.e., all their bad stuff  
 16 *take*: i.e., we should accept 18 *delight*: gratification // *singular pride*: i.e., pride in being singular  
 19 *own*: i.e., own praise and gratification // *hear them not, but*: i.e., we should not listen to them, but should  
 21 *allegory*: i.e., correlation // *agree*: be in sync // *said*: above-mentioned 22 *of*: with  
 22 *yet so*: even that 23 *may*: can 24 *very*: actual 27 *contrary*: i.e., Scripture-contradicting  
 27 *comments*: commentaries 28–29 *devised of*: contrived by 29 *frantic*: delirious  
 29 *to the color whereof*: i.e., for the making look good of which (heresies) // *abuse*: distort  
 30 *list*: choose to // *deny the*: i.e., deny that the Scripture is 31, 33 *divided*: distinguished / separated  
 32, 35 *honest*: respectable; honorable 33 *living*: i.e., way of living 35 *the contempt of*: i.e., their contempt for  
 37 *whoredom*: fornication // *for*: i.e., to be // *honest*: respectable / bona fide

These be the things which we should not vouchsafe to hear  
these scribes and these false Pharisees preach. For these be the  
devil's devices and their own. For as for all that is preached consonant  
to the Catholic faith, is very God's law, whether it be

- 5 written or not. Nor Saint Augustine saith not, "Hear them in preaching  
*What God's law doth* only *the Scripture*," but "*. . . God's law*" he  
*comprehend* saith, wherein is comprehended all that  
ever we be bound to do or believe.

- Whereof Saint Augustine doth himself confess that divers things  
10 are unwritten—as, for example, the perpetual virginity of our Blessed  
Lady, which whoso believeth not because it is not written, Saint  
Augustine calleth a false heretic, in his book written unto Quodvultdeus.  
And so doth Saint Jerome too, in his book against Helvidius.  
And all such things be therefore parts of the plants which the  
15 Father of heaven planteth by himself, his apostles, his Holy Spirit,  
and his own Son abiding in his Church—whether they be  
written or not.

- And thus ye see, good readers, that neither those words of Christ  
nor of Saint Augustine, neither, do prove that the apostles have left  
20 all necessary things in writing. And therefore, though Barnes was  
so fond to bring in that text for this purpose—yet Tyndale perceived  
well that it would not serve, and therefore left it out.

- Yet layeth Friar Barnes another text for this purpose: the words  
of Saint Paul written unto Timothy, the third chapter of the second  
25 epistle, where Saint Paul writeth unto him in this wise: "Abide  
thou in those things that thou hast learned, and that are betaken to thee...  
knowing of whom thou hast learned them, and that from thine  
infancy thou hast known Holy Scripture, which may instruct  
thee to health by the faith that is in Christ Jesus. All scripture inspired of  
30 God is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to teach men in  
justice, that the man of God may be perfectly instructed to every  
good work."

- I have rehearsed you Saint Paul's words more fully than doth Friar  
Barnes... because ye may have some guess why he left the remnant  
35 out. For he rehearseth no more but that the Church must neither  
make law nor statute, nor nothing do but only "preach and minister

1 *vouchsafe to hear*: acquiesce to hearing; consent to listen to

2 *false*: unorthodox / mendacious / treacherous / despicable 3 *devices*: fabrications

3–4 *consonant to*: (that is) in accord with 4 *is*: i.e., it is // *very*: truly

5, 10, 11, 17 *(un)written*: i.e., (not) written in Scripture 5 *hear*: listen to

5–6 *in . . . the*: i.e., only when they are preaching 7 *comprehended*: comprised; included

8 *bound*: obliged 9 *confess*: acknowledge // *divers*: several 11 *believeth not*: i.e., refuses to believe in

12 *false*: [a polite-language equivalent of] damn 14 *parts*: i.e., parts of the sum total of 15 *by*: i.e., by agency of

21 *fond*: foolhardy // *to*: i.e., as to 21, 23 *purpose*: contention 22 *serve*: get him anywhere; work

23 *yet*: also // *layeth*: adduces 24–25 *the third . . . epistle*: i.e., in 2 Timothy 3 25 *in this wise*: thusly

25–26 *abide thou in*: stay with; keep to 27 *of*: from 28 *infancy*: early childhood 28, 34 *may*: can

28–29 *instruct . . . by*: i.e., give you instruction for salvation through 29 *of*: by

30 *is profitable*: i.e., can profitably be used // *reprove*: refute

30–31 *teach men in justice*: train men in upright living 31 *instructed to*: equipped for

33 *rehearsed*: quoted 34 *because*: so that // *have some guess*: get some idea // *remnant*: rest

35 *rehearseth no more but*: i.e., relates no more of what Saint Paul says there than 36 *minister*: impart



the word of God”—and that “nothing adding” nor minishing,  
but “as Paul saith” to Timothy, “abide in those things that they have  
learned and that be committed unto them.”

5 Now see ye well that Saint Paul speaketh nothing to Timothy  
against adding of any good order or statute in his church... but  
biddeth him abide fast by those things that he hath learned of  
him, and that he hath learned in Scripture—joining to the Scripture  
always the right faith of Christ, which he had learned of Saint  
Paul. And therefore against making of any law this text serveth  
10 Friar Barnes a straw.

Moreover, it is to be considered that Saint Paul saith not to  
Timothy, “Abide in those things that I have written,” but “Abide in  
those things that thou hast learned either in Scripture or else otherwise  
of me, without Scripture”—as he wrote unto the Thessalonians,

15 2 Thes 2:15 “Observe ye my precepts which I have  
2 Tm 1:13; 3:14 given you either by word or writing.”

And as he writeth unto Timothy before,  
in the same epistle: “Have thou the form and fashion of the wholesome  
words which thou hast heard of me, in faith and love in Christ  
20 Jesus.” He saith not “. . . the words that I have written unto thee, and that  
thou hast read of mine,” but “. . . the words that thou hast *heard* of me.”

But yet is there for this purpose, in that text of Saint Paul that  
Barnes bringeth forth, another thing to be considered: that where  
Saint Paul telleth Timothy that, albeit he have been learned in  
25 Scripture from his childhood, yet he must *join* therewith the  
articles of the faith of Christ. And that it may well appear that he  
giveth Timothy this warning to arm him with against heretics  
which would labor by some color of apparent scriptures  
to destroy the faith that Timothy had learned, as these heretics do  
30 now—it is, I say, therefore to be noted that Saint Paul gave Timothy  
that warning that he should stand fast in those things that *he*  
had taught him... remembering “of whom” he had learned them; of  
a true apostle, and not of such as they were that would tell him  
contrary: false heretics. And so must we against these heretics  
35 that would draw us from the true faith that we have learned... stand  
fast and remember of whom we have learned it—of Christ and his  
apostles, and, continually from them, of his perpetual apostle the

1 *minishing*: subtracting 2, 12 *abide in*: i.e., stay[[ing] with; keep[ing] to 4 *speaketh*: says  
5 *adding*: i.e., the adding // *order*: regulation 6 *fast*: steadfastly 6, 14, 22, 32, 33, 36, 37 *of*: from  
8, 26 (*right*) *faith of Christ*: (orthodox) Christian faith 8 *learned of*: learned from  
9 *against*: i.e., with his argument against the 9–10 *serveth . . . a straw*: i.e., gives . . . a pitiful amount of help  
11 *considered*: noted 14 *without*: apart from 16 *word*: i.e., spoken word; word of mouth  
16 *writing*: i.e., in writing 18 *have . . . of*: take as your model and pattern 19, 21 *of me*: from me  
22 *purpose*: argument 23 *considered*: taken note of // *that*: i.e., that thing  
24 *albeit he have*: even though he has // *learned*: instructed 26 *well appear*: i.e., be clearly seen  
27, 31 *warning*: cautionary exhortation 28 *which*: who // *labor*: strive  
28 *color of apparent scriptures*: i.e., misrepresentation of scriptures as being clearly on their side  
33 *true*: truth-telling / bona fide / trustworthy 34 *false*: mendacious / [a polite-language equivalent of] damn  
35 *draw us*: pull us away 37 *continually from*: in an unbroken chain starting with / in unchanging continuity with

Catholic Church of Christ, animated and instructed, according to his promise, with his own Spirit this fifteen hundred years—and not by such as these be that now babble against it: false heretics... whose snakish and serpentine generations have evermore hitherto,  
 5 when they have crept out as adders and snakes in summer, had their heads trodden down by God and all good men.

2 *Tm 3:10–17*

Saint Paul told Timothy too... that the

Scripture was good and profitable to teach the faithful folk, and to reprove heretics, *if* he joined therewith  
 10 always the faith of Christ; without which it would do him no service, for all that he had been learned therein from his childhood. And in that warning given to Timothy, Saint Paul hath taught us also that if we have sure in heart the articles of Christ's faith, which be surely kept by Christ in his Catholic Church—then shall we be  
 15 able well to understand the Scripture, so much as shall suffice and be necessary. And but if we have that belief... we shall have no right understanding. But that right belief, and thereby that understanding, had: the Scripture, though all things be not written therein, will yet be profitable and stand us in good stead, not only  
 20 for our instruction toward the perfection of virtuous living, but also in disputation against heretics... both in the proof of many articles of the right belief, and to prove them clearly that the common consent of Christ's Catholic Church cannot in Christ's very, true faith err and be damnably deceived, whether the things believed  
 25 be written in Scripture or not... and also that his *catholic* church *is* this common-known church of all Christian nations save such as be by false heresies separated therefrom. And on the other side, without the catholic faith of Christ's church fastened in our hearts... the Scripture, as it could not have served Timothy  
 30 without the true faith had in his heart, so can it not serve us, neither to the confusion of heretics nor to the spiritual profit of ourselves.

And thus ye see that Friar Barnes hath very poor help of this text of Saint Paul; which thing Tyndale well perceived, and therefore he  
 35 left it out. And Barnes himself, perceiving that the most part would make so much against him... took in a little and left the remnant out.

1 *according to*: in accord with / in fulfillment of    3 *false*: treacherous / mendacious / damn    5 *as*: as do / like  
 8 *good and*: very    9 *to reprove heretics*: i.e., and for refuting heretics with    10 *faith of Christ*: Christian faith  
 11 *service*: i.e., good // *that . . . learned*: i.e., his having been instructed    12 *warning*: cautionary exhortation  
 13, 14 *sure(ly)*: secure(ly)    13 *Christ's*: i.e., the Christian    16 *but if*: unless    18 *had*: i.e., being had  
 18 *all things be not*: i.e., not all things we must believe or do in order to get to heaven are    21 *proof*: i.e., proving  
 22 *prove them*: i.e., prove to those heretics    22–23 *common consent*: universal consensus  
 23 *in*: with regard to // *Christ's very, true*: i.e., the real, true Christian    24 *deceived*: wrong; gone astray  
 25, 28 *catholic*: universal    26 *common-known*: common-knowledge    27 *save such as be*: except those that are  
 27 *false*: unsound / vile / damn    28 *side*: i.e., hand // *fastened*: i.e., being firmly established  
 29 *served Timothy*: done Timothy any good    30 *the . . . had*: i.e., his having the true faith  
 31 *to the confusion*: for the confuting    33 *hath*: gets // *of*: from    35 *the most part*: i.e., most of it  
 36 *make so much*: i.e., so much militate // *a little*: i.e., a little of it    37 *remnant*: rest

Yet bringeth in Barnes another text of Saint Paul: where he writeth unto the Romans, in the fifteenth chapter, “I dare not speak any other thing than those that God hath wrought by me.” Which words, first, be so hard, as they stand in the place, that the old interpreters stood in great doubt what Saint Paul meant by them; so far forth that by exposition of Saint Ambrose, Saint Paul meant that there was nothing that pertained to the glory of preaching the word of God but that God had fulfilled it in him—as though he would say that all that was to be taught, God had taught the Gentiles by him. Origen expoundeth them in another manner: that Saint Paul in those words meant that he would not take unto himself the praise of other men’s deeds, but would only speak of such things as God had wrought by himself. Theophylact alloweth Origen’s exposition, and yet addeth a third thereto, saying, in the person of Saint Paul, “I boast you not the things that I have not done... but only show you the thing I have done myself. Howbeit, that that I have done... it is not I that have done it, but Christ hath done it by me.”

I show you this, good readers, because ye should somewhat perceive the manner of these men... which use in many things to prove their matters by those texts that are of most difficulty, and such as are least understood. And therefore in the matter of the liberty of man’s will and predestination, and the matter of faith and good works, they pass over the plain texts of the other evangelists with some sleight gloss of their own device... and then for the proof of their own part they run to the hard places of the Gospel of Saint John, or to the Apocalypse, or to the epistles of Saint Paul... in such places as are almost as hard as the Apocalypse. All which when they expound as it please them... then they call them plain, and say that every man and woman may understand them easily; notwithstanding that Saint Peter, being long at school with Christ, and the chief of his apostles, protesteth openly to all the world, by  
*2 Pt 3:15–16* writing, that Saint Paul’s epistles have things hard and difficult. And he saith farther, of such as Barnes is, and Tyndale, and such other heretics their fellows: “Those hard things,” saith Saint Peter, “that are written

1 *of*: from 3, 13 *wrought*: worked; accomplished 3, 10, 13, 18 *by*: by means of; through  
 4, 26, etc. *hard*: hard to penetrate / cryptic 4 *the place*: i.e., that passage  
 4–5 *old interpreters*: early exegetes 5 *what*: i.e., as to what 6 *so far forth*: to such an extent  
 6 *by exposition of*: according to the commentary by // *Saint Ambrose*: Actually, Pseudo-Ambrose.  
 9 *would*: were to 10 *expoundeth*: interprets // *manner*: way 11 *in*: i.e., by  
 11 *take unto*: betake to 12 *praise of*: i.e., credit due for 13 *himself*: him  
 13 *alloweth*: approves of; accepts as correct 14 *exposition*: interpretation  
 15 *boast you not*: do not boast to you of 16 *show you the*: i.e., make known to you whatever  
 19 *I show*: i.e., I’m telling // *because ye should*: i.e., so that you can  
 20 *manner*: strategic approach; modus operandi // *which use in*: who are wont with regard to  
 21 *matters*: theses; contentions 22, 23 *matter of*: controversy about  
 24 *pass over*: i.e., brush aside; dismiss 25 *sleight gloss*: crafty interpretation / slick spin  
 25 *device*: making up 26 *part*: side of the argument 26, 28 *places*: passages  
 27, 28 *Apocalypse*: Book of Revelation 30 *may*: can 31 *at school with*: under the tutelage of  
 32 *protesteth*: asserts / proclaims // *by*: i.e., in (scriptural) 33 *have*: contain  
 35–36 *heretics their fellows*: fellow heretics of theirs

by Saint Paul, men unlearned and unstable do deprave and misconstrue,  
as they do all the remnant of the Scripture, unto their own

*Rom 3:8*

perdition.” And Saint Paul saith himself  
also, that in the matter of good works

5 those false heretics misconstrue him; and saith therefore that  
their damnation is just and righteous.

And thus, as I say, these heretics lay forth for their part hard  
texts and doubtful, as Barnes doth here... which text, in the place  
where it standeth, the best-learned men are in doubt how to construe  
10 it. Howbeit, let Barnes construe it which way he list, that may have  
any hold of the words... and it shall never serve for his purpose,  
neither concerning any forbidding of laws to be made by the  
Church nor to prove that everything necessary to salvation is  
written in Scripture... but rather, plain the contrary. For every man  
15 well wotteth that every necessary thing is not written by Saint  
Paul, nor he hath not written everything that he taught, nor  
everything is not now had that he did write. And therefore this  
text of Saint Paul brought in by Barnes nothing helpeth his purpose,  
but rather, greatly hindereth it; which thing Tyndale well  
20 perceived, and therefore he left it out.

Tyndale saw well also that anything that his master Martin  
Luther laid and lashed out against the King’s Highness concerning  
this purpose, or speaking against the “traditions of men,”  
serve to no purpose in this matter against the sacraments... or *any*  
25 point of the Catholic faith, which we say be the traditions of  
*God*. Whereof—as Tyndale well knoweth—nothing that Luther laid  
anything prove the contrary, nor anything touch the purpose  
to prove that all the necessary points of the Christian faith were by  
Christ’s apostles put in writing. And therefore Tyndale, seeing  
30 his master Martin Luther in that point by Rosseus so shamefully  
soused in the mire before, thought he would beware of that puddle  
and come no more near it... and therefore left out all that his master  
had brought in for the matter.

Then was there yet one text remained, whereof many of them were  
35 wont to bear them high. And that was the saying of Saint Paul...  
which text Tyndale hath also brought forth ere this, to prove that  
we must believe nothing but only Scripture. And that is where he

1 *deprave*: distort    2 *remnant*: rest    4 *in the matter*: on the subject    5 *false*: deceitful / dastardly  
5 *misconstrue him*: i.e., deliberately interpret him wrongly    6 *damnation*: condemnation    7 *lay forth*: adduce  
7 *part*: side of the controversy // *hard*: abstruse / problematical    8 *doubtful*: unclear / ambiguous / puzzling  
9 *best-learned*: best-educated; most-learned    10 *howbeit*: however // *which way he list*: whichever way he wants to  
10–11 *that . . . words*: i.e., that the words can give any support to    12–13 *laws to be made*: i.e., the making of laws  
13 *to*: for    14 *plain the contrary*: the exact opposite    15 *wotteth*: knows // *every . . . is not*: not every . . . is  
16 *nor he hath not*: i.e., nor has he    16–17 *nor everything is not*: i.e., nor is everything    18 *nothing*: in no way  
18 *helpeth his purpose*: helps his case / advances his argument    19 *hindereth*: hurts / impairs  
22, 26 *laid*: adduced    22 *the King’s Highness*: His Majesty the King    23 *purpose*: point  
24 *serve to no purpose*: i.e., works to no effect // *this matter*: i.e., their campaign    27 *anything prove*: at all proves  
27–28 *nor . . . prove*: i.e., nor has any aptness for proving    30 *Rosseus*: See note for 317/36.  
31 *mire*: i.e., slimy and filthy mud    32 *no more near*: no closer to    33 *the matter*: i.e., that contention  
34 *remained*: remaining; left // *whereof*: on account of which    35 *bear them high*: put on airs; act high and mighty  
35 *the saying of*: i.e., something said by    36 *ere*: before    37 *we . . . nothing*: i.e., there’s nothing we must believe

writeth to the Galatians, in the first chapter, that if an angel of heaven would come down and preach any other gospel than himself had done, accursed were he. This text hath now Friar Barnes brought in afresh, for the same purpose, in his new frantic book,  
 5 and magnifieth much himself therewith, when Tyndale hath left it off for shame. For Tyndale at last, after long looking on it... espied well that it would nothing serve for his matter. For he saw well that Saint Paul meant none other but that an angel were not to be believed if he taught a contrary gospel... and meant not that none  
 10 angel were to be believed if God sent him both to confirm that and also show somewhat that God would have done farther.

Tyndale saw also that that text saith not that Saint Paul hath written all his own gospel, nor that all his fellows had written it among them all... which he wist well was the point that must  
 15 be proved. And therefore, as Friar Barnes foolishly bringeth it in... so doth Tyndale wisely leave it out. And surely, as I have said, his wit served him well in leaving out all these. But his wit failed him in one thing: that he had not left out also all that ever he hath himself brought in. All which, as yourselves see well, I have  
 20 now proved him as little to prove his purpose as himself seeth well that all the others did which for that cause he was ashamed to speak of.

Now have ye heard, as far as I can find, all that ever Tyndale either hath said or can say in this matter—either himself or any  
 25 man else—for the proof of his own part, or for the disproof of ours. And thereby see ye well that he neither hath proved nor never shall he prove while he liveth, neither himself nor no man else, the thing that he so boldly saith: that allthing necessary for salvation is written in Scripture; nor able is he not, nor no man else, nor never  
 30 shall hereafter be able, to avoid it... but that God taught, and is not yet so bound but that he may teach, what he will and when he will, with Scripture or without... and may command it to be believed not being contrary to that he hath taught already, and may command some things to be done though they were contrary to  
 35 some things that he had himself, by Scripture, commanded before.

2 *would*: were to      2–3 *himself had done*: i.e., Paul had preached      3 *were he*: i.e., would that angel be  
 4, 20 *purpose*: contention      4 *frantic*: loony; wildly insane      5 *magnifieth*: extols / vaunts      6 *off*: out  
 6 *shame*: i.e., fear of shame // *on*: at      7 *nothing serve for his matter*: do nothing for his case  
 8 *none other but*: nothing other than      9 *none*: no      10 *that*: i.e., that gospel that Saint Paul was preaching  
 11 *show . . . farther*: i.e., make known something further that God would have people do  
 13 *written all*: put in writing all of // *fellows*: i.e., fellow New Testament writers      14 *wist well*: well knew  
 16 *surely*: certainly      17 *wit*: understanding / judgment // *in*: i.e., in his      18 *had not left*: i.e., did not leave  
 20 *proved*: proved to      21 *which*: whom      24 *in this matter*: on this subject      25 *part*: side of the dispute  
 27 *while*: as long as      28 *allthing*: everything      30 *avoid . . . but*: i.e., prove it not true  
 31 *bound*: constrained      31, 32 *will*: wants to  
 32–33 *it to . . . not being*: i.e., to . . . anything that is not      33 *that*: that which  
 33–34 *may . . . though*: i.e., could command the doing of some things even if

And I think it not to be doubted but notwithstanding that  
 Moses received the laws and ceremonies in writing, yet received  
 he not (as Tyndale saith he did) allthing so fully in writing but  
 that there remained in the people's minds, beside the writing,  
 5 divers things necessary and of great weight that they had  
 received before, and kept peradventure from Adam's own days,  
 concerning the coming of Christ, and the redemption by him,  
 and the state of souls both in heaven, hell, purgatory, paradise, and  
*limbus patrum*.

10 And it will, whoso list to look therefor, well be perceived in them  
 that wrote after Moses' days... that the Jews had much open light  
 and knowledge in some such things besides all that that appeareth  
 written... in the five books of Moses; whereby it will well appear that  
 Tyndale saith not true where he saith that Moses did put all in  
 15 writing.

Ye shall well find also that, notwithstanding all that ever hath  
 been written since, either by the prophets, evangelists, or any  
 other apostle, yet will it never appear that *all* is written that was  
 taught by mouth... but that the church of Christ hath had taught unto  
 20 them by the Spirit of God divers truths which no good man  
 can doubt in, whereof the Scripture nothing determineth... and  
 which things, therefore, false heretics bring in question, and  
 let not to say the contrary, as in the common-known examples of  
 our Lady's perpetual virginity, of the assumption of her blessed  
 25 body—which God would else have had found in earth, and honored  
 as well as the bodies of any other saints... of whom himself hath  
 caused, by special revelation, divers to be sought out and found,  
 to be worshipped here in earth for his sake, and confirmed it by many  
 manifest miracles, as we find in authentic stories.

*Saints pray for us.*

2 Mc 15:11–16

By these traditions have we also the  
 praying to saints, and the knowledge that  
 they pray for us... albeit in the Book of  
 Maccabees, yet, that thing well appeareth.

By these traditions have we the holy Lenten fast... which these  
 35 brothels so boldly take upon them to break, and as Lollards to  
 eat flesh; and which holy fast these fools in their writing call  
 the "foolish fast."

1 *but*: i.e., that    2 *ceremonies*: rituals    3 *allthing*: everything    4 *beside*: apart from

5, 20, 27 *divers*: several    6 *peradventure*: perhaps    8 *paradise*: See note for 285/25.

9 *limbus patrum*: the Limbo of the Fathers    10 *whoso list*: i.e., by whoever cares

10 *look therefor*: i.e., look there for this / check this out    10–11 *in them that*: i.e., in the books of those of them who

11 *open*: clear    12 *in*: regarding // *appeareth*: i.e., one can see    13 *well appear*: be quite clear to see

14 *saith not true*: is not telling the truth    14, 18 *all*: everything    18 *appear*: be evident    19 *but*: i.e., but rather

21 *doubt in*: entertain any doubt about // *nothing determineth*: says nothing conclusive    22 *false*: disingenuous / vile

22 *bring in*: call into    23 *let*: forbear    25, 28 *in*: on    25–26 *honored as well*: given as much honor

26 *himself*: he himself    27 *sought out*: searched for    28 *worshipped*: venerated    29 *stories*: historical documents

33 *yet*: also // *well appeareth*: is clear to see    35 *brothels*: worthless wretches

35 *take upon them*: i.e., give themselves permission; decide on their own // *as*: like

35 *Lollards*: followers of John Wycliffe    36 *flesh*: meat

36 *these fools*: One of these was John Frith (in his pseudonymous *Epistle to the Christian Reader*); see below, 631/5–14.

By these have we also the Saturday changed into the Sunday,  
which they care not to turn into Friday now.

By these have we the hallowing of chalices, vestments, paschal  
taper, and holy water, with divers other things.

5 By these traditions of that Holy Spirit... hath the Church also the  
knowledge how to consecrate, how to say Mass, and what thing  
to pray for and to desire therein.

By this have we also the knowledge to do reverence to the images  
of holy saints, and of our Savior... and to creep to his cross... and  
10 to do divine honor unto the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar—to  
*The Sacrament ought to be* which yet, to say the truth, never Tradition  
*honored with divine honor.* needed. For since the Scripture is  
plain that it is Christ's own precious  
Body, which is not dead but quick, with that blessed Soul and  
15 with them the Godhead inseparably joined—what frantic fool  
could doubt but it should be with divine honor worshipped,  
though neither God nor man beside that knowledge had given  
us warning thereof?

But yet is Tyndale so far beside himself... that he believeth not  
20 the Scripture of God, nor the word spoken by God's own mouth,  
when he said that it is his own body... and is so blasphemous  
against God that he calleth it great sin to do to that Blessed Body  
of Christ in the Sacrament any honor at all, because it is not  
commanded, he saith, in Scripture.

25 But thus may ye, good Christian readers, see to what point at last  
this heresy bringeth these folk. For when they first fall to that  
point that they regard not God's word but if he give it them in  
writing, within a while after fall they down so far that they  
neither regard his word nor his writing, nor yet himself  
30 neither.

But now is it a world to see what shift these folk be fain to  
seek. Sometimes they come forth shameless, and boldly tell on their  
tale. And yet when they perceive, in the midst thereof, that all that  
hear them wonder on them—then they cast on their hoods and  
35 cover their faces for shame.

For sometimes they say they care but for Scripture alone, and  
set naught by all those that ever wrote since the apostles' days.

1 *these*: i.e., these traditions // *Saturday*: i.e., Saturday observance

2 *care not to turn*: i.e., would have no qualm about turning 3 *hallowing*: blessing

3–4 *paschal taper*: the paschal candle 4 *divers*: several 6 *consecrate*: i.e., do the Consecration

9 *creep to his cross*: See note for 33/28. 10 *do divine honor unto*: i.e., do any worshipping of / genuflect to

10–11 *to which*: i.e., for which 11, 23 *Sacrament*: Blessed Sacrament 11 *say*: tell

11 *never Tradition*: i.e., Tradition was never 12–13 *is plain*: i.e., says straight-out 14 *quick*: alive

15 *Godhead*: divine nature // *frantic*: crazy 16 *but*: i.e., that

16 *with divine honor worshipped*: given the veneration of *latría*; adored 17 *though*: even if

17 *beside*: apart from 18 *warning*: notice 19 *beside himself*: out of his mind

23 *honor*: i.e., giving of veneration 25 *at last*: in the end 27 *regard not*: pay no heed to // *but if*: unless

29 *neither . . . word*: pay heed to neither his spoken word // *writing*: i.e., what he has said in writing

29 *yet*: even 31 *world*: wonder // *shift*: subterfuge // *fain*: constrained

32–33 *tell on their tale*: keep telling their story 34 *wonder on them*: are staring at them aghast // *cast*: put

36 *but for*: i.e., about nothing but 37 *set naught by*: have zero regard for / take no account of

Then see they again that to abide by that word were too shameless...  
and then they restrain it unto this eight hundred years last past,  
in which they say all is corrupted. And then they grant that  
before, there were good men that taught the truth... and then they  
5 say that we will not believe them, as though themselves would.

And when we ask them then... which of those old men, before  
eight hundred years last past, ever said that religious men might run  
out and wed nuns: to that they say nothing, but fare as though  
they heard it not.

10 But when that my Lord of Rochester in the selfsame matter that  
we have now in hand, to prove that divers things which the  
Church useth and believeth, and which were never made by any law  
written, and yet observed through the Catholic Church... were of  
such antiquity that every man might well perceive that they  
15 came from the very apostles themselves—he laid forth the great  
cleric and old, ancient father Origen; wherewith, as I have shown  
you before, Tyndale was very angry, and allto berated Origen and called  
him stark heretic.

But yet shall not Tyndale so fear me therewith... but that—to  
20 the intent that he shall not blind you and make you ween that all the  
old fathers were in this matter of his mind... but that ye shall well  
see that the things which he reproveth and would have you ween  
were naught worth, because, he saith, they be not in Scripture, be  
not things devised, as Tyndale saith, by popes and popish within  
25 this eight hundred years—I shall, as I promised before (in the Second Book),  
rehearse you both the words of Origen... and, besides some undoubted  
holy men since, I shall rehearse you divers others above eight hundred years,  
and above nine hundred years, and above a thousand, too, of whom my Lord  
of Rochester hath gathered divers together, and rehearsed in the  
30 same matter in his book against Luther; all which, save Origen  
only, Tyndale dissembleth, because he may not call them heretics,  
as he called Origen... for whom I have in that point answered  
Tyndale (in my said Second Book) before.

Origen, in the fifth homily upon the Book of Numbers, writeth in  
35 this wise: “In the observances of the Church, some things there  
are which must of necessity be observed and kept... and yet the  
cause why appeareth not to every man. As, for example, that  
we kneel when we pray; and that of all parts of the heaven, we most

1 *again*: on second thought // *abide*: stand // *word*: assertion // *were*: would be 2 *restrain*: restrict  
3 *in*: i.e., throughout // *all is*: everything has been 6, 16, 21 *old*: early 6 *before*: i.e., before the  
7 *religious men*: men in religious orders; monks and friars // *might*: could legitimately 8 *out*: away // *fare*: act  
10, 28–29 *my Lord of Rochester*: i.e., Bishop John Fisher 10 *matter*: cause 11, 27, 29 *divers*: several  
12 *useth*: practices // *made*: established 13 *yet*: i.e., yet are // *through*: throughout // *were*: i.e., are  
14 *every man might*: i.e., anyone could 15 *laid forth*: adduced / presented 16 *ancient*: venerable  
16 *shown*: told 17 *allto*: soundly 18 *stark*: an outright 19 *fear*: intimidate // *therewith*: thereby  
20 *blind you*: deceive you; throw dust in your eyes 20, 22 *ween*: think 21, 29, 32 *in*: on  
21, 30 *matter*: subject 21 *mind*: way of thinking 22 *reproveth*: criticizes 23 *naught worth*: worth nothing  
24 *devised*: fabricated // *popish*: i.e., papists 25 *this*: i.e., this last // *as . . . before*: See 153/3–8 and 154/26–30.  
26, 27, 29 *rehearse(d)*: quote(d) 26 *undoubted*: uncontrovertedly  
27, 28 *above . . . years*: i.e., (who lived) more than . . . years ago 28 *above a*: more than a 30 *save*: except  
31 *dissembleth*: ignores // *may not*: cannot 34 *the fifth*: i.e., his fifth 34–35 *in this wise*: thusly  
37 *cause*: reason // *appeareth not*: is not apparent // *as*: such as 38 *heaven*: sky



specially turn us toward the east. I suppose that no man lightly knoweth the cause why. Moreover, of the Sacrament of the Altar, either the manner in the receiving, or the guise and fashion of the consecration; or of the formal words and ceremonies used in Baptism,

5 and of the questions and answers used in the same: who may well open and declare the reason? And yet all these things though they be covered and hidden... we bear upon our shoulders what time we in such wise accomplish and fulfill them... as we have received them of the great bishop Christ and his children, delivered and commended  
10 unto us."

Damascene, in the Fourth Book, in the thirteenth chapter, of *The Praying toward the Orient*, writeth thus: "This tradition of the apostles is not written; for many things are delivered unto us without writing." And farther, in the seventeenth chapter, where it is written of the  
15 worshipping of the images of saints, he saith that many things the holy apostles have delivered unto us without writing. Saint

2 *Thes 2:15; 1 Cor 11:2* Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, writeth in this wise: "Stand fast and observe our

traditions which ye be taught, be it by our word *or* by writing."

20 And unto the Corinthians thus: "I commend ye, my brethren... because in everything ye have remembered me and kept the *traditions as I delivered* ye them."

Dionysius, the first chapter of *Ecclesiasticae hierarchiae*, of the leaders and masters of the Christian faith, saith that they delivered us many  
25 things to be kept, partly by writing and partly by their institutions unwritten.

Saint Cyprian, in his sermon of the Washing of the Feet: "The High Priest himself is the ordainer and author of his own sacrament. In all the residue, men were taught by the Holy Ghost. And  
30 likewise as in Christ and in the Holy Ghost is like and equal Godhood: so is there in their institutions and ordinances like power and

*Note* equal authority. And no less is it ratified of God, the thing that the apostles by the

inspiration of the Holy Ghost did institute, than the thing that

35 himself hath ordained... and hath in remembrance of himself willed and commanded to be done. Each of them hath their own

1 *specially*: particularly // *no man lightly*: i.e., no one really      2 *cause*: reason  
2 *Sacrament of the Altar*: Blessed Sacrament      3 *guise*: form      4 *formal*: i.e., liturgically prescribed  
4 *ceremonies*: rituals      5 *used*: uttered; spoken // *may*: can      6 *open*: i.e., do the explaining  
6 *declare the reason*: i.e., make known the why      7 *what time*: at whatever time; every time  
8 *wise*: i.e., ways // *of*: from      9 *children*: i.e., episcopal sons      11 *Damascene*: i.e., Saint John Damascene  
12 *Orient*: East      13 *written*: i.e., written by them / written in Scripture  
13–14 *without writing*: i.e., from outside of Scripture / that are not found in Scripture  
14 *it . . . of*: i.e., he's writing about      15 *worshipping*: venerating  
16 *without writing*: i.e., without having done this in writing      17–18 *in this wise*: as follows  
18 *stand fast*: remain steadfast      19 *word*: i.e., spoken word // *writing*: i.e., letter from us  
20 *Corinthians thus*: i.e., Corinthians (in his *first* scriptural letter to them) thus      23 *the first*: i.e., in the first  
23–24 *of the leaders and masters*: i.e., about the first leaders and teachers      26, 31 *institutions*: instructions  
27 *Saint Cyprian*: Actually, Ernardus, Abbot of Bonnevall; in about the year 1150. // *sermon of*: sermon on  
28 *ordainer*: instituter // *author*: originator      29 *in*: i.e., in the cases of // *residue*: rest  
30, 31 *like*: the same      33 *of*: by // *the thing that*: i.e., whatever thing  
34 *the thing*: i.e., this thing      35 *himself hath*: i.e., Christ himself has / God directly has

proper dignity... and each of them hath, in their own kind, equal authority. Nothing may there either be added or withdrawn, nothing neither reformed nor changed.”

5 Saint Hilary, in the Sixth Book of *The Trinity*, when he had made mention of the apostles, writeth in this wise: “Of these apostles am I taught these things that I observe. In them am I so seasoned that the taste can never be gotten out.”

Theophylact, upon these words of Saint Paul, “My brethren, stand fast and keep the traditions that ye have learned, be it by my word or by my letters”: “Of this truly it is evident that Saint Paul delivered unto them many things to be kept... without writing, and by word of mouth only; that is to say, with lively voice, not by letters all only. For as well be those things to be  
10  
15 *Note* believed as these. And therefore let us esteem the observances of the Church worthy to be believed... so that if anything be delivered to us by the Church, never ask farther question.”

Saint Jerome, interpreting the eleventh chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, saith in this wise: “Saint Paul prevented them, to the intent none of them should say, ‘Where is this written?’ nor should with any other arguments strive against this reason. And therefore he said, ‘We have no such custom, to strive and contend; neither we nor yet the church of God, which is rather given to mildness than to contention and strife.”

25 Theophylact expoundeth the same place likewise and saith: “Forasmuch as the Corinthians would perchance color this matter by certain subtleties, and went about it by syllogisms and sophistications, alleging that these things were neither good nor bad, but of their nature indifferent: therefore Saint Paul said, ‘We have  
30 no such custom—either to be contentious, or a man to let his hair grow in length, or a woman to go bareheaded’; ‘neither have *we*,’ said Saint Paul, ‘this custom... nor the *church of God*’”—that is, nor the other Christian people neither. “‘And therefore by such froward arguments... ye seem to resist and withstand not only me, but also the  
35 Church itself.’”

These words, therefore, of Saint Paul... may make the hearers ashamed to do anything contrary to the custom received by the Church.

Saint Leo (also a holy man and a cunning), in a sermon that

1 *proper*: distinctive // *kind*: way 5 *in this wise*: thusly // *of these*: by these  
9 *stand fast*: remain steadfast 10 *word*: i.e., spoken word // *of*: from  
12 *writing*: i.e., doing so not in writing 12–13 *with lively voice*: out loud; orally  
13 *by letters all only*: all only by letters 15 *esteem*: deem 19 *in this wise*: i.e., words to this effect  
19–20 *prevented them*: beat them to the punch; headed them off at the pass 21 *arguments*: objections  
21, 22 *strive*: argue 21 *reason*: i.e., thing he said 22 *contend*: be contentious  
23 *yet the church of God*: i.e., even the church of God as a whole 24 *contention*: i.e., contentiousness  
25 *place*: passage [1 Cor 11:2–16] 26 *would perchance*: i.e., were perchance wanting to  
26 *color*: cast a false light on; misrepresent // *matter*: issue 26, 27 *by*: via 27 *subtleties*: sly stratagems  
27 *went*: i.e., going // *syllogisms*: i.e., specious syllogisms; subtly skewed logic  
27 *sophistications*: sophistic arguments 28 *alleging*: submitting 29 *of*: by  
29 *indifferent*: neutral 31 *in length*: long 33 *froward*: perverse; contumacious  
34 *withstand*: oppose 36 *Paul*: i.e., Paul’s 39 *cunning*: learned (one)

he maketh in the fast at Whitsuntide, saith in this wise:

“There is no doubt, my well-beloved brethren, but that every Christian observance is of Christ’s teaching... and whatsoever is received of the Church into a custom of devotion cometh of the apostles’

- 5 tradition and of the doctrine of the Holy Ghost. Which Holy Spirit even now also doth rule all faithful hearts with his own instruction, to make them keep them obediently and understand them wisely.”

- 10 Saint Augustine, in the book *Of the Baptism of Young Children, Against the Pelagians*, writeth in this wise: “Children which be baptized be taken in the number of faithful people... and that only by an old, canonical, and sure-grounded custom of the Church.” And in another place again, “Now,” saith he, “we have shown you before that the little child believeth, and that he is accounted amongst men that be baptized. This holdeth the authority of our mother Holy Church... and *this* holdeth the rule of the sure-grounded faith. Whoso runneth against this fortress—this inexpugnable wall—shall allto frush himself.”

- 15 Cassian, in the eleventh Collation (the twelfth chapter): “The authority of the old fathers—and the custom of our elders continued by the space of so many years unto this day... although the cause of them be not perceived by us—must we firmly believe. And that custom must we with perpetual observance reverently fulfill, in such wise as it was delivered of old.”

- 20 Saint Augustine in the 118<sup>th</sup> epistle, to Januarius, saith thus: “Those things which are not written and yet we by tradition observe them—such, I mean, as are through Christendom kept—we may well understand that they be kept as things ordained and commanded unto us either by the apostles themselves or else by general councils (the authority whereof is in the Church most necessary). As, for example, that the Passion of Christ, and his resurrection, and his ascension into heaven, and the coming of the Holy Ghost from heaven, are yearly celebrated with a solemn feast; and whatsoever thing we find that is observed among all people where the church of Christ is spread.”

- 35 Many things be not found in the writings of the apostles, nor in the councils of those that came after them... which yet, because they be kept of all the whole Church, we believe them to have had

1 *maketh in*: writes on // *the fast at Whitsuntide*: the fast in the Octave of Pentecost; i.e., the summer Ember Days

1 *in this wise*: words to this effect 2 *doubt*: question 3 *is . . . teaching*: i.e., came about by Christ’s teaching

3 *received of*: received by 5 *doctrine*: teaching 6 *even*: right 7 *keep them*: i.e., keep these things

7 *wisely*: intelligently 8–9: This is Saint Augustine’s Sermon 294. 8 *of the*: on the 9 *in this wise*: thusly

10 *taken*: included // *faithful people*: believers // *only*: simply 11 *old*: ancient

12 *place*: i.e., place in this same sermon // *shown*: stated to 13 *men*: i.e., all those

14 *holdeth*: i.e., (assertion) is backed by; (assertion) is made on 15 *this*: i.e., this church // *whoso*: whosoever

16 *inexpugnable*: impregnable // *allto frush*: completely shatter

18 *the eleventh Collation*: This is now identified as Conference 21. 19 *old*: early

20 *although . . . them*: i.e., even if their reasons for establishing it and handing it down 21 *believe*: i.e., believe in

22 *wise*: manner 24 *the 118<sup>th</sup> epistle*: This work is now identified as Letter 54.

25 *written*: i.e., found in Scripture 26 *through*: throughout 37 *of*: by // *all the whole*: the whole entire

no other beginning but by the tradition and commendation  
of the apostles unto us by themselves.

Saint Augustine in the Fourth Book of *Baptism, against the Donatists*:

“The thing that the whole Church holdeth, and is not instituted  
and ordained by councils, and that notwithstanding, hath been  
ever observed—we very well believe that it never began but by  
the authority of the apostles’ tradition.”

Saint Augustine in the Fifth Book of *Baptism, against the*

*Donatists* saith: “Many things are there which the universal  
Church holdeth... and therefore be well believed that the apostles  
have commanded them, though they be not found in writing.”

Saint Augustine in the eleventh chapter of the Ninth Book of his *Confessions*,  
writing of the departing of that holy, blessed woman his

mother, Monica, sheweth that albeit beforetime she had been very  
studious of the place where she would be buried—longed especially to  
be laid by her husband—yet at the time that she lay dying,

being then far from the place where her husband lay... showed  
unto Saint Augustine, then present with her, that she cared not in  
what church they buried her body... but she prayed him very

effectually to remember her in his Mass. Which thing I write that

*To pray for souls in the Mass* ye may see that the Mass, and praying  
*is no new thing.* for souls therein, is not so new a thing as  
Tyndale would have it seem.

And in the next chapter after, Saint Augustine saith these  
words (spoken unto God): “Her body was carried forth, we followed, and  
came again without tears. And over that, in those prayers which we  
made unto thee when the Sacrifice of our Redemption was offered for  
her—the corpse being set by the grave, as the manner is there—I wept not  
in those prayers, neither; but all that day was I in a grievous secret  
sorrow.”

And afterward, in the last chapter of the same book, Saint  
Augustine prayeth for his mother unto our Lord, among many other  
words in this wise: “I, good Lord that art my Praise and my Life, the  
God of my heart, setting aside for the while my mother’s virtues  
and goodness (for which I joyfully give thee thanks), will now  
beseech thee for her sins. Hear me graciously, good Lord... for that  
Medicine of our wounds which hung upon the cross, and now,

4 *the thing*: i.e., something      4, 10 *holdeth*: keeps in operation      4 *is*: i.e., that was  
5 *councils*: i.e., any council // *that*: i.e., that, this      6, 10 *well*: rightly; justifiably      10 *be*: i.e., it is  
11 *commanded*: i.e., enjoined // *writing*: i.e., any of their writings      14 *showeth*: says; tells us  
15 *studious*: concerned / anxious // *of*: about      17–18 *showed unto*: said to; told  
19 *church*: i.e., churchyard // *prayed*: begged      20 *effectually*: earnestly      26 *again*: back  
26 *over that*: moreover      28 *manner*: custom      29 *in those*: during those  
29 *in a grievous secret*: in secret in a grievous      33 *in this wise*: thusly  
33 *Praise*: object of praise      34 *while*: time being      36 *beseech*: plead with // *for*: concerning  
36 *for that*: on account of      37 *of*: i.e., for // *which*: who

sitting at thy right hand, doth call upon thee for us. I know, good Lord, that she did works of mercy, and that she heartily did forgive the debts unto her debtors. Forgive thou, good Lord, her debts to her, such also as she hath fallen in by so many years after the

5 Water of Health. Forgive her, good Lord, forgive her, I beseech thee, and enter not with her into judgment." And afterward he saith, "And I believe, good Lord, that thou hast done already the thing that I pray for. For she, when the day approached of her departing, nothing

10 bethought her how she might have her body costly covered or dressed with spices, nor longed for a sumptuous sepulchre, nor cared not to be buried in her own country. These were not the things that she anything required us... but only desired us to have her in remembrance at thine altar, to which she had been

15 accustomed, no day missing, to do service... from which she well knew that Holy Sacrifice to be dispensed by which the obligation that made against us was canceled, and by which was led as a captive in triumph that enemy of ours that keepeth a reckoning of our sins... and, seeking what he might object, could in

20 him nothing find in whom we have had the victory. Who can shed him again an innocent blood for his? Who can restore him again the ransom that he redeemed us with? To the sacrament of which ransom of ours, thine handmaid hath bound her soul with the bond of faith. Let no man pull her from thy protection. Let neither the lion nor the dragon, neither by force nor by false

25 sleight, step in between her and thee. She shall not answer that she oweth thee naught, lest she be therein convinced and cast, and that thereby her subtle accuser get her. But she shall answer that her debts be *forgiven* her... whom no man is able to pay that he paid for us, when he owed naught for himself. In peace mote she be, therefore,

30 and her husband too... before whom and after whom she never married none; whom she like a servant obeyed, bringing fruit to thee through her patient sufferance, that she might thereby win him to thee too. Inspire, good Lord my God, inspire thy servants my brethren, thy children my lords, whom both with word and heart

35 and writing I serve... that as many as read this may remember at thine altar thy servant Monica, with Patricius, sometime her

1 *call upon thee for us*: appeal to you on our behalf; make intercession with you for us      2 *heartily*: from the heart  
 3 *the debts unto her debtors*: i.e., her debtors their debts  
 3–4 *Forgive . . . her*: i.e., Give to her, good Lord, forgiveness of her debts      4 *such also as*: such as she too  
 4 *hath . . . after*: i.e., has gotten into in these however many years after getting into      5 *Health*: Salvation; i.e., Baptism  
 8–9 *nothing bethought her*: gave no thought to      9 *costly*: opulently      10–11 *nor cared not*: i.e., nor was anxious  
 12 *anything required us*: did any requesting of us // *desired*: asked      15 *obligation*: contractual bond  
 16 *made*: militated      17 *a reckoning*: an account; a running list  
 18 *seeking what he might object*: i.e., looking for something he could bring as a charge      19 *had*: obtained  
 20 *again*: in return      20–21 *restore him again*: reimburse him      24 *false*: deceitful      25 *sleight*: cunning  
 26, 29 *naught*: nothing      26 *convinced*: proved reprehensibly wrong; convicted of culpable error  
 26 *cast*: condemned      27 *subtle*: insidiously sly      28 *whom*: i.e., by him whom // *that*: what      29 *mote*: may  
 31 *none*: anyone      32 *sufferance*: endurance      34 *lords*: superiors // *word*: i.e., spoken word  
 36 *sometime her*: her one-time

husband, by whose flesh thou hast brought me into this life, I cannot tell how. Make them remember with a devout affection them that were in this transitory life my father and mother, and under thee my Father, and my mother the Catholic Church, were my sister and  
 5 brother, and in the eternal Jerusalem shall be my neighbors and citizens; which Jerusalem thy people, from their going forth till their coming home, in all their pilgrimage longeth for and sigheth. Good Lord, grant this: that the thing which was the last that ever she desired of me, she may the more plenteously  
 10 obtain by the prayers of many more.”

The old holy doctor Saint Chrysostom, in his homily wherein he showeth that almsdeed, Masses, and Dirges greatly profit them that are dead, among many other things writeth in this wise:

“It was not for naught ordained by the apostles that in the dreadful  
 15 mysteries of the Mass should commemoration be made for them  
*Note* that be dead. For the apostles knew that thereby cometh to the souls great

advantage and profit. For when all the people standeth together, holding up their hands, and the priest fulfilleth his observance,  
 20 and that dreadful Sacrifice set forth: how can it be but that then praying for the souls, we shall obtain?”

Now see you very plainly, good Christian readers, that of the eldest and the very best that ever have written upon the Scripture of God in Christ’s church, and which be holy saints in heaven—and  
 25 such as suffered persecution for God’s sake—do testify for our part, that the things which the Catholic Church universally believeth and useth are nothing to be doubted of... but to be believed and used whether they be found in Scripture or not. And ye see that they say that the apostles taught and delivered to the Church  
 30 divers things by mouth, beside all that they wrote; which thing Saint Paul saith also himself; and yet besides that, we see that of his writing there is part lost.

Ye see also that some such things as Tyndale saith that the popes have of late feigned themselves for their lucre—as the Mass  
 35 and the pains of purgatory—both Saint Augustine and Saint Chrysostom, and other holy saints, say that the things were believed, used, and taught by the apostles themselves.

2 *make them*: have them / get them to      6 *citizens*: i.e., fellow citizens

6–7 *going forth*: i.e., setting out on it      7–8 *longeth for and sigheth*: i.e., longs and sighs for

9 *desired*: asked      11 *old holy doctor*: early theologian      11, 36 *Chrysostom*: i.e., John Chrysostom

11 *his homily*: This homily is his third one on Saint Paul’s Letter to the Philippians.

12 *showeth*: states // *almsdeed*: almsgiving // *Dirges*: prayings of the Office of the Dead

13 *in this wise*: i.e., the following      14 *for naught*: for nothing; in vain // *ordained*: decreed / established

14, 20 *dreadful*: overawing / fear-inspiring      20 *set forth*: i.e., is reenacted

21 *obtain*: prevail; meet with success      22 *of*: i.e., some of // *eldest*: earliest

26 *part*: side (of this case)      27 *useth*: practices // *nothing*: not at all // *doubted of*: called into question

28, 37 *used*: practiced      29 *delivered*: imparted / communicated      30 *divers*: several

30 *beside*: in addition to      31 *yet*: even      31–32 *of . . . lost*: See note for 340/16.      34 *of late*: recently

34 *feigned*: fabricated // *lucre*: monetary gain // *as*: such as      36 *the*: i.e., those

And thus, as for the old holy doctors, ye see how far they go from Tyndale; and therefore of Tyndale or them believe whom ye like best for me... and consider well with yourselves with whither of those two were surer to send your souls.

5 Yet is there, as old as any that I have rehearsed yet, Saint Polycarp—the disciple of Saint John!—which wrote a book of the traditions given unto the Church by the apostles... which would plainly have proved Tyndale a fool and a liar both, if the book had not been lost. And undoubtedly God would never have suffered it to be lost if  
10 he could not have kept his traditions without writing.

Howbeit, what need we better or elder than, as I before have said, the authority of Saint John himself in his last chapter of the Gospel, “Many things were done that are not written in this book”? Or of Saint Paul writing himself to the Corinthians, “All  
15 *Jn 20:30; 1 Cor 11:34* other things I will ordain when I come  
*2 Thes 2:15; 1 Cor 5:9–11* myself”; and to the Thessalonians, “Keep you my precepts” (or “institutions”) “which I have given you either by word or by my epistle”? By which words it appeareth well that he had written unto them before, that then was Holy Scripture, and  
20 yet had been if it had been kept and preserved, and was not without good things therein and necessary... whereof part may be such things as the heretics now do bark at, because the epistle is lost. But *God* is not lost, that preserveth still the matter though he let go the letter.

25 Saint Paul also to Timothy writeth of such unwritten traditions  
*2 Tm 2:1–2* well and plainly, in his second epistle, in these words: “Thou, therefore, my son Timothy, be comforted in the grace that is Christ Jesus... and those things that thou hast heard of me by many witnesses, commit  
30 them unto faithful men, such as shall be meet to teach them forth to other men.” Those words of Saint Paul do very plainly show that some things there were which Saint Paul taught Timothy, and that in presence of certain good, virtuous witnesses... and which things were, as Saint Ambrose saith, secret mysteries. Which  
35 things he there commanded Timothy to commit also to other faithful men, such as should be able and meet to teach, to the intent that they might teach the same things farther; and which be

1, 5 *old*: early    1 *holy doctors*: theologians // *how far they go*: i.e., how far off they are  
2–3 *believe . . . me*: i.e., I say believe whichever you like best    3 *with yourselves*: on your own // *whither*: which  
4 *were surer*: it would be safer    5 *yet is*: also is // *rehearsed*: mentioned    6 *which*: who // *of the*: on the  
9 *suffered*: allowed    10 *kept*: preserved; kept alive // *writing*: i.e., preserving them in writing  
11 *better or elder*: i.e., that is better or earlier    12 *authority of*: proof text from    12–13 *his . . . the*: i.e., the . . . his  
14 *of Saint Paul*: i.e., that of Saint Paul’s    15 *ordain*: set in order; regulate    17 *institutions*: instructions  
18 *word*: i.e., spoken word // *my epistle*: i.e., letter from me // *appeareth well*: is made quite evident  
19 *before*: i.e., before writing this letter we know as 1 Corinthians // *that*: i.e., which previous letter  
20 *yet . . . kept*: i.e., still now would have been had it been kept    22 *bark at*: i.e., squawk at / bellow about  
23 *that*: who // *preserveth still the matter*: i.e., continues to preserve its content    24 *go*: i.e., go out of existence  
26 *well and*: good and; quite    28 *comforted in*: strong in / fortified by    29 *of*: from // *by*: in the presence of  
30, 36 *meet*: fit; qualified    33 *in*: i.e., in the    34 *Saint Ambrose*: Actually, Pseudo-Ambrose.  
37 *they . . . farther*: i.e., they might go on to teach the same things

some of such things as these heretics now bark at, that are come from mouth to mouth, and from hand to hand, from the apostles' days unto our own.

It is a much less thing, also, to believe ourselves to be bound to do a thing, of necessity, without authority of Scripture... than to think ourselves without Scripture unbound, and in no necessity, to do the thing which we find commanded in Scripture. But we find commanded in Scripture—first by the law of nature, and after in the law written (the Old Law, with a cause annexed: for violating of nature; and after again by the apostles, as I have rehearsed, in the New Law, the fifteenth of the Acts)—that men should abstain from strangled, and from blood; of which commandment in Scripture we see no discharge but the custom of the Catholic Church... and yet hath Tyndale no scruple to eat a pudding though he see it prohibited by all the laws, and by the apostles themselves, and by the Holy Ghost too, with like words as they forbade fornication. And discharge, as I say, seeth he none but the tradition of the Church; which when he dare believe in leaving a thing undone that the Scripture so often commandeth, why dare he not believe the tradition of the Church where it commandeth a thing to be done that the Scripture doth not forbid, but only speaketh not of it?

I would in like wise fain wit of Tyndale whether he think any party of Christian people bound at this day, of necessity, to the washing of the feet whereof Christ at his Maundy gave example and commandment also—not without a great threatening unto Saint Peter of loss of heaven but if he suffered him to wash his feet. I doubt not but Tyndale thinketh himself discharged of that bond; and yet are the words of Christ's commandment in that observance as plain as in the commandment of the Sacrament of the Altar... and long was it used after in such wise... and Saint Cyprian did in his days reckon it for a thing necessary. Now let Tyndale tell me whereby he knoweth himself discharged of that washing, but by the Spirit of God abiding in his church. And let him then tell me which church but his Catholic Church. For an unknown

1 *bark at*: i.e., squawk at / bellow about    1–2 *are . . . to mouth*: have come down orally  
 2 *from hand to hand*: from one person's charge to another's    4 *less*: i.e., less problematic  
 4 *bound*: under obligation    6 *without*: i.e., without articulation of this in; from outside  
 6 *unbound*: freed of obligation    7 *the thing*: i.e., something    9–10: See Deuteronomy 12:23.  
 9 *cause annexed*: reason attached    9–10 *for violating of nature*: i.e., lest nature be violated  
 11 *rehearsed*: mentioned. (See 249/17–32.) // *the fifteenth of the Acts*: i.e., in Acts 15  
 12 *strangled*: i.e., the meat of strangled animals [its not being exsanguinated]  
 14 *scruple to eat*: i.e., qualm about eating // *pudding*: blood sausage    15 *see*: i.e., sees  
 15 *laws*: i.e., Old Testament laws    16 *forbade*: i.e., used in forbidding    18 *in*: i.e., when it comes to  
 19 *commandeth*: i.e., commands (such as this abstaining)  
 19 *why dare he not*: why does he not dare / how can he dare not    23 *in like wise*: likewise  
 23 *fain wit of*: like to inquire of    24 *bound*: i.e., to be under obligation // *to*: i.e., to do  
 26 *Maundy*: Last Supper    28 *but if*: unless // *suffered*: allowed    29 *but*: i.e., that // *bond*: obligation  
 30 *in*: regarding    31 *in . . . Altar*: i.e., those in his commanding (“Do this . . .”) of celebration of the Eucharist  
 32 *used*: practiced // *in such wise*: in such a way; i.e., as being a commandment of that kind  
 32 *Saint Cyprian*: See note for 369/27.    34 *discharged of*: released from the obligation of    35 *his*: i.e., Christ's



church can tell him nothing, and all other known churches besides the Catholic be all known for heretics. Or else let Tyndale tell which of all *them* is the true church... and why rather that than any of all the remnant.

5 If the Spirit of God governing the Church, and leading it into all truth, put us not in surety and certainty *of* the truth—how could he be to us, as he is named, *Paracletus*, that is, a comforter, if we were left so comfortless that we were uncertain whether the whole Church were in damnable error instead of the right faith?

10 Take away that Spirit from the Church... and how can Tyndale  
*Acts 8:16; Mt 28:19* excuse the apostles of their baptizing in the name of Christ only, when Christ

had himself commanded them to baptize in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost? How will he excuse Saint  
 15 Paul for taking away the circumcision which God had before commanded, and said that it should be his everlasting token and covenant; and Christ kept it himself; and Saint Paul circumcised

*Gal 5:2–6; Gn 17:10–14* Timothy himself, and yet afterward  
*Lk 2:21* forbade it? How knew he when he  
 20 *Acts 16:1–3* should do the one and when the other?

By bare imaginations of his own mind? Nay, by that spirit they knew it... which as it ruled them, so ruleth it the Church in the necessary points of faith, and ever shall unto the world's end.

25 “God proved,” will Tyndale say, “their doctrine with miracles.” So doth he, say I, the doctrine of his whole Church continually. For therein he worketh miracles continually—and in all the churches of heretics is there wrought never one. Weeneth Tyndale that our Lord had the cure of his apostles whom he ordained for his  
 30 church... and that he hath no cure of his church for whom he made his apostles?

And if Tyndale list so precisely to lean to “Scripture only” that he will not take the common Catholic faith for an interpreter, he shall find it very hard to defend some such points as be not  
 35 only true, but be also such as if the Church would say contrary, yet would *he* say they were true.

4 *remnant*: rest    6 *surety*: assurance    7 *named*: called / declared to be

11 *excuse . . . their*: excuse the apostles for / justify the apostles'    15 *taking away*: (his) doing away with

16 *token*: insignia    19 *it*: i.e., circumcision    21 *bare*: mere

21 *imaginations of*: conceptualizings done by / ideas coming from    23 *in*: concerning

28 *weeneth Tyndale*: does Tyndale think    29 *had the cure*: i.e., had the backs; took care

30 *hath no cure*: i.e., does not have the back; doesn't take care    32 *list*: wants / chooses // *precisely*: strictly

32 *lean to*: rely on; go by    35 *would say contrary*: i.e., were to say the contrary of

For Tyndale setteth not so much by Baptism but that he will agree that faith justifieth without Baptism. And yet take away the credence of the Catholic Church... and he shall never be able, while he liveth, so well to prove by Scripture that a martyr may be saved and brought to heaven without Baptism but that these words of our Savior shall always stand still in his light:

*Jn 3:5*

“Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto non potest introire in regnum Dei” (“Whoso

be not born again of the water and the Spirit cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven”).

Now, whereas Tyndale teacheth, after his master Martin Luther, that as often as a man only repent, though he be never in mind to do penance nor be confessed neither... his “only faith” shall save him, and getteth him forthwith full remission both of sin and pain: if he will give credence to the Church, he shall find that faith of his full false. And if he will not give credence to the Church, but precisely stand to the Scripture: then shall he find yet that faith more false, if he will be bound as precisely to the words himself as he would bind other men. For he shall never be then so well able to prove that any man falling to deadly sin after Christendom once had, shall be by *any* repentance restored again... but that there will stand still in his light the words of the Apostle

*Heb 10:26–27*

saying, “When we willfully sin after the knowledge of the truth had, there is

not now left us any sacrifice for sins, but a terrible expectation and looking for of judgment, and of fierce and rageous fire which shall consume the adversaries.” There will also stand in his

*Heb 6:4–6*

light these words of the Apostle: “It is impossible that they which have been once

illuminated and have tasted that heavenly gift, and have been made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted also the good word of God, and the virtues of the world to come, and are fallen down, should be renewed again to penance—crucifying again for their own part the Son of God, and having him as in derision.”

If Tyndale say that he can so construe these texts as they shall not hurt his heresies—I deny not that he so may do; and I can, too, so construe

1 *setteth not so much by*: has not such high regard for; makes not so much of      2 *agree*: assert  
 3 *the credence of*: i.e., its attestation to the trustworthiness of      4 *while*: as long as      4, 36 *may*: can  
 6, 22 *stand still in his light*: i.e., keep getting in his way; keep blocking his efforts      11 *after*: in line with  
 12–13 *be . . . confessed*: i.e., never have any intention of doing penance or going to confession  
 13 *only faith*: faith alone      15 *pain*: i.e., the debt of punishment for it      16 *full*: very      17, 18 *precisely*: strictly  
 17 *stand*: i.e., stick      17–18 *yet that faith*: that faith even      20 *falling to*: falling into / committing  
 20 *deadly*: mortal      21 *Christendom once had*: i.e., once receiving the Christian faith  
 22, 28 *the Apostle*: i.e., Saint Paul      23 *willfully*: deliberately  
 23–24 *after . . . had*: i.e., after having been given the knowledge of the truth      26 *looking for*: anticipation  
 26 *rageous*: raging      27–28 *stand in his light*: get in his way; block his efforts      29 *they which*: those who  
 30 *illuminated*: brought into the light      32 *virtues*: powers  
 33 *renewed again*: brought back anew; newly restored to      // *penance*: penitence  
 33–34 *for their own part*: for themselves  
 34 *having him as in derision*: exposing him to ridicule / holding him up to contempt      36 *hurt*: be prejudicial to

them that they shall not hurt the truth, that is to wit, the Catholic faith. But yet this I say: that when he and I have both done what we can... yet whoso list to hold that heresy against his “repentance” and the Church’s “penance” too... shall not lack words  
 5 wherewith he may seem, to such as will set the Church at naught, to maintain his part as well as we both maintain ours. And therefore, I say, taking away the credence from the Catholic known church (for no church unknown can be believed, since it cannot be heard; and all other known churches be false, or else  
 10 let Tyndale, as I have often said, tell me which of them all is the true, and why we should therein believe him)—the credence, therefore, as I say, taken from the Catholic known church... there can be

*Note*                      *nothing* sure, but *allthing* uncertain:  
    both traditions of the apostles, expositions

15 of Scripture, and the very Scripture itself, too.

And, unto the other side, if the credence of the known, Catholic church abide—as it needs must abide if the scripture abide by which it is promised by Christ that himself and his own Holy Spirit shall dwell therewith all days unto the world’s end—then  
 20 be we sure not only which are the holy scriptures and the sure, wholesome expositions thereof, but also which are the traditions delivered unto the Church by God... of which some were delivered by the apostles themselves, and some by his Holy Spirit since. And whatsoever Tyndale babble to the contrary... God is yet at as much  
 25 liberty to teach his Church further what truth he will hereafter, and to deliver it what tradition he will hereafter, and to command his whole Church to believe and obey him therein—as well, I say, hereafter as ever he was before.

For I would fain wit of Tyndale, if the whole Church shall never  
 30 believe nor do nothing as of necessity but that is already written in Scripture: why shall any one man be bound to believe or do anything as of necessity, though God bid him by mouth... if it be not written in Scripture? And if he will say, “No more *may* any one man be bound, neither!”—then putteth he away, quite, all revelations...  
 35 which I never heard any man hitherto deny but that God may reveal and man be bound to believe and obey. And surely if he grant that any one man may be bound thereto—so may,

1 *hurt*: be prejudicial to    3 *whoso*: anyone who // *list*: wants to // *against*: i.e., that goes against both  
 5, 33, etc. *may*: can    5 *set the Church at naught*: disregard the Church    6 *maintain*: support  
 6 *part*: contention // *we both*: i.e., Tyndale and I each    7, 11 *credence*: i.e., being-believed / being-relied-on  
 12 *from*: away from    13 *allthing*: everything    14 *traditions of the apostles*: i.e., purported apostolic traditions  
 14, 21 *expositions*: interpretations / explications    15 *very*: i.e., very identity of    16 *unto* . . . *side*: on . . . hand  
 16 *credence*: reliability    17 *abide*: endure(s)    18 *himself*: he himself    20 *which*: i.e., which writings  
 20 *the sure*: the definitely correct    21 *which are the traditions*: i.e., which traditions are those    24 *yet*: still  
 25, 26 *what*: whatever // *will*: wants to    29 *fain wit*: like to inquire    30 *but that is*: but what is / that is not  
 31, 36, 37 *bound*: obligated    32 *bid*: i.e., were to command him    34 *bound*: i.e., so obligated  
 34 *putteth he away*: he rejects // *quite*: entirely    35 *hitherto*: before now // *but that*: i.e., that

then, for aught that I can see or aught that he can say, the whole Church in like wise.

Finally, there is no doubt but that ere the New Testament was written... men *were* bound to believe things without Scripture.

- 5 And then—since Tyndale will nothing believe us without Scripture, and he may not look of reason that we should any more believe him without Scripture than he us—let Tyndale now tell me, therefore, by which text of Scripture, in all that is written, is that bond released and discharged, and where are we either commanded or  
10 licensed nothing to believe but if it be contained in that scripture that is now written? Which thing if he cannot show (as he cannot indeed), then abideth that bond still, to believe the things that the Catholic Church teacheth us as the word of God to be believed, and yet unwritten... as the same bond stood and bound us before,  
15 to believe those necessary things that now be written.

- Now, if Tyndale answer this argument and say that he needeth not to lay forth any text of Scripture discharging us of that bond... but that it is enough for him to prove that allthing that is of necessity is by the apostles written... and that no such thing as  
20 we be bound to believe or do is by themselves unwritten—if Tyndale answer us thus, then is he but where he was. For then shall we yet again bid him do as he needs must and never may: bring in one text of Scripture by which he may prove that all such things be written.

- 25 Which thing when he cannot do... if he will then be plain and confess the truth that he cannot prove his own part; but will then bid *us* prove *our* own part, and will tell us that, like as he saith that the apostles did put all in writing, whereof he faileth his proof, so we say that they did leave divers things unwritten...  
30 and that of those be some of such things as the Church now believeth and observeth that are not written in Scripture; and will bid us go prove him *that* for *our* part, and will say that else he is no more bound to believe us than we be to believe him—if Tyndale will, as I say, confess the truth that he cannot prove his own part,  
35 and therefore will bid us go prove ours—then shall we tell him that we prove ours by the manifold plain texts of Holy Scripture

1 *aught*: anything    2 *wise*: manner    3 *ere*: before    4, 14, etc. *bound*: obligated  
4 *without*: i.e., not found in    5 *nothing*: not at all    5, 7 *without*: i.e., about things not found in  
6 *may not look of reason*: cannot reasonably expect    // *should*: would    8, 14, 18 *bond*: obligation  
9 *released*: rescinded    // *discharged*: abrogated; done away with  
10 *licensed* . . . *be*: given permission not to believe anything unless it is  
12 *abideth that bond still*: that obligation continues to remain in effect  
13–14 *as* . . . *unwritten*: i.e., are to be believed as the word of God, and that are still not in Scripture  
14 *as*: just as    15, 24 *written*: i.e., written in Scripture    16 *and say*: i.e., by saying  
17 *to lay forth*: i.e., set forth; present    18 *allthing*: everything  
19 *of necessity*: i.e., essential for salvation    22 *bid him*: tell him to / challenge him to  
22 *as*: i.e., what    22, 23 *may*: can    25 *plain*: candid; frank    26, 34 *confess*: admit  
26, 27, 34 *part*: contention    27, 31, 35 *bid us*: tell us to / challenge us to    28 *all*: i.e., it all; everything  
28–29 *whereof he faileth his proof*: whereof he lacks proof / which he has failed in his attempt to prove  
29 *divers*: a number of    30 *of those*: among those    32 *prove*: prove to

foreremembered (both of Saint John and of Saint Paul)... and might

*Rosseus*

yet add divers others with which

Rosseus, an Englishman, hath long ago

proved that point unto Luther... and that so clearly that, as Tyndale

5 knoweth, Luther was never able to answer one word again. And

I say further that we prove our part—that is to wit, that the

apostles gave things unto the Church without writing, which

have in the Church continued beside the Scripture—this, I say, we

prove to Tyndale by the selfsame means by which Tyndale

10 proveth us that he knoweth the Scripture to be the Scripture. For if

he will say, as he saith in his book against me, that he knoweth

the Scripture by the same means that the eagle knoweth her birds...

meaning that as she knoweth them by a secret inward instinct of

nature, so he knoweth the Scripture by a secret inward instinct

15 of the Spirit of God—I say that we know the traditions taught by

God and his apostles by the same secret inward instinct of the

same Spirit. But then say we farther that the same Spirit did

teach the *Church* to know which was the very Scripture, before *it*

did teach it Tyndale. And Tyndale had not believed that the Scripture

20 was the Scripture if the Church had not told him so. Nor

the Holy Spirit had not wrought with Tyndale toward the belief

thereof... if Tyndale, when the Church told him so, had done

as he doth—set the Church at naught. For since that he so hath

25 done... he not only believeth not the traditions of God given to his

church by his apostles and his word unwritten, but also believeth

less of the *Scripture* than he did before. And I say that God by his

word *unwritten* did teach his church to know his words *written*,

and his traditions also which he taught the Church by his apostles;

and made the Church agree therein by his Spirit which maketh

30 men of one mind and one custom in the Church, and which

Spirit keepeth both the words written and the words unwritten in

perpetual knowledge and observance in his church... according

as the very Word of God unwritten—that is, his *natural* Word, of himself

begotten—seeth necessary, abiding with his church forever

35 according to his own promise. And now if Tyndale ask with

*which* church—I say with his *Catholic* church; with his

church in which only church he worketh miracles; with his

church which he commandeth men to hear and obey; and,

finally, with the same church by which church Tyndale learned to

1 *foreremembered*: mentioned above // *of*: from // *might*: could 2 *yet*: also // *divers*: several

3 *Rosseus*: See note for 317/36. 5 *again*: back / in rebuttal 6 *part*: contention

7 *writing*: i.e., writing them / putting them in writing 8 *beside*: alongside 10 *proveth*: i.e., proves to

12 *birds*: chicks 13, 14, 16 *secret*: sense-imperceptible // *inward*: inner

13–14 *instinct of nature*: natural instinct 14–15, 16 *instinct of*: instinct coming from / prompting by

18 *which*: i.e., which set of writings // *very*: i.e., real 19 *it*: i.e., this to // *had not*: would not have

20–21 *nor* . . . *wrought*: nor would the Holy Spirit have worked 23 *as he doth*: i.e., what he now does

23 *set the Church at naught*: disregard the Church // *since that*: because 28, 39 *by*: via

29–30: See Psalm 67:7 (Vulgate), Acts 4:32, and 1 Corinthians 1:10. 29 *agree*: concur

30 *custom*: established practice 35 *according to*: in accordance with; in fulfillment of

37 *only church*: church alone 38 *hear*: listen to

know which is the Scripture. Which church let Tyndale tell me why he should not as well believe when it telleth him, “These things the apostles did teach and deliver without writing,” as he believeth it when it telleth him, “These books the apostles did write.”

5 If nothing had been written... Tyndale must have believed the Church in altogether. And why should he now, for the writing of part (for that *all* is written, ye see well he cannot prove), believe the Church the less in the remnant, that remaineth yet unwritten; or for that that was written at one time, believe the Church the less in  
10 all that it teacheth after unwritten? Which thing Tyndale doth, and that so far forth... that whereas God worketh miracles in his church to make the Church and the doctrine thereof known for true... Tyndale then, under the false pretext of favor to God’s writing, blasphemeth all his unwritten words and himself too,  
15 with calling God’s miracles nothing but devils’ wonders!

And this doth Tyndale... because he would not in any wise that the Church had any credence farther than it can prove by the written words of some apostle... whereas he wotteth well that the apostles wrote not all that they taught, and also that God ordained his  
20 apostles for his church, and not his church for his apostles... and doth therefore more esteem and more set by his church than by any of his apostles, or all the whole twelve together. And yet will not Tyndale believe for God’s word anything that the Church teacheth for his word, but if he find it written in Holy Scripture;  
25 whereas if he believe not the Church, he can never tell of any part of Scripture whether it *be* Holy Scripture or not.

But his dealing well declareth wherefore he would have nothing believed without Scripture. The cause is none other but because he would have nothing believed of no man but what he list himself.  
30 For he will not stick to deny some part of Holy Scripture for Holy Scripture... and expound all the remnant in such false, foolish fashion that, among his other hundred heresies, he would make us so mad to believe that friars may wed nuns, and that no man should worship the Precious Body and Holy Blood of Christ in the  
35 Blessed Sacrament of the Altar.

And, finally, thus ye see that Tyndale and such others as would have us reject and refuse all that God hath taught his church but if it

1 *which is*: i.e., which writings constitute    3 *deliver*: impart / communicate  
3 *without*: i.e., not in / without putting them in    5 *written*: i.e., written by the apostles and evangelists  
5 *must have believed*: would have had to believe    6 *in altogether*: about everything    6, 9 *for*: on account of  
7, 9 *written*: i.e., written in Scripture    8, 9 *in*: about    8, 31 *remnant*: rest  
8, 10 *unwritten*: i.e., not written there    9 *that that*: that which    10 *after*: i.e., afterward that is  
11 *so far forth*: to such a great extent    13 *favor to*: preference for  
14, 18 *(un)written*: i.e., (not-)written-in-Scripture    14 *himself*: i.e., God himself    15 *with*: by  
16–17 *not . . . it*: i.e., by no means have it that the Church be believed about anything further than what it  
18 *wotteth well*: well knows    19 *ordained*: established    21 *set by*: make of // *than by*: i.e., than of  
23, 24 *for*: i.e., to be; as being    24, 37 *but if*: unless    25 *can never tell of*: i.e., has no way of knowing about  
27 *his dealing*: i.e., the way he deals with Scripture // *well declareth*: makes quite clear // *wherefore*: why  
28 *without*: i.e., that is not in    29 *of*: by // *he list himself*: he himself pleases    30 *stick*: hesitate / scruple  
30 *Scripture for*: i.e., Scripture to be    33 *so mad to*: so insane as to

be proved by Scripture... be not only unable to prove or defend that heresy... but also do handle the Scripture itself in such a shameful wise that if other men, whom they reprove, did not handle it better, it had been better to have left altogether  
 5 unwritten and never had Scripture at all. And we must needs perceive that without the belief and credence given unto the Catholic Church of Christ, we could be sure of nothing; but that, as Saint Paul saith, the Church is the pillar and strength of the truth.

10 And thus end I my Third Book containing the answer of his two special chapters—the one, “Whether the Word Were before the Church, or the Church before the Word,” and the other, “Whether the Apostles Left Anything Unwritten, Necessary to Soul Health.” In which two points as gloriously as he glittered in his own eye—  
 15 every man seeth now how foul a fall he hath... whereby more than half of his heresies are utterly drowned in dirt.

And now shall I (God willing) in my Fourth Book... as soon as my time shall serve me... so confute his false faith, and so show which is *the* church, that I shall leave Tyndale never a church for *his*  
 20 flock... but the church whereof the prophet speaketh, “*Odivi ecclesiam malignantium*” (“I have hated the church of malicious folk”)—which church is very proper for him. For all that ever Tyndale writeth, when it is well considered, is powdered with malice toward all good men, both religious that live here in earth and saints that are  
 25 living in heaven.

Thus endeth the Third Book.

3 *wise*: way // *reprove*: criticize    4 *had*: would have // *altogether*: everything  
 5 *had*: i.e., have had    6 *credence*: trust    8–9: See 1 Timothy 3:15.    10 *answer*: rebuttal  
 11 *special*: main // *were*: existed    13 *necessary to*: i.e., that is necessary for  
 13 *soul health*: spiritual well-being / salvation    15 *foul*: nasty // *hath*: i.e., has taken  
 16 *drowned*: sunk // *dirt*: excrement  
 17–18 *my time shall serve me*: i.e., time will allow / I can get the time for this  
 18 *which*: i.e., which church    19 *never a*: not one    20–21: See Psalm 26:5.    20 *speaketh*: says  
 22 *proper*: appropriate    23 *powdered*: spiked    24 *in*: on





**The Second Part  
of the Confutation  
of Tyndale's  
Answer**

*In which is also confuted the  
church that Tyndale  
deviseth.*

*And the church also that Friar  
Barnes deviseth.*

*Made by Sir Thomas More, Knight.*

Printed at London  
by William Rastell.

1533  
*CUM PRIVILEGIO*

7, 9 *deviseth*: concocts / envisions      10 *made*: written      14 *cum privilegio*: duly licensed



## The Fourth Book

### *Whether “the Church” Can Err*

Tyndale

5        There is another question: whether the church may err. Which  
if ye understand of the pope and his generation... is verily as hard  
a question as to ask whether he that hath both his eyes out be  
blind or no, or whether it be possible for him that hath one leg  
shorter than another to halt.

More

10        Who would not now ween that this man had a plain, clear,  
open cause and easy to defend, when that even in the beginning, in  
so few words, he concludeth all the matter at once... and that with  
examples so plain and evident that every man must needs agree  
15        them to be true? But when ye shall again see that his examples are  
no more lightsome than unlike the matter that he resembleth them  
unto... and that he either of wiliness will not, or for lack of wit  
cannot, perceive and see the point that he should touch: then shall  
every wise man well perceive and see that his solemn show of  
20        such confidence in his evil cause is nothing but a plain proclamation,  
made by his own mouth, of his own rebuke and shame.

For here would I wit what thing Tyndale meaneth by the “pope”  
and pope’s “generation.” If he mean his carnal kindred, or the  
pope and his cardinals, either: he then winketh of wiliness, and  
will not see the mark. For he knoweth very well that neither of these is  
25        the thing that we call “the Church” when we speak of the catholic  
church of Christ that cannot err.

If he mean by “the pope and his generation” all the Christian  
nations not being cut off nor cast out for their obstinate malice,  
nor of willfulness departing out by seditious schisms: then seeth  
30        he the mark, at the leastwise. But then, while he saith that all these  
nations may and hath all this eight hundred years so entirely fallen  
into heresies and damnable errors that by all this eight hundred

5 *may*: can    6 *of*: i.e., as referring to    6, 23, 28 *generation*: offspring / family    6 *verily*: really  
9 *another*: i.e., the other // *halt*: limp    11 *ween*: suppose // *plain*: patent / incontestable  
12 *open*: i.e., open-and-shut // *cause*: case // *that even in the beginning*: i.e., right at the outset  
13 *concludeth* . . . *once*: settles the whole issue immediately    14 *plain and evident*: clear and obvious  
14 *agree*: grant    15 *again*: then again; on second thought    16 *lightsome*: flippant // *matter*: thing  
16 *resembleth*: likens    17 *either of*: either out of    17, 25 *will not*: chooses not to; refuses to  
17 *wit*: good sense    18 *point* . . . *touch*: target . . . hit    19 *every wise man*: everyone with any sense  
19 *solemn*: grand    21 *rebuke*: disgracefulness // *shame*: shamefulness    22 *wit*: inquire  
23 *carnal kindred*: blood-related kinfolk; natural family    24 *winketh of*: shuts his eyes out of  
26 *catholic*: universal    29 *for*: on account of    30 *of willfulness*: of their own volition  
31 *while*: since    32 *may and hath*: i.e., could be and have been    33 *by all*: for all; throughout

- years last past unto Luther's days, nor yet unto this day neither,  
there hath been no one known congregation anywhere, wherein the  
professing of the very, right, catholic faith of Christ hath been so  
surely kept that it might there be surely learned and known: then  
5 I say *Tyndale* is as blind as he that lacketh both his eyes... in that  
he seeth not that by this way he maketh our Savior Christ, that  
is very Truth, to say very false where he saith, "I am with you to the  
*Mt 28:20* end of the world," and would make him  
*Mt 18:17* far overseen where he commanded  
10 that whoso would not hear "the church"  
should be reputed and taken as paynims and publicans—and in  
many a plain text of Scripture more, as I have before shown (as well  
in my *Dialogue* as mine other three, former books of this present work)  
and yet hereafter shall further.
- 15 Moreover, if Tyndale say that all this known corps of Christendom  
have all these eight hundred years been in a wrong belief...  
where hath been all this while the right congregation of Tyndale's  
church, that hath had the true belief? And let him tell us then  
which congregation it was, or where any such is yet, of whom we  
20 may surely learn the true faith and true virtues.
- If he say that it hath been *among* these, and was *in* this church,  
but not *of* this church... but they have lurked there, a few faithful  
folk, among the great many multitude of the faithless, and have  
ever been to the world and outward sight of man unknown... not  
25 so much known as one of them to another, but yet very well known  
to God: to this—besides that if they have lain all this while lurking  
therein, they have been, then, idolaters by their own judgment, in  
*As all heretics do!* image service and praying to saints  
(if Tyndale's doctrine be the true faith),  
30 and stark hypocrites in being of one belief in their hearts and  
pretending another both in their words and deeds; and besides  
divers other invincible reasons with which I have already reprov'd  
that fond opinion in the Second Book of my *Dialogue*, whereunto  
Tyndale hath made so bare answer that it had been more  
35 wisdom for him to have let it all alone and meddle nothing  
therewith, as every child, almost, may well perceive, that list to  
look on them both and advisedly compare them together, as I shall

1 *yet*: even    2 *no*: not    3 *very*: true // *catholic*: universal    4 *surely*: reliably / inerrantly // *might*: could  
6 *by this way*: i.e., by taking this tack // *maketh*: makes out    6–7 *that is very Truth*: who is Truth itself  
7 *say very false*: i.e., speak very untruthfully / be saying something very false  
9 *far overseen*: seem very mistaken / seem to have blundered badly    10 *whoso . . . hear*: whoever refused to listen to  
11 *paynims*: pagans // *publicans*: extortionate tax collectors; i.e., notorious sinners    15 *all this*: this entire  
15 *corps*: body; aggregate    16 *have*: i.e., has    19 *yet*: now // *of*: from    20, 36 *may*: can  
20 *surely*: reliably / with certitude    21 *these*: i.e., these Catholic congregations    22 *lurked*: lain low  
22 *faithful*: i.e., right-believing    23 *great many*: very numerous // *faithless*: i.e., people devoid of the right faith  
24 *ever*: always    26 *lain all this while lurking*: i.e., all this while been lying low    27 *by*: according to  
28 *image service*: i.e., venerating images    30 *stark*: downright; flat-out    31 *pretending*: professing  
32 *divers*: several // *invincible reasons*: irrefutable arguments // *reprov'd*: proved wrong    33 *fond*: ridiculous  
33 *opinion*: theory / contention // *the Second Book of my Dialogue*: See chapters 3 and 4 of *DH 2*.  
34 *so bare answer*: so poor a rebuttal    34–35 *had been more wisdom for*: would have been wiser of  
35–36 *meddle nothing therewith*: i.e., not dealt with it at all    36 *every*: any // *list*: cares / chooses  
37 *on them both*: i.e., at both my statements and Tyndale's // *advisedly*: carefully

myself set it forth unto them when God shall, after other things  
done, give me time to come thereto; and besides divers other arguments,  
evident and plain, which I partly have, partly shall,  
allege and bring forth in this present work—this one can he never  
5 avoid while he liveth: that God had then left every man perplexed,  
in doubt, and out of certainty, what way he might surely take and  
cleave unto, either in the doctrine of faith or knowledge of virtuous  
living.

For if he say that we need no known company, but every man  
10 may read the Scripture himself: every man, he wotteth well, cannot  
read, nor every man understand it though he have it in his own  
tongue... but by the reading without a reader, may soon fall into the  
damnable error of Arius, Helvidius, and many another heretic  
more... which of the Scripture, through their own pride, took occasion  
15 of their heresies.

If he then say that of that unknown congregation we may  
have a true reader: where shall I seek him, and whereby shall I know  
him? If I happen on him, how shall I be sure? For in this great  
20 *known* congregation, we be safe against all such peril. For we  
be all agreed upon the necessary articles of the faith. And if any  
would preach and teach the contrary—as he that would, percase, teach  
that confession is not necessary, and that penance needeth not, and  
that of the seven sacraments, five serve of naught, and the sixth of  
almost as little... and that of the seventh all Christian nations be, and  
25 all this fifteen hundred years have been, in a very damnable error—he  
that thus would preach and teach such abominable heresies  
as now Tyndale doth, he may be soon controlled, accused, and  
corrected... except he run away, as Tyndale doth.

And whereby can we be sure that his teaching which is accused  
30 is false, and theirs true that correct him... but by that we be sure  
that the common faith of the Catholic Church is true... and that the  
*The Catholic, known church cannot err.* Catholic, known church cannot err in  
that faith which from hand to hand  
hath been taken and kept from Christ's  
35 days and his apostles' hitherto? Which faith must needs be  
true by Christ's promise made unto his apostles, as teachers of his

2 *done*: i.e., have gotten done // *come thereto*: i.e., get to that // *divers*: several  
2 *arguments*: considerations / arguments 3 *evident*: compelling / conclusive // *plain*: obvious / clear  
4 *allege*: adduce / submit // *bring forth*: advance 5 *avoid*: get around / refute // *while*: as long as  
5 *had then*: would then have 6 *out*: devoid // *what way*: i.e., as to what path // *might*: could  
6 *surely*: safely 7 *cleave unto*: adhere to // *either in*: regarding either // *virtuous*: i.e., what constitutes virtuous  
9 *company*: community 10 *may*: i.e., can just // *every . . . cannot*: i.e., not every man, as he well knows, can  
11 *though he have*: even if he has 12 *tongue*: language 12, 17 *reader*: interpreter; (qualified) expounder  
12 *may soon*: could easily 14 *which*: who 16 *of*: from 16, 27 *may*: can 17 *have*: get  
17 *true*: trustworthy // *seek*: look for 20 *agreed upon*: i.e., in concurrence about // *necessary*: essential  
20–21 *any would*: anyone were to 21 *as*: such as // *percase*: perchance  
22 *penance needeth not*: i.e., no penance need be done 23 *serve of naught*: are of no avail 24 *of*: with regard to  
27 *controlled*: taken to task // *accused*: disclosed (to the authorities) / brought up on charges  
28 *corrected*: punished with a view to amendment // *except*: unless  
29 *his teaching which is accused*: i.e., the teaching of that man charged with heresy 30 *by that*: i.e., by the fact that  
31 *common*: i.e., universally-shared-by-Catholics 32 *in*: with regard to 35 *hitherto*: to this day

church, and not for themselves but for his church: that is to wit,

*Mt 16:16–18*

the faith that Saint Peter professed

*Mt 28:20; Jn 14:16–17*

should not fail, and that God would be  
with them all days unto the end of the

- 5 world. And that the faith of the known, Catholic church that  
correcteth the false faith of the false preachers and heretics... is the  
same faith which the holy doctors of Christ's church in every age  
have believed and taught... Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine, Saint  
Ambrose, Saint Chrysostom, Saint Gregory, and Saint Cyprian  
10 do well and clearly testify by their books. For which holy doctors  
our Lord hath shown many a wonderful miracle.

*A false preacher*

These things and many others maketh

us sure that the preacher which preacheth

- 15 against the faith of *this* congregation is a false preacher, and a  
false writher and wrester of Holy Scripture... how solemnly soever  
he paint it.

And if we were not sure by these means that the faith of this  
*known, Catholic* congregation is true... how should I be sure of  
the preacher of that *unknown* congregation which Tyndale  
20 calleth "the church"? How should I know, I say, whether that preacher  
say true or not? For he hath no known congregation to reprove  
him or allow him the surety whereof might make me sure that he  
saith true or false.

- But then must I, saith Tyndale, try him by the truth of Scripture.  
25 What if I be unlearned? What if I can read, and have it in my  
language, and yet understand it but slenderly? What if I be well  
learned, and the false preacher as well learned as I? Though he were  
no better—yet he shall have text against text, and gloss against  
gloss... and when shall we then agree? Or if I give place to him, or  
30 he to me... how shall yet the number of unlearned hearers be satisfied  
with our doubtful disputations, if they were not sure, by the common  
faith of the known, Catholic church, which of us lied, ere ever we  
came together? By which they that never read *any* Scripture be  
now, by the Holy Ghost that hath planted the true faith in his  
35 Catholic Church (the holy doctors whereof have in every age been  
approved by miracles), so inwardly sure of the truth that a poor

1 *themselves* . . . *his*: i.e., their own benefit . . . that of his      2 *the*: i.e., that the

6 *false [preachers]*: falsehood-telling / mendacious      7, 10, 35 *holy doctors*: (sainted) theologians

9 *Chrysostom*: i.e., John Chrysostom // *Gregory*: i.e., Gregory the Great      10 *well and*: very

10 *testify*: bear witness to // *for*: on behalf of      11 *shown*: performed // *wonderful*: wondrous

14, 15, 27 *false*: falsehood-telling / mendacious      15 *writher*: twister // *wrester*: distorter

15–16 *how* . . . *it*: i.e., no matter with how sincere and authoritative an air he camouflages it

17 *sure*: assured; made certain      18, 20 *should*: i.e., could      18 *of*: about

20–21 *that preacher say*: i.e., what that preacher is saying is      21 *reprove*: express disapproval of; criticize

22–23 *allow* . . . *saith*: i.e., provide him the ground of certainty whereby I could be sure whether what he is saying is

24 *try*: test      25, 30 *unlearned*: i.e., totally uneducated; illiterate      26 *but slenderly*: only to a small extent

27 *learned*: educated      27–28 *though he were no better*: i.e., even were he no better educated than I am

28, 29 *gloss*: interpretation      29 *give place*: yield; defer      31 *with*: by // *doubtful*: question-raising

31 *sure*: i.e., rendered sure // *common*: i.e., universally-shared-by-Catholics      32 *lied*: i.e., was lying

32 *ere*: before      34 *by*: i.e., thanks to // *planted*: implanted      36 *approved*: i.e., proved God-endorsed

36 *so inwardly sure*: i.e., made so deeply certain

simple woman, if Tyndale and I brought the truth in debate and question, and that I were waxen so mad to grant him that his false heresies were true... she would not let to believe, and say so too, that we were two mad fools and false heretics both.

- 5 And that this is true shall much the better appear when we well examine and consider what congregation Tyndale calleth the catholic church.

### Tyndale

- 10 I say that Christ's elect church is the whole multitude of all repenting sinners that believe in Christ, and put all their trust and confidence in the mercy of God... feeling in their hearts that God for Christ's sake loveth them and will be—or, rather, is—merciful unto them, and forgiveth them their sins of which they repent... and that he  
15 forgiveth them also all the motions unto sin of the which they fear, lest they should thereby be drawn into sin again. And this faith they have without all respect of their own deservings; yea, and for none other cause than that the merciful truth of God the Father, which cannot lie, hath so promised and so sworn.

### More

- 20 Now hath Tyndale here defined and described us what he called “the church.” And forasmuch as his title is, of his chapter, the question “Whether the Church Can Err”... and that he now, for the clearing of the question, declareth that there be two churches—the one which he saith that *we* take for “the church,” which he calleth  
25 “the pope and his generation,” and saith that there is no doubt but *that* church both may err and in deed so doth... and the other church, which himself calleth the very church, is this that he now defineth—it would seem that he would affirm that this church which himself describeth were the church that cannot  
30 err. Wherein what his final and resolute sentence is, ye shall, in his other chapters hereafter following, at a long length very scantily perceive... except his words be somewhat opened and a little more clearly declared than, as it appeareth by his writing, himself would they should be. And nevertheless, I trust they shall be.  
35 Wherefore—to the end ye may the better understand whereabouts he goeth... and that he longeth to lead us in darkness, and feed us

1 *in*: into    2 *that . . . to*: i.e., I happened to go so crazy as to    3 *false*: false / [a polite-language equivalent of] damn  
3 *let*: hesitate    4 *mad*: crazy // *false*: lying / damn    5 *much the better appear*: become much the more obvious  
6, 27 *calleth*: i.e., says is; claims to be    7 *catholic*: universal    11 *God for*: i.e., God the Father for  
14 *motions*: impulses / inclinations    14–15 *of . . . should*: i.e., because of which they are afraid, that they will  
15 *into sin again*: back into sin    16 *all . . . deservings*: i.e., any eye to their own gainings of merit    17 *none*: no  
17 *the . . . of*: i.e., by his merciful pledge    18 *which*: who    20 *described*: delineated (for)  
20 *called*: i.e., considers to be    23 *clearing*: clarifying // *declareth*: explains    25 *generation*: offspring / family  
25 *there . . . but*: it is undoubtable that    26 *may*: can // *in deed*: in fact    27, 29, 33 *himself*: he himself  
27 *very*: true // *this*: i.e., this one    29 *describeth*: delineates // *were*: i.e., is  
30 *wherein*: with regard to which // *final*: ultimate // *resolute*: determinate; settled // *sentence*: judgment; verdict  
31 *at a long length*: for a long time // *scantly*: scantily    32 *except*: unless // *words*: pronouncements  
32 *opened*: elucidated / unpacked    33 *declared*: stated / articulated // *by his writing*: i.e., from what he has written  
33–34 *would they should be*: would have them be    35 *end*: i.e., end that  
35–36 *whereabout he goeth*: i.e., where he's going with all this    36 *longeth*: wishes; is hoping

forth with his high, solemn follies that he would were not understood—  
let us a little examine the parts of his definition and  
description of “the church.”

- Where he saith that “Christ’s elect church” is the “whole multitude”  
5 of all repentant sinners that have the conditions further expressed  
in his description—we must first ask him how taketh he  
there this word “elect.” It had been good reason that he should  
have declared whether he mean elect and chosen as our Savior  
Christ did elect and choose his church and congregation out of  
10 the Jewish and the Gentilish, to be dedicated unto his service—after  
which manner he first elected and chose his twelve apostles, though  
*Jn 15:16* they were not all finally good, of whose  
*Jn 6:71* election he said, “Ye have not elected me,  
but I have elected you,” and also said  
15 unto them, “Have I not elected and chosen you twelve, and one of  
you is a devil?”—or else that he mean by the “elect” church the  
church of the final elects and predestinates to glory, being thereunto  
predestinate in the prescience and purpose of God before the  
creation of the world.  
20 This point—whether he mean that his “whole multitude” of “repenting  
sinners” be the one elect church or the other—hath he not  
expressed, but hath left us at large to guess and aread (upon his  
dark riddles after following) which of these two elections he  
meaneth. Howbeit, for aught that I can see, his description agreeth  
25 with neither of them both.  
For as for the first kind of election, after which Christ hath  
chosen his *catholic* church out of the Jewish and Gentilish, to be his  
church here in earth: in this kind are there penitents and impenitents  
*In the true church are both* both. For penitents are  
30 *good and bad.* accounted among the good; and in this  
church be there both  
good and bad—as our Savior showeth himself in the parables  
*Mt 13:24–30* both of the field with good corn and  
*Mt 13:47–50* cockle, and also the net with fishes  
35 *Gn 7:2* good and bad... and the Scripture  
showeth by the ark of Noah with beasts  
clean and unclean... and Christ with his aforesaid words to his

1 *high*: i.e., high-level / high-flown // *solemn*: impressive-sounding / authoritative-sounding // *follies*: idiocies  
1 *would were not understood*: i.e., would have people not recognize as such  
5 *conditions*: characteristics / qualifications // *expressed*: articulated; spelled out 6, 24 *description*: delineation  
6–7 *how taketh he there*: how he applies there / what he means there by  
7–8 *it . . . declared*: i.e., it would have been only reasonable of him to have clarified 8, 16, 20 *mean*: i.e., means  
10 *after*: in accord with 11 *manner*: mode of procedure 12, 17 *final(ly)*: ultimate(ly)  
12 *of*: about 17 *predestinates*: people predestined 18 *prescience*: foreknowledge  
18 *purpose*: determination 22 *expressed*: articulated // *at large*: free // *aread*: try to figure out  
22 *upon*: on the basis of; from 23 *dark*: cryptic 24 *howbeit*: but be that as it may // *aught*: anything  
24 *agreeth*: matches up 26 *after*: i.e., by 27 *catholic*: universal 28 *in earth*: on earth  
28 *in this kind*: i.e., in the elect church of this kind 32 *showeth*: makes known 33 *corn*: grain  
36 *showeth*: indicates // *beasts*: animals 37 *aforesaid*: above-mentioned



*Jn 6:71*

apostles, “Have I not chosen you twelve,  
and one of you is a devil?”

Now, as for the elect church of predestinates: if he speak thereof as  
it may be verified in every time since it began (as he must if he speak  
5 to the purpose), then are there therein accounted not only repenting  
sinners, but sinners also some that *yet* repent them not; and some also  
that never did the thing whereof they should repent—as was our Blessed  
Lady while she lived here, and our Savior himself also, for any  
sin of himself. For he was never penitent sinner... but, being sinless  
10 himself, painfully paid for ours. So is *not* the elect church  
“all repenting sinners” *only*, except that either Christ were no man or  
were also a sinner... or else his manhood not part of this church, but  
the church of predestinates headless. And in this I speak of that  
elect church of predestinates... concerning only the congregation  
15 of such as shall be saved in the kind of man. For as for to consider  
angels therein, is very far from this matter.

Yet are there also in this church of elects many that never came  
to the faith, but are yet enemies thereunto—as Jews, Saracens, or  
Turks, not yet converted unto the faith. And therefore *this* elect  
20 church will in no wise agree with the definition or description  
of Tyndale. I would that he therefore, to give his matter more light,  
had shown us, as I say, which kind of election he meaneth.

Howbeit, we shall guess at his mind as near as we can and make  
the best of his matter... and then see whether the best be able to  
25 stand. He may seem to mean by “Christ’s elect church,” of his  
description, a *part* of the elect church of the second manner:  
that is to wit, as many thereof as be repentant sinners with those  
other conditions that are expressed in his description. For other  
than this, I cannot divine what he should mean. But then, as those  
30 repentant sinners be a part of the church predestinate... so be  
they a part of this Catholic church here militant, after the first  
kind of election, in which are both good and bad... of which whole  
number the good are the one part.

Yet leaveth he us, after this way, in another doubt: whether the  
35 repenting sinners may afterward fall to sin again, and from  
repentance and so to repentance again, and yet again therefrom.

3, 13, 14 *predestinates*: i.e., the predestined      4, 35 *may*: can  
5 *to the purpose*: i.e., with relevance to the point at issue // *accounted*: counted / included  
6 *sinners also some*: also some sinners      6, 7, 17 *that*: who      6 *yet repent them not*: are not yet repentant  
6 *some also*: i.e., also some persons      7 *the thing*: i.e., anything // *should*: would  
8 *while*: i.e., throughout the time that // *for*: i.e., as far as concerns      9 *of himself*: i.e., committed by him  
11 *except that*: i.e., unless it is the case that      11, 12 *were*: was      12 *his manhood*: i.e., that his human nature is  
13 *headless*: i.e., is headless      15 *the kind of man*: humankind      16 *is*: i.e., that’s // *far*: i.e., far off  
16 *matter*: issue      17 *yet*: moreover      17–18 *never came to*: i.e., have never come into      18 *yet*: as yet  
18 *as*: such as // *Saracens*: Arab Muslims      19 *Turks*: Turkish Muslims      20 *wise*: way  
20 *agree with*: match up with / fit      20, 26, 28 *description*: delineation      21 *would*: wish  
21 *give his matter more light*: shed more light on his contention      22 *shown*: told // *meaneth*: has in mind  
23 *mind*: thinking      24 *matter*: case      24–25 *able to stand*: able to hold up; tenable      26 *manner*: kind  
28 *conditions*: characteristics / qualifications // *expressed*: articulated; spelled out      29 *divine*: figure out / imagine  
31 *after*: according to      32 *good*: i.e., good people      34 *after this way*: i.e., by this route // *doubt*: uncertainty  
35 *to sin again*: back into sin // *from*: away from      36 *so to repentance again*: i.e., likewise go back to repentance

He leaveth us also in doubt whether this “elect church” of his description may be deceived and err, or not. For in these two points he wrappeth us up with riddles that he giveth us to read in other chapters—how they may sin and yet sin not, err and yet err not—

5 and readeth his riddles himself, also, so fondly that an old wife would be ashamed to read such riddles so foolishly by the fireside among young children. And yet in this one point, whether “the church” may err or not, is in effect all the whole matter and purpose of his book.

10 And finally, for all that ever he saith, he leaveth it in doubt whether his repentant sinners—since he granteth that though they “may not sin,” yet they may sin, and that in like wise, though they “cannot err,” yet they can err—be of this “elect church” of his description in these times only in which they sin not nor err  
15 not... or else in all those times, too, in which they both sin and err. And here speak I of such sin as is of its nature deadly, though the soul die not by eternal damnation therefor... because he repenteth that sin again ere he die. And I speak of that *error*, also, which is of its nature sinful and damnable though the  
20 soul suffer not eternal damnation therefor... because he repenteth that error afterward, and returneth again to the truth ere ever his body die.

Of all these doubts the more part he never moveth; and such as he moveth in other chapters after, he so fondly assoileth that all the  
25 world may see that he nothing seeketh but corners to creep in, where he may lusk and lurk in the dark; out of which we shall, I trust, so bring him into the light that his eyes shall daze to look thereon.

But in the meanwhile this ye see: that howsoever he mean by  
30 the “elect church” of his repentant sinners, with all the “feeling faith” that he can frame thereto—yet since men can never know which *be* they, there can no man have any surety by that church of the true doctrine of God... no more than a man could by that unknown church know which is the true Scripture of God. And therefore is  
35 this “elect church” of Tyndale’s description devised only to juggle with, and to deceive our sight, and not to serve in this matter to any substantial purpose.

1 *doubt*: uncertainty (as to)    2, 4, etc. *may*: can    2 *deceived*: misled // *in*: concerning  
3 *wrappeth us up*: besets us / befuddles us // *giveth*: i.e., enables    3, 5, 6 *read(eth)*: answer(s) / solve(s)  
5, 24 *fondly*: ridiculously    5 *wife*: woman    8 *matter*: content // *purpose*: argument  
10 *in doubt*: in question; up in the air    12 *may not*: cannot // *in like wise*: likewise  
13 *of this*: i.e., members of this    16 *deadly*: mortal; lethal    17, 20 *therefor*: for it  
18 *repenteth that sin again ere he die*: i.e., has by repentance taken back that sin by the time he dies  
19, 21 *error*: going astray; professing of a wrong belief  
21–22 *returneth* . . . *die*: i.e., has come back to the truth by whatever time it is that his body dies  
23 *doubts*: questions // *more part*: greater part; majority    23, 24 *moveth*: brings up    24 *assoileth*: resolves  
25 *creep in*: sneak into    26 *lusk*: skulk; move about furtively // *lurk*: lie low  
27–28 *his* . . . *thereon*: i.e., it will daze his eyes to look at it    29 *howsoever*: i.e., whatsoever  
31 *frame*: i.e., contrive and attribute    32 *have*: obtain // *surety*: certainty // *by*: from  
32 *of*: i.e., of what constitutes    33, 34 *true*: authentic; bona fide    33 *by*: by means of  
34 *which*: i.e., which set of writings    36 *juggle*: do some sleight-of-hand with; pull a fast one  
37 *purpose*: effect

But yet that it can not only do no good, but is also dreamed out by him to do much harm... ye shall plainly perceive if ye consider what “repentance” and what “faith” he meaneth. For these words will sound very well in the ears of such simple souls as do not, while they read them, consider what manner things Tyndale meaneth by them, and what thing he calleth “repentance” and believing in Christ with a “feeling faith.” But on the other side, he that considereth that Tyndale would have us so to believe in Christ that we should set his

*Tyndale’s “feeling faith”* holy sacraments at naught, and that we

should believe that all Christian people have hitherto believed wrong, that have believed that men ought to be shriven, or receive any penance at the priest’s hand, or that have believed that there is any purgatory after this present life, or that put any faith in the Sacrament of the Altar, or any other thing believe thereof than that it is only a sign, memorial, and token of Christ’s death and Passion, and that every man is in a false belief that will any other honor do thereto than only this bare belief... whereof plainly followeth that once to kneel or pray thereto were open and plain idolatry; and that he would have us also believe that to say the Mass with the holy Canon therein, as all Christian realms do, and so many hundred years have done, were heinous deadly sin... and that it were sin also to believe that man, by good works wrought in faith, any reward meriteth toward God... or, finally, that any of the old holy doctors of Christ’s church, since Christ’s days and his apostles’ hitherto, were in the right belief before holy Luther’s days and his own (for sure am I that there was never none of all them that in belief did agree with these twain, nor these twain between themselves)—he that this “feeling faith” considereth, in Tyndale’s teaching... shall soon feel that all his holy, solemn tale of all his “feeling faith” is not worth a fly, but very faithless heresy.

And also, when he heareth him so saintly speak of “repenting”... and then considereth that he would have us repent that ever we were shriven (for shrift he calleth the false invention of Satan) and would have us also to be such as repent that ever they were of the right belief, and such as would have friars and nuns repent their religion and run out and wed together—he that considereth *this* shall, I say, see that Tyndale’s elect and chosen church

1 *can not only* . . . *is also*: not only can . . . also is // *out*: i.e., up // 2 *plainly*: clearly  
 2, 5, 7, 32 *consider(eth)*: take(s) into consideration // 4 *sound* . . . *of*: resonate . . . of; sound very good to  
 4 *while*: when // 5 *manner*: i.e., kinds of // 7 *side*: i.e., hand // 8–9 *set* . . . *at naught*: regard . . . as worthless  
 11 *hitherto*: up till now // 11–12 *be shriven*: i.e., go to confession // 14 *Sacrament of the Altar*: Blessed Sacrament  
 15 *thereof*: about it // *memorial*: reminder // *token*: symbol // 17 *honor*: obeisance // *bare*: paltry  
 18 *once*: ever // *were*: would be // 18–19 *open* . . . *idolatry*: idolatry plain and simple // 21 *were*: i.e., is a  
 21 *deadly*: mortal // 22 *were sin also*: i.e., is also a sin // *wrought*: performed; done // 23 *toward*: in relation to  
 24 *old*: i.e., earlier; previous // *holy doctors*: theologians // 25 *hitherto*: i.e., on up to ours  
 27 *them*: i.e., those previous ones // *did agree*: i.e., were in agreement // *nor these twain*: i.e., nor are these two  
 28, 36 *considereth*: reflects on // 29 *all* . . . *all*: i.e., his whole pietistic, impressive-sounding story about all  
 30 *faithless*: devoid-of-Christian-faith / perfidious // 31 *saintly*: sanctimoniously  
 32–33 *were shriven*: went to confession // 33 *shrift*: confession // *false*: bogus  
 36 *religion*: religious life // *run out*: abscond (from it) // *together*: each other

is a church of chosen *heretics*, of contrary belief to the church of which Saint Jerome was a Doctor... and Saint Augustine, and Saint Gregory, and Saint Ambrose... and all the other old holy fathers from the apostles' days hitherto... or else must Tyndale tell us, once again, some one of all them that believed it lawful for a monk or a friar professed unto perpetual chastity to run out of religion and go wed a nun.

Now am I glad, yet, that he cometh forth with *repentance*, at the leastwise one way or other. For “faith alone” was wont to do all, through all a man’s life. And when it was proved them by plain and evident Scripture that faith could not avail without charity... then fell they to gloss it and say that faith could never be without

*1 Cor 13:2*

it. And then being therein reprovéd

*Jas 2:14–18*

plainly by Saint Paul and Saint James

both... yet stand they still by their

word, and defend their words only by words against all reason, and against the plain words of God—not unwritten, which they set not by, but the very *written* words in *plain and evident scriptures*—for all that they say they believe nothing else! And in that point I believe them well, and in more, too. For where they say that they believe nothing but Scripture, I think they say true... for they believe nothing beside the Scripture, nor yet the Scripture neither, as their own writings do full clearly declare.

But, now—since they say still that “faith alone” sufficeth, and yet say that there must be charity too... and now say there must be repentance too—they say none other thing, in effect, but that it is enough to have faith alone if a man have other virtues too... and that it sufficeth to have faith alone, so that faith be not alone; for and it be alone, then is it no faith at all. Is not this another goodly riddle whereby Tyndale teacheth allthing plainly?

Nor this point will never be well patched with his “feeling” faith and “historical,” as ye shall hereafter hear, when we come to the chapter.

But yet again, in the meanwhile, because he speaketh of “repentant” sinners that they make the elect church of Christ: I would wit of him whether one part of repenting must not be to repent heresies. If not... then Christ’s elect church may keep them

1 *to*: i.e., to that of 2–3: These four were in More’s day the only Doctors of the Church formally recognized as such by the Western Church. 3 *Gregory*: i.e., Gregory the Great // *and all*: i.e., and to what was taught by all 3–4 *old holy fathers*: i.e., classic theologians 4 *hitherto*: i.e., up to ours 5 *lawful*: licit; morally permissible 6 *chastity*: continence / celibacy 6–7 *run out of religion*: abscond from religious life 9 *wont*: i.e., supposed 9, 30 *all(thing)*: everything 10 *proved*: i.e., proved to 10–11, 18 *plain and evident*: clear and conclusive 12 *fell* . . . *say*: they resorted to explaining that away by saying 13 *reprovéd*: refuted / proved wrong 15–16 *their word*: i.e., what they said 17–18 *set not by*: have no regard for 18 *for*: despite 19 *that they say they*: i.e., their claiming to 21 *but*: other than // *say true*: are telling the truth 22 *beside*: apart from // *yet*: even 23 *full*: quite // *declare*: show 28 *so that*: provided that; so long as 28 *and*: if 29 *goodly*: splendid 31 *this* . . . *with*: will this point ever be well put together with 31–32 *his* . . . “*historical*”: i.e., his thing about “experiential” versus “intellectual” faith 34 *speaketh of*: says about 35 *make*: make up; constitute 36 *wit*: inquire 37 *repent*: i.e., repent of holding / retract 396/37—397/1 *may keep them still*: can continue to hold them

still, and be a church of heretics. And on the other side, if a  
 man must repent his heresies, then ask I Tyndale again, how  
 shall an unlearned man know which they be? “The preacher shall  
 tell them,” saith Tyndale. So say we too. But what if the preachers do  
 5 not agree therein? How shall he know the true preachers from the false?  
 “Let him look on the Scripture,” saith Tyndale, “and thereby shall he  
 judge them—by the right rule of the word of God.” But thereto I say  
 that allthing that we be bound to believe and observe is not  
 written in Scripture, as I have in the Third Book more than plainly  
 10 by the plain Scripture proved. And besides that, unlearned men are

*Note* not able—nor every learned man, neither—  
 surely to discern and judge the true

sense of the Scripture in a great thing grown in debate and controversy,  
 where plain texts of Scripture seem to speak for both  
 15 the sides. And therefore it must needs be that there is by God  
 provided and left some such surety as may bring us out of all  
 such perplexity. And that is, as I have said, his Holy Spirit sent  
 and left perpetually with his church, to lead it so, by his own

*Jn 14:16–17; 16:13* promise, ever into all necessary truth,  
 20 that whoso hear and believe his church  
 may be sure that he cannot be deceived; but that if a false teacher  
 would lead men out of the right faith, the church of Christ shall  
*1 Tm 3:15* reprove him and condemn him, and  
 put the people in certainty. For which

25 cause Saint Paul saith that “the church” is the “firm establishment  
 and the pillar of truth” for the inviolable surety of doctrine. And  
 therefore that can never be no church but a known church.

But then saith Tyndale that it is true that there is all surety in  
 the church of Christ. But he saith that the church of Christ is  
 30 only the number of “repenting sinners” that have the “feeling faith”  
 which himself describeth. Then we ask him, “Whereby shall a man  
*know* them, and be sure of them... so that he may use them for his  
 sure and undoubtable judges between the two contrary preachers of  
 which the one is true, the other false?”

35 “It maketh no matter,” saith he, “though ye know them not.” How  
 shall I then be put in surety by them, but if I know that *they be*  
 the church with whom God promised to leave his Holy

1 *side*: i.e., hand    2 *repent his*: i.e., repent of his holding of    3, 10, 11 (*un*)*learned*: (un)educated  
 3 *which*: i.e., which positions; which views    4–5 *do not agree*: are not in agreement  
 5 *true*: truth-telling / trustworthy // *false*: falsehood-telling / untrustworthy    6 *on the*: i.e., at  
 7 *thereto*: to that    8 *allthing . . . is not*: not everything . . . is // *bound*: obliged  
 9 *Third Book*: i.e., third part of this present work // *more than plainly*: exceedingly plainly; super-clearly  
 11 *nor*: nor is    12 *surely*: with certainty of correctness // *judge*: determine    13 *in a great*: with regard to a big  
 13 *grown in*: come into    14–15 *plain . . . sides*: i.e., both sides seem to have clear texts of Scripture supporting them  
 16, 26 *surety*: guarantee    16 *may*: can    20 *whoso hear*: i.e., whoever will listen to    21 *deceived*: led astray  
 21 *false*: falsehood-telling / treacherous    22 *would*: tries to    23 *reprove*: censure    25 *cause*: reason  
 28 *all*: complete / total // *surety*: security / safety / unerringness / reliability    31 *himself*: he himself  
 31 *describeth*: prescribes // *whereby*: by what means  
 32, 35 *know them (not)*: i.e., (do not) know who these people are    32 *be sure of*: have confidence in  
 33 *sure*: reliable / infallible    34 *which*: whom // *true*: right / telling the truth // *false*: wrong / not telling the truth  
 35 *maketh no matter*: doesn’t matter; is of no consequence // *though*: if    36 *surety*: certainty // *but if*: unless



the successor of Saint Peter be his vicar general and head under him, as all Christian nations have now long taken him... is no part of this question. For to this matter it is enough that this Body Mystical of Christ, this Catholic Church, is that body that is animated,

5           *Ps 67:7 (Vulgate)*           hath life spiritual, and is inspired, with  
the Holy Spirit of God that “maketh them of  
one faith in the house of God” by leading them into the consent of  
every necessary truth of revealed faith, be they in conditions and  
manners never so sick, as long as they be conformable and content in  
10           unity of faith to cleave unto the body.

Of this church can we not be deceived, nor of the right faith can  
we not be deceived while we cleave to this church... since this church  
is it into which God hath given his Spirit of faith, and in this church  
both good and bad profess one faith. For if any profess the contrary  
15           faith—be it any one man or any one country—they be controlled,  
noted, and reprov'd by the whole body, and soon known *from*  
the body. Now, if it happen any privy heretics to lurk in this body,  
yet all the while they agree with the body in open profession of faith,  
and teach nothing contrary... they cannot beguile us, though they may  
20           by secret heresies of their hearts sinfully deceive themselves. And  
when they *teach* the contrary—then are they, as I say, reprov'd  
openly by the body... and either reformed and cured, or else cut off from  
the body and cast out thereof. So that this church is known well  
enough... and therefore may be well used as a sure judge for to discern  
25           between the true doctrine and the false, and the true preacher and false,  
concerning the right faith and the discerning of the true word of  
God, written or unwritten, from the counterfeit word of man... and in  
the discerning of the right understanding of the Scripture of God, as  
far forth as of necessity pertaineth unto salvation.

30           *How Tyndale's chosen church*           And this advantage that I speak of have  
*may be known*           we by that *this church is known*—  
whereas Tyndale's chosen church of “repenting  
sinners,” we can never know them but if we see them walk in our  
church in procession with a candle before the cross, or stand before  
35           the pulpit with a faggot in their necks. And yet can we not know  
them so, neither... for they may seem repentant openly and yet  
think in their hearts full shrewdly, as they commonly do. Now,

3 *to*: with respect to // *matter*: issue   5 *with*: by   7 *the consent of*: i.e., unanimous consensus regarding  
8 *in*: i.e., in terms of   8–9 *conditions and manners*: i.e., moral states and behaviors   9 *never so*: no matter how  
9 *conformable*: disposed to conform // *content*: willing   11 *of this*: by this // *deceived*: led astray  
11 *of the*: about the   12 *be deceived*: make a mistake // *while*: as long as   13 *it*: the one  
14 *good and*: i.e., the good people and the // *one*: the same   14–15 *the contrary faith*: i.e., a contrary belief  
15 *controlled*: taken to task   16 *noted*: stigmatized   16, 21 *reprov'd*: censured   16 *soon*: readily  
17 *if... in*: i.e., if any clandestine heretics happen to be lying low within   18 *open*: overt; public  
19, 24, etc. *may*: can   20 *secret... of*: i.e., heresies held secretly in // *deceive themselves*: lead themselves astray  
24 *sure*: reliable; sure-to-be-right   24, 26 *discern(ing)*: distinguish(ing)  
25 *the true preacher and false*: i.e., the preacher telling the truth and the one not   26 *true*: genuine; actual  
27 *written or unwritten*: i.e., whether written in Scripture or not written there  
27 *counterfeit*: i.e., counterfeited; fraudulent   29 *of... unto*: in an essential way is connected with  
31 *that*: the fact that   33 *know them*: i.e., know who these people are // *but if*: unless  
33–35 *walk... necks*: These were things done by people abjured of heresy.   35 *faggot*: bundle of sticks  
35 *in*: i.e., tied around   36 *so*: in that way // *openly*: outwardly   37 *full shrewdly*: very wickedly

whereby we shall be sure that this known, Catholic church is the very,  
true church that is to be believed... and that no man may be surely believed  
that agreeth not with the faith of this church—albeit I have,  
both in my *Dialogue* and in sundry places of my three former books of  
5 this present work, well and plainly proved you—yet shall I  
finally, before I finish this work, by such clear, open marks and  
tokens show you, with evident reason and plain Scripture furnished,  
that no child shall after need anything to doubt thereof.

But now consider, in the meanwhile, that Tyndale's definition  
10 or description of "the church"... by which he calleth it the number of "all  
repenting sinners" with all his other conditions adjoined thereunto...  
is first full of darkness; and when it is opened... it agreed  
neither with one church nor other. And yet is it by another point  
of his own false doctrine utterly destroyed. For he teacheth plainly  
15 *Oh, what a saying is this!* that whosoever do after Baptism sin  
once of purpose (willingly, and not only  
of weakness and infirmity), *he* shall *never* be saved, but all *his*  
repentance after, though he trust never so much in God, and have after  
never so sure faith in him, shall never serve him to salvation,  
20 but he shall be finally damned; as I shall show you further after. And  
then ye see plainly that his definition of his "elect" church is by  
his own doctrine destroyed. For the elect church cannot be the  
number of *all* repenting sinners that trust to be saved in Christ's  
Passion, if *some* such repenting sinners shall never be saved by  
25 his Passion, as Tyndale plainly lieth. And therefore since he hath  
failed of his definition of "the church," and thereby lost and  
spilled all his purpose—let us now consider whether he handle  
any more wisely the remnant of his goodly matter.

#### Tyndale

30 This faith have they without all respect of their own deservings;  
yea, and for none other cause than that the merciful truth of God  
the Father, which cannot lie, hath so promised and so sworn.

#### More

35 I doubt not, good readers, but ye remember well that all the doctrine  
of Christ's church is full of warning that no man should put

1 *whereby*: by what means; how // *very*: real; authentic    2 *may*: can // *surely*: safely  
3 *agreeth not*: is not in conformity // *albeit*: although    4 *in my Dialogue*: See *DH* 187/12—207/14.  
5 *well and*: good and; quite // *proved*: proved to    6 *finally*: eventually // *open*: manifest  
6 *marks*: indications    7 *tokens*: signs // *evident*: conclusive // *reason*: reasoning  
7 *plain*: explicit / straightforward    8 *anything to doubt thereof*: be in any doubt about that  
9 *consider*: take note    10 *description*: delineation    11 *conditions*: qualifications  
12 *darkness*: obscureness; nebulosity // *opened*: explained // *agreed*: matched up  
15 *a saying*: an assertion    16 *of purpose*: purposely // *willingly*: volitionally    16–17 *only of*: just because of  
18, 19 *never so*: no matter how    19 *sure*: firm a // *serve*: i.e., bring    20 *finally*: irreversibly  
20 *after*: later on    26 *of his definition of*: i.e., in his attempt to define  
27 *spilled all his purpose*: wrecked his whole argument    28 *wisely*: astutely // *remnant*: rest  
28 *goodly matter*: splendid case    30 *all respect of*: i.e., any eye to // *deservings*: gainings of merit  
31 *the merciful truth of*: i.e., by his merciful pledge    32 *which*: who    34 *but*: i.e., that



a proud trust and confidence in his own works, nor once think that he can of himself alone, without God's gracious help, do

*The true doctrine of* any good work at all... and great cause  
*Christ's church* hath to fear and mistrust *all* his own

5 works, for imperfect circumstances  
seldom perceived by himself. And also that in all that a man may do, he doth but his only duty; and that the best work were naught worth to-heaven-ward of the nature of the work itself—not were it for the liberal goodness of God, that listeth so highly to  
10 reward it... and yet would not reward it so, saving for the Passion of his own Son. All these things, and many such others more, be so daily taught and preached in *the Church*... that I trust, in good faith, that almost every good old wife can tell them.

And therefore it appeareth well that Tyndale varieth not with us  
15 for so far... but that he meaneth a far further thing where he saith that the “elect church” trusteth so utterly to be forgiven all sin, and “motions unto sin,” without any “respect of their own deserving”—and plainly meaneth therein (as in other places also he plainly declareth himself, which I have in my former books  
20 proved and reprov'd) not only that men should not need, but also that it were sin, to go about any good work wrought with grace, in faith, to deserve anything toward the getting of full and perfect forgiveness.

To this point cometh Tyndale's holy “feeling faith,” that feeleth  
25 always full forgiveness, without any regard or respect of man's own endeavor to deserve it. This false-feeling faith hath Tyndale taken of Luther... when he and all the rabble of their sect say that faith of necessity bringeth forth good works, as the fruit of the tree of faith. And yet they say that good works be naught worth, and thereby  
30 make they the tree of faith little better. For what good tree can it be, whereof the good fruit is naught worth?

But Tyndale and Luther both lie loud in both the points.  
For both may a man have the right faith idle and workless, and therefore dead and fruitless—dead, I say, not in the nature and  
35 substance of belief and faith... but dead as to the attaining of

1 *once*: ever    2 *gracious help*: help by way of grace / help given him gratis    4 *fear* . . . *all*: be apprehensive about, and distrustful of, *all*    5 *for* . . . *circumstances*: i.e., on account of possible faulty aspects    7 *his only*: only his  
7–8 *were naught worth to-heaven-ward*: i.e., would be worth nothing for getting to, or being rewarded in, heaven  
8–9 *not were it*: i.e., of no worth for that were it not    9 *that listeth*: who chooses    10 *yet*: moreover  
10 *so*: i.e., that highly    12 *daily*: regularly; frequently // *in good faith*: in all honesty    13 *wife*: i.e., housewife  
13 *tell them*: i.e., reel them off    14 *appeareth well*: is quite evident // *varieth not*: is not at variance  
17 *motions*: impulses / inclinations    17–18 *respect of their own deserving*: eye to their own gaining of merit  
18, 19 *plainly*: clearly    19 *declareth*: states  
19 *my former books*: i.e., previous parts of this work of mine. (See, for example, 51/34—55/28 and 69/14—72/20.)  
20 *reprov'd*: refuted / proved erroneous // *men should*: i.e., people do    21 *were*: i.e., is a  
21 *any good work wrought*: i.e., the doing of any good work    22 *deserve*: earn  
22–23, 25 *full* ( . . . ) *forgiveness*: i.e., forgiveness of not only a sin but also the debt of punishment for it in purgatory  
24 *point*: culmination    25 *regard*: consideration // *respect*: i.e., thought    26 *deserve*: merit  
27 *taken of* . . . *when*: i.e., obviously gotten from . . . since // *all the rabble*: the whole pack  
27 *their sect*: i.e., people of their heretical persuasion    28 *of necessity bringeth forth*: inevitably produces  
29 *be naught worth*: count for nothing    31 *is naught worth*: counts for nothing / is of no worth  
32 *loud*: blatantly // *the*: i.e., those    33 *workless*: i.e., productive of no good works

*Good works purchase heaven.* salvation—and also, good works wrought  
*Sir 3:30* in faith, hope, and charity be very profitable  
 toward obtaining of forgiveness

and getting reward in heaven... except the Scripture of God be false,  
 5 when it saith that as the water quencheth the fire, so doth almsdeed  
 void sin; and except our Savior himself say false, where he  
 saith, “Give your superfluous substance in alms, and then, lo,

*Lk 11:41* are ye all clean.” And in like wise where  
*Mt 10:40–42* he promiseth reward in heaven, in sundry  
 10 *Lk 16:19–31* plain places of Scripture, for good works  
 done here in earth.

Now, if Tyndale answer that the good works be nothing worth  
 of themselves, nor without faith, as he answereth me in his answer  
 to the Third Book of my *Dialogue*: then may every child see that  
 15 he is driven to the hard wall, and fain to seek a shameful shift. For  
 what thing *is* aught worth of itself to-heaven-ward, without God’s  
 grace and the great goodness of God? No fiery charity, though men  
 would burn for God’s sake, could deserve heaven of itself, without  
*Rom 8:18* the liberal goodness of God. For as Saint  
 20 Paul saith, the passions of this world “be  
 not worthy to win the glory to come, that shall be shown upon us.”

And if he say that good works be naught worth because they  
 be naught worth without faith... so might he as well say that faith  
 were naught worth because it is naught worth without charity. So  
 25 that ye may plainly see that he seeketh nothing but shifts... which  
 will yet serve of naught when he hath altogether done.

*Good works are to be feared.* For ye may, finally, perceive that  
 though every man may well fear that the  
 works which himself hath done, seemed they never so good, were  
 30 yet, for some lack upon his part in the doing, so imperfect in the  
 deep-secret sight of God that they were unworthy to serve him or be  
 anything rewarded—and also that, were they never so pure and  
 perfect, they were not yet worthy such reward but of God’s liberal  
 goodness—yet is it a very false faith and a pestilent heresy to  
 35 believe as Tyndale here teacheth us: that God will save such as may

1 *purchase*: See 54/11–19. 3 *forgiveness*: i.e., forgiveness of the debt of punishment 4, 6 *except*: unless  
 5 *almsdeed*: almsgiving 6 *void*: i.e., cancel the debt of punishment for // *say false*: tells a falsehood  
 7 *superfluous*: surplus // *substance*: wealth 8 *in like wise*: likewise 10 *plain places*: explicit texts  
 11 *in*: on 14, 25, 27 *may*: can 14 *every*: any 15 *the hard wall*: an impregnable impasse / desperate straits  
 15 *fain*: constrained 15, 25 *shift(s)*: maneuver(s) / subterfuge(s) 16 *ought worth*: worth anything  
 16 *to-heaven-ward*: i.e., for getting to heaven or being rewarded there 17 *fiery charity*: i.e., charity however fiery  
 18 *would*: i.e., were to literally // *deserve*: merit 20 *passions*: sufferings 21 *worthy*: of sufficient value  
 21 *shown upon*: revealed in 22, 23, 24 *naught worth*: of no worth 23 *might*: could // *well*: rightly  
 24 *were*: i.e., is 25 *plainly*: clearly 26 *serve of naught*: i.e., do nothing for him; get him nowhere  
 26 *hath altogether done*: i.e., has tried them all / is all done 27 *feared*: regarded with distrust  
 29, 32 *never so*: no matter how 30 *for*: on account of // *lack*: deficiency // *imperfect*: defective  
 31 *unworthy to serve him*: not of sufficient worth to do him any good 32 *anything*: at all  
 33 *were not yet worthy*: i.e., yet would not be deserving of 34 *pestilent*: pernicious / extremely dangerous  
 35 *believe as*: believe what // *such as may*: i.e., those who will

work without any respect or regard unto their deserving; as  
 though he rought not whether they did good or ill, but will save all  
 such as him list, do they what they list, only because him list...  
 and that himself so listeth for none other cause but only because  
 5 he hath so promised and sworn.

For surely, neither is the *promise* the cause (as I have in mine  
 other book shown), but the goodness of God which caused him so to  
 promise; nor, also, he hath not so sworn, nor so promised, neither,

10 *Ps 101:3* that he will save man without any  
*Mt 25:31–46* regard of good works... but hath both  
*Note* promised and sworn the clean contrary:  
 that but if we work well if we may, or  
 repent that we did not and be in purpose to do... else shall our faith  
 stand us in little stead, but greatly aggrieve and increase the pain  
 15 of our damnation. And now that *his* faith is proved very plainly  
 false and faithless... it is a world to see how royally he runneth forth  
 in the praise, as though it were proved true.

### Tyndale

20 And this faith and knowledge is everlasting life; and by this we  
 be born anew, and made the sons of God, and obtain forgiveness  
 of sins, and are translated from death to life, and from the  
 wrath of God unto his love and favor. And this faith is the mother of  
 all truth, and bringeth with her the Spirit of all truth—which  
 Spirit purgeth us, as from all sin, even so from all lies and error  
 25 noisome and hurtful. And this faith is the foundation laid of the  
 apostles and prophets, whereupon Paul saith (Eph 2) that we are  
 built... and thereby of the household of God. And this faith is the  
 rock whereon Christ built his congregation.

### More

30 Lo what a praise he hath made you of this faith that feelet that  
 folk should need to do no good works; how he calleth it “everlasting  
 life” to come to the bare knowledge of that faith that shall  
 take away from us all respect and regard of deserving any  
 reward or thank, the rather for any good works. For if men  
 35 might have any such respect... then were it great peril lest men  
 would fall the more to do them! For other great peril I see none,

1 *work*: act // *any respect*: i.e., giving any thought 1, 10, 33 *regard*: consideration  
 1 *deserving*: i.e., thereby meriting something 2 *rought*: cared 2–3 *all such as*: i.e., all those  
 3 *him list*: he chooses to // *what they list*: whatever they please 4 *himself so listeth*: he so chooses  
 4 *none*: no 4, 6 *cause*: reason 6 *surely*: assuredly  
 6–7 *mine other book*: i.e., the previously published part of this work. (See 106/7–17.)  
 11 *clean contrary*: complete contrary; exact opposite 12 *but if*: unless // *work well*: do good works  
 12 *may*: can 13 *be in purpose*: intend; are resolved // *do*: i.e., do some  
 14 *stand us in little stead*: do little for us // *aggrieve*: worsen / intensify 16 *world*: wonder  
 17 *the praise*: i.e., his extolling of it 24 *even*: just 25 *noisome*: noxious // *hurtful*: harmful  
 25 *of*: by 27 *of the*: i.e., made members of the 30 *lo*: look  
 30 *praise he hath made you of*: i.e., laudation he has made you of / panegyric he has written you on  
 31 *should need to do no*: i.e., need not do any 32 *bare*: mere 33, 35 *respect*: thought  
 33 *deserving*: earning / meriting 34 *thank*: credit // *the rather*: i.e., and especially  
 35 *might*: i.e., could legitimately // *have*: take // *were it great peril lest*: i.e., would there be the great danger that  
 36 *fall*: come

considering that we be well taught to put no proud confidence in  
*Put no proud confidence* them, but refer all the thank of them  
*in works.* to God, by whose help and grace we do  
 them.

- 5 Now wot ye well that no good man can deny but that for *lack*  
*Mt 25:41–46* of such works, men shall be *damned*, as  
 Christ saith himself in the Gospel. And  
 hard it were that, the good nature of God being more ready to  
 reward than to punish... would punish us for the lacking, and  
 10 not reward us for the having; namely since himself saith, in the  
*Mt 6:3–4; 25:34–40* same Gospel, that he shall give men heaven  
 for their almsdeed.

- But Tyndale, as he denieth the one, so denieth he the other too,  
 and with some fond gloss will void the Gospel and all... and then  
 15 go boldly forth with his “faith” and boast it, and say, “This faith and  
 knowledge is everlasting life.” But all *faithful* folk will say  
 again, “This faith and knowledge is everlasting *death*.” For this faith  
 hath Luther and Friar Huessgen both, and yet be far from everlasting  
 life. For besides that abominable heresy itself (against  
 20 all regard of good works), they be not agreed in belief concerning  
 the Sacrament of the Altar—the one believing it to be very  
 bread, the other nothing else *but* bread, and false both  
 twain. And Tyndale followeth the falser of them both. And so this  
 faith delivereth them *not* from lies—besides that they both, and Tyndale  
 25 with them, do believe, if they lie not, that it is lawful for monks and  
 friars to break their vowed chastity and run out and wed  
 nuns. Which point of false faith is no part of the foundation  
 that the apostles built upon... but Saint Paul preached the *contrary*,  
*1 Tm 5:11–12* saying that vowed widows willing  
 30 to wed should have “damnation”  
 because they had frustrated and broken their “former faith,” that is to  
 wit, their faith given to God in their vow of abstinence from all  
 carnal knowledge of man... against which faith they would now  
 wed, and give a second faith unto man in marriage. But now  
 35 goeth Tyndale forth with his tale, and would seem to prove it true by  
 Scripture.

2 *refer*: attribute / give // *thank of*: (deserving of) credit for    5 *wot ye well*: you well know  
 5 *but that*: that    8 *hard*: hard to understand / problematic // *were*: would be  
 8 *the good nature of God*: i.e., God by his good nature    9 *would*: i.e., he would    10 *namely*: especially  
 10 *himself*: he himself    12 *almsdeed*: almsgiving    14 *fond*: ridiculous // *void*: negate  
 15 *boast*: vaunt; tout    17 *again*: in reply    18 *hath . . . both*: i.e., both Luther and Friar Huessgen have  
 18 *be*: are    21 *Sacrament of the Altar*: Blessed Sacrament // *very*: literal    22 *false*: in error  
 22–23 *both twain*: i.e., the both of them    23 *followeth*: goes along with  
 23 *falser*: the more wrong; the more erroneous    25 *lie not*: i.e., are not lying in saying that they do  
 25 *lawful*: morally licit    26 *vowed*: i.e., vows of // *chastity*: celibacy / perpetual sexual abstinence  
 26 *run out*: i.e., skip out / abscond from religious life    27 *point*: article    29 *vowed*: consecrated (by vow)  
 29 *willing*: deciding (after having taken that vow of celibacy)    30 *should have*: i.e., would thereby incur  
 30 *damnation*: condemnation    31 *frustrated*: rendered null    31, 32, 33, 34 *faith*: pledge of commitment  
 31–32 *to wit*: i.e., to say    35 *forth*: i.e., on // *tale*: story // *would*: attempts to

## Tyndale

Christ asked his apostles (Mt 16) whom they took him for. And Peter answered for them all, saying, "I say that thou art Christ, the Son of the Living God, that art come into this world." That is,  
 5 "We believe that thou art he that was promised unto Abraham should come and bless us and deliver us." Howbeit, Peter yet wist not by what means. But now it is opened throughout all the world: that, through the offering of his body and blood . . .

## More

10 Here it is necessary that every wise reader mark well and consider the cause and purpose of Tyndale in bringing in this confession of Saint Peter's faith... where he said, "Thou art Christ, the Son of the Living God, that art come into this world."

Ye shall understand that Tyndale and his master Martin and  
 15 his fellows, forasmuch as they be fallen from the right belief in many great articles of our faith... and considering that with such slender proofs as Tyndale bringeth for his part, and thereto so plainly reproveth, every good Christian man that any care hath of his own soul will be sore afraid to put it in jeopardy of damnation  
 20 by falling in any point from the faith of Christ's whole Catholic Church for the word of a fond wedded friar or any fond fellow of his—he deviseth here to take away that fear, and to make men believe at the leastwise that so a man believe the thing that Peter then confessed... it sufficeth enough for salvation, though he  
 25 believe no further articles besides. And thus far sufficeth for him to make folk the less afeard to draw toward him. But bringing us once so far forward... then will he further for his purpose say that not only no man is bound upon damnation to believe any more, but that, further, it is damnable in some things to believe  
 30 more... and that in some things it neither availeth nor hurteth to believe any more. And therefore it is wisdom to stay well ourselves in the beginning. For Tyndale saith, as I have in my First Book shown you, many things against divers of the sacraments which he saith is deadly sin to believe. And here he putteth for faith  
 35 enough, the faith that Saint Peter confessed. And in his chapter answered in my Third Book of this work—"Whether the Apostles Left

2 *for*: i.e., to be      4, 13 *that art come into this world*: This was actually said by not Peter but Martha; see John 11:27.  
 6 *howbeit*: however // *yet wist not*: did not yet know      7 *opened*: revealed  
 10–11 *mark* . . . *bringing in*: i.e., note well, and take into consideration, Tyndale's reason and purpose for adducing  
 11–12 *confession* . . . *Peter's*: i.e., profession Saint Peter made of his      15 *fellows*: i.e., fellow heretics  
 15, 20 *from*: away from      15 *in*: concerning      17 *slender*: flimsy; unsubstantial // *bringeth*: advances  
 17 *part*: side of the argument // *thereto*: moreover      18 *reproveth*: proves fallacious  
 18 *any care hath of*: has any concern for; cares at all about      19 *sore*: terribly // *in jeopardy*: at risk  
 21 *fond*: foolishly self-confident // *fellow*: cohort / follower      22 *deviseth*: schemes  
 23 *so*: provided that; so long as      24, 35 *confessed*: professed      24 *it sufficeth enough*: i.e., that is plenty sufficient  
 25 *thus far*: i.e., going only that far      26 *afeard*: afraid      27 *so*: that  
 28 *no man is bound upon*: is no one obliged on pain of      29, 30 *in*: with regard to; about  
 31 *it* . . . *to*: wisdom dictates that we // *stay well ourselves*: well restrain ourselves / keep a good grip on ourselves  
 32 *saith*: makes mention of      33 *against*: about // *divers*: several      34 *is deadly sin*: i.e., it is damnably sinful  
 34 *putteth for*: posits for; proposes as being

Anything Unwritten That Were Necessary to Salvation”—there saith  
he that to believe or not believe the Assumption of our Lady, or her

*Whose opinion is most* perpetual virginity, and many such others  
*erroneous!* more, is but a belief of a history and  
5 nothing doth pertain unto salvation.

And hereafter, in his other chapter “How a Christian Man Cannot  
Err, and How He May Yet Err”—in that chapter he saith that the  
very Christian man cannot err in anything that should be against  
the promises which are in Christ... and in other things their  
10 errors be not unto damnation, though they be never so great.  
Whereof he by and by putteth example of the perpetual virginity of  
our Lady—in the not-belief whereof, he saith that a man being led  
of ignorance, by the words of the Gospel, to believe that she were  
not a perpetual virgin... might in case, for lack of the contrary  
15 teaching, die in that misbelief and yet take no harm thereby,  
“because it hurteth not the redemption that is in Christ’s blood. For  
though she had none but Christ, I am,” saith Tyndale, “therefor never  
the more saved; neither, yet, the less though she had had. And in suchlike a  
hundred, that plucketh not a man’s faith from Christ, they might err and  
20 yet be never the less saved, though the contrary were written in the Gospel.”

Lo, here have I, well-beloved readers, nothing letted, partly to  
repeat again his words written in his other chapter before, partly  
to anticipate his words written in his other chapter after. Which  
words of his I have out of both places taken into this... to the intent  
25 that, albeit I partly have and partly shall touch them in  
their own proper places, yet ye should see the whole sum and  
effect of this tale concerning the faith before your face laid together...  
which he draweth in pieces and pulleth into sundry parts  
because he would, by his will, fain steal away from us in the dark,  
30 and leave us without any plain perceiving of his ungracious  
mind.

But now that I have laid, in effect, all his whole opinion together  
as touching the faith (saving his only difference and division  
of “historical faith” and “feeling faith,” which I shall reserve unto its  
proper place), I shall a little examine this faith of his, that ye may  
35 look thereon in the light, and see whether it be sufficient for your  
salvation or not.

1 *were necessary to salvation*: i.e., one must believe or do in order to get to heaven    2 *the*: i.e., in the  
4 *history*: historical narrative    5 *nothing doth pertain unto*: has no bearing on    7 *may*: can  
8 *very*: i.e., true / really // *err... be*: i.e., make any error that would go    9 *in other*: with regard to other  
10 *never so*: no matter how    11 *by and by*: immediately // *putteth example of*: gives as an example  
12 *in the not-belief whereof*: i.e., regarding the not-believing in which    13 *were*: was  
14, 19 *might*: could    14 *in case*: in fact    15 *take*: suffer    16 *hurteth not*: is not prejudicial to  
17 *none*: i.e., no child // *therefor*: for that; on that account    17, 20 *never*: not at all    18 *neither*: nor  
18 *yet*: moreover // *though*: if    18–19 *suchlike a hundred*: a hundred suchlike things  
19 *plucketh... faith*: do not pull one’s faith away    20 *though*: even if    21 *nothing letted*: not at all forborne  
25 *albeit*: although // *touch*: discuss    27 *tale*: story / talk    28 *draweth in*: tears apart into  
28 *sundry*: different    29 *by his will*: by his preference / if he could manage this // *fain*: like to  
30 *plain*: clear // *ungracious*: ungodly; evil    31 *mind*: intent    32 *opinion*: set of views  
33 *as touching*: as regards // *saving his only*: with the one exception of his // *difference*: differentiation  
33 *division*: separation    34 *historical*: i.e., intellectual. (See note for 314/6.) // *feeling*: experiential  
36 *thereon*: at it

First, in this faith that Saint Peter confessed is never a word of purgatory.

Now doubt I not but that Tyndale, when he readeth *this* word, will well and merrily laugh thereat and say, “No more there needeth!”

5 For that faith, will he say, will put out and quench the fire of purgatory clean.

Then will we ask him how will he laugh at the fire of hell; for of that fire is there nothing spoken in that confession neither, but that he might, for all that confession, ween well enough that there were no hell. If Tyndale will say nay... “for he must needs believe that the thing from which Christ, the ‘Son of the Living God,’ was come into the world to redeem mankind must needs be hell”... and that therefore Peter’s confession includeth of necessity the belief of hell: I answer Tyndale again that therein was no necessity. For 15 Peter might believe at that time, for any word that was in his confession, that Christ’s coming was only to redeem us, not from hell, but from the loss of heaven; from which he might think, peradventure, that all mankind were banished unto such a place as was *limbus patrum*—though out of pain, yet suspiring and 20 *Unbaptized children* sighing after the sight of God and joy of heaven—and into such estate as children live in that die unbaptized. Which though they enter not heaven, because they die the children of wrath unreconciled—yet the merciful anger of God driveth them not down into sensible pain and to 25 the feeling of the infernal fire.

This faith might, peradventure, Saint Peter have, for anything spoken of in his confessed faith; yea, and might have therewith also a belief that for actual sins, men were punished after this life, some less while, some longer, and yet none everlastingly... 30 but every man at length brought unto peace and rest, though never no man to the bliss of heaven but only by Christ’s coming. And thus might Saint Peter have rather a belief of purgatory than of hell, for any word mentioned in his confession, wherein he confesseth not the belief of either other. Saint Peter also nothing 35 there confessed of Christ’s Passion, descension into hell, resurrection, nor of his ascension... which things be not only principal points of our faith, but also some such as God’s *promise* specially dependeth upon.

Unto which promises Tyndale restraineth all our necessary

1 *faith* . . . *confessed*: i.e., profession of faith . . . made // *never a*: not one 1, 35, 36 *of*: about  
 3 *but that*: that // *word*: statement 4 *well and*: quite // *there needeth*: i.e., need there be  
 5–6 *put* . . . *purgatory clean*: totally put . . . purgatory 8, 9, etc. *confession*: profession of faith 9 *might*: could  
 9, 15, 26, 33 *for*: i.e., for all that one can tell from 9 *ween well enough*: i.e., well enough have thought  
 10 *were*: i.e., is // *nay*: no 10, 12 *needs*: of course 13 *of necessity*: inevitably 14 *again*: back / in turn  
 14 *necessity*: i.e., such inevitability 15, 17, etc. *might believe/think/have*: i.e., could have believed/thought/had  
 17, 26 *peradventure*: perhaps 18 *place*: position 19 *limbus patrum*: the Limbo of the Fathers  
 19 *out of*: not in; free of // *suspiring*: yearning 21 *estate*: i.e., a state 24 *sensible*: sense-experienceable  
 27 *confessed*: i.e., profession of 28 *actual sins*: i.e., personally committed sins, as opposed to inherited original sin  
 29 *less*: i.e., a lesser 30 *at length*: eventually 34 *either other*: either the one or the other  
 35 *descension into hell*: descent into the underworld 38 *dependeth*: rests 39 *restraineth*: restricts

faith. Howbeit, of truth, Tyndale restraineth it therein too sore. For then we be not bound to believe that the Holy Ghost were equal with the Father and the Son, for that was no *promise* made unto us. And yet are we bound to believe that *truth*, whereof is also nothing spoken in Peter's confessed faith.

Therefore it will be very hard (if impossible be hard) for Tyndale to sustain that the faith which Saint Peter confessed then, were sufficient to serve every Christian man now. And therefore let no man take any boldness upon Tyndale's tale to think as he would have him: that only the thing that Peter there confessed were enough now to believe... and that in all other things that the Church believeth, which Christ and his Holy Spirit have taught his Church since, were but things indifferent, and nothing forced whether they were believed or not.

Tyndale shall be constrained to come to this even by his own words—albeit that he affirmeth for fast and sure somewhat more than he may make good. For he saith that Peter meant by his words, “We believe that thou art he that was promised unto Abraham should come and bless us and deliver us.” And yet, he saith, Peter wist not by what means Christ should deliver us. “But now it is open,” he saith, “throughout all the world: that through the offering of his body and blood. . . .”

Now, if Peter at that time knew not the thing that must now needs be believed upon pain of damnation—ye may thereby see that the faith which Peter confessed then is *not* enough now for every man to be saved by... but we be bound to the belief also of such things as God hath revealed, and made open to be believed, unto his church any time since. Or else must Tyndale tell us at what time God bade whoa and gave us leave to believe him no further, whatsoever he would further say to us.

Consider yet also that Tyndale agreeth that the very, true Christians of his elect, unknown church... do believe the article of the perpetual virginity of our Lady as soon as they be taught it, and acknowledge their former error; whereby he granteth that he which doth not so is none of the elects. Then say I that thereupon it followeth, by his own words, that the article of the perpetual virginity of our Lady *is* a necessary article of our faith.

And thus always must Tyndale, upon his own words, confess that *all* the articles revealed further by Christ unto his church must

1 *howbeit, of truth*: but in point of fact // *restraineth*: restricts // *sore*: severely / greatly

2, 4 *bound*: obliged 2 *were*: is 5 *confessed*: i.e., profession of 7, 25 *confessed*: professed

7, 10 *were*: would be / is 8 *serve*: i.e., take care of / get to heaven

9 *take . . . tale*: be at all emboldened by what Tyndale is saying 9–10 *as . . . him*: i.e., what . . . him think

10 *only the*: i.e., just that one // *confessed*: i.e., professed faith in 11 *in all*: i.e., as for all the

13 *were*: i.e., they are // *indifferent*: immaterial

13–14 *nothing . . . not*: i.e., which it doesn't matter whether one believes or not 15 *even*: just

16 *fast and sure*: i.e., good and sure; definitely certain 17 *may make good*: i.e., can substantiate this claim for

17 *that . . . words*: i.e., that what . . . words was 19 *wist*: knew 20 *should*: would // *open*: brought to light

23 *the thing*: something 27 *be*: i.e., being 29 *bade*: i.e., said 31 *agreeth*: asserts // *very*: real

34 *error*: erroneousness // *he which*: whoever 35 *so*: i.e., do that // *none . . . elects*: i.e., not one of the elect

37 *a . . . faith*: i.e., an article of our faith that one must believe in order to get to heaven 38 *upon*: on the basis of

38 *confess*: acknowledge



be believed as firmly as the faith that was by Peter confessed... or else we be not only discharged of the belief of our Lady's perpetual virginity, which Tyndale is now yet brought unawares to grant for an article necessary, since it is now taught and known...  
 5 but also of the belief of Christ's death, descension, resurrection, ascension, and of the Godhood of the Holy Ghost, with divers other necessary points more.

But here it is to be considered that Saint Peter in confessing Christ to be the "Son of the Living God"... did confess the very  
 10 point whereupon all the whole faith hangeth. For in that point alone he confesseth that *all* his doctrine must needs be believed for true, and *all* his commandments fulfilled. And thereupon it followeth further that, since Tyndale will believe no more of his  
 15 *Jn 20:30; 21:25* doctrine than he can find written in the Scripture (whereas the Scripture itself saith that all was never written); nor will not also believe and obey  
*Mt 16:19; 18:17-18* Christ's church, according to Christ's commandment—  
*Lk 10:16* nor will not so much as *know* it, but fondly frameth an unknown,  
 20 whom he for lack of knowledge can neither believe nor obey—it followeth, I say, that Tyndale believeth no piece of the faith that Saint Peter confessed! And so he doth but prattle and prate of "feeling faith"... without the feeling of any faith at all, or any true belief, historical or other.

25 And yet goeth he forth in the boast of that article of the faith which, as himself confesseth, was out of Peter's confession. For he saith that Saint Peter was not aware of Christ's Passion when he made that confession.

Tyndale

30 . . . that offering [of Christ's body and blood] is a satisfaction for the sin of all that repent, and a purchasing of whatsoever they can ask to keep them in favor, and that they sin no more.

More

35 *How Christ's offering up of himself is a satisfaction for all that repent*

Truth is it that the Passion of Christ and offering up of himself unto his Father upon the cross *is* a satisfaction for the sin of all that repent—so that

1, 8, 9, 11, 22 *confess(eth)(ed)(ing)*: profess(es)(ed)(ing)    2 *not only discharged*: freed not only  
 2, 5 *of the belief of*: i.e., of having to believe in  
 4 *necessary*: i.e., that one has to believe in order to get to heaven    5 *descension*: descent (into the underworld)  
 6 *Godhood*: divinity // *divers*: several    8 *considered*: noted / taken into consideration  
 10 *hangeth*: hinges    16 *all was never*: i.e., not everything he taught was ever  
 19 *know it*: i.e., acknowledge that it *is* Christ's church // *fondly*: ludicrously // *frameth*: hypothesizes / posits  
 19 *unknown*: i.e., unknown one    20 *knowledge*: i.e., ability to identify    21 *piece*: part    22 *so*: thus  
 24 *historical*: i.e., intellectual. (See note for 314/6.)  
 25 *goeth . . . that*: i.e., he proceeds with a vaunting of an / he goes ahead and vaunts an    26 *himself*: he himself  
 26 *confesseth*: admits // *out of*: not included in    26, 28 *confession*: profession of faith  
 27 *was not aware of*: i.e., i.e., knew nothing about    32 *ask*: i.e., possibly need  
 32 *to . . . favor*: i.e., in order to be kept in good graces with God    34 *truth is it*: true it is    37 *so*: provided

we repent aright and effectually, by confession, contrition, and by penitential deeds; revenging our sins upon ourselves with good works of charity, the more largely increased, toward our neighbors; doing fruitful penance, bringing forth the fruits

- 5        *Mt 3:8; Acts 26:20*        of penance... and, according to the counsel  
           *Col 1:24; 1 Pt 4:8*        of Saint John the Baptist, not slight  
 fruits, simple and single, but fruits good, great, and worthy... and yet not of themselves worthy, but such as the satisfaction of Christ maketh worthy, without which we could nothing satisfy... but  
 10       *with* which we may, since his pleasure is that we so should, and not so take his death for so full satisfaction of altogether, that we should therefore be careless and slothful to do any penance ourselves for our own sin.

- 15       Tyndale will say to this that he can be content that we should do good deeds... but not by way of penance for our sin; and that we should sometimes fast, and otherwise afflict our flesh, to the intent to tame our flesh against the sin to come... but nothing to punish it the more for any sin that is past.

- 20       Now is this teaching of Tyndale much like as though he would advise us, “Be never the better because thou hast been naught; do never the better because thou hast done evil; run never the faster forth in virtue because thou hast long sat still in sin.”

- 25       But Saint Paul, against Tyndale’s doctrine, ran forth the faster because he began later, and took the more pain for the faith because he had been a persecutor of the faith. And though he never thought thus... “If I had been sooner converted, I would have done less good”... yet had he this mind: that because he began so late, he would do the more... and because he had been bad, he would be the better...

- 30       *Rom 6:19*                    as himself counseleth others—“As ye have exhibited and given your members to serve uncleanness and iniquity, from iniquity to iniquity... so now again exhibit and give your members to serve righteousness, that ye may be sanctified.”

#### Tyndale

- 35       And Christ answered, “Upon this rock I will build my congregation”—that is, “Upon this *faith*”—“and against the rock of this

1 *effectually*: earnestly / adequately    2 *revenging*: avenging // *with*: by means of    3 *largely*: liberally  
 6 *slight*: unsubstantial / negligible    7 *simple*: of poor quality // *single*: trivial // *great*: significant  
 7, 8, 9 *worthy*: meritorious    8 *of Christ*: i.e., made by Christ    9 *nothing*: in no way  
 9 *satisfy*: make satisfaction; do any atoning    10 *may*: can // *his pleasure is*: i.e., it is his pleasure  
 11 *altogether*: everything; i.e., sin and punishment and all    12 *careless*: carefree  
 12 *slothful*: i.e., indolently disinclined    14 *be content*: i.e., go along with the idea    16 *to*: i.e., with  
 17 *against the sin to come*: i.e., as a way of warding off a possible future sin // *nothing*: not at all  
 20, 21 *never the*: not the least bit    20 *naught*: bad    21 *evil*: ill; badly    22 *sat still*: kept sitting  
 23 *doctrine*: teaching    24 *took the more pain*: took upon himself the more pain / went to the more trouble  
 27 *mind*: mindset    30 *exhibited*: presented    30, 32 *give(n)*: dispose(d) // *members*: bodily parts  
 31 *from*: i.e., to go from    32 *again exhibit*: i.e., do the opposite: present

faith can no sin, no hell, no devil, no lies, none error prevail.”  
 For whatsoever any man hath committed... if he repent and come  
 to this rock he is safe. And that this faith is the *only* way by the  
 which the church goeth unto God, and unto the inheritance of  
 all his riches... testify all the apostles and prophets, and all the  
 Scripture, with signs and miracles, and all the blood of martyrs.  
 And whosoever go to God and to forgiveness of sins, or salvation,  
 by any other way than this... the same is a *heretic*—out of the right  
 way, and not of Christ’s church.

# 10 More

Lo, these words of Tyndale seem very gay and glorious. But  
 when ye shall well examine them... as gay as the head glittereth with  
 the pretext of Christ’s own holy words, yet shall ye find the tail  
 of his tale as poisoned as any serpent. For where he boasteth and saith,  
 “Against the rock of this faith can no sin, no hell, no devil, no lies, nor  
 none error prevail; for whatsoever [sin] any man hath committed, if he  
 repent and come to this rock he is safe,” ye may not forget that he meaneth  
 always that he which repenteth and cometh to the rock of this  
 faith is safe, for all his sins, without confession or any endeavor  
 through good works toward satisfaction; and so his whole tale is a  
 false heresy.

Ye shall also consider that his tale hangeth evil together... and  
 the words by which he proveth that “against the rock of this  
 faith there can no sin, nor no devil, nor none error prevail”  
 do not prove that point nothing at all. For though it were true  
 that he saith, that whatsoever sin a man have committed, “if he  
 repent and come to the rock of this faith he is safe”—yet *might* the  
 devil prevail against the rock of *that* faith... since it might be that  
 the devil might bring a man having that faith into a deadly  
 sin that he should haply never repent. And therefore, if Tyndale  
 will boast that the devil cannot in any person prevail against  
 the rock of that faith, but that the rock of that faith shall save any  
 man that once getteth up thereon, he may not set “if” nor “and” thereunto...  
 but he must tell us then that either whoso stand upon that rock  
 shall not sin at all, or else that he shall be sure to repent his  
 sin, or, finally, that sin he never so fast, he shall be safe enough  
 whether he repent or not. For else *may* the devil prevail against

1, 16, 24 *none*: no      3, 17, 19, 27 *safe*: i.e., saved      3 *way*: route      5 *richesse*: wealth / riches  
 5 *testify*: attest; bear witness      7 *go to God and to*: i.e., sets out to find God and      8, 9 *way*: path  
 8 *out of*: off of      9 *of*: i.e., a member of      11 *lo*: oh yes // *gay*: plausible // *glorious*: splendid  
 12 *gay*: brightly / showily / attractively      13 *pretext of*: veneer of / façade of being supported by  
 14, 20, 22 *tail*: speech      14 *poisoned as*: i.e., venomous as that of // *boasteth and*: i.e., boastingly  
 17 *may*: i.e., must      18 *he which*: whoever      19 *for*: despite; regardless of  
 20 *toward*: i.e., toward the making of      21 *false*: [a polite-language equivalent of] damn  
 22 *consider*: i.e., note // *evil*: poorly      25 *nothing*: i.e., in any way // *though*: even if  
 28 *might be*: i.e., could happen      29 *deadly*: mortal      30 *haply never*: perchance never / turn out never to  
 31 *will*: wants to      33 *set*: attach      34 *whoso stand*: whosoever stands      36 *never so*: no matter how  
 36 *fast*: steadily; incessantly      36 *safe enough*: i.e., plenty saved

the rock of that faith, by bringing a man that standeth on it into mortal sin which he shall never repent.

5 In like wise, where he saith that none *error* can prevail against the rock of this faith that Saint Peter there confessed, I would fain wit whether he mean that whosoever once believe it can never fall from that belief, nor by any error believe the contrary; or else that a man may fall from it by error... but then if he repent and return again thereto, he shall be safe. If he mean in the first manner, he must then put away his “if”... and not say, “If he repent his error and return again to the rock of that faith, then he shall be safe”... 10 forasmuch as by that meaning, he shall never fall in error, and therefore shall never need to repent. But then must he prove us by Scripture that privilege given of God to every man that hath once gotten that faith; which point he shall never prove while he liveth, 15 but that a man that hath it may by his own default, malice, or negligence, either at the instigation of the devil or of such heretics as are worse than the devil, fall again therefrom... as many hath done ere this, that once believed full right, till the spirit of pride, envy, and malice, blown into their hearts by the devil or the 20 devil’s instruments, have brought them into the wrong.

Now, if he mean in the second manner—that is to say, that a man which hath that faith may fall therefrom... but for all that, the gates of hell cannot *prevail* against any man that once hath it, because he that falleth from it shall be safe if he repent his error and return 25 again to it—if he mean thus, he saith nothing to purpose, except he say (which he shall never prove) that whoso have it and fall from it shall be sure that he shall repent and return again; for else the gates of hell may prevail against him for lack of repenting and returning.

30 And then, yet further, if he say (which he shall never prove) that whosoever once have that faith, if he fall from it shall be sure to repent and return again and so *shall* be safe by repenting—he must then, as I said before, put away his “if”... and not say “*if* he repent,” but he must say boldly that he surely *shall* 35 repent and return, and so by repenting and faith be saved.

And thus, good readers, ye see that this man fareth as one that walked barefoot upon a field full of thorns, that wotteth not where to tread.

3 *in like wise*: likewise // *none*: no 4 *confessed*: professed 4–5 *fain wit*: like to know  
 6, 7, etc. *from*: away from 7, 15, etc. *may*: i.e., could 8, 10, etc. *safe*: saved  
 8, 21 *mean*: i.e., means that assertion // *manner*: way 9, 33 *put away*: take out / get rid of 11 *in*: into  
 13 *that privilege given of God*: i.e., God’s giving of that special immunity 14 *while*: as long as  
 15 *default*: fault / failing 16 *negligence*: careless indifference 17 *fall again*: fall back away  
 17 *many*: i.e., many a man 18 *ere this*: before now // *full*: completely 20 *have*: has  
 20 *the wrong*: i.e., a wrong faith 22 *which*: who 25 *to purpose*: on point / that gets him anywhere  
 25 *except*: unless 26 *whoso have it and fall*: i.e., whoever has it and then falls  
 27 *shall . . . shall*: i.e., can be sure that he will / is sure to 34 *surely shall*: definitely will  
 36 *fareth as one*: acts like someone 36, 37 *that*: who 37 *upon*: onto // *wotteth*: knows  
 37 *tread*: step

I would be very loath to mistake him, or willingly to let pass  
 and dissemble any sense that he might mean in his own words,  
 by which his saying might be saved and be borne. But in good  
 faith, I see no further thing that he might possibly mean in his  
 5 words that “hell gates shall not prevail against the rock of that  
 faith” but this that I have already shown you... since he meaneth it of  
*every* man, that hell gates shall not prevail against the rock of that  
 faith in *any* man—except he would mean that a man may fall from  
 that faith, and never after repent nor turn again... but yet the  
 10 gates of hell cannot prevail against the rock of that *faith*, because  
 a man cannot sin all the while he keepeth that faith. And if  
 he mean so... yet saith he then as false as anything can be false.

1 Cor 13:2

For Saint Paul saith plainly that he  
 may keep faith and yet fall from charity.

15 Which thing if Tyndale gloss and say that then his faith is dead,  
 and a dead faith is no faith... and that therefore while he *keepeth* faith

*Dead faith waxeth not dead in* he cannot sin, because that when he  
*the nature of belief.* sinneth he *killeth* his faith: I answer

1 Tm 5:6

that though faith by sin wax dead, it

20 waxeth not dead in the nature of faith or belief... no more than the  
 soul that dieth by deadly sin waxeth dead in the nature of the  
 soul, but is a quick soul still as he was before, though he be out  
 of grace... as the dead faith is out of the lively works of charity, and  
 is as Saint Paul said of wanton widows, that the widow “which  
 25 liveth in delices is dead even while she liveth.”

But, now, if he mean but so—that faith is so strong of itself for  
 our salvation that sin nor error cannot prevail against it,  
 because faith will always prevail against them till some of them  
 enter in and kill it—this were a goodly boast of him to say; that “the  
 30 church be none but elects, and all that be elects have the right  
 belief which Saint Peter confessed... and they may be bold  
 and sure that they which have that faith be God’s elects, and in  
 his favor, and ever shall be by reason of that faith; for Christ said  
 that upon the ‘rock’ (that is to wit, upon that faith) he would build  
 35 his church, and that against the ‘rock’ of this faith ‘the gates of hell  
 shall not prevail’ (that is to say, against this faith can no sin, no  
 hell, no devil, no lies, no error prevail), for there shall no sin

1 *mistake him*: take him wrongly // *willingly*: deliberately // *let pass*: leave unmentioned

2 *dissemble*: turn a blind eye to // *mean . . . words*: i.e., take his own words in / mean for his words to be taken in

3 *his saying*: what he says // *saved*: defended // *borne*: sustained 3–4 *in good faith*: in all honesty

4 *in*: by 6 *shown*: told // *meaneth*: says 8 *except*: unless // *would*: were to 8, 14 *may*: could

8, 14 *from*: away from 9 *again*: back 11–12 *if . . . so*: if that is what he means 12 *then*: i.e., then something

13 *plainly*: straight out 15 *gloss and say*: i.e., should try to explain away by saying 16 *while*: as long as

17, 19, etc. *wax(eth)*: becomes 17 *because*: by reason of the fact 19 *though*: even if 21 *deadly*: mortal

22 *is*: i.e., that soul is // *quick*: living // *he*: i.e., it 22, 23 *out*: devoid 23 *lively*: life-filled / active

24 *as Saint Paul said of*: i.e., like what Saint Paul said about // *wanton*: loose-living // *which*: who

25 *in delices*: for sensual pleasures / in self-indulgence 26 *if . . . so*: if that’s all he means

26–27 *is . . . salvation*: i.e., has in itself such power to save us 27 *sin . . . cannot*: neither sin nor error can

28 *against them*: i.e., against sins and errors 29 *were . . . say*: would be a fine boast for him to make

31 *confessed*: professed // *may*: can 31–32 *bold and sure*: fearlessly sure 32 *they which*: those who

nor no error prevail against this faith but if it kill this faith.”

Tyndale to put a man in surety of heaven by the strength of faith in this fashion—that none error shall prevail against faith, as long as the faith prevaieth against it, nor till the faith be the feebler  
 5 and be overcome and killed—doth much like as though he would say to you, “Be bold, I warrant you, and fear no death, for you have life in you, and as long as your life lasteth you can never be dead; and likewise, as long as ye keep the true faith ye can never be false heretics... nor as long as ye stand still in the state of salvation  
 10 ye can never be damned.”

Here were a goodly tale, were it not? And since that neither this may serve him nor any that I have touched before... and utterly I cannot divine what he might mean else, taking the way that he taketh, in swerving from the known, Catholic church unto his unknown  
 15 church of elects, whom he calleth all repentant sinners that believe the faith that Saint Peter confessed: I cannot perceive, nor, I trow, no man else, but that his words will evil stand together.

And yet, when he hath thus wisely handled it... then, as though the matter were well and sufficiently proved, goeth he forth with the  
 20 boast and saith...

#### Tyndale

That this faith is the *only* way by the which the church of Christ goeth unto God, and unto the inheritance of all riches... testify all the apostles, and prophets, and all the Scripture, with  
 25 signs and miracles, and all the blood of martyrs. And whosoever goeth unto God and forgiveness of sins, or salvation, by any other way than this... the same is a *heretic*—out of the right way, and not of Christ’s church.

#### More

Lo, here be lusty, high words either false or else of little effect. For if he mean that no man may go to salvation by any other thing *without* this faith that Saint Peter professed—then be they true. But then are they to no purpose spoken, nor have no place in this matter, in which he reproveth the known church in  
 35 that they go by confession, contrition, works of penance, and works of mercy, toward the remission of the debt of their pain and satisfaction. For himself cannot say nay but that we do

1 *but if it kill*: unless it kills    2 *to . . . by*: i.e., in giving as a guarantee of one’s making it to heaven    3 *none*: no  
 4 *feebler*: i.e., weaker combatant    6 *be bold*: i.e., you can be daring // *I warrant you*: i.e., take this from me  
 6 *fear no death*: i.e., have no fear of dying    9 *false*: falsehood-believing / damn // *nor*: i.e., and  
 9 *stand still*: continue to remain // *salvation*: i.e., grace    11 *were*: would (be) // *goodly tale*: fine thing to say  
 11 *since that*: given that // *this*: i.e., this possible interpretation    12, 31 *may*: can    12 *serve*: be of avail to  
 12 *touched*: mentioned // *and*: and that    12–13 *utterly . . . else*: I have absolutely no idea what else he could mean  
 13, 22 *way*: route    14 *swerving*: deviating    16 *confessed*: professed    17 *trow . . . man*: feel sure, can anyone  
 17 *words*: statements // *evil stand*: poorly hang    18 *wisely*: brilliantly    18–19 *the matter*: the case; his contention  
 19 *well and*: quite // *forth*: on    23 *richesse*: wealth    24 *testify*: attest; bear witness  
 26 *goeth unto*: i.e., sets out to find    27 *way*: path // *out*: off    28 *of*: i.e., a member of    30 *lo*: look  
 30 *lusty*: spirited / vigorous // *high*: high-flown / bombastic    31 *go to*: i.e., attain // *by*: i.e., by means of  
 34 *matter*: argumentation // *reproveth*: finds fault with    35 *they*: i.e., its members // *by*: i.e., by the route of  
 36–37 *pain and satisfaction*: i.e., taking punishment, and making satisfaction, for their sins    37 *say nay but*: deny

Note

all agree that with all that ever we can do,  
we cannot get forth one inch to-heaven-ward  
without the faith that Saint Peter confessed.

5 Now, if he mean not that way, but that we be plain heretics  
and out of Christ's church if, having that faith that Saint Peter  
confessed, we go to-heaven-ward with any other thing besides that  
testify all the apostles and prophets, and all the Scripture and  
signs and miracles, and all the blood of martyrs—then *Tyndale* is a  
10 *stark* heretic, in so saying. For all these will testify that we  
must believe many things more than Saint Peter did there confess—  
or else we shall not only be discharged of believing the  
sacraments of Penance, Confirmation, Extreme Unction, Order,  
and Matrimony... but Baptism also, and the Sacrament of the Altar  
too. For of *none* of all these did Saint Peter make any mention in his  
15 confession there; nor so much as of Christ's death neither, whereof, as  
*Tyndale* saith, he had at that time no knowledge. So that in *Tyndale's*  
affirming that the only faith there by Peter confessed is  
sufficient and the only way to heaven, we shall have *Tyndale* himself  
to testify that *Tyndale* himself saith untrue.

20 Yet would I fain, in good faith, find and bring it forth, if I  
could anything imagine, that he might seem to mean right; nor  
never will I wittingly for the preferment of my part construe mine  
adversary's words wrong. And therefore, what if we might understand  
*Tyndale* thus: as though he meant that the faith there confessed  
25 by Peter is for every man sufficient... because that whoso  
believe that Christ is the Son of the Living God, it cannot be but  
that he shall believe also that he is true in all his words; and therefore  
he that so believeth cannot fail to believe therewith... all that  
ever Christ shall teach him.

30 Albeit that this will not very fully serve him, and also himself  
speaketh nothing of it—yet is this, as help me God, the best gloss that  
I can devise for him. But now doth himself cast away this  
defense... when he saith, in the second chapter following, that there  
is none error noisome but if it be against the *promises*; so that in  
35 all other things he granteth and affirmeth plainly, by express  
words, that a man may err without peril, even though that the

2 *to-heaven-ward*: toward heaven    3, 6, etc. *confessed*: professed    4 *he . . . way*: i.e., his meaning is not that  
4 *plain*: literal    5 *out of*: not in    6 *go to-heaven-ward*: try to get to heaven // *with*: by means of  
6–8 *that testify . . . martyrs*: i.e., what . . . martyrs attest that we should    8 *is*: i.e., becomes  
9 *stark*: glaringly manifest // *testify*: bear witness    10 *things more*: more things  
10 *confess*: i.e., profess belief in    11 *discharged of believing*: i.e., freed of having to believe in  
12 *Extreme Unction*: the Anointing of the Sick // *Order*: Holy Orders    13 *Sacrament of the Altar*: Eucharist  
15 *confession*: profession of faith    17 *the only faith*: i.e., just the belief    19 *saith untrue*: tells an untruth  
20 *fain, in good faith*: gladly, in all honesty  
20–21 *bring . . . right*: i.e., bring forth whatever right meaning, if I could think of any, he might seem to have  
22 *wittingly*: knowingly // *preferment*: boosting // *part*: side of the argument  
25 *because*: by reason of the fact    25–26 *whoso believe*: whosoever believes  
27 *he is true in all his words*: he is trustworthy in all his statements / everything he says is true  
30 *serve him*: take care of him; help him out    30, 32 *himself*: he himself    31 *as*: so  
31 *gloss*: elucidation / spin    32 *cast away*: throw out    33–34 *there is none error*: i.e., no error is  
34 *noisome*: noxious; really harmful // *but if it be against*: i.e., unless it has to do with // *in*: with regard to  
35 *granteth*: avows    35–36 *express words*: explicit statements    36 *may*: can // *though that*: if

truth contrary to his error be written in Holy Scripture; which is  
a marvelous word in mine ear. For by this ye may see that he  
agreeth that a man *may* believe that Christ is God's Son and yet  
believe the contrary of some things that Christ shall tell him,  
5 though he tell it him in Scripture. And therefore he will, ye see well,  
none of my gloss, because he will not stand in my danger for it.

And indeed, albeit himself shall for himself never find a  
better... yet mine will not sufficiently serve him neither. For a man  
might believe that Christ were God's Son, and thereby believe also  
10 all that Christ would teach him—but yet might it be that he would  
believe no more than those things only that Christ would teach  
him personally present with him, by his own mouth. For though he  
believed that Christ were God's Son, and would believe therefore  
all that *he* would tell him, yet might he, for all that, mistrust and  
15 not believe all other men that would, either in word or writing, tell  
him a tale as told to them by Christ's own mouth. Yea, and this  
might he do although they proved it with miracles... if he were

*Mt 12:24* of Tyndale's stomach, that can, as the Jews  
could, ascribe God's miracles to Beelzebul,

20 and call God's high, marvelous works illusions and wonders  
of the devil—as he calleth all the miracles wrought by God in his  
church since the apostles' days.

This might one do that believed Christ to be God's Son, and  
to have redeemed us, also, by his blood. And this doth indeed both  
25 Tyndale and Martin his master, which believe of Christ's words no  
more than is written... nor of the written words no more than they  
list... and the remnant but *as* they list, since they draw them to  
what sense they list, against all the old holy doctors, and all the  
church of Christ. And thus it appeareth that neither my gloss nor any  
30 gloss else can save Tyndale's tale from plain, pestilent heresy...  
both in that he saith there needeth no more to be believed, and also  
in that he saith that the belief alone is sufficient for salvation...  
and that it is heresy to say that besides the belief, any man  
unto salvation should need anything else. For though he put in, for  
35 shame, repentance thereunto, with ifs, as ye see—yet shall ye perceive,  
as well in his chapters following as in this same chapter  
after, that he putteth faith alone for sufficient, and repentance as

2 *a marvelous word in mine ear*: i.e., to my ears a mind-boggling assertion    2, 3 *may*: can    3 *agreeth*: grants  
5, 12, 17 *(al)though*: even if    6 *none of*: i.e., have none of; reject    6, 29 *gloss*: (offered) spin  
6 *will not*: doesn't want to // *stand in my danger*: open himself to attack by me / play into my hands  
6 *for*: on account of / by accepting    8 *better*: i.e., better one // *serve*: help    9, 13 *were*: i.e., is  
10, 23 *might*: could    14 *mistrust*: distrust; be skeptical of    15 *word*: i.e., spoken word  
16 *a tale*: i.e., something // *as*: i.e., as it was / as having been    18 *stomach*: disposition // *that*: who  
20 *high*: superlative / sublime // *marvelous*: astounding    21 *of*: i.e., produced by    25 *which*: who  
26 *is written*: i.e., is found in Scripture // *the written words*: i.e., those words in Scripture  
27 *list*: want to / choose to // *remnant*: rest  
27 *draw them to*: attribute to them / so twist them as to make them appear to have  
28 *what sense they list*: i.e., whatever meaning they want them to have // *old*: early / time-honored  
28 *holy doctors*: theologians / biblical exegetes // *all the*: the whole    29 *appeareth*: is clear to see  
30 *gloss else*: other spin // *save . . . from*: i.e., keep what Tyndale is saying from being // *pestilent*: pernicious  
31 *there . . . to*: i.e., that nothing more than what Peter professed (as per Matthew 16:18) need  
34 *unto*: i.e., to obtain    35 *shame*: i.e., fear of otherwise looking bad    37 *after*: later on  
37 *putteth*: posits // *as*: i.e., as being like



a shadow that never can but follow it. And yet all his things ever so darkly that he would fain leave himself some starting hole.

But surely it is hard for him to start out from these plain words of his own, “Whosoever go to God by any other way than this faith that  
 5 Saint Peter confessed... the same is a *heretic*—out of the right way, and not of Christ’s church.” For this is no more to say but whosoever besides the bare belief, with as bare repenting, add confession, or for sin punish himself by penance, or doth the better after because he hath done evil before, and hopeth that God shall either  
 10 reward him the more or have the more mercy on him or in purgatory punish him the less—he is a stark heretic. And of truth, so he is indeed, if this false tale be true... and all true men, and all holy saints, and all Holy Scripture, false.

But now goeth he forth, not in the proof but in the praise, and  
 15 saith...

### Tyndale

For this knowledge maketh me a man of the church.

### More

Which knowledge? The knowledge that a man needeth no more  
 20 articles in his faith now than Saint Peter confesseth then? And that he may not, besides repentance and belief, use any other way to heaven; that is to wit, he may not therewith use as a way to heaven or to remission any sacramental shrift, or penitential works, or deeds of charity toward satisfaction? The knowledge of  
 25 this faith maketh Tyndale a “man of the church,” as he saith. But of *which* church, trow ye? Truly not of the church of *Christ*, which besides *that* faith hath instituted the faith in his blessed sacraments and divers other articles besides... and which hath plainly declared that albeit the knowledge of him-and-his-pleasure by faith be such a way  
 30 toward heaven that *without* it we cannot come thither, yet if we join not to that knowledge good deeds or purpose of good works, neither can that knowledge nor repentance, neither, serve us for a *sufficient* way to heaven. And therefore Tyndale is not by this knowledge made a man of Christ’s true church; but since he is content  
 35 with the bare knowledge and setteth all good works at so short, he is made thereby a man of the false church of the devil, that is a liar himself and father of all such liars.

1 *never can but*: i.e., can never fail to; cannot help but // *things*: combative contentions // *ever*: always  
 2 *darkly*: unclearly // *would fain leave*: i.e., hopes to be leaving // *starting hole*: escape hatch  
 3 *start out from*: i.e., find an escape hatch in // *plain*: straightforward; unambiguous 4 *go*: i.e., tries to go  
 5 *confessed*: professed // *out of*: off of // *way*: path 6 *of*: i.e., a member of // *but*: than that  
 7 *(the) bare*: (that) rudimentary 9 *evil*: ill; badly 11 *a stark*: a downright / an absolute  
 11–12 *of truth*: truth to tell 12 *tale*: narrative // *true [men]*: orthodox / truth-telling / upright  
 13 *false*: unorthodox / mendacious / false 14 *proof*: i.e., proving // *praise*: i.e., extolling / bragging  
 20 *confesseth then*: i.e., professes at that one time 21, 29, 33 *way*: pathway 22 *way to*: i.e., way to get to  
 23 *to remission*: i.e., to obtain remission of sin and of the punishment due for it // *shrift*: confession  
 24 *toward satisfaction*: i.e., performed with a view toward making amends for one’s sins and paying off the debt of punishment for them 25 *maketh*: i.e., does make 26 *trow ye*: do you suppose  
 26 *Christ, which*: Christ, who 27 *that faith*: i.e., that belief that Saint Peter professed 28 *divers*: several  
 28 *which*: who 29 *albeit*: though it is true that // *knowledge*: i.e., knowing 30 *come thither*: get there  
 31 *purpose of*: the intention of doing 35 *bare*: mere // *setteth . . . at so*: i.e., sells . . . so 36 *that*: who

## Tyndale

The church is Christ's body (Col 1). And every person of the church is a member of Christ (Eph 5). Now, it is no member of Christ that hath not Christ's Spirit in it; as it is no part of me, nor member of my body, wherein my soul is not present and quickeneth it. And then if a man be none of Christ's, he is not of the church.

## More

Here Tyndale runneth in juggling, by equivocation of this word "church." For—whereas himself hath before this time confessed in writing, in this same book to which I answer now, that "the church" in many places of Holy Scripture is the whole multitude that profess the faith of Christ, whether they be good or bad—*here* he fareth as though there were no man of "the church" but only good folk alone in whom is the Spirit of Christ... with an example put of the body having some dead part hanging thereon, wherein were not the soul to quicken it and give it life, which therefore, he saith, is no part of the body. But he forgetteth that sometimes there is some member astonied and lacketh both life and feeling... which yet, by the reason that it is not clean cut off and cast away, receiveth after life and feeling again... as many a deadly sinner doth in the body of Christ's church take life again, that hath in sin lain full long dead.

But now is he yet of this mind, that the faith which himself hath described is the thing that, it once gotten and had of any man, keepeth in the Spirit of God so fast in his heart that he is surely a quick member of the church that is Christ's body... and that he cannot lose that faith nor that Spirit at any time after that he hath once gotten it... so that he have it, as he saith in another chapter after, feelingly and not only historically.

And whosoever have not the faith that he describeth him, he reckoneth for a heretic... and only *his* faith for the true, and the believers thereof for the true church.

Now, *his* faith have ye heard often enough: that only faith sufficeth, or at the leastwise with repenting; and that shrift, or penance toward heaven or remission of sins, is heresy; and that to worship the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar is dishonor to God; and that there is no purgatory; and that friars may well and

2 *person of*: person in / member of    3, 4 *Christ*: i.e., Christ's body. (See Ephesians 5:29–30.)

3–4 *it . . . that . . . it*: i.e., that person . . . who . . . him or her    4 *as it*: i.e., just as that thing

5 *quickeneth*: i.e., which is not animated by    6 *none of Christ's*: i.e., not a member of Christ's body

6 *of the*: i.e., a member of the    8 *runneth in juggling*: resorts to playing games / pulls a fast one

8–9 *equivocation . . . "church"*: i.e., using the same term, "church," in different senses within the same syllogism

9, 22 *himself*: he himself    9 *confessed*: acknowledged    10 *answer*: i.e., give answer

11 *places*: passages    12 *fareth*: acts    13 *of*: i.e., in    14 *put*: given    15 *dead*: nonliving

16 *quicken*: animate    17 *member*: bodily part    18 *astonied*: i.e., that is numbed    18, 19 *life*: animation

19 *clean*: completely    19–20 *receiveth after life and feeling again*: later gets back animation and feeling

20 *deadly sinner*: committer of mortal sin    21 *take life again*: come back to spiritual life

21 *full*: very    23 *described*: delineated / prescribed    // *of*: by    24 *fast*: entrenchedly

25 *surely*: assuredly / securely    // *quick*: live    26 *after that*: i.e., after such time as

27 *so that he have it*: provided that he has it    28 *feelingly*: experientially    // *historically*: i.e., intellectually

29 *describeth*: delineates for / prescribes to    32 *only faith*: faith by itself    33 *shrift*: confession

34 *toward*: i.e., done with reference to    36 *may well and*: can quite

lawfully wed nuns; and a great rabble of such devilish  
heresies more, of such manner, suit, and sort that, as our Savior said

*Mt 16:17*

unto Saint Peter at the confession of his  
faith, "Thou art blessed, Simon the son

- 5 of Jonah; for flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but  
my Father, that is in heaven," so will he say to Tyndale, for confessing  
of this false faith of his, "Thou art accursed, Tyndale, the son of the  
devil; for neither flesh nor blood hath taught thee these heresies...  
but thine own father, the devil, that is in hell." And thus well hath he  
10 acquitted him in this chapter.

Here endeth the confutation of this chapter of Tyndale,  
"Whether the Church Can Err."

- Here followeth the next chapter of Tyndale, in which he  
saith that a true member of Christ's church  
15 sinneth not, and that he is yet a sinner.

Tyndale

How a true member of Christ's church sinneth not, and how he is  
yet a sinner.

More

- 20 Now come we to the special point wherein Tyndale giveth us  
a glorious demonstration of his excellent, high wit and learning,  
far surmounting the capacity of poor popish men to perceive:  
how it might be possible that any man sinneth not and yet, for all  
that, sinneth always still. But to the intent that Tyndale shall have  
25 no cause to say that I deface his gay, goodly tale by mangling of his  
matter and rehearsing him by patches and pieces, ye shall first, concerning  
this point, hear all his whole chapter together, without  
any word of his either omitted or changed; and after shall we  
consider and examine the parts. These are, therefore, his words...

- 30 Tyndale

Furthermore, he that hath this faith cannot sin; and therefore  
he cannot be deceived with damnable errors. For by this faith  
we be, as I said, born of God. Now, he that is born of God cannot

1 *lawfully*: legitimately // *great rabble*: huge mishmash    2 *manner*: i.e., a nature // *suit*: class  
2 *sort*: variety // *as*: i.e., just as    3 *at the confession*: i.e., about that profession he made  
6, 9 *that*: who    6 *confessing*: i.e., his professing    10 *him*: himself    20 *special*: preeminent  
21 *excellent*: superior // *high*: stratospheric / superb // *wit*: intelligence  
22 *surmounting*: exceeding    24 *sinneth always still*: always keeps sinning  
25 *deface his gay, goodly tale*: i.e., make his brilliant, splendid discourse look bad  
25–26 *mangling of his matter*: i.e., hacking up its content    26 *rehearsing*: quoting  
26 *patches*: bits    27 *all his whole*: his whole entire    28 *after*: afterward  
32 *be deceived with*: be lured into espousing / go astray via subscribing to

sin, for “his seed dwelleth in him; and he cannot, therefore, sin, because he is born of God” (1 Jn 3). Which seed is the Holy Ghost, that keepeth a man’s heart from consenting unto sin. And therefore it is a false conclusion that Master More holdeth, how that  
 5 a man may have a right faith joined with all kinds of abomination and sin. And yet every member of Christ’s congregation *is* a sinner, and sinneth daily, some more and some less. For it is written (1 Jn 1), “If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.” And again, “If we say we have  
 10 not sinned, we make him a liar and his word is not in us.” And Paul (Rom 7) saith, “That good which I would, that do I not; but that evil which I would not, that do I. So it is not I that do it,” saith he, “but sin that dwelleth in me.” Thus are we sinners *and* no sinners. No sinners if thou look unto the profession of our hearts toward the  
 15 law of God, on our repentance and sorrow that we have, both because we have sinned and also because we be yet full of sin still, and unto the promises of mercy in our Savior Christ, and unto faith. Sinners are we if thou look unto the frailty of our flesh, which is as the weakness of one that is newly recovered out of a  
 20 great disease... by the reason whereof our deeds are imperfect, and by the reason whereof also, when occasions be great, we fall into horrible deeds... and the fruit of the sin which remaineth in our members breaketh out. Notwithstanding, yet the Spirit leaveth us not, but rebuketh us and bringeth us home again unto our profession... so  
 25 that we never cast off the yoke of God from our necks, neither yield up ourselves unto sin for to serve it, but fight afresh and begin a new battle.

#### More

Lo, now ye have heard his whole holy sermon together, by which  
 30 he teacheth us that a true member of Christ’s church doth both ever sin and never sin. But as for the one part, that the true members of Christ *do* sin... we shall not much trouble him with the proof; albeit in that he saith that every true member sinneth and *ever* sinneth (as he saith in more places than one), if he take  
 35 “sin” for actual sin (as he must here take it, or else he speaketh little to the purpose), men might peradventure lay a block or twain in his way, that would break his shins ere he leapt over it. But letting that part pass, let us see how he proveth the other: that a true member of Christ’s church sinneth *not*. Lo, thus  
 40 he proveth it...

4 *conclusion*: proposition / thesis // *Master*: i.e., Mr. // *holdeth*: maintains  
 4–5 *how that a man may*: i.e., that one can // 7 *daily*: every day / all the time // 8 *have no*: are without  
 10 *make him*: i.e., make him out to be; call him // 11, 12 *which*: i.e., thing which  
 12 *would (not)*: i.e., (do not) want to do // 14, 17, 18 *unto*: at // 15 *on*: at  
 16–17 *be yet full of sin still*: still are, constantly, full of sin // 18 *the frailty of our flesh*: i.e., our human frailty  
 19 *as*: like // *one that*: someone who // *out of*: from // 20 *great disease*: serious illness  
 20 *imperfect*: flawed; defective // 21 *occasions*: inducements / provocations // 22 *members*: bodily parts  
 24 *home again*: back home // 25 *neither*: nor // 29, 39 *lo*: behold // 30, 34 *ever*: always  
 32 *trouble him with*: trouble him about; pester him for // 33 *albeit*: even though  
 35 *actual sin*: i.e., personally committed sin, as opposed to inherited original sin  
 36 *peradventure*: perhaps // 37 *twain*: two // *break*: bruise // *ere*: before

## Tyndale

Furthermore, he that hath this faith cannot sin, and therefore cannot be deceived with damnable errors.

## More

5 Here he telleth us that no member of the elect church of his faith can be deceived with any damnable error—and proveth it by that none of them can sin. And indeed it followeth: He cannot sin; ergo, he cannot be damnably deceived, since every damnable error is sin. But now let us see how he proveth his antecedent, that  
10 no man having that faith can sin. He proveth it thus...

## Tyndale

For by this faith we be born of God. Now, he that is born of God cannot sin, “for his seed dwelleth in him; and he cannot, therefore, sin, because he is born of God” (the third chapter of the First  
15 Epistle of John). Which seed is the Holy Ghost, that keeps a man’s heart from consenting to sin. And therefore it is a false conclusion that M. More holdeth, that a man may have a right faith joined with all kinds of abomination and sin.

## More

20 Consider now, good reader, that Tyndale telleth us here three things, to prove thereby that whoso get once the faith that Saint Peter confessed can never sin after.

The first is that by that faith we be born of God. The second is that whoso is born of God hath the seed of God in him.

25 The third is that whoso have the seed of God in him cannot sin.

Upon these three he concludeth that whoso get once that faith can never sin after.

30 Let us now consider the first, where he saith that by faith we be born of God. And therein dare we be bold to tell him that though it be true that by faith we be born of God, as he now saith, yet is it

*We are not born of God* false that by *only* faith we be born of  
*by only faith!* God—as he falsely meaneth, and in many  
places as falsely for truth affirmeth,

35 where he would make us ween that because we be born of God and

3, 6 *be deceived with*: i.e., be lured into espousing / go astray via subscribing to

7 *that*: i.e., the assertion that // *it followeth*: i.e., that does follow 8 *ergo*: therefore

8 *deceived*: in error 15 *that*: who 16 *conclusion*: proposition / thesis 17 *M.*: i.e., Mr.

17 *holdeth*: maintains // *may*: can 20 *consider*: i.e., note

21, 27 *whoso get once*: i.e., once someone gets

22 *confessed . . . after*: i.e., professed, that person can never sin thereafter 24, 25 *whoso*: whoever

25 *have*: i.e., has 27 *upon these three*: i.e., from these three premises

27–28 *faith . . . after*: i.e., faith, that person can never sin thereafter 30 *be bold*: venture

30 *though*: even if 32 *only faith*: faith alone 33 *falsely meaneth*: with deliberate dishonesty implies

34 *falsely*: untruthfully 35 *would*: i.e., hopes to // *ween*: think; believe

become his children by faith, we were therefore born of God by *only* faith. As wisely as if he would say that because he was begotten by his father, he was therefore begotten of his father only, without any mother.

5 And this his folly himself so well perceiveth that in many places he laboreth to cover it with sophistication, in using this word “faith” for faith and hope together; yea, and sometimes for charity therewith also... and then would make us ween, with such wise juggling, that “faith alone” were faith, hope, and charity, all three  
10 together, because that else the faith were but dead. And therein useth himself as wisely as if he would say that “the body alone” eateth, drinketh, walketh, believeth, loveth, and altogether; and when his folly were reproveth, would then say that he called “the body alone” the body with the soul therein, because the body without  
15 the soul were but a dead body that could nothing do.

And thus ye see that ye shall not need to be deceived by his first point: that we be born of God by faith.

His second point is that every man being born of God hath the “seed of God” dwelling in him. I will not here contend with him  
20 whether the “seed of God” that dwelleth in the children of God be the Holy Ghost, or the faith, or the grace of God... nor in what wise God and his Holy Spirit dwell in good folk. But letting such disputations pass, this will I say: that if the seed of faith being  
25 *only* faith abide in him, it is not a thing that shall so surely keep him from sin but that he may sin deadly, and the seed of such faith stand still with his sin; and the man, for all the seed of such faith dwelling in him, may be by sin the child of the devil, and so may die and go to the devil.

*Belief alone is a great occasion of returning to God.* But yet is the seed of faith alone—that  
30 is to say, the belief alone—a very great occasion of *returning* to God at his calling-again by the offer of his grace, and thereby to get again both wholesome hope and charity. But not so great an occasion thereof but that the man may keep still his faith  
35 and his belief alone and, without hope or charity either, by malice or negligence first fall to sin, and after continue still in sin, and refuse the grace of God, if he will... as well as the devil did in the

2, 24 *only faith*: faith alone    2, 11 *wisely*: sensibly // *would*: were to  
5 *his folly*: nonsensicalness of his // *himself*: he himself    6 *laboreth*: tries hard  
6 *sophistication*: sophistry    8 *would*: i.e., hopes to // *ween*: think // *with*: by  
9 *wise*: skillful // *juggling*: sleight of hand // *were*: i.e., is    10 *because*: for the reason  
10, 15 *were*: would be    10 *but dead*: utterly inert; totally inoperative    11 *useth*: comports  
12 *altogether*: all; everything    13 *folly were*: nonsensicalness was // *reproveth*: called out; criticized  
15 *but*: only; just // *dead*: lifeless    16 *shall not need to be deceived*: i.e., need not be taken in  
19 *contend*: argue    21 *wise*: way    21–22 *God and his Holy Spirit dwell*: i.e., God the Holy Spirit dwells  
23 *disputations*: discussions    24 *abide*: i.e., abides // *surely*: certainly / securely / reliably  
25 *deadly*: mortally    26 *stand still*: continually coexist    31, 34 *occasion*: inducement; spur  
31 *of*: i.e., to / toward    32, 33 *again*: back    34 *thereof*: i.e., thereto  
34 *may keep still*: can go on keeping    35 *without*: i.e., having not  
36 *negligence*: heedlessness / unconcern // *to*: into // *continue still*: stay continually    37 *will*: wants to

beginning, and so doth ever still, and will do still in hell as long  
as God dwelleth in heaven.

Now, if the “seed” of God in the Christian man be meant his grace by  
which men come to faith, hope, and charity, and do good works  
5 with, not without the consent and applying of their own free  
wills thereto—such folk as have use of reason, working with God  
for their poor part toward their own salvation with the  
instrument that God of his only goodness hath made and given them  
thereunto—if he mean that this seed of God’s grace dwelleth still  
10 in man, to keep him from falling to sin: I say that it is very true,  
as long as man will cleave thereunto and let his own will work therewith.  
But whensoever he will withdraw his own will therefrom, to  
follow the world, the flesh, or the devil: then, like as his will  
departeth from grace, so doth ordinarily the seed of grace depart out  
15 of him.

Now, if he mean by the “seed” of God that the Spirit of God dwelleth  
in the Christian man by any other, special manner of dwelling,  
above such dwelling as he dwelleth in other men by his power and  
presence of his Godhead, than only by his favor and grace—which  
20 other special manner, if Tyndale mean any such, I cannot conceive,  
since I make myself sure that he meaneth no such dwelling in  
unity of person as the Second Person of the Godhead dwelleth with  
the manhood of Christ—yet if he devise and mean any other manner  
of dwelling by which the Spirit of God dwelleth with the faithful  
25 man... I say that the Spirit dwelleth in him and helpeth him to  
continue such as long as the man will by the applying of his  
own will continue with the Spirit. But I say that the man *may*  
by the frowardness of his free will (at the motion of the flesh, or  
instigation of the devil, or enticement of the world)—his faith  
30 remaining—fall from charity, and put the Spirit from him. As  
*Mk 5:1–17* did the people of Gerasa which, seeing  
Christ’s miracle wrought upon the mad  
man (out of whom he did cast the devil!), because he drove the  
devil into their hogs and thereby drove their hogs into the sea...  
35 though well they perceived what a mighty lord he was, and of what  
goodness too, in that they saw him deliver the man from the legion of  
devils, and therefore loved him somewhat, of likelihood, and would

1 *do still*: keep doing    3 *if*: i.e., if by    5 *consent*: assent    7 *the*: i.e., that  
8 *only*: sheer / unparalleled    9 *still*: continually; uninterruptedly    10 *to*: into  
10 *it*: i.e., this    17, 23 *any*: some    18 *above*: superior to    18, 22 *dwelleth*: i.e., does  
19 *of his Godhead*: i.e., as God    20 *conceive*: imagine    21 *make myself*: feel  
22 *Godhead*: Supreme Being    23 *devise*: i.e., does have in mind  
24 *faithful*: faith-possessing / morally upright    26, 27 *continue*: keep being    27 *may*: can  
28 *frowardness*: perversity / uncooperativeness // *motion*: prompting; urging  
30 *fall from*: fall away from; lose // *put*: drive away    31 *which*: who  
37 *loved*: admired // *of likelihood*: probably

have been glad to have had him dwell still with them... yet fearing  
that by the casting out of more devils they might afterward haply  
lose more of their hogs, they prayed him courteously to get  
him quickly thence.

- 5 Yet God, when man hath put him out of his dwelling... doth of his  
great goodness not always utterly leave him for his unkindness...  
but though if the man die ere God come in again, God shall of  
justice for his unkindness condemn him, yet he hovereth  
still about the door of his heart, always knocking upon him to be by  
10 the free will of man let in with his grace into the house of man's  
heart again... according to the words of our Savior in the Apocalypse,  
*Rv 3:20* where he saith, "I stand at the door,  
knocking." Howbeit, a man may be so  
froward and obstinate in sin, and when he hath expelled God out of  
15 his heart, may drive him, with sin upon sin and spiteful  
circumstances, so far off from the door (as some of these heretics do,  
which in despite of virtuous vows of chastity, run out and wed  
nuns and live in lechery... and in despite of the Lenten fast, eat  
flesh upon Good Friday... and in despite of the Blessed Sacraments  
20 of the Altar, cast the Precious Body of Christ out of the pyx) that God  
shall justly, for the hugeness of their abomination, withdraw himself  
so far that he shall peradventure never approach near unto them  
again, nor never after offer them his grace. And then must they  
needs never cease falling till they come down to the devil. Thus,  
25 finally, concerning his second point... "faith alone" *may* dwell in a  
man, *and* deadly sin, together. But *lively* faith—that is to wit, faith  
not alone, but coupled with hope and charity and will of good works—  
*cannot* dwell with deadly sin... neither with manslaughter,  
adultery, nor any suchlike... but as the one cometh in, the other  
30 goeth out, whether the sin be committed of malice, weakness, or  
frailty; whereof Tyndale very stiffly teacheth us untruly the contrary.  
*All sins be not of one weight.* And yet I say not that all sins be of one  
weight... concerning the difficulty of  
returning to repentance, or the degrees of pain in hell after the  
35 final impenitence, or punishment in purgatory for lack of penance

1 *dwell still*: stay on    2 *haply*: i.e., happen to    3 *prayed . . . to*: politely invited him to / begged him to please  
3–4 *get him quickly thence*: i.e., quickly betake himself elsewhere; hurriedly get out of there    5 *put*: driven  
6, 8 *unkindness*: inhumanity; beastliness    7 *ere*: before // *come in again*: comes back in  
8–9 *hovereth still about*: keeps hanging around; keeps waiting at    9 *him*: i.e., it  
11 *Apocalypse*: Book of Revelation    13 *howbeit*: however    14 *froward*: perverse / defiant / recalcitrant  
15 *despiteful*: contempt-showing    16 *circumstances*: i.e., attendant circumstances    17 *which*: who  
17, 18 *despite*: contempt / scorn    17 *chastity*: celibacy / perpetual sexual abstinence  
17 *run out*: skip out; abscond from religious life    19 *flesh*: meat // *despite*: contempt  
19–20 *the Blessed Sacraments of the Altar*: consecrated hosts; the Blessed Sacrament    20 *cast*: throw  
21 *abomination*: i.e., abominableness / insult to him    22 *peradventure*: perhaps    24 *needs*: inevitably  
25 *may*: can    26, 28 *deadly*: mortal    26 *lively*: living // *to wit*: to say    27 *will of*: the disposition to do  
28 *dwell*: be co-present; coexist // *manslaughter*: murder    30 *of*: out of  
31 *frailty*: i.e., human frailty; susceptibility to temptation // *stiffly*: adamantly; obdurately  
31 *untruly*: disingenuously    32 *one*: the same    34 *after the*: i.e., after



here; but for that if they die before they return by grace and good will unto penance, they be all perpetually damned in hell, the one as well as the other (though the one not so much as the other), contrary to Tyndale's aforesaid false conclusion; whose proof in that  
 5 point specially dependeth upon his third article, whereof the words be true and his understanding false. For his third point, ye wot well, is this: that whosoever have the seed of God dwelling in him cannot sin.

This point, ye remember, he proveth by the words of Saint  
 10 John in the third chapter of his first epistle. Which epistle is undoubtedly one of the most hard and dark places of all the New Testament... and whereof sundry great heresies have risen, and sundry more there may, through such malicious minds as read the Scripture to none other intent but to wrest every word unto the  
 15 worse part... and of the plainness and simplicity that the apostles used in the manner of their words, take occasion to turn their earnest, godly sentence into frivolous cavillations and sophisms; as not only divers heretics have done of old, but also Tyndale hath now of new—both renewed their old and added some of his  
 20 own, more pestilent and more foolish, also, than all the old heretics durst for very shame have spoken of. And whereas all the old holy doctors used always to make open and expound the hard and dark places of Scripture by such others as were plain, clear, and evident:

*The use and custom of heretics*                      these heretics always, for the proof of their heresies, seek out the hardest places that can be found in Scripture... and all

the plain, open words in which can be no doubt nor question, they come and expound by those places that be dark, obscure, and hard to understand; much like a blind guide that would, when men were  
 30 walking in a dark night, put out the candle and show them the way by the lantern.

This way useth Tyndale universally, as well in every other thing that he taketh in hand to prove as in this point specially—that he which  
 hath once the faith can never sin, because he hath the seed of God  
 35 dwelling in him. For whereas it is evident and plain by clear and open texts of Scripture, full and plenteous in every part thereof, that there is no man here (except some special revelation thereof) so

1 *but . . . die*: i.e., only in that if people having the Christian faith and having committed any mortal sin die  
 3 *well*: truly / rightly // *so*: as    4 *conclusion*: dictum // *in*: regarding    5 *specially*: particularly  
 5 *dependeth*: hinges    6 *understanding*: interpretation of them    7 *wot*: know    11 *undoubtedly*: unquestionably  
 11, 22, 25 *hard(est)*: (most) opaque / (most) problematical    11, 22, 28 *dark*: unclear    11, 23, etc. *places*: texts  
 12 *great*: serious    14 *to none other intent but to wrest*: i.e., for no other purpose than to twist  
 14–15 *unto the worse part*: i.e., so as to make it appear to support the less good side of the argument in question  
 15–16 *plainness . . . words*: i.e., unsophisticated and artless way the apostles worded their utterances  
 16 *occasion*: advantage    16–17 *turn . . . into*: subject . . . to    17 *earnest*: serious / actual // *sentence*: meaning  
 17 *cavillations*: hairsplittings // *sophisms*: sophistic arguments    18 *divers*: several    19 *renewed*: revived  
 19 *old*: i.e., old ones; old sophistic arguments    20 *pestilent*: pernicious // *all*: i.e., all those that  
 21 *durst . . . of*: i.e., were shameless enough to dare come up with    21–22 *holy doctors*: theologians / biblical exegetes  
 22 *used always*: were always wont // *make open*: elucidate    23, 27 *plain*: straightforward  
 23 *evident*: conclusive    27, 36 *open*: easy-to-understand / unambiguous    27 *words*: utterances // *in*: about  
 28 *obscure*: murky / nebulous    32 *in*: with    33 *as in*: as with // *specially*: in particular  
 33–34 *he . . . never*: i.e., once someone has gotten the faith, he can never thereafter  
 35 *evident and plain*: made evident and manifest    36 *full*: ample    37 *except*: barring

*Temper God's mercy with the*    *sure of his own final salvation, nor of*  
*dread of his justice.*            *his own present estate neither, but that*  
    *he hath good cause to fear, and temper his*

hope of God's mercy with the dread of his justice, lest his overbold

5 hope may hap to stretch into presumption and occasion of  
 slight regarding sin: Tyndale would expound them all against  
 them all, by one dark text or twain taken in this epistle of Saint  
 John... by which he would make us believe that Saint John teacheth  
 divers of the most pestilent heresies and most repugnant unto God—  
 10 and that in his justice and his mercy both, with the most occasion  
 given unto the world unto the two most heinous sins and most  
 contrarious in themselves, that is to wit, presumption and despair—  
 that ever any heretic devised.

For he gathereth and affirmeth upon Saint John's epistle (in his  
 15 false exposition, and also in his aforesaid beginning of this  
 chapter)... that Saint John teacheth them all these false heresies  
 following.

First, that whosoever have once the true faith can never after  
 sin of malice or purpose, but that all the sins that he can after  
 20 fall unto shall be but of weakness and frailty—be they murder, adultery,  
 perjury, sacrilege, incest, or treason, or any other abominable  
 deed, be it never so detestable sin.

Secondly, that of all such sins, he that hath once at any time gotten  
 the faith shall have ever after the grace to repent.

25 And thirdly, that at the bare repenting, without shrift or penance,  
 he shall have forthwith forgiveness of all sin and pain—  
 so that any satisfaction shall not only nothing need, but is also (as  
 he saith) a damnable thing to do it for hope or desire toward any  
 remission either of sin or pain, and a damnable error to  
 30 believe that God hath ordained any punishment or pain, either  
 in purgatory after this world or by any affliction in this world,  
 for any sin that any man once having the faith committeth and  
 repenteth him of, were it never so abominable.

For in his *Exposition of the First Epistle of Saint John*, he is come  
 35 so much further than ever he came before (as far as I remember) that  
 there like (as I have shown you before) in the preface he denieth not  
 only purgatory but also *all* punishment—here he teacheth also that

1 *temper*: i.e., temper hope of // *sure*: certain // *nor of*: nor about    2 *estate*: i.e., state of soul  
 4 *overbold*: excessively confident    5 *may hap*: i.e., should happen // *stretch*: extend; cross the line  
 6 *slight* . . . *sin*: i.e., regarding sin as no big deal    6–7 *them all* . . . *all*: i.e., all those texts as meaning the opposite of  
 what they say and mean    7, 8 *by*: on the basis of    7 *dark*: unclear // *taken*: come upon    8 *would*: wants to  
 9 *divers*: several // *pestilent*: pernicious // *repugnant*: antithetical; in opposition // *unto*: to    10 *in*: regarding  
 11 *heinous*: grievous    12 *contrarious in themselves*: mutually opposed    13 *devised*: thought up; contrived  
 14 *gathereth* . . . *Saint*: i.e., extrapolates from, and affirms as supported by, Saint  
 14–15 *his false exposition*: i.e., Tyndale's *Exposition of the First Epistle of Saint John*.    15 *false*: so-called  
 15 *exposition*: explanation    16 *them*: i.e., him and his like-minded fellow heretics  
 16 *false*: untrue / trumped-up / damn    19 *of*: out of // *purpose*: i.e., purposely  
 20 *but of*: i.e., committed only out of // *frailty*: i.e., human frailty; susceptibility to temptation  
 22, 33 *never so*: no matter how    22 *sin*: i.e., a sin    25 *bare*: mere // *shrift*: confession  
 26 *have forthwith*: immediately receive    26, 29 *pain*: i.e., debt of punishment  
 27 *any* . . . *also*: i.e., not only will any making of satisfaction be totally unnecessary, but also it is  
 27–28 *as he saith*: says he    28 *toward*: i.e., of    34 *is come*: i.e., has gone    35 *came*: i.e., went

whoso get once the true faith, which he calleth the “feeling” faith,  
hath a sure, undoubted knowledge that he is in the state of grace, and  
an elect that can never be damned.

Now, of these abominable heresies what bold occasion of sin  
men may catch, and how they repugn against the justice of God—  
I refer it unto the wisdom of every good Christian reader. Then

*The “story” faith* teacheth he, on the other side, that whosoever,  
after his Baptism had, and the “story”

faith (that is, he saith, the faith with which we believe the articles of  
the faith as men believe a story or a chronicle), do any deadly sin  
of purpose—that is to wit (as he saith), not of weakness or frailty, but  
of malice or willingly, with a consenting to the sin—that man shall  
never after be forgiven, in this world nor in none other. For every  
such sin, saith he, is the “sin against the Holy Ghost”... which shall,  
saith he, never be forgiven, notwithstanding any repentance and  
penance taken and done therefor.

And to the proof of this pestilent heresy, he draweth the covert  
and obscure words of our Savior Christ in the Gospel of Saint  
*Mt 12:31–32; Heb 6:4–6* Matthew, the twelfth chapter; and also the  
dark and hard words of Saint Paul.

Which places of themselves all old holy doctors confess for diffuse  
and almost inexplicable... saving that they all expound them contrary  
to Tyndale’s heresy, by the articles of the known faith of Christ’s  
Catholic Church, and by many plain, open texts of Holy Scripture.  
Of which two things Tyndale the one dissembleth, and the  
other despiseth... and believeth the old heretic Novatian, the  
first author of that abominable heresy, better than Saint  
Cyprian, Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine, Saint Ambrose, Saint  
Gregory, and all the old holy saints that have written against it...  
and better than the whole Catholic Church of Christ of this fifteen  
hundred years, that ever hath taught the contrary, and ever since the  
first invention of that heresy have continually detested and condemned  
it as one of the most execrable heresies that ever the devil  
devised.

For as Tyndale’s other heresy fighteth against God’s *justice*,  
so doth this directly fight against his *mercy*... and putteth almost

1 *which he calleth*: which he identifies as; that which he calls    2 *undoubted*: i.e., definite; infallible  
4 *bold occasion of*: i.e., occasion of reckless sin    5 *may catch*: can take  
5 *repugn against*: contend against / clash with    6 *refer it*: i.e., leave the discerning of all that  
7 *side*: i.e., hand    8 *after his Baptism had*: i.e., after receiving Baptism    9 *that*: which  
10 *a story or a chronicle*: i.e., a historical account or record // *do*: i.e., commits // *deadly*: mortal  
11 *of purpose*: purposely // *as he saith*: says he // *not of*: not out of // *frailty*: susceptibility  
12 *willingly*: deliberately    15 *repentance*: i.e., amount of repenting    16 *taken*: undertaken  
16 *therefor*: for it    17 *to the proof*: i.e., for the proving // *pestilent*: lethally dangerous  
17 *draweth*: adduces / pulls in // *covert*: mysterious    18 *obscure*: enigmatic; cryptic  
20 *dark*: unclear // *hard*: hard-to-understand / problematical    *words*: utterances    21 *places*: passages  
21 *of . . . for*: i.e., all the time-honored biblical exegetes admit that they themselves find // *diffuse*: perplexing  
22 *inexplicable*: unintelligible // *saving*: except // *expound*: interpret    24 *plain*: clear / straightforward  
24 *open*: easy-to-understand / unambiguous    25 *dissembleth*: ignores; turns a blind eye to  
26 *despiseth*: scorns    27 *author*: writer / propounder    27, 30 *better than*: in preference to / rather than  
29 *Gregory*: i.e., Gregory the Great // *old holy saints*: holy saints of old    31 *that ever*: which always  
32 *invention*: thinking up // *detested*: abominated    35, 36 *fight(eth) against*: contend(s) against; impugn(s)  
36 *this*: i.e., this one

all Christian people in utter despair of heaven, if men were so mad to believe one heretic or twain better than all the old holy saints, and all the whole church of Christ.

5 This heresy, as I began to tell you, Tyndale—among his others foreremembered—laboreth to establish... not only by the dark and hard places of Scripture foreremembered, but also by certain words in this First Epistle of Saint John... where is no more color to speak thereof than of the man in the moon, as every man may soon perceive that readeth him.

10 But now, for our present purpose, to touch his heresies of this chapter of his, of sinning without sin... I shall touch you the place in that epistle of Saint John whereby Tyndale would prove you that whoso get once the faith which he calleth the true faith and the “feeling” faith can never sin deadly after. By which ye shall  
15 plainly see how plainly he misconstrueth the Scripture to the mischief of men’s souls. The words of Saint John be these:

Every man that is born of God doth not sin, for the seed of him abideth in him; and he cannot sin, because he is born of God.

20 In the understanding of these words vary Tyndale and we. And whether he or we misunderstand it, that let us now examine. First, we shall, I suppose, agree together both that to be “born of God” is in the Scripture nothing else but to be the child of God... and to be “born of the devil” is to be the devil’s child.

25 We shall, I think, also agree together in this: that to be “born” of God, or to be the “children” of God, is not meant to be his natural  
*To be the “child” of God* children, as our Savior Christ is by reason of his Godhood..., but, by faith, hope, and charity, and the sacraments, and the following of Christ in  
30 good works, and keeping of God’s commandments, to be members of his mystical body of his elect church.

But herein, peradventure, shall Tyndale and we begin to vary, not only for that I say “by the sacraments and good works,” of which Tyndale will not hear; but also for the elect church that is Christ’s  
35 mystical body whereof God’s children be members here in earth. For albeit that he is so wavering in his words that he wotteth not

1 *mad*: i.e., demented as    2 *twain*: two // *better*: more    2–3 *old holy saints*: holy saints of old  
3 *all the whole*: the whole entire    4 *began*: started    5, 6 *foreremembered*: mentioned above  
5 *laboreth*: tries // *dark*: unclear    6 *hard*: hard-to-understand / problematical // *places*: texts; passages  
7–8 *color to speak*: i.e., appearance of his speaking    8 *may soon*: can readily    9 *him*: it  
10, 11 *touch*: discuss (with)    11 *of sinning*: about sinning    12 *place*: verse [1 Jn 3:9]  
12 *would prove*: attempts to prove to    13 *whoso get once*: i.e., once someone gets  
14 *faith . . . after*: i.e., faith, that person can never thereafter sin mortally    16 *mischief*: harm; detriment  
20, 21 *(mis)understand(ing)*: (mis)interpret(ing)    20 *vary Tyndale and we*: Tyndale and we are at variance  
21 *he or we*: i.e., it is he or we who    22, 25 *agree together*: be in agreement with each other    25 *in*: about  
26 *is not meant*: i.e., does not mean    28, 33 *by*: by means of    29 *in*: i.e., by way of  
32 *peradventure*: perhaps // *vary*: be at variance; be in discord    33 *for that I say*: on account of my saying  
34 *will not*: does not want to // *for the*: i.e., about what constitutes that    35 *in*: on    36 *albeit*: notwithstanding  
36 *wavering*: unsteady; fluctuating // *words*: utterances // *wotteth*: knows



the old holy saints that in this “exposition” ever took his part...  
and let him take all my teeth, and my tongue too.

Now, if never any good man understood Saint John so before,  
but all holy men clean the contrary—by what reason looketh Tyndale  
5 now that we should now begin to believe him alone, in the understanding  
of these words of Saint John, better than all good cunning  
men this fifteen hundred years before him?

Now is his “exposition,” besides this, not only against the Catholic  
faith of all Christian people, and the plain determination of  
10 Christ’s church... but also against many plain, open places of Holy  
Scripture besides... which were in so plain and clear a matter  
almost a lost labor to rehearse. And yet, lest an unlearned reader  
might hap anything to doubt, I shall rehearse you some.

Rv 2:1–5

What say we by the words of the  
15 Spirit revealed unto Saint John against  
the bishop of the church of Ephesus... whom whereas God praised  
for many great virtues in such wise that it appeared that he was at  
that time in grace and God’s right special favor, yet said he  
unto him, “I have, for all this, a few things against thee, because thou  
20 hast left off thy first charity. And therefore remember from whence  
thou art fallen, and amend and do the good works which thou  
were wont to do. For else will I come shortly to thee, and I will  
remove thy candlestick out of its place, except thou repent and  
do penance.”

Doth it not here plainly appear that he which hath gotten so  
the faith—and that the *living* faith, too—that he worketh so well  
therewith that the light of his faithful lively works shine bright  
before the face of God... may yet by declining from that fervor  
of devout works into some slothful slackness, though much of  
30 his virtue tarry, fall yet so low at last that God shall reject him and  
cast his candlestick, whereof the light shall be worn out, quite  
out of its place? If this might not be... God would not tell him it  
both *might* and, except he amended, *should*.

1 Cor 10:12

Doth not Saint Paul say, “He that  
35 thinketh that he standeth, let him beware  
he fall not”?

1 *old holy saints*: holy saints of old    1, 5, 11 *in*: with regard to    1, 8 *exposition*: explanation; elucidation  
1 *took his part*: i.e., backed him up    3 *understood*: construed // *so*: in that way  
4 *clean the contrary*: in the exact opposite // *reason*: reasoning; logic // *looketh Tyndale*: does Tyndale expect  
5 *alone*: by himself // *the*: i.e., the right    6 *better*: more / rather // *cunning*: knowledgeable  
9, 10 *plain*: explicit / univocal    10 *open*: readily understood // *places*: passages    11 *were*: would be  
11 *so . . . matter*: so clear and obvious a thing    12 *lost labor*: waste of effort    12, 13 *rehearse*: quote  
13 *hap*: happen // *anything to doubt*: i.e., to be in any doubt    14 *by*: about    15 *against*: concerning  
17 *wise*: a way    18 *grace and*: i.e., the state of grace and in    19 *for*: notwithstanding  
20 *left off*: ceased to have // *thy first*: your initial; i.e., the love you had at first, which was that of  
20 *whence*: where    21 *amend*: mend your ways / reform yourself    23, 33 *except*: unless  
25 *doth . . . appear*: i.e., is it not here made crystal-clear // *which*: who    27 *faithful*: faith-filled  
27 *lively*: active // *shine*: i.e., is shining    28 *may*: can // *declining*: descending; sinking  
30 *tarry*: remain    31 *worn out*: faded away // *quite*: totally    32, 33 *might*: could  
33 *amended*: mended his ways / reformed himself // *should*: would  
35–36 *beware he fall not*: take heed lest he fall

It appeareth there plainly, by the circumstances of the place, that he speaketh there to them whom he reckoned for good men and faithful.

For to those that *stand* he giveth the counsel to beware they fall not. Which by Tyndale, if they once in faith feel themselves stand,

5 they need not, for they cannot fall deadly. But Saint Paul there *meant* deadly falls, as both by his words before and after appeareth.

*Rom 11:20*

He saith also, to the Romans, in the tenth chapter, “They” (that is, the Jews) “are broken off for their lack of belief. But thou standest by faith—be not proud thereof, but fear.”

10 There showeth Saint Paul effectually, by a long process, that likewise as he which lacketh faith may by grace come to it... so he that hath it and standeth in it hath cause to fear, because he may by his own default fall from it.

15 *1 Tm 6:10*

Saith he not also, “The root of all evils is covetise; which while some folk coveted, they walked out of the way from the faith”?

*2 Tm 2:17–18*

He saith also, “Hymenaeus and Philetus are fallen from the truth... saying that the resurrection is passed already; and they have perverted the faith of some persons.”

Here showeth Saint Paul plainly that men *may* have the faith and lose it; and that can they not, I suppose, without deadly sin.

25 Peradventure Tyndale will say that *he* speaketh only of *elects*—and that I cannot prove these texts to be spoken of elects. Thereto say I that *he* calleth every man an elect that is only born again of God by faith, and that believeth to be saved by the mean of Christ; and of such speak these texts; and therefore they speak of his elects.

30 Then will he peradventure say that he meaneth of a “feeling” faith only. I know not what he meaneth by his “feeling” faith... but I wot well these texts speak of *good* faith, and *lively* faith, that worketh with love. If he find any other feeling, let him tell us.

35 And yet, if there be any other feeling of faith than believing, loving, and working... the selfsame, too, seemeth by Saint Paul that *it* may be left off again and lost, as appeareth by the same words of

1 *it* . . . *place*: i.e., it is clearly evident there, from the context of that verse      2, 24 *speaketh*: i.e., is speaking  
 2 *faithful*: i.e., right-faith-possessing      3 *that stand*: who are *standing*      3–4 *beware* . . . *not*: take heed lest they fall  
 4 *by*: according to // *stand*: i.e., to be standing      5 *need not*: i.e., need not do      5, 6 *deadly*: mortal(ly)  
 6, 36 *appeareth*: is made evident      11 *effectually*: conclusively / powerfully // *process*: discussion  
 13 *cause*: good reason // *may*: i.e., could      14 *default*: fault      14, 19 *from*: i.e., away from  
 16 *covetise*: i.e., the love of money      16–17 *which* . . . *coveted*: i.e., for the time which some folk spent craving it  
 17 *walked out of the way from*: i.e., were walking astray from; were not on the path of  
 20 *resurrection* . . . *already*: i.e., resurrection of the dead has already taken place // *perverted*: overturned; toppled  
 22, 36 *may*: can      23 *deadly*: i.e., committing mortal      24, 30 *peradventure*: perhaps      24 *speaketh*: is speaking  
 25 *spoken of*: i.e., referring to // *thereto*: to that      26 *only*: i.e., at least      27 *to be*: i.e., one is  
 27 *mean*: mediation      28 *such*: i.e., such men  
 28–29 *speak of his elects*: i.e., do refer to the people who are by Tyndale’s definition the elect  
 30 *meaneth of*: means; is talking about      30, 31 *feeling*: i.e., felt / experiential      31 *wot*: know  
 32 *lively*: living; active // *worketh*: operates      33 *find*: i.e., finds spoken of in them      34 *feeling*: experiencing  
 35 *working*: operating // *the* . . . *seemeth*: i.e., of the . . . it seems said  
 36 *left off again*: i.e., dropped back out // *by*: from

Heb 6:4–6

his, in the sixth chapter unto the Hebrews,  
of which words Tyndale taketh

his chief hold of the other part of his heresies—that is to wit,  
that whoso sin once deadly after his baptism, shall never after

5 be forgiven. Saint Paul's words are these: "It is impossible  
that they which have once been illumined, and have tasted the  
heavenly gift, and have been made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and  
have tasted the good word of God and the powers of the world to  
come, and be after all this fallen down... should be renewed again  
10 by penance, forasmuch as they, as much as in them lieth, crucify  
again the Son of God, and have him in derision."

Lo, sirs, whereas Tyndale speaketh of "feeling" faith... Saint Paul  
speaketh here of them that have felt the "taste" thereof. And whereas  
Tyndale speaketh much of the "word of God"... Saint Paul here speaketh  
15 of them that have felt the taste of the "good word of God." And whereas  
Tyndale speaketh much of being "born again of the Spirit"...

Saint Paul here in like wise speaketh of them that have received the  
Spirit. And yet, for all that they have been "illumined," and have felt  
the taste of the celestial gift, and been "partakers of the Holy Ghost,"  
20 and have felt the sweet taste of the "good word of God," and of the "powers  
of the world to come"—yet saith he, contrary to Tyndale's teaching,  
that they may, for all this, fall down so far into deadly sin that  
it is impossible for them to be renewed again by penance.

What hath Tyndale here to say to Saint Paul? Surely for the  
25 defense of this foolish heresy, nothing hath he to say at all, that  
any good color hath.

But when he shall be fain to give over this... then will he comfort  
himself with that that Saint Paul here seemeth to further his  
other heresy: that every deadly sin after baptism should be  
30 irremissible.

*Scripture doth not vary  
in sentence.*

But out of that comfort shall I drive  
him shortly. For I am sure the places of  
Holy Scripture, written all by one Holy

Spirit, varieth not in sentence. And whereas these words, as well  
35 appeareth by the old holy writers, be full of hardness and difficulty,  
yet that the sentence cannot be such as may serve Tyndale's

2–3 *of... of the*: i.e., which words Tyndale claims as his chief support for the

4 *whoso sin once deadly*: i.e., anyone who ever commits a mortal sin 6 *they which*: those who

6, 18 *illumined*: brought into the light / enlightened 9, 23 *renewed*: made new; regenerated

10 *as much as in them lieth*: i.e., to the utmost of their ability to do this

11 *have him in derision*: hold him up to contempt 12 *lo*: behold // *feeling*: i.e., felt / experienced

13, 15, etc. *felt*: experienced 17 *wise*: manner

18, 20 (*for all that they*) *have*: (notwithstanding that they) have; (for all their) having 22, 36 *may*: can

22 *for*: notwithstanding 22, 29 *deadly*: mortal 24 *surely*: certainly 26 *good color*: plausibility

27 *fain*: forced // *give over*: abandon // *this*: i.e., this tack / this idea 28 *further*: be helping promote

29 *after baptism*: i.e., someone were to commit after having been baptized // *should*: would

31 *doth not vary*: is not discordant 32, 34, 36 *sentence*: meaning 32 *sure*: certain (that)

32 *places*: texts 33 *written all by one*: i.e., having all been written by the same

34 *varieth not*: do not clash; are not discordant 34–35 *well appeareth*: is well evidenced

35 *old holy writers*: i.e., early biblical commentators // *hardness*: troublesomeness; problemativeness



heresy—that shall we, leaving all their expositions (which are all clean against him), make him open and evident by the plain and clear words of the holy prophet Ezekiel, whose words, lo, be these, in the eighteenth chapter...

5           *Ez 18:21–24*           “If a sinner repent him of all the sins  
  that he hath done, and keep all my commandments,  
and deal justly and righteously: he shall live, and shall  
not die. Of all the iniquities that he hath wrought I will none remember;  
in the righteousness which he hath done shall he live. Is it my  
10 will, saith the Lord God, that the wicked man should die, and not rather  
that he should be converted from his ways and live? But truly, if the  
*righteous* man turn himself away from his *righteousness*, and  
work wickedness in any of all those abominations which the wicked  
man is wont to work, shall *he* live? Of all the righteousness that he hath  
15 done shall none be remembered; but for the offense which he hath  
committed, and in the sin that he hath done... for those shall he die.”

Lo, sirs, here is more than I promised. For here be both his heresies  
destroyed at once. For God here, by the mouth of this holy man,  
*promiseth*, without any manner exception, that whensoever the wicked  
20 man will turn, he shall be taken to grace. And in like wise, whensoever  
the righteous man sin, his former righteousness shall not save  
him from damnation. And this sentence our Lord hath set so sure

*Ez 33:12*           that he repeateth it again in the thirty-third  
  chapter, in this wise: “The righteousness  
25 of the righteous man shall not save him in what day soever he  
sin. Also, whensoever the wicked man turn from his wickedness...  
it shall not hurt him. And the righteous man cannot live through  
his righteousness, in what day soever he sin.”

Here have ye, good readers, heard this sentence by the word of God, in  
30 this one holy prophet, doubly confirmed, and thereby Tyndale’s double  
heresy doubly also condemned.

And yet lest Tyndale might say, “Why should you not as well  
expound and gloss Ezekiel by Saint Paul, as Saint Paul by  
Ezekiel? Namely since Saint Paul came after, and therefore of God’s  
35 mind may tell us further!”—it appeareth, I say, that our Lord will not  
that these words of Ezekiel be glossed by *any* other words, though  
they be spoken by God himself... but that his other words, if they

1 *leaving*: i.e., leaving alone; setting aside // *expositions*: explications; interpretations   2 *clean*: completely  
2 *make*: i.e., make to // *open and evident*: clear and obvious // *plain*: straightforward  
3 *clear*: unambiguous // *lo*: behold   7 *deal*: conduct himself / act   10 *will*: will / desire  
11 *truly*: indeed   13, 14 *work*: wreak; perpetrate   13 *in*: i.e., in the form of   17 *lo*: behold / look  
18 *destroyed*: demolished   19 *manner*: kind of // *exception*: i.e., excepting / caveat   20 *turn*: repent  
20 *in like wise*: i.e., that likewise   22, 29 *sentence*: judicial determination   22 *set so sure*: made so fixedly  
24 *in this wise*: thusly   27 *through*: i.e., on account of   29 *in*: i.e., in the book of   32 *should*: would  
32 *well*: rightly   34 *namely*: especially   35 *may*: can // *appeareth*: is evident // *will*: i.e., wills  
36–37 *though they*: even if those other words

seem contrary, shall be, rather, expounded by these. And thereof he giveth us open warning in his words following, and saith...

*Ez 33:13–16*

“Yea, and though I would *say* to a righteous

man that he shall live, and he then,

- 5 trusting in his righteousness, commit and do wickedness—all his righteousness shall be forgotten; and for the iniquity which he hath wrought, for that he shall die. But if I *say* to a sinner, ‘Thou shalt die’... and he then repenteth him of his sin, and doth judgment and justice, and that the same wicked man restore the pledge  
10 that he hath of another man, and also make restitution of stolen goods, and walk in the commandments of life, and do nothing that is unright: he shall live, and shall not die but be saved, and none of all the sins which he hath committed shall be laid to his charge. Judgment and justice hath he done, and therefore shall he  
15 live and not die.”

Lo, good Christian readers, here see we very plain that we were far unwise if we would follow the folly of Tyndale, either in bold, presumptuous hope or foolish, fearful despair... either weening that after any “feeling faith” once had, any deed that we could after do  
20 could be no deadly sin... or that for any deed done after our baptism, we could by penance never be saved after. We may be very sure that, as Saint Paul plainly reproveth the one, and is hard to perceive what he meaneth in the other: so, that he meaneth not as Tyndale telleth us, we may well know... not only by all the  
25 old holy-doctors-and-saints that expound Saint Paul, in that he saith it is “impossible to be *renewed* by penance,” that it is impossible to be by penance renewed unto the state of *baptism*—and by that

*Note this declaration.*

exposition they destroy yet a third

heresy of Tyndale, concerning his full

- 30 remission, of sin and pain and all, forthwith, as soon as he repenteth—but also be we well learned here, by the prophet Ezekiel, that although it may peradventure be that a man may go forth in sin so far that he shall never have grace of repentance after offered unto him, and for that cause ought every man stand in

- 35 *Fear to sin.* great fear to sin, how great faith soever he feel... yet if we begin once to

repent, we may be sure that God offereth grace and will perfect our penance with increase of his grace, and will pardon the death due for our deadly sin, but if we fail on our part to go forward  
40 with his grace, and that we foolishly fall therefrom.

1 *by*: i.e., by way of    2 *open warning*: explicit notice    3 *yea, and though*: indeed, even if    3, 17 *would*: were to  
4 *and*: if    8–9, 14 *judgment and justice*: i.e., what is right and just    9 *that*: i.e., it transpires that  
9–10 *restore* . . . *of*: i.e., does return the collateral he has received from    13–14 *laid to his charge*: held against him  
16 *plain*: clearly // *were*: would be // *far*: extremely    17 *folly*: i.e., insane lead // *either in*: into either  
17 *bold*: overconfident    18–19 *either* . . . *had*: i.e., thinking either that once we’ve gotten any “feeling faith”  
20, 39 *deadly*: mortal    21, 37 *may*: can    22 *plainly*: explicitly // *reproveth*: condemns // *one*: i.e., one view  
22–23 *is hard to perceive*: it’s hard to tell    23 *in*: with regard to    24 *as* . . . *us*: i.e., what . . . us he does  
24 *by*: via    25 *old holy-doctors-and-saints*: i.e., early, sainted biblical exegetes  
25–26 *expound* . . . *that*: i.e., interpret . . . as saying that    26, 27 *renewed*: made new / regenerated  
28 *exposition*: explanation // *destroy*: demolish    29–30 *concerning his* . . . *of*: i.e., about a sinner’s getting . . . of his  
30 *pain*: i.e., debt of punishment for it    31 *learned*: instructed    32 *peradventure*: perhaps  
38 *pardon*: refrain from exacting; countermand    39 *but if*: unless    40 *that*: i.e., it comes about that

Now, against all these evident places of Scripture plainly contrary to Tyndale's "exposition"... what thing hath Tyndale to defend his exposition with? If he name any men... he shall name you none but a few known, condemned heretics, against all holy-  
 5 doctors-and-saints and the Catholic faith of all Christian people. If he pretend any places of Scripture... he shall allege a few dark, hard, and obscure, or nothing pertaining to the matter, against a great many manifest, plain, and evident, and clearly proving his exposition false.

10 Finally, ye shall find that the whole purpose of Saint John in that epistle nothing maketh in this world for Tyndale's intent, but rather, clearly the contrary.

For Saint John intended there, not to show them that whoso is once good can never after be bad, as Tyndale saith he meant; but  
 15 utterly to give all the world warning that, be men at one time never so good, yet whensoever after they do naught, they *be* naught, and by their evildoing lose their goodness. And likewise as before, while they believe well and work well, they be all that while born of God, and be God's children, and have his seed in them: so whensoever  
 20 they fall from faith to heresies, or from good works to deadly sin, then lose they the seed of God and be born of the *devil* and become *his* children.

And that Saint John in this point meant none other than thus... the whole process of his epistle, one part compared with another,  
 25 doth more than plainly declare. For he showeth that the devil is the father of evil folk, and they his children by following him in their sinful works; as our Savior said to the Jews, "Ye be of your  
     *Jn 8:44; 1 Jn 3:8-15* father, the devil, and his desires will ye do." "And the Son of God," saith Saint John,  
 30 "came into this world, and here appeared, to dissolve and break the works of the devil. And every man that is born of God" (that is to say, "that is God's child") "doth not sin, because the seed of God abideth in him; and he cannot sin, because he is born of  
 35 God and is God's child"; as though he would say, "... for if he fall to sin, then ceaseth he to be born of God and to be God's child, and beginneth to be born of the *devil* and to be *his* child."

And therefore it followeth forthwith in the text, "By this be the children of God and the children of the devil open" (that is to say, "By this may ye see who be the children of God and who the children  
 40 of the devil"). "For he that is not righteous is not the child of God;

1 *evident places*: evidentiary passages    2, 3, 9 *exposition*: explanation. (See 426/34 and note for 426/14-15.)  
 4-5 *holy-doctors-and-saints*: sainted biblical exegetes    6 *pretend*: lay claim to // *places*: texts // *allege*: adduce  
 6-7 *dark, hard*: unclear, hard to understand    7 *obscure*: abstruse / nebulous // *nothing pertaining*: not at all relevant  
 7 *matter*: issue    8 *plain*: unambiguous // *evident*: conclusive    10 *purpose*: objective / thrust  
 11 *nothing* . . . *intent*: corroborates not at all what Tyndale wants it to    12 *clearly the contrary*: the complete opposite  
 13 *show*: tell    14 *once*: at some time    15 *utterly*: unequivocally    15-16 *never so*: no matter how  
 16 *naught*: something bad    18 *well*: rightly // *work*: act    21 *deadly*: mortal    23 *in*: with regard to  
 23 *none*: nothing // *thus*: i.e., this    24 *process*: line of discourse    25 *more* . . . *declare*: exceedingly clearly show  
 25 *showeth*: says    27 *be of*: belong to    28-29 *will ye do*: you choose to carry out    30 *dissolve*: undo  
 30 *break*: destroy    34-35 *fall to sin*: i.e., starts committing mortal sin    37 *forthwith*: immediately  
 38 *open*: i.e., made manifest    39 *may ye*: you can

nor he that loveth not his brother.” And after he saith, “Every man that hateth his brother is a manqueller; and ye know that no manqueller hath everlasting life abiding in him.”

Lo, good reader—whereas he said before that the child of God cannot sin, because he hath the “seed of God” abiding in him: here he saith, for all that, whosoever hate his brother is a homicide, and therefore hath not “everlasting life” abiding in him. Which is the thing that he before called the “seed of God,” whether he meant thereby lively faith, grace, or the Spirit of God. Of which three the first two be the beginning and the entry into everlasting life, which shall be perfected by glory... and the third is *himself* everlasting life, of his own omnipotent nature.

And thus, have he the seed of life never so strong and sure at one time, while he is the child of God: yet whensoever he falleth after to the hatred of his brother, he loseth that life by the committing of deadly sin, and becometh the child of the devil.

To this will Tyndale peradventure say that I pass over and dissemble the weight of Saint John’s words that he allegeth, and that I wink and will not perceive how plainly they prove his purpose. “For though it be true that whensoever a man hateth his brother, he is a homicide and sinneth deadly, and hath not everlasting life nor the seed of God abiding in him: yet followeth it not,” will Tyndale say, “that he that hath once the feeling faith, and thereby is born of God, and thereby hath the seed of God in him, may sin deadly and lose the seed of God. For he cannot lose it *but* by sin. And the seed of God once being in him... he *cannot*—because of that seed!—be suffered to hate his brother of purpose, and so to do deadly sin and lose the seed of life; but *ever* is he, by the strength and virtue of that seed of everlasting life, preserved from all falling into deadly sin. And that I prove,” will Tyndale say, “by the plain and open words of Saint John before alleged... where he saith that he that is born of God ‘cannot sin, *because* he hath the seed of God abiding in him.’ He saith not, ‘... *as long as* he hath it’; but he saith he ‘cannot sin, *because* he hath it.’ Signifying plainly that he can never sin, because he hath the thing in him that will never suffer any deadly sin to enter. And the reason that is made against me upon other words of the same epistle... avoideth,” will Tyndale say, “mine exposition nothing at all. For likewise as it

1 *after he*: i.e., a little afterward John    2 *manqueller*: murderer    4 *lo*: look    6 *hate*: i.e., hates

6, 21 *homicide*: committer of homicide    9 *lively*: living; active    13 *never so*: no matter how

13 *strong*: strongly / firmly // *sure*: securely / certainly    16, 21, etc. *deadly*: mortal(ly)

17 *peradventure*: perhaps    17–18 *I... weight*: i.e., I’m sidestepping and smokescreening the import

18 *allegeth*: cites

18–19 *I... purpose*: i.e., I’m shutting my eyes and refusing to see how clearly those words prove his point

23 *hath once*: i.e., at some time has gotten    24 *may*: can    27, 36 *suffer(ed)*: allow(ed)

27 *of purpose*: intentionally // *so*: thus // *do*: commit    28 *virtue*: power / operative influence

29 *preserved*: protected    30 *plain*: straightforward; unambiguous    31 *open*: transparent; clear

31 *alleged*: cited    34 *plainly*: obviously    36 *reason*: argument    37 *upon*: on the basis of

37 *avoideth*: refutes    38 *exposition*: explication // *nothing at all*: not in the least

38 *it*: i.e., this argument

is made against a man once born of God, to prove that he may be after born of the devil: it may as well be made of any angel in heaven. For if any angel in heaven would fall from the love of God into malice... he should be turned from an angel into a devil. But likewise

- 5 as that case can never fall, because the seed of God is in that angel... which so keepeth him, and ever shall, that he *cannot* have that evil will so to do: so doth the seed of God once entered with the feeling faith into a soul... so preserve it and keep it, by the mighty power of that seed, that that soul *cannot* fall into that malicious will that may make any deed of his to be deadly sin. And that this is so, I say yet again that the words of Saint John which I have before alleged do very plainly prove... in that he saith that whoso is born of God '*cannot* sin,' '*because* he is born of God,' and '*because* he hath the seed of God abiding in him.' And he saith after, in another place of the same epistle, that he which is born of God, 15 'his generation'—that is to wit, his being born of God by the seed of God, whereby he is begotten and born of God—'*doth* preserve and keep him.'"

1 Jn 5:18

- In this wise will Tyndale peradventure answer me. And surely 20 I can myself devise no more effectual words that he might speak for his part; for in good faith, if I could I would. For never will I purposely leave his part any more faintly defended than mine own, as far as myself can see anything that himself might say.

- 25 But, now, to this answer we shall tell him again that between man and angel is there almost as great difference in this matter as there is between them in their substance and nature. For the blessed angels, that stood still with God in the devils' fall, were forthwith so surely confirmed in grace that they can never fall into 30 sin after, nor do anything whereof God will command them the contrary. And of this in them be *we* sure in *faith*, by the word of God taught unto his church; and *they* sure in *knowledge*, by his promise made unto them with his word which he, by a means to us not imaginable, continually speaketh unto them in the contemplation 35 and beholding of his Almighty Godhead. But as for man... we find no such promise made unto him, that when he is once good, he can never after wax naught; but we find in Scripture the contrary, as I have by plain Scripture proved already before.

1 *against*: with regard to    1, 2, 10 *may*: i.e., could    2 *after*: afterward // *well*: rightly // *of any*: about any  
 3 *would fall*: i.e., were to fall away    4 *should*: would    5 *case*: scenario / hypothetical // *fall*: occur / happen  
 6, 8, 18 *keep(eth)*: safeguard(s)    7 *evil*: bad    8, 18 *preserve*: protect    10 *deadly*: mortal    12 *alleged*: cited  
 12 *whoso*: anyone who    15 *place*: passage // *which*: who    16 *to wit*: i.e., to say    19 *in this wise*: thusly  
 19 *peradventure*: perhaps // *surely*: assuredly    20 *devise*: think of // *effectual*: cogent    20, 23 *might*: could  
 21, 22 *part*: side (of our argument)    21 *in good faith*: in all honesty; really and truly    22 *faintly*: weakly  
 25 *again*: in response    26 *in this matter*: concerning this issue    27 *substance*: essence  
 28 *stood still*: remained steadfastly // *in*: i.e., throughout the time of    29 *surely*: securely / definitively  
 31 *this*: i.e., this impeccability / this indefectibility    34 *the*: i.e., their  
 35 *Almighty Godhead*: i.e., Almighty-Godness; Almighty Divinity    36 *when he is once*: i.e., once he has become  
 37 *wax naught*: go bad    38 *plain*: explicit / crystal-clear

We see also that the catholic faith of all Christian people is to the contrary. For all Christian people, except a few heretics, both now believe and all this fifteen hundred years before ever have believed that good men and children of God *may* fall into deadly sin, and become

- 5        *Ez 18:21–24; 33:12*       children of the devil... and yet  
        *Rom 11:20–24*           arise by grace through penance, and be  
        *1 Cor 10:12; 16:13*       made the children of God again. Many  
        *Ps 33:18–19; 34:15*       texts also of Holy Scripture plainly  
    prove that good folk may fall and

10 perish. And the Scripture is full of good counsel... advising all good men to stand fast always and ever live in fear of falling, but if any special revelation be given to some certain man beside the common, ordinary course.

15 We find also plain examples, both in Scripture and at our own eyes, of many virtuous children of God that *have* fallen from that estate and become by sin the children of the devil.

For letting pass over Judas, that from the child of God, and from a holy apostle, turned into the traitor of God and child of the devil of hell, we have seen overmany in our own days in whom  
 20 we have had experience of the like. As of Friar Luther, Friar Huessgen, Otho the monk, Pomerane the priest, and Friar Lambert. For as for Zwingli, I never heard of any good virtue in him. But all these others were the good children of God once, at such time as grace and devotion brought them into religion. And yet can now no good  
 25 man doubt but by the breach of their holy vows and promise made to God, and running out in apostasy, and living in lechery under pretense of matrimony—and, for their more courage and boldness in such bitchery, to bear it to better, out shameless with ungracious company, making a shameful sect thereof and an abominable  
 30 heresy—they be now fallen from Christ, and have expelled the seed of God out of their hearts by sin very devilish-deadly. And yet dare I not despair of any of all these, nor of Tyndale himself neither. For all his own rule whereby he teacheth that they which willingly sin, and of purpose maliciously impugn the known truth, as  
 35 they and he do, shall never come to grace of amendment nor ought not to be prayed for—yet dare I neither, I say, despair of any of them nor of himself neither... but hope yet and pray, both, that

1 *catholic*: universal    4, 9 *may*: can    4, 31 *deadly*: mortal    11–12 *but if*: unless    12 *any*: some  
 12 *certain man*: particular person // *beside*: outside of    14 *plain*: clear  
 16 *estate*: state / status    17 *letting pass over*: omitting discussion of; leaving aside // *that*: who  
 18 *traitor*: betrayer    19 *overmany*: i.e., all too many    20 *as of*: i.e., such as  
 20–21 *Friar Huessgen . . . Lambert*: i.e., Johannes Oecolampadius, Otto Brunfels, Johannes Bugenhagen, and Francis Lambert    22 *good*: bona fide    24 *devotion*: piety // *religion*: religious life / the priesthood  
 25 *but by the breach*: i.e., that by their breaking    26 *running out in*: running away into  
 28 *bitchery*: lewdness / depravity // *bear it to better*: make it (even) greater / try to make it look better  
 28 *ungracious*: ungodly / disgraceful    30 *fallen*: fallen away    33 *for all*: notwithstanding  
 33 *they which willingly*: those who deliberately    34 *of purpose*: purposely; intentionally  
 34 *impugn*: assail; fight against    35 *nor*: i.e., and

God may amend them all, if none of them be dead in their sin  
and gone to the devil already. For then is there in them *peccatum*

1 *Jn* 5:16

*ad mortem* that Saint John speaketh of; and  
vain were it then, and sin also, any more

- 5 to pray for them than for the devil. *Quia in inferno nulla est redemptio...*  
and the wretches lie there now blaspheming God, and are his unchangeable  
enemies, as is the devil.

But these reasons and these examples, I say with the consent of  
all the old holy expositors of Saint John's epistle before, make  
10 us to perceive surely that Saint John did never mean by these  
words after such manner as Tyndale expoundeth him now: that because  
the seed of God is once in him, therefore there can never any  
deadly sin enter after. For Saint John himself, in the same

1 *Jn* 5:21

epistle, counseleth every good man to  
stand still in his goodness, and beware that

- 15 he fall not into idolatry. Which he might have bidden all God's  
children care never for, if they were, as Tyndale saith, sure by their  
feeling faith that they could never fall thereto, because the seed of God  
was once within them.

- 20 But as I said before, Tyndale in these words of Saint John  
taketh occasion of the simplicity used in the manner of speech in  
Holy Scripture, to make cavillations and seek out sophisms upon  
every word. And whereas Saint John saith that the child of  
God "cannot" sin... meaning not precisely that he cannot sin  
25 deadly by any manner means, but that it is a great occasion to keep  
him from sin, and that he that doth deadly sin is not God's  
child but the devil's—Tyndale affirmeth him plainly to mean that  
he which is once God's child can never sin deadly after. As  
though every man that would say, "An honorable man's child,  
30 and virtuously brought up, cannot fall to shameful, vicious  
living, for his good education shall bridle him, and dread of  
shaming himself and his friends must needs refrain him,"  
might not mean by these words that the young man should have  
a great *occasion* to continue good, but must needs mean that it  
35 were impossible for him to be other than good... and that he never  
*could* after forget his bringing up, and shake off shame and fall to  
naught.

2–3 *peccatum ad mortem*: i.e., the "sin unto death"

4 *vain*: in vain; useless // *were it then*: would it then be

5 *Quia* . . . *redemptio*: For in hell there is no redemption. (This is part of a response in the Office for the Dead.)

6–7 *his unchangeable enemies*: i.e., unalterably inimical to him 8 *reasons*: considerations

8 *consent*: concurrence 9 *expositors of*: commentators on 10 *surely*: with certainty

10–11 *mean by* . . . *after such manner*: mean . . . in such a way 12 *once*: at some time // *him*: i.e., someone

12 *there*: i.e., into that person 13 *deadly*: i.e., guilt of mortal 15 *stand still*: continue to stand; keep persisting

15–16 *beware* . . . *not*: take care not to fall / take heed lest he fall 16 *might have bidden*: could rightly have told

17 *care never for*: to never worry about // *by*: i.e., on account of 18 *that* . . . *thereto*: i.e., never to be able to

fall thereinto 19 *once*: once and for all 21 *occasion* . . . *used*: i.e., advantage of the unsophisticated/artless way

things are said 22 *make cavillations*: split hairs // *seek out sophisms*: come up with specious arguments

22 *upon*: about 24 *precisely*: literally 25, 26, 28 *deadly*: mortal(ly) 25 *manner*: kind of

25, 34 *occasion*: motivation / inducement 25–26 *to* . . . *sin*: i.e., for him to keep from sinning 26 *doth*: commits

30 *vicious*: vice-ridden; immoral 31 *dread*: fear 32 *friends*: loved ones; relatives and friends // *refrain*: restrain

33 *might not*: i.e., could not possibly 34 *continue*: stay 35 *were*: i.e., is 36 *bringing up*: upbringing

36 *shame*: i.e., regard for propriety or decency 36–37 *fall to naught*: turn bad / turn to evildoing

Or if one would say, “A man that taketh his wife for very love, can never fall to adultery, the love that he hath to her must needs keep him to her; nor she cannot, for very shame, beguile him, for the love that he beareth to her”—do not folk speak in such fashion? And yet, though they mean that these things be great occasions to contain the parties in faithful matrimony, they mean not that it can never happen otherwise.

In such manner of wise meant Saint John in those words, when he said, “He that is born of God sinneth not, for he hath the seed of God in him; and therefore he cannot sin, because he is born of God”—he meant, I say, not that it is *impossible* for him to sin deadly, but that it is a great help and occasion to keep him from deadly sin.

Yet will not Tyndale let to stick still in his error, and say that Saint John plainly meant “that it is *impossible* for him to sin that hath the seed of God in him; for he saith that he which once hath the seed in him *cannot* sin after deadly, by no manner means, because he hath the seed of God in him once.”

To this I say that in the example that I before did put, neither the man nor the wife that come together for great love can fall to adultery, because the love which is in each of them toward the other cannot suffer it. And truth it is as long as it lasteth and endureth in them. But either of them both yet may so far fall in love with some other that the hot love which they had between themselves may cool and clean be quenched—as is the fire with casting on water enough.

Saint John, therefore, writing those words, and understanding as indeed he doth—not, after a sophistical fashion, that it were utterly impossible for him at any time after to sin deadly that hath once the “seed of God” in him, but well and reasonably meaning after the common manner of speaking, that it shall be a great occasion for him to abide good still, and that as long as the man keepeth that “seed of God” (whether Saint John took it for lively faith, grace, or the Spirit of God) and cleaveth thereunto, so long he cannot sin deadly—Saint John, I say, so saying and so meaning, spoke as became the right evangelist of Christ. But Tyndale—telling Saint John’s tale and meaning thereby as he would make us ween that Saint John meant,

1 *one would*: someone were to // *taketh his wife*: chooses his wife / marries // *very*: true  
 2, 20 *fall to*: fall into; commit // 2 *to her*: i.e., for her // *must needs*: must inevitably / will of course  
 3 *beguile*: cheat on // *for the*: because of the // 5 *great . . . contain*: i.e., circumstances very conducive to keeping  
 8 *in such manner of wise*: i.e., such a kind of thing // *in those*: by those // 12, 17, etc. *deadly*: mortal(ly)  
 12–13 *occasion . . . from*: i.e., inducement to his keeping out of // 14 *let*: forbear // *stick still*: keep persisting  
 16–17 *he which once hath*: anyone who ever gets // 17 *manner*: kind of // 18 *once*: once and for all; permanently  
 19 *put*: i.e., give // 22 *suffer*: allow // *truth it is . . . it*: i.e., this is true . . . that love // 23, 24 *may*: could  
 25 *clean*: completely // 25–26 *casting on water enough*: i.e., the throwing on of enough water  
 27–28 *understanding as indeed he doth*: i.e., taking the view that he does actually take  
 28 *were*: i.e., is // 30 *well and*: quite // 31 *occasion*: inducement // 32 *abide good still*: keep on being good  
 33 *took it for*: i.e., meant by this expression // *lively*: living // 35 *became*: befitted  
 36 *right*: true; genuine // *telling Saint John’s tale*: i.e., relating what Saint John said  
 37 *meaning . . . meant*: i.e., implying thereby what he would have us think Saint John was implying



that is to wit, that whosoever is once born of God neither *shall* sin after deadly nor never *can*, because the seed of God is in him able to preserve the man and to keep out sin—speaketh as wisely as if he would first make me this argument, “He that turneth the spit sitteth by the fire; but he that sitteth by the fire cannot be cold, because he hath a good fire by him: ergo, he that turneth the spit cannot be cold,” and when he had made us once this argument, would then ween he had plainly proved that whosoever had once turned the spit could never be cold after in his life. For surely after Tyndale’s understanding of Saint John’s words, the reason is much like. For likewise as while a man sitteth by the fire, he cannot be cold, because the fire is by him that keepeth him warm: so while the seed of God is in the man, he cannot sin, because the seed of God being in him doth keep and preserve him from sin. But likewise as the broach-turner that sitteth warm by the fire may let the spit stand, and suffer the meat to burn, and walk himself out in the snow till his teeth chatter in his head for cold, and never catch heat again but fall stark dead on the ground: so he that is once God’s child, and hath the seed of God in him, and therefore cannot sin deadly as long as he keepeth it and cleaveth fast unto it, may by the folly and frowardness of his own free will expel the seed of God, and reject his grace, and neglect his Holy Spirit, and fall to deadly sin, and continue therein, and die therein, and go to the devil therein too.

And so, as it is true to say that “he which hath a good fire by him cannot be cold,” meaning thereby, as long as he keepeth him by it: so is it true to say that “whoso have the seed of God in him cannot sin deadly,” meaning thereby, as long as he keepeth it. And thus meant Saint John.

And as he that would say “Whoso sitteth by the fire can never be cold,” meaning thereby that he could never go from the fire and so catch cold after, were a very, stark fool: so he that would say that “whoso have the seed of God in him cannot sin,” meaning thereby that he could never after lose that seed, by the folly or frowardness of his own will, and thereby sin deadly and be damned too, were much more than mad. And, sirs, thus meaneth Tyndale... and would make us all so wise as to ween that Saint John meant so too; whereof we see plain the contrary, not only by many other, plain

1, 18 *is once*: at some time is    2, 20, etc. *deadly*: mortal(ly)    3, 14 *preserve*: protect    3 *wisely*: sensibly  
 4, 6, etc. *spit*: roasting skewer    5 *but*: i.e., and    7 *when . . . once*: i.e., once he had made us    8, 36 *ween*: think  
 9 *surely after*: i.e., certainly concerning    10 *understanding*: interpreting // *reason*: reasoning  
 10–11 *much like*: very similar    15 *may*: i.e., could    15–16 *let the spit stand*: i.e., let . . . be; leave the spit alone  
 16 *suffer*: allow // *walk himself*: go walking    17 *catch heat*: get warm    20 *may*: can  
 21, 33 *folly*: foolishness // *frowardness*: perversity    22 *neglect*: disregard; turn a deaf ear to // *to*: into  
 24 *which*: who    25 *keepeth him*: keeps himself    26, 29, 32 *whoso (have)*: whoever (has)    30 *from*: away from  
 31 *catch*: get    31, 35 *were*: would be    31 *very, stark*: literal, outright    36 *wise*: sensible  
 36 *meant so*: meant that    37 *plain the contrary*: exactly the opposite // *plain*: straightforward; unambiguous

places of Scripture, but also by many other places of Saint John in the selfsame epistle, with all the old holy saints that ever expounded that epistle of Saint John.

5 And since Tyndale so stiffly sticketh in this point—that the seed of God once had in a man’s heart doth keep him forever after from every deadly sin—let him tell us wherefore it keepeth him not forever from every deadly sinful *deed*. For Tyndale saith himself that though the seed shall keep him from all deadly sin... yet it shall not keep him from adultery, nor manslaughter, nor such  
10 other “horrible deeds” as poor unlearned people in some countries be wont to call deadly sins.

And therefore, good Christian readers, I shall in this point end with the good, wholesome counsel of Saint John by which in the selfsame epistle, against Tyndale, expressly he biddeth us all beware of  
15 all such heretics as would make us ween that some were God’s wanton cockneys in such a special wise that whatsoever they do, nothing could displease him... and some others so little set by, and so far out of his favor, that no repentance, no penance, no faith, no hope, no love of God and their neighbor, could bring them in his  
20 favor. Against which fond and frantic imagination... Saint John, though he say, “Whosoever confess that Jesus is the Son of God dwelleth in him and he in him,” yet he warneth us well and plainly that he would no man should beguile us and make us ween that with that confession and that belief alone he were a good man... but saith, “By  
25 this shall ye see who be children of God, and who children of the devil; for he that is not righteous is not of God.” And saith also, “Little children, let no man beguile you. He that doth righteousness is righteous, and he that doth sin is of the devil.”

Now may we clearly perceive that these only words, of Saint  
30 John, utterly destroy Tyndale’s heresy grounded upon his false exposition of Saint John’s other words. For when Saint John saith here himself that the children of God and the children of the devil be manifest and open by their *outward works*—how can that stand with Tyndale’s exposition and his heresy depending  
35 thereupon, by which he saith that the true members of the elect church may fall into the doing of “horrible deeds,” through the “fruit of the sin remaining in their members and, upon great occasions, breaking out of their members”... and yet, for all those horrible deeds done by them, they be the children of God still, and never become the

1 *places*: passages    2 *old holy saints*: holy saints of old // *expounded*: i.e., wrote commentaries on  
4 *stiffly*: obdurately // *sticketh in*: holds firm on; refuses to budge on    6, 7, etc. *deadly*: mortal(ly)  
6 *wherefore*: why    9 *from*: i.e., from committing // *manslaughter*: murder    10 *unlearned*: uneducated  
10 *countries*: rural areas    12 *in*: on    15, 23 *ween*: think    15 *some*: i.e., some people  
16 *wanton cockneys*: spoiled, pampered pets // *wise*: way    17 *set by*: regarded    18, 19 *no*: i.e., no amount of  
19 *in*: into    20 *fond*: ridiculous // *frantic*: wildly insane // *imagination*: idea    21 *say*: i.e., says  
21–22: See 1 John 4:15.    21 *confess*: i.e., professes    22 *warneth*: cautions // *well and*: quite  
23 *would no man should*: would have no one    23, 27 *beguile*: delude; fool    23 *confession*: profession  
24 *he . . . man*: i.e., one would be a good person    24–28: See 1 John 3:10; 3:7–8.    29 *only words*: words alone  
30 *destroy*: demolish    31, 34 *exposition*: explanation    33 *manifest*: i.e., manifested  
33 *open*: i.e., exposed as such // *outward works*: external acts    34 *stand*: square // *depending*: based; resting  
36 *may*: can    37, 38 *members*: bodily parts    37 *great*: strong; powerful // *occasions*: inducements  
38 *for*: notwithstanding    39 *be . . . still*: continue to be the children of God

children of the devil, for all the doing of their horrible deeds, because they do them not of malice nor of purpose, but of frailty only, and weakness?

Ye see, good readers, openly, that if Tyndale in this his heresy, and false exposition of Saint John, said true... then should Saint John

*1 Jn 3:10*

himself say untrue where he saith that by the outward deeds the children of God

and the children of the devil be made manifest and open. For they were *not* open by the deed if, notwithstanding the most horrible deeds that could be devised, yet their secret, unknown faith and frailty did ever keep it secret, hidden, and unknown whether they were, at the deed-doing, the children of God or the devil. And therefore—whereas Tyndale would make us ween that himself and his holy fellows had by their “feeling faith” the Spirit of God in such a special manner entered into their holy breasts that none of their abominable deeds could be any deadly sin, because that the Spirit, saith he, dwelleth still within them—*Saint John* saith, in the very end of that third chapter, “Whoso keepeth God’s commandments, in *him* God dwelleth. And by that mark we know,”

saith Saint John, “that there is dwelling in us of the Spirit that he hath given us.” By which words he declareth clearly that when these holy heretics break his commandments by those horrible deeds which Tyndale himself confesseth that they do, and as all the world seeth Friar Luther do, in wedding of the nun, with the breach of their

*Ps 76:12*

both vows against the commandment of God, which hath in Holy Scripture

expressly commanded them to keep and fulfill their vows—Saint John, I say, declareth against Tyndale’s doctrine, clearly, that when we see such deeds in them, we may well perceive by them that there is at that time never a whit of God’s good Spirit in them.

But, now, no man doubteth whither of the two better understood Saint John—whether Tyndale, or Saint John himself. And therefore, good Christian readers, while ye see that these holy fathers and authors of these heresies, preaching so saintly of their “feeling faith,” boast themselves and their fellows for the sure children of God, that, because of the Spirit, can never sin of purpose, and therefore never sin deadly, but be certain and sure of grace and salvation; and yet ye see, for all this, that, being professed monks and friars, they fall to the fleshly feeling of nuns, of long purpose, and still

1 *for*: notwithstanding    2 *not of*: not out of    2, 36 *of purpose*: purposely / premeditatedly

2 *but . . . only*: but only out of human frailty / but only because of susceptibility to temptation    4 *openly*: clearly

4 *this his heresy*: this heresy of his    5 *false*: so-called / false    // *exposition*: explanation

5 *said true*: was telling the truth    5–6 *should . . . say untrue*: would . . . be telling an untruth    7 *outward*: external

8, 9 *open*: i.e., exposed as such    9 *were not*: would not be    // *the most*: i.e., its being one of the most

10 *devised*: imagined    13 *make us ween*: have us think    14, 35 *fellows*: cohorts / followers

14, 34 *feeling*: felt; experiential    16, 37 *deadly*: mortal(ly)    16 *because*: by reason of the fact

17 *still*: uninterruptedly    18 *whoso*: whoever    19 *mark*: telltale sign

24–25 *breach of their both vows*: i.e., breaking of both of them’s vows    26 *which*: who    29 *in*: i.e., done by

29 *may well perceive by them*: i.e., can well tell by those deeds of theirs    30 *never a*: not one

31 *doubteth*: i.e., is in any doubt as to    // *whither*: which    33 *while*: when

34 *authors*: founders / originators    // *saintly*: sanctimoniously    36 *that*: who

39 *purpose*: purposefulness    // *still*: continually

persevere therein, and finally divers die therein, too: ye may believe here Saint John—that, say they what they will, they be the devil’s children in deed, and all their holy doctrine is utterly nothing else but very frantic blasphemy.

- 5 And therefore, finally, whereas Tyndale knitteth up all his matter with a quip against me, and saith that because every man that once hath the right faith is born of God, and thereby hath the seed of God in him, which preserveth him so that he can never sin... “therefore it is,” saith he, “a false conclusion that M. More holdeth, how a man may have a right faith joined with all kinds of abomination and sin”: ye see now that his own conclusion is so clearly proved false that it letteth my conclusion nothing at all. And yet shall I further touch his quip where it shall have better place, after that we shall come to the chapters in which he shall open and declare his uttermost what he calleth “faith.” But first will I consider a little his further progress in this chapter, in which he goeth forth in this wise...

#### Tyndale

- 20 And yet every member of Christ’s congregation *is* a sinner, and sinneth daily, some more and some less. For it is written (1 Jn 1), “If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.” And again, “If we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us.” And Paul (Rom 7) saith, “That good which I would, that I do not; but that evil which I would not, that do I. So it is not I that do it,” saith he, “but sin that dwelleth in me.”

#### More

- Lo, now ye hear his worshipful riddle... in the first part whereof he hath already shown us that a true member of Christ’s church sinneth not, because it hath the right faith... and so is born again of God and hath his Spirit, and because of that can never sin. And now he showeth us, in the other part of his riddle, that every true member of Christ’s church, for all that he never sinneth, yet he sinneth daily. And as he proved the first part by the words of Saint John falsely taken and understood—so doth he now prove us the second part by the words of Saint Paul, understood and construed as falsely as ever he construed Saint John.

1 *finally divers die*: several end up dying    3 *deed*: actuality // *utterly*: absolutely  
 4 *frantic*: deranged; loony    5 *knitteth up*: finishes up; concludes  
 5 *all his matter*: i.e., this whole discussion of his    6 *quip*: gibe / dig // *against*: at  
 6 *and saith*: i.e., saying    7 *once hath*: at some time has gotten    8 *preserveth him so*: so protects him  
 9, 11, 12 *conclusion*: proposition / thesis    9 *holdeth*: maintains    10 *how a man may*: i.e., that one can  
 11 *clearly*: completely    12 *letteth*: counteracts // *nothing at all*: not in the least    13 *touch*: address  
 13 *quip*: gibe / barb    14 *that*: i.e., such time as // *open*: clarify    15 *declare*: explain  
 15 *his uttermost*: to the best of his ability    16 *his further progress*: i.e., what he goes on to say  
 17 *goeth forth in this wise*: proceeds as follows    20, 33 *daily*: every day / all the time  
 21–22: See 1 John 1:8.    21 *have no*: are without    22–23: See 1 John 1:10.  
 22 *make him*: i.e., make him out to be; call him    24 *which*: i.e., thing which  
 24 *would (not)*: i.e., (do not) want to do    27 *worshipful*: impressive; awe-inspiring    28 *shown*: told  
 31 *showeth*: tells    32 *for all*: notwithstanding    34, 36 *falsely*: wrongly    34 *taken*: employed  
 34, 35 *understood*: interpreted

*The relics of original sin*

*Rom 7:19–20*

For whereas Saint Paul, in his Epistle  
to the Romans, speaketh of the prony

and motions in the flesh remaining, as the relics of original  
sin, whereby we be tickled toward great actual deadly sins, and  
5 daily fall into venial: Tyndale, as appeareth by his words next  
after following, would we should ween that Saint Paul meaneth that  
every true member may daily fall into great “horrible deeds,” as  
perjury, manslaughter, and adultery, of weakness and frailty... and  
10 that all those abominable deeds be no deadly sins yet, but venial  
every one, because it is not the man that doth it, but the sin that  
dwelleth in him. And while Saint Paul saith the words of himself...  
Tyndale so layeth them forth that he would we should take it  
that Saint Paul himself, or at the leastwise, if not himself, yet the  
sin that dwelled in him, committed in very deed many such  
15 “horrible deeds” as the devil and the flesh did move and stir him  
to. And then was it well likely that he did enough. For well ye wot,  
the devil would not fear to set his flesh on fire, and tempt him to  
lechery and manslaughter both... while he feared not to tempt our  
Savior himself to gluttony, covetise, and pride, devil-worship,  
20 *Mt 4:1–11* and self-slaughter too. And Saint Paul  
*2 Cor 12:7* himself confesseth that for a medicine  
preservative against pride, there was  
given him the “angel of Satan,” the “prick of the flesh,” to dab him  
in the neck, and make him stoop, and beat him.

25 And it appeareth plainly that Tyndale taketh Saint Paul’s  
words spoken of himself, to signify not only stirring and  
incitations *toward* deadly sinful deeds... but also the very deeds  
committed and done, as he calleth it, of “frailty,” by the violence of  
those motions. For if he mean not so, he laid those words  
30 nothing to his purpose, as it appeareth openly by those his own  
words following...

### Tyndale

Thus are we sinners *and* no sinners. No sinners if thou look unto  
the profession of our hearts toward the law of God, on our  
35 repentance and sorrow that we have, both because we have sinned  
and also because we be yet full of sin still, and unto the promises  
of mercy in our Savior Christ, and unto our faith. Sinners are we,  
if thou look unto the frailty of our flesh, which is as the  
weakness of one that is newly recovered out of a great disease... by

1, 3 *relics*: residual effects    2 *speaketh*: is speaking // *prony*: proneness    3, 29 *motions*: inclinations / urges  
4 *tickled*: stimulated; goaded // *actual*: i.e., personally committed (as opposed to inherited original sin)  
4, 27 *deadly*: mortal(ly)    5 *appeareth*: is shown    6 *would we should ween*: would have us think  
7 *may daily fall*: can fall all the time // *as*: such as    8, 18 *manslaughter*: murder    8 *of*: out of  
9 *be . . . yet*: i.e., are yet not mortal sins    11 *while*: since // *the words of*: i.e., these words with reference to  
12 *that . . . should*: as to have us    14 *very deed*: actual fact    15 *move*: prompt    15, 26 *stir(ring)*: prod(ding)  
16 *well likely*: quite likely // *enough*: plenty // *wot*: know    18 *while*: given that    19 *covetise*: avarice  
23 *prick*: thorn // *dab*: stick    25 *appeareth plainly*: is clear to see    26 *of*: about    27 *incitations*: incitings  
28 *by*: because of    29 *so*: i.e., that // *laid*: adduced    30 *nothing to his purpose*: i.e., to no avail for his argument  
30 *as it appeareth openly*: i.e., as is clearly shown    30–31 *his own words following*: i.e., words of his own that  
immediately follow them    33, 36, etc. *unto*: at    34 *on*: at    36 *be . . . still*: still are, constantly, full of sin  
38 *as*: like    39 *one that*: someone who // *out of*: from // *great disease*: serious illness

the reason whereof our deeds are imperfect, and by the reason whereof  
also, when occasions be great, we fall into horrible deeds, and the  
fruit of the sin which remaineth in our members breaketh out.

5 Notwithstanding, yet the Spirit leaveth us not, but rebuketh us and  
bringeth us home again unto our profession... so that we never  
cast off the yoke of God from our necks, neither yield up ourselves  
unto sin for to serve it, but fight afresh and begin a new  
battle.

### More

10 Lo, good Christian readers, here have ye heard a full un-Christian tale of  
an evil Christian man. For now see ye clearly that by plain, express  
words, Tyndale telleth us that a true member of Christ's church  
breaketh out into "horrible deeds" when the "occasions be great"... and  
yet he saith that, for all that, he sinneth not deadly. And this is the  
15 thing for the proof whereof he bringeth forth his before-rehearsed  
words of Saint Paul... by which he would make it seem that Saint  
Paul did himself so too.

And yet keepeth he his accustomed guise, as far as he can, in  
covering himself and coloring his matter from knowledge. And  
20 therefor he cometh in with "sinning and yet not sinning." And for  
the reading of that riddle, he saith that the true members of Christ's  
church are "sinners and yet no sinners." And among them he setteth  
himself... saying of himself and his fellows:

25 [We be] no sinners if thou look upon the profession of our hearts  
toward the law of God, and on our repentance and sorrow that . . . we  
have sinned and also because we be yet full of sin still, and on  
to the promises of mercy that is in our Savior Christ, and unto our  
faith. And sinners are we, if thou look to the frailty of our flesh,  
30 . . . [by which] we fall into horrible deeds and the fruit of sin which  
remaineth in our members breaketh out.

Here would I that Tyndale should somewhat more clearly tell us  
what he meaneth in this matter: whether he mean that a true  
member sinneth not deadly all the while that he resisteth, and doth  
not, the sinful horrible deed, as, for example, manslaughter or  
35 adultery; and that then again he sinneth not when that after the  
deed done, he repenteth and is sorry for his evil deed, and is forgiven  
of God through the promises of mercy in our Savior

1 *imperfect*: flawed; defective    2, 13 *occasions*: inducements / provocations    3, 30 *members*: bodily parts  
5 *home again*: back home    6 *neither*: nor    10 *full*: very // *tale of*: speech from  
11 *an evil*: i.e., a hardly; a sorry excuse for a // *plain*: straightforward / unambiguous // *express*: explicit  
14, 33 *sinneth not deadly*: does not sin grievously / does not commit mortal sin  
15 *before-rehearsed*: above-quoted    16 *would*: i.e., hopes to / attempts to  
17 *so too*: i.e., that too: break out into "horrible deeds" upon strong provocation... and without sinning mortally  
18 *keepeth* . . . *guise*: i.e., he sticks to his usual style    19 *coloring* . . . *knowledge*: i.e., camouflaging his agenda to  
keep it from being known    20 *therefor*: for that purpose // *in*: i.e., up    21 *reading*: deciphering  
22 *setteth*: places    23 *fellows*: cohorts / like-minded fellow heretics / followers    24, 25 *(up)on*: at  
26 *be* . . . *still*: still are, constantly, full of sin    26–27 *on to*: Tyndale here says "unto" (i.e., "at")—as More quotes  
him at 420/17 and 445/36.    28 *to*: at    31 *would I . . . should*: i.e., I wish . . . would    32 *matter*: contention  
33 *resisteth*: i.e., resists doing    33–34 *doth not*: i.e., does not do    34 *manslaughter*: murder  
35–36 *that after the deed done*: i.e., after doing the deed    37 *of*: by

Christ, for the repentance and sorrow, and for the faith—let Tyndale, I say, tell us whether he mean thus... or else that himself and his other fellows, the true members of Christ's church, do not sin deadly *in* the very time, neither, in which they consent to do those horrible sinful deeds; or rather, in the time while they be in the *doing*; for *consent* to the sin, he saith they never do.

By these words of his, "[We be] no sinners if thou look to the profession of our hearts to the law of God, and unto our repentance and sorrow that . . . we have sinned," it may seem that he meaneth the first way; that is to wit, that they sin not all the while that they resist the motion to the deed, and that they sin not, also, when that, after the deed, they take repentance and sorrow therefor.

Now, if he mean to read his riddle on this fashion, then he assoileth his strange riddle as bluntly as an old wife of Culham did once among scholars of Oxford that sojourned with her for death.

Which while they were on a time, for their sport, proposing riddles among them, she began to put forth one of hers too, and said, *The old wife of Culham's riddle* "Read my riddle, what is that I knew one that shot at a hart and killed a haddock."

And when we had, everybody, much mused how that might be, and then prayed her to declare her riddle herself... after long request, she said at the last that there was once a fisher that came aland in a place where he saw a hart, and shot thereat, but he hit it not... and afterward he went again to the sea and caught a haddock and killed it. And surely Tyndale readeth his riddle much like, if he understand by his riddle "they sin and yet sin not" that they sin not while they resist the motions, nor when they repent the deed... and that they sin while they be in doing. For that is no more to say but in one time they sin, and in another they sin not; and when they sin, then they sin, and when they sin not, then they sin not. Were not here a wise riddle, ween ye, and well declared, if he mean it thus? And that he so meaneth, I say it seemeth by his words before-rehearsed... and also by these that he saith: "the Spirit [calleth] us home again." Whereby it seemeth that he meaneth we were once *gone* from home and afterward be brought again.

Howbeit, on the other side, he may peradventure mean by these words "[we be] no sinners if thou look to the profession of

1 *for*: on account of    2–3 *his other fellows*: i.e., the others of his stripe    3 *deadly*: mortally  
 7 *by*: i.e., by reason of    7, 37 *to*: at    8 *unto*: at    9–10 *meaneth* . . . way: i.e., his meaning is that first one  
 11 *motion*: inclination; pull    // *when*: i.e., at the time    12 *take*: conceive    // *therefor*: for it  
 13, 25 *read(eth)*: decipher(s)    13 *on*: in    // *assoileth*: solves    14 *strange*: weird  
 14 *bluntly*: inelegantly / pointlessly    14, 18 *wife*: inn's-landlady    15 *scholars of Oxford*: Oxford students  
 15 *that sojourned*: who were staying    // *for*: on account of    // *death*: i.e., the Black Death; the plague  
 16 *which* . . . time: i.e., during which time while they were one day  
 16 *for their sport*: i.e., for their amusement; for fun    // *proposing*: posing    18 *read*: answer    // *what*: which  
 18–19 *one that*: someone who    19, 23 *hart*: i.e., deer    20 *much mused*: tried hard to figure out    // *might*: could  
 21 *prayed*: asked    // *declare*: i.e., give us the answer to    22 *fisher that came aland*: fisherman who came ashore  
 24, 35 *again*: back    25 *surely*: assuredly    // *much like*: in much the same way    27 *motions*: promptings; urges  
 28 *doing*: i.e., the doing of it    29 *but*: i.e., but that    31 *were not here*: wouldn't here be    // *wise*: brilliant  
 31 *ween ye*: i.e., don't you think    32 *declared*: explicated    33 *by*: from    // *before-rehearsed*: above-quoted  
 34 *home again*: back home    36 *howbeit*: however    // *side*: i.e., hand    // *peradventure*: perhaps

our hearts toward the law of God” that even, still, in the very time  
 in which they go about to bring their “horrible deeds” to pass,  
 and in which they do them, too... yet profess they the law of God  
 still with their heart. And so may he seem to mean as well by other  
 5 words, in the chapters following, as by these words, in this present  
 chapter, where he saith, “We cast never off the yoke of God from our necks,  
 neither yield ourselves unto sin for to serve it, but fight afresh and begin  
 a new battle.” By these words it seemeth, and of truth so, I trow,  
 he fully meaneth (as appeareth by sundry other chapters of this book,  
 10 and yet most especially by his *Exposition upon the First Epistle of  
 Saint John*), that though they sin in that they have the motions of  
 sin, the relics of original sin, remaining in the flesh, yet  
 because they be born of God by the right faith (that is, as Tyndale  
 expoundeth it, by the belief of the faith confessed by Saint Peter,  
 15 that Jesus is Christ, the Son of God and our Redeemer), and because they  
 have that belief not only through the words of men preached unto  
 them (which faith is, as he saith hereafter, but “historical,” faint,  
 and soon gone), but have it engraved in their hearts by God... which  
 he calleth hereafter the “feeling” faith... by which faith he saith that  
 20 they feel themselves to believe in God, and put their whole hope and  
 trust of salvation in God by the Passion of Christ, without any  
 respect of any good works; and feel and be sure that God loveth  
 them, and that they be in his favor, and be true chosen members of  
 his elect church, and shall never be damned; and by this feeling  
 25 faith be born of God, and that therefore they have the Spirit of God  
 in them, by reason whereof they can never sin deadly... for the  
 Spirit (saith he) shall never suffer them to sin of purpose, but  
 all the horrible deeds that they shall do shall be only of weakness and  
 frailty of the flesh upon great occasions, when the fruit of  
 30 sin that remaineth in their members breaketh out: for this  
 cause he saith that though the motion of the flesh toward horrible  
 deeds be sin, and therefore they sin—yet because of their feeling  
 faith, they keep still in their hearts their profession toward the  
 law of God. And when they have done the deeds and taken a fall... yet  
 35 cast they never off the yoke of God off their necks... nor yield themselves  
 unto sin to serve it, but when the rage is once past, then  
 rise up like lusty galliards again, and fight afresh, and cry a new field  
 anew, and begin a new battle; and then is (saith he) all forgiven  
 them quite, and they clean assoiled of God, both from sin and pain...

1 *still*: constantly; uninterruptedly      2 *go about*: set out

3–4 *profess* . . . *still*: they continue to profess the law of God      4, 5 *by*: by reason of      7 *neither*: nor

8 *it seemeth*: i.e., he seems to be saying // *of truth*: actually // *trow*: feel sure      9 *appeareth*: is evidenced

10 *exposition*: commentary      11 *motions of*: i.e., inclinations toward      12 *relics*: residual effects

14 *confessed*: professed      16 *have*: i.e., come by      17 *but*: merely

17 *historical*: i.e., intellectual. (See notes for 314/6 and 398/11.) // *faint*: tenuous

19, 24, 32 *feeling*: i.e., felt; experiential      22 *respect of*: regard to      26 *deadly*: mortally      27 *suffer*: allow

27 *of purpose*: purposely      28 *only of*: i.e., done only out of      29 *great*: strong; powerful

29 *occasions*: inducements / provocations      30 *members*: bodily parts      31 *though*: even if

31 *motion*: inclination / prompting / pull      32 *be sin*: i.e., is sinful // *therefore*: on that account

33 *still*: uninterruptedly; all along      36 *when . . . past*: once the fit of passion is over      37 *lusty*: vigorous

37 *galliards*: valiant men // *cry a new field*: i.e., declare a new war      39 *quite*: entirely

39 *clean assoiled of*: completely absolved by // *both from*: i.e., of both // *pain*: i.e., debt of punishment for it



and no pain shall suffer any time after for the sin passed before,  
neither in purgatory nor in this world neither. And therefore neither  
in going about their “horrible deeds” nor in the committing of  
them, he saith they never sin deadly nor never can, be the deed  
5 never so abominable... and such as far less were deadly and  
damnable in another man, that were not so born of God by such  
a feeling faith as they be, nor had received the seed of God in  
him as they have; which seed once had can never suffer them to  
sin of purpose, and therefore never deadly, after.

10 Albeit that, as I have often told you, Tyndale, partly for the  
uncertainty of himself in his opinions, after which he grasped  
and long felt about, here and there, in the dark, ere ever he well  
wist where he would rest and settle himself; and partly because  
he perceived in his own conscience his heresies not only so  
15 naughty, but also so sottish, that he was ashamed of them... and  
therefore ever so labored to set his words in such obscure and doubtful  
fashion that he might have always some refuge at some starting  
hole—yet of very truth, in conclusion, when he saw the world  
wax in some parts of Almaine so surely fixed and confirmed in all  
20 kind of heresies that there could none error so foolish nor so  
frantic be devised but a man might be bold to set it forth, and  
should not fail to find fond fellows enough to follow it; hoping then  
that he should, little and little, at length bring the people of this realm  
unto the same point: he hath finally so set forth the matter, in this  
25 book of his *Answer* unto my *Dialogue*, and yet much more openly in  
his *Exposition upon the First Epistle of Saint John*, that any learned  
man which advisedly readeth those twain shall never after doubt  
but that his riddle of the true member of their elect church “sinning  
ever and yet sinning never,” he meaneth very plainly and expressly in such  
30 manner as I have now last declared you. And therefore let us now consider  
how he may maintain his meaning, and what good fruit will  
follow thereupon in the feeling of such holy members.

Since Tyndale agreeth that both Luther and himself, and all  
other the true members of the “elect church,” may do great  
35 “horrible” deeds such as he denieth not to be in other men deadly and  
damnable, we must ensearch with him and ask of him what is the  
thing that maketh the same horrible deeds which should be

1 *pain*: punishment // *passed*: having taken place 3 *going about*: deciding to commit /  
taking steps toward committing 4, 5, etc. *deadly*: grievous(ly) / mortal(ly) 5 *never so*: no matter how  
5 *such as far less were*: i.e., such that one far less bad would be 6 *in*: i.e., for // *that were*: who was  
8 *had*: gotten // *suffer*: allow 9 *of purpose*: purposely // *after*: thereafter 10 *albeit that*: even though  
10 *for*: on account of 10–11 *the . . . in*: his own uncertainty regarding / his lack of stability in  
11 *opinions*: heterodox views 12 *ere*: before // *well*: i.e., really 13 *wist*: knew // *would*: wanted to  
14 *conscience*: conscience / consciousness // *not*: i.e., to be not 15 *naughty*: evil // *sottish*: stupid; boneheaded  
16 *labored*: endeavored // *set his words*: couch his assertions // *such obscure*: i.e., such a murky  
16 *doubtful*: ambiguous 17, 21 *might*: could 17 *have always*: always take // *at*: i.e., in  
17–18 *starting hole*: loophole 18 *of*: in // *in conclusion*: in the end 19 *wax*: become // *Almaine*: Germany  
19 *surely*: securely 20 *kind*: manner / kinds 21 *frantic*: wildly insane // *but*: but that // *be bold*: venture  
22 *fond fellows*: i.e., lowlifes idiotic // *follow*: subscribe to 23 *and*: i.e., by // *at length*: eventually  
25 *yet . . . openly*: i.e., much more openly yet 27 *which*: who // *advisedly*: carefully; reflectively  
27 *twain*: two (works) 30 *declared*: shown 31 *maintain*: attempt to defend 33 *agreeth*: grants  
34 *other the*: the other // *may*: can 35 *in*: i.e., for; when committed by  
36 *ensearch with*: do some investigating with / make inquiry of 37 *should*: would

deadly in another, to be not deadly in Luther or him, or any such other true member of their “elect church.”

He will peradventure answer us and say it is no deadly sin in them because that God doth afterward, upon their repentance and  
 5 sorrow taken for their sin, forgive them the death and all manner of pain due to that horrible deed by them before committed... and that therefore it is not deadly to them, because by God’s remission and pardon it is provided that they shall not die. This answer of Tyndale is very slender... for it implieth the contrary of that it should prove.  
 10 For it declareth that the *deed* is deadly—and that he *sinneth* deadly. For else God did not *pardon* him the death upon his *repentance*, if death were not due to his deed.

And I do not now lay to them the time before their consent unto the deed, nor the time of their repentance after their evil deed,  
 15 but the time in which their will consented and agreed to do it, and the time in which they did it indeed; in this meantime, say I, they sin deadly indeed.

“Nay,” saith Tyndale, “for afterward we repent, and by and by God forgiveth us the death, for his mercy in our Savior Christ, and for  
 20 our faith, and for his promises.”

This wise answer is much like as though he would tell us that one which had robbed a church were a thief and yet not a thief. A thief because he had stolen away the chalice, and yet not a thief because the King had given him a pardon.

25 Tyndale will yet haply say that the thief was not sure before that he should have his pardon after... but Luther and he, and such other true members of their “elect church,” be sure, by God’s promises, that upon their repentance they shall have their pardon.

But then ask we him again, though he know by the promise  
 30 that upon repentance he shall have pardon—how knoweth he, and what promise hath he, that when he hath committed horrible deeds, he shall have after the grace given him to take such repentance as the pardon shall follow?

Hereto shall Tyndale say that himself and his fellows do feel, by  
 35 their feeling faith, that they be born of God, and that they have his seed within them... by which they be well assured that they shall never do any such deed as they shall spiritually die for... but

1 *deadly in*: mortal (sins) for // *another*: someone else    3 *peradventure*: perhaps  
 3–4 *and . . . because*: i.e., by saying that the reason no deed is a mortal sin for them is    5, 32 *take(n)*: conceive(d)  
 5, 11 *death*: mortalness / death penalty    5 *all manner*: every kind    6 *pain*: penalty / punishment  
 6, 12 *to*: i.e., for    7 *deadly to*: mortal for / lethal to    8 *die*: i.e., suffer spiritual death // *of*: i.e., coming from  
 9 *is*: i.e., would be // *slender*: unconvincing // *that*: that which    10 *declareth*: shows  
 10 *is deadly*: is grievously wrong // *he*: i.e., whoever does it // *sinneth deadly*: sins grievously / sins mortally  
 11 *did*: i.e., would    12 *death . . . to*: i.e., his deed did not carry the spiritual-death penalty  
 13 *lay to them*: i.e., say they incur such (or any) guilt    13, 15 *the*: i.e., in the    15 *agreed*: decided  
 17 *deadly*: mortally    18 *by and by*: immediately  
 19 *forgiveth us the death*: forgives us the mortalness / lifts our death sentence    19, 20 *for*: on account of  
 21 *wise*: brilliant // *would*: were to    22 *one which*: someone who // *were*: i.e., was  
 25 *haply*: maybe    26 *should*: would    26, 28, 30 *have*: obtain    27 *sure*: assured; guaranteed  
 29 *again*: in reply // *though*: even if    32 *after*: afterward    34 *hereto*: to this // *himself*: he  
 34 *fellows*: comrades / followers // *feel*: i.e., know by experience    35 *feeling*: i.e., experiential

is very sure, and feeleth well, by his feeling faith, that the Spirit will call him home again after, be he never so far gone, and will cause him to repent, and so get him his pardon.

Of this opinion be they very surely... whereof, ye see well, followeth no  
 5 little occasion of bold setting forward unto sin. For if a prince  
 would promise every man a pardon beforehand that would so surely  
 trust upon his promise as, whatsoever he should do, he would not let  
 to come and ask it... no man doubteth, I suppose, what plenty this  
 10 promise would make of all kind of unthrifths. But as for God, though  
 he have made a true, faithful promise of pardon to all true  
 repentants and penitents, what mind or purpose soever they had  
 before (the truth of which promise Tyndale yet mistrusteth in them  
 that sin willingly and of purpose, and plainly saith that *they* shall  
     *Mark this bridle.*      *never* have pardon), yet hath our Lord  
 15 of his goodness and wisdom left one bridle  
 bound about men's heads to refrain them from boldness of  
 sin: that is to wit, that they cannot after their sinful deeds repent  
 again of themselves, without his special grace. Which though he  
 doth of his goodness commonly offer—yet be they not put in surety  
 20 before, that it shall be so offered unto them... but that if they so boldly make  
 themselves sure thereof before, that the courage thereof give them occasion  
 to sin... it may be the cause that God shall clearly withdraw it from  
 them and never offer it them after. And this uncertainty of grace to  
 follow is the bridle that refraineth our boldness; whereas Tyndale and  
 25 his holy fellows, the “true” members of Christ's church, feeling by their  
 “feeling faith” that after their “horrible deeds” done, they shall undoubtedly  
 take repentance and so get their pardon... have this bridle of dread  
 cast off their head, and therefore are ready, like unbridled colts, to run  
 out at rovers in all horrible deeds, whithersoever the occasions of  
 30 their wild affections, and the sin, as Tyndale saith, “breaking out in  
 their members,” list to carry them. For when they be carried out upon  
 occasions by the devil and the flesh—then Tyndale calleth it but frailty  
 and infirmity, and no *will*, in no wise, nor no malicious purpose. And  
 therefore of this heresy, without which they cannot defend their  
 35 others, ye see what good fruit must follow. And yet suppose that Tyndale's  
 false heresy were true, and that they *were* as certain and sure of repentance,  
 and thereby of remission and pardon, as they say they be. This

1 *is*: i.e., the elect person is // *well*: rightly; correctly // *feeling*: experiential; felt    2 *never so*: no matter how  
 4, 6 *surely*: firmly    6 *would promise*: i.e., were to promise // *that*: who    7 *let*: forbear / hesitate  
 9 *kind*: i.e., kinds / manner // *unthrifths*: nogoodniks; miscreants    10 *have*: i.e., has // *faithful*: solemn / ironclad  
 11 *mind*: attitude; disposition    11, 33 *purpose*: intention    12 *truth*: trueness / trustworthiness  
 12 *mistrusteth*: disbelieves in // *in*: with regard to    13 *willingly*: volitionally // *of purpose*: purposely  
 13 *plainly saith*: says straight-out    14 *mark*: take note of // *have pardon*: obtain pardon / get pardoned  
 16–17 *refrain them from boldness of sin*: i.e., restrain them from sinning presumptuously and recklessly  
 18 *of themselves*: by their own power    19 *put in surety*: put in certainty; guaranteed    20 *boldly*: confidently  
 20–21 *make themselves sure*: assure themselves    21 *courage* . . . *them*: i.e., courage this gives them is for them  
 21–22 *occasion to*: i.e., an occasion of    22 *clearly withdraw*: completely withhold  
 24 *refraineth our boldness*: curbs our boldness / keeps us from getting presumptuous    25 *fellows*: comrades / followers  
 26 *their* . . . *done*: doing their “horrible deeds” // *undoubtedly*: undoubtably    27 *take repentance*: become repentant  
 27 *dread*: apprehensiveness    28 *cast off*: thrown off of    29 *at rovers*: helter-skelter // *in*: into  
 29, 32 *occasions*: inducements    30 *affections*: feelings / inclinations    31 *members*: bodily parts // *list*: choose  
 31 *out*: away    32 *frailty*: susceptibility; human frailty    33 *in no wise*: by no means    36 *false*: false / damn

would not yet maintain his matter. For though that a traitor were  
 so well acquainted with the condition of his king that he  
 verily knew that when he had all wrought that he could in his  
 traitorous purpose against him, he should yet after obtain his  
 5 pardon, and thereupon boldly so did, upon some occasion and hope  
 of some high promotion, and afterward were not deceived but  
 obtained his pardon in deed: yet had he been, for all that, a stark  
 traitor in the meanwhile, and had deadly trespassed, though  
 the death followed not, but the fault were fully forgiven. And so much  
 10 the *more* traitorous wretch, in how much the prince were of his  
 nature more benign and merciful. And thus ye see plainly that  
 Tyndale, to prove his riddle true that “though he sin he sinneth  
 never deadly,” must seek some better shift than this.

Tyndale will say that his fellows and he do *not* sin deadly in  
 15 the time of the doing of such horrible deeds, because (as they say)  
 they do them not of purpose nor willingly, nor do not consent unto  
 sin “to serve it”... but all the while that they go thereabout, and all  
 the while also in which they be in doing, they resist it in their  
 wills, and have still in their hearts their profession to the love of the  
 20 law, and be sorry that they shall break it... and, finally, do break it  
 against their will, by great occasions given which carry them  
 forth to the doing of those horrible deeds, in a rage of the sin  
 breaking out of their members. Which horrible deeds, after the  
 rage once past, they repent always, and forthwith be clean  
 25 forgiven.

Is not here, good reader, a goodly defense and a godly? And undoubtedly  
 this is their very defense in defending themselves from  
 deadly sin, as Tyndale’s own words, as well in this chapter as in  
 others following, do plainly and clearly show.

But now seeth every good Christian man well enough that they be  
 30 *Ps 10:4, 11–13; 141:4–5* wickedly occupied in seeking, as holy  
 David saith, excuses for their sin. For  
 there is no man that doth any such deed against his will... but, albeit  
 that he resist the motion of the devil and the flesh at the first, and,  
 35 cleaving to the contrary stirring of God and his good angel,  
 repugneth and striveth against the sin, and is peradventure loath  
 to be brought thereto—which doing is very good, and thereby good

1 *not yet*: still not // *maintain his matter*: uphold his contention; support his claim // *though*: i.e., supposing  
 2 *condition*: disposition // 3 *verily*: really // *all wrought*: brought about everything / carried out all  
 4 *purpose*: design / scheme // *after*: afterward // 5 *so did*: i.e., did carry out that traitorous scheme  
 5 *occasion*: incitement // 6 *promotion*: advancement // *were not deceived*: did not turn out to have been mistaken  
 7 *obtained his pardon in deed*: did in fact obtain his pardon // *stark*: no-bones-about-it; flat-out; definite  
 8 *deadly trespassed*: i.e., committed a crime meriting the death penalty // 9 *fault*: offense // 9, 10 *were*: was  
 10 *in*: relative to // *prince*: sovereign // *of*: by // 13, 14, 28 *deadly*: mortal(ly) // 13 *seek*: seek out / resort to  
 13 *shift*: tactic // 14 *fellows*: comrades / followers // 15 *as*: so // 16 *of purpose*: purposely  
 16 *willingly*: volitionally // 17 *go thereabout*: take steps toward it // 18 *doing*: i.e., the committing of it  
 19 *still*: unceasingly // 21 *by*: because of // *great occasions*: powerful inducements // 22, 24 *rage*: violent flare-up  
 23 *of their members*: from parts of their body // 23–24 *after . . . once past*: i.e., once . . . is over  
 24 *forthwith*: immediately // *clean*: completely // 26 *goodly*: splendid // *godly*: i.e., godly one  
 26 *undoubtedly*: unquestionably // 27 *very*: actual // *defending themselves*: i.e., claiming immunity  
 33–34 *albeit that he resist*: even if he resists // 34 *motion*: prompting // 35 *stirring*: prodding  
 36 *repugneth*: fights // *peradventure*: perhaps // *loath*: disinclined / unwilling

folk finally cast off and overcome all those temptations through the grace of God working with them—yet such as in conclusion fall to the doing of those horrible deeds which they be tempted to... though they be not fully so evil as others that resist the devil

5 nothing at all, but rather run on apace toward hell themselves than tarry till the devil come to carry them... yet do they undoubtedly through their own fault fall from the grace, willingly, that helped them while they resisted. And as it were a coward that had fought a while, would suddenly cast away both buckler and sword, and fall

10 down at his enemy's feet, and yield himself into his enemy's hands—so do these folk which commit those horrible deeds after a while resisting... by which, by God's help, they should have had the victory if they would have persevered in the fight; they change their mind by the fault of their own free will, through the delectation

15 of the sinful deed, and so consent unto the same, and then seek themselves the way to come thereto, and the devil helpeth them to find it... and so break they *willingly* God's commandment, and fulfill the pleasure of the devil and the lust of the flesh. Which willful falling from God and his grace, unto the devil and the

20 flesh... what good man doubteth to be damnable, deadly sin? And therefore when Tyndale telleth us that Luther and he and such other true members of their church, when they commit any such horrible deeds, do not commit them willingly, because they do commit them upon great occasions, and be carried away, spite

25 of their teeth, with the rage of the sin that breaketh out of their members—saving my charity, sir, I beshrew their knavish members out of which their sin breaketh forth with such a rage! Let them cast on cold water, with sorrow, and *quench* that rage!

*Good counsel* For without the fault of their own

30 free will, all the devils in hell can never cast upon them such a heat that shall be able to bring them into that violent, invincible rage, to compel them unwillingly to do such horrible deeds. For God hath promised, as in plain Scripture appeareth, that he will never so suffer them. "God is faithful,"

35 *1 Cor 10:13* saith Saint Paul, "which shall not suffer you to be tempted above that ye may bear... but with the temptation shall also make you a way to get out, so that

ye may well wield it.” And when Saint Paul himself, lest the

2 Cor 12:7–9

greatness of his high revelations might

have set him up in a high pride,

had through God’s great, merciful goodness the “angel of Satan,” the

- 5 “prick of the flesh,” given unto him to beat him, and that in such  
wise that he was fain thrice to cry to God to take it away—our Lord  
again showed him that it was not good for him to lack it so soon,  
nor to have it so suddenly taken away from him... but showed him that

*The force of the grace of God*

his grace was sufficient. Whose strength

- 10 *working with the* in man’s feebleness so worketh with the free  
*free will of man* will of him that purposeth to continue

good, that all the devils in hell shall never

be able to put him in such a rage that may carry him toward

horrible deeds one hairbreadth forward against his will. And thus

- 15 ye see that Tyndale, as touching his royal riddle of “sinning and  
sinning not,” is now brought to that point that he cannot read his  
own riddle himself... except he will peradventure say that it is  
never deadly sin, though it be done willingly, but if a man  
“consent to the sin,” and then will understand thereby that he consenteth  
20 not “to the sin” that consenteth to the deed, but if he consent  
that the deed should *be* sin—and, so, that he which agreeth to do  
adultery doth not sin, because he doth not consent that adultery  
should be sin, but rather would it were none. Except Tyndale  
mean some such far-fetched wise invention... else can I not, in good  
25 faith, perceive how he can help Luther and himself and other  
holy heretics, the true members of their “elect church,” from  
consenting to sin... when they do, as he confesseth, “horrible deeds,”  
upon “great occasions,” through the “rage” of sin budding and  
bringing forth the fruit that breedeth out of their ungracious  
30 “members.”

For if he look for any help of these words where he saith that  
they yield not themselves unto sin “for to serve it”—as though *other*  
folk, when they do sin, do intend to serve sin... but *they*, for  
holiness of their “feeling faith,” in the doing of their sins do  
35 not intend to serve the sin, but to make the sin to serve them  
and do them pleasure at their own lust and liking—let him for

1 *may*: can // *wield*: deal with 5 *prick*: thorn 6 *wise*: a way

6 *he . . . cry*: i.e., three times it made him cry out 7 *again*: in response 7, 8 *showed*: told

7, 8 *so*: i.e., that 8 *suddenly*: quickly 11 *purposeth*: intends // *continue*: remain; go on being

13 *in*: into 13, 28 *rage*: hot passion 13 *may*: could 15 *as touching*: as regards // *royal*: magnificent

16 *read*: decipher 17, 23 *except*: unless 17 *peradventure*: perhaps 18 *deadly*: mortal

18 *though*: even if // *willingly*: volitionally 18, 20 *but if*: unless 19, 20 *consent(eth)*: i.e., consents

21 *that the deed should be sin*: i.e., to the deed’s *being* a sin // *which agreeth to do*: i.e., who volitionally commits

22 *sin*: i.e., commit a sin 22–23 *that adultery should be sin*: i.e., to adultery’s *being* a sin

23 *would it were none*: i.e., would have it not be 24 *mean*: has in mind // *wise*: brilliant

24 *invention*: fabrication 24–25 *in good faith*: in all honesty 25 *help*: keep; prevent

27 *confesseth*: admits / professes 28 *great*: strong; powerful // *occasions*: inducements / provocations

29 *ungracious*: ungodly / disgraceful 30 *members*: bodily parts 31 *of*: from 33 *do sin*: commit sin

33 *for*: i.e., on account of the 34 *feeling*: felt; experiential // *doing*: committing

36 *do them pleasure at*: i.e., perform for them acceptable service as defined by // *lust*: desire

answer look how Saint Augustine mocketh in like case an old  
 philosopher... which, being asked why he was not ashamed to have  
 a harlot as other ribalds had, answered for his defense that there  
 was great difference between his deed and theirs. For as for them,  
 5 they had not the harlot but the harlot had them. But as for him, he  
*A proper answer, I tell you!* had the harlot, and not the harlot him. And  
 there was, by Saint Sim, a proper  
 reason and a trim! A fair boast for a philosopher, to have a harlot at  
 his will, that lay with every man beside at her will! Now, Tyndale  
 10 maketh here a like boast for to excuse him and his fellows, saying,  
 “We fall, when the occasions be great, into horrible deeds, and the fruit of the  
 sin which remaineth breaketh out, but yet we never yield ourselves  
 unto sin to serve it”... meaning, of likelihood, that the sin shall  
 serve them, as the harlot did the foolish philosopher. But our Savior  
 15 *Jn 8:34* himself wipeth away clean all the worship  
 of Tyndale’s word, when he saith  
 plainly that whosoever *do* sin is *by the doing* become “the bond  
 thrall of sin.” And so, by the very, true tale of Christ, Tyndale’s false  
 tale is avoided. For whensoever he yieldeth himself to do horrible  
 20 deeds—which he saith they *fall* in upon great occasions, when the  
 fruit of the sin remaining in their mischievous members  
 breaketh out at large—then, forthwith, for all their feeling faith, by  
 their foul fleshly feeling in the doing their filthy devilish deed,  
 they yield themselves to serve the sin, and by the sin to serve  
 25 the devil... and the devil to serve them again, first here for a little  
 while with a little filthy pleasure, and after in hell forever with  
 blowing the fire about them.

For as touching Tyndale’s words following, where he saith they  
 will rise and “fight afresh and begin a new battle”—these words  
 30 make nothing to the purpose; for they were never able to rise  
 again alone. And if God lift them up, as many times he doth—yet  
 were they not sure that he so would, for he doth not ever so to every  
 man. And of which sort himself is, that can he never tell, whatsoever  
 he babble.

35 And also, if he *did* always so, and that they *were* also sure before, that  
 he would always so do after—yet can it not serve Tyndale in this point.

1 *like case*: a similar context // *old*: ancient    2 *which*: who    3 *ribalds*: profligates    4 *great*: a big  
 4 *deed*: doing    6, 7 *proper*: fine / logical    7 *Sim*: Simple Simon    8 *reason*: argument // *trim*: neat (one)  
 8 *fair*: nice    9 *every man beside*: every other man    10 *excuse*: exonerate // *fellows*: cohorts / followers  
 11, 20 *occasions*: inducements / provocations // *great*: strong    13 *of*: in all  
 15 *wipeth away clean*: obliterates completely // *worship*: impressiveness / cachet    16 *word*: assertion  
 17 *plainly*: straight-out // *do*: i.e., commits a // *doing*: committing (of it)    17–18 *bond thrall*: bond servant; slave  
 18 *very*: actual    18, 19 *tale*: statement    19 *avoided*: refuted; proved false // *he*: i.e., someone  
 19 *yieldeth himself to do*: i.e., gives in to the temptation to do one of those    20 *in*: into  
 21 *mischievous*: unruly // *members*: bodily parts    22 *forthwith*: immediately    23 *doing*: i.e., doing of  
 24 *yield themselves*: give themselves over // *serve*: i.e., serving    25 *the devil to*: i.e., to having the devil  
 25 *again*: in return    26 *forever with*: forever by    27 *blowing*: fanning / making burn more brightly  
 28 *as touching*: as regards; as for    30 *make . . . purpose*: i.e., contribute nothing to the making of his point  
 30 *were never*: would never be    31 *alone*: by themselves; by just their own power  
 32 *were they not sure*: i.e., it was not a sure thing / they could not be sure // *ever*: always  
 33 *of which sort*: i.e., in which group Tyndale    35 *he*: i.e., God // *so*: i.e., do so  
 35 *that . . . before*: i.e., if also it was the case that they *did* know for a fact before    36 *can it*: i.e., that could

For we speak of the deadly sin *in* the time of his fall—and of the servitude and thralldom that he lieth in all the while that he lieth prostrate under the devil’s foot—and not that *after* that God hath gotten him up again; and therefore those words will not help.

5       Howbeit, of truth, Tyndale’s words written a little before, if they were true (as they be not), would make more for the proof of his purpose—where he saith that though they “fall into horrible deeds upon great occasions when the fruit of the sin remaining in their flesh breaketh out of their members,” yet they “never cast off  
10       the yoke of God from their necks.”

      These words, if they were true, would make indeed somewhat for their purpose. For if it so were that, for all the doing of their horrible deeds, they did never cast off the yoke of God from their necks—then might it seem that in the time of the doing they did  
15       not yet sin deadly, since their necks were yet still bound within the yoke of obedience to the love of God, and that they had not shaken that yoke off.

      But, of truth, those words are untrue. For when they do those horrible deeds which God hath upon pain of eternal death  
20       precisely forbidden them... and which no temptation can cause them so to do against their will but that they might by God’s help leave it undone if they would, since God never useth to deny the help of his grace till man leave of his hold by sloth or frowardness of his  
25       *God never denieth the help.* own free will—therefore, I say, when they do those horrible deeds through the fruit of their sin *breaking out of* their beastly members, they *do*, by the disobeying of his precept, shake off the yoke of God for the while... as an evil-tached horse shakes off sometimes the bridle and runneth out at large. And then again if it  
30       happen that at God’s calling-on, they repent and do penance, and purpose to amend and be better, then is the yoke put on again... as an unbridled horse sometimes when he is followed standeth still and stayeth at his master’s whistling, and suffereth his bridle to be put on again.

35       Now, if Tyndale say still that because of his “feeling faith,” which when he hath once gotten he saith he can never lose after... and that therefore he can never after do deadly sin, not even while he is in

1 *speak*: i.e., are speaking   1, 15, 37 *deadly*: mortal(ly)   1 *in*: i.e., committed in   2 *thralldom*: slavery  
3 *that after that*: i.e., about that state that he is in *after*   4 *up again*: back up   5 *howbeit*: however  
5, 18 *of truth*: truth to tell   6–7 *make . . . purpose*: do more toward a proving of his point  
8 *great*: strong; powerful // *occasions*: inducements / provocations   9, 27 *members*: bodily parts  
9, 13 *cast*: throw   11–12 *would . . . purpose*: i.e., would indeed give some support to their contention  
14–15 *in . . . not yet*: i.e., even in . . . did not   15 *were yet*: i.e., were afterward  
16 *and that they had not*: i.e., they not having   20 *precisely*: expressly   21 *might*: could  
22 *would*: wanted to // *useth*: is wont   23 *leave of*: lets go of // *frowardness*: perversity  
28 *the while*: i.e., the duration of that time // *evil-tached*: ill-attached; ill-secured  
29 *out at large*: without restraint; wild   30 *calling-on*: i.e., knocking on the door of their heart  
31 *purpose*: resolve // *amend*: mend their ways; reform   31, 34 *on again*: back on   33 *suffereth*: allows  
35 *that*: i.e., that for an elect person to throw off the yoke of God is impossible   37 *do*: commit



the doing of such horrible deeds as he consenteth that he may fall  
in through the fruit of the sin that breaketh out of his members—I  
would ask him yet once again, what is the thing that, after the rage  
passed, he so sore should repent and sorrow? For (as himself saith  
5 that through such repentance he may have remission)—why should  
he be so sorry for the deed, to the intent to be by sorrowful repentance  
made partner of pardon and mercy and restored to life, if he committed  
in the doing no manner of deadly sin?

10 If he say for sorrow that he hath offended God, which  
grieveth him for the love and reverence that he beareth him, and not  
for any fear of hell... which fear is but servile and bond, and therefore  
not meet for such holy folk as Luther is and himself: I  
answer him if that he say true that he consented not, but all was  
done against his will... God was not angry with him nor offended by  
15 him, nor his “sin” no sin at all. For as Saint Augustine saith,  
*A saying of Saint Augustine* if it be done without the will, it is not  
sin.

Finally, if he stick still in this point—that in the doing of those  
horrible deeds, their lively, feeling faith (which cannot, as they  
20 say, but work well) standeth still in them, all the while that they be  
doing these horrible deeds that they fall in upon great occasions,  
through the fruit of the sin that *breaketh out* of their members... and  
that *they*, therefore, do not those horrible sinful deeds themselves, but  
the sin that remaineth in their members... and that they resist the  
25 deed all the while they be in doing, and do not consent nor agree  
thereunto, nor do it not with their heart, but only with their members—  
it will be then a wondrous case, in my mind, to consider, what  
manner a meditation and what manner conflict have they in themselves  
between their heart and their “members”... when the “fruit of the  
30 sin that remaineth in their flesh” against the “profession of their  
heart to the law of God” breaketh out of their “members” into such  
“horrible deeds” as take their bodies, that were the members of God,  
*1 Cor 6:15–16* and make them, as Saint Paul saith, the  
members of a stinking harlot. First, when  
35 the devil, upon some sight of a wanton woman, putteth that suggestion  
in their hearts—they make no cross, of likelihood, neither on

1 *he consenteth that he*: i.e., Tyndale concedes that an elect person    1, 5 *may*: can    2, 21 *in*: into  
2, 22, 24, 26, 29, 31 *members*: (external) bodily parts    3–4 *rage passed*: fit of passion is over  
4 *he*: i.e., the elect person // *sore*: intensely // *repent*: i.e., repent of // *sorrow*: be sorry for  
4 *as himself*: i.e., since Tyndale    5 *he*: i.e., one // *have*: obtain // *remission*: forgiveness  
7 *partner*: a recipient    8 *deadly*: mortal    11 *bond*: slavish    12 *meet*: fitting  
13 *if that he say true that he*: i.e., that if he is telling the truth in saying that that elect person  
13 *all*: i.e., all of that deed    14 *God*: i.e., then God    15 *no*: i.e., any  
18 *stick still in*: still refuses to budge on / still persists in arguing    19 *lively*: living; active  
19–20 *as they say*: according to them    20 *but work well*: i.e., fail to produce good works  
20 *standeth still*: uninterruptedly remains    21 *great*: strong // *occasions*: inducements / provocations  
25 *doing*: i.e., the doing of it    27 *wondrous case*: curious situation / weird scenario  
27 *in my mind*: as I see it    28 *manner (a)*: kind of // *meditation*: rumination; thinking-out  
32, 33–34 *the members*: parts of the body    34 *first*: at the first; in the beginning  
35 *some*: i.e., their catching some // *wanton*: loose    36 *cross*: Sign of the Cross // *of*: i.e., in all

their forehead nor on their breast, nor anywhere about their body. For  
 such blessing and crossing Tyndale calleth “wagging with fingers  
 in the air,” and “dumb ceremonies” and “image service.” But like holy  
 spiritual fathers born again of God and the Spirit, they resist  
 5 manfully first, and a great while. But when they resort unto her  
 and talk with her more and more—and all against their will, ye  
 wot well... for the devil driveth them thither, and he must needs  
 go whom the devil driveth—then, all the way they go, they say to God  
 and themselves, “Iwis, though I go thither with my feet, yet I will not  
 10 agree to go thither with mine heart, lo. Nor I would not come at her at  
 all, good Lord, saving that upon the great occasion that I had when  
 I saw her once... I then liked her so well that I am now carried  
 thither even in a rage. But yet, for all the rage, I will not cast off thy  
 yoke, good Lord, but I will carry thy yoke still about my neck to  
 15 bed with her, and put it about her neck too, and yoke us both together.  
 And yet, after all this, lo, when all the rage is past that now  
 harrieth me forth in a heat through the fruit of sin which, remaining  
 in my flesh, breaketh out of my members... then will I repent  
 it, good Lord, and be sorry therefor, and return again from her to thee,  
 20 or else *bring* her, yoked with me, too. And then will I pray thee of  
 pardon. And then thou must needs, good Lord, forthwith, at the first  
 word, give me full remission of sin and pain and all, by our Holy  
 Father the Pope’s leave, so that I shall never be punished therefor,  
 neither in hell, purgatory, nor in this world neither. And this good  
 25 mind, good Lord, will I keep still and never let it fall out of my  
 heart; so that all the while that I lie bassing with Bess, and I am  
 doing that horrible deed with my body... yet will I never agree thereto  
 with my heart. Or if I mishap, for weakness and frailty, to consent  
 unto the deed... yet will I never consent to the *sin* of the deed...  
 30 for it shall never *be* sin by my consent. Or if I do consent to the  
 sin... yet will I not consent of purpose and of malice, as the devil  
 doth, but of weakness and frailty, as other holy folk do. Nor, at the  
 furthest, I will consent no further to the sin but that the *sin*  
 shall serve *me*, and not I to serve the sin, in no wise; I will be well  
 35 ware of that. For, I thank thee, good Lord, the seed of thy Spirit that  
 through my feeling faith is in me can never suffer my heart to consent  
 to be servant to any sin, how horrible sins and how many soever

1 *about*: on or near    2 *crossing*: making of the Sign of the Cross    3 *dumb ceremonies*: meaningless rituals  
 3 *service*: worship    5 *first*: at first // *and*: i.e., and for // *resort unto*: make their way to / go up to  
 7 *wot*: know    7, 9, etc. *thither*: there    7 *must needs*: must inevitably; of course must    9 *iwis*: certainly  
 10, 16 *lo*: see    10 *I would not come at*: i.e., would I approach    11 *saving*: were it not for the fact  
 11 *great*: strong // *occasion*: inducement; enticement    13 *even in a rage*: i.e., in a literal heat of passion  
 13 *for all the rage*: i.e., notwithstanding that heat // *cast*: throw / take    16 *yet*: furthermore  
 16 *all the rage*: i.e., this whole fit of passion // *past*: over  
 17 *harrieth me forth*: rushes me forth / carries me off    18 *members*: bodily parts    19, 23 *therefor*: for it  
 20 *pray thee of*: beg of you    21 *thou must needs*: you of course have to // *forthwith*: immediately  
 22 *pain*: penalty    22–23 *by . . . leave*: with . . . permission    25 *mind*: disposition  
 25 *still*: continually    26 *bassing*: making out / messing around    28 *mishap*: have the bad luck  
 28 *for*: on account of    28, 32 *frailty*: human frailty; susceptibility to temptation    29 *sin*: i.e., sin aspect  
 31 *of purpose and of*: purposely and out of    32 *of*: (only) out of    33 *I will consent no*: i.e., will I consent any  
 34 *in no wise*: by no means    34–35 *be well ware of*: i.e., be very careful not to do    36 *suffer*: allow

my members do. And therefore even while I am in doing... the  
 thank be thine, good Lord, I do never sin deadly, nor never shall,  
 nor can; nor never am by any sin out of thy favor, nor never  
 stand out of the state of grace for any sin that I do or can do, be  
 5 they never so many or never so horrible... and such as one of these  
 peevish popish papists shall be damned to the devil if they do  
 but the fifteenth part of some such one, and all for fault of such a  
 feeling faith, and such good meditations, as I have.”

Is not here a godly meditation, trow ye? Forsooth, I suppose ye  
 10 shall not find such another in all the meditations of Saint  
 Bernard, as holy a man as he was. And I assure you, Tyndale and  
 his fellows, if their holy heresies be true... must needs in the doing  
 of every such horrible deed as Tyndale telleth us that they fall in  
 by the rageous occasions of the sin breaking out of their wretched  
 15 members—they must, I say, needs have some such manner of meditation  
 in their holy hearts, if they shall both do those horrible deeds  
 and yet in the time of the doing never consent unto the sin to  
 serve it, but continually keep still in their minds the profession and  
 purpose toward the law of God... and, in all the time of their horrible  
 20 doing, never once shake off the yoke of their bond toward God... but  
 both abide bound still unto God and yet run loose, at large, after  
 the devil. These twain both at once... without some such meditation  
 can never stand together.

Finally, for conclusion of this his worshipful chapter of “ever  
 25 sinning and never sinning,” whereas Tyndale, as though he had  
 clearly proved the thing whereof he proveth nothing, concludeth  
 against me in this wise—“And therefore it is a false conclusion that M. More  
 holdeth, how that a man may have a right faith joined with all kind of all  
 abomination and sin”—I conclude against Tyndale that he concludeth  
 30 clearly the same. And yet conclude I farther, for all that, that I concluded  
 true and that he concludeth false. And thus—because that in this chapter  
 Tyndale is, as it seemeth by his “ever sinning and never sinning,” set  
 upon reading of riddles for his recreation—I put him my riddle too: that  
 he and I be agreed, and yet we be not agreed; and that he saith as I say,  
 35 *A right faith may stand and* and yet I say not as he saith. For whereas  
*abide with an abomination.* I said, and true I said, that a right faith  
 may stand and abide with all abomination...

1 *my members*: i.e., any parts of my body    1, 4 *do*: commit    1 *doing*: i.e., the act    2 *thank*: credit  
 2 *deadly*: mortally    3 *by*: on account of    4 *out*: outside    5 *never so*: no matter how  
 6 *peevish*: childishly fretful    7 *the fifteenth part*: one-fifteenth // *fault*: lack    8 *have*: i.e., have and make  
 9 *trow ye*: i.e., don't you think // *forsooth*: indeed    10 *meditations*: written reflections  
 12 *fellows*: cohorts / followers    13 *in*: into    14 *rageous*: fierce / impassioning // *occasions*: inducements  
 14 *out of*: out from    15 *members*: bodily parts // *have*: i.e., make  
 18–19 *profession* . . . *law*: profession of, and intention of keeping, the law    21 *at large*: without restraint; wildly  
 22 *twain*: two things // *meditation*: i.e., excogitation    23 *stand together*: go together; be compatible  
 24 *his worshipful chapter of*: i.e., impressive chapter of his on    24, 32 *ever*: always    26 *the*: i.e., a  
 27 *in this wise*: as follows // *conclusion*: proposition / thesis    28 *holdeth*: maintains  
 28 *how that a man may*: i.e., that one can // *all kind of all*: i.e., all kinds of utter  
 29–30 *concludeth* . . . *same*: i.e., maintains exactly the same proposition  
 30–31 *that I . . . false*: i.e., that what I maintained is true and what he maintains is false    31 *because that*: since  
 32 *seemeth by*: appears from    33 *reading*: deciphering // *put*: pose    34 *agreed*: in agreement  
 34, 35 *as*: i.e., what    35, 37 *may*: can    35–36, 37 *stand and abide with*: i.e., coexist with and remain intact despite  
 36, 37 *(all) abomination*: (all kinds of) abominable vice    36 *true*: truthfully; correctly

meaning thereby that the true, right belief of all the articles of the Catholic faith may be in a man, and yet he may (that belief still standing) fall into many deadly sins, without any wrong opinion taken against the right belief: now cometh Tyndale and agreeth  
 5 unto that; so that he and I be therein agreed. But then would he fain save his worship with saying nay; and therefore he denieth that we be agreed. For he saith that the thing which *I* call the right faith is *not* the right faith. For though a man believe, saith he, never so right, without any wrong opinion in any article of the faith... yet but if  
 10 he have true trust and full undoubted hope in God, and charity therewith also, which, saith he, must needs ensue thereupon, else hath he no right faith. And so Tyndale avoideth me not with any proving that abomination and sin cannot stand with the thing that *is* indeed a right faith... but that abominable sin cannot  
 15 stand with the thing which himself *calleth* the right faith... because it pleaseth not him to call a “right faith” that belief that is right enough and hath none article wrong therein for as far forth as pertaineth to the nature of only faith, but if it be both faith and hope, and charity too; wherein among all learned men that hear us  
 20 both and see his subtle shift, he winneth so much worship thereby that he may surely be much ashamed thereof, as often as he thinketh thereof.

But mark well, good reader, that he cometh forth after and saith that himself and such others (his holy companions, the true  
 25 members of their “elect church”) as have the “right” faith, and the “feeling” faith, too—that is to wit, after his own doctrine, full faith, full hope, and charity both—so surely that it can never fall from them... may yet, for all their right faith, fall into abominable sinful deeds, upon great occasions breaking out of the fruit of the sin that remaineth  
 30 in their sinful members; and may for a space persevere in those horrible sinful deeds; and yet, all that while, their right faith doth continue, and their abominable sinful deeds, together. And so, by Tyndale himself, all abomination and sin *may* stand together with the right faith—that is, not only with the right belief alone,  
 35 as I affirmed, but with the right belief and with good hope and charity too, as Tyndale saith; which I say is plainly false. For surely the thin subtlety thereof, my gross wit can in no wise perceive.

2 *he may*: he can    3 *deadly*: mortal    3–4 *any . . . taken*: i.e., his taking, or having taken, any wrong stance toward  
 5, 7 *agreed*: in agreement    5 *fain*: i.e., like to    5–6 *save his worship with*: i.e., save face by    6 *nay*: no  
 8 *never so*: no matter how    9 *any wrong opinion in*: i.e., taking any wrong stance regarding    9, 18 *but if*: unless  
 10 *have true*: i.e., has real // *full undoubted*: totally doubt-free    12 *avoideth*: rebuts  
 13, 33 *(all) abomination*: (all kinds of) abominable vice    13, 15, 33 *stand (together)*: coexist  
 15 *himself*: he    18 *it*: i.e., that belief    20 *subtle*: deft / sneaky // *shift*: pulling of a switcheroo  
 20 *worship*: respect    23 *mark*: note    24 *himself*: he himself    26 *to wit*: i.e., to say // *after*: according to  
 27 *both*: i.e., too // *surely*: securely    27, 30, 33 *may*: can    29 *great*: strong // *occasions*: incitements  
 30 *members*: bodily parts // *a space*: some time    32 *by*: according to    36 *plainly*: patently  
 36 *surely*: assuredly    37 *thin*: rarefied // *subtlety thereof*: i.e., abstruse logic of that argument  
 37 *gross wit*: thick wit; dense intellect // *can in no wise*: i.e., can by no means / cannot at all

And thus, good Christian readers, for conclusion, ye now clearly see to what foolish conclusion he hath brought himself in conclusion... and all this chapter of his, with his royal riddle of “sinning and not sinning,” is royally run to right naught.

5                    *How a Christian Man Cannot Err,  
                         And How He May Yet Err*

Tyndale

10            And as they sin not, so they err not. And, on the other side, as they sin, so they err—but never unto death and damnation. For they never sin of purpose, nor hold any error maliciously (sinning against the Holy Ghost), but of weakness and infirmity—as good, obedient children, though they love their father’s commandments, yet break them oft by the reason of their weakness.  
15            And as they cannot yield themselves bond unto sin to serve it... even so, they cannot err in anything that should be against the promises which are in Christ. And in other things their errors be not unto damnation, though they be never so great, because they hold them not maliciously.

More

20            I shall, good Christian readers, make no long work about this chapter. For since the whole sum thereof is, as ye see, nothing else in effect but that the true members of Tyndale’s “elect church” do often err and yet never err, even in like manner as they often (or, rather, always) sin and yet never sin; which his manifold  
25            foolish heresies, in “ever sinning and never sinning,” I have many manner wise plainly refelled and confuted in the chapter next before: I may, therefore, and will, take a great deal the less labor and business in this.

30            I will, therefore, but put you in remembrance that all his matter standeth only in this: that his true members of his “elect church,” after that they have once gotten the true faith that Saint Peter confessed... understanding the same in such erroneous wise as Luther and Tyndale teach them, with many plain, pestilent heresies therein, as I have before openly and clearly declared you; and when that  
35            they have once attained that faith, not with a historical manner,

3 *and all this*: i.e., and that this whole    3, 4 *royal(ly)*: magnificent(ly)    4 *run*: come  
4 *right naught*: absolutely nothing    6 *may*: can    8 *side*: i.e., hand    9 *death*: i.e., spiritual death  
10 *of purpose*: purposely    11 *but of*: i.e., but only out of    12, 14 *as*: i.e., just as    13 *oft*: often  
14 *bond*: i.e., as slaves    15 *even*: just // *in . . . against*: i.e., regarding anything having to do with  
16 *in other*: regarding other    17 *never so*: no matter how    20 *long work*: long fuss; big production  
21 *the whole sum thereof*: i.e., all it adds up to    23 *even in like*: in just the same  
24–25 *which his . . . heresies*: i.e., which . . . heresies of his    25 *in*: about // *ever*: always  
25–26 *many manner wise*: in many kinds of ways    26 *refelled*: rebutted // *next*: i.e., right  
27 *before*: i.e., before this one    27–28 *take . . . this*: i.e., go to a whole lot less trouble and effort in this one  
29 *but*: just // *all his matter*: his whole case    30 *standeth only in*: consists only of  
31 *after that*: after such time as // *confessed*: professed    32 *erroneous wise*: an erroneous way  
33 *plain*: patent // *pestilent*: pernicious / lethally dangerous  
34 *openly and clearly declared you*: clearly and thoroughly shown you // *when*: i.e., when it has happened  
35 *with*: i.e., in // *historical*: i.e., merely intellectual

as a man may believe a story, but with a feeling fashion, as the child believeth that “the fire is hot” because he hath burned his finger, as Tyndale will tell you in another chapter after—whoso (saith he) hath once in such a fashion attained and gotten that  
 5 faith (that is to wit, whosoever is once infected with those heresies in such a fast feeling fashion) can never after err damnably. And why? For two causes, saith Tyndale. One, because that like as they cannot sin of purpose, but of weakness and infirmity... so can he never err in anything at all that should be against the promises  
 10 that are in Christ.

Another cause is because what other error soever such a true, faithful, elect member of his “elect church” happen to fall into, so that it be not against the “promises that are in Christ,” cannot be damnably, be it never so great—although the truth that is contrary  
 15 to that error be written, saith Tyndale, even in the very Gospel itself. And why can it be no deadly sin? Because, saith Tyndale, that an “elected member” of his cannot hold it maliciously.

So that by this ye may clearly see that Tyndale affirmeth and teacheth for a truth that in all other things beside the promises...  
 20 a true member of his “elect church” may sometimes err, but never maliciously—and that is to wit, never but of weakness and infirmity, as himself hath often already declared. And therefore they cannot in any such thing sin deadly nor damnably, be the thing never so great, and also written in the very Gospel, as he  
 25 saith after too.

By this also ye may clearly see that concerning the “promises that are in Christ” he saith that a true member cannot err at all, neither maliciously nor of frailty. For since he granteth error of “infirmity” in other things only, that touch not the promises... ye  
 30 may clearly perceive that concerning the promises, he holdeth that a true member of his “elect church” cannot err at *all*, in *any* manner of wise—neither of malice nor purpose, nor frailty, nor weakness, nor infirmity. So that, as he putteth in all other points only malicious error to be deadly sin and damnably... so putteth he concerning  
 35 the promises, *every* manner of error to be deadly sin and damnably—be it of purpose and malice, or of infirmity, frailty, or

1 *a man may*: i.e., one might // *story*: historical account // *with*: i.e., in 3 *whoso*: whoever  
 5 *that is to wit*: that is to say; in other words 6 *fast*: firmly fixed 7, 11 *cause(s)*: reason(s)  
 7 *that like*: i.e., just 8 *of purpose*: purposely // *but of*: i.e., but only out of 9 *he*: i.e., the elect person  
 9 *err . . . against*: err about anything at all that has to do with / make any kind of error that would go against  
 11 *another*: i.e., the other 12 *faithful*: faith-filled // *happen*: i.e., might happen  
 12–13 *so that*: provided that; so long as 13 *be not against*: is not about / does not go against  
 14, 24 *never so*: no matter how 14 *although*: even if // *contrary*: directly opposite 15 *even*: i.e., right there  
 16, 23, etc. *deadly*: mortal(ly) 16 *because*: by reason of the fact 17 *his*: i.e., his definition  
 18, 20, 26, 30 *may*: can 19, 23, 33 *in*: with regard to 19 *beside*: apart from 21 *to wit*: i.e., to say  
 21 *but of*: except (only) out of 22 *declared*: stated 24 *great*: important  
 28, 32, 36 *frailty*: human frailty; susceptibility to temptation  
 28–29 *error . . . in*: i.e., the possibility of “infirmity”-caused error regarding  
 29 *touch not*: do not have to do with 31–32 *manner of wise*: kind of way 32 *of malice*: out of malice  
 32 *purpose*: (any) intention 33, 34 *putteth*: claims; alleges 33 *points*: i.e., articles of the faith  
 35 *manner*: kind 36 *of purpose and*: i.e. fallen into purposely and out of // *or of*: or (just) because of

weakness—and for that cause a true member of his “elect church” can never fall therein.

For if he meant not thus—he would not so divide these two kinds of error... one against the promises, and the other against other  
 5 things, as ye see him do... but if it were to teach us that the one were deadly sin and damnable every way, and the other never damnable but if it were held of malice... and that therefore the true member of his “elect church” may err in the one kind, so it be not maliciously, because that else it is not damnable nor  
 10 deadly sin. But in the other, concerning the promises, he can never err at all. And why, but because that every error therein *were* deadly sin and damnable... and that one of his heresies is, as ye have heard before, that a true member of the elected church can never sin deadly? And this ye see, therefore, is his plain doctrine;  
 15 which what truth it hath we shall now plainly show you.

Let us first begin with errors against the promises in Christ. And therein let Tyndale tell us first wherefore a true member of his “elect church” cannot err in anything that is against the promises that be in Christ... in such wise as they may in other great articles of  
 20 the faith that be no promises. What hath he other to say but because that every manner error, though it be not held maliciously, is yet deadly sin and damnable if it touch any promise; and that none other error is deadly sin or damnable, which toucheth no promise, but if it be held maliciously?

25 Then must we further ask him whereby he wotteth, and whereby he proveth, that every manner error in every article of any promise that is in Christ is deadly sin and damnable, though it come but of weakness and frailty; and none error in any other article, be it never so great, is damnable and deadly but if it be held of malice.

30 We must ask him whereby he knoweth that it is enough for his salvation to believe the promise of God in Christ that through Christ he shall be saved... and believe not that Christ and the Holy Ghost be one equal God with the Father, by which three-Persons-and-one-God he shall be saved. For that Christ is one God, equal, with the Father, it is no *promise*  
 35 made unto us; nor that the Holy Ghost is so, neither; but it is a thing by God told unto us. And I marvel much by what means Tyndale can prove us that there is any less peril in not-believing of God’s

1 *cause*: reason    2 *therein*: i.e., thereinto    3 *divide*: distinguish and separate  
 4, 16 *against*: about; concerning    5, 7, etc. *but if*: unless    5 *the one were*: i.e., an error of the one kind would be  
 6, 12, etc. *deadly sin and damnable*: i.e., a mortal and damnable sin  
 6 *every way*: i.e., no matter which way it came to be held // *the other*: i.e., one of the other kind    7 *were*: i.e., was  
 7, 29 *of*: out of    8, 19 *may*: can    8, 10, 18 *in*: with regard to    8 *kind*: i.e., kind of article of the faith  
 8 *so*: provided that    9, 11, 20–21 *because that*: because    10, 23 *deadly*: i.e., a mortal  
 11 *therein*: i.e., having to do with them    12 *were*: would be // *that*: i.e., because  
 13 *elected church*: church of the elect    14 *deadly*: mortally // *plain doctrine*: i.e., doctrine spelled out  
 17 *wherefore*: why it is that    18 *against*: about    19 *wise*: a way // *in other*: with regard to other  
 19, 29 *great*: important    21, 26 *manner*: kind of    22 *yet*: i.e., yet a    22, 23 *touch(eth)*: has to do with  
 25, 30 *whereby*: by what means; how    25 *wotteth*: knows    26, 28 *in*: concerning  
 26 *article*: i.e., article of the faith // *of*: i.e., that is about    28 *none*: no // *it*: i.e., that article  
 29 *never so*: no matter how // *deadly*: i.e., a mortal sin    32 *believe not*: i.e., that he need not believe  
 32–33 *one . . . by*: i.e., one same God with the Father—both they and he equally divine—by    34 *one*: one same  
 34 *it is no*: i.e., this is not a    36 *marvel much*: i.e., sure do wonder    37 *prove*: prove to // *in*: i.e., in a

other words than in the words of his promises... since he bindeth us to believe them both alike.

5 The cause of our salvation is not the belief of the promise, nor the trust therein neither, of any proper nature of that belief in the promise—no more than the nature of our good works is able of itself for our salvation—but the ordinance of God, that it pleaseth him to save us for our obedience of his commandment both in the belief and the work. For as he could, if it so pleased him, bring us all unto the bliss of heaven without any good work at all—so could he, if he list, bring us all thither without any faith at all. For he *could* bring us thither without any knowledge given  
*Wherein standeth the cause* us thereof till we came thither and had it.  
*of our salvation* So it appeareth clearly that the cause of the salvation standeth all in the obedience of  
15 God's commandment... whereby he biddeth us, and by his bidding bindeth us, to captivate our understanding into the obedience of faith and believe his promises.

Now, if this be thus, as of truth it is... what doubt is there but that we be, as upon like reward, so upon like peril and pain, bound  
20 to believe all other things that God telleth us, as well as the things which he promiseth us?

And therefore if Tyndale will to the contrary look to be believed of any man in this point... he must, according to his own rule, bring forth plain and open Scripture... by which God hath told  
25 us, by writing, that if we believe once his promises, "Care for no more." For as for all other things, that be no promises, he will that we be at liberty to believe as we list... so that there be no malice in us. And why at more liberty of believing God in his other words than in his promises? I cannot perceive what cause Tyndale can  
30 imagine... but if he be so mad to think that God will in all his other tales that him list to tell us—though they be written in the very Gospel, as Tyndale saith after—have us yet at liberty in believing him, because himself would be at liberty to tell us for his pleasure sometimes true tales, and sometimes such as Tyndale telleth, that is to wit, untruth and lies.  
35

Surely this is a marvelous tale of Tyndale, in my mind... and a marvelous difference that he putteth between the belief of the promises and the belief of all the other articles of the faith. As though the belief of the promises only, were so far above the

1 *in*: i.e., of    4 *of any*: by reason of any // *proper*: distinctive / inherent  
6 *for*: i.e., to make them avail for    8 *in*: concerning // *as*: i.e., just as    9 *without*: i.e., without our doing  
10 *list*: wanted to    10, 11, 12 *thither*: there    10 *without*: without our having    11 *given*: i.e., being given  
12 *came*: i.e., got // *had it*: i.e., received that bliss    13 *appeareth clearly*: is clear to see; is quite evident  
14 *standeth all in the*: i.e., all comes down to    16 *bindeth*: obligates // *captivate*: corral / subjugate  
18 *of truth*: in fact    19 *bound*: obligated    20 *well*: fully; much    22 *look*: expect / hope // *of*: by  
23 *in*: on    24 *plain and open*: clear and obvious    25 *by*: in // *once*: once and for all  
25–26 *care for no more*: don't worry about anything else    26 *will*: maintains    27 *list*: please  
27 *so*: provided    28 *of*: about    28, 29, 30 *in*: with regard to    28 *words*: utterances    29 *cause*: reason  
30 *but if*: unless // *mad*: i.e., demented as    31 *tales* . . . *tell*: i.e., assertions that he chooses to make to  
31 *though*: even if    32 *after*: later // *in*: about    33 *himself would*: he wants to  
34 *tales*: i.e., things    36 *surely this*: i.e., this surely    36, 37 *marvelous*: curious / bewildering  
36 *tale of*: claim made by    37 *putteth*: alleges there to be



belief of any other article... when every man that any wit hath  
 may well and clearly see that the belief of the promises do so  
*depend* upon some *other* articles that the belief of those articles  
 gone, the belief of the promises and altogether were gone. As  
 5 whoso were (as many have been) so mad to believe that there were  
 no God at all—with him were God's promises quite gone. And  
 his sin were as great that erred in not believing there were any  
 God, as his that believing there were a God, erred yet in that he  
 believed not that ever he made any promise to man. And yet in  
 10 *Mt 16:16; Jn 11:27* "God's promises" Tyndale meaneth only  
 the promises of God made unto mankind;  
 for so far go Saint Peter's words "*qui in hunc mundum venisti*," is Tyndale's  
 exposition too. And therefore as for Tyndale, ye see well, so that he  
 believe that his "elect church" of mankind shall be saved... he may  
 15 without any peril choose whether he will believe that ever any  
 angel is eternally saved or not—notwithstanding that Christ said  
*Lk 7:28* of Saint John the Baptist that the least in  
 heaven was greater than he. Yet because it  
 was but a tale told by the mouth of Christ, and not a promise made—  
 20 and especially since it was no promise of any gift given to man—  
 Tyndale may distrust it and deny it if he list, if his wit have  
 any such "weakness," and so that he do it not of malice... for all that it is  
 plainly written in the very Gospel, and there told by God's own  
 mouth!  
 25 Concerning yet the promises made to man... let us consider  
 which things be promises, and which things be not the very  
 promises, but other articles besides. That we shall be saved through  
 Christ and by Christ's Passion... is a promise. And yet that Christ  
 himself was the same very person by whom that deed should be  
 30 done... is more properly a tale than a promise. And it may be that a  
 man believing the promise that mankind shall be saved through  
 Christ... may yet err in not believing that Jesus, the son of Mary, was  
 that Christ. And of truth, either in that error or very near to that  
 error be all the whole sect of Jews. So that it is as great peril not  
 35 *Mt 17:5* to believe God in his tale when he said  
*Gn 22:18* "This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I  
 much delight," as not to believe him in his

1 *wit*: sense 2, 14 *may*: can 2 *well and*: quite 2–3 *do so depend*: does in such a way hinge  
 4 *altogether*: i.e., all // *were*: would be 4–5 *As whoso were*: i.e., For example, whoever would be  
 5 *mad*: i.e., demented as 5, 7, 8 *there were*: i.e., there is 6 *were* . . . *quite*: would . . . be totally  
 7 *his sin were as great that*: i.e., as great would be the sin of him who 8 *his*: i.e., that of him who  
 9 *in*: i.e., by 12 "*qui in hunc mundum venisti*": "who has come into this world." (This was actually  
 said by not Peter but Martha; see John 11:27.) 13 *exposition*: interpretation. (See 330/16–20.)  
 13 *as for*: according to 13–14 *so that he believe*: i.e., so long as he believes  
 18–19 *it* . . . *told*: that was just a statement uttered 21 *distrust*: doubt // *list*: so chooses // *wit*: mind  
 22 *so*: provided // *of*: out of // *for all*: notwithstanding 25 *yet*: now 26, 29 *very*: actual  
 29 *should*: would 30 *is more properly*: is, strictly speaking, more 30, 35 *tale*: statement  
 30 *may be*: is possible 32, 33 *Christ*: (the) Messiah 32 *may*: could // *in*: i.e., by 33 *of truth*: in fact  
 34 *be* . . . *sect*: i.e., is everyone in the whole entire religious community 35, 37 *in*: with regard to

promise made unto Abraham that of his seed should such a savior  
 come. For it is not all one to promise that of him should one come by  
 whom the world should be saved, and to tell him, “This is the man  
 that in my promise I spoke of.” For a promise and a tale be not both  
 5 one thing. For though every promise be indeed a tale (since no man  
 can make a promise but if he tell it), yet is not every tale a promise,  
*Every tale is not a promise.* as every child perceiveth. And therefore  
 Saint Peter took a sure way when he  
 said, “Thou art Christ, that art come into this world”...  
 10 taking it for a principal point to believe God’s tale. For the *tale*,  
 that this was he—which, as our Savior said, the Father in heaven had  
 himself told unto Peter—that tale Peter confessed; that Jesus was  
 Christ, which was then come into the world. But the *promise*,  
 which was the saving of the world that should be wrought in  
 15 him—that thing Saint Peter spoke not of there, as a thing believed  
 and looked for before; nor of the means of the saving, that it should be  
 by his Passion. That thing Saint Peter, as Tyndale saith, at that  
 time knew not of; so that the tale and the promise were not all one.

But surely, concerning the belief of God’s promises... Tyndale  
 20 seemeth to fare as the Jews do. For like as many of them believe that  
 through Christ the world shall be saved, and yet they lose the fruit  
 of that belief because they will not know who *is* Christ: even so,  
*Jn 14:16–17* Tyndale saith that he believeth Christ’s  
 promise made unto his church here in  
 25 earth, that his Holy Spirit shall be therewith unto the world’s end, and  
*Jn 16:13* teach it and lead it into every truth; but  
 he loseth yet the fruit of that belief (if he  
 believe it as he saith he doth) because that he will not know which  
*is* Christ’s church here in earth. But like as the Turks instead of the  
 30 true Savior of the world worship the false deceiver Muhammad...  
 so Tyndale instead of the true, Catholic church of Christ—of  
 which church Christ would that every man should learn the truth  
 which the Holy Ghost, by Christ’s promise, teacheth, and ever shall  
 teach, unto it, and which church must for that cause needs be a  
 35 congregation *known*—Tyndale taketh not only a secret, scattered  
 company *unknown*, but also a rabble of false, malicious heretics

1 *seed*: progeny; family line    1, 2, 3, 14, 16 *should (one)*: would (someone)  
 2, 5, 18 (*all*) *one*: (entirely) the same    3 *him*: i.e., someone    4 *spoke*: i.e., was speaking  
 4, 5, etc. *tale*: communication; pronouncement    5 *be*: i.e., is    6 *but if*: unless // *tell*: communicates  
 8 *sure way*: safe route / sound approach    9 “*Thou . . . world*”: See note for 465/12.  
 10 *God’s tale*: i.e., whatever God says    12 *told*: communicated  
 12 *Peter confessed*: i.e., is what Peter there professed belief of    13, 21, 22 *Christ*: i.e., the Messiah  
 13 *which*: who    14 *wrought*: effected / accomplished  
 15–16 *a . . . for before*: i.e., something already believed in and anticipated    19 *surely*: assuredly  
 20 *fare*: act    20, 29 *like as*: i.e., just like    21, 27 *fruit*: benefit  
 22, 28 *will not know*: i.e., refuse(s) to admit to knowing    22 *even*: just    24, 29 *in*: on  
 28 *because that*: because // *which*: i.e., which church    30 *false*: i.e., false messiah and vile  
 31–32 *of which*: from which    32 *would . . . should*: would have everyone    34 *cause*: reason  
 34 *needs*: necessarily    35 *taketh*: i.e., claims to be the true church    36 *company*: society  
 36 *rabble*: motley crew // *false*: mendacious / dishonorable

teaching to the doctrine of God's Spirit abiding, by Christ's promise, in his Catholic Church, even clean the contrary!

And also, whereas Christ when he turned the bread into his own precious Body, and the wine into his blessed Blood, and commanded

5 *Lk 22:19–20* the same to be done forever in his church after in remembrance of his Passion, and

did in so commanding make a faithful *promise*—that himself would be forever with his church in that holy sacrament... and for a perpetual memory of his bitter Passion that he suffered for us,

10 would give his own flesh that suffered passion, and his own blood that was shed in his Passion, to abide perpetually with us, according to his own words spoken unto his church when he

*Mt 28:20* said, "I am with you all days unto the end of the world"—Tyndale will not now

15 believe *that* promise at *all*... but, as I have in my First Book by his own words proved you, maketh mocks and mows at that Blessed Sacrament, and calleth it but cakebread, and reasoneth it rather for starch (full like a stark heretic, God wot!), and saith it is neither body nor blood at all.

20 And thus, whereas he so highly magnifieth the belief of God's promises only, setting all other articles of the faith as things of a second sort—himself believeth, as ye see, the promises as little as the other.

25 But now let us go further in his words, and see for what cause he saith that none other error, in anything save the promises, can be damnable, be they never so great. Lo, thus he saith...

### Tyndale

In other things [that be not the promises], their errors be not unto damnation, though they be never so great, because they hold them not maliciously. As now, if some, when they read in the New Testament of Christ's "brethren," would think that they were our Lady's children after the birth of Christ, because they know not the use of the speaking of the Scripture, or of the Hebrews, how that nigh kinsmen be called "brethren," or haply they might be Joseph's children by some first wife; neither can have any to teach him, for tyranny that is so great—yet could it not hurt him, though he died therein, because it hurteth not the redemption that

2 *even . . . contrary*: just the total opposite      5 *the same to*: i.e., that the same

7 *a faithful promise*: a solemn, ironclad promise / a promise containing a pledge of fidelity

7, 22 *himself*: he himself      9 *memory*: reminder / memento      10 *passion*: agonizing pain

15 *in my First Book*: See 115/10—117/16.      16 *proved*: i.e., proved to

16 *maketh . . . at*: makes derisive wisecracks about; makes contemptuous fun of

17 *cakebread*: sweet unleavened bread // *reasoneth it rather for*: argues it to instead be      18 *full*: totally

18 *a stark*: a flat-out; an absolute // *wot*: knows      20 *magnifieth*: extols      21 *setting*: regarding

22 *second sort*: second class / lower rank      25, 28 *in*: about      25 *save*: except

26, 29 *they*: i.e., those "other things" // *never so great*: no matter how important

31 *would*: were to      32 *our Lady's children*: children our Lady had

33 *the use of the speaking*: i.e., how the translated word is used in the parlance

34 *nigh kinsmen*: close male relatives // *haply*: maybe // *might*: could

35 *neither can have any to*: i.e., and such a person can't have anyone      36 *for*: because of

36 *could it not*: i.e., that erroneous belief could not      37 *though*: even if

37 *hurteth not*: is not prejudicial to; does not detract from

is in Christ's blood. For though she had none but Christ... I am  
therefor never the more saved; neither, yet, the less though she had  
had. And in suchlike a hundred, that pluck not a man's faith from  
Christ, they might err and yet be never the less saved; no, though  
the contrary were written in the Gospel. For as in other sins, as  
soon as they be rebuked they repent—even so here, as soon as they  
were better taught, they should immediately acknowledge their error  
and not resist.

### More

Here have ye, good readers, the reason and the cause wherefore the  
true members of Tyndale's church can never sin deadly though  
they err in any article that is no promise, be the article never so  
great. The cause is, saith he, because that likewise as in all other  
sins, as soon as they be rebuked they repent—even so, as soon  
as they be better taught, they repent their error and believe the  
truth, and resist not; and for that cause it is no deadly sin in  
the mean season, before they be rebuked and taught better, although  
they died in those errors, were the articles never so great,  
and the contrary truth written in the Gospel, so that they be none of  
the promises.

This is the whole sum and effect of this whole chapter, though he  
trifle with other things between. And therefore will we first ask  
him by what scripture, or by what reason, he proveth that every  
person which is elected to be saved shall repent as soon as ever he  
is rebuked of any sin that he doth.

He will show, peradventure, that David did so, and haply some  
others too. That will be a very bare argument. David was an elect  
person... and he did so, ergo every elected person doth so? This  
argument will be very like the form of arguing that young  
children use in grammar schools: "Asinus meus habet aures, et tu habes  
aures, ergo tu es asinus meus" ("Mine ass hath ears, and thou hast  
ears: ergo, thou art my ass").

First, I suppose that Tyndale will himself agree, whatsoever he  
saith here, that such rebuking at which his elect person shall  
always so soon repent and return, had need to come after the  
rage passed, as himself saith that when the rage is past he shall  
repent. For if such a rebuker come while the rage is on him, while  
the man is forward upon his voyage and, as Tyndale saith, upon his

1 *none*: no child    2 *therefor*: for that    2, 4 *never*: not at all    2 *neither, yet*: nor, moreover  
2, 4, 17 (*al*)*though*: (not) even if    3, 12 *in*: with regard to    3 *suchlike a hundred*: a hundred suchlike things  
3 *pluck* . . . *faith*: do not pull one's faith away    4 *might*: could    5 *contrary*: i.e., truth directly contrary to their error  
5 *as in*: i.e., just as when they commit    6, 14 *even*: just    7 *should*: would    8 *resist*: put up any resistance  
10 *reason*: logic    10, 13, 16 *cause*: reason    10 *wherefore*: by which / for which    11, 16 *deadly*: mortal(ly)  
11 *though*: if    12 *no*: not a    12, 18 *never so*: no matter how    13, 18 *great*: important  
13 *in*: i.e., in the cases of    15 *repent*: repent of / renounce    16 *resist not*: put up no resistance  
17 *mean season*: meantime    18 *articles*: i.e., articles of the faith (that the errors were about)  
19 *contrary truth*: i.e., truth directly contrary to the error in question    // *so that*: provided that  
22 *trifle* . . . *between*: i.e., intersperses some snide remarks about other things    23 *reason*: reasoning    25 *of*: for  
25 *doth*: commits    26 *show*: point out    // *peradventure*: perhaps    // *haply*: maybe    27 *bare*: poor  
28, 32 *ergo*: therefore    31, 32 *ass*: donkey    33 *agree*: grant    34 *his elect person*: i.e., a person who is by his  
definition elect    35 *had*: i.e., would    36, 37 *rage*: fit/heat of passion    36 *passed*: is over    // *as*: since  
36–37 *himself* . . . *repent*: See 519/9–12.    38 *forward upon*: at an advanced point in    // *voyage*: enterprise

“great occasions” carried forth with concupiscence “through the fruit of the sin that breaketh out of his members”—the rebuker may fortune at that time to speak twice ere he go back again with him.

Yea, and whatsoever Tyndale say, when the great rage is past, too...

- 5 yet is there many a man in heaven that hath after baptism fallen full often to sin, and not repented always at the first rebuke... but, notwithstanding many rebukings and much calling upon, both by their friends and good ghostly fathers, have yet lain long therein... and for all that, have after amended and proved full virtuous men; 10 and else God forbid. And this point is so open and evident... not only in Scripture, but also at every man’s eye... that I nothing fear but that every wise man will in this point take Tyndale’s tale for a very false invented folly.

- And then since he maketh this point the ground of the other—that 15 is to wit, that every elect person shall in like wise at the first teaching, as soon as he is better taught, repent every error that he holdeth—it shall well follow that the second is as false and as foolish as the first; and so is it in very deed.

- For it may be, full well, that a right good man may be misled 20 by such as Tyndale is... and through such folks’ false persuasions may fall in errors and heresies more than one, not only beside the promises, but also in the promises too... extending some too far and cutting some too short, as Luther, Huessgen, and Tyndale do. And their untrue doctrine may be so deeply entered and rooted in the 25 good simple soul that when he is by better men better taught, he shall not repent his errors at the first nor at the second time neither, but defend them many a time and oft... and yet shall at length, with help of God’s grace, apply his will rather indifferently to perceive the truth than frowardly to stick still in heresy... 30 and so shall fall into the right way again, and very clearly see that those blind heretics had led him in darkness before.

- For else, if Tyndale said true, that every elect person would be reformed at the first... it must follow that whosoever did not, when he were better taught, return and be reformed at the first, were a 35 final reprobate and should never be saved. And then were it vain to talk with him offer than once, if he would not turn at the first, as soon as he were once well taught. For by Tyndale’s tale, he that is

1 *great occasions*: strong inducements // *with*: by 2 *of his members*: from parts of his body  
 2 *fortune*: happen; turn out 3 *ere*: before 4 *rage*: fit of passion 5, 9 *full*: quite; very  
 6 *to*: into 8 *friends*: family and friends; loved ones // *ghostly*: spiritual 9 *after*: afterward  
 9 *amended*: mended their ways 10 *else God forbid*: God forbid that it should be otherwise  
 10 *open and evident*: clear and obvious 11–12 *nothing fear but*: have no doubt  
 12 *every wise man*: everyone with any sense // *in*: on // *Tyndale’s tale*: what Tyndale says  
 13 *invented*: fabricated // *folly*: lunacy 14 *ground*: basis; foundation 15 *in like wise*: likewise  
 16, 26 *repent*: i.e., repent of / renounce 18 *very deed*: actual fact 19 *may . . . that*: may very well be that  
 19 *misled*: led astray 21 *in*: into // *beside*: apart from 22 *in*: with regard to; about  
 24 *entered*: i.e., entered into 27–28 *at length*: at long last 28 *indifferently*: impartially; unbiassedly  
 29 *frowardly*: obstinately; bullheadedly // *stick still*: stay stuck  
 30 *fall into the right way again*: come back onto the right path 31 *blind*: dimwitted / deceitful  
 32 *if . . . true*: i.e., if what . . . was true 33 *first*: i.e., first opportunity 34, 37 *were*: i.e., was  
 34, 36 *at the first*: i.e., at that first opportunity 35 *should*: would // *were it vain*: it would be useless  
 36 *offer*: more often 37 *tale*: account

elect shall by and by assent unto the truth, as soon as it is told  
him, and forthwith repent his error.

If the old holy-doctors-and-saints had been of Tyndale's mind,  
they should have left in heresy many a man whom they could not  
convert at the first, and yet converted them after very well. And  
truly, if Saint Ambrose had taken it for an undoubted token of invincible  
malice in heresy whensoever himself was not at the  
first teaching believed and obeyed... it is very likely that he never  
should have converted Saint Augustine to the truth, from more errors  
than one.

*Ti 3:10-11*

For though Saint Paul counsel Titus  
that the man which were a heretic, he  
should after one warning or twain eschew—yet meant he not to forbid  
him the oftener calling upon him after, with good and wholesome  
counsel.

For as Saint Chrysostom saith, if the devil do not despair  
to turn a man at last from God unto himself, though he missed  
his purpose oftentimes before—and that so far forth that he letted  
not to assay Job again and again, for all the patience that he found  
in him, and all the praise also that God gave him himself—it  
were a great shame if a good man should despair to convert a  
sinner from the devil to God because he cannot bring it to pass  
at once. And yet by Tyndale's doctrine, if a sinner did not repent  
at the first rebuking, and he that were in error leave his error  
at the first true teaching... we must needs perceive thereby that he  
were none elect, and consequently that he were a plain reprobate,  
that finally should be damned whatsoever were said or done unto  
him... and that it were therefore in vain to go anymore about to  
turn him again to God, but leave him still to the devil. Were not  
this, ween you, good readers, a godly-wise way?

I dare boldly say that Tyndale himself, if he should meet with a  
man of the true, Catholic faith, and should find him fast therein  
when he would teach him his heresies—though he could not at the  
first teaching, nor at the second neither, bring him from the  
truth, yet would he not leave him so by his will... but would assay  
him often, and press upon him still, not without hope to win him  
and beguile him at the last. Now say I, then, to Tyndale, that his  
hope of the man's change to his sect, either because himself

1 *by and by*: immediately    2 *repent*: i.e., renounce    3 *old holy-doctors-and-saints*: early sainted theologians  
4, 9 *should*: would    5 *first*: i.e., first attempt    6 *truly*: indeed // *undoubted token*: sure sign  
6 *invincible*: insuperable    12 *which were*: i.e., who is    13 *twain*: two // *eschew*: break off social contact with  
16 *do*: does    17 *to*: i.e., of getting to    17–18 *missed his purpose*: i.e., failed to achieve this goal of his  
18 *that so far forth*: i.e., is to such an extent undespairing of this    18–19 *letted not*: did not forbear  
19 *assay Job*: put Job to the test    21 *were*: would be    21, 31, 32 *should*: were to    21 *to*: i.e., of being able to  
24 *leave*: abandon; give up    27 *finally*... *were*: would end up being damned no matter what was  
28 *were*... *about*: would therefore be useless to make any further attempt    29 *again*: back  
29 *but*... *devil*: i.e., but rather, one should just let the devil keep him    29–30 *were not this*: wouldn't this be  
30 *ween you*: i.e., don't you think // *godly-wise way*: religiously sensible approach    31 *meet with*: encounter  
32 *fast*: unbudgingly fixed    33 *would*: tried to    34 *from*: away from    35 *so*: that way  
35 *by his will*: i.e., if he could help it // *assay*: assail / make attempts with    36 *often*: more often (than twice)  
36 *press upon him still*: keep pestering him    38 *sect*: i.e., heretical mindset

shall, in the laboring of him to draw him to it, play the devil's part, and think that though an elect shall turn from evil to good always at the first motion, and that therefore if he turn not at the first, it is in vain to go anymore about him... yet a reprobate, 5 though he turn not from his present good state unto sin at the first, shall turn after well enough... and therefore he will labor him still to his sect—and then, in thinking thus, Tyndale taketh the Catholic faith for good and his own sect for naught—or else, if he take the Catholic faith for false, from which he goeth about to 10 get the man... and his own sect for good, to which he laboreth to bring him: then I say that since he will not leave off when his doctrine is resisted at the first, he condemneth plainly the whole tale that he telleth here. For if every person elect shall, as he saith here, repent his error always at the first, as soon as he is taught the 15 truth... then this man that at the first, after the truth once taught him by Tyndale, did for all that resist it... made Tyndale surely to know that he was none of the elects, and that he therefore was a reprobate of God, that finally should be damned with the devil; and so should Tyndale lose no more labor about him.

20 And this were thus, after Tyndale, though the man's error were but in such articles as be no promises. For if it were in any of the *promises* that Tyndale should find a man after baptism believe as the Church believeth, against the heresies that he believeth—that is to wit, believing against Tyndale that God's promise of salvation 25 in the blood of Christ doth *not* quite put away shrift and all penitential works toward satisfaction, and all punishment for any sin repented, to be sustained either in this world or purgatory... but that so to believe and trust *in* God's promise is a damnable error *against* God's promise—if Tyndale, I say, find such 30 a man, he should by his own tale here perceive that man forthwith for a *desperate* heretic... because that, if himself say true that none elect person can after his baptism ever fall into any error concerning any of the promises, then should himself know that he whom he found in that error concerning God's promise 35 were a final reprobate... and then should let him alone and lose no labor in turning of him. And saving my charity, I beshrew him heartily that he doth not so!

1 *laboring of*: working on    3 *motion*: prompting    4, 6, 12 *first*: i.e., first prompting  
 4 *in vain*: useless // *go anymore about him*: make any further attempt with him    6 *after*: afterward; later on  
 6–7 *labor him still*: i.e., keep trying to win him over    7, 8, 10 *sect*: religious persuasion / heretical belief system  
 7 *and then*: i.e., in which case    8 *naught*: bad    9 *from*: away from // *goeth about*: sets out / attempts  
 10 *laboreth*: strives    11 *leave off*: desist; quit trying    12 *condemneth plainly*: dooms manifestly; blows sky-high  
 13 *tale*: story    14 *repent*: i.e., renounce    14, 15 *the first*: the first prompting / that first opportunity  
 15 *once*: i.e., was once    17 *none*: not one    18 *a . . . be*: i.e., one of God's rejects, someone who would end up being  
 19, 35–36 *lose no (more) labor*: waste no (more) effort    19 *about*: i.e., on    20 *were thus*: would be the case  
 20 *after*: according to // *though*: even if // *error*: i.e., erroneousness    20–21, 21 *were (but) in*: was (only) about  
 25 *quite*: utterly // *put away*: rule out // *shrift*: confession    26 *toward*: i.e., done for the purpose of making  
 27 *repented*: i.e., repented of    28 *so to*: i.e., to in Tyndale's way    30 *tale*: account // *forthwith*: immediately  
 31 *a desperate*: a hopeless; an irremediable    31–32 *because . . . none*: i.e., because if what he says is true, that no  
 33 *should himself*: would he    35 *were*: was // *should let*: would leave    36 *in turning of*: i.e., trying to convert  
 36 *saving*: without prejudice to // *beshrew*: castigate; excoriate    37 *that he doth not so*: for his not doing this

But thus, good Christian readers, ye may well perceive that there is no truth in Tyndale's tale. And that the proof of all his whole conclusion in this chapter—that none elect can fall into any error against the promises... and that in all other articles they repent

5 their errors as soon as they be taught the truth, and that they repent all their other sins as soon as they be rebuked—hangeth all by the moonshine. And that neither of both his heresies toward the proof whereof he would make this conclusion serve—of which two the one is that none elect person can after his baptism  
10 *Two of Tyndale's heresies* sin of purpose nor willingly, and the other, that necessarily dependeth thereupon, that whosoever after baptism break any of God's commandments willingly and of purpose shall never after be saved—can take here none anchor-hold at all. But as they be, both twain, by  
15 the blast of the devil's mouth blown out abroad against the strong rocks of Christ's Catholic Church and the mighty majesty of God... so be they, both twain, there fallen to wrack and shattered all to fitters.

Yet for because that Tyndale in such things as be no promises—  
20 in all which things, he saith, be they never so great, the elect may err and die in that error, for lack of good teaching, and yet never be damned therefor, because they "hurt not the redemption that is in Christ's blood"—because Tyndale, I say, for his example of such kind of things as be no promises, putteth the perpetual  
25 virginity of our Lady... it is good to consider in what manner he handleth it.

#### Tyndale

If some [of them; that is to wit, the true members of the elect church], when they read in the New Testament of Christ's "brethren,"  
30 would think that they were our Lady's children after the birth of Christ, because they know not the use of the speaking of the Scripture, or of the Hebrews, how that nigh kinsmen be called "brethren," or haply they might be Joseph's children by some first wife; neither can have any to teach him, for tyranny that is so  
35 great—yet could it not hurt him, though he died therein, because it hurteth not the redemption that is in Christ's blood.

1, 21 *may*: can    2 *Tyndale's tale*: what Tyndale is saying  
2 *of all his whole conclusion*: i.e., he offers for absolutely everything he claims    3 *none*: i.e., none of the  
4 *against*: about // *in*: with regard to // *articles*: i.e., articles of the faith // *repent*: repent of / renounce  
6 *repent*: repent of    6–7 *hangeth all by the moonshine*: has no basis in fact    9, 14 *none*: no  
10, 13 *of purpose*: purposely // *willingly*: volitionally    11 *dependeth*: follows  
14, 17 *both twain*: both of the two    15 *blast*: hot breath    17 *wrack*: ruin    18 *fitters*: shreds; smithereens  
19 *for because*: on account of the fact // *in*: i.e., in the class of    20 *in*: about  
20 *never so*: no matter how // *great*: important    22 *therefor*: for that // *they*: i.e., such errors  
22, 36 *hurt(eth) not*: are/is not prejudicial to; do(es) not detract from    24 *putteth*: puts forward  
26 *handleth*: discusses    30 *would*: were to // *our Lady's children*: children our Lady had  
31 *the use of the speaking*: i.e., how the translated word is used in the parlance  
32 *nigh kinsmen*: close male relatives    33 *haply*: maybe // *might*: could  
34 *neither . . . to*: i.e., and such a person can't have anyone // *for*: because of  
35 *could it not*: i.e., that erroneous belief could not // *though*: even if



## More

Consider, good reader, how many things here fall upon Tyndale's head at once, by his own fond handling of this example.

5 First, it is folly for him to put that for "tyranny" now, any man should lack teaching that those children were not born of our Lady's body... since that article is as well and commonly known as any of the promises... and as long hath been known, and as fully, and as commonly believed through Christendom, as any other article of the Christian faith. And none article is there, almost, in the Christian faith, 10 which hath not had more heretics against it than this article of our Lady's perpetual virginity; so that it is now so well known, and that solution also, of nigh kindred called "brethren" among the Hebrews, that Tyndale never needed to encumber his book therewith.

Besides this, himself and his own doctrine destroyeth his own 15 solution. For he saith that we be bound to believe none article but if it be proved by plain Scripture. Now, though he teach now the true members of his "elect church" the thing that every child can tell already—that among the Hebrews, the near kinsmen were called "brethren"—what hath he taught them thereby? Any other 20 thing than that the Scripture doth not prove that our Lady had ever any more children than Christ? He doth not yet by the Scripture teach his true members to perceive that she had no more, but only that the Scripture saith not plain the contrary. But then doth he by his own rule beside... teach them that they may believe at their 25 liberty, if they list, that she had more children indeed. And furthermore, he teacheth them that they should in no wise take it for any sure article of their belief that she was a perpetual virgin and never had more children than Christ. This point he teacheth plainly, after his master Luther, as ye have heard already, throughout his whole 30 title wherein he laboreth to prove that the apostles have left nothing unwritten the belief whereof were necessary to salvation. Which false assertion of his I have in divers places of my former books clearly confuted... and in the end of my Third Book have answered, and avoided, all his whole chapter thereof. But now, since in this present 35 place Tyndale himself granteth that the cause why an elect person shall be saved though he happen to err and think that our Lady was not a perpetual virgin is because that he shall repent that error when he is taught the contrary: plain it is to any man that

2 *consider*: note    3 *by*: by reason of // *fond handling of*: i.e., foolish way of giving  
 4 *folly for*: i.e., ridiculous of // *put*: assert // *for*: on account of  
 4–5 *any* . . . *teaching*: i.e., someone might miss out on being taught    8 *through*: throughout    9 *none*: no  
 12, 15 *solution*: explanation    12 *nigh kindred*: close male relatives (having been)    13 *encumber*: clutter up  
 14 *himself*: he himself // *destroyeth*: i.e., undo the intended effect of    15 *be* . . . *none*: are not obliged to believe any  
 16 *but if*: unless    16, 23, 28 *plain(ly)*: clear(ly) / explicit(ly)    18 *tell*: reel off; spit out  
 18 *near kinsmen*: close male relatives    24 *beside*: i.e., that is not found in Scripture / additionally  
 24–25 *may* . . . *liberty*: are free to believe    25 *list*: want to // *had* . . . *indeed*: did in fact have more children  
 26 *in no wise*: by no means // *sure*: definitely true / ironclad    28 *after*: in line with    30 *title*: i.e., section  
 30 *laboreth*: endeavors    31 *were*: i.e., is // *to*: i.e., for    32 *divers*: several  
 32 *my former books*: i.e., the previous Books of this work of mine    33 *clearly*: thoroughly    34 *avoided*: refuted  
 34 *all his whole*: his whole entire // *thereof*: i.e., on    35 *cause*: reason    36 *and think*: i.e., by thinking  
 37 *because that*: because // *repent*: repent of / renounce    38 *plain*: obvious

*himself* therein confesseth now that it *is* a necessary article for salvation—that to every man, at the leastwise, to whom it is opened and taught—since the cause of his salvation which before believed the contrary... is, by Tyndale himself, the repenting of his former error.

5 Now, then, it is so that Tyndale doth in sundry places confess and agree that this point cannot be proved by plain and evident Scripture. Ergo, he confesseth here plainly the contrary of that he so fastly before hath affirmed, while he taught that there is no thing to be believed for a surety but if it be proved by plain and  
10 evident Scripture... and that the apostles have left nothing unwritten which men are bound to believe upon pain of damnation.

This doctrine of his master and his own hath he, as ye now see, by his own handling of this matter, here utterly destroyed and  
15 damned.

Now, if he will, haply for shame, labor to seek some shift, and say that he meaneth no more but to put this difference between the articles of the faith in the promises and all other articles: that none error in any of the others is damnable till the man that misbelieveth  
20 be better taught the truth... and that then he is bound to believe them, whether they be in Scripture or not; but in the belief of the promises, every error and ignorance also is damnable ere ever they be taught... for no man shall be saved but if he be taught them and have the faithful belief of them—thus must Tyndale  
25 needs say, for aught that I can see... or else must he confess that one piece of his doctrine plainly destroyeth another, concerning his difference between the promises and other articles.

But yet abideth still against him that since he confesseth the perpetual virginity of our Lady... to be, now that it is taught, necessary  
30 to be believed... which is not written in Scripture—still, I say, standeth it stiffly against him that he hath destroyed all his principal ground, whereabout his master and himself have taken so great labor to make men ween that no thing was necessarily to be believed but if it were evidently written in Holy Scripture.

35 But now, concerning his difference between the necessity of the belief of the promises, and the belief of the other articles... we shall tell him that it will be peradventure hard for him to prove his saying true, especially taking the promises as himself taketh them.

1 *himself*: i.e., Tyndale *himself* 1, 5, etc. *confess(eth)*: acknowledge(s) 2 *that to*: i.e., necessary for  
2 *opened*: disclosed 3 *his . . . which*: the salvation of him who 4 *by*: according to // *repenting*: renouncing  
5 *so*: the case 6 *agree*: concede 6, 9–10 *plain and evident*: clear and conclusive  
7 *plainly the contrary*: the exact opposite // *that*: that which; what 8 *fastly*: unbudgingly // *while*: when  
8–9 *there is no thing to*: i.e., no thing must 9 *for a surety*: i.e., to be definitely true 9, 23, 34 *but if*: unless  
11, 20 *bound*: obliged 13 *master*: i.e., master's 14 *handling*: treatment // *matter*: subject  
14, 31 *destroyed*: demolished 15 *damned*: condemned / shot to hell 16 *haply for shame*: i.e., maybe to save face  
16 *labor . . . shift*: i.e., try to come up with some subterfuge 17 *put*: assert; claim there to be  
18 *in*: having to do with 19 *none*: no // *in*: regarding 23 *ere*: before 24 *faithful*: i.e., right  
24 *thus*: i.e., something to this effect 25 *aught*: anything 26 *plainly*: obviously / directly // *destroyeth*: undoes  
28 *abideth still*: there still remains 31 *stiffly*: inexorably // *all his*: his whole 32 *ground*: leg to stand on  
32 *whereabout*: i.e., for the having of one 32–33 *taken so great labor*: gone to such great effort; worked so hard  
33 *ween*: think // *was necessarily to*: i.e., has to 34 *were evidently*: i.e., is conclusively 35 *his*: i.e., his asserted  
37 *peradventure*: perhaps 37–38 *his saying true*: true what he is saying

Acts 2:41

For in the beginning, upon the first  
 preaching of Saint Peter, when there were  
 so many so suddenly christened thereupon... whereby can Tyndale  
 prove that all they were fully taught the faith of the promises before  
 5 they were baptized, or that none died ere ever they were taught any  
 further; or that if they died forthwith upon their baptism, that  
 then their christendom stood them not in stead, for lack of further  
 instruction of the promises? Concerning which I dare be bold to  
 say that they were *never* taught the doctrine that Tyndale calleth so  
 10 necessary that he teacheth the lack of that faith in the promise to be  
 damnable. For they were, I say, never taught that they must believe  
 that the promise should save them and get them of all their sins at  
 any time after their baptism committed, at their bare repentance,  
 always full remission of sin and pain and all, in purgatory or  
 15 in this world either, and without any regard of any good work at  
 all, or of any purpose thereof, other than bare repentance and faith  
 in the promises. I dare well say they died, all that were then  
 baptized, ere ever they heard anything of this point of faith in the  
 promises... which was never thought upon by Saint Peter nor any of  
 20 his fellows then, nor yet no man else till it was devised by the  
 devil and put forth by heretics when charity waxed cold many a  
 winter after.

If Tyndale make us many questions of them that were so suddenly  
 christened so many at once in the beginning: we will yet be bold  
 25 to tell him that many children die now soon after that they come from  
 christening, ere ever they be washed out of the chrism... of which I  
 suppose that some were never taught fully the faith of the promises ere  
 they died.

If he say to this that though they were not taught it actually, yet  
 30 by the gift of God in the sacrament it is taught and infused into  
 their souls habitually: then will we ask him whereby he proveth,  
 then, his difference between the faith of the promises and of the  
 other articles... but if he prove us that only the faith of the promises  
 is infused, and of the other articles not. Which when he proveth  
 35 you, believe him; and in the meanwhile, believe that his evasion is  
 not worth a fly.

If he will say that the children baptized, and so, forthwith,  
 departing, have no faith at all... but be saved only by the faith of

3, 23 *suddenly*: extemporaneously / speedily      3, 24 *christened*: baptized

3, 31 *whereby*: by what means; how      4 *all they*: all of those people      5, 18, etc. *ere*: before

7 *christendom*: i.e., having been baptized // *stood them not in stead*: was of no avail to them

8, 23 *of*: about      8, 24 *be bold*: venture      12 *should*: would      13, 16 *bare*: mere

14 *pain*: i.e., the debt of punishment for it      16 *purpose*: intention      20 *fellows*: i.e., fellow apostles

21 *waxed*: went      24 *yet*: also      25–26 *that they come from christening*: i.e., getting baptized

26 *be washed out of the chrism*: i.e., get the chrism washed off // *which*: whom      29 *actually*: actively

30 *infused*: infused      31 *habitually*: i.e., as something latent there      32 *his*: i.e., his asserted

33 *but if*: unless      35 *evasion*: dodge      37 *so*: thereupon

37 *forthwith*: i.e., immediately after being baptized      38 *departing*: i.e., leaving this life; dying

their friends, and by that our Lord hath received them to the Sacrament of Baptism, and by the Sacrament of Baptism hath received them to grace and glory, without any faith of their own: then giveth he to the sacrament, against all his other doctrine, a  
 5 great efficacy of grace, and maketh it *not* only a sign. And yet granteth he then, besides, the thing that he denieth: that is to wit, that some may be saved being ignorant... not only of *some* of the promises, but also of them all.

Besides this, if we would grant him the thing that he can  
 10 never prove—yet were he never the nearer. For though it were true that without belief of all the promises, no man might be saved, but that the bare ignorance of any of them were damnable; and that the ignorance of any other article were not damnable, nor the contrary belief, till they were opened and taught: yet since men  
 15 were (as Tyndale hath here confessed) bound upon pain of damnation to believe the perpetual virginity of our Lady (and to repent their former error to the contrary) as soon as they be taught it, notwithstanding that it cannot be proved by plain and evident Scripture—then must Tyndale grant that it is likewise  
 20 of every other like article; that is to say, of every article which is true and must be believed when it is taught, besides the promises, though it cannot be proved by Scripture, no more than the article of the perpetual virginity of our Lady.

Then ask we Tyndale how knoweth he those articles which be  
 25 necessary articles of the faith, of which articles the contrary belief  
*The articles of our faith* were damnable after the truth of those  
*unwritten are known only* articles taught, the same articles not  
*by the Church.* being written in Scripture. Doth Tyndale  
 know them by any other means than by  
 30 the *Church*... since they be not taught him by Scripture? For it were hard that he should in such a matter believe the authority of any one man, but if that either God bid him believe him, or that, for lack of Scripture, he prove the truth of his doctrine by miracle, or by miracle prove himself to be appointed by God to teach him... by  
 35 reason whereof he might be believed though he prove not every particular point of his doctrine by a several miracle... except as great or greater miracles be done, or have been done, by some that

1 *friends*: i.e., relatives and others who love them // *that*: the fact that 1, 3 *received*: admitted 2 *by*: via  
 3 *without*: i.e., without their having had 4 *giveth*: attributes; imputes // *against*: in opposition to  
 4 *doctrine*: teaching 5 *maketh*: considers // *yet*: also 8 *also*: even 9 *would*: were to  
 9 *the*: i.e., that 10 *yet*... *nearer*: i.e., he still would be gotten nowhere 10, 22 *though*: even if  
 11 *might*: could 12 *bare*: mere 12, 13 *ignorance*: not-knowing 12, 13, 26 *were*: i.e., is  
 14, 25 *the contrary*: i.e., the holding of the contrary 14 *they were*: i.e., those articles are  
 14 *opened*: disclosed; made known 15 *confessed*: acknowledged // *bound*: put under obligation  
 16 *believe*: i.e., believe in 17 *repent*: renounce 18–19 *plain and evident*: clear and conclusive  
 20 *of*: i.e., with 26 *truth*: i.e., definite trueness 27 *taught*: i.e., has been taught 30 *were*: would be  
 31 *hard*: problematic // *believe the authority*: i.e., be expected to take as authoritative the say-so  
 32 *but if*: except in such a case // *bid him*: commands him to 33 *he*: i.e., that one man  
 33, 34 *prove*: i.e., proves 33 *truth*: trueness 35 *might*: i.e., could safely 36 *several*: separate  
 36 *except*: unless 37 *some that*: someone who

teacheth, or hath taught, the contrary. In which perplexity God will either never bring us or never leave us.

*Lk 10:16*

Therefore conclude I that Tyndale must

*Mt 28:20*

needs grant that he knoweth not those

5

*Jn 14:26; 16:13*

articles but by the Church. Which church

hath proved itself by millions of

miracles, and which church God biddeth him believe, and saith he will dwell therewith always, and send his Spirit to teach and inform it, and lead it into every truth.

10

Of this church, therefore, must Tyndale learn those articles, or else cannot be bound to believe them (and to repent his former errors to the contrary), but if he say that himself have them, by special revelation of God, privately shown unto himself. And then, if he say so, he must either believe them alone... or else, if he will be

15

believed in them, and have other men believe them with him, then must he prove us them by Scripture or miracle. And since I dare answer for him that in such articles he lacketh those two... there is no remedy for him but he must needs confess that he is taught the surety of those articles, and learneth which they be, only by the

20

church of Christ. Then ask we Tyndale further, which is that church of Christ by which he is taught to know those necessary articles from all others... the belief whereof is not necessary to salvation. He cannot say that he learned it of any unknown church, for no such company can he know for "the church"... but he must needs confess that he learneth to know those articles by the known church. And then, by which known church? Let him name any which he will, except the known, Catholic church which himself impugneth... and he shall name a company of no credence in that point. For by

30

his own agreement they must lack Scripture for those articles (for of such articles we speak), and they have no miracles. Wherefore, finally, when he hath all done... this article alone, of the perpetual virginity of our Lady (the contrary error whereof, after the truth taught, himself confesseth to be damnable), driveth him, of very

35

fine force, to confess that the church by which he knoweth the undoubted truth of this article, since he knoweth it not by plain and evident Scripture, is not his own secret, unknown church of

1 *in*: into / in // *perplexity*: quandary 7 *biddeth*: tells him to 10, 13, 24 *of*: from 11 *bound*: obliged  
 11 *repent*: renounce 12 *but if*: unless 12, 28, 34 *himself*: he himself 12 *have*: i.e., has had  
 13 *shown*: made known // *himself*: him 14 *say so*: says this // *alone*: by himself 14, 27 *will*: wants to  
 15 *in*: with regard to 17 *in*: i.e., for // *two*: i.e., two kinds of proof 18 *remedy*: alternative  
 18, 25, etc. *confess(eth)*: acknowledge(s) 19 *surety*: definite correctness  
 19 *which they be*: i.e., which beliefs are those infallible ones, the articles of the faith // *by*: i.e., by and from  
 21 *which*: i.e., which church 23 *others*: i.e., those others // *to*: i.e., for 24 *it of*: i.e., this from  
 24, 29 *company*: group of people 26, 27 *by*: via 28 *except*: other than  
 28 *impugneth*: calls into question / assails as errant 29 *of no credence*: i.e., that has no credibility  
 29 *point*: i.e., regard 31 *of such articles we speak*: i.e., it's of such articles that we're speaking  
 32 *hath all done*: i.e., is all done; has said everything he has to say 34 *taught*: i.e., has been taught  
 34–35 *very fine*: veritable sheer 36 *undoubted truth*: definite correctness  
 36–37 *plain and evident*: clear and conclusive

elects (which, as ye see, himself cannot yet well describe us), nor any known church of heretics, but the very common-known Catholic church which himself goeth all this while about to impugn and destroy. In which only church Christ hath

- 5 promised to dwell and abide, to teach it every necessary truth, unto the end of the world... and unto the only faith of which church he hath promised and given the gift of working miracles. Which miracles since we clearly see persevere and continue in this church only... we may clearly thereby see that this church only is that  
10 church also to which only the other promise, of the Holy Ghost's perpetual residence and inspiration, was made.

- To this point is Tyndale now, good Christian reader, driven of necessity... but if he will say that this *whole* multitude of the known Catholic church is not the very church, but only the good men, and  
15 elects, that be within the same.

- Now, if he ween to escape out so... he shall be soon set in. For then at the leastwise he acknowledgeth that there are no good men *out* of this church... nor no man hath any true, sure faith but it be learned *of* this church, or of some members of the same. And then, since himself  
20 and his fellows be out of this church (both willfully first departed out, and after worthily cast out), themselves be none of them of whom the truth can be learned. Also, to say that he therein believeth only the *good* men of the known church—that thing hath himself made impossible to serve him. For they be, by him, the only elects,  
25 which may, by his own doctrine, though they can do no deadly sin, do “horrible deeds” yet, and so *seem* very *naught*. And in this common-known church, the common-known faith or belief is all one both with the good and the bad, though the living be diverse. If Tyndale dare deny that... let him look in the works of Saint  
30 Augustine, Saint Jerome, Saint Cyprian, Saint Ambrose, Saint Basil, Saint Gregory, Saint Chrysostom, and all the other old holy-doctors-and-saints of every time this fifteen hundred years... and he shall not for very shame say nay but that, against Luther and him, those holy saints had the same faith that the common Catholic  
35 laypeople have yet unto this day; as, for example, that it is a horrible abomination that any monk or friar should wed a

1 *himself cannot yet*: i.e., even he cannot // *describe*: delineate for; demarcate for 2 *very*: very same

2, 27 *common-known*: common-knowledge 3 *himself* . . . *about*: he is all this time endeavoring

4 *impugn*: cast doubt upon / discredit // *only church*: i.e., one and only church; church alone

5 *necessary truth*: i.e., truth one must believe in order to get to heaven 6 *the only*: only the

8 *persevere*: keep happening // *continue*: stay 9, 10 *only*: alone 13 *but*: unless 14 *very*: true

15 *elects*: i.e., elect 16 *ween*: i.e., thinks 17, 20 *out*: outside 18 *sure*: definitely correct

18 *but it be*: i.e., that has not been / that he has not learned // *of*: from 19 *of some*: from some

19, 23 *himself*: he himself 20 *fellows*: cohorts / followers // *willfully*: voluntarily

21 *after* . . . *out*: afterward deservedly excommunicated // *themselves* . . . *them of*: i.e., they are not any of those from

24 *impossible to serve him*: incapable of availing him 24, 25 *by*: according to 24 *the only elects*: only the elect

25 *which may*: who can // *can do no deadly*: cannot commit a mortal 26 *so*: thus // *naught*: evil

27 *all one*: entirely the same 28 *living*: i.e., way of living // *diverse*: different

31 *Gregory*: i.e., Gregory the Great // *Chrysostom*: John Chrysostom

31–32 *old holy-doctors-and-saints*: renowned sainted theologians 32 *time*: i.e., time in

33 *not for very shame say nay but*: i.e., for sheer fear of embarrassment refrain from denying

nun. Wherein if Tyndale dare say that I lie... let Tyndale, as I have often said, bring forth of all the old holy saints some one that said the contrary; which I am very sure he cannot. So that finally, Tyndale is come again to the same point: that he must, in faith and belief of such articles, believe the common consent of the whole Church... and not take his doctrine of any one man, or any few, that would in faith vary, swerve, and fall from the common faith of the whole Catholic Church; not though there fell away, parcelmeal, so many that they left the Church for the fewer part.

10       *Two things whereby the true church may be known*       For God shall, for the knowledge of his true church, evermore among many other things specially provide twain.

One, that they which depart out thereof shall never agree together in one belief. Another, that the light of miracles shall never shine among any of their churches, but only in his old, true, Catholic church remaining. And therein shall they still continue, without any wonders wrought in any of the false, counterfeited churches of heretics, until that Antichrist shall come himself... which, as help me God, I very greatly fear is now very near at hand. But  
20       *2 Thes 2:7-9*       when he is once come... our Lord be thanked, he shall not very long endure ere Christ shall himself, with the blast of his blessed mouth, blow that proud beast to naught.

Now, good Christian reader, since it is proved plainly upon Tyndale's own handling of this article of our Lady's perpetual virginity that Tyndale could not have learned the truth of that article of any man but if he learned it by credence given to the common-known church, which he will not know for the very church, but impugneth it; and since himself granteth also that the contrary error of that article is damnable after the truth taught, forasmuch as his own elected persons that so have erred before cannot be after saved but by repentance of that error: he must needs confess also that of all other like articles which come in question, and are not in the Scripture either spoken of at all or not plain and evidently proved... the sure truth and certainty cannot  
35       be had by no man but it be first commonly learned of the same church—by credence given thereunto, for the trust of Christ's promise made thereto, that himself and his Holy Spirit would forever be resident therein, and teach it every necessary truth; that

1 *wherein*: about which // *I lie*: i.e., I'm lying   2 *old holy saints*: holy saints of old   4 *finally*: in the end  
4 *again*: back // *point*: position // *he*: i.e., one // *in*: with regard to   5 *the . . . consent*: i.e., whatever is the universal consensus   6, 27, 36 *of*: from   7 *vary*: dissent // *swerve*: deviate // *fall*: fall away  
7 *common*: universal / shared   8 *though*: even if // *parcelmeal*: piecemeal; little by little  
9 *for the fewer*: i.e., the less numerous // *part*: side / party   12 *specially*: particularly // *twain*: two  
13 *depart out thereof*: depart from it; leave it   13–14 *agree . . . belief*: all agree with one another on one creed  
16 *still*: always // *continue*: stay / continue to occur   17 *wrought*: i.e., being wrought   18 *that*: i.e., such time as  
18 *as*: i.e., so   22 *ere*: before // *blast*: powerful breath   24 *upon*: from   25 *handling*: treatment / discussion  
27 *article*: i.e., article of the faith   27, 36 *but (if)*: unless   28 *common-known*: common-knowledge  
28 *will not know for*: refuses to recognize as // *very*: true   29 *impugneth it*: assails it as errant  
29, 38 *himself*: he himself   30 *contrary error of*: i.e., the holding of the error directly opposite to  
31 *taught*: i.e., has been taught   32 *after*: afterward   34 *in*: into // *are not . . . spoken*: i.e., are . . . not spoken  
35 *plainly and evidently*: clearly and conclusively   36 *commonly*: i.e., in the usual, general way / communally

*Mt 28:20; Jn 14:16–17* is to wit, every truth to the belief  
*Jn 14:26; 16:13* whereof he would have his people  
 bound.

Now followeth it further, good Christian reader, upon this, that  
 5 Tyndale is in this matter so caught in a net of his own making...  
 that he must either lie tumbling still therein like a fool—and the more  
 he striveth therewith, the more always mesh and entangle himself  
 faster and faster therein—or wisely give up his heresies and renounce  
 his former errors... and from henceforth utterly acknowledge and confess  
 10 that against his whole purpose he is upon his own words  
 clearly convinced and concluded, not only that the very church is  
 the common-known church, which hitherto he hath denied and  
 stiffly striveth against, but also that in the sacraments, vows,  
*Mt 16:18–19; 18:15–18* faith, and good works, and finally *everything*  
 15 *Lk 10:16* wherein the Catholic, known  
 church and himself have been at variance... he must learn the  
 truth *of* the same church, and therein believe that church, and give  
 credence thereunto. Which if he do not endeavor himself to do,  
 but resist their doctrine... God, which hath commanded him to  
 20 believe and obey the *Church*, shall never work with him toward the  
 belief.

And thus, good Christian readers, for the final conclusion of this  
 chapter... here ye may plainly see that I might well, if I would,  
 with this same chapter make an end of all the whole matter. For  
 25 ye will remember that all our matter in this book is, between Tyndale  
 and me, nothing else, in effect, but to find out which church  
 is the very church. For since he seeth himself plainly bound to  
 give credence to that church whichsoever be it... he therefore in all  
 his book bringeth it into darkness, and laboreth to make it unknown...  
 30 because he would not by the knowledge thereof have his heresies  
 known and reprov'd.

And now ye see that, as our Lady would, by his foolish handling  
 of the article of her perpetual virginity he is quite overthrown...  
 and hath it plainly proved unto him, upon his own words, that  
 35 the very church is none other but this that he denieth: that is to  
*The very and true church* wit, the common-known Catholic people—  
 clergy, layfolk, and all—which, whatsoever  
 their living be (among whom undoubtedly there are, of  
 both sorts, many right good and virtuous), do stand together

4 *upon*: from    7 *mesh*: enmesh    8 *faster*: tighter    9 *from henceforth*: from now on // *utterly*: unreservedly  
 10 *against*: about // *purpose*: thesis    10, 34 *upon*: i.e., by    11 *clearly convinced*: completely proved wrong  
 11 *concluded*: come to the conclusion    11, 27, 35 *very*: true    12 *common-known*: common-knowledge  
 13 *stiffly*: adamantly / obdurately // *striveth*: argues // *in*: with regard to    14 *finally*: ultimately    17 *of*: from  
 18 *do . . . himself*: does not endeavor    19 *resist*: opposes    19, 37 *which*: who    23 *may*: can // *might*: could  
 23 *would*: wanted to    24 *make . . . matter*: bring to an end this whole entire discussion / rest my whole entire case  
 25 *all our matter*: our whole concern    26 *find out*: ascertain    27 *bound*: obliged    29 *laboreth*: strives  
 30 *would not . . . have*: does not want . . . to have    31 *known*: i.e., known to be such // *reprov'd*: proved false  
 32 *would*: i.e., would have it // *handling*: treatment    35 *this*: i.e., this one // *denieth*: i.e., says is not  
 36 *very and true*: real, true // *common-known Catholic people*: i.e., people commonly known as "Catholic"  
 38 *living*: way of living // *undoubtedly*: unquestionably    38–39 *of both sorts*: i.e., in both groups (clergy and laity)



and agree in the confession of one, true, catholic faith, with all old holy-doctors-and-saints, and good Christian people besides, that are already passed this fifteen hundred years before, against Arius, Otho, Lambert, Luther, and Wycliffe, Zwingli, Hutten, Hus, and Tyndale, and all the rabble of such erroneous heretics.

And therefore, as I say, saving that I will go further to show you somewhat of his further folly—else might I well even here both end this present chapter and also this whole work... wherein with a few of his own wise words, Tyndale hath confounded himself and destroyed all his whole matter.

For as touching his accustomed railing in the end of his chapter, with which he would seem to touch the Catholic Church... it is all so clean against himself, and so clearly describeth and depainteth himself and his own fellows, that if we would labor sore to find out what evil we might say by them, we could find no better thing to put us in remembrance of every point of their mischievous matters than Tyndale's own words that he writeth here himself. Lo, thus he saith...

#### Tyndale

But they which maliciously maintain opinions against the Scripture . . . Here should he say, "as, for example, they that maintain that friars may wed nuns." . . . or that that cannot be proved by Scripture . . . One of these things is, as ye have heard, the perpetual virginity of our Lady; which himself hath confessed, in this same chapter, that the true members of his "elect church" must needs believe after that they be once taught it. And then, if themselves be bound to believe it, they be bound to stand thereby and maintain it. And so speaketh Tyndale clear against himself. . . . or such as maketh no matter unto the Scripture . . . He meaneth such things as were not of necessity requisite to be written in Scripture; and therefore he writeth like himself. For there is not one article of the faith that of necessity needed to be written, but that God could both have taught them and kept them without writing. As he hath taught and kept some—as, for example, the perpetual virginity of our Lady, which Tyndale hath both denied and confessed, and denied again, and wotteth never where to hold him, the devil so troubleth his brains. . . . and to salvation that is in Christ, whether they be true or no . . . The Church hath none such as make no matter to salvation. For *everything* that God will have believed

1 *one*: i.e., one same      1–2 *old holy-doctors-and-saints*: i.e., the renowned sainted theologians  
 2 *and*: i.e., and all the      2–3 *that are already passed*: i.e., who have already gone on to the next world within  
 4 *Otho / Lambert*: See note for 438/20–21. // *Hutten*: Ulrich von Hutten (d. 1523).      5 *all the*: the whole  
 5 *rabble*: pack / motley crew // *erroneous*: errant; deviant      6 *will*: want to      7 *somewhat*: something  
 7 *folly*: foolishness // *even*: right      9 *wise*: brilliant // *confounded himself*: confuted himself / done himself in  
 10 *all his whole matter*: his whole entire case      11 *as touching*: as regards // *accustomed*: typical  
 12 *touch*: i.e., be criticizing / be landing blows against      13 *clean*: completely      14 *depainteth*: depicts  
 14 *fellows*: allies / followers      14–15 *would . . . by*: i.e., were to try hard to discover what bad thing we could say about  
 17 *mischievous*: baneful / disastrous // *matters*: theses      20 *against the*: i.e., that go against; that contradict  
 22 *that that*: that which; something that      24, 35 *confessed*: professed (belief in)      25 *believe*: i.e., believe in  
 25–26 *after . . . once*: once they've been      26, 27 *bound*: obliged      28 *clear*: manifestly      30 *like*: i.e., as suits  
 32 *kept them*: i.e., kept them known      35 *wotteth never*: never knows // *hold him*: settle himself  
 36 *troubleth*: addles      37 *none such as*: i.e., no teachings that      37–38 *make . . . to*: have no impact on

pertaineth to salvation... since the contrary belief is disobedience to God, that so taught it his church because he would have it believed. And that the perpetual virginity of our Lady is of such sort, Tyndale hath himself openly and plainly agreed; and yet would he  
 5 now secretly steal back again. Not wittingly, peradventure, but that the devil pulleth him back by his coatskirt unawares.

... and for the blind zeal of them make sects, breaking the unity of Christ's church, for whose sake they ought to suffer all things; and rise against their neighbors (whom they ought to love as themselves)  
 10 to slay them: such men, I say, are fallen from Christ and make an idol of their opinions. For except they put trust in such opinions and thought them necessary unto salvation, or with a cankered conscience went about to deceive, for some filthy purpose... they would never break the unity of faith or yet slay their brethren.

15 Now, good reader, consider who make sects, that is to say, sundry parties and divisions, and breaketh the unity of Christ's church: whether the Catholic Church, that was agreed all of our mind—believing purgatory, and the equal Godhood of Christ with his Father and the Holy Ghost, and the Blessed Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament  
 20 of the Altar, and all the other holy sacraments, and the perpetual virginity of our Lady, and prayed unto her and other holy saints, and did reverence to their relics, images... and kept holy days and fasting days, and believed all, very fast and firmly, that it was abominable sacrilege for a friar to wed a nun—in all these things,  
 25 and many other good things more, were all good Christian people agreed in one by the Spirit of God, without any variance (as appeareth plainly both by the old, continued books of service used in the churches through Christendom and by the books of the old holy-doctors-and-saints in every age of time) saving only when such  
 30 heretics as Arius, Wycliffe, Luther, Lambert, Huessgen, Hus, and Tyndale, and such other like, here and there, some in one time, some in another, and the very worst in our time, have been by the devil stirred up to destroy the true faith and vary from the Catholic corps of Christendom and make new, fond sects of their own foolish brains.  
 35 And whereas he speaketh of killing and slaying “their brethren,” himself can tell well enough that good Christian princes and other virtuous people did in the beginning greatly forbear such heretics... till that

2 to: i.e., of // that: who // it: i.e., it to 4 agreed: granted 5 secretly... again: stealthily backtrack on that  
 5 wittingly: consciously // peradventure: perhaps 6 coatskirt: coattail  
 7 for... them: i.e., on account of their blind zeal for those teachings // make: create 7, 15 sects: religious factions  
 8 suffer: bear with 9 rise against: take up arms against / set upon 10 fallen: fallen away 11 except: unless  
 13 cankered: corrupted // went about: were contriving 14 yet: even  
 15 consider... make: i.e., ask yourself who it is that creates 17 agreed all of: i.e., in unanimous agreement with  
 17 mind: way of thinking; stance // believing: i.e., believing in 19 Blessed... Blood: i.e., Real Presence  
 23 fast: steadfastly 24 in: regarding / on 26 agreed in one: i.e., brought into unanimous agreement  
 26 variance: disagreement / dissidence 27 appeareth: is shown // continued: remaining; extant  
 27 books of service: liturgical books 28 through: throughout // old: i.e., renowned  
 28–29 holy-doctors-and-saints: sainted theologians 31 such other like: suchlike others 33 stirred up: incited  
 33 destroy the: i.e., attack, with intent to destroy, the 33–34 and vary... make: i.e., by diverging... concocting  
 33 vary: dissent / diverge 34 fond: ridiculous // sects: belief systems // of: out of 35 himself: he himself  
 36 can... enough: is plenty well aware // princes: rulers  
 37 greatly forbear: treat with much forbearance; to a great extent tolerate // that: i.e., the time came that

they were finally fain, in avoiding of their seditious trouble, and  
for the repressing of their inemendable malice, to follow the example  
1 *Tm 1:19–20* of Saint Paul... and, as he betook some of  
them to the devil, to the punishment of

5 their bodies in help of their souls or ceasing of their sinful  
blasphemy... so, by temporal laws and bodily punishment, to finish  
the infinite malice and intolerable trouble of those heretics, for the  
safeguard of good people in peace and tranquillity. Which common  
peace and quiet if the heretics had not perturbed... they had been  
10 themselves much more easily handled. But as Tyndale knoweth that  
this is true... so knoweth he well again that the heretics have been  
those that did in Christendom begin to fight, kill, and slay, before that  
themselves were killed and slain, or anything fought with; and  
that they began to be killed and fought with by their own importunate  
15 malice, whereby the Catholic people were constrained and  
compelled to kill them in the necessary defense of innocents. And  
that this is true... Tyndale knoweth very well both by the stories, as  
well of England as of other places, and also by the experience of his  
own days in Almaine, through the cruel insurrection there of his  
20 own fellows, the heretics of his own sect. Which rose there and  
robbed, burned, and killed, not one naughty knave or two in a town,  
as good kings and princes do these horrible and incorrigible  
heretics (and yet sometimes scant one in ten years, and in some good  
town not once in tenscore years), but whole goodly monasteries they  
25 burned up and destroyed; and somewhere—all the churches,  
almost, through the whole country—robbed, despoiled, and bore away  
all that ever they found; despited the saints' images, relics, the  
crucifix, and the Blessed Sacrament; robbed, mayhemmed, and murdered  
many good, virtuous people. And by God's good sufferance,  
30 they ceased not at the clergy... but, feeling fruit, went further  
and fell to their lords' lands. So that they that winked and cared not  
for God's part were fain to wake within a while and care for their  
own part. And then they fell upon the heretics again, and killed of  
them above threescore thousand in divers places, all in one summer.  
35 Since which time, in Switzerland, even this last year, Zwingli  
set his heretics in a rage again, to pillage and despoil the true Catholics

1, 32 *fain*: forced    1 *avoiding*: quashing    1, 7 *trouble*: rabble-rousing; insurgency    2 *repressing*: suppressing  
2 *inemendable*: irremediable    6 *temporal*: this-worldly / civil // *bodily*: corporal // *finish*: put an end to  
7 *infinite*: limitless; boundless    8 *common*: general; public    9 *perturbed*: disturbed // *had*: would have  
10 *easily handled*: leniently treated    11 *again*: also    12 *those*: i.e., the ones  
12 *begin . . . slay*: i.e., start the fighting, killing, and slaying // *that*: i.e., such time as they    13 *anything*: at all  
14 *began to be*: started getting // *by*: because of // *importunate*: persistent; unrelenting  
17 *stories*: historical accounts    19 *Almaine*: Germany    20 *fellows*: confreres / cohorts  
20 *sect*: distinctive set of beliefs; persuasion // *which rose*: who took up arms    21 *naughty*: wicked  
21 *knave*: scoundrel    22 *princes*: i.e., other rulers    23 *scant*: scarcely // *some*: i.e., this and that  
24 *tenscore*: i.e., two hundred // *goodly*: sizeable / superb    25 *somewhere*: in some places  
26 *despoiled*: plundered // *bore*: carried    27 *despited*: desecrated // *images*: statues    28 *mayhemmed*: maimed  
29 *sufferance*: forbearance    30 *ceased not at*: did not stop with // *feeling fruit*: pressing their advantage  
31 *fell to*: went after // *they that winked*: i.e., those secular aristocrats who had looked the other way  
32 *for God's*: i.e., what happened to God's    32, 33 *part*: share (of the land) / belongings    32 *care for*: worry about  
33 *fell upon*: attacked // *again*: back; in response    34 *above*: over // *threescore*: i.e., sixty // *divers*: various  
35 *even*: just    36 *in a rage*: on a rampage // *pillage*: fleece // *true*: orthodox / faithful

of his own country. But God gave the victory to his faithful folk,  
that were full loath to fight with them, saving that the very force drove

*Zwingli's death*                      them to the field, where they bore over  
their enemies. And Zwingli himself—

- 5 the archheretic of all—was there deadly wounded and taken, and after that  
burned up. Such fair fortune had Tyndale's master there... of whom he  
took his heresies against the Blessed Sacrament. And therefore, whereas  
Tyndale speaketh of killing of heretics, whom he calleth his Christian  
"brethren"... he knoweth it well himself that his own unhappy fellows,  
10 the heretics, I say, themselves began first that guise. And as they began  
it, even so they keep it still. And surely there is no doubt but that  
Tyndale himself hath longed long, and yet ever looketh for, that as the  
Lutherans and Zwinglians have begun to rise and ruffle in rebellion in  
sundry parts of Almaine... so he might see his disciples assay some  
15 feat here. But I trust in God's grace and in the King's goodness, their  
hearts shall all faint ere they come thereto. And if the devil were so  
strong with them as to stir them up... I would wish Tyndale among  
them, and Friar Barnes too. For I little doubt if they did, but both  
captains and company, as Zwingli and his ambushment came shortly  
20 to mischief, if God sit where he sat, should have like luck. Now is  
this a plain conclusion: that both they that trust in their own works . . . Lo  
what a peril here were if a friar should put any trust in chastity and  
keeping of his vow! But and if he trust in lechery, with wedding of a  
nun, then is he safe enough... because that work is not his own  
25 work, but the work of the devil, and of the sin that breaketh out  
of his "members." . . . and they also that put trust in their own opinions...  
be fallen from Christ, and err from the way of faith that is in Christ's  
blood... and therefore are none of Christ's church, because they be not built  
upon the rock of faith. This doth *himself*, and his fellows that are  
30 heretics! For the articles that the whole Catholic Church put  
trust in be not the opinion of any man, but the sure doctrine of God.  
Whereof the certainty of the truth dependeth upon the promise of  
our Savior himself, which hath promised that the Holy Ghost  
shall teach his church all truth and lead it thereunto. And therefore  
35 if it be true, as indeed it is, that they which trust in their own  
works, and make idols of their own opinions, and break the union

2 *that were full loath*: who were very reluctant / who really didn't want // *very force*: sheer necessity

3 *field*: i.e., battlefield // *bore over*: overthrew; prevailed over 5 *deadly*: fatally 6 *fair*: good

6 *of*: from 7 *took*: got // *against*: about 9 *unhappy*: sorry; wretched

9 *fellows*: cohorts / confreres 10 *guise*: practice 11 *even*: just 12 *yet*: still

12 *looketh for*: is awaiting the time 13 *rise*: take up arms // *ruffle*: swagger / do battle

14 *Almaine*: Germany // *assay*: attempt 15 *feat*: exploit 15–16 *their . . . faint*: i.e., they will all lose heart

16 *ere*: before 17 *strong*: powerfully operative // *stir them up*: revive them / rouse them to action

17 *among*: i.e., to be among 18 *if . . . both*: i.e., that if they did wage war, both 19 *company*: i.e., troops

19 *ambushment*: company of soldiers secretly deployed 20 *mischief*: ruin

21 *a plain*: i.e., an obviously correct 21–22 *lo . . . were*: i.e., see here how perilous it would be

23 *But and if*: i.e., But, now, if 24 *work*: deed 25 *work*: doing 26 *members*: bodily parts / genitals

27 *fallen*: i.e., fallen away // *err*: stray // *way*: path 28 *none*: i.e., not members 29 *fellows*: associates

31 *sure*: definitely true 32 *truth*: trueness // *dependeth*: is grounded 33, 35 *which*: who

35 *they*: those 36 *break*: violate // *union*: oneness



*Faith Is Ever Assaulted  
and Fought With.*

Tyndale

5 Moreover, this faith which we have in Christ is ever fought  
against, ever assailed and beaten at with desperation... not when we  
sin only, but also in all temptations of adversity, into which  
God bringeth us to nurture us, and to show us our own hearts, the  
hypocrisy and false thoughts that here lie hidden; our almost no  
10 faith at all, and as little love, even then, haply, when we thought  
ourselves most perfect of all. For when temptations come, we cannot  
stand. When we have sinned, faith is feeble. When wrong is  
done us, we cannot forgive. In sickness, in loss of goods, and in  
all tribulations, we be impatient. When our neighbor needeth our  
15 help that we must depart with him of ours, then love is cold.  
And thus we learn and feel that there is no goodness, nor yet power  
to do good, but of God only. And in all such temptations our faith  
perished not utterly, neither our love and consent unto the law of  
God... but they be weak, sick, and wounded, and not clean dead.

More

20 This chapter hath Tyndale put in for no great effect but  
only with a comely flourish to set out and furnish his heresies  
of the chapter next before. Wherein he teacheth that in the true  
members of his “elect church,” the faith doth never fail but ever  
continueth, and that therefore they do never sin deadly, how  
25 *A fond opinion* horrible deeds soever they do, as he confesseth  
that they do many... and yet sin  
never deadly, because they do them not of malice nor of purpose,  
but of frailty only, and of weakness, through the fruit of the  
sin that remaineth in their flesh and breaketh out of their seely  
30 weak and frail members.

Now, for the further garnishing of this his horrible heresy,  
hath he brought in *this* chapter... in which he neither proveth anything  
thereof nor anything goeth *about* to prove... but only falleth  
to preaching, and telleth us full holily that the faith is ever fought  
35 against, as though no man had ever heard that before. Whereas  
every child well wotteth that the “faith” is always assaulted and fought

5 *desperation*: i.e., temptations to despair    7 *nurture us*: give us moral training    9 *haply*: maybe  
11 *stand*: hold our ground / remain upright    13 *impatient*: irascible  
13–14 *our help that*: i.e., help from us that in order for us to give him  
14 *depart with him of ours*: impart to him something of    15 *feel*: i.e., perceive by experience // *yet*: even  
17 *neither*: nor // *consent*: assent    18 *clean*: completely    21 *comely*: good-sounding  
21 *flourish*: embellishment // *set out*: display to advantage // *furnish*: buttress    22 *next*: i.e., right  
23 *fail*: become lacking / go missing    24, 27 *deadly*: mortally    25 *confesseth*: acknowledges / professes  
27 *not of*: not out of // *of purpose*: purposely    28 *of*: out of // *frailty*: human frailty    29 *seely*: poor  
30 *members*: bodily parts    31 *garnishing*: dressing up // *this* . . . *heresy*: this horrible heresy of his  
33 *goeth about*: attempts    33–34 *only falleth to*: only resorts to / just starts    34 *full*: very  
34 *holily*: sanctimoniously / solemnly    36 *wotteth*: knows

40

against... whether he speak of his own false faith and heresies, or of  
 the true, Catholic, faith of Christ. For like as the true, Catholic  
 faith is and ever hath been oppugned and assaulted, by the devil and  
 all his disciples such heretics as Tyndale is, from the beginning  
 5 unto this present time: so hath ever his false faith and heresies  
 been impugned, assailed, and *condemned*... by God and all his  
 prophets, by Christ and all his apostles, and all his holy-doctors-  
 and-saints, and by all the whole corps of Christendom, from the  
 beginning hitherto. And this conflict and battle shall  
 10 never cease till Christ shall finally reform the world and  
     *1 Cor 15:24–28*              finish it, and deliver the Kingdom to  
    the Father.

And as for every man's faith privately—who knoweth not,  
 though Tyndale tell us not, that the devil daily laboreth to quench  
 15 it, as he laboreth to destroy hope and charity and all other virtues?

Nor *this* we need not to learn of Tyndale neither—that men by  
 temptations learn to find and feel that there is no goodness, nor  
 yet power to do good, but of God only—if Tyndale mean that as the  
 truth is: that all goodness cometh of God, and that man hath none,  
 20 nor none could have neither man nor angel, but by God's gift...  
 nor could have yet any power to do good if God would withdraw  
 his grace. Howbeit, if he mean in this place as he saith, with his  
 master Martin, in many places—that man hath no power by the  
 freedom of his will to do any good... in working, himself, *with*  
 25      *Man's free will worketh*      God's grace, and in resisting of temptation,  
             *with God's grace.*              too, and working with God in the  
    keeping of himself from sin... but

must needs in all such things sit still himself, astonied and  
 amazed in a reckless sloth, and let God work alone—then say I  
 30 that Tyndale's holy sermon is very damnable heresy.

Now, where that in all the sins that he rehearseth he saith that  
 “our faith perisheth not utterly, nor our love and consent unto the  
 law of God,” but that “they be weak, sick, and wounded, and not  
 clean dead”—I say that his tale is to little purpose. For if by “faith” he  
 35 mean the belief... then is it not of necessity lost at *all* in *no* deadly  
 sin, except heresy. For the right belief and other deadly  
 sins may stand together well enough. For a man may believe

2 *faith of Christ*: Christian faith // *like*: i.e., just      3 *oppugned*: controverted  
 6 *impugned*: found fault with; opposed as erroneous      7–8 *holy-doctors-and-saints*: sainted theologians  
 8 *all the whole*: the whole entire      9 *hitherto*: to this day      10 *finally*: definitively  
 11 *finish it*: bring it to an end      13 *privately*: i.e., as held personally, internally  
 13 *who knoweth not*: who of us does not know      14, 15 *laboreth*: strives      14–15 *quench it*: snuff it out  
 15 *as*: i.e., just as      16, 18, 19 *of*: from      17 *feel*: perceive experientially      18 *yet*: even  
 21 *yet*: still // *would*: were to      22 *howbeit*: however // *with*: in line with  
 28 *astonied*: benumbed      29 *amazed*: stupefied // *reckless*: negligent // *sloth*: indolence  
 30 *damnable*: execrable      31 *where . . . saith that*: i.e., where he says that in all the sins that he mentions  
 32 *consent*: assent      34 *clean*: completely // *tail*: assertion      35 *is it not of necessity*: it is not necessarily  
 35 *in no*: i.e., in the committing of any      35, 36 *deadly*: mortal      37 *may*: can // *stand together*: coexist

truly and do falsely, believe right and live wrong, believe well and be naught.

And yet may he be an elect person and fall from the true faith, that is to say, the true belief, and lose it utterly, believing lies and heresies... and fall from grace for the time, and yet after that, with help of grace, find the faith and fall thereto again, and finally die therein.

And if Tyndale here by the name of “faith” understand hope and trust in God, as he juggleth continually with that word—for such equivocations and diverse understandings of one word serve him for his goblets, his galls, and his juggling stick in all the proper points of his whole conveyance and his legerdemain—but, as I said, if by “faith” he mean hope: I grant that it dieth not always with the sin, nor goeth not therewith away. But it waxeth by Tyndale’s doctrine oftentimes over great. For by the dreadless trust of their teaching, the man falleth into boldness of sin. In which

*Note* when he hath fearless long continued...  
he waxeth forceless and careless, and

setteth not by sin, till suddenly the devil out of his high heart and haughty courage striketh him into cowardous dread and utter desperation. For the outrageous increase of their hope is no very right hope, though it be a greater hope than it should be... no more than the heat of a fever is a right natural heat, though the body be more hot than it was in health. And therefore in such affections the soul sometimes falleth from one contrary quality into another... as the body in an ague changeth from cold to heat, and from heat sometimes into cold again. Of which manner of changes of the soul whom the devil driveth out of one vice into its contrary... may be well verified these words of Holy Scripture, “They shall from cold water of the snow go into far passing heat.” And yet I say that with these sins, a true member *may* lose *all* hope and fall in despair... and after, by grace, come unto hope again.

Now, where he saith that “love and consent to the law of God” is not lost by a true member of the “elect church”: I wot not whether Tyndale’s “love” remain or no... but I am sure that by sin, Christian charity goeth away. For neither charity nor grace can stand together

1 *truly and do falsely*: i.e., in conformity with the truth and act against it    2 *naught*: bad  
3 *yet may he be*: he may, moreover, be // *fall*: fall away    5 *from*: i.e., out of the state of  
6 *fall thereto again*: i.e., come back into it / start practicing it again // *finally die*: end up dying  
8 *understand*: i.e., gives us to understand; signifies    9 *juggleth*: prestidigitates / plays games  
10 *one*: i.e., one same    11 *goblets*: conical cups // *galls*: little balls // *juggling stick*: magic wand  
11 *proper*: particular    12 *points*: instances // *conveyance*: underhand dealing  
12 *legerdemain*: trickery / pulling of a fast one    14 *with*: i.e., in the committing of    14, 18 *waxeth*: becomes  
14 *by*: via    15 *over great*: overly great; excessive // *dreadless*: carefree  
16 *of their teaching*: i.e., that they teach people to have / he has in their teaching  
18 *forceless*: indifferent // *careless*: unconcerned    19 *setteth not by sin*: i.e., thinks nothing of sinning  
19 *high heart*: puffed-up disposition / high-spiritedness    20 *haughty*: supercilious / inflated // *dread*: fear / anxiety  
21 *desperation*: despair // *outrageous*: inordinate    24 *affections*: maladies  
25 *contrary . . . another*: i.e., unfavorable condition into the opposite one    26 *an ague*: a malarial fever  
27 *of which*: by which    30–31 *far passing*: very extreme    32 *may*: i.e., could // *in*: into    33 *after*: afterward  
34 *consent*: assent    35–36 *wot . . . no*: i.e., don’t know whether what Tyndale calls “love” remains or not  
36 *sure*: i.e., know for a fact // *sin*: i.e., mortal sin    37 *stand together*: coexist



2 Cor 6:14–15

with sin. For as Saint Paul  
saith, “What fellowship can there be between  
light and darkness, between Christ and Belial?”

- I say also that all his gay, goodly tale that he telleth us here of  
5 his elect members with their holy “feeling faith”... to whom he would  
appropriate some special privilege of keeping still faith, hope, and  
charity with all their heavy heap of horrible devilish deeds—I say  
that as far forth as in his words is any truth, his privilege is not  
proper to the members of his “elect church,” but common to the very,  
10 final elects and to the final reprobates too. For both the one and  
the other may sin and repent, and amend and sin again,  
and amend again, oftener than Tyndale hath fingers on his hands,  
and toes on his feet, too. But he that finally repenteth his sins in a  
15 *An elect foreseen* right fashion is an elect foreseen to God  
from the beginning. And he that finally  
dieth impenitent, as divers wedded friars die in their lechery...  
or he that, after Tyndale’s doctrine, repenteth without care of shrift,  
and dieth in a false heresy against his holy housel: such folks be  
finally reprobates, foreknown unto God, before the world was  
20 *A reprobate foreseen* wrought, that they would finally, for impenitence,  
fall utterly to naught.

- And the other part of his tale, which cannot be verified in the  
reprobates, that is to wit, the keeping of charity still in the doing  
of horrible deeds, cannot be verified in the elects neither. And so  
25 is his tale on every side foolish, false, and naught. For the seemingly  
setting forth whereof, to make it appear fair and likely... because  
he can neither bring reason, Scripture, nor other good authority—ye  
shall now see what example he bringeth forth.

## Tyndale

- 30 As a good child whom the father and mother have taught nurture  
and wisdom loveth his father and all his commandments... and  
perceiveth of the goodness shown him that his father loveth him,  
and that all his father’s precepts are unto his wealth and profit,  
and that his father commandeth him nothing for any need that  
35 his father hath thereof, but seeketh his profit only; and therefore  
hath a good faith unto all his father’s promises, and loveth all  
his commandments, and doth them with good will, and with

1 *sin*: i.e., mortal sin    4 *all his*: his whole // *gay, goodly tale*: superficially attractive, good-sounding story  
4 *of*: about    5–6 *to whom*... *appropriate*: to whom exclusively... attribute    6, 23 *still*: continually; uninterruptedly  
7 *all their*: their whole // *heavy*: massive    9 *proper*: exclusive / restricted // *very*: actual  
12 *often*: i.e., more times    13, 20 *finally*: in the end    14 *is*... *foreseen*: i.e., is an elect of the kind that is foreseen  
14–15 *to*... *beginning*: i.e., by God from the beginning as someone who would end up repentant and in heaven  
15–16 *finally dieth*: ends up dying    16 *divers*: some    17 *after*: in accord with  
17 *care of shrift*: i.e., bothering with confession    18 *false*: vile // *against*: instead of  
18 *his holy housel*: his Holy Communion; i.e., receiving Viaticum    19 *finally*: definitively    20 *wrought*: made  
20 *for*: on account of    21 *naught*: evil    22, 25 *tail*: story / speech    22, 24 *verified*: proved true  
22, 24 *in*: with regard to    25 *naught*: evil / worthless    26 *appear*... *likely*: i.e., look good and sound plausible  
27 *neither*... *nor*: i.e., bring forth neither an argument from reason, a verse of Scripture, nor any  
28 *bringeth forth*: i.e., adduces / presents    30 *nurture*: moral discipline    32 *perceiveth of*: can tell from  
33 *wealth*: well-being    33, 35 *profit*: benefit    37 *doth*: obeys // *with good will*: very willingly

good will goeth to school. And by the way haply he seeth company  
 play... and with the sight is taken and ravished of his memory, and  
 forgetteth himself, and standeth and beholdeth and falleth to  
 5 play also, forgetting father and mother, all their kindness, all  
 their laws, and his own profit thereto. Howbeit, the knowledge  
 of his father's kindness, the faith of his promises, and  
 the love that he hath again unto his father, and the obedient  
 mind, are not utterly quenched, but lie hidden, as all things do  
 10 when a man sleepeth, or lieth in a trance. And as soon as he hath  
 played out all his lusts, or been warned in the mean season... he  
 cometh again unto his old profession. Neverthelater, many  
 temptations go over his heart, and the law as a right hangman  
 tormenteth his conscience, and goeth nigh to persuade him that his  
 15 father will cast him away and hang him if he catch him, so  
 that he is likely a great while to run away, rather than to return  
 unto his father again; fear and dread of rebuke, and of loss of  
 his father's love, and of punishment, wrestle with the trust which  
 he hath in his father's goodness, and, as it were, give his faith a fall; but  
 20 it riseth again as soon as the rage of the first brunt is past, and  
 his mind more quiet. And the goodness of his father and his old  
 kindness cometh unto remembrance, either of his own courage or  
 by the comfort of some other. And he believeth that his father will  
 not cast him away or destroy him, and hopeth that he will no  
 25 more do so. And upon that he getteth him home dismayed, but  
 not altogether faithless. The old kindness will not let him  
 despair. Howbeit, all the world cannot set his heart at rest  
 till the pain be past, and until he have heard the voice of his  
 father that all is forgiven.

### More

30 I neither have yet ever heard nor never look to hear any very  
 wise word in all Tyndale's works. But yet heard I never a more  
 peevish process than this his holy preaching is; nor, therewith, more  
 pestilently perilous, while he pretendeth to make this chapter of  
 35 *faith*, and then juggleth it into trust and hope—and yet would make  
 us believe that neither nether at any time faileth any man that once  
 hath gotten them, nor that any man which once hath the faith that  
 himself describeth, and thereby is once a true member of his “elect  
 church” (as every man is, by his doctrine, that once attaineth that faith),  
 can at any time after lose it nor fall away therefrom, and for that

1 *by*: along // *haply*: maybe 1–2 *company play*: i.e., some of his companions playing  
 2 *ravished*: dispossessed 5 *his own profit thereto*: i.e., also what's good for him 5, 26 *howbeit*: however  
 6 *faith of*: belief in 7 *again*: in return 7–8 *obedient mind*: obedient disposition; intention to obey  
 10 *played . . . lusts*: played out all his desires / played to his heart's content // *warned*: alerted / admonished  
 10 *mean season*: meantime 11 *again*: back // *old*: former // *neverthelater*: but at the same time  
 12 *over*: through // *right*: veritable 13 *goeth nigh to persuade*: comes close to persuading  
 14, 23 *cast him away*: throw him out / disown him 19 *rage*: ferocious intensity // *brunt*: i.e., attack on it  
 20, 25 *old*: long-established 21 *of his own courage*: i.e., just naturally; spontaneously  
 22 *by the comfort of some other*: i.e., via the encouragement given him by someone else  
 24 *do so*: i.e., do so than he's thinking he will // *him*: himself // *dismayed*: apprehensive 27 *pain*: punishment  
 27 *past*: over // *have*: has 27–28 *the voice of his father*: i.e., his father say 30 *look*: expect // *very*: really  
 31 *wise*: sensible // *word*: statement; assertion 31–32 *more peevish*: sillier 32 *process*: discourse; speech  
 32 *this . . . preaching*: i.e., this holy preaching of his 33 *pestilently*: perniciously; noxiously // *while*: when  
 33 *pretendeth to make*: i.e., claims to be making // *of*: about 34 *juggleth*: equivocates / prestidigitates  
 34 *yet*: moreover // *would*: attempts to 35 *nother*: the one nor the other  
 35 *faileth*: becomes deficient or absent in 36 *which*: who 37 *describeth*: prescribes 38 *by*: according to

cause can never do deadly sin, though he do never so many  
damnable deeds; or, to call them as himself calleth them,  
*horrible* deeds. For as for damnable, haply Tyndale will say  
they be not, be they never so horrible, because the “seed of God,” that  
5 is to wit, their “feeling faith,” can never suffer such true members  
of his “elect church” do those horrible deeds willingly or of purpose,  
but only for weakness and frailty—for which they can be,  
saith he, no deadly sins in those blessed bodies, be the deeds never  
so devilish.

10 And now, to prove us this wonderful, strange paradox, this  
opinion inopinable, to be very plain, open, evident, and clear...  
he furnisheth it with examples so feeble and so dim that the faint  
sight of our sore eyes can scant attain to perceive how the  
examples anything touch the matter.

15 For whereas he should, to make us clearly behold it, put his examples  
in great and horrible deeds, such as himself before, in  
another chapter, confesseth that his holy members do—he forgetteth  
here now such horrible deeds as would make the readers abhor the  
doers of them, and speaketh fair and easily that they be “feeble” sometimes  
20 in temptation, and then they “cannot stand”; and that after they  
have sinned, their faith is faint; and when they should help their  
neighbor, their “love is cold”; and they be not patient in tribulations;  
and when they suffer wrong, they “cannot forgive,” lo, and  
when men take away their goods, they be angry, so they be, lo.

25 Lo how angry Tyndale is with his true members of his “elect  
church,” and how sore he layeth their sins to their charge! And  
yet, because we should take their faults for much the slighter, he  
diminisheth all the matter, and maketh it much the less, by resembling  
and likening them to a good little child—as though  
30 their faults were all but childishness!—and, as it were, a babe that  
weepeth and waxeth angry with the kite for catching away his  
bread and butter, and would complain to his mother, and bid her  
go take a rod and beat the kite.

35 But since that Tyndale now goeth about to play the master, and  
set all the Catholic Church again to school... and would have us  
learn such hard lessons as we never heard of the like... as that men  
may commonly do mischievous deeds without any deadly sin,

1 *cause*: reason // *do*: commit 1, 8, 37 *deadly*: mortal 1, 4, 8–9 *never so*: no matter how 2 *as*: i.e., what  
3 *haply*: maybe 5 *suffer*: let 6 *willingly*: volitionally // *of purpose*: purposely 7 *for*: on account of  
7 *frailty*: human frailty; susceptibility to temptation 10 *wonderful*: astonishing / eyebrow-raising  
10 *strange*: unheard-of / absurd-sounding 11 *opinion inopinable*: untenable tenet // *plain*: simple  
11 *open*: easy to understand // *evident*: obviously true // *clear*: innocuous; unobjectionable  
12 *feeble*: unconvincing / banal // *dim*: lackluster 13 *scant attain*: scarcely manage  
14 *anything . . . matter*: at all relate to the matter at hand 15–16 *put . . . in great*: use as . . . serious/weighty  
18 *abhor*: regard with horror 19 *speaketh fair*: says benevolently // *easily*: indulgently  
23 *suffer wrong*: suffer an injustice / are wronged 23, 24, 25 *lo*: see  
26 *sore . . . charge*: hard he comes down on them for their sins 27 *yet, because*: moreover, in order that  
27, 30 *faults*: misdeeds 27 *slighter*: less serious 28 *diminisheth*: downplays // *all the*: the whole  
28 *it much the less*: i.e., them out to be much less guilty than they actually are // *resembling*: comparing  
30 *but*: only; simply 31 *waxeth*: gets 31, 33 *kite*: hawk 31 *catching*: snatching  
32 *bid her*: beg her to 34 *since that*: since // *master*: i.e., schoolteacher  
35 *set all . . . again*: send everyone in . . . back 36 *hard*: i.e., difficult-to-grasp 37 *may*: can  
37 *mischievous*: evil // *any*: i.e., any committing of

because they do them not willingly where nobody compelleth them—  
 let him at the leastwise, since he will make us all young children,  
 teach us our lesson as a good master teacheth his young children.  
 And let him not teach us our lesson in a small, ragged hand wherein  
 5 a young beginner can scant perceive one letter from another... but  
 let him teach us in a fair great letter of some text hand that is  
 more easy to learn upon. And therefore we shall pray him to let  
 pass over, for this once, his long childish example of his good  
 child which for all the nurture of his father and his mother, and  
 10 all the wisdom that he learned of them, and all his love to them and  
 to their commandments, and all the trust in his father's promises,  
 for which he goeth with good will to school... finding yet by the way  
 some companions that fall to play, is ravished of his remembrance...  
 and, forgetting father and mother and all their promises,  
 15 and all their kindness, and all their laws, and all the wisdoms that he  
 learned of them, and all the nurture-turture that they taught him,  
 standeth still and looketh on them... and after falleth to work with  
 them at some such pretty plays, of likelihood, as children be wont to  
 play, as Cherrystone, Marrow Bone, Buckle Pit, Spurn Point, Cobnut,  
 20 or Quating; let us leave, I say, this good child at his game, till he be  
 fetched either home with his father or to school with his master with  
 three stripes for his tarrying and truanting by the way—which  
 is more meet for such a child than, after his lusts played out,  
 Tyndale's tragical process of remembrance of his "old profession,"  
 25 with temptations over his heart, and the law his "right hangman,"  
 tormenting of conscience, fear of destruction, and almost desperate  
 dread of hanging. Now let Tyndale, therefore, instead of this  
 child, take for example some of the true members of his own  
 "elect church," that hath the feeling faith of his own false heresies...  
 30 and not a little child, but a great, sloven slouch that out of his  
 boy's age is twenty winters stepped into his knave's age. Then let  
 Tyndale put in him for example not, as he doth here, the being  
 angry with them that doth him wrong, or lack of due love to the  
 liberal help of his neighbor's need—with which mind and soft  
 35 examples of infirmity, feebleness, imperfection, and frailty,  
 Tyndale covereth and keepeth aside the hateful hearing and

1 *compelleth them*: i.e., is making them do them    2 *make*: i.e., have    3, 21 *master*: schoolteacher  
 4 *ragged*: irregular; erratic    4, 6 *hand*: script    5 *scant*: scarcely // *perceive*: tell; distinguish  
 6 *fair*: nice / perfectly legible // *great letter*: i.e., all-caps set of letters // *text*: textual    7 *upon*: by means of  
 7 *pray him to*: ask him to please    8 *pass over*: go undealt with // *once*: i.e., time    9 *which*: who  
 9 *nurture of*: i.e., moral training given him by    10, 16 *of*: from    10, 11 *to*: for    12 *for*: on account of  
 12 *with good will*: very willingly    12, 22 *by*: along    13, 29 *that*: who    13 *fall to play*: start playing  
 13 *ravished*: dispossessed    15 *wisdoms*: wise precepts    16 *nurture-turture*: soft, gentle moral training  
 16 *taught*: i.e., gave    17 *standeth . . . on*: keeps standing there, watching // *after*: i.e., then  
 17 *falleth to work*: i.e., starts taking part    18 *at*: i.e., in // *pretty*: i.e., innocuous little // *plays*: games  
 18 *of likelihood*: most likely    19 *as*: such as; like    20 *Quating*: Quoits    22 *stripes*: lashes  
 22 *tarrying*: dawdling    23 *meet*: fitting // *lusts*: desires (are)    24 *tragical*: melodramatic  
 24 *process of*: spiel about; song and dance about // *old*: former    25 *right*: veritable    26 *desperate*: despairing  
 27 *dread*: fear // *hanging*: i.e., getting hanged    28 *take for*: use by way of // *some*: i.e., some one  
 29 *false*: vile    30 *great*: big // *sloven slouch*: slovenly lout    31 *boy's age*: age of being a boy  
 31 *knave's age*: i.e., time of being a full-fledged scoundrel    32 *put*: suppose // *for*: i.e., for his  
 33–34 *due . . . help*: i.e., the due love that would lead him to a generous alleviating    34 *mind*: i.e., mental focus  
 34 *soft*: mild; benign    35 *frailty*: susceptibility    36 *aside*: away // *hateful*: repugnant

beholding of their abominable deeds—but let him put for example that his true member, this Jack Slouch that we speak of, is so frail and so feeble in temptations that, through the fruit of the sin remaining in his flesh and, as Tyndale saith, “breaking out” at his  
 5 “members,” he falleth into *horrible* deeds (for that is Tyndale’s word), as into adultery with his mother, poisoning his father, and murdering his brother; in sacrilege and incest, as Friar Luther doth with his nun; fall to mocking of Almighty God, as Tyndale doth in the Blessed Sacrament.

10 Now, since we have for example taken no little, pretty sins, but great and horrible deeds... and have also taken for example no little, pretty boy, but an old, great knave fit and meet for the matter, as in whom may well and conveniently be verified all Tyndale’s tragical terms of temptations and tormentry, destruction,  
 15 hangman and gallows and altogether: let us in this abominable beast now, and in these horrible crimes, as in a great text hand, look upon our lesson that Master Tyndale teacheth us, and see whether there be written therein the thing that he would have us learn... or whether that (since we have now such a book with so great  
 20 large letters as we can spell upon and do together or self) it shall peradventure appear that he went about before with a small, ragged hand to beguile us and make us read false.

Ye remember, good readers, that he saith that his true members upon great occasions, as upon the sight of such things as  
 25 delighteth them, be ravished of their memory and forget themselves (as his little good child doth at the sight of the play), and so continueth still in the following and fulfilling of his lust as it were a man in his sleep, or one that lay in a trance; and neither is his faith lost, in all that while, nor his love to the law of God... but  
 30 though they lie hidden, yet they continue still, both twain, and his hope and his trust in God also. And therefore, though our Jack Slouch do all those horrible deeds that we did put for example—yet, being a true member of Tyndale’s “elect church,” because of his feeling faith which so lieth hidden in his heart that he feeleth nothing  
 35 thereof... he consenteth not in his mind to none of those deeds, nor doth none of them willingly nor of purpose, or at the leastwise

1 *put for*: i.e., give as his    2, 32 *Slouch*: Lout    2 *frail*: morally debilitated    3 *feeble*: lacking in resistance  
 4 *saith*: i.e., puts it    4–5 *his “members”*: parts of his body    6 *as*: such as    7 *in*: into  
 7 *incest*: See note for 44/2.    9 *in*: with regard to / of God in    10, 11 *for*: i.e., for our  
 10 *pretty*: decorous / minor    11 *great*: serious; weighty    12 *little, pretty*: cute little  
 12 *an old*: a full-grown / an inveterate // *great*: big-time // *knave*: scoundrel // *meet*: suitable  
 13 *as*: i.e., as someone // *may*: can // *well and*: quite // *conveniently*: properly / congruously  
 14 *tragical*: melodramatic    15 *altogether*: all    16 *great*: large // *text*: textual    17, 22 *hand*: script  
 17 *upon*: at // *Master*: Schoolteacher    19–20 *so great large*: such big capital  
 20 *spell upon*: make out and read // *do*: do so // *self*: each of us on our own    21 *peradventure*: perhaps  
 21 *appear*: become evident // *went about*: was trying    22 *ragged*: irregular; erratic // *false*: wrongly  
 24 *great occasions*: powerful inducements // *as upon*: such as upon    25 *ravished*: dispossessed  
 26 *play*: playing // *so*: i.e., so such a one    27 *still*: always // *lust*: desire // *as*: i.e., as if    29 *to*: for  
 30 *still*: uninterruptedly // *both twain*: i.e., both of those two things (that faith and that love)  
 32 *put for*: give by way of    36 *willingly*: volitionally // *of purpose*: purposely

not *maliciously* (for that word into his old tale putteth Tyndale of new in his false *Exposition upon the First Epistle of Saint John*), and therefore in him there can none of all those horrible deeds be damnable or deadly sin.

5 We might here let Jack Slouch alone... and ask Tyndale whether another slouch of his acquaintance—his own master Martin Luther, not only a true member but also one of the *chief* members of his “elect church”—hath lain all this while asleep, by the space of so many years together, since he first ran out of his order in  
10 apostasy, and after wedded his nun, and yet continueth with her still. This friar and his nun drank well, of likelihood, ere they went to their bridebed, if they lie still and sleep yet.

But forasmuch as Tyndale will not agree that Friar Luther’s lechery with his nun is any evil deed at all, but very well done  
15 and virtuously—therefore, though we need none other example against his frantic heresy to the ears of any good Christian man, yet for Tyndale himself we must leave Luther lying still asleep with his leman, and return again to Jack Slouch... whose deeds Tyndale will grant and agree to be horrible, though he deny  
20 them to be damnable because of Jack’s feeling faith... which, though he feel it not because he lieth asleep, keepeth in him still yet the love to God’s law, and suffereth him not to consent unto the sin, nor to do any such deeds willingly nor of purpose, or at the leastwise not maliciously.

25 Let every man here, against Tyndale’s foolish tale and shameless invention, take testimony and witness of his own wit... whether he that by the devil’s enticement defouleth his mother, poisoneth his father, and murdereth his brother, and mocketh Almighty God, and such other horrible and abominable deeds, oftentimes doth  
30 deliberately, with long device and study bestowed about it, do this gear willingly and consent thereunto... or else doth all unwillingly, as he were asleep or in a trance. Let Tyndale tell us what he will... he shall, I ween, find no wise man in this point agree—that these beasts do their detestable deeds unwillingly, without consent unto  
35 sin.

Now, touching Tyndale’s other goodly refuge—that the horrible deeds of his true members of his “elect church” be never

1 *tale*: story    2 *false*: so-called / deliberately inaccurate // *Exposition upon*: i.e., Explanation of / Commentary on  
3 *in*: i.e., for    4 *deadly*: mortal    5, 6, 18 *Slouch*: Lout    6 *master*: teacher / spiritual master  
8 *by the space*: for the duration    9 *together*: in a row // *ran out of*: skipped out of; absconded from  
9 *order*: i.e., religious order    10 *yet continueth*: now remains    11 *of likelihood*: most likely // *ere*: before  
12 *bridebed*: marriage bed // *if... yet*: i.e., if they’re still lying there asleep    13, 19 *agree*: concede  
14 *evil*: bad // *but*: i.e., but claims it to be // *well*: i.e., legitimately    15 *none*: no  
16 *against... man*: i.e., for making this heresy of his sound to any good Christian man as wildly insane as it is  
18 *leman*: bedmate; cohabitee    21 *keepeth... yet*: yet keeps in him uninterruptedly    22 *to*: for  
22 *suffereth him not*: does not allow him    23, 31, etc. *(un)willingly*: (non)volitionally    23 *of purpose*: purposely  
25 *against*: regarding // *tale*: account    26 *invention*: fabrication // *of*: from // *wit*: mind / understanding  
27 *defouleth*: defiles    29 *such other*: i.e., does other such    30 *device*: planning // *study*: i.e., serious thought  
30 *bestowed about*: put into    31 *gear*: stuff // *all*: i.e., it all    32 *as*: as if    33 *ween*: think  
33 *no wise man in this point agree*: i.e., no one with any sense agreeing with him on this point  
36 *touching*: concerning; as for // *goodly refuge*: good-looking dodge

deadly sins, because they do them never of no malice—this is,  
 be ye sure, a very comely device which every wise man, ye wot well,  
 must needs allow and commend. For in our example of Jack  
 Slouch... what indifferent judge would not hold the good man  
 5 excused of all those abominable deeds if it might appear to the  
 court that the defouling of his mother was not for any despite or  
 malice borne to his father, but of unnatural affection and very  
 beastly lust... and also that the poisoning of his father grew not of  
 anger or evil will to his person, but of love and longing for his  
 10 substance; and such other excuses like, for all his other detestable  
 crimes, whereupon it might appear that none of them all rose of anger  
 or evil will... but some of pride, some of covetise, some of lechery,  
 or such other ribaldrous appetite; what could his judge in such  
 case say to him, for very pity, if the poor man said once he  
 15 were sorry... but stroke his head and bid him go home and be a good  
 son and do so no more? And therefore, forasmuch as the same Jack  
 Slouch doth none of those detestable deeds of pure malice to any  
 other body, but of some kind of affection toward himself, his  
 love is not utterly quenched... and therefore he is one of Tyndale's  
 20 elects that sinneth never, how bad soever he be.

For whereas, finally, Tyndale teacheth us that his true members of  
 his “elect church” do never sin deadly because that after the  
 lusk have played out all their lusts, then they repent again and  
 remember themselves and their Father's former kindness, and be sorry—  
 25 this is a fair tale of a tub, told us of his elects. For every man  
 well wotteth that thus do the final reprobates, and be by due  
 repentance divers times in their lives restored again to the state  
 of grace. And then by this tale of Tyndale were there no deed  
 damnable nor deadly sin in any man, were it never so abominable...  
 30 but only those last sins in which he died impenitent. And  
 then were all Tyndale's high descriptions and differences of elects  
 and reprobates all brought to this point at the last: that their  
 deeds be all one, and their fashions and their faiths and their  
 loves to the law of God alike changeable through the remnant  
 35 of their lives, saving that the one sort die repentant, and the  
 other sort impenitent. And this is the same thing that *we*  
 say. And so is Tyndale, after all his long, foolish variance, at last,  
 maugre his teeth, against his purpose compelled to say the same  
 that we have always said and he always denied.

1, 22, 29 *deadly*: mortal(ly)    1 *of no*: out of any    2 *be ye sure*: i.e., to be sure // *comely*: appealing  
 2 *device*: idea / ploy // *wise man*: man with any sense    2, 26 *wot(teth)*: know(s)    3 *allow*: accept as sound/legit  
 3 *commend*: approve of    4, 17 *Slouch*: Lout    4 *indifferent*: impartial    5 *excused of*: exonerated of guilt for  
 5, 11 *might*: could // *appear (to)*: be seen (by)    6 *defouling*: defiling // *for*: i.e., done out of // *despite*: disrespect  
 8 *grew*: came    9, 12 *evil will*: ill will    9 *to his person*: toward him personally    10 *substance*: possessions; estate  
 12 *covetise*: greed    13 *ribaldrous appetite*: depraved disposition    15 *bid him*: tell him to    16 *do so*: act like that  
 17–18 *of pure . . . body*: out of sheer malice toward somebody else    18 *but of*: but only out of // *affection*: good will  
 21 *finally*: ultimately    23 *lusk*: slackers / goof-offs // *lusts*: desires    25 *fair . . . tub*: patent cock-and-bull story  
 27 *divers*: several    28 *tale of Tyndale*: account of Tyndale's // *were . . . deed*: would no deed be    29 *in*: for  
 29 *never so*: no matter how    31 *high . . . of*: abstruse descriptions of and differentiations between  
 33 *all one*: entirely the same // *fashions*: ways    34 *to*: for // *changeable*: inconstant // *remnant*: rest  
 35, 36 *sort*: group    37 *variance*: dissidence    38 *maugre his teeth*: in spite of himself // *purpose*: thesis  
 38 *same*: i.e., same thing

But then say we one thing further: that whereas the elects be,  
 by his own agreement, the penitents only, and the true repentants—  
 neither himself, which repenteth not his abominable  
 heresies, but stubbornly standeth by them and saith he will die in  
 5 them... nor his master Martin Luther, which, notwithstanding  
 that the lusk hath oftentimes played out his lust, will not yet  
 leave his lechery, but lie still with the nun, and defend for lawful  
 matrimony their filthy life that is before God and all good men a very  
 beastly bitchery... show themselves clearly to be any of the true  
 10 penitents... but utterly to be such as, but if they repent better ere  
 they die, shall else be none of God's final elects, but very wretched  
 reprobates accursed out of God's company, and miserable members  
 of the devil's damned church in hell.

Yet saith Tyndale further, in the end of all this chapter, that

15 [albeit the old kindness of the father cannot let the good  
 child utterly despair, for all that he hath played at Spurn Point by  
 the way in going at schoolward, yet] all the world cannot set his heart  
 at rest until the pain be past, and until he have heard the voice  
 of his father that all is forgiven.

20 These words would I have Tyndale apply me well to his ghostly  
 purpose... and, turning the example of his good child into some old  
 shrew, and the playing at Spurn Point into some detestable deed,  
 let Tyndale then tell us where, what voice, and by whom, his true  
 member of his "elect church" shall hear that voice of remission. If he  
 25 mean any word spoken in Scripture already—then is he soon sped,  
 and shall not after his sinful crime committed fall at any great  
 conflict in himself between hope and despair, his faith almost  
 catching a fall for fear, and at last, with much work, rising  
 again. All this gear is soon done if the voice of his Father  
 30 granting remission set his heart at rest, and that voice be his  
 word written in Scripture; for then he heard the word before he  
 did the deed. And that word being such... if it were understood  
 as Tyndale teacheth... that forthwith, at the bare repenting, without  
 shrift or penance, all were forgiven, sin, pain, and all,  
 35 both eternal and temporal, both in hell and purgatory and in this  
 world too—that word were then, I say, already, before the deed, not a  
 forgiveness only of the sin past, but a license, almost, also of

1 *whereas*: given that    3 *himself*: he himself    5 *master*: spiritual master    6 *lusk*: slacker / goof-off  
 6 *lust*: desire / lust // *not yet*: yet not    7 *lie still*: i.e., continues to lie // *lawful*: morally licit / bona fide  
 8 *before*: in the eyes of    10 *but if*: unless // *ere*: before    12 *miserable*: pathetic / permanently miserable  
 14 *in the end of all*: i.e., at the very end of    15 *old*: long-established    16 *that . . . at*: i.e., his playing of  
 16, 22 *Spurn Point*: Probably a game similar to hopscotch.    16–17 *by . . . schoolward*: i.e., on his way to school  
 17 *all . . . cannot*: i.e., no person or thing in the world can    18 *pain*: punishment // *past*: over // *have*: has  
 18–19 *the voice of his father*: his father say    20–21 *ghostly purpose*: theological argument    21 *into*: i.e., into that of  
 21 *old*: full-grown / inveterate    22 *shrew*: scoundrel // *at*: i.e., of    23 *what voice*: i.e., in what words spoken  
 25 *he*: i.e., that true member of Tyndale's "elect church" // *sped*: taken care of    26 *fall at*: fall into; experience  
 29 *gear*: stuff // *done*: i.e., done away with    30 *set*: i.e., is enough to set    33 *bare*: mere  
 34 *shrift*: confession / absolution // *all were*: everything was // *pain*: i.e., the debt of punishment for it  
 36 *were*: would be    36–37 *not . . . past*: i.e., not just a forgiveness of past sin  
 37 *but . . . of*: i.e., but also a license, almost, for



all horrible deeds to be done. And if he mean to *hear* the voice of his Father *afterward*, not *written before*—he must hear it by the mouth of his ghostly father upon his humble shrift and confession, which Tyndale calleth the craft and invention of Satan.

And this is, lo, the conclusion of Tyndale in this his chapter of his false faith “ever assaulted”; which is, as ye see now, taken here with assault piecemeal, on every side wounded, despoiled, and bound... and, quick of feeling as any blain or botch but utterly dead of grace, sent down unto the devil.

Tyndale  
*The Manner and Order of  
Our Election*

Even so goeth it with God’s elects. God chooseth them first, and they not God, as thou readest, John 15. And then he sendeth forth and calleth them, and showeth them his good will which he beareth unto them, and maketh them see both their own damnation in the law and also the mercy that is laid up for them in Christ’s blood, and thereto what he will have them do. And then when we see his mercy, we love him again, and choose him, and submit ourselves unto his laws, to walk in them. For when we err not in wit, reason, and judgment of things, we cannot err in will and choice of things. The choice of a man’s will doth naturally and of her own accord follow the judgment of a man’s reason, whether he judge right or wrong. So that in teaching only, resteth the pith of a man’s living.

More

This chapter dependeth upon the chapter before, in which he compared his true members of his “elect church” unto his good child, whom his father taught nurture and wisdom, and sent him to school, and he, like a micher and a truant, played at Buckle Pit by the way... and when the game was done, fell almost in despair of life for fear of hanging if his father caught him... and yet, soon after, well and wisely recomforted himself with the remembrance of his father’s old goodness... and so came home again like a good little boy, and heard his father’s voice of forgiveness... which set his heart at rest... and then he went to supper merrily... and then the maid

1 *if he mean to*: i.e., if what he means is that this elect person will    2 *by*: via    3 *ghostly*: spiritual  
3 *shrift and confession*: i.e., confession and receiving of absolution    4 *craft*: deceptive contrivance  
5 *conclusion*: confutation // in . . . of: regarding this chapter of his about    6 *faith*: i.e., faith being  
7 *wounded*: punctured; shot holes in // *despoiled*: i.e., stripped of any apparent worth; vitiated  
7 *bound*: incapacitated    8 *quick of*: alive in terms of // *blain*: inflammation // *botch*: ulcer  
8–9 *of grace*: i.e., grace-wise    11 *manner*: fashion / nature  
11–12 *the . . . election*: i.e., how our electedness comes about and works    13 *even*: just  
14 *they not*: i.e., not they    14–15 *sendeth forth*: i.e., sends word    15 *showeth*: makes known to  
16–17 *damnation in*: condemnation under    18 *thereto*: in addition    19 *again*: in response / back  
20 *walk in*: live by // *wit*: understanding    23 *follow*: go along with  
24 *in . . . resteth the pith of*: in . . . lies the core element of / on . . . depends essentially    25 *living*: way of living  
27 *dependeth upon*: is based on / is an outgrowth of    29 *nurture*: moral discipline    30 *micher*: hooky player  
30 *played at*: i.e., played // *by*: along    31 *in*: into    32–33 *well and wisely*: quite sensibly  
33 *recomforted himself with*: reassured himself with / took heart again at    34 *old*: long-established  
35 *voice*: voicing; expressing    36 *merrily*: happily

put on his biggin and brought him to bed... and then he cared for no more, but was merry in the morning, and ready to go play the boy again as he did before. And now thereto Tyndale joineth this chapter... saying, “Even so goeth it with God’s elect.”

- 5 Yet, since he resembleth God’s elect unto the little boy... he should have put into the example of his little child that his little child sometimes, when he hath played the little young truant, for all his remembrance of his father’s goodness... is for fear of his father’s anger glad to go to some other friends of his father’s, and pray them to  
10 bring him home and help to excuse him and keep him from beating. And *then* he should have begun this chapter as he doth now, and say, “Even so goeth it with God’s elect.” For if the example of his good child may prove all the remnant for him... then may it  
15 *To seek unto saints* prove this one piece as well for us: that the elect, after his offense, seeketh unto saints as his Father’s friends, and prayeth them to help to entreat for him; for so do many times such good children, ye wot well, as Tyndale putteth his example by.

- 20 But we will not now, for this time, trouble Tyndale much with that matter. I would that in this chapter all were well save it. For surely this chapter is *very* naught... and hath in it the secret seed of Tyndale’s chief poison, whereby he laboreth, after Luther, under color and pretext of God’s election to destroy the free will of man, and ascribe allthing to destiny. Which thing is not in itself so  
25 false... but Tyndale proveth it as foolishly, as ye shall perceive anon.

- But first consider how darkly the man walketh in his way still. For yet he handleth it of that fashion, that he would not we should see whether he mean by this word “elect” the man that is elect for the  
30 time, after the manner of any of those elections that I declared you before (in the beginning of my Fourth Book), or whether he mean of those elects that are of God, before the beginning of the world, foreseen to be such as by his gift and grace—and good will working therewith, in folk of age and wit thereto—should and would die in the  
35 state of grace and be saved, and therefore be called sometimes “final” elects, sometimes “eternal.”

1 *on his biggin*: on him his little nightcap 1–2 *cared for no more*: had no more concern / took no further thought  
2 *merry*: cheery 3 *thereto*: i.e., to all that 4, 12 *even*: just 5 *resembleth*: likens  
9 *glad*: quite willing // *friends of his father’s*: people near and dear to his father 9, 16 *pray(eth)*: ask(s)  
10 *to excuse him*: i.e., make excuses for him 11 *beating*: i.e., getting a beating 13 *may*: can // *remnant*: rest  
15 *seeketh*: betakes himself / appeals 16 *friends*: near and dear ones  
16–17 *help to entreat for him*: help plead his case / help him by interceding for him 17 *wot well*: well know  
18 *putteth his example by*: uses for his example 20 *would*: i.e., just wish // *save it*: i.e., except for that  
21 *surely*: assuredly // *naught*: bad // *secret*: hidden; covert 22 *laboreth*: endeavors // *after*: in line with / á la  
23 *destroy the*: i.e., destroy belief in the / bring to naught the 24 *allthing*: everything // *destiny*: fate  
24–25 *so . . . as foolishly*: i.e., more false than Tyndale’s proof of it is foolish 25–26 *perceive anon*: soon perceive  
27 *consider*: note // *darkly*: obscuredly; nebulously // *walketh . . . still*: i.e., always proceeds in his writing style  
28 *yet . . . should*: he is still managing it in that fashion, because he would have us not 29 *mean*: i.e., means  
30 *time*: i.e., time being // *after the manner*: according to the mode of procedure // *declared you*: told you about  
31 *in . . . Book*: See 391/8—400/28. // *mean of*: means; has in mind 32 *of*: by  
34 *of age and wit thereto*: i.e., who are old enough, and have enough reasoning ability, to be able to do good works

Thus, which kind of elects himself meaneth, Tyndale leaveth undeclared... and will we shall guess at his mind upon his uncertain words, to the end that he might ever have some refuge into a starting hole... and when he were plainly confuted and reprov'd,  
 5 cry out upon me then and say that I mistake him.

But I am content to take him, therefore, that way that may be the strongest for himself... and that way that his words gathered out of divers of his chapters, some before and some hereafter, show most likely that he should mean, when they be considered  
 10 together. And that is, as meseemeth, that he meaneth of those elects that are called the “final” and “eternal” elects; albeit that the place of Scripture (in the fifteenth chapter of Saint John) which Tyndale allegeth here for his elects little maketh for his purpose concerning that final or eternal election... not only because the  
 15 words of Christ spoken there to his apostles cannot conveniently serve for those which swerve from the true doctrine of Christ’s Catholic Church, that the apostles taught, into false heresies... but also for that our Savior in those words, when he said unto them, “You have not chosen me but I have chosen you, and appointed you,  
 20 that you shall go forth and bring fruit, and your fruit shall abide,” he spoke there not of their final election to salvation, which election himself foresaw in his Godhood before the world was made,  
*Eternal election* and which election therefore is called “eternal”; but he spoke there of that election  
 25 only by which he chose and elected them to be his apostles and messengers, to be sent about the world to preach his Gospel... as plainly appeareth by those aforesaid words, “I have chosen you, and appointed you, to *go* and *bring in fruit*”—and, finally, is the same election whereof he spoke when he said, “Have I not elected and  
 30 *Jn 6:70–71* chosen you twelve, and lo, one of you is a devil?” And therefore, as I say, the man layeth the Scripture very far from his matter.

But now taking him as he would say if his wit would serve him—that is to wit, that by his word “elects” he meaneth the  
 35 final and eternal elects—let us see and consider what high doctrine, and before unheard, Master Tyndale teacheth us of them.

1, 22 *himself*: he himself    2 *undeclared*: unclarified // *will we shall*: will have us / wants us to have to  
 2 *mind*: thinking / meaning // *upon*: on the basis of // *uncertain*: ambiguous  
 4 *a starting hole*: an escape hatch // *when he were*: i.e., whenever he is // *reprov'd*: proved wrong  
 5 *upon*: against // *mistake him*: am taking him wrongly; am misinterpreting him    7 *words*: statements  
 8 *divers*: several    9 *show . . . mean*: i.e., show him most likely to mean “elect” in  
 10 *as meseemeth*: as it seems to me // *meaneth of*: has in mind    11 *albeit*: though it is true; despite the fact  
 11 *place*: passage [John 15:16; see 497/13–14].    13 *allegeth here for*: here claims to refer to  
 13 *his elects*: his elect / the people who are by his definition the elect  
 13 *little . . . purpose*: gives little support to his contention    15 *conveniently*: congruously; very well  
 16 *which*: who // *swerve*: deviate; veer off    17 *false*: false / [a polite-language equivalent of] damn  
 20, 28 *bring (in)*: bear; produce    20 *and your*: i.e., and that your // *abide*: last  
 21, 24 *spoke*: i.e., was speaking    26–27 *as plainly appeareth*: as is clearly shown    28 *is*: i.e., which is  
 32 *layeth . . . matter*: i.e., in his quoting of Scripture goes very far from making his case  
 33–34 *as . . . him*: i.e., to mean what he would say he does if he had enough sense to  
 35 *high*: lofty / advanced    36 *Master*: Schoolteacher // *of*: about

He saith that *after* that God hath chosen them (and telleth not when—whether after their coming into the world, or before the world were made—so that he leaveth it by those words yet in doubt which election he moveth, whether unto salvation in the Church Triumphant in heaven, or only into the Church here militant in earth), “God,” he saith, “sendeth forth and calleth upon them, and showeth them his good will which he beareth unto them.”

Now, here falleth Tyndale in two faults. One is that these words of his cannot be verified upon all elects, since many die in their cradles, and many in their chrisms... but if he reckon all those for none elects, because they can understand no preaching. Another fault is that the thing which he seemeth here to appropier unto the elects be common both to the elects and reprobates. For all this God doth to them too that are not his elects, but unto such also

1 *Tm* 2:3–4 as will be, and therefore shall be, final reprobates.  
For God of his goodness willing, as

the Scripture saith, “all men to be saved,” sent his Son into this world to call upon the whole world. And he sent his

1 *Pt* 1:17 apostles about the world as a Lord  
20 *Acts* 10:34 and God indifferent, without acception of persons, as said Saint Peter.

But then goeth Tyndale farther, and saith that God “maketh [his elects] see both their own damnation in the law and also the mercy that is laid up for them in Christ’s blood, and thereto what he will have them do.”

These words men would ween were but well and plainly meant. For they may seem to good, plain-meaning men to be well and plainly spoken, and as well and plainly meant. But yet, as ye shall shortly see, in these words that “God maketh his elects see . . . his mercy”—as plain words as they be, and as innocent and as simple as they seem—yet in them meaneth Tyndale covertly to come forth with his poison of falsely preaching the predestination of God, with destruction of the free will of man concerning any manner of devoir of themselves toward the belief and faith. For he meaneth here that God always *maketh* the elects to see these things, without any will of their own anything working with God toward the sight thereof; and that all the reprobates that shall be damned for lack of the belief... be reprobated and rejected and left unchosen, and kept from

1 *after that*: i.e., *after* it has happened that    1–2 *telleth not when*: i.e., doesn’t say *when* that has happened  
3 *were*: i.e., was // yet: still    4 *moveth*: i.e., is talking about    6 *in*: on // *sendeth forth*: sends word  
7 *showeth*: makes known to    8 *falleth . . . faults*: i.e., Tyndale runs into two problems  
9 *verified upon*: proved to be true in the cases of    10 *in their chrisms*: i.e., right after being baptized  
10 *but if*: unless    11 *none elects*: i.e., non-elects    11–12 *another fault*: the other problem    12 *appropriat*: restrict  
20 *indifferent*: impartial; unbiased    20–21 *acception of persons*: favoritism    23 *damnation in*: condemnation under  
24 *thereto*: in addition    25 *ween*: suppose    25, 26, 27 *plainly*: straightforwardly / guilelessly  
26 *plain-meaning*: plain-spoken    29 *innocent*: innocuous; unobjectionable // *simple*: artless  
31 *the . . . God*: divine predestination // *destruction*: a bringing to naught / a reducing to a useless condition  
32 *devoir of themselves*: i.e., exertion on the part of the elect    35 *anything*: at all

the sight and perceiving of the things to be believed, without any demerit or evil desert of their own—only because God list not to make them see.

- And that Tyndale thus falsely meaneth by those fair, plain  
 5 words... ye shall farther perceive by other words of Tyndale's own writing afterward, in his answer to the first chapter of the Third Book of my *Dialogue*. For whereas I there showed that the very books of the Scripture itself cannot make men believe the Scripture, nor very surely know which *were* the very, true Scripture of God,  
 10 *The Church teacheth us to* and which were scriptures counterfeit, *know the Scripture.* saving that the Catholic Church teacheth us to know the Scripture... and the Spirit of God, with man's own towardness and good endeavor, worketh in man the credulity and belief by which we both believe the  
 15 Church in teaching us which *is* the Scripture and also by which we believe the things that are written *in* the Scripture: to this, because I said there that when we hear the Scripture or read it, if we be not rebellious but endeavor ourselves to believe, and captivate and subdue our understanding to serve and follow faith, praying for God's  
 20 gracious aid and help, God then worketh with us, and inwardly doth incline our heart into the assent of the thing that we read... and after a little spark of our faith once had, increaseth the credence in our incredulity—Tyndale to this, in mockage of men's endeavor toward the belief, and in scorning that we would  
 25 captivate our understanding into the service of faith, answereth me with a hideous exclamation... and crying out upon my fleshliness and folly, foameth out his high spiritual sentence in this fashion...

#### Tyndale

- Oh, how beetle-blind is fleshly reason! The will hath none operation  
 30 at all in the working of faith in my soul, no more than the child hath in the begetting of his father. For, saith Paul, it is the gift of God, and not of us. . . . My wit must show me a true cause or an apparent cause why, ere my will have any working at all.

#### More

- Now perceive you good Christian readers what an un-Christian  
 35 mind this evil-Christian man hath in those words that seem

1–2 *any . . . own*: i.e., their having done anything wrong, anything to deserve something bad  
 2 *list not*: did not choose    4 *falsely*: wrongly / duplicitously / vilely // *those*: i.e., those ostensibly  
 4 *fair*: nice / unobjectionable; innocuous // *plain*: readily understood / artless / guileless  
 7 *Dialogue*: i.e., *Dialogue concerning Heresies* // *showed*: pointed out  
 9, 10 *which were*: i.e., which writings are    9 *very*: real    13 *towardness*: cooperativeness  
 14 *credulity and belief*: i.e., openness to believing and the actual belief    15 *in*: i.e., in her  
 15 *which is*: i.e., which set of writings is    18 *endeavor*: exert // *captivate*: corral / subjugate  
 18 *subdue*: press into service / harness    20 *inwardly*: interiorly    21 *assent*: mental acceptance  
 23 *credence in our incredulity*: i.e., ratio of credence to lack thereof, in our state of mind // *mockage*: derision  
 24–25 *that we would captivate*: i.e., the idea of our corralling    26 *hideous*: fearsome / portentous  
 26 *crying out upon*: vehemently complaining of / denouncing // *fleshliness*: earthboundness; this-worldliness  
 27 *folly*: stupidity // *foameth*: spews // *sentence*: pronouncement    29 *beetle-blind*: myopic; nearsighted  
 29 *fleshly*: earthbound; this-worldly // *none operation*: i.e., no operative involvement  
 32 *wit*: intellect / understanding    32, 33 *cause*: reason    33 *ere*: before // *have*: i.e., can have  
 36 *mind*: intent // *evil-Christian*: hardly Christian // *words*: utterances

so fair and plain in this present chapter. For though he speak  
 not out so plainly in this chapter as he doth after, in his answer  
 to my Third Book, as ye have here heard—yet that he falsely meaneth  
 in either place alike, ye may yet more plainly perceive by his  
 5 words that in *this* chapter immediately follow... which are such as may  
 be as well joined to his aforesaid words of his answer unto my  
 Third Book as to the words unto which they be knit in this  
 present chapter. In which when he hath said that “God maketh  
 his elects see their damnation in the law, and also the mercy that  
 10 is laid up for them in Christ’s blood, and thereto what he will  
 have them do,” it followeth then, forthwith...

### Tyndale

And then when we see his mercy, we love him again, and choose  
 him, and submit ourselves unto his laws, to walk in them. For  
 15 when we err not in wit, reason, and judgment . . . we cannot err  
 in will and choice of things. The choice of man’s will doth  
 naturally and of her own accord follow the judgment of a man’s  
 reason, whether he judge right or wrong; so that in teaching only,  
 resteth the pith of a man’s living.

### More

Now trust I, good readers, that it is enough that we perceive and  
 see what Tyndale intendeth in this chapter of the order of our  
 election... and that, for all his great exclamation, we be not yet so  
 beetle-blind but that we spy well enough which way this wily  
 25 serpent walketh—and that he goeth about, under color of the praise  
 and commendation of God’s predestination and ordinance,  
 utterly concerning faith to put away the work of man’s free  
 will... and yet, over that (though somewhat more covertly), of truth,  
 concerning all other good works too.

And albeit that he seem here to give man’s will, in manner,  
 like place in the act of our love toward God as he giveth God in the  
 work of our belief and faith in us—yet when he is well perceived,  
 he bringeth all to such inevitable necessity that both in the one  
 and the other, and in all manner of good works, he taketh utterly  
 35 away all manner of merit from the good men and elects... and  
 giveth unto the evil people and reprobates an excuse for themselves,

1 *fair*: nice / unobjectionable; innocuous // *plain*: readily understood / artless / guileless    2 *plainly*: directly  
 2 *after*: later on    3 *falsely*: wrongly / duplicitously / vilely    7 *knit*: tied; connected  
 9 *damnation in*: condemnation under    10 *thereto*: in addition    11 *forthwith*: immediately  
 13 *again*: in response / back    14 *walk in*: live by    15 *wit*: understanding    17 *follow*: go along with  
 18–19 *in . . . resteth the pith of*: in . . . lies the core element of / on . . . depends essentially  
 19 *living*: way of living    22 *intendeth*: is driving at / is up to // *of the*: on the  
 22–23 *order of our election*: way our electedness works    23 *great exclamation*: i.e., dramatic protestation  
 24 *beetle-blind*: nearsighted    24–25 *which . . . walketh*: i.e., where this wily serpent is going with all this  
 25 *goeth about*: is attempting // *color of the*: the guise of    27 *put away*: do away with  
 27 *work*: operation    28 *yet, over*: even, on top of // *of truth*: truth be told  
 30 *albeit . . . manner*: i.e., though it is true that he seems here to be giving, in effect  
 32 *work*: i.e., working; producing    34, 35 *all manner*: every kind    36 *evil*: bad

and an occasion to lay the weight of their just damnation to the *injustice* of God's eternal ordinance and most righteous predestination. And yet are all his reasons in this great matter so small that a man may not well wit whether they be more  
 5 wicked or more witless.

Now, albeit that I shall purpose to treat of this matter more at long with Tyndale when I shall come to the confutation of his fond answers made unto the third and fourth books of my *Dialogue*—yet can I not presently forbear somewhat to show you of his abominable  
 10 error in this point. And yet, in good faith, meseemeth no very great need; his follies, after his words of both the places brought forth and laid together, be now so plain and evident of themselves.

For who is so beetle-blind that seeth not clearly the dark, devilish  
 15 heresy of this high, "spiritual" heretic, that saith it is a "beetle-blind," "fleshly" reason to think that the good endeavor of the man's part in willingly conforming himself toward the faith,

*Yea, the operation of the will of man is a great furtherance to faith!* and captivating and subduing his reason and understanding into the obsequy and obedient service of belief, should be no  
 20 manner help nor furtherance toward the

getting of any Christian faith, but that "the will hath none operation at all in the working of faith in [man's] soul, no more than the child hath in the begetting of his father"? For here ye see well that we speak  
 25 of such as are of age and have the use of reason.

If man's will had no more part toward the attaining of the belief than the child hath in the begetting of his own father... I see not wherefore our Savior should call upon the people and bid  
 30 *Mk 1:15* them do penance and "believe the Gospel," as he doth in the first chapter of Saint

Mark.

For though it be very true that without God's help and God's grace preventing and foregoing, no man can believe: yet if there were *nothing* in the man himself whereby he might receive it *if*  
 35 he would, with grace which God of his goodness offereth, apply himself towardly to the receiving thereof, and whereby, on the other side, he might frowardly refuse it, or of sloth and negligence so slightly

1 *an . . . to the*: i.e., a pretext for putting the blame for their actually just damnation on the supposed  
 3 *reasons in*: arguments on 3–4 *great matter*: hugely important issue 4 *small*: thin; flimsy  
 4 *a . . . wit*: one can't really tell 5 *witless*: senseless 6 *purpose*: propose 6–7 *at long*: at length  
 8 *fond*: foolish 9 *somewhat to show you*: to show you something 10 *error*: i.e., erroneousness  
 10 *in good faith*: in all honesty 10–11 *meseemeth . . . need*: i.e., there seems to me to be no very great need for this  
 11 *follies*: idiocies / blunders 11–12 *after . . . places*: i.e., now that his words in both of those places have been  
 12 *laid*: put / presented // *now . . . evident*: i.e., are so clear and obvious 14, 15 *beetle-blind*: nearsighted; myopic  
 14 *that seeth not*: as not to see 15 *heresy*: hereticalness // *high*: lofty / superior // *that*: who  
 16 *fleshly*: earthbound; this-worldly // *reason*: reasoning // *of*: on 17 *willingly*: volitionally 18 *yea*: yes  
 18 *captivating and subduing*: corraling and subjugating 19 *obsequy*: humble compliance 20, 28 *should*: would  
 21 *manner*: kind of 22 *none operation*: no operative involvement 24 *speak*: i.e., are speaking  
 25 *such*: i.e., such people 26 *had . . . toward the*: i.e., has . . . in his 28 *wherefore*: why  
 28 *call upon*: address / issue a command to 28–29 *bid them*: tell them to 29 *believe*: i.e., believe in  
 33 *preventing*: coming first // *foregoing*: acting in advance 34, 37 *might*: could 36 *towardly*: cooperatively  
 36 *side*: i.e., hand 37 *frowardly*: perversely; uncooperatively // *sloth*: laziness / indolence  
 37 *negligence*: careless indifference 503/37—504/1 *so slightly regard it*: think so little of it; attach so little value to it

regard it that he were worthy to lose it—if there were, I say, no such thing in the man whereby he himself might somewhat do therein, with God—our Lord would not *call* upon men and *exhort* them to believe, and *praise* them that will believe, and *rebuke* them that will not believe, as he doth in many plain places of the Scripture.

But, now, against God and his holy scriptures it is a world to see what slender things Tyndale allegeth. First he saith that it is a beetle-blind, fleshly folly to reckon that the good endeavor of man should be anything worth toward the attaining of faith, because that faith is the gift of God. Is not here a high reason? Who denieth that faith is a gift of God? But what letteth that that a man may not by his towardness endeavor himself to receive the gift of God by God's goodness freely offered unto him... or by his frowardness, sloth, or negligence lose and forgo the gift of God? Is it anything against the nature of gift, to be as willingly received and taken as it is offered and given? If a man would give Tyndale a cup of gold... would Tyndale call it no gift if himself did with good will put forth his hand to take it? Doth the willing behavior of the taker change the name and the nature of the gift, or anything diminish the free, liberal mind of the giver? In good faith, I must needs confess myself so beetle-blind that I can see no reason at all, neither fleshly nor ghostly, in this reason of Tyndale; nor, as I ween, Tyndale's own sharp eagle eyes neither.

What good thing is there that is *not* the gift of God?—hope, charity, continence, piety, learning, wisdom... or anything in this world that aught is?—for, as saith Saint James, “Every good, perfect gift is from above, descending from the Father of lights.” And Saint Paul saith, “What hast thou that thou hast not received?” And of whom meant he allthing received, but of God's gift? Now shall every man, then, in Tyndale's high, “spiritual” judgment, be taken for fleshly and beetle-blind that will be so foolish to put any endeavor of his own to labor and work with God in the getting of hope or charity, pitiful affection or chastity, learning, justice, wisdom, or any other good thing. Because

1 *were worthy*: would deserve    2 *might somewhat do*: could do something    3 *call upon*: address / appeal to  
 5 *plain*: straightforward; unambiguous // *places*: passages    6 *a world*: a wonder; amazing  
 7 *slender*: flimsy; unsubstantial // *allegeth*: advances as arguments    8, 21, 32 *beetle-blind*: myopic; nearsighted  
 8 *fleshly*: this-worldly; earthbound // *folly*: stupidity; idiocy    9 *because*: by reason of the fact  
 10 *high*: top-flight / great // *reason*: argument    11 *what letteth that*: how does that preclude;  
 how does that keep it from being true    11–12 *a man may not*: i.e., one can    12 *towardness*: cooperativeness  
 12 *endeavor*: exert    12, 15 *receive(d)*: accept(ed)    13 *frowardness*: uncooperativeness / perverseness  
 14 *sloth*: laziness / indolence // *negligence*: careless indifference    15 *to be*: i.e., that it be  
 15, 18 *willing(ly)*: volitional(ly)    16 *would*: were to // *of*: i.e., made of  
 17–18 *with good will*: voluntarily / quite volitionally    19 *name*: identity / classification // *anything*: at all  
 20 *diminish*: detract from; take away from // *liberal*: generous // *mind*: decision / disposition  
 20 *in good faith*: in all honesty    21 *reason*: rationality; sense    22 *fleshly*: this-worldly // *ghostly*: spiritual  
 22 *reason of Tyndale*: reasoning of Tyndale's    23 *ween*: suppose // *Tyndale's*: i.e., can Tyndale's  
 25 *continence*: (especially sexual) self-restraint    26 *ought is*: is (worth) anything  
 30 *allthing*: i.e., that everything is    31 *high*: lofty / superior    32 *fleshly*: earthbound; unspiritual  
 33 *foolish*: i.e., foolish as // *put any endeavor*: put forth any effort // *labor*: i.e., collaborate  
 34 *pitiful affection*: compassion



they be all gifts of God, a man must therefore sit even still and do nothing toward it, till God come and give him allthing, unawares. For if he may be aware before... then must he, by Tyndale, do not so much as be willing to receive it. For he that by his will receiveth it, and which should else, for his frowardness and contrary will, go without it: he doth, ye wot well, somewhat more in getting thereof than doth the son in the begetting of his own father... wherein the son's will that is yet unbegotten can nothing make nor mar; whereas in the getting, attaining, and receiving of these virtues, the will of the man conformable and toward worketh with God and doth somewhat... not as a dead vessel, whereinto Tyndale putteth and poureth his beer... but as a quick instrument, as the hand of the man that wittingly and willingly receiveth a gift of another man's liberal offer.

Now, if Tyndale would here labor to make us beetle-blind with his blunt subtleties, and tell us that we can do nothing till God prevent us with his grace, nor nothing but as his grace goeth on forth with us—these tales, when they be all told, be not worth a whistle. For ye may tell him again that we say not that man's

*The endeavor of man* endeavor can any good do *without* God; but we say that when men endeavor themselves toward so good a thing... they may then make themselves sure that God *hath* prevented them with his grace—for else they could not so do—and that he is ready with his grace to walk forward with them. And since their endeavor toward God is good—therefore if they will still persevere and walk on still with God, he will walk on still with them. And their endeavor shall not be a void, foolish thing, as Tyndale calleth it... but a fruitful work toward the attaining of faith, though Tyndale would say nay thereto.

I would also very fain wit of Tyndale... if himself were as firm and as fast in the true Christian faith as he is in his heresies... and then should happen to fall in company with either paynim, Turk, Saracen, or Jew, and would exhort them to the Christian faith... and that albeit they granted him the belief of one almighty God, yet for aught that he said unto them, he found them

1 *of*: from // *even*: quite 2 *toward*: with regard to // *allthing*: everything  
 2 *unawares*: by way of surprise; unexpectedly 3 *may be aware before*: i.e., does perchance have some idea  
 3 *by*: according to 5 *which should else*: who would otherwise // *for*: because of // *frowardness*: uncooperativeness  
 6 *wot*: know // *in*: i.e., in the 8 *the . . . is*: i.e., the will of the son who is as 9 *mar*: i.e., break  
 10 *man*: i.e., man who is // *conformable*: disposed to be compliant; tractable // *toward*: cooperative  
 11 *somewhat*: something // *as a dead*: like an inanimate 12 *a quick*: an animate // *as the*: like the  
 13 *that*: who // *wittingly*: consciously // *willingly*: volitionally 14 *liberal*: free / generous  
 15 *labor*: try // *beetle-blind*: myopic; nearsighted 16 *blunt*: pointless // *subtleties*: fine distinctions  
 17 *prevent us with his grace*: i.e., makes the first move, with his giving of the needed grace  
 18 *tales . . . told*: statements . . . made 19, 22 *may*: can 19 *again*: in response 21 *endeavor*: exert  
 22–23 *make themselves sure*: rest assured 23 *prevented*: preceded / acted in advance of  
 26, 27 *still*: continually; uninterruptedly 28 *void*: futile; ineffective 29–30 *say nay thereto*: no to that; deny this  
 31 *fain*: i.e., much like to // *wit of*: inquire of / know from // *himself*: he himself  
 31–32 *as firm and as fast*: i.e., as firmly and fixedly 33 *fall in company*: come into association // *paynim*: pagan  
 34 *Turk*: Turkish Muslim // *Saracen*: Arab Muslim // *would*: were to  
 35 *that albeit*: i.e., it happened that although // *of*: in 36 *for aught that*: despite anything

far off from the belief... not only of the Sacrament of the Altar  
 (from which himself is now as far off as any of them), but also far  
 off from the belief of the Son and Holy Ghost, and, finally, from the  
 taking of our scriptures for holy, or for writings worthy credence—  
 5 what advice and counsel would Tyndale give them? Would he  
 not advise and counsel them to pray unto God, and to call aid of  
 him, that it might please him to help to lead them in the way of  
 the right belief... and that he would with his grace help them to  
 incline their hearts into the following of that thing that  
 10 should be unto his pleasure and the salvation of their own souls?—  
 which kind and prayer they might assent unto without any  
 prejudice of their own faith. Would he not also counsel them to  
 fast, and forbear women, to the intent their prayer might be the  
 more clean and pure... and advise them also to give good alms  
 15 for God's sake, as did Cornelius when Saint Peter was sent unto  
 him therefor? Would he not also counsel them to be not willful  
 nor obstinate, but conformable and willing to hear and learn the  
 truth, and upon the hearing thereof, gladly to print in their hearts  
 those things that most make toward the moving and inclination  
 20 of their minds toward the credence thereof? And would he not tell  
 them that through such toward and willing demeanor on their  
 part (in the doing whereof, themselves not lacking nor being  
 slothful, God would not fail to prevent them with his grace,  
 help, and favor, and be before them), God would lead them and go  
 25 forth with them, and never leave them nor forsake them, till he would,  
 with their own good endeavor walking and working with him,  
 bring them first into the right belief and good hope and godly  
 charity, with other many virtuous and good works proceeding  
 thereupon... and finally, by that means, after this transitory life, into  
 30 the perpetual bliss and eternal joys of heaven?  
 Whether would Tyndale advise them thus (which if he did,  
 then should he teach them that man's endeavor toward faith is  
 not a thing to be mocked, as himself mocketh it now... but that  
 man's own will doth somewhat more toward it than doth the child  
 35 to the begetting of his own father)... or else would Tyndale forbid  
 them all such things in any wise, and tell them that their

1 *Sacrament of the Altar*: i.e., Real Presence    2 *himself*: he himself    3 *of*: i.e., in  
 4 *worthy*: worthy of    6 *call*: request    11 *kind*: approach // *might*: could // *assent unto*: agree to  
 12 *prejudice of*: prejudice to / violating of    13 *forbear*: i.e., abstain from sexual relations with  
 13 *intent*: i.e., intent that    15–16: See Acts 10:30–32.  
 15–16 *Cornelius . . . therefor*: i.e., Cornelius, to whom Saint Peter was sent on account of his having done that  
 17 *conformable*: persuasible / open-minded    18 *print*: imprint    21 *toward*: cooperative  
 21 *willing*: volitional // *demeanor*: behavior    23 *prevent them*: act in advance of them; make the first move  
 24 *before*: in front of    26 *walking*: acting // *working*: operating    28 *other many*: many other  
 32 *should he teach*: i.e., he would be teaching    35 *to*: toward  
 36 *in any wise*: i.e., under any circumstances; absolutely  
 506/36—507–1 *their own endeavor*: i.e., any endeavor on their part

own endeavor would rather hinder, and make them ascribe the faith that is the gift of God unto the merit and goodness of their own will, their own towardness, their own prayers, their own continence, almsdeed, and fasting, and all their other endeavor?

- 5 All which things if Tyndale take for naught or perilous... then is it likely that he would of consequence advise those disciples of his to be well ware of all such things, and do none of them in no wise, for the counsel to such things could come but of beetle-blind fleshly reason. And therefore Tyndale's disciples,  
 10 toward the getting of the faith, to the intent they should take thereof no part unto their own praise, but give the whole glory to God... should, I say, by his advice, use none endeavor at all, nor do nothing, nor say nothing, nor think nothing, but sit even still, sadly, and gape by day against the sun, by night against  
 15 the moon, till either some blind beetle or some holy humblebee come fly in at their mouths and buzz into their breasts an unwholesome heap of fly-blown errors and moth-eaten heresies.

- And thus, good Christian readers, the reason that Tyndale maketh us against the endeavor of man toward the attaining of faith...  
 20 which endeavor he mocketh and calleth it a counsel of beetle-blind reason, because faith is the gift of God—I doubt not, I say, but that his reason is such that a man that were beetle-blind indeed, may perceive well enough that Tyndale, for lack of good endeavor, hath had of the gift of God little wit and less grace,  
 25 in making of that feeble and unlawful reason.

*Tyndale's other reason against the  
good endeavor of man's  
will is this.*

Tyndale

- 30 My wit must show me a true cause or an apparent cause why, ere my will have any working at all.

More

- Let Tyndale set his consequent and conclusion to this antecedent made of this reason, and say, "My wit must first show me  
 35 some cause either true or somewhat seeming true, before that my

1 *rather hinder*: i.e., harm rather than help them    3 *towardness*: cooperativeness / good attitude  
 4 *continence*: (especially sexual) self-restraint // *almsdeed*: almsgiving    5 *naught*: worthless  
 6 *of consequence*: consequently    7 *well ware of*: very much on their guard against  
 7–8 *do . . . wise*: i.e., by no means do any of them    8 *the counsel to*: i.e., any counsel to do  
 8 *but of*: only from    8, 20 *beetle-blind*: myopic; nearsighted    9 *fleshly*: earthbound; worldly  
 12 *use none endeavor*: put forth no effort    12, 13 *nothing*: i.e., anything    13 *even*: quite  
 14 *sadly*: somberly // *gape . . . night against*: face open-mouthed by day the sun, by night  
 15 *humblebee*: bumblebee    16 *at*: i.e., through    18, 22, 25, 26, 34 *reason*: argument  
 22–23 *were . . . may*: i.e., was actually nearsighted could    24 *wit*: good sense    25 *feeble*: lame  
 25 *unlawful*: invalid    30, 34 *wit*: intellect / understanding    30, 35 *cause*: reason  
 31 *ere*: before // *have*: i.e., can have    33 *set*: add    35 *before that*: before

will can anything do at all: ergo, none endeavor of myself in conforming and applying of my will can anything do at all.” And now, when his argument is all made up... ye shall find it as full of reason as an egg full of mustard.

5 For what though my wit and reason must first set my will a-work?

Can yet my will, when it is once moved diversely between two reasons, nothing do at all in removing an obstinate leaning to the one side, or in working of a conformable inclination toward the consent of the other?

10 If all the faith of such truths as are taught were in such wise inspired into every man’s heart that is a faithful man, as he by that inward inspiration had such a full, perfect, and clear perceiving thereof in the inward sight of the understanding

15 upon... or as the sight of the soul hath in such evident and open conclusions as it doth plainly and openly behold—such, I mean, as are the general petitions in the First Book of Euclid’s

*Geometry*, as that every whole thing is more than its own half, or such other like—then would I well agree with Tyndale that when

20 the thing were so shown unto my wit, I could not but agree thereto with my will. But I say that albeit God is able in such wise to inspire and infund the faith if that him list—yet I say that

ordinarily into his faithful folk, neither final reprobates nor final elects (for faithful are at sundry times of both the sorts), he

25 giveth not the belief or faith on that fashion. For if he did—then were it not faith nor belief, but very sight and knowledge. And such kind of so certain and open revelation were unto the man occasion of belief and credence necessarily, surely, and inevitable...

but therefore, as it seemeth, neither thankworthy nor rewardable.

30 Now doth God with his Christian folks ordinarily take that way, in the giving them their belief and faith, that though they do not merit with any foregoing good deeds, nor deserve the gift of believing... yet may they with good endeavor and obedient conformity deserve and merit *in* the believing.

35 And therefore, since God will for that cause *bind* us to the belief—because he will that we merit and be rewarded for our belief (the reason of which desert and merit on our part, standeth in

1 *ergo*: therefore // *none endeavor of myself*: i.e., no endeavor on my part 4 *full*: i.e., is full  
 5 *what though*: i.e., so what that 5, 20 *wit*: intellect 6 *diversely*: in different directions  
 7 *reasons*: arguments 8 *working*: the bringing about // *conformable*: cooperative  
 8–9 *the consent of*: assent to 10 *faith of*: i.e., belief in 11, 21 *wise*: a way  
 11 *every . . . man*: i.e., the heart of everyone who is a believer 12 *as*: i.e., that  
 13 *thereof*: i.e., of those truths 15 *in*: with regard to // *evident and open*: i.e., clearly and obviously true  
 16 *conclusions*: propositions 17 *petitions*: postulates; axioms 18 *as*: such as  
 20 *were so shown*: was so made known 21 *albeit*: though it is true that 22 *infund*: infuse  
 22 *if that him list*: if he wants to 23, 24 *faithful*: believing; right-faith-possessing  
 24 *of both the sorts*: i.e., people of both those groups 25 *on that fashion*: in that way  
 26 *were it*: would it be // *very*: actual 27 *open*: manifest // *were*: would be  
 29 *thankworthy*: deserving of credit 32, 34 *deserve*: earn 33 *may*: can 35 *will*: chooses to  
 35 *cause*: reason // *bind us to*: make obligatory for us 36 *will that we*: wills that we / wants us to  
 36 *merit*: i.e., gain merit 37 *reason*: rational foundation // *desert*: earning // *standeth*: lies

the respect and regard that God hath to our *obedience* by which we willingly submit ourselves to the credence of God's word, written or unwritten, telling us anything against our own reason telling us the contrary)—then if our belief lost its merit

5       *How belief loseth its merit* (as that holy pope Saint Gregory saith  
it should) if reason plainly proved us the  
thing that we believe... so were the merit of our belief lost in  
like wise if the thing were in such wise *given* us as we more  
perfectly perceived it than we perceive any such as reason may  
10       most perfectly prove us.

And therefore I say that God doth not ordinarily give into men the faith in such manner... because he will not utterly take away the merit from man... forasmuch as he hath ordained him to

15       *Man is ordained by the* joy by the means of some merit, some  
      *means of some merit.* conflict, passion, or pain upon his  
      *Rom 8:18* own part, though not sufficient and  
worthy (for as Saint Paul saith, all the  
passions and sufferances of this world “be not worthy the glory that  
is to come, that shall be revealed in us”), yet such, at the leastwise, as his  
20       high goodness accepteth and rewardeth for worthy through the  
force and strength of those merits that are indeed sufficient and worthy—  
the merits, I mean, of the bitter pain and Passion of his alone  
only-begotten and tenderly beloved Son. Then say I now that  
since the faith is not ordinarily with such open, inevitable, and  
25       invincible lightsomeness inspired into the soul that the man must  
of necessity and very fine force clearly perceive and agree it... but by  
God provided so sufficiently to be shown and taught as he that will  
be conformable and walk with God's grace may find good cause  
enough to captivate his reason to the belief... and yet not so great  
30       and urgent causes but that he which will be ill-willed and  
froward may let grace go, and find himself cavillations  
proudly to rest upon his own reason against the word of God...  
either saying that his reason seeth it not sufficiently proved for  
God's word (as Tyndale saith in all God's words unwritten)  
35       or else that God's word is not so meant as all Christ's church  
understandeth them (as Tyndale saith touching the plain scriptures  
against the marriages made between friars and nuns)—the

1 *respect*: consideration // *hath to*: takes of   2 *willingly*: by our will / volitionally   4 *lost*: i.e., would lose

5 *Gregory*: i.e., Gregory I; Gregory the Great   6 *should*: would   6, 10 *us*: i.e., to us

7–8 *were* . . . *lost in like wise*: would . . . be likewise lost   8 *such wise*: such a way   9 *such*: i.e., such thing

9 *may*: can   11 *give into*: give to / put into   12 *will not*: does not want to

13 *him to*: i.e., that he attain eternal joy

14–15 *Man* . . . *merit*: i.e., Man's predestination is predicated on some kind of meriting on his part.

15, 18 *passion(s)* suffering(s)   15 *pain*: laborious effort / trouble undertaken   16 *sufficient*: i.e., enough by itself

17 *worthy*: commensurate in value (to the joy)   18, 20, 21 *worthy*: commensurate (to)

18 *sufferances*: patient endurances   21 *sufficient*: i.e., enough by themselves   22 *his alone*: solely his

24 *open*: manifest // *inevitable*: unavoidable / inescapable   25 *invincible*: insuperable; unextinguishable

25 *lightsomeness*: luminosity   26 *very fine*: veritable sheer // *agree*: accept   27 *shown*: made known

27 *as he that*: i.e., as that whoever   28 *conformable*: cooperative // *walk*: go along   29 *captivate*: subjugate

30 *urgent*: compelling // *which will*: i.e., who chooses to   31 *froward*: perverse; contrary

31 *cavillations*: i.e., frivolous objections to use as excuses   32 *rest upon*: rely on / side with   33 *for*: i.e., to be

34 *in*: about   36 *them*: i.e., his words // *touching*: regarding

points of the faith are not, I say, in such wise shown, nor the wit in them so thoroughly and so clearly instructed, but that the thing which in the wit lacketh and remaineth imperfect may by the will be perfected and made up... and, instead of sure and certain sight, be from distrust or doubtful opinion brought by God working with man's will into sure faith and undoubted belief. And this, I say, for the time of this present life... and in the life to come, then turned into full sight and inevitable contemplation.

And that this is the ordinary manner of the faith given by God into the soul—with the pliable and comfortable will of man, and not an inevitable sight of the truth inspired into the man whether he will or not, in such manner wise that he cannot choose but believe it—the scriptures be plain and evident.

*Heb 11:1* Doth not Saint Paul unto the Hebrews, in the definition of faith, openly and clearly declare that the faith is an argument or matter of things that appear not? Now, if the resurrection of our own body were in this world in such manner appearing unto us as it shall *after* the resurrection, when we be in heaven... it were now no faith at all, but a sure knowledge. And therefore saith Saint Paul also that we see now, as it were, but in a glass, and perceive and behold but, as it were, in a dark riddle... but in the other world shall we see face to face.

To show also that God giveth not ordinarily the faith to folk but with some manner of towardness and conformity of their own good will... our Lord saith himself unto the city that he so sore longed to convert, "Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how oft have I willed to gather thy children together, as a hen gathereth together her chickens, and thou wouldst not!"

No man here doubteth but that our Lord, if he would have used some such ways as he could—it was in his power to inspire the knowledge of himself into their hearts, and of allthing that he would have them believe... and that in such wise that they should not choose but believe, for they should not *choose*, but *know* it... and that in such wise that they could not have thought the contrary. But

*How man is brought to salvation* God had determined to bring man to salvation not in such inevitable wise, nor without some willing conversion

1 *points*: articles; tenets    1, 35, 37, 39 *wise*: a way    2 *wit*: intellect    3 *the thing*: i.e., something  
 3 *wit*: intellect / understanding // *lacketh*: is wanting // *imperfect*: not fully formed    4 *may*: can  
 4 *perfected and made up*: made fully formed and complete    5 *distrust*: skeptical regard // *doubtful*: unsettled  
 8 *inevitable*: i.e., sure-to-follow    10 *is* . . . *God*: is God's ordinary way of giving/putting faith    11 *into*: to/into  
 11 *pliable*: tractable // *comfortable*: amenable    12 *inevitable*: unavoidable    13 *will*: i.e., wants it  
 13 *manner wise*: a kind of way    14 *plain and evident*: clear and conclusive    16 *the definition*: i.e., his defining  
 17 *an* . . . *of*: i.e., a contention or claim about    18 *appear not*: are not visible    19 *appearing*: apparent  
 19 *shall*: i.e., will be    20 *were*: would be    22 *a glass*: i.e., a (very imperfectly reflecting) looking glass  
 23 *dark riddle*: cryptic brain-teaser    26 *towardness*: receptivity; cooperativeness // *conformity*: compliance  
 28 *sore*: sorely    29 *oft*: often // *willed*: wanted    30 *chickens*: chicks  
 31 *and* . . . *not*: but you wouldn't have it    34 *allthing*: everything    35, 36 *should*: would  
 36 *but believe*: i.e., otherwise than to believe    39 *such inevitable*: so ineludible    40 *willing*: volitional

and turning of man toward him... though man cannot turn unto him without prevention, and concurrent help, of God's especial grace. But since the goodness of God provideth that his grace is *ever* ready to him that will use it—therefore, though the will of man may  
 5 nothing do without grace, yet without any speaking of grace we commonly let not to say “man may do this” and “man may do that,” as believe, and hope, and love, and live chaste, and do alms, and fast, and many such other things... not meaning, though we make no mention of grace, that man can therefore do them without grace.  
 10 Like as we say that a man “may see to thread a needle,” and speak nothing of the light, and yet mean we not that he can thread it in the dark.

And therefore let not Tyndale look to bring us in darkness... and because man's will can nothing do without grace, therefore tell  
 15 us that man's will can nothing do; nor tell us, neither, that man's will hath no part in belief and faith... and make us ween it were so because the will cannot (as he saith) go before the wit—whereof experience proveth many times the contrary, and sometimes with Tyndale, too. But though a man cannot have any will at all in that  
 20 thing whereof he hath utterly nothing known nor heard tell of, nor had imagination in his mind, nor anything thought upon—yet when the mind with divers reasons and arguments is once moved of a matter, the will, as it happeth of other occasions at the time to be well- or evil-affectionate, so may give itself into the  
 25 consent and agreement of the one side or of the other; yea, and that, sometimes, on that side, for affection, upon which side he seeth least part of his wit and reason. And therefore it is not always true, that Tyndale saith in these words...

#### Tyndale

30 And then when we see his mercy, we love him again, and choose him, and submit ourselves to his laws, to walk in them.

#### More

Here seemeth he to give as much to the working of man's will concerning charity as he before took from it concerning faith.  
 35 For here he saith that we “choose” God, and “submit ourselves” to his laws, whereas of truth, without his grace both preventing us and concurrent with us, we can in these things neither, do nothing at all.

2 *prevention*: the prevenience; the coming-first    3 *the goodness of God*: i.e., God in his goodness  
 3–4 *ever ready*: always readily available    4, 6, etc. *may*: can    6 *let not*: don't scruple    7 *as*: such as  
 7 *do*: give    10 *a man*: i.e., someone    10–11 *speaking . . . of*: say . . . about    13 *look*: hope / try    // *in*: into  
 13 *darkness*: i.e., intellectual and spiritual dimness of sight / wickedness    16 *ween*: think; believe  
 16 *it were*: i.e., this is    17 *as he saith*: says he    // *go before*: be engaged before / act ahead of  
 17, 27 *wit*: intellect    19–20, 37 *in (that thing)*: with regard to (something)    20 *utterly*: absolutely  
 21 *anything thought upon*: at all thought of    22 *divers reasons*: various considerations    23 *moved of*: presented on  
 23 *happeth of other occasions*: i.e., happens because of other things going on    24 *evil-affectionate*: ill-disposed  
 25 *consent . . . other*: i.e., assenting to, and going along with, the one side or the other    26 *for*: on account of  
 26 *affection*: natural preference; bias  
 26–27 *upon . . . reason*: i.e., with which he sees his intellect and reason least siding    27 *that*: what  
 30 *again*: in response / back    31 *walk in*: live by    36 *of truth*: actually; in point of fact  
 36–37 *both . . . us*: i.e., acting both ahead of and concurrently with us    37 *nothing*: i.e., anything

Now meaneth Tyndale further, for all this, that man's will in these things yet doth nothing work at all but of necessity. For he saith that God *maketh* them to see his mercy by faith, without any manner working of their wills, as ye have heard. And then he saith  
 5 that upon the sight thereof... they "love" God, and "choose" him, and "submit themselves" to his laws; but yet saith he that their wills do this of inevitable necessity. And then can no man, if Tyndale's lie be true, neither in faith nor charity have any merit at all. For what can a man deserve in believing the thing that he thoroughly  
 10 seeth, or in doing a thing when he can do none other? Now, that Tyndale so saith is open and plain by these words that he consequently saith...

### Tyndale

15 For when we err not in wit, reason, and judgment . . . we cannot err in will and choice of things. For the choice of man's will doth naturally and of her own accord follow the judgment of a man's reason, whether he judge right or wrong; so that in teaching only, resteth the pith of a man's living.

### More

20 Here ye see that Tyndale in loving and choosing by which man loveth and chooseth God putteth a plain necessity—that man's will can none other do, because he seeth the mercy of God by faith... which, as Tyndale said before, man seeth also of necessity; and so, consequently, no merit in neither nother.

25 But Tyndale saith untrue in both. For man neither of necessity seeth the one nor of necessity doth the other, but may do the contrary both in the one and the other... and therefore in *doing* both, *meriteth* in both, whatsoever Tyndale say.

30 But yet saith Tyndale untrue in these other two things also: that is to wit, both where he saith that when a man seeth the mercy of God, then he loveth and chooseth God, and submitteth himself to walk in God's laws; and also where he saith, for the proof of that point, that when we err not in wit, we cannot err in will... but that the choice of the will doth ever follow the judgment of  
 35 the reason. For first, what question is there but that many which right surely believe the mercy of God do not yet love God in such

2 *nothing work*: do nothing / in no way operate    3 *them to*: i.e., the elect  
 3–4 *any . . . wills*: i.e., their wills operating in any way    7 *inevitable*: unavoidable; inescapable  
 8 *faith nor*: i.e., being a believer nor in having and exercising // *have*: gain  
 9 *what . . . deserve*: i.e., what merit . . . earn // *the thing*: i.e., in something    11 *so saith*: is saying this  
 11 *open and plain*: i.e., made clear and obvious    12 *consequently*: immediately afterward  
 14 *wit*: understanding    16, 34 *follow*: go along with  
 17–18 *in . . . resteth the pith*: in . . . lies the core element / on . . . depends essentially    18 *living*: way of living  
 20 *in*: i.e., in the    21 *putteth*: posits // *a plain*: a literal / an absolute  
 22 *can none other do*: cannot do otherwise    24 *neither nother*: neither the one nor the other  
 25 *Tyndale saith untrue in both*: i.e., both of these things said by Tyndale are untrue    26 *may*: can  
 27 *one*: i.e., one instance    29 *yet . . . in*: i.e., Tyndale moreover speaks untruthfully    32 *walk in*: live by  
 33 *wit*: understanding / intellect    35 *which*: who    36 *right*: quite // *believe*: believe in  
 36 *do not yet*: yet do not



How man should love God    wise as is requisite unto salvation—that  
 unto salvation    is, in the preferring his pleasure before  
 their own, and to forbear sin for the  
 love of his law, and for the regard of his goodness to fulfill his  
 5 commandments. But we find it many times far contrary:

“Mercy” is at some times    that the overgreat regard of his mercy  
 turned into presumption.    turneth trust into presumption, and  
 maketh men the more bold in sin—so,  
 forsooth, that neither love of God nor desire of heaven nor dread of  
 10 hell is able to pull them back.

Now, as touching the other point, that when we err not in will  
 and *judgment*, we cannot err in will and *choice* of things... but  
 that the will always doth naturally accord and agree to follow the  
 judgment of reason, whether it judge right or wrong: we  
 15 shall defer the subtleties of that disputation till we come to the place  
 in his answer unto my Third and Fourth Book of my *Dialogue*—  
 where I purpose, God willing, to touch this matter more fully—and  
 will at this time nothing else object against him than the plainest  
 proof that can be; that is to wit, every man’s own experience  
 20 and express perceiving of the contrary. For many a wretch  
 that doth an abominable deed seeth and perceiveth full well that  
 he doth very naught, and that he should not do so... and his wit  
 and his reason forbiddeth him; but, his will falling from the following  
 of his reason to the fulfilling of his fleshly desire and beastly  
 25 lust and devilish appetite, accomplisheth his detestable deed...  
 not for any lack of wit and reason, but through fault of the froward  
 will wittingly working for pleasure *against* reason.

Many a man that hath a great wit and a great reason too,  
 and much learning joined unto them both, doth yet more foolishly  
 30 and more unreasonably than doth some other whose wit and  
 reason is very far under his, and as for learning, hath utterly none  
 at all. And whereof cometh this, but in that the one with no  
 learning and no great wit hath great good will to work with  
 God’s grace and do well... and the other with much wit and  
 35 learning lacketh the will to work well, after his reason—and therefore  
 letteth grace go by, and willfully followeth affection!

And if Tyndale in this believe not me, nor all the wide world

1 *wise*: a way    1, 2 *unto*: i.e., for    2 *preferring . . . before*: prioritizing of . . . over; putting of . . . ahead of  
 3 *to*: i.e., in the choosing to    8 *so*: i.e., so much so    9 *forsooth*: indeed // *dread*: fear  
 11 *as touching*: as regards    13, 36 *follow(eth)*: go(es) along with    15 *defer*: i.e., postpone discussion of  
 15 *subtleties*: fine points / sly implications // *disputation*: argument  
 16 *Dialogue*: i.e., *Dialogue concerning Heresies*    17 *touch this matter*: critique this contention  
 18 *object*: bring forward    22 *doth very naught*: i.e., is doing very wrong / is acting very badly  
 22 *so*: i.e., that thing // *wit*: understanding    23 *from*: away from    23–24 *following of*: going along with  
 23 *forbiddeth him*: i.e., forbid him to    26 *wit*: understanding / intelligence  
 26, 28, 31, 35 *reason*: reasoning ability    26 *froward*: perverse    27 *wittingly*: knowingly; consciously  
 28, 30, 33, 34 *wit*: (amount of) intelligence    29 *doth yet*: i.e., yet behaves    30 *unreasonably*: irrationally  
 31 *under*: less than // *utterly*: absolutely    33 *work*: cooperate    34, 35 *well*: right(ly)    35 *work*: act  
 35 *after*: in accord with    36 *willfully*: volitionally / headstrongly // *affection*: feeling / inclination  
 37 *in*: regarding; about

besides... he will, I trust, at the leastwise believe himself. Now, then, saith he (in more places of his book than one) that I see the truth well enough, and that I see well enough that I should not do as he saith I do—wittingly and willfully write against the truth. Wherein if he will now confess that he saith untrue... let him revoke his lie and call it back again, and then God forgive him and I do. And if he will abide still by that word that he said then... then must he go from this word quite that he saith now. For if I wot well I do not well, and yet, for all that, I do it—then is there one man, at the leastwise, whose will followeth not his wit. And then if I be such one, I shall not, I trust, live all alone... but shall, rather than fail, find Tyndale himself so good a fellow as to falsify his own words here and bear a poor man company.

And that his words here be very false indeed... doth yet farther appear by his conclusion that he concludeth thereon, if his conclusion do necessarily follow. For his conclusion is this: that in teaching only, standeth the pith of a man's living. For if this be false, as indeed it is... then if it necessarily follow upon his other words, his other words must needs be as false as it; for upon a truth nothing can there follow but truth, as every man learned well knoweth.

But now knoweth every man very well that *all* the pith of a man's living standeth *not* in only teaching. For many be full well taught how they should live—yea, and so well taught that they be able to teach it others full well—and yet live themselves full naught. We shall not need to seek long for example, since no man doubteth but that Judas Iscariot had so good a schoolmaster, and was with him so long, that if he had any wit he was meetly well taught how he should live. And that he was not all witless, though by default of good will he waxed in conclusion graceless... appeareth well in that so wise a master as our Savior was, sent him forth, among others, for one of his ushers, to teach in his own time. And yet, as well taught as he was, and as well as he taught others, too—yet was

*Mt 10:1–14*

his own living not very good, while he

*Jn 12:4–6*

was both a thief and a traitor both to

God and man.

And yet, that we shall not need to seek so far as fifteen hundred years ago... I ween it will be no great difficulty to find folk enough even now, in our own time, that can preach and give good counsel to their neighbors against the vices in which they live

3 *as*: what    4 *wittingly*: knowingly // *willfully*: deliberately / obstinately    5 *will now*: now is willing to  
 5 *saith untrue*: speaks untruthfully    6 *call it back again*: take it back    7 *will*: wants to  
 7 *word that he said*: assertion that he made    8 *go . . . saith*: completely go back on this assertion he's making  
 8 *wot*: know    8–9 *I do not well*: that what I'm doing is not right    9–10 *is . . . wit*: there's at least one man  
 whose will does not go along with his intellect    10 *such*: i.e., such a    11 *fail*: i.e., lack it [company]  
 12 *falsify*: prove false to / show as false    14–15 *doth . . . appear*: is made even more obvious    17, 22 *standeth*: lies  
 17, 21 *pith*: core element    17, 22, 33 *living*: way of living    18 *follow*: i.e., follows    18, 19 *upon*: from  
 22, 24 *full*: quite    24 *it*: i.e., it to // *naught*: badly; immorally    26, 30 *(school)master*: (school)teacher  
 27 *wit*: intelligence // *meetly*: sufficiently    28 *all*: completely // *witless*: devoid of intelligence  
 28 *default*: deficiency    29 *waxed in conclusion*: became in the end // *graceless*: devoid of grace  
 29 *appeareth well in*: is well evidenced by the fact    30 *wise*: intelligent    31 *ushers*: assistant teachers  
 31 *in his own time*: i.e., while our Savior himself was still walking around teaching    33 *while*: given that  
 36 *seek so far*: go so far in our search    37 *ween*: think    38 *even*: right    39 *vices*: i.e., immoral ways

themselves. So that though to good living, good teaching be necessary... yet may every fool see that in good teaching standeth not *all* the pith of good living, as Tyndale saith it doth... since many men have been well taught and yet lived naught.

- 5 But this wise reason, among many like, learned Tyndale of his master Luther... which at Worms, in Almaine, at his being there before the Emperor, said that if the Gospel were well taught, there should need none other law. And this said he there, and this saith Tyndale here... because they and their fellows would fain  
10 take away all laws, and leave nothing but sermons. And then, after that their ungracious heresies might be freely preached for the gospel of God, and no law to let them; when, after many souls sent unto the devil by them, they should (as they have done in Almaine already) begin sedition and rebellion, and fall to rifling, robbery,  
15 murder, and manslaughter: whoso should then, without force of punishment, only teach and preach unto such unruly rebels... should, ye wot well, have a devout audience!

- But Tyndale in this matter, when he hath told us this tale—that the pith of man's living standeth altogether in teaching—he  
20 addeth thereunto by and by, and saith...

#### Tyndale

Howbeit, there be swine that receive no learning but to defile it; and there be dogs that rend all good learning with their teeth.

#### More

- 25 If there be such swine and such dogs—as indeed there be, as  
*Mt 7:6* our Savior himself witnesseth in the Gospel—if this, I say, be truth, as it is, that Tyndale telleth us now... then is it false that Tyndale told us before; that is to wit, that all standeth in teaching. For those swine and those  
30 dogs will be naught for all the good teaching. And then to keep such from doing harm, we must not only teach and preach... but unto such as will be like swine, we must yoke them for breaking hedges, and ring them for rooting, and have bandogs to drive them out of the corn with biting, and lead them out by the  
35 ears.

And if there be such dogs, as indeed there be, that rend all good learning with their teeth—then standeth not all the pith of

1 *though to*: i.e., even if for    2 *may every*: can any    2, 19, 37 *standeth*: lies    3, 19, 37 *pith*: core element  
4 *well taught*: i.e., taught how to live in a morally good way // *naught*: badly; immorally  
5 *wise reason*: brilliant argument // *like*: i.e., similarly brilliant ones // *of*: from  
6 *master*: teacher / spiritual master // *which*: who    6, 13 *Almaine*: Germany    7 *well*: rightly  
8 *should need none other law*: no other law would be needed    9 *fellows*: cohorts // *would fain*: would like to  
10 *take away*: get rid of    10–11 *after that*: after    11 *ungracious*: ungodly; wicked // *might be*: i.e., could get  
11 *for*: as being    12 *and no law to let*: i.e., there being no law to hinder // *sent*: i.e., were sent  
13, 15, 17 *should*: would    14 *rifling*: plundering    15 *manslaughter*: wholesale slaughter // *whoso*: whoever  
17 *wot*: know    18 *tale*: story    20 *by and by*: immediately    22 *howbeit*: however  
23, 36 *rend*: lacerate; tear to pieces    26 *witnesseth*: attests    28 *it*: i.e., that thing  
29 *all standeth in*: everything depends on    30 *naught*: bad // *for*: despite    32 *will*: are determined to  
32, 33 *for*: i.e., to keep them from    32 *breaking*: breaching    33 *bandogs*: guard dogs  
34 *corn*: wheat // *with*: i.e., via

good living in good teaching. For what availeth to teach them  
 that will not learn, but rend all good learning with their teeth? And  
 therefore to such dogs men may *not* only preach, but must with  
 whips and bats beat them well, and keep them from tearing of  
 5 good learning with their dogs' teeth... yea, and from barking, both...  
 and chastise them and make them couch-quail, till they lie still and  
 hearken what is said unto them. And by such means be both  
 swine kept from doing harm... and dogs fall sometimes so well to  
 learning that they can stand up upon their hinder feet and hold  
 10 their hands before them prettily, like a maid; yea, and learn to  
 dance, too, after their master's pipe; such an effectual thing  
     *Punishment*                      is punishment, where bare teaching  
    will not suffice.

And who be now more properly such dogs than be these  
 15 heretics that bark against the blessed sacraments and tear  
 with their dogs' teeth the Catholic, Christian faith and godly  
 expositions of the old holy doctors-and-saints? And who be more  
 properly such hogs than these heretics of our days, of such a  
 filthy kind as never came before... which in such wise defile all  
 20 holy, vowed chastity that the very, pure Scripture of God they tread  
 upon with their foul, dirty feet, to draw it from all honest  
 chastity into an unclean, shameful liberty of friars to wed  
 nuns! And therefore unto these hogs and these dogs the pith of  
 good living standeth not all in teaching. For no good thing will  
 25 they learn without biting and beating.

Yet goeth Tyndale further and showeth more kinds of folk... to  
 whom, for all his other words, all the pith of good living standeth  
 not in teaching.

#### Tyndale

30 And there be pope-holy... which, following a righteousness of their  
 own feigning, resist the righteousness of God in Christ.

#### More

These words, lo, good reader, expound very well, and very plainly  
 declare, *what* teaching it is that Tyndale all this while so boasteth,  
 35 wherein, he saith, all the pith of good living only standeth; that

1 *what availeth*: of what avail is it; what good does it do    2 *will . . . but*: are determined not to learn, but to  
 2 *rend*: lacerate; tear to pieces    4 *bats*: clubs    5, 16 *dogs'*: i.e., dog    5, 10 *yea*: yes    6 *couch-quail*: cower  
 7 *hearken*: pay heed to    8 *fall*: i.e., take    9 *hinder*: hind; rear    10 *before*: in front of // *prettily*: charmingly  
 10 *maid*: maiden    11 *after*: to    12 *bare*: mere    14, 18 *properly*: really    17 *expositions*: commentaries  
 17 *old . . . -saints*: sainted theologians of old    19, 30 *which*: who    19 *wise*: a way    20 *very*: actual  
 21–22 *draw . . . an*: i.e., subvert all its advocacy of upright, respectable chastity into an apparent one of an  
 23 *unto*: i.e., for    23, 27, 35 *pith*: core element    24, 27 *standeth*: lies    26 *showeth*: calls attention to  
 30 *and there be*: i.e., and then there are the // *following*: i.e., pursuing    31 *feigning*: making up; fabricating  
 31 *resist*: contravene    34 *declare*: make known // *boasteth*: extols / vaunts  
 35 *wherein . . . only standeth*: wherein alone . . . lies

*Tyndale's abominable  
teachings*

is, as he taketh it, the teaching of his  
abominable heresies in which he  
teacheth us that only faith sufficeth, and

that neither good works have reward in heaven nor that any evil  
5 works shall have *any* punishment—either in this world or in  
purgatory, no, nor in hell neither—if the sinner be but a bare  
penitent and only believe and repent, and be well ware, in any wise,  
that he go to no shrift nor do no penance for his sin. For all  
those that do, they be those of whom he railleth here and calleth  
10 “pope-holy,” and saith they make themselves a “righteousness of their own  
feigning,” and “resist the righteousness of God in Christ,” because  
they resist Tyndale’s unrighteous heresies; which, under pretext  
of God’s only mercy, taketh away *God’s righteousness*... and not  
only that, but under the same pretext of praising and setting  
15 forth a more mercy, covertly and craftily depraveth and dispraiseth  
the very, true mercy itself that God of his goodness ordinarily  
useth toward us.

For Tyndale maketh as though it were no mercy at all, after  
a little penance in this world done by the party for many great,  
20 mortal sins... or after a temporary pain endured in purgatory,  
to set the merits of Christ’s Passion for the remnant, which

*The ordinary mercy of God* would else be infinitely ten hundred  
thousand thousand times longer. This  
taketh Tyndale for no mercy, which is indeed the very mercy that  
25 our Lord ordinarily useth. But this order the beast blasphemeth...  
and, as well in this devilish work of his as in divers others,  
calleth it express tyranny.

Yet goeth he finally further to another kind of such folk,  
as teaching cannot for a while help and yet after doth; and of them  
30 thus he saith...

### Tyndale

And there be that cannot attend to hearken unto the truth for rage  
of lusts... which, when lusts abate, come and obey well enough.  
And therefore a Christian man must be patient, and suffer long, to  
35 win his brother to Christ, that he which attendeth not today  
may . . . hear tomorrow. We see some at their very latter end, when  
cold fear of death hath quenched the heat of their appetites, learn  
and consent unto the truth... whereunto before, they could give  
none ear, for the wild rages of lusts that blinded their wits.

3 *only faith*: faith by itself    4–5 *neither . . . punishment*: i.e., neither will good deeds get rewarded in heaven nor  
bad deeds get punished at *all*    6 *bare*: mere / bare-bones    7–8 *be . . . penance*: i.e., make very sure, in any event,  
never to go to confession or do any penance    9 *of . . . calleth*: i.e., about whom he rails here, calling them  
10 *saith*: i.e., saying    11 *feigning*: fabricating    11, 12 *resist*: contravene    12 *which*: i.e., which stance of his  
13 *God’s only mercy*: i.e., a holy reliance on God’s mercy alone // *taketh away*: i.e., negates / discredits  
14–15 *setting forth*: propounding    15 *more*: greater // *depraveth*: denigrates  
15 *dispraiseth*: disparages    16 *very*: real    17 *useth toward us*: treats us with    19 *great*: serious; major  
21 *set*: apply // *remnant*: rest    25 *useth*: employs // *order*: modus operandi    26 *divers*: several  
27 *express*: literal / downright    32 *that*: i.e., those that; some people who  
32 *attend to hearken*: apply their minds to listening // *for rage*: i.e., because they’re in the violent heat  
33, 39 *lusts*: (those) passions / intense desires    33, 35 *which*: who    34 *suffer long*: i.e., long-suffering  
35 *attendeth not*: does not pay attention    36 *their very latter end*: the very tail end of their lives  
38 *consent*: give assent / acquiesce    39 *for*: on account of // *rages*: flare-ups // *wits*: intellects

## More

Lo, good readers—here ye may see what constancy is in this man.

*Here* he saith (and saith true) that men will at some times not learn nor hearken to the truth, though it be never so well taught them. And yet in another chapter before, he showeth that the elects as soon as ever they be taught the truth assent forthwith and will never resist. So he that hath a false part to defend never wotteth where to hold him.

But at the leastwise, *this* that he *now* saith is true; and more, too.

For not only when the rage is past, then men hearken... but also when the rage cometh again, then many fall naught again and into deadly sin... and that of such as after wax good again and finally shall be saved. And likewise some good-faithful folk, when false shrews come (and false *heretics*), do by false doctrine fall from the true faith again, though they had it before right lively.

And yet of such, some turn again by grace from their deadly heresies into the life of faith... and some be so sore nuzzled in the false heresies, and in their obstinate frowardness take such a devilish delight, that finally they die therein—as did Bayfield, Bainham, and Tewkesbury. And yet in some, as Tyndale here telleth us, even in the “very latter end, when the cold fear of death hath quenched the heat of their appetites,” God worketh with them toward the consent of the truth whereunto before, they would give none ear—as he did indeed in that good and contrite penitent and

*Bilney’s return to the* open confessor both of his faith and his  
*Catholic faith* fault, M. Thomas Bilney. Which, being once good-faithful and virtuous, did

after, by the false delight of Luther’s and Tyndale’s books, fall into their false heresies, and held on in them through the delectation and vainglory that he took in the praise of that secret sect and scattered “congregation”... till finally, at his death, God of his goodness opened his eyes... and he looked upon himself, and considered that all those vain praisers, he must go from them by fire... and saw that if he died in those heresies he should never meet with them more but in the fire of hell, where he should never from them—then turned he to the true faith again, and exhorted them all unto the same.

2 *lo*: look // *may*: can // *constancy*: steadfastness / consistency 3 *true*: truthfully / correctly  
4, 10 *hearken*: listen 4 *never so*: no matter how 5 *showeth*: states 6 *elects*: i.e., elect  
6 *forthwith*: immediately 7 *resist*: i.e., put up any resistance / refuse to // *part*: contention  
8 *wotteth*: knows // *hold him*: stop and hold his ground / stay put 10 *not only*: i.e., it is true not only that  
10, 11 *rage*: heat of passion 10 *is past*: has passed // *also*: i.e., also that 11 *fall naught*: go bad  
12 *deadly*: mortal // *that . . . wax*: i.e., of these, many who later turn 13 *finally shall be*: will end up being  
13, 27 *good-faithful*: right-believing 14 *false shrews*: deceitful scoundrels // *false [heretics]*: deceitful /  
falsehood-spouting / damn 14–15 *fall . . . faith again*: fall back away . . . faith 15 *right lively*: very vigorously  
16 *again*: back // *deadly*: lethal 17 *sore nuzzled*: badly indoctrinated 18, 29 *false*: vile / damn  
18 *frowardness*: contrariness; perversity 19 *finally they die*: they end up dying 20, 24 *in*: i.e., in the case(s) of  
21 *even . . . latter end*: i.e., right . . . last moment 23 *the consent of*: i.e., their assenting to 25 *open*: public  
26 *fault*: guilt // *M.*: i.e., Master // *which*: who 28 *false delight*: deceptive allure 29 *delectation*: delight  
30 *of*: i.e., he was getting from // *secret*: hidden 32 *looked upon*: i.e., took a good look at  
32 *considered*: thought about the fact 33 *vain praisers*: givers of empty praise // *go*: depart  
34, 35 *should*: would 34 *more*: again 35 *never*: i.e., never depart 35–36 *to . . . again*: back to the true faith

And thus, good readers, ye see that of his order of election Tyndale hath in this chapter hitherto said nothing to purpose; and now shall ye see that as little he saith to purpose in this that after followeth...

### Tyndale

5 And though God's elect cannot so fall that they rise not again,  
because that the mercy of God ever waiteth upon them to deliver  
them from evil... as the care of a kind father waiteth upon his  
son, to warn him and to keep him from occasions, and to call  
10 him back again if he be gone too far—yet they forget themselves  
ofttimes, and sink down into trances, and fall asleep in lusts for  
a season. But as soon as they be awaked they repent and come  
again without resistance.

### More

Here maketh Tyndale as though he said a great thing. And  
15 when his words are well examined... he both meaneth very falsely and  
speaketh foolish-wilily. For where he saith that an elect cannot  
so fall but that he shall rise again, he meaneth that of necessity  
the elect *must* needs rise again, through the mercy of God that  
ever waiteth upon him; which is very false.

20 For albeit that of truth the elect *shall* arise again by means  
of God's grace and mercy—yet *might* he, if he would, lie still in  
sin when God's grace and mercy calleth upon him and  
biddeth him rise; as many reprobates do upon whom God's  
grace and mercy waiteth, and calleth as fast as he calleth upon his  
25 elects, and is as ready to help them up again as the others, if they  
would rise, and that the malice or sloth of their own wills  
letted them not to take hold of God's grace, and made them not lie  
still in sin like swine.

Now, that Tyndale thus meaneth appeareth plainly by the whole  
30 process of his work. Wherein as concerning salvation and damnation,  
he laboreth to make us ween that the will of man doth  
nothing willingly, but were utterly forced and inevitably necessitated  
by the eternal election of God unto glory and his eternal reprobation  
unto pain; which is as much as to say that the will of  
35 man is no will at all, any more than as he might say that the will  
of a tree were to grow and bring forth fruit and leaves, and that the

1 *of his order of election*: i.e., about how he thinks electedness works    2 *hitherto*: thus far  
2, 3 *to purpose*: (that is) on-target; that gets him anywhere    6 *because*: by reason of the fact  
8 *from occasions*: i.e., away from occasions of sin    10 *ofttimes*: oftentimes // *lusts*: pleasures / passions  
12 *again*: back    14 *a great thing*: i.e., something momentous / a spectacularly insightful thing  
20 *albeit* . . . *truth*: although it is true that    21 *might*: could // *would*: wanted to  
21, 27–28 *lie still*: continue to lie; go right on lying    24 *fast*: earnestly / persistently    26 *would*: chose to  
26 *that*: i.e., if // *sloth*: indolence    27 *letted them not to take*: didn't keep them from taking  
27 *made them not*: didn't make them    29 *appeareth plainly*: is made quite obvious  
30 *process*: line of argumentation / drift // *his work*: i.e., this book of his    31 *laboreth*: strives  
31 *ween*: think; believe    32 *willingly*: volitionally    32, 36 *were*: i.e., is  
32 *inevitably*: unavoidably; inexorably // *necessitated*: i.e., determined / impelled  
33 *by* . . . *and*: i.e., by either . . . or    35 *as he might*: i.e., like if someone were to





after both twain come and received, and gone away by  
sin again, call ordinarily upon them both of his like mercy  
still, as long as they live in this world here, and would if they  
would assent thereto themselves and obey, be as glad to find them  
5 again as ever he was to win them before—as the words of Holy

*Rv 3:20*

Writ be plain in the Apocalypse: “I  
stand at the door and knock.”

And if Tyndale will avoid this... he must then say that all the  
words of Holy Scripture by which God called upon the people to  
10 repentance be spoken only to the elects. And then must he tell  
every man how he may know himself for elect... lest he may  
ween that they pertain not to him. And then shall he by the same  
reason say that all the commandments be written unto the only  
elects too; and then the reprobates cannot be reprov'd for the not  
15 observing of them, if they were not written for them.

But surely, if Tyndale tell us that the mercy of God wait upon  
the only elects, and only calleth upon them... he telleth us a vain,  
foolish tale. And so he doth indeed; for so he meaneth indeed,  
against the plain Scripture and all the old interpreters of the  
20 same, and against all the old holy doctors of Christ's church,  
and against the Catholic faith of all Christian nations this fifteen  
hundred years from the time of our Savior himself and his blessed  
apostles even unto lousy Luther's days.

And yet, notwithstanding that he seemeth to assign the cause of  
25 the rising of his elects out of their sin to be by the mercy of  
God “always waiting” upon them—yet handleth he the matter so that  
a man may not well wit by these words of his whether he mean  
that when his elect is “sunk down into his trances,” and “fallen asleep  
in his lusts,” as he calleth it, “for a season”... whether he mean, I  
30 say, that mercy calleth upon him *in* his trance, and shaketh him out  
of his sleep, or else let him sleep still in his lusts, and the devil rock  
the cradle, till the babe awake by himself. And surely he rather  
seemeth to say that God not awaketh him out of his lust... but  
letteth him sleep in his lust until his lust have left him. As  
35 though God's calling of men from gluttony were not to put them in  
mind and call upon them busily, and inspire good thoughts of  
temperance, while they be at their meat... but let them then

1 *both twain come and received*: i.e., both elect and reprobate have come and been accepted

1–2 *gone . . . sin again*: gone back away by sin    3 *still*: continually    4–5 *find them again*: i.e., have them back

6 *Writ*: Scripture // *be plain*: i.e., clearly show // *Apocalypse*: Book of Revelation    8 *will*: wants to

8 *avoid*: refute    12 *ween*: think    13 *reason*: reasoning    13, 17 *the only*: only the    14 *reprov'd*: blamed

16 *surely*: assuredly; certainly    17 *a vain*: a meritless; an idle    19, 20 *old*: early / former / long-established

20 *holy doctors*: theologians    23 *even unto*: right up to // *lousy*: sorry / loathsome

24 *assign*: determine / claim    25 *by*: i.e., that of    26 *so*: in such a way    27 *may . . . wit*: cannot really tell

27 *by . . . whether he mean*: i.e., whether by . . . he means    29, 31, etc. *lust(s)*: pleasure(s) / passion(s)

29 *mean*: i.e., means    31 *let him sleep still*: i.e., lets him go on sleeping    34 *have*: has    35 *from*: away from

36 *busily*: assiduously / very actively    37 *meat*: dinner // *let*: i.e., to let

- alone, as in a trance and asleep, till they be so weary of eating that the grief and grinding in their bellies standing a-strut with stuffing, call them up and awake them. And that is a good easy way, too... for then be they the more easy to entreat to fast and  
 5 forbear... but not much longer than till they wax ahungered again. And as it fareth in the trances and sleeps that folk fall in by the belly—so fareth it likewise in the trances and sleeps that folk fall in by those parts that are beneath the belly. For when the rage is thereof (as Tyndale saith) overpassed, and that they have in their  
 10 trance and their sleep played out all their luskish lusts... then they awake. And then, as soon as they be awake... they “repent,” as Tyndale saith, and “come again” to chastity “without resistance.” But evermore I would that Tyndale should remember that all this tale which he telleth us here is for his purpose of elects a tale of  
 15 very little effect. For this tale of such sleeping and awaking of elects is nothing proper to the elects... but a thing common both to the elects and to the reprobates too. And these rages, and these trances, and these sleeps in sinful fleshly lusts, into which folk fall, and out of which they wake again and repent—the thing that  
 20 Tyndale telleth us here as a thing far set and sought, and searched out of the very bottom of his deep divinity—that same thing, in a manner, as for thus far forth, Doctor Ovid describeth us well and plainly in his pleasant poetry entitled “The Remedy of Love.” Where he declareth after Tyndale’s fashion, full clerkly, how some wanton  
 25 lovers, after their rages past and their lusts played out, lie then waking, and have meditations of amendment, and of leaving of their lecherous love, even lying by their lemans’ sides, and think they will come there no more, and would with good will that they had not come there then neither.
- 30 In this chapter which Tyndale entitleth “The Order of Election”—I look always that he should, as reason is, tell us those things that properly pertain unto the elects... and the things that, contrariwise, appertain properly to the reprobates; by which manner of handling of the matter, we might clearly perceive and understand what he  
 35 meaneth, and what order of God’s working, or of the working of man’s own will, he putteth in the course and progress of the one
- 1 *weary*: i.e., sick    2 *grief*: discomfort // *grinding*: digestive problems; upset  
 2 *standing a-strut*: protruding; sticking out    2–3 *with stuffing*: i.e., on account of being stuffed  
 5 *wax ahungered*: get hungry    6, 7 *fareth* (. . .) *in*: goes (. . .) with    6, 8 *fall in*: fall into  
 7, 8 *by*: by way of    8, 17, 25 *rage(s)*: fit(s) of passion    8–9 *is thereof*: i.e., thereof is  
 9 *overpassed*: over with    9, 11–12 *as Tyndale saith*: says Tyndale    10 *luskish*: lethargic  
 10, 25 *lusts*: passions / cravings    12 *again*: back    13 *that . . . remember*: i.e., have Tyndale bear in mind  
 13 *all this*: this whole    14 *tale*: speech // *telleth*: i.e., gives // *purpose of*: argument about  
 14, 16, etc. *elects*: (the) elect    15 *tale of*: i.e., thing he says about    16 *nothing*: in no way  
 16, 32, 33 *proper*(ly): distinctive(ly)    18 *lusts*: pleasures    20 *far set*: set off at a great distance  
 20 *sought*: gone in search of    21 *of the*: from the // *divinity*: theological insight  
 22 *describeth*: articulates for // *well and plainly*: quite clearly    23 *pleasant poetry*: delightful poem  
 23 *remedy of*: cure for    24 *declareth after*: explains in // *full clerkly*: very clerically  
 24 *wanton*: promiscuous    25 *past*: i.e., are over    26 *waking*: awake // *meditations*: thoughts  
 27 *lemans’*: paramours’    28 *would . . . that*: sincerely wish  
 30 *the order of election*: the modus operandi of election / the way electedness works  
 31 *I look always that he should*: i.e., I’m always expecting that he will // *as reason is*: i.e., as is only reasonable / as reason dictates that he should    35 *order*: mode of procedure    36 *putteth*: i.e., asserts there to be

sort and the other toward their final end, the one of everlasting life, the other of eternal damnation.

And always while I look for this... Tyndale, besides that his conclusions be false heresies in the end, telleth us nothing, almost,

- 5 by the way (except only, peradventure, the last repentance, before the death), but that they be common as well to the final reprobates as to the final elects; as this is also that in his chapter followeth, where he writeth in this wise...

### Tyndale

- 10 God now and then withdraweth his hand, and leaveth them unto their own strength, to make them feel that there is no power to do good but of God only... lest they should be proud of that which is none of theirs.

### More

- 15 Tyndale maketh these words for a ground of a great matter concerning the order of God used toward the elects. And upon this foundation he specially reareth his building of the “trances” and the “sleeps” and slidings of the elects into sins and errors... in which sins yet they sin not, and in which errors yet they  
20 err not, because of their “feeling faith.” From which though they fall yet they fall not, because they feel it still though they feel it not.

- But what is there, good reader, in these words of his that he speaketh of the elects, that is not verified both in the elects and in the reprobates too? Now, if he say that he speaketh here specially of the  
25 elects because at *some* time God withdraweth his hand from them, and that from reprobates he withdraweth his hand of help and grace *always*—if he say thus, he saith untrue. For doth not God, as he of his goodness calleth them, and at their coming receiveth them... so when they fall away by false faith, or faint heart, or  
30 fleshly delectation, call upon them again as he doth upon his elects, without acception of persons or partial favor, indifferently... till he, either (sometimes) for their immeasurable outrage or (commonly) for their final impenitence, finally rejecteth and refuseth them? Among which fatherly cure and care for them—*as well* as for  
35 his elects—before their final fall... he useth the same ways to win and save them that he useth to the other. Yea, and doth sometimes, peradventure, give *more* of his gracious aid and help in this world toward salvation in heaven unto some reprobate wretch that will

1 *sort*: group; set    3 *while*: when // *conclusions*: propositions    4 *false*: vile / damn // *telleth*: names  
5 *by*: along    5, 36 *peradventure*: perhaps    5 *before*: i.e., just before    6 *that they be*: i.e., things that are  
8 *in this wise*: thusly    10, 25 *withdraweth*: withdraws / withholds    11 *feel*: i.e., know by experience / realize  
13 *none of*: i.e., not at all    15 *maketh*: i.e., lays down // *for a ground of*: i.e., as a ground for // *great*: weighty  
15 *matter*: thesis; contention    16 *order . . . toward*: modus operandi used by God with    17 *specially*: in particular  
18 *slidings*: lapses    23 *verified*: i.e., provably true // *in*: i.e., of    24 *specially*: specifically  
26 *withdraweth*: withholds // *hand of help*: helping hand    27 *if . . . untrue*: i.e., if that's what he's saying, what he's saying is untrue    29 *faint heart*: cowardice    30 *delectation*: gratification    31 *acception of persons*: favoritism  
31 *partial favor*: i.e., partiality // *indifferently*: unbiasedly / equally    32, 33 *for*: because of  
32 *immeasurable*: boundless // *outrage*: presumption    33 *finally*: definitively; permanently  
33–34 *rejecteth and refuseth them*: i.e., rejects them and debars them from receiving his grace  
34 *among*: i.e., in the showing of // *cure and care*: care and concern  
34 *as well as*: i.e., in just as good a way, and to just as great an extent, as    36 *to*: i.e., to win and save

for all that be damned... than to some of his elects that will so  
work with his grace that he finally shall be saved. As I doubt not  
but some two souls have been saved, and now sit in heaven, with the  
one-half of the grace that Judas had, and cast off, and finally fell  
5 into hell.

And therefore this that Tyndale here telleth us of elects—that God  
sometimes withdraweth his hand and leaveth them to their own  
strength—he may as well tell us of the reprobates as of the elects.

Now, the cause *why* God withdraweth his hand and his help is  
10 not always the cause that Tyndale here allegeth—because he longeth  
always to make a glance against all the merit of man's free will...—

*Why God withdraweth* but to avoid the pride of the mind,  
*his help* and the far less boldness presuming  
upon the surety of high, holy living *or*

15 faith... which many men may fall in by taking themselves for God  
Almighty's minions, though they give all the thank to himself  
and ascribe nothing to their own strength at all, nor ween they  
have no free will at all, neither. For the proud Pharisee that

*Lk 18:9–14* despised the poor publican, though he  
20 were proud of his deeds, yet ascribed

them not unto himself, nor said not, "All this have I done, good Lord,  
of mine own strength," but he said, "I thank *thee* thereof, good Lord,  
that I am such... and that *thou* hast *made* me better, and *given* me  
the *grace* to live more holily, than this publican"... and said not, "I  
25 thank thereof myself." And therefore, as I say, God withdraweth his  
hand to show his elects and reprobates both, that they have  
rather cause to be meek and fear a fall than to be proud of their  
virtue, and make themselves sure of their standing, and think  
that they be so dear darlings to God, of whom all good cometh, that  
30 do themselves what they will, he will not let them fall. For *this*, I  
say, God doth it—and not, as Tyndale saith, only to show his  
only elects that they can do no good but only of him, lest they  
should be proud.

*2 Cor 12:7–10* Lo, Saint Paul, though God withdrew  
35 not his hand and help from him, had

yet such a plague of temptation put upon him that he waxed  
weary thereof, and very sore afraid. And wherefore was it laid in his

1 *for*: despite // *some*: i.e., some one 2 *finally shall be*: will end up being 3 *but*: that  
4 *had*: received // *cast off*: threw away // *and finally fell*: i.e., ending up falling 6 *this*: i.e., this thing  
6, 8 *of*: about 7, 9, etc. *withdraweth*: withdraws / withholds 8, 15 *may*: i.e., could 8 *well*: rightly  
9, 10 *cause*: reason 10 *allegeth*: i.e., claims it to be 10–11 *he longeth always*: he's always wanting  
11 *make a glance against*: make an indirect negation of / take a potshot at 12 *avoid the*: i.e., ward off  
13 *and . . . presuming*: i.e., and to have there be far less taking of presumptuous confidence 14 *surety*: guarantee  
15 *in*: into 16 *minions*: favorites; pets // *though*: even if // *thank*: credit // *himself*: him  
17 *ween*: believe 18 *no*: i.e., any 19 *despised*: looked down on 19, 24 *publican*: tax collector  
20 *were*: was 22, 25 *thereof*: i.e., for this 28 *make themselves sure*: assure themselves  
28 *standing*: i.e., remaining upright 30 *do . . . will*: no matter what they do / they doing whatever they want to  
31–32 *his only*: only his 36–37 *waxed weary*: got sick and tired 37 *sore afraid*: terribly afraid  
37 *wherefore*: for what reason 524/37—525/1 *laid in his neck*: i.e., laid on his shoulders; inflicted on him

neck? Lest he should have thought his virtue to come of himself?  
Nay, lest he might through the great *revelations* that he had had  
fall into pride and presumption.

And therefore this were not so very a likely manner: that God would,  
5 as Tyndale putteth, withdraw his hand from a good elect, and  
thereby send him into sin, lest he should ween that any virtue came  
of himself without God; for no good man can lightly fall into that  
thought; but, rather, lest (whereof he standeth in much more peril)  
he might hap to think himself overgreat in God's favor...  
10 and thereby fall into pride for lack of fear mingled with his hope.

Nor also, that good elect from whom God so should withdraw his  
hand, and suffer him to fall into sin, for the cause that Tyndale  
here allegeth—lest he should reckon his virtue to come of himself—  
were not likely after his repentance and rising again to take  
15 that kind of fruit thereof, since he were not likely to reckon that God  
withdrew his hand for that cause. For if he should so reckon, he  
were likely to reckon that he before that fall was so holy that God  
was afeard lest he would wax too proud thereof. But the better the  
man was before... the more is he after his repentance likely to fear  
20 that he was *naught* before, and worse after... and that his fall into that  
sin came unto him, not by the reason that God withdrew his  
hand from him for any fear of any such pride that was likely to rise  
of his virtue (whereof he will reckon that he never had such store  
to take occasion of any such pride thereof), but rather that God  
25 withdrew the hand of his grace and help from him at that  
time for some other, secret sin whereby he had before deserved  
that he so should do; and that the second sin was not only  
sin, but also pain for the first. (As “one sin deserveth the

*Rom 1:27* doing of another,” after the sentence of  
30 Saint Paul to the Romans that the  
old philosophers for their willful idolatry against God were given  
by God into the sin against the nature of man.) Or else that in the  
committing of the *same* sin, he withdrew himself from God's  
hand, by the default of his own froward will, before that God  
35 withdrew his hand from him. And thus were he likely to lay the  
default in his *will*, and not in the lack of his power... whereof he  
shall have no cause to doubt but God had always given him enough,

2 *nay, lest*: i.e., no, it was lest // *had had*: had received 4 *were . . . a*: i.e., is not such a very  
4 *manner*: mode of procedure / scenario 5 *putteth*: submits / asserts 6 *ween*: think  
7 *can lightly*: is likely to 8 *thought*: i.e., way of thinking // *peril*: danger 9 *hap*: happen  
9 *overgreat*: too greatly 11 *elect*: i.e., elect man 12 *suffer*: allow 14, 15, 17 *were (not)*: would (not) be  
18 *afeard . . . thereof*: afraid that he would become too proud of that 20 *naught*: bad  
22–23 *rise of*: be given rise by 23 *such store*: enough of a supply  
26 *for . . . whereby*: i.e., on account of some other sin, that he was not aware of, whereby 27 *he*: i.e., God  
27–28 *only sin*: i.e., only a sin 28 *pain*: i.e., a punishment // *first*: i.e., first one  
28–29 *deserveth the doing*: i.e., incurs as a penalty the committing  
29 *after the sentence*: in accord with the statement 31 *old*: ancient // *for*: on account of // *willful*: deliberate  
31–32 *given . . . into*: given over . . . to 32 *against . . . man*: i.e., of active homosexuality 34 *default*: fault  
34 *froward*: contrary; perverse // *before*: i.e., before it happened 35 *were he*: would he be  
35–36 *lay the default*: locate the culpability 36 *the lack*: i.e., a deficiency 37 *but*: i.e., that

and always would give enough, to work with his grace in the vineyard of virtue toward heaven, if himself did not first willingly forsake it and fall therefrom. And then putting the fault of his fall in the frowardness of his own will, and not in any lack of towardly  
 5 goodness and mercy at God's hand, and consequently not in lack of power, which can never lack till help of grace fail... and were but a false excuse of sin, since grace never faileth nor falleth from man till man first fail and fall from grace—he were, I say, likely not to take that kind of fruit by occasion of his fall which Tyndale  
 10 speaketh of. And then—if the man were not likely to take that kind of fruit thereof—it were not likely that God would do it for that cause... which cause the man would not after conceive in his mind and imagine that God did it therefor.

For surely, as touching the withdrawing of God's hand  
 15 (whereupon Tyndale here edifieth up his process following in this chapter), which his high goodness and unsearchable wisdom doth divers times for more causes than men have the wit to spy—yet doth he it never but man withdraweth first his will. For as God preventeth us in giving... so prevent we him in leaving. For since

20 *God withdraweth not his hand* God seeth that we can no good thing do  
*till man withdraw his will.* without his grace—he will not bid us  
 do a thing for the not doing whereof  
 he will punish us... and then without our fault withdraw his  
 grace without which he wotteth well we can no more do it than see  
 25 without light. Since it were hard to find a woman so unreasonable that would command her maid upon pain of beating go thread her needle, and then pull away the candle or put it out, and bid her upon her peril come off and thread it in the dark—let Tyndale say what he will, we withdraw before God withdraw. For as God  
 30 *Hos 13:9* saith in the Scripture, “Thy fall is of thyself”;  
 not of the withdrawing of his  
 hand, till we wax wanton or sow-drunk and will needs sink  
 down and fall.

But God sometimes seeth causes why he setteth to less strength of  
 35 his hand than else he would do. For if he would... he *could* set the hand of his grace so strongly that he which falleth should not;

2 *willingly*: by his will; of his own volition // *forsake*: reject 3 *fault of*: blame for // *in*: i.e. on  
 4 *frowardness*: contrariness; uncooperativeness // *not in*: i.e., not ascribing it to  
 4 *towardly*: timely / generously offered 5 *in*: i.e., to a 6 *lack*: be lacking // *help*: i.e., the help  
 6, 7, 8 *fail(eth)*: i.e., becomes wanting 6, 8 *were*: would be 7 *false*: bogus // *of*: for  
 10 *were not*: would not be 11 *were*: i.e., is 11, 12, 17 *cause(s)*: reason(s) 13 *imagine*: i.e., guess  
 13 *therefor*: i.e., for 14 *surely*: assuredly // *as touching*: as regards 15 *edifieth*: builds  
 15 *process*: argument 16 *unsearchable*: unplumbable 17 *divers*: i.e., at various // *wit*: mental acumen  
 17 *spy*: discern 19 *prevent(eth)*: precede(s) 21 *bid us*: command us to 22 *a thing*: something  
 23 *our fault*: i.e., its being our fault; our having done anything wrong 24 *wotteth*: knows  
 25 *since it were*: seeing that it would be // *so unreasonable*: i.e., who is so irrational  
 26 *would*: i.e., she would // *beating*: i.e., a beating to 27 *then*: i.e., would then // *bid*: order  
 28 *upon her peril come off*: i.e., upon threat of punishment to go ahead 29 *God withdraw*: i.e., God does  
 30 “*Thy fall is of thyself*”: “*Perditio tua*” (Vulgate); i.e., “Your fall is of your own doing.”  
 31 *of the*: i.e., that of the 32 *wax wanton or sow-drunk*: i.e., get bratty or filthy-drunk  
 32 *will needs*: i.e., become bound and determined to 34 *causes . . . to*: i.e., good reasons for him to apply  
 35 *if he would*: if he wanted to // *set*: i.e., give 36 *which*: who // *should*: would

and so *would* do, saving that his wise goodness well seeth wherefore it

Rv 3:15

were not best. For, as himself saith in

the Apocalypse, some man is neither hot

nor cold, but, as it were, lukewarm... weening, therefore, since he

5 findeth himself out of the cold of great, notable crimes, that he

standeth therefore in state good enough, though he be not very

fervent and hot in virtue. But God, as he there saith, seeth that it

were better for him for a while that he were once frozen for cold,

for then should he feel the fault... and from the very cold better wax

10 very hot than from the lukewarm. And therefore saith the

Spirit of God there unto him, "I had liefer thou were cold, that

thou mightest be made hot"... as though he would say farther,

"than so to stand, liking thyself well enough in a lukewarm,

without growing into greater heat."

15 And therefore, as I was about to say, in such a person as God

feebleth him faint and little well willing to go forward... so God

againward useth himself toward him, in holding him the

more slackly; and then the other waxeth thereby the more faint,

and God followeth him and doth as he doth, and holdeth him yet

20 somewhat less, till with less on the one side and less on the other,

the man falleth into the mire of sin altogether. And all this

doth God for the best, using our evil to goodness as we use his

goodness to evil. For when a wanton child feebleth once a fall, and

hath allto rayed his gay coat and broken both his shins... then

25 will he find his own fault and look better to his feet, and hold

faster after on the man's hand that led him.

And such *slack* holding on God's part is the thing, of likelihood,

that is called the "withdrawing" of God's hand from good

men, concerning falling into sin. For else, till *they* begin to

30 withdraw and draw back, or else drag and stick still, or go not

so gladly forward—albeit that he give not unto them so strong

a hand of his grace as, if he did, that sloth of theirs should be

mastered, and they borne up thereby, in manner, maugre their teeth,

which is not his ordinary course to do—yet till themselves either by

35 sinful will or slothful mind in some wise do deserve it... he never

leaveth good man without so much help of his grace as were

1 *saving that . . . well*: were it not for the fact that in . . . he well 1–2 *wherefore . . . not*: i.e., why that would not be

2 *himself*: he himself 3 *Apocalypse*: Book of Revelation // *some man is*: i.e., someone can be

4 *weening*: i.e., and thinking 5 *out of*: i.e., not in // *great*: major // *crimes*: transgressions

6 *standeth . . . enough*: is therefore in a good enough state 8 *were better*: would be better

8 *frozen for cold*: freezing cold / numbed by coldness 9 *fault*: lack // *better*: be more able to

9, 18 *wax(eth)*: become(s) 11 *liefer*: rather 13 *stand*: remain

13 *liking thyself well enough*: being well enough pleased with yourself // *lukewarm*: i.e., lukewarm state

14 *growing*: coming / advancing 15 *in*: with respect to 16, 18 *faint*: tepid; halfhearted 16 *well*: really

17 *againward*: in return // *useth*: comports 19 *followeth him*: follows his lead

21 *mire*: i.e., filthy slime 22 *using/use*: making/make use of 22, 23 *evil*: badness // *to*: i.e., for

23 *wanton*: bratty // *feebleth*: experiences 24 *allto rayed*: completely besmirched // *gay*: handsome / nice

24 *broken*: skinned; bruised 25 *find his own fault*: perceive his own culpability

25–26 *hold . . . that*: hold on tighter thereafter to the hand of the man who 27 *of*: i.e., in all

30 *drag and stick still*: hang back and continually balk 31 *so gladly*: with such alacrity 33 *in manner*: as it were

33 *maugre their teeth*: in spite of themselves; despite their trying their hardest not to be 34 *do*: i.e., take

35 *wise*: way // *do*: i.e., do make themselves 36 *good*: i.e., any good // *were*: would be

- God never leaveth good man* sufficient for him both to stand and  
*without his sufficient grace.* walk with if himself would; nor never  
 doth, as I suppose, by the withdrawing of  
 his hand from any elect or reprobate either, in the time in which they  
 5 be good, suffer them, without their own fault first begun, to  
 fall into such “horrible deeds” for any good that should after come  
 thereof. For—since that without his helping hand they can none other  
*but* fall—to withdraw his hand without their fault were, in manner,  
 not to *suffer* them sin, but even to *send* them in thereto. And the  
 10 good nature of God neither will nor can do any manner evil to  
     *Rom 3:8; 6:1* bring any good to pass, since he by the  
     Scripture crieth out upon all those that  
 would use that condition, and saith, “Woe to them that say, ‘Let us do  
 evil that good may come thereof.’”  
 15 Thus much have I thought it good to declare you upon Tyndale’s  
 tale of the “withdrawing of God’s hand” sometimes from his elects,  
 properly preached here to little purpose, since it serveth as well  
 reprobates as elects... and neither the cause very well assigned nor  
 the sentence very well expressed. And, finally, put for two false intents:  
 20 one, to glance at man’s free will... as though because all the good  
 that man doth cometh of God, of whose goodness cometh man’s  
 creation and all, and therefore no good can do but by him and with  
 him... therefore man had himself, and his own will, nothing  
 ado in his own good deeds, but that it were a perilous presumption  
 25 *Acts 10:1, 31* to call any man’s good work in any  
     wise his own; whereas the angel of  
 God said unto Centurio, “*Thy* prayer and alms are come up in  
 remembrance before God.”  
     *Mk 14:3–9* And our Savior himself calleth the  
 30 breaking of the glass, and bestowing of  
 the ointment upon his holy head, the *deed* of Saint Mary Magdalene—  
 though she could not, of truth, have done it without himself,  
 and that all the deed, allthing reckoned, from the first to  
 the last, came only of God himself. And Saint Paul saith, “What  
 35 *1 Cor 4:7* hast thou that thou hast not received? And  
     then what gloriest thou, as though thou  
 hadst not received it?” He saith not, “. . . as though it were thine

1 *good*: i.e., any good    2 *his sufficient grace*: the grace that is sufficient for him // *himself would*: he wanted to  
 4 *the*: i.e., a    5 *suffer*: allow // *fault . . . begun*: guiltiness having first begun / responsibility for this coming first  
 6 *for*: for the sake of    7 *since that*: seeing that    7–8 *can . . . but*: cannot do otherwise than; cannot help but  
 8 *their fault*: i.e., its being their fault; their having done anything wrong    8, 24 *were*: would be    8 *manner*: effect  
 9 *suffer*: let // *even*: directly // *in thereto*: i.e., into sin    9–10 *the . . . neither*: i.e., we know that God,  
 who by his very nature is all good, neither    10 *manner*: kind of    12 *crieth out upon*: denounces  
 13 *use that condition*: adopt that mentality; take that tack    15 *declare you upon*: explain to you about  
 16 *tale of*: discourse on    17 *properly*: really    17–18 *serveth . . . as*: holds as good for reprobates as for  
 18 *the cause*: i.e., is God’s reason for doing this // *assigned*: identified    19 *sentence*: meaning/significance (of this  
 “withdrawing”)    19 *put*: put in // *false*: dissembled; craftily disguised    20 *glance at*: make an oblique attack on  
 22 *can*: i.e., can man    23 *and*: i.e., as regards    23–24 *nothing ado in*: nothing to do with; no involvement in  
 26 *wise*: way    27 *Centurio*: [Latin for] the Centurion [Cornelius] // *alms*: i.e., almsgiving  
 30 *glass*: i.e., glass jar    32 *she could not, of truth, have*: i.e., it is true that she could not have // *himself*: him  
 33 *all the*: the entire // *allthing*: everything // *reckoned*: taken into the account    36 *what*: why



own.” For when I have received it, it is then mine, and so may I call it.

Another false intent wherefore Tyndale telleth us this tale of withdrawing of God’s hand sometimes from his elects is because  
 5 he would have it stand with his heresy that he goeth so fast about—that is to wit, that the elects do not sin deadly in their deadly sins, because they do it not willingly, but of infirmity, for lack of power. In pursuing of which purpose he would make it seem that God withdraweth his hand from them without their fault, and then  
 10 leaveth them no power to resist, and so no blame in them nor no sin... though he be content to *call* it sin, after that manner that the *motion toward sin* which remaineth of original sin is called sin. This is Tyndale’s intent in this matter by which he excuseth the sin of the elects by the “withdrawing of God’s hand from  
 15 them”... not for any default of their own, or any sin that they  
     *Mt 10:33*                      have done, but to keep them only from the sin that they would else do at another time. And whereas God doth for this point both for elects and reprobates all after one—that is to wit, never withdraweth his grace  
 20 from the one nor from the other till they begin themselves to  
     *Note*                         withdraw their will from him—he dissembleth that point, and goeth forth in his matter that he buildeth upon that foundation, and saith...

### Tyndale

25 God laid so sore a weight of persecution upon David’s back that passed his strength to bear. So that he crieth oft out in his psalms, saying that he had lived well, and followed the right way of God, in vain. For the more he kept himself from sin, the worse it went with him, as he thought; and the better with his  
 30 enemy *Saul*, the worse *he* was. Yet God left him not there, but comforted him and showed him things which before he wist not of—how that the saints must be patient and abide God’s harvest, until the wickedness of ungodly sinners be full ripe, that God may reap it in due season. God also suffered occasions stronger than  
 35 David to fall upon him, and to carry him clean out of the way. Was he not ready for a churlish answer to have slain Nabal, and

3 *another*: the other // *false*: dissembled; craftily disguised // *tale of*: story of the      5 *stand*: make common cause  
 5 *goeth so fast about*: i.e., so assiduously tries to inculcate      6 *deadly*: mortal(ly)      7 *willingly*: volitionally  
 7 *but of*: but out of      8 *purpose*: aim      9 *their fault*: i.e., its being their fault; their having done anything wrong  
 10 *no blame*: i.e., there’s no blameworthiness      11 *be content*: is willing // *after*: in accord with  
 11 *manner that*: i.e., manner of speaking by which      12 *motion*: inclination  
 12 *of*: i.e., after Baptism as a residual effect of      13 *matter*: contention  
 13–14 *excuseth . . . by*: i.e., whitewashes . . . via; declares the elect not guilty of sin by reason of  
 15 *default*: failing      16, 17 *do(ne)*: commit(ted)      16–17 *keep . . . the*: only to keep them from committing a  
 18 *both for*: i.e., with both      19 *all after one*: the exact same thing      22 *point*: i.e., fact; truth  
 22 *goeth forth in*: proceeds with      23 *matter*: case      25 *sore*: terribly heavy  
 26 *passed . . . bear*: it surpassed his weight-bearing strength / he was not strong enough to be able to bear it  
 26 *crieth oft out*: often cries out      27 *well*: uprightly      31 *showed*: pointed out to  
 31–32 *wist not of*: i.e., had not been aware of      32 *abide*: wait for      33 *full*: fully      34 *suffered*: allowed  
 34 *occasions*: inducements / provocations      35 *fall upon*: assail // *clean*: completely  
 35 *out of the way*: away / off of the right path      36 *for*: on account of // *churlish*: rude / surly  
 529/36—530/3: See 1 Samuel 25:2–39.

all the males of his house, so much as the child in the cradle?  
 Howbeit, God withheld him and kept him back from that  
 evil, through the wisdom of Abigail. How long slumbered he—  
 or rather, how hard in sleep was he—in the adultery of Bathsheba, and  
 5 in the murder of her husband, Uriah! But at both times, as soon  
 as he was rebuked and his fault told him—he repented immediately,  
 and turned again meekly. Now, in all that long time from  
 the adultery of Bathsheba until the prophet Nathan rebuked him,  
 he had not lost his faith, nor yet his love unto the laws of God, no  
 10 more than a man loseth his wits when he is asleep. He had forgotten  
 himself, only... and had not maliciously cast off the yoke of  
 God's commandments from off his neck. There is no man so  
 good but that there cometh a time upon him when he feeleth in  
 himself no more faith or love unto God than a sick man, oftentimes,  
 15 feeleth the taste of his meat which he eateth.

### More

Lo, good readers, here ye see that by Tyndale's doctrine, David did  
 no deadly sin—but was ever out of fault and not blameworthy—  
 neither by impatience (drawing near to despair) in persecution  
 20 nor by the purpose of much manslaughter at an angry word, nor by  
 adultery conceived at the sight of another man's wife, nor by the  
 traitorous destruction of his friendly servant in recompense of  
 troth and amends of his misdeed. All this was no deadly sin in  
 him, because he was an elect!

But yet is Tyndale ashamed to confess and say boldly that to be  
 elect is enough, and that he may do what he list and sin at his  
 pleasure, and that God will give him leave to do it, and cause him to be  
 repentant when he hath done it, and forgive him forthwith when  
 he repenteth, and so forth, *totiens quotiens a poena et culpa*, so that he  
 30 believe it well and surely trust thereto, lest for faint hope, and fear,  
 he fall the less to sin. This tale is Tyndale, I say, somewhat  
 ashamed to tell us even well and plainly forth; and therefore he  
 deviseth another way, and would make us believe that they be so  
 preserved by the faith that they do never any deadly sin, but  
 35 their deeds be such as men may well see that they be not to be  
 blamed for them—be they never so beastly, but very babyish and  
 venial... and such as God can do no less, of very right and reason,

1 *so much as*: including even    2 *howbeit*: however // *withheld*: restrained  
 4 *hard in sleep*: fast asleep; fixedly asleep    4, 8 *the adultery of*: i.e. his defiling by adultery  
 5 *the murder*: i.e., his murdering    6 *his fault told him*: told what he had done wrong / told what he was guilty of  
 7 *again*: back (onto the right path)    9 *yet*: even    9, 14 *unto*: i.e., for    10 *wits*: mental faculties  
 11 *cast*: thrown    14 *ofttimes*: oftentimes    15 *feeleth*: experiences // *meat*: food    17 *lo*: behold  
 17 *doctrine*: teaching    17–18 *did no*: i.e., never committed a    18, 23, 34 *deadly*: mortal    18 *ever*: always  
 18 *out of fault*: not at fault / free of guilt    19 *drawing near*: coming close    20 *purpose of*: resolving on  
 22 *friendly*: well-disposed    23 *troth*: (Uriah's) loyalty // *amends of his*: i.e., rectification of his own  
 23 *in*: i.e., for    25, 32 *ashamed to*: indisposed, by fear of embarrassment, to    25 *confess*: profess  
 26 *he may . . . list*: i.e., an elect person may do whatever he wants to    26–27 *at his pleasure*: as he pleases  
 28 *forthwith*: immediately  
 29 *totiens . . . culpa*: i.e., however often, and in whatever way, he incurs punishment and guilt // *so*: provided  
 30 *surely*: undoubtingly // *thereto*: i.e., in it, as well // *faint*: halfhearted / inadequate  
 31 *fall the less to sin*: do the less sinning / go in the less for sinning // *tale*: i.e., thing  
 32 *tell . . . forth*: i.e., just tell us straight-out    33–34 *so preserved*: so protected / given such immunity  
 34 *do never*: never commit    35 *may*: can    36 *never so*: no matter how // *but*: only / they're just

than remit and forgive; and that for three great causes here specified by Tyndale.

5 First, for they never sin but upon great occasions far above their strength. Secondly, for after their “horrible deeds” done, they repent upon rebuking, without resistance. And thirdly (which most is of all), all the while that they be in doing, the poor babes wot ne’er what they do, but be all the while asleep, as he putteth here his example by David. And therefore let us consider David’s deeds with Tyndale’s words, and examine in them these three godly reasons.

1 Sm 25:2–42

10 First he saith that David’s sins arose upon great occasions above David’s strength... which great occasions God suffered to fall upon him and carry him away. For when he would have slain Nabal and all his sons even to the child in the cradle, he fell not into that mind without great occasion, ye wot well. For the rude fellow had, as Tyndale well rehearseth, given him a churlish answer! And what man were there so unreasonable that would not think that a king or a great man had cause enough to kill twenty peasants and villeins

2 Sm 11:1–27

20 for a churlish answer of one of them? Now, when he fell to adultery and thereby to manslaughter—had he not a great occasion to it and importable to bear? For he saw the woman as he looked out at his window! And therefore, whosoever have once the sight of a woman is excusable if he take her when he can catch her... and no man greatly to blame but either a blind man or he that taketh one in the dark whom he never saw in the light.

25 But we must here yet remember, lest we mistake Tyndale, that these great and strong occasions were not so very great and strong of themselves... but they were, as Tyndale saith, “stronger than David,” and able to carry “him” away. Which he saith to show us that they were of that strength in comparison of the *person*; not so much by the force and strength of their own nature as by the lightness, frailty, and feebleness of David—as a small burden is a great weight upon a child, and able to bear him down... and a little wind able enough to blow away a feather.

Then would ye ween that he *accuseth* David and the elects,

1, 34 *great*: big 1 *causes*: reasons 3, 4 *for*: because 3, 12, 13, 16, 22, 29 *great*: powerful  
 3, 12, etc. *occasion(s)*: inducement(s); provocation(s) 3–4 *above their strength*: i.e., stronger than they are  
 4 *their . . . done*: i.e., doing their “horrible deeds” 5 *rebuking*: i.e., being rebuked; being called out for them  
 5 *without*: i.e., without putting up any 6 *most is*: i.e., is the biggest reason  
 6 *doing*: i.e., the doing of these “horrible deeds” 7 *wot . . . do*: have no idea what they’re doing  
 7–8 *putteth here his example by*: gives by way of example 9 *with*: together with // *in*: with regard to  
 10 *reasons*: arguments 12 *arose upon*: were given rise by; sprang from  
 12–13 *above David’s strength*: i.e., that were stronger than David 13 *suffered*: allowed // *fall upon*: assail  
 14 *would have slain*: i.e., was bent on killing 15 *even to*: including even // *mind*: intention 16 *wot*: know  
 17 *rehearseth*: i.e., relates it 17, 20 *churlish*: rude / surly  
 18 *were . . . not*: i.e., is there who is so unreasonable as not to 19 *a*: i.e., any // *villeins*: serfs  
 20 *for*: because of // *of one*: from one 21 *to*: into 22 *manslaughter*: i.e., the committing of indirect murder  
 22 *importable*: unendurable 23 *at*: of 24 *have once the*: once catches 25 *catch*: get  
 28 *mistake Tyndale*: take Tyndale wrongly 30 *as Tyndale saith*: says Tyndale 31 *show*: indicate to  
 32 *of the*: to the 33 *lightness*: lightweightness // *frailty*: susceptibility (to temptation)  
 35 *bear him down*: push him down to the ground 37 *ween*: think; suppose // *accuseth*: is finding fault with

because they be so light and so frail to fall upon such occasions  
as be strong to them by reason of their own feebleness. Nay forsooth!

For here ye must remember that to provide them their

*excuse* in this point was the cause for which, as I told you before,

- 5 he laid for a foundation... that God at such times first withdraweth  
his hand of his help, and then must they *needs* be weak, feeble, and  
frail. And so their fall cometh of the occasions... and the occasions  
be mighty to them, by reason of their feebleness. And their  
10 feebleness cometh of the withdrawing of God's hand. And he  
withdraweth it without any desert and default of them; only to  
keep them from the sin of taking their good works for their  
own. And so is there, in all the progress of their deed, no deadly  
sin in themselves... since the occasions that bring them to it be,  
without their own fault, stronger than they... and by reason of their  
15 faultless feebleness, carry them clean away.

And this is, as ye see, the first goodly cause for which Tyndale  
will make us ween that the abominable deeds of elects be no  
deadly sins: because of the great occasions. Against which, if  
the matter were worth the argument, we would press upon him  
20 sore with the sins of the reprobates... and bear him in hand that  
some of them have as great occasions of their sins, sometimes, as  
is a churlish answer to the king of a man... or the sight of a naked  
woman out at a window, for adultery. And we would then ask him  
such questions further, either of holding of God's hand over  
25 them or withdrawing his hand of help from them, with other  
diverse dependents thereupon, which every learned man may  
soon find out himself, and almost unlearned too. Which when  
Tyndale should answer to... he should soon make every wise man  
see that in this chapter of the order of their election, he hath  
30 elected and chosen a very foolish order.

But forasmuch as the folly thereof is open and plain of itself...  
we shall let the further dispicions of this point pass, as against

*1 Cor 10:13*

which Saint Paul plainly speaketh, and  
saith unto us, "God is faithful, which

- 35 suffereth you not to be tempted above that that ye may bear, but  
maketh with the temptation a way out also, that ye may well

1 *light*: lightweight    1, 7 *frail*: susceptible (to temptation)    1 *to*: i.e., as to  
1, 7, etc. *occasions*: inducements / provocations    2, 8 *to*: in relation to    2 *nay forsooth*: no indeed  
4 *point*: i.e., matter    4, 16 *cause*: reason    6, 25 *hand of (his) help*: i.e., helping hand    6 *needs*: necessarily  
10 *any . . . them*: i.e., their having done anything to deserve this, or being at all at fault    12 *all the*: the whole  
12 *progress*: progression; course    12, 18 *deadly*: mortal    13 *in themselves*: i.e., committed by them subjectively  
14 *without their own fault*: through no fault of their own    15 *faultless*: inculpable    16 *goodly*: big / excellent  
17 *will make us ween*: will have us believe    18, 21 *great*: powerful    20 *sore*: hard; strongly  
20 *bear . . . hand*: assert to him    21 *of their*: to their    22 *churlish*: rude / surly // *of a man*: i.e., from some man  
22 *sight*: i.e., seeing    23 *at*: i.e., of    24 *either . . . God's*: i.e., about God's either keeping his  
26 *dependents thereupon*: consequential, corollary questions    26, 35, 36 *may*: can    27 *soon*: easily  
27 *find out*: figure out // *almost*: indeed; for that matter    28 *answer*: i.e., give answer  
28 *every wise man*: anyone with any sense    29 *of the*: on the    29, 30 *order*: modus operandi  
31 *folly*: foolishness; ridiculousness // *open and plain*: clear and obvious  
32 *let . . . pass*: i.e., omit further discussion of this thesis // *as*: i.e., its being something  
33–34 *and saith*: i.e., saying    34 *which*: who    35 *suffereth you not*: does not allow you // *above*: beyond  
35 *that that*: that which; what    36 *maketh with*: i.e., provides you conjointly with allowing

wield it.” By which words this point of occasions above our power is clean carried away... and it is clearly determined that God suffereth no such temptation to come unto us but such as we may, both reprobates and elects, be able to withstand if we will,

5 *Man with the grace of God may* through the assistance of God’s gracious  
*withstand all temptation.* hand... which he never withdraweth  
 but in the fault of our own will, and  
 never denieth to put it forth unto us if we call therefor and will take  
 hold upon it. And therefore since, as I say, the reproof of this first  
 10 point is plain... I will now pass it over and see what substance  
 is in the second.

The second thing is that as soon as they be rebuked and their faults told them, they repent immediately and turn again meekly. For this he said two or three times in two or three chapters...  
 15 and now he confirmeth it with his example of David, which did so, as he saith, “at both times.”

But yet is this but barely laid forth for the order of the elects. For of truth, thus do some reprobates, too, among repent, not only when they be rebuked, but also before, too... and be forgiven at their  
 20 repentance and penance as well as be the elects, as long as they do so repent, till they be damned because they die at last impenitent.

And also, this is not proved to be always true: that every elect repenteth at the first rebuke, and meekly returneth without resistance, though David so did twice. There is, I trust, many a man  
 25 in heaven that was rebuked thrice of some one fault, and defended it full stiffly before he repented, and yet amended after full well. And for example we need no further than the blessed apostles... and

*Jn 20:24–29* specially Saint Thomas of India, which  
 30 left not his diffidence and distrust neither at the first speaking nor the second, nor till he put his finger in God Almighty’s side. But Tyndale excuseth all that by being “amazed”—as he doth all the elects’ “horrible deeds” by being in “trances” and “sleeps,” as he doth David here. For that is the  
 35 third point and the most special excuse of all elects from all deadly sin: in that they be asleep all the while they do it. For thus saith he of David, as ye have heard...

How long slumbered he—or rather, how hard in sleep was he—in the adultery of Bathsheba, and in the murder of her husband, Uriah!

1 *wield*: manage; deal with    1, 10 *point*: thesis    1 *occasions*: inducements / provocations // *above*: beyond  
 2 *power*: i.e., power to resist // *clean carried away*: completely disposed of    3 *suffereth*: allows    3, 5 *may*: can  
 4 *will*: want to / will to    7 *in*: by    8 *denieth*: refuses // *call therefor*: ask (him) for it    9 *upon*: of  
 9 *reproof*: disproof    10 *plain*: clear to see // *pass it over*: pass over that / leave it alone    11 *is*: i.e., there is  
 12 *thing*: i.e., claim    12–13 *their faults told them*: i.e., told what things they are guilty of    13 *again*: back  
 15, 29 *which*: who    16 *as he saith*: says he    17 *barely* . . . *elects*: i.e., poorly put forward as a distinctive way  
 the elect behave    18 *of truth*: in point of fact // *thus*: so // *among*: at times    21 *die at last*: end up dying  
 26 *of*: for // *fault*: wrongdoing    27 *full stiffly*: quite tenaciously / very obstinately    28 *no*: i.e., look no  
 29, 35 *special*(ly): (in) particular    29 *of India*: Saint Thomas is traditionally believed to have evangelized India.  
 30 *left not his diffidence*: did not let go of his skepticism    31 *speaking*: i.e., time he was rebuked for this skepticism  
 32 *by*: i.e., as a    33 *amazed*: stupefied // *by being*: i.e., as an acting while being    35 *excuse of*: defense for  
 35 *from all*: i.e., against every accusation of    36 *deadly*: mortal // *in that*: i.e., that // *do*: i.e., are committing  
 38 *hard in sleep*: fast asleep    38–39 *the adultery*: i.e., his defiling by adultery    39 *the murder*: i.e., his murdering

## More

David was here in a very long slumber and a very deep dead sleep indeed, if he did all those devilish deeds in his sleep! Tyndale of likelihood lay near him and heard him all the while snore and  
 5 rout. And if he so say that he did... then is his tale as fully proved as is any part of all his heresies. And except he say it of his own certain knowledge, he shall else never make me believe that David did spy her, and sent for her, and talk with her, and get her with child, and sent for her husband, and devise the murder, and write  
 10 the letter, and sent the man to his death, and all these deeds in diverse days... and all this while still asleep.

But Tyndale will have him asleep needs, for the defense of his own foolish heresy whereby he teacheth us that the elect is by faith born of God, and therefore doth never sin willingly, nor consent to  
 15 sin, nor cast off the yoke of the law, nor the love to the law of God. And therefore he saith...

## Tyndale

Now, in all that long time from the adultery of Bathsheba until the prophet Nathan rebuked him, he had not lost his faith nor his love  
 20 unto the laws of God, no more than a man loseth his wits while he is asleep.

## More

Lo, because he was all this while asleep... therefore in all this while he lost neither faith nor love to the Law, no more than a man  
 25 loseth his wits when he is asleep. Is not here a wise tale, trow ye? Except that Tyndale had either lost his wits or else were himself asleep while he wrote this... he could never for shame tell us this tale. What calleth he losing of faith or love? Nothing but such departing thereof as he never cometh to it again? If that be  
 30 so... then Tyndale setteth our Savior Christ to school, and teacheth him to speak. For *he* saith, in the Gospel, that a man *lost* one of his  
     *Lk 15:1-10*                      hundred sheep, and left the remnant  
    and sought the *lost* sheep, and found it.  
 And that the woman had *lost* her money, though by ransacking up  
 35 her house and seeking, she found it at last again. Now, Tyndale is not so mad, I suppose, as to say that if a man let fall his ring

3-4 *of likelihood*: apparently    5 *rout*: snort // *tail*: account / assertion    6 *except*: unless  
 7-11: See 2 Samuel 11:2-25.    8 *spy*: catch sight of    8, 9 *sent for her (husband)*: have her (husband) sent for  
 9 *devise*: plot    10 *sent the man*: i.e., have the man sent // *all these deeds*: i.e., do all these things  
 10 *in diverse*: on different    11 *still*: uninterruptedly    12 *needs*: i.e., because he has to  
 14 *willingly*: volitionally    15 *the love to*: i.e., his love for    18 *the adultery*: i.e., his defiling by adultery  
 20, 24 *(un)to*: i.e., for    20, 25, 26 *wits*: mental faculties    23 *lo*: see  
 25 *wise tale*: sensible statement / brilliant assertion // *trow ye*: i.e., don't you think    26 *except*: i.e., were it not  
 27 *while*: when // *for shame*: be so shameless as to / be free enough of fear of embarrassment to    28 *tail*: story  
 29 *thereof*: therefrom // *he*: i.e., the person // *to it again*: back to it  
 30 *setteth our Savior Christ to school*: i.e., attempts to school Christ our Savior / presumes to correct Christ our Savior  
 30-31 *teacheth him to*: i.e., teach him how to    32 *remnant*: rest    34 *up*: i.e., thoroughly  
 36 *let fall*: i.e., accidentally dropped

in the main sea, though he find it *five weeks* after, in a fish's maw—that therefore he never lost it because he findeth it again. The common people say among that “nothing can be found till it be lost”—saving that of a thief they say in sport, “He can find a thing ere it be lost”; and so they praise him in his cunning, that he can do such a mastery as no true man can.

Now, if a thing may be lost indeed for a season, though it be after found again... how proveth Tyndale here that David, in all this long while between the first sight of Bathsheba and the rebuke of Nathan, never lost neither faith nor love?

He proveth it us in this wise by example: A man that lieth asleep loseth not his wits... and therefore, in like wise, David, lying in lechery, lost neither faith to God nor love to his law. Is not this well likened? Yes, by my sheath!... less like than Paul's steeple to a dagger sheath, till he prove us thoroughly that David was that while in a very sleep indeed!

For God hath naturally provided sleep for man's rest from labor, and for his refreshing again *to* labor. And the withdrawing of the use of our wits is there not forbidden by God's ordinance, except we sleep when we should not. And so is neither adultery nor such manner of manslaughter... but be things of God forbidden and of their nature abominable. And in the sleep, also, there is only a suspending of the use of the wits, and no contrary, willful doing *against* the wit... as there was a willful working of David *against* the faithful love of God's law, in his “horrible deeds.”

For as for his faith, as far forth as concerneth only the nature of *faith*—that is to wit, of belief—I will well agree with Tyndale that he lost *it* not in all the while. And in Tyndale's “faith” for one point—in that he juggleth faith into *hope*—I will agree also that David had all that while enough thereof still, and peradventure a little too much, too. But surely as for the lively faith that worketh, as Saint Paul saith, by love—that kind of faith *had* he lost for that while in which he willingly wrought evil... except Tyndale say that all his lechery and his manslaughter too was wrought by love, because all that ever he did was done for the love that he bore to Bathsheba. And if Tyndale

1 *in*: i.e., into // *main sea*: ocean // *though . . . it*: even if he finds it // *maw*: gullet 3 *among*: now and then  
 4 *saving that of*: except that about // *sport*: jest 5 *ere*: before // *so*: thus // *in*: with regard to  
 5 *cunning*: self-serving cleverness 6 *do*: accomplish // *mastery*: feat // *true*: honorable / morally upright  
 7 *may*: can // *season*: time; while 9 *the first*: i.e., that first 10 *of*: i.e., from 11 *us*: i.e., to us  
 11 *in this wise by example*: i.e., by example, thusly 12, 19, 23 *wits*: mental faculties  
 12 *in like wise*: likewise; by the same token 13 *to God*: i.e., in God // *love to*: i.e., love for  
 14 *Paul's steeple*: The steeple of (Old) St. Paul's Cathedral, which had on it a weathercock.  
 15 *was that*: i.e., was for all that 16 *in a very sleep indeed*: i.e., actually in a literal sleep  
 17 *naturally*: on the natural level; in the realm of nature 18 *to*: for 19 *of the*: from the  
 20, 35 *except*: unless 21 *manslaughter*: indirect murder // *be things of*: i.e., these are things by  
 23 *contrary*: antagonistic 24 *willful*: volitional; deliberate // *wit*: intellect // *working*: acting  
 28 *to wit*: i.e., to say 29 *in Tyndale's . . . point*: i.e., with regard to one feature of Tyndale's definition of faith  
 30 *juggleth*: prestidigitates / equivocates 31 *peradventure*: perhaps 32 *surely*: assuredly; certainly  
 32 *lively*: living; operative 35 *willingly*: volitionally 36 *manslaughter*: committing of indirect murder

tell me so—then driveth he me to the hard wall. For then can I go no farther in that point, but as far as concerneth his “faith” I must needs give it over.

Howbeit, yet as touching his love unto the law of God... very  
 5 fain would I hear how Tyndale can defend it that he lost not that love in no point of all that long while in which he willingly wrought against it, first his foul adultery, and after, mischievous manslaughter too. “This shall I” (saith Tyndale) “defend you well enough. For ye touched yourself right now the very point at  
 10 which I would myself have you... when ye said that in the natural sleep the wit is only suspended, and the will therewith in like wise, so that a man doth not wittingly nor willingly any contrary act against the wit, as ye said that David did in his deeds. But now say I that David did none of these things wittingly nor willingly,  
 15 but upon those occasions his wits were ravished away... and both his wit *and* his will suspended as it is in the natural sleep, so that he had forgotten himself, and for the while neither had wit nor will. For if his wit had shown him his fault... his will must needs have followed. But his wit was all that while, though  
 20 not lost, yet carried away clean with the rage of the lust. And when the wit is away, the will is gone therewith. For it can nothing do but as the wit sheweth it, as I have said before. And then was the wit asleep and the will followed the fumes that fell into the fantasy, and so no consenting to sin... but as the man was in  
 25 manner all asleep, so were all his deeds in manner but a dream.”

Here is Tyndale’s proof, picked out unto the best that I can perceive of his words. But, now, this reason of his neither defendeth David against the loss of love, and yet utterly loseth him, by Tyndale’s doctrine, the most especial faith. For Tyndale, as ye shall hereafter  
 30 read, calleth the faith of the elects a *feeling* faith. Now, if David were in a sleep all that while, and had thereby forgotten his faith and himself too... then though his faith had all the while the life, yet at the least it lost for the while the feeling. For so doth the man, ye wot well, in the sleep.

35 But let this pass this once, as for this time... and see how he proveth that David was fallen to such a dead sleep that he had in all that while neither wit nor will... and therefore consented not

1 *so*: that // *the hard wall*: an impregnable impasse    2 *his*: i.e., David’s    3 *give it over*: concede it  
 4 *howbeit*: however // *as touching*: i.e., as for // *unto*: i.e., for    4–5 *very* . . . *I*: I would very much like to  
 5 *it*: i.e., that assertion    6 *point*: respect // *of*: i.e., in    6, 12, 14 *willingly*: volitionally  
 7 *wrought*: carried out // *mischievous*: criminal    8 *manslaughter*: indirect homicide  
 9 *ye* . . . *now*: i.e., you yourself hit upon just now    11, 13, etc. *wit*: intellect    11 *wise*: manner  
 12 *so that*: i.e., with the result that; and so    12, 14 *wittingly*: consciously    12 *contrary*: antagonistic / untoward  
 15 *occasions*: inducements / provocations // *wits*: mental faculties // *ravished*: forcibly swept  
 18 *his fault*: i.e., where he was going wrong    20 *clean*: completely // *with*: i.e., by  
 20 *rage of the lust*: heat of passion    22 *as* . . . *showeth it*: i.e., what . . . tells it to    23 *fumes*: noxious drifts  
 23 *fell*: i.e., came    24 *fantasy*: imagination    24–25, 25 *in manner*: in effect  
 26–27 *picked* . . . *words*: i.e., extracted and put together from his words so as to convey the best meaning I can see them as possibly having    27 *reason*: argument  
 27–28 *neither* . . . *yet*: i.e., not only does not defend David against the claim that he lost the virtue of charity, but also  
 31 *were*: was    32 *though*: even if    33 *life*: i.e., life it had before    34 *wot*: know    36 *to*: into



unto sin against the law of God. Proof layeth he none in this world, but only *saith* it was so. Now might he lie, by possibility, though his tale were likely. But yet am I content if his tale be likely—let him be believed. But, now, if his tale be very far unlikely,  
 5 reason were he brought one witness with him at the least.

Now, then, when David first began to spy her, let that be chance, and occasion of one rising in his sleep... but when he liked her and longed for her, and stood still and looked on her, and kindled his heat himself, and set himself sore afire—was he all  
 10 that while asleep? When he thought he would have her, when he sent his messenger for her, when he stood and talked with her, when he broke the matter to her, when he won her assent to the sin, when he fulfilled his foul fleshly lust, when he sent for her husband to color and cloak their offense, when he compassed  
 15 and contrived to keep her for himself and kill her good husband his own faithful servant, when he devised and wrote the traitorous deadly letter, and delivered that innocent man his own death in his hand, to deliver over to him that should set him where he should be slain—did David in all this while, among all  
 20 these evil thoughts, all these ungracious words, all these abominable deeds, never fall from the love of the law of God... but was all this while asleep, and never consented to sin, nor did none of all these things willingly? “No,” saith Tyndale. I say no more but it is likely *yes*. And therefore let Tyndale tell us whereby he proveth the contrary. “I prove it,” saith he, “by that that he was an elected  
 25 person that finally should be saved... and therefore, because of that feeling faith with which he was born of God, he could not consent unto sin.” Very well. Then if a reprobate had done the like upon the like occasion or greater... he had sinned deadly, for lack of “feeling faith,” only because he was not elected. And if he repented  
 30 alike upon less occasion, yet he should not be forgiven, for lack of the “feeling faith” which was never given him, but ever kept from him, only because he was not elected.

If I ask Tyndale here how he knoweth, or why he believeth, that  
 35 David was elected to salvation... what will he answer? He will not say, I am sure, because “the church” so teacheth him, lest I should ask him again which church. For then were he forced to grant

1 *layeth*: presents    2 *might he lie*: he could be lying // *by possibility*: i.e., this would be possible  
 3 *though*: even if    3, 4 *his tale*: i.e., what he is saying // *(un)likely*: (im)plausible    4 *far*: i.e., highly  
 5 *were he brought*: i.e., would dictate that he bring    6 *spy*: lay eyes on    8 *liked*: took delight in  
 8 *longed for*: i.e., intensely wanted // *stood still and looked on*: i.e., kept standing there looking at  
 9 *kindled his heat*: stoked his passion // *sore*: extremely    10 *thought*: decided  
 12 *broke the matter*: broached the subject    13 *fulfilled* . . . *lust*: i.e., acted on . . . lust / fulfilled . . . desire  
 14 *color*: camouflage // *cloak*: cover up // *compassed*: plotted    15 *contrived*: schemed  
 16 *traitorous*: back-stabbing    17 *deadly*: death-causing; fatal    18 *set*: position    19 *among*: in the midst of  
 20 *ungracious*: ungodly; wicked    21 *fall*: fall away    23 *willingly*: volitionally  
 23–24 *but it is likely*: i.e., than that probably the truth is *yes*    25 *that that*: the fact that // *elected*: i.e., elect  
 26 *that finally should*: who in the end would    29, 31 *occasion*: inducement    29 *had*: would have  
 29 *deadly*: mortally    30 *only because*: i.e., due only to the fact that  
 30, 33 *elected*: i.e., chosen to be one of the elect    31 *should*: would    37 *again*: in response  
 37 *were he*: he would be

that he believeth the teaching of this common-known Catholic church of ours, since that his own unknown church can teach him nothing to be the better believed upon the credence of that church, not being known for *the* church. Now shall he not  
 5 find, as far as I remember, any plain, evident *scripture* proving his final salvation. Then if Tyndale answer that he findeth in Scripture of his faith and his repentances, and nothing of his final damnation, and therefore he believeth of these likelihoods that he was elect to the final salvation, and shall come to heaven  
 10 at the Day of Doom (for Tyndale's sect believeth not that he shall come thither before), I will not here press upon him with the examples of such as he hath seen here live well, and believe well, after his own opinion, both while he believed well himself and since he believed wrong, of whose salvation yet he maketh not himself  
 15 so sure as of the salvation of David; but holding myself for this time satisfied that he believe it so well upon good *likelihoods*, that he should not believe a man that would without good *proof* tell him the contrary... I shall no more but pray him to be so reasonable and so indifferent again toward us, as to give us leave in like wise  
 20 to believe upon good likelihoods that David consented to sin, and not to believe him that without good proof would with his bare word make us ween the contrary, and boldly bear us in hand that while he wrought so much wickedness he was all the while asleep.

In which point, as I have before proved in another chapter by  
 25 like matter, if he were so asleep, his very first falling into such a sleep was his own willful negligence... while he, beginning to be moved unto lewdness at the first sight of Bathsheba, stood still and fed his devilish delight in beholding her, and thereby willingly suffered the death of sin to enter into his heart by the glass windows  
 30 of his eyes. Whereupon all that ever he did after, pursuing thereupon, all had he been in such rage that he neither wist what he did nor where he were, should have been imputed unto him... as he that sinfully drinketh himself drunk deadly sinneth, and shall die also, if he kill a man in that drunkenness.

35 Nor it excuseth not David nor no man else, that Tyndale saith, "There is no man so good but that there cometh a time upon him in which

1 *common-known*: common-knowledge    2 *since that*: since; given that  
 3 *credence*: credibility; trustworthiness    4 *not being*: i.e., its not being    5 *plain, evident*: clear, conclusive  
 6 *his final salvation*: i.e., that David ended up saved    7 *of his faith*: i.e., evidence of his faith  
 7–8 *nothing of his final damnation*: i.e., none that he ended up damned    8 *of*: on the basis of  
 8, 16, 20 *likelihoods*: indications    9 *come*: i.e., go    10 *at the Day of Doom*: on Judgment Day  
 11 *come thither*: get there    12, 13 *well*: rightly    12 *after*: according to    14 *believed*: i.e., started believing  
 14–15 *maketh . . . so*: does not feel as    17 *should*: would    18 *no more but pray*: i.e., do no more than just ask  
 19 *indifferent*: fair // *again*: in turn // *in like wise*: likewise    21 *him*: i.e., anyone  
 21 *with his bare*: i.e., on the basis of his mere    22 *make us ween*: i.e., have us think // *bear us in hand*: aver to us  
 22, 26 *while*: when    23 *wrought so much*: i.e., perpetrated all that    24 *point*: instance; case  
 24–25 *by like matter*: i.e., on a similar subject. (See 531/21—533/9.)    27 *stood still*: i.e., kept standing there  
 28 *willingly*: volitionally    29 *suffered*: allowed // *glass*: glazed    30 *all*: everything  
 30 *pursuing*: ensuing    31 *all*: i.e., even // *rage*: a fit of madness // *neither wist*: i.e., knew neither  
 31 *did*: i.e., was doing    32 *were*: i.e., was // *as he that*: just as he who    33 *deadly sinneth*: sins mortally  
 34 *in*: i.e., while in    35 *that*: i.e., that thing that

he feeleth in himself no more faith or love unto God than a sick man, oftentimes,  
 feeleth the taste of his meat.” Whether this happeneth unto the best men  
 or not, God wot I cannot tell; I wot not what affections they feel...  
 for I am none of them; nor, I fear me, Tyndale neither, as wise and  
 5 expert as he maketh himself of their feeling. Would God we were  
 both of the best, so the best were never the worse, nor waxen as  
 evil as we, and we made their matches in that manner wise. But  
 this dare I surely say: that whensoever the best *is* in such case... it  
 excuseth not David from deadly sin. For then is the best very  
 10 naught.

And finally, for conclusion of David’s deeds, whereas Tyndale  
 saith he could not sin deadly because he was an elect... for  
 which cause God kept him, through the “feeling faith,” from  
 consenting to the “service” of sin, and from the “malicious casting  
 15 off of the yoke of God’s commandments from his neck”—it  
 appeareth very well that off his neck *was* it once, whether himself  
 cast it off or Bathsheba took it off because he should not come yoked  
 to bed. For well we wot it held him not within the hedge of  
 God’s commandments but that he thrust his head through and  
 20 broke a couple of them, and ran unyoked a good while. And it  
 will, I ween, well appear also that he cast off the yoke himself; and  
 then will all the doubt stand upon this only word “maliciously.”  
 Which word how Tyndale taketh, that can I not tell... but except  
 he take it for no malice because it was all for love. Else, if he agree  
 25 that the contempt and despising of God’s law may be called  
 malice, and a malicious casting off of the yoke of God’s law  
 both from love and dread, as I ween it is expounded in God Almighty’s  
 vocabulary: then dread I nothing but that it will well appear...  
 against Tyndale, all the whole matter... both that David agreed and  
 30 consented to sin and willfully cast off God’s yoke, and maliciously,  
 too. This will well appear, I say, by plain and evident Scripture.

For after those horrible *sins* so committed by David, his *deadly*  
 2 Sm 12:1–12 deeds so displeased God (as it is written in  
 the twelfth chapter of the Second Book of  
 35 Kings) that he sent Nathan the prophet unto him, which by the  
 commandment of God, after that he had put unto him the parable

1–2 *ofttimes* . . . *meat*: See notes for 530/14–15. 3, 18 *wot*: know(s) 3 *tell*: i.e., tell you; say  
 3 *affections*: sentiments / sensations 4 *none*: not one // *I fear me*: I’m afraid // *Tyndale*: i.e., is Tyndale  
 4 *wise*: well-informed 5 *of*: i.e., out to be about // *their feeling*: how they feel / what they experience  
 5 *would God*: I wish to God 6 *of*: i.e., among // *so*: provided that // *worse*: less good (than they now are)  
 6 *waxen*: become 7 *evil*: bad // *matches*: equals // *manner wise*: kind of way  
 8 *surely*: assuredly / with certainty 8, 9 *best*: i.e., best man 8 *case*: a condition; a state 9 *excuseth*: exculpates  
 9 *from*: i.e., of 9, 12 *deadly*: mortal(ly) 10 *naught*: wicked 11 *for . . . of*: i.e., to finish our discussion of  
 14 *service*: serving 14, 26 *casting*: throwing 16 *appeareth very well*: is very clear to see; is very obvious  
 16 *once*: for a time // *himself*: he himself 17, 21, 30 *cast*: threw 17 *off* . . . *should*: i.e., off him so that he would  
 18 *not*: i.e., not so well 21 *ween*: think 21, 28 *well appear*: be clearly seen 22 *doubt*: uncertainty  
 22 *stand upon*: be about // *this only*: just this one 23 *but except*: except only if 24 *agree*: grant  
 25 *contempt*: ignoring as of no account; brushing aside // *despising*: disregarding / flouting 27, 28 *dread*: fear  
 27 *ween*: believe 28 *vocabulary*: dictionary // *nothing*: not at all 29 *against*: contra  
 29 *all the whole matter*: i.e., that whole entire thing he says 30 *willfully*: volitionally  
 31 *well appear*: be made quite evident // *plain and evident*: clear and conclusive  
 32 *deadly*: death-dealing / spiritually lethal 35 *Kings*: i.e., Samuel // *which*: who 36 *commandment*: command  
 539/36—540/2 *that he had put unto . . . made*: i.e., putting to . . . having

of the rich man that took away the poor man's sheep, and thereby made him give sentence, unawares, against himself... he said further unto David, as in the person of Almighty God, in this manner wise as followeth...

- 5       “Why hast thou, then, set my word at naught, and done evil in my sight? Thou hast killed with sword Uriah the Hittite, and his wife hast thou taken to thy wife, and him hast thou slain with the sword of the sons of Ammon. And therefore the sword shall never be taken away from thy house, because thou hast despised me, and  
10       taken to thy wife the wife of Uriah the Hittite. And therefore thus saith our Lord: Behold, I shall raise up evil against thee, even out of thine own house... and I shall take away from thee thy wives before thy face, and give them unto one that is nighest unto thee, and he shall lie with them in the sight of this sun. For thou hast committed this  
15       deed privily... but I will accomplish this my word in the sight of all Israel and this sun.”

- Lo, good readers, here see ye very clearly that whereas Tyndale saith that David in all those horrible deeds did yet no deadly sin, because, he saith, he consented not to sin, nor did none of these  
20       deeds willingly, nor cast not off the yoke of love toward the law of God... *God* here saith that David did in those horrible deeds *despise* both his law and himself too. And how did he then keep still his *love* to the law of God, in the while in which he *despised* both the law of God and God himself also? Or how saith Tyndale that  
25       David consented not to the sin, when God himself, that best knew his thought, laid his sins so sore to his charge that he appointed an endless plague for the punishment thereof?—till by his repentance and his humble confession, God, as he forgave the deadliness of the sin, and translated it from mortal into venial, so  
30       changed the punishment from endless into ending.

- For—whereas the prophet had before his repentance and confession said unto him by the bidding of God, “The plague shall abide in thy house forever, world without end”—forthwith after his repentance and his confession made, he said unto him, “Our  
35       Lord hath translated thy *sin* that was, from deadly to venial”; that is to wit, the punishment from eternal to temporal. And

2 *sentence*: judgment   2–3 *said further unto*: went on to speak to

3–4 *in this . . . followeth*: i.e., words to the following effect   5 *set . . . naught*: treated my word as of no account

5–6 *evil in my sight*: i.e., what in my eyes is evil   7, 10 *to*: i.e., as   9 *despised*: shown contempt for

9–10 *and taken*: i.e., by taking   11 *evil*: misfortune // *even*: right   13 *thy face*: i.e., your very eyes

13 *one that is nighest unto*: someone most close to. (This someone is Absalom; see 2 Samuel 16:20–22.)

14, 16 (*in the sight of*) *this sun*: i.e., in broad daylight   15 *privily*: in secret // *accomplish*: fulfill

15 *this my word*: this word of mine   18 *did*: committed   18, 35 *deadly*: mortal   20 *willingly*: volitionally

20 *cast*: threw // *toward*: for   21, 23 *despise(d)*: show(ed) contempt for   22 *himself*: him

22 *still*: uninterruptedly   23 *to*: for   24 *how saith Tyndale*: i.e., how can Tyndale say   25 *that*: who

26 *laid . . . charge*: held him to such serious account for his sins   27 *appointed*: decreed // *by*: i.e., on account of

28 *forgave*: remitted // *deadliness*: mortalness   29, 35 *translated*: transmuted   31 *the prophet*: i.e., Nathan

33 *forthwith*: immediately   34 *repentance*: i.e., repenting // *confession made*: i.e., making of his confession

35 *thy sin that was*: i.e., the *sin* that what you did was   36 *to wit*: i.e., to say // *temporal*: temporary

therefore the prophet said that yet the child that he begot  
upon her in that adultery should die, as it did after indeed. And  
yet was not David out of hope with other penance (which he  
had liefer sustain) to purge and redeem that punishment too... and  
5 therefore fasted and prayed to save the child, until the time that  
it was dead indeed.

And thus, good Christian readers, ye may clearly see that all Tyndale's  
proper process of King David concerning the order of his  
election—that he was thereby preserved forever from all deadly  
10 sin—is clearly come to naught... and all his words reproved by  
the very plain words of Scripture. And yet by the same Scripture,  
for advantage, is there another of Tyndale's heresies destroyed... by  
which he teacheth that after repentance, all is forthwith forgiven  
unto the elect—both sin and pain and all—so far forth that  
15 for the sin past, the party shall never after be punished nor  
suffer any pain, neither in this world, purgatory, nor anywhere  
else. The plain reproof whereof appeareth evidently—the deadly  
sin translated, and the temporal punishment reserved—by this  
open place of Scripture. By which is reproved Tyndale's other heresy  
20 that we now go about... in which he teacheth us that David did  
none of his horrible deeds willingly, nor consented to sin, nor  
maliciously cast off the yoke of love toward the law of God, and  
therefore sinned not deadly. Wherein, as ye see, against Tyndale  
telling us this... very God himself telleth us the contrary... and that  
25 David sinned so deadly that he sinfully despised both God's  
law and God himself therewith.

And now that Tyndale hath of King David told us his wise  
process of not sinning, such as ye see it proved... he proceedeth  
forth from David, and telleth us as wise a tale of Christ's blessed  
30 apostles. Of whom thus he saith...

#### Tyndale

And in like manner the apostles of Christ at his Passion were  
astonied and amazed... and in such a storm of temptations, for the  
sudden change from so great glory into so vile and shameful death,  
35 that they had forgotten all the miracles and all the words which he  
had told them before—how that he should be betrayed, and delivered

1–2 *begot upon her*: impregnated her with    2 *should*: would    3 *out*: devoid // *other*: i.e., some other  
4 *had liefer*: would rather // *purge and redeem*: i.e., expunge by ransoming it away the debt of  
6 *dead indeed*: More wrote this as “dede in dede.”    7 *may*: can // *all Tyndale's*: Tyndale's whole  
8 *proper process of*: impressive discourse on / distinctive take on  
8–9 *order of his election*: i.e., way his electedness worked    9 *preserved . . . from*: kept out . . . of  
9, 23, 25 *deadly*: mortal(ly)    10, 11 *words*: assertions    10, 19 *reproved*: disproved    11 *yet*: also  
12 *for advantage*: as a bonus    14 *pain*: i.e., penalty / the debt of punishment    17 *reproof*: disproof  
17 *evidently*: manifestly / conclusively // *deadly*: i.e., mortalness of the    18 *translated*: transmuted  
18 *the*: i.e., the debt of the // *reserved*: not canceled; kept in effect // *by*: i.e., in    19 *open*: crystal-clear  
19 *place*: text; passage    20 *we now go about*: we are now dealing with    21 *willingly*: volitionally  
22 *cast*: threw // *toward*: for    24 *very God himself*: God his very own self / the actual God himself  
25 *despised*: disregarded / showed contempt for    27, 29 *wise*: brilliant    28 *process of*: story about  
33 *astonied*: stunned; benumbed with astonishment // *amazed*: thrown into confusion / stupefied  
33 *for*: on account of    34 *change*: reversal // *vile*: ignominious    35 *words*: i.e., things  
36 *that he should*: i.e., he was going to be // *delivered*: handed over

on the same manner unto death. Moreover, they never understood that saying of his death, because their hearts were always heavy and overladen with earthly thoughts. For though they saw him raise up others... yet who should raise *him* up when *he* were dead, they could not comprehend. Read what thou, reader, canst... and thou shalt find no temptation like unto that from the creation of the world, or so great as it by the hundredth part. So that the wonderful sudden change, and the terrible sight of his Passion, and of his most cruel and most vile death, and the loss of whom they so greatly loved that their hearts would fain have died with him, and the fear of their own death, and the impossibility that a man should rise again of his own power... so occupied their minds, and so astonished them and amazed them, that they could receive no comfort, either of the Scripture or of the miracles which they had seen Christ do, nor of the monitions and warning wherewith he had warned them before, neither of the women that brought them tidings that he was risen. The sword of temptations, with fear, sorrow, mourning, and weeping, had so deeply pierced their hearts, and the cruel sight had so encumbered their minds... that they could not believe until Christ himself came, death put off and overcome. Yea, and when they first saw him, they were astonished for wondering and joy together, that thoughts arose in their hearts—"Alas! Is this he, or doth some spirit mock us?" He was fain to let them feel him, and to eat with them, to strengthen their faiths.

#### More

Here have ye heard, good, devout Christian people, a piece of Tyndale's devout, godly collation in which the man is not so far fallen into devotion but he is much further fallen from his wit... whereby he neither perceiveth the point that he should prove and, over that, seeth not that his sermon saith more against his matter than we that impugn his purpose!

For his purpose is to prove us that none elect can at any time sin deadly. And now forgetteth he that point, and telleth us that the apostles never lost their faith. Which if it were granted him—yet won he not his purpose. For they might keep still the faith in their heart, and yet sin deadly by the denying thereof with

*Rom 10:10*

their mouth. For as holy Saint Paul saith,  
"In heart believe we for our *justification*...

1 *on the same manner*: i.e., in that same way    2 *saying of*: i.e., thing he said about  
2–3 *overladen with*: too weighed down by    4 *were*: i.e., was    5 *comprehend*: i.e., imagine  
6–7 *so . . . part*: i.e., even one percent as great as it    7 *wonderful*: shocking    8 *change*: reversal  
9 *vile*: ignominious // *whom*: i.e., him whom  
10 *their hearts would fain*: i.e., their hearts like to / in their hearts they would gladly    12 *astonied*: benumbed  
13 *amazed*: bewildered / stupefied // *receive no comfort*: take no comfort / receive no strengthening (of their faith)  
13, 14, 16 *of*: from    15 *monitions*: advisories // *warning*: advance notification // *warned*: alerted / instructed  
16 *neither*: nor // *tidings*: word / the news    19 *encumbered*: weighed down / overwhelmed  
20 *put*: i.e., shaken    21 *astonied*: mentally paralyzed / petrified // *for*: on account of  
21 *wondering*: surprise / shock    22 *that thoughts*: i.e., such that anxieties // *alas*: yikes  
23 *doth . . . mock*: i.e., is some spirit trying to deceive // *was fain to*: was constrained to; had to  
26 *piece*: part; section    27 *devout*: pious // *collation*: homily    28 *devotion*: piety // *but*: i.e., but that  
28 *from his wit*: out of his mind    29–30 *and . . . not*: i.e., nor, moreover, sees    30 *matter*: case  
31, 32 *purpose*: aim (in making it)    32 *us*: i.e., to us // *none elect*: no elect person    33, 36 *deadly*: mortally  
35 *won he not his purpose*: i.e., would his aim not be achieved // *might*: could // *still*: uninterruptedly

and with the mouth we confess it for our *salvation*.” Showing, by those words, that neither are we righteous by saying with our mouth that we do believe, but if we believe in our heart, nor shall be saved by the belief of our heart but if no fear can let us to confess

5 it with our mouth. Whereto consent the words of our Savior

*Mt 10:33*

himself, where he saith, “Whoso deny me before men, I shall deny him too

before my Father which is in heaven.” And thus, for the first point, Tyndale in his holy sermon is so deep in devotion that he forgetteth whereabout he goeth.

10 Now, for the second point, whereas *I* said no more but that they lost the *sufficient* faith—that is to say, the *life* of their faith—he goeth about, as I told you, to prove us that the apostles (such as were elect) never lost their faith at *all*, nor at any time fell therefrom.

15 And this point handleth he so properly that ever he *telleth* us that they lost it *not*, and ever he *proveth* us that they *lost* it. And by the selfsame words by which he saith that they keep it always, still—by the selfsame, I say, always, still, he proveth that they kept it not still in deed, but were very far fallen therefrom.

20 For first, read me all those words of his again... and as gaily as they be couched, with “astonied” and “amazed,” and “stormy” temptations, “terrible” sights, with their hearts “pierced,” and their minds “encumbered,” with “sight” of his death and “fear” of their own, that ere they could believe his resurrection, he was “fain” to eat and drink with them and to “let them feel him”... is not all this tale excuses of their faith *fallen* from them, and no proof of the keeping? What was that in them but the *lack* and *loss* of the faith, that Tyndale telleth us—that they thought it *impossible* that he should rise again, because they thought he could never “of his own power”... and could not think or devise who should raise him else?

30 Now, where he saith that all this happed them through temptation—that will we well agree. But yet is that no more to say but like as David did adultery through temptation, and killed his good friend through temptation... and as Eve ate the forbidden fruit through temptation, and Adam ate it also through temptation... and Judas betrayed Christ also through temptation—so the apostles fell from their faith, and lost it, and all through

2 *by*: i.e., by reason of our      3, 4 *but if*: unless      3 *shall*: i.e., shall we

4 *let us to confess*: keep us from confessing      5 *whereto consent*: wherewith are in accord

6 *whoso*: whoever      6, 7 *deny*: disown(s)      8 *which*: who      9 *devotion*: piety

10 *whereabout he goeth*: what he’s trying to do / what his aim is      13 *goeth about*: attempts

13, 16 *us*: i.e., to us      14, 37 *fell*: i.e., fell away      15 *properly*: well; competently

18, 19 *still*: constantly      19 *in deed*: in reality // *fallen*: i.e., fallen away

20 *me*: i.e., for me // *words*: assertions // *gaily*: showily

21 *astonied*: stunned; benumbed with astonishment // *amazed*: thrown into confusion / stupefied

23 *encumbered*: weighed down / overwhelmed // *his*: i.e., Jesus’s // *ere*: before

24 *believe*: believe in // *fain*: constrained      25 *all this tale*: this whole speech // *of*: for

26 *faith fallen*: i.e., faith’s having fallen away      28, 30 *should*: would      29 *never*: i.e., never do so

30 *devise*: imagine      31 *happed*: happened to // *agree*: grant

33 *but like as*: than that just as // *did*: committed

temptation. Let Tyndale excuse every sin that cometh of temptation... and whose sin shall he leave unexcused, except peradventure the devil's?

5 But the sin of men standeth in this: that they break the commandment of God in that they do not, as he biddeth them, strive and *resist* the temptation. Which till they cease to do, if they trust in God and call help of his grace... there can no temptation be so great that it can overcome them; as witnesseth our Lord by the  
10 *1 Cor 10:13* mouth of Saint Paul—"God is faithful, which suffereth you not to be tempted above that ye may bear... but giveth with the temptation a way out, that ye may well wield it."

But let Tyndale say for excuse of their sin what him list... which though the occasions and circumstances may diminish or  
15 aggrieve, and so may theirs be *less* grievous than the sins of some others... and the sin of some one of themselves also less than another of his own fellows—yet shall Tyndale never make it good but that when he saith they "could not believe"... if he say true, the lack of their belief *was a grievous sin*.

20 For whereas Tyndale would seem to say well for the apostles in that he saith they would "fain have died with" our Savior, saving for "the fear of their own death": Christ had before forbidden them  
*Lk 12:4-5* such fear of temporal death upon the pain of eternal death, when he said unto  
25 them, "Fear ye not them that kill the body... which, when they have killed the body, have nothing that they can do more. But I shall show you whom you shall fear. Fear you him which, when he hath killed the body, hath the power to cast the soul into the fire of hell." And in another place he told them according  
30 *Lk 17:33* to the same, "Whoso will save his soul in this world, shall lose it; and whoso shall lose his soul in this world, keepeth it still for the everlasting life." And finally—to show them that all these words most properly pertained to the putting away of that fear of death  
35 by which folk for fear of death would forbear and refuse to die for him and his faith—he said the words which I before remembered:

1 *cometh of*: i.e., comes about via    3 *peradventure*: perhaps    4 *standeth*: inheres  
5 *biddeth them*: enjoins them to // *strive*: do battle    7 *call*: i.e., invoke the    8 *great*: powerful; strong  
10, 25, 27 *which*: who    10 *suffereth you not*: does not allow you    11 *above that*: beyond what  
11 *may*: can // *giveth with*: i.e., provides you conjointly with allowing    12 *wield*: deal with  
13 *what him list*: what he pleases; whatever he wants to    14 *which*: i.e., which sin  
14 *occasions*: i.e., inducements to it / provocations to it    15 *aggrieve*: aggravate; make worse  
16 *others*: i.e., other people // *than*: i.e., than that of    17 *fellows*: i.e., confreres; fellow apostles  
17 *make it good but*: succeed in proving it otherwise than    18 *he say*: i.e., what he says is    20 *say*: speak  
21 *fain*: gladly // *saving*: were it not    27 *show*: tell    29–30 *according to*: in accord with  
30, 31 *whoso*: whoever    30 *will*: seeks to // *save*: i.e., keep    32 *lose*: i.e., lose the dwelling of  
32 *it*: i.e., his soul    33 *show*: make it known to    34 *properly*: literally / particularly  
34 *pertained to*: had to do with / were aimed at // *putting away*: getting rid    35 *by*: on account of  
36 *remembered*: called to mind



Mt 10:33

“Whoso deny me before men, I shall deny  
him also before my Father which is in

heaven.”

5 And therefore Tyndale in vain goeth about to excuse the sin of  
Christ’s apostles which *they* rather will have known, and the great  
mercy of God therewith... and therefore they write it themselves, and the  
rebukes therewith that our Savior gave them therefor... to the end  
that we should both beware of falling in the like and yet, if it in  
10 our own default misfortune us to fall, not despair therefore, but  
repent and arise with God’s help, as they did... and then shall he  
forgive us as he forgave them. And this would rather Christ’s  
blessed apostles—that Tyndale should tell us truth—than under pretext  
of their excuse teach us false heresies... and make us ween that upon  
15 *temptation* to forsake our Savior for fear of temporal death... were  
no deadly sin. Whereof our Savior himself, as ye see, teacheth us  
plain the contrary... and will not admit for us, I fear me, the  
excuse of Tyndale for the apostles, if we come and say, “By my faith,  
good Lord, I was afeard and so forgot all that ever thou taughtest me.”

20 Howbeit, that they *sin* not in losing of their faith, I let no  
man to believe Tyndale, whensoever he prove himself more  
credible than Christ. But here ye see that as I told you—that they  
*lost* their faith in deed—Tyndale *proveth* us, after his manner, in  
his before-rehearsed words wherein he *saith* nay.

25 And yet is the man of so good remembrance, and so good heed  
taketh whereabout he goeth, that forthwith, in his next words  
after, he saith very plainly, more and more, that they could not  
believe the Resurrection... and excuseth them thus: that for all that,  
they hated him not in their heart. Lo, thus he saith...

Tyndale

30 Howbeit, there was none of them that was fallen in his heart from  
Christ.

More

35 Who can more plainly say that they *were* fallen from the *faith*,  
and lacked the *belief*, than Tyndale saith here? For though he  
saith that none of them was in his heart fallen from Christ... yet he

1 *whoso*: whoever // *deny*: disown(s)    2 *which*: who    4 *goeth about*: attempts  
5 *rather will have known*: i.e., instead want known as such    7 *therefor*: for it    8 *in*: into  
8–9 *if*: . . . *us*: i.e., if through our own fault that does unfortunately happen to us    9 *therefore*: because of it  
12 *truth*: i.e., the truth    12–13 *pretext of their excuse*: the pretense of exonerating them  
13 *false*: untrue / [a polite-language equivalent of] damn // *ween*: think    14 *forsake*: renounce  
14–15 *were no deadly sin*: would not be a mortal sin    16 *plain the contrary*: the exact opposite  
16 *admit*: accept as valid // *I fear me*: I’m afraid    17 *of Tyndale*: i.e., Tyndale makes  
18 *afeard*: afraid    19, 30 *howbeit*: however    19 *sin not in*: i.e., do not *sin* in their  
19–20 *let no man to believe*: do not object to anyone’s believing    21 *as*: i.e., what  
22 *lost their faith in deed*: did in fact lose their faith // *us*: i.e., to us // *after his manner*: as is typical of him  
23 *before-rehearsed*: above-quoted    24 *yet is the man*: also the man is  
25 *whereabout he goeth*: of where he is going    27 *the*: i.e., in the    30, 33, 35 *from*: away from

*The substantial article of Christ's faith*      saith they "could not believe" the substantial article of the faith of Christ: that is to wit, the belief of his resurrection...

without the belief whereof all the remnant would not then serve them to salvation.

And that they believed not that article, Tyndale here saith expressly. For he saith that though they ran to the sepulchre, and would fain have believed that he was risen... yet they *could* not believe it; the wound of their temptation was so great that they could not believe it at the preaching of a woman, without any other miracle. Then ask I no more but this tale of Tyndale. For if they *could* not believe, then *did* they not believe; and so lacked they then the belief. For as for that they came thereto *again*, and that Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, and the women, came afterward to strength and boldness, and that his two disciples

toward Emmaus burned in their breasts to hear speak of him—all this maketh to Tyndale's purpose in this point not the value of a point's end. For we speak of his *apostles*, in the time in which himself saith here they believed not nor *could* believe it. At that time say I that since they then believed not, as they did not if they could not, they then had for that while the lack of the faith.

And also, to what purpose telleth Tyndale us that they could not believe at the bare preaching of the woman? As though they were nothing to blame for that, because they were but women... when the apostles themselves knew these women for such as they were worthy more credence, some one of them, than some many men!

And for to excuse the apostles in the lack of belief because the messengers were but women—Tyndale doth therein no more but lay lack and oversight in our Savior, that in a thing that he would have believed, sent out such women on his message.

But Tyndale wotteth well, if he believe the Gospel, that no more they did when they saw the miracle of himself coming

*Jn 20:19; Lk 24:36–47* in before them—the doors being shut—and speaking unto them... but were so far from the belief of his resurrection, at the first, that they had went that he had been some spirit, till he not only preached to them but also reasoned with them thereupon.

1 *substantial*: cornerstone      2 *faith of Christ*: Christian faith      4 *remnant*: rest  
 4–5 *serve* . . . *salvation*: i.e., do anything toward their getting to heaven      8 *fain have believed*: have loved to believe  
 9 *wound of their temptation*: i.e., injury caused them by all that temptation they underwent  
 10, 24 *preaching of*: proclaiming of it by      10 *any*: some      11 *ask* . . . *Tyndale*: i.e., need I (for my refuting of him) nothing more than this assertion of Tyndale's      13 *for that*: for the fact that      17 *toward*: making their way to  
 17 *to* . . . *him*: when hearing him spoken of      18 *maketh* . . . *in*: has for the supporting of Tyndale's argument on  
 19 *point's end*: i.e., period; dot // *speak of*: are talking about      24 *believe*: i.e., believe in the Resurrection  
 24 *bare*: mere // *the woman*: i.e., a woman      25 *nothing*: not at all      26 *as* . . . *worthy*: i.e., as were deserving of  
 27 *some one*: any one      28 *for to* . . . *in the* . . . *because*: i.e., for him to try to . . . for their . . . on the grounds that  
 29–31 *doth* . . . *believed*: i.e., accomplishes therein nothing more than to impute a shortcoming and an oversight to our Savior, who concerning something that he wanted believed // *message*: mission      32 *wotteth*: knows  
 33 *they did*: i.e., did the apostles believe that Jesus had risen      34 *before*: i.e., right in front of  
 36 *the belief of*: believing in      36–37 *had* . . . *spirit*: thought he was some ghost      37 *preached*: i.e., proclaimed it

*Jn 24:24–29*

Nor yet Saint Thomas, which, as  
Tyndale saith, *could* not believe till he

saw Christ, neither did believe the woman nor all his own  
fellows, nor our Savior himself upon the sight neither, till he  
5 felt him fully and put his finger in his side. And this he did of  
stubborn standing in his misbelief... in that after his belief  
lacking, he went not about to seek the truth, and endeavor himself  
to believe them that told him the truth... but, as it seemeth by  
the Gospel, obstinately stood in his distrust, and said till he did...  
10 that he thought, of likelihood, he never should—that is to wit, till he  
felt him and put his finger into his wounds—he would never believe  
it.

And I say plainly: Whosoever, being informed of any article  
of the faith which God bindeth us to believe, believeth it not—the  
15 cause why he believeth not is not because he *cannot*, but because he  
*will* not. For if he would do the thing which Tyndale taketh for  
folly—that is to wit, not resist, but endeavor himself to submit  
his reason unto faith, with asking help of God for the furtherance  
of his imperfection—he thus doing his part, God would, I  
20 say, not fail on his part again, but would effectually work with  
him, to perfect in him the faith in which he preventeth him by  
grace... which prevention was when he gave him the grace and  
occasion to be first told of the matter.

But ever cometh Tyndale by degrees... and ever he seeth himself  
25 likely to be driven from step to step. And therefore where he  
said that the elect cannot sin deadly... first he allegeth for the  
cause thereof that he sinneth never but “upon great occasions.” And  
seeing that a man may thereto say, “What then?” he goeth to another  
step, and saith that he never “consenteth” to sin. And then  
30 seeing that step will not be defended... he goeth to another, and  
saith he consenteth not to sin to “serve” it. And perceiving that  
he cannot stand sure there... he steppeth down to the next, and  
saith that he “casteth not off from his neck the yoke of love  
toward the law of God.” And yet perceiving that that step will not  
35 hold him neither... he cometh at last unto another step, and

1 *which*: who    1–2 *as Tyndale saith*: says Tyndale; according to Tyndale    3 *the*: i.e., any  
4 *fellows*: confreres; fellow apostles // *upon the sight*: i.e., upon seeing him  
5 *felt* ... *put*: i.e., fully ascertained his presence by putting    6 *standing*: standing firm  
6 *misbelief*: disbelief    6–7 *after his belief lacking*: i.e., on top of his failing to believe  
7 *went* ... *himself*: i.e., made no attempt to find out the truth, or any effort  
8 *them that told*: these people who were telling    8–9 *seemeth by*: appears from    9 *stood in*: i.e., stood firm in  
9 *and said*: i.e., saying that    10 *that*: what // *of*: in all // *should*: would    11 *felt*: touched  
15 *cause*: reason    16 *will not*: doesn't want to / wants not to    17 *folly*: foolishness / lunacy  
17 *endeavor himself*: endeavor; make an effort    18 *furtherance*: i.e., remedying  
19 *imperfection*: deficiency    20 *again*: in turn // *effectually*: efficaciously    21 *perfect*: accomplish perfectly  
21 *the* ... *by*: i.e., this faith in his getting of which God acts first, by    22 *prevention*: acting-first  
24 *degrees*: gradations; rungs    26 *elect*: i.e., elect person // *deadly*: mortally  
27 *great occasions*: powerful inducements    28 *a man may thereto say*: i.e., one could say to that  
28 *What then?*: So what?    30 *that*: i.e., that this // *be defended*: i.e., hold up against attack  
32 *sure*: safely / securely    33 *casteth*: throws    34 *toward*: for // *yet*: now

saith he casteth it not off “maliciously”—trusting, because we cannot look into the man’s breast to see whether he bore any malice therein, we should never be able to convict him of that word, when he put once thereto “maliciously.” And yet from *that* step have I  
 5 driven him... and therein have I beguiled his hope, as ye before have heard, in the sins of King David, by the words of God spoken by the mouth of Nathan the prophet.

Now, as he played there... so playeth he by the apostles here. For first he saith they lost never the faith, because they were “amazed,”  
 10 and then “astonied,” and then afeard, and then because they could not perceive the thing for possible. And yet at last he cometh so near to the granting that they lacked it... that by plain words at length he saith the same thing himself... affirming that they believed not, nor *could* not believe. And yet would he now make us ween that though  
 15 they believed not, yet had they no lack of the faith... because in the lack of their belief they had no malice. And that thing he proveth thus...

### Tyndale

There was none of them that ever railed on him, and came so far  
 20 forth to say, “He was a deceiver, and wrought with the devil’s craft all this while, and see whereunto he is come in the end! We defy him, . . . false wretch that he was, and his false doctrine also!” And thereunto must they have come at the last, when fear, sorrow, and wondering  
 25 had been passed, if they had not been prevented and helped in the mean season.

### More

Lo, good Christian readers, here hath Tyndale taught us that whoso believe not the resurrection of Christ... yet all the while he railleth not upon him, and calleth him “wretch,” and defieth him, he is safe enough.  
 30 For all that while though he believe not, yet lacketh he not his belief. And then if he be an elect... he shall be prevented of God, and helped before, ere ever he fall into such blasphemy. But and if he be a reprobate... then when he cometh once into the case that the apostles were in, as Tyndale saith, he shall, for lack of such prevention and  
 35 help, fall into such railing and blasphemy; and then is he remediless,

1 *casteth*: throws // *trusting*: i.e., trusting that    2 *breast*: i.e., heart  
 3–4 *convict* . . . *thereto*: i.e., prove him wrong in that assertion of his, once he added to it    4 *yet*: now00  
 5 *beguiled*: dashed    6 *in*: in connection with    8 *by*: concerning    9 *amazed*: thrown into confusion / stupefied  
 10 *astonied*: benumbed with astonishment; stunned // *afeard*: afraid    12 *lacked it*: i.e., did lack faith  
 14 *could not*: i.e., could // *ween*: think    19 *railed on*: bad-mouthed; vilified  
 19–20 *came so far forth*: went so far as    20 *wrought with the*: i.e., worked his wonders by  
 21 *while*: i.e., time    22 *false [wretch]*: deceitful / phony / despicable    23 *at the last*: eventually  
 23 *when*: i.e., when their // *wondering*: astonishment / bewilderment    24 *passed*: i.e., gotten past  
 24, 31 *prevented (of)*: headed off at the pass (by)    25 *mean season*: meantime    27 *whoso*: whoever  
 28 *believe not*: does not believe in // *all the while*: for all the time that / as long as  
 28–29 *raileth* . . . *defieth*: does not vilify him, calling him a wretch, and defy  
 30 *For* . . . *not*: Though for all that time he does not believe    32 *before*: in advance // *ere*: before  
 32 *But and if*: i.e., But, now, if    33 *once*: at any time // *case*: plight    34 *as Tyndale saith*: says Tyndale  
 34 *prevention and*: i.e., preventient    35 *is he remediless*: i.e., there is no hope for him

he saith. And therefore saith he (both here and in divers places) that the seed of God preventeth always and keepeth and preserveth the elects from falling into that case.

5 Here is a goodly tale, be ye sure. But, now, whereby shall Tyndale of this doctrine make us sure?

The Gospel, to begin with for one piece, maketh us sure of the contrary.

10 For therein we find that the traitor Judas, which was, I ween, as far from the belief of the Resurrection as ever was Saint Thomas of India... came never, yet, unto such railing and blaspheming of Christ... as Tyndale saith that the apostles, because they believed not, had they not been by grace prevented must needs have come unto.

15 For when he went about to make his bargain, and betray him and sell him... we find not that he called him "false wretch," nor no such villainous word. And after, we find that when he repented and brought again the money, he was far from railing upon him, and said, "I have offended God in betraying the righteous  
Mt 27:3-4 blood." And surely, though he had, at the  
20 selling, railed as much upon him toward his Passion as Tyndale in his books now railleth and jesteth upon him in the Blessed Sacrament after his resurrection... yet dare I be bold upon his mercy to say that if that old Judas in his repentance had, with the looking upon his own sin, looked also upon the great mercy  
25 of God—and also that if Tyndale now, this new Judas, will repent his railing against Christ's Blessed Body, the Sacrament of the Altar, and ask our Lord mercy therefor—both the one should have had, and the other shall have, remission and forgiveness of that deadly sin with change of hell into purgatory... into which the one in vain  
30 now fain would, and the other except he amend hereafter shall as much in vain wish to, come.

Now Tyndale will peradventure stick upon some subtle conjecture of his own and stiffly bear us in hand that though it be not written in the Gospel, yet did Judas, when he sold Christ, speak  
35 of him some blasphemous words, and had opprobrious language against him—and that the blasphemy thereof was the very cause

1 *divers*: several (other)    3 *case*: plight    4 *goodly tale*: good-sounding story // *be ye sure*: to be sure  
6 *piece*: i.e., part of the answer    8 *which*: who // *ween*: suppose    9 *the belief of*: i.e., believing in  
10 *of India*: See note for 533/29.    10, 13 *unto*: i.e., to do    10, 17 *railing (upon)*: bad-mouthing; vilifying  
14 *about*: from place to place // *bargain*: deal    15 *false*: deceitful / phony / despicable  
16 *villainous word*: scurrilous name    17 *again*: back    19 *though*: even if  
20 *railed . . . toward*: i.e., as much vilified him shortly before    21 *raileth . . . upon*: vilifies and ridicules  
22–23 *be bold upon*: i.e., have the confidence in    23 *old*: former    24 *upon*: at    27 *ask*: ask of  
27 *therefor*: for that // *should have had*: would have gotten    28 *shall have*: will get // *deadly*: mortal  
30 *fain*: gladly // *except*: unless // *amend*: i.e., mends his ways    32 *peradventure*: perhaps  
32 *stick*: persist; hold out // *upon*: on the basis of // *subtle*: artfully contrived    33 *stiffly*: obdurately; adamantly  
33 *bear us in hand*: assert to us    34–35 *speak . . . words*: say about him some blasphemous things  
35 *had*: i.e., use // *opprobrious*: scurrilous / vituperative    36 *against*: i.e., in speaking of  
36 *very cause*: real reason

why that he could never after, by any repentance, be forgiven his sin and received again to grace.

If Tyndale thus tell us, and will ween by this way to wind out... we will for this once forget to put him in mind of his own

- 5 rule, that we need not believe him further than he findeth in plain and evident Scripture. But we will tell him then that there is as great likelihood, and some deal more, too, that Saint Paul when  
*Acts 7:54–60; 9:1–2, 15* after the resurrection of Christ, and the stoning of Saint Stephen, persecuted and  
 10 punished so cruelly the Christian people... did rail and blaspheme the name of Christ, and his doctrine, and miracles, and all that he taught and did. And yet, for all this, was he received after to grace and forgiveness... and was after elected; yea, and for the foresight of his repentance, change, and penance, was a “chosen vessel”  
 15 before God before the world was made; and had once the right belief, of likelihood, as much as he was bound to... before the Gospel preached, and then stood in state of grace; and yet was suffered through his own fault to fall therefrom, by refusing the Gospel of Christ, and after fell in hating and persecuting of his name and  
 20 doctrine... and not, as it seemeth, without blaspheming of his name, his living, his death, his doctrine, and his resurrection, and all that ever he did; and yet by repentance and penance received to faith and to forgiveness again. And therefore needeth not Tyndale to despair but that, as evil as he is, he may yet repent and be  
 25 forgiven if he will.

But by this one example, of Saint Paul, are in the meanwhile utterly destroyed not only Tyndale’s words last above-rehearsed... but over that, all this his whole chapter of the order of our election... whereof the whole purpose is, in effect, that God keepeth them ever from  
 30 all deadly sin.

And thus, good readers, ye see how well he defendeth the apostles’ faith, which he saith they never lost at no time... and yet confesseth himself that at one time they neither believed nor could believe. And yet while they believed not, they lost not their belief,  
 35 because they railed not; and because that after they came again

1 *why that*: why // *by*: i.e., by way of any amount of    2 *received again to*: i.e., brought back into the state of  
 3 *thus tell us*: tells us this // *ween*: think / hope // *way*: route // *wind out*: extricate himself  
 4 *forget . . . mind*: i.e., drop our practice of reminding him    5 *further than he*: i.e., about anything beyond what he  
 5–6 *plain and evident*: clear and conclusive    9 *persecuted*: i.e., he persecuted    10 *rail*: revile / bad-mouth  
 12 *for*: despite    12–13 *received . . . forgiveness*: i.e., afterward admitted to the state of grace and forgiveness  
 13 *after elected*: i.e., after all that nevertheless one of the elect // *for the foresight*: i.e., by reason of God’s foreseeing  
 14 *change*: turnaround; conversion    15 *before*: in the eyes of    16 *of*: in all  
 16 *he was bound to*: i.e., it was incumbent on him to have    17 *preached*: was proclaimed // *stood in*: i.e., was in the  
 17 *suffered*: allowed    18 *refusing*: i.e., refusing to accept / refusing to believe in    19 *after*: later // *in*: into  
 21 *living*: way of living // *doctrine*: teachings    22 *by*: by way of // *received*: i.e., he was admitted  
 24 *despair but that*: give up hope that // *evil*: bad    25 *will*: is willing to / wants to  
 27 *destroyed*: brought to naught // *above-rehearsed*: above-quoted    28 *over that*: moreover  
 28 *all . . . election*: i.e., this whole entire chapter of his on the way our electedness works    29 *purpose*: gist; import  
 29 *them*: i.e., the elect    30 *deadly*: mortal    31 *defendeth*: speaks for  
 32 *confesseth*: professes    34 *yet while*: i.e., that even when    35 *railed not*: did no reviling  
 35 *because . . . again*: because afterward they came back

to belief, therefore they lacked it not at any time before they came to it again.

Is not here, good readers, a wise and well-told tale? It is enough for me that howsoever Tyndale excuse their mistrust and unbelief...

5 *Mk 16:14–17* I see *themselves* write that our Savior himself  
*Jn 20:29* accused it, and rebuked them sore of  
their incredulity and hard heart, for that they had not believed  
them, that they had seen him rise. And now that Tyndale hath  
so wisely defended them all... he cometh particularly to Saint Peter,  
10 and saith...

Tyndale

Yea, and Peter, as soon as he had denied Christ... came to himself immediately, and went out and wept bitterly for sorrow. And thus we see that Peter's faith failed not, though it were oppressed for a time.

15 More

20 Tyndale ever laboreth to lead us a mile from the matter. For well ye wot the Church teacheth not, nor no man was there ever anywhere so mad to say, that the chosen and elects do *die* in deadly sin; but that they sometimes *do* deadly sins—that is to wit, such sins as if they died in them without repentance of them, they should be damned for them.

Against this doctrine of the Catholic Church... taketh Tyndale  
in hand to prove us—as well by divers other titles of this book,  
and by his *Exposition upon the First Epistle of Saint John*, as by  
25 all the process of this his present chapter, of the order of their  
election—that the elects never do no deadly sins. That is, ye wot  
well, as much to say as that they do no such sins... which, done in  
such manner as they do them, be of their nature deadly; that is to  
say, such as if the person that doth them die before he repent them,  
30 he should be damned for them.

Now, good Christian readers, the point considered that is in debate between us... ye perceive very well that either must Tyndale take and understand “deadly sin” for some other thing and in some other manner than all other men do, and otherwise than it is taken

2 *to it again*: back to it      3, 9 *wise(ly)*: brilliant(ly)      3 *tale*: story      4 *mistrust*: skepticism  
6 *accused it*: found fault with it / blamed them for it // *sore of*: strongly for      7 *hard heart*: i.e., hardness of heart  
7 *for . . . not*: for their not having      8 *them*: i.e., those women and/or fellow apostles  
8 *rise*: risen / assume a standing position      12 *came to himself*: recovered his mental faculties  
14 *failed not*: was not lost; did not die // *though it were*: even if it was // *oppressed*: overpowered / suppressed  
16 *laboreth*: strives // *from the matter*: away from the point at issue      17, 26 *wot*: know (that)  
18 *so mad to*: so insane as to      18, 19, etc. *deadly*: mortal      19, 26, 27, 28, 29 *do(th)*: i.e., commit(s)  
19 *to wit*: i.e., to say      21, 30 *should*: would      23 *us*: i.e., to us // *divers*: several // *titles*: i.e., sections  
24 *exposition*: commentary      25 *all the*: the whole // *process*: progression / line of reasoning  
25 *this his present chapter*: this present chapter of his  
25–26 *of the order of their election*: i.e., on the modus operandi of their election / on how their electedness works  
27 *done*: committed      29 *die before he repent*: i.e., were to die without having repented of      31 *debate*: contention

and understood by the Catholic Church of Christ, against which  
 he disputeth; which manner of his disputation—if he otherwise took  
 it than his adversaries do—were on his part too shameful and  
 foolish, as every man well seeth that any learning hath... for then  
 5 disputed he but upon the word and not upon the matter, which  
 he will not, I ween, for very shame be so mad to do; or else, if he  
 take, I say, this word “deadly sin” as indeed he must needs do, then  
 do you, good readers, I doubt not, very well and clearly see that Tyndale’s  
 tale of Saint Peter’s repentance and sorrow *after* his denying  
 10 of Christ, nothing proveth Tyndale’s purpose... which is and  
 must be that Saint Peter *before* his repentance sinned not deadly,  
 at the time when he forswore Christ.

For Tyndale, if he will prove that he did therein no deadly  
 sin *at* the time—it is not enough for him to tell us that he repented  
 15 *after*, and was by repentance *restored* to the state of salvation; but  
 he must prove us that his forswearing of our Savior yet should not  
 have letted him from salvation although he had forthwith upon  
 that deed deceased, without repentance, or any remembrance after,  
 of that sin.

This should he prove us, ye wot well; and this, ye see well, he dissembleth.  
 And to prove that Saint Peter sinned not deadly before...  
 he telleth us that he repented after. Which is the very thing whereby  
 it is declared in Holy Scripture that his sin *was* grievous. For what  
 was the thing he so repented... but the sin of his denying? And  
 25 therefore the more sorrowfully that he repented it, the more bitterly  
 that he bewept and bewailed it, the more pain that he took for it...  
 the more himself showeth us the sore offense and heinous deadliness  
 thereof.

And now cometh Tyndale on the other side, and by the selfsame  
 30 sorrow would make men ween it was no deadly sin... by  
 which it specially doth appear the contrary.

And then, thus handling the matter, he is not ashamed to tell us  
 in conclusion that we now see, by this wise reason, that Saint Peter’s  
 faith “failed not.” Whereof he hath, as ye see, proved us nothing...  
 35 but hath himself told us by plain, express words the contrary,  
 when he told us that the apostles *could* not, for all the women’s

2 *disputeth*: argues // *disputation*: arguing 3 *it*: i.e., the meaning of “mortal sin”

3–4 *were on his part . . . foolish*: i.e., would be . . . foolish a tack for him to take

5 *disputed he but*: he would be arguing only // *upon*: about 5, 7 *word*: locution; term

5 *matter*: point at issue

5–6 *which . . . mad*: i.e., which, I think, sheer fear of embarrassment will keep him from being so crazy as

7, 11, etc. *deadly*: mortal(ly) 8 *well*: readily 8–9 *Tyndale’s tale of*: what Tyndale says about

10 *of*: i.e., of his association with // *nothing*: does not at all // *purpose*: thesis

12 *forswore*: i.e., with an oath denied knowing 13 *will*: wants to / is to // *he did*: i.e., Saint Peter committed

16, 20, 34 *us*: i.e., to us 16 *forswearing*: perjurious disavowing // *yet should*: also would 17 *letted*: kept

17 *although*: even if 17–18 *forthwith upon that deed*: i.e., immediately after doing it 18 *deceased*: died

20 *wot*: know // *dissembleth*: turns a blind eye to; pretends not to realize 23 *declared*: made clear

26 *pain that he took for*: i.e., anguish he felt on account of / he beat himself up for 27 *himself*: he himself

27 *sore*: terrible // *offense*: offensiveness / criminality // *heinous*: i.e., egregious / extremely

27 *deadliness*: mortal sinfulness 30 *ween*: believe 31 *specially doth appear*: particularly is shown to be

33 *wise reason*: brilliant reasoning 34 *failed not*: was not lost; did not die



words, believe that Christ was risen... nor well, in a good while after, at the sight of our Savior himself.

Howbeit, all this, he saith, was no failing of Peter's faith, but an "oppressing for the while"... as though I or any man else had  
5 any time said that Peter's faith failed for ever.

I say that it failed for the while, not for ever. And yet said I no further in my *Dialogue* thereof but that his *lively* faith failed for the while, because it wrought not by love; but if his *belief* stood still...  
10 it was a bare belief, barren of the fruit of charity... with which it wrought not in the heart, when it brought not forth the confession of Christ by the mouth.

But marry, Tyndale hath said yet more—and hath taken away from him boldly both quick faith *and* dead faith, and all as for the while.

In which point when Tyndale hath all done... he can never while he liveth avoid it but that in saying that there was a time in which the apostles *could* not believe that Christ was arisen again, he is agreed with us as for the matter. For in those words he confesseth that in that time their faith *was* fallen from them. But  
20 he striveth still with us upon the word, and will in no wise have that fall called *failing*, but "amazing" and "astonying" upon "great occasions" and with the great burden "oppressing."

Well, then, since we be meetly well agreed together, Tyndale and I, in the matter... we will for this once no longer debate about a word,  
25 and still dispute all day whether falling may be called failing; but I am content to give it over, and let Tyndale have his will and abide thereby still... that though Saint Peter did *fall*, and his faith too, yet shall not Tyndale be bound to call that falling "failing"... but "amazing," if he list, or "astonying," upon "great occasions" and by  
30 sore burden "oppressing."

And in like wise am I content that if upon great occasion of a long, weary way with a deep mire and a great block in the bottom, Tyndale's horse happen under him first to snapper and stumble, and after that faint and fall down in the mire and tumble, and his  
35 master and he there lie together and jumble till some good fellow help them up and bring them to an inn, where they tarry, together, till the horse be with meat and rest better grown in heart—let Tyndale for me, when he rideth again, call his fall no failing nor no falling, neither. But yet shall he never let other men to call it as it is.

4, 22, 30 *oppressing*: (being) overpowered/suppressed    7 *lively*: living; active    8 *wrought not*: was not activated / was not put into operation    8 *but*: i.e., that // *stood still*: continued to exist / stayed intact    9 *a bare*: an empty  
10 *wrought not*: did not act    12 *marry*: indeed    13 *him*: i.e., Peter // *quick*: live; operative // *dead*: lifeless  
16 *while*: as long as // *avoid it but*: get around the fact    18, 24 *matter*: point at issue    20 *striveth*: quarrels  
20 *upon*: about // *in no wise*: by no means    21, 29 *amazing* . . . *astonying*: i.e., being stupefied . . . benumbed  
21, 29, 31 *great occasion(s)*: (the) powerful inducement(s)    22 *the*: i.e., that    22, 30 *burden*: encumbrance / pressure  
23 *meetly*: fairly    24 *in*: regarding // *debate*: argue    25 *still dispute*: keep debating    26 *content*: willing  
26 *will*: i.e., way    27 *abide thereby still*: keep standing firm by this    28 *bound*: obliged    29 *list*: likes  
30 *sore*: terrible    31 *in* . . . *content*: likewise it is fine with me    32 *weary way*: i.e., tiring travel on a pathway  
32, 34 *mire*: (area of) slimy mud    32 *great*: big    33 *snapper*: trip    34 *faint*: lose heart  
35 *jumble*: flounder wildly    36 *tarry*: stay    37 *meat*: food // *better grown in heart*: gotten better in spirit  
38 *for me*: for all I care    39 *let* . . . *is*: i.e., keep other people from calling it what it is

Now, Tyndale yet, after his foul fall, dissembling his overthrow  
 as though no man saw it... royally triumpheth and boasteth  
 in this matter, that he hath in his chapter of the order of election  
 so well and wisely acquitted himself so like a pretty man. For joy and  
 glory whereof, he finisheth his chapter with a pleasant proper  
 taunt, wherein he taunteth me...

### Tyndale

[Therefore] we need to seek no glosses for the text that Christ said  
 to Peter how that his faith should not fail. "Yes," saith Master  
 More, "it failed in himself, but was reserved in our Lady." But let  
 us see the text and their gloss together. Christ saith (Luke 22),  
 "Simon, Simon, Satan seeketh you to sift you, as men sift  
 wheat. But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith shall not fail.  
 Wherefore when thou art come unto thyself again, strengthen thy  
 brethren." Now put this wise gloss thereto, and see how they agree  
 together: "Simon, Satan seeketh to sift you as wheat; but I have  
 prayed for thee, that my mother's faith shall not fail. Wherefore  
 when thou art come to thyself again, according as my prayer  
 hath obtained for thee that my mother's faith shall not fail,  
 strengthen thy brethren." How say ye? Is not this a proper text and  
 well framed together? Do ye not think that there is as much wit  
 in the head of mad Collins as in the brains of such expositors?

### More

Tyndale here, good reader, feeling his matter very faint and feeble,  
 and that by reason, Scripture, or other good authority he neither  
 can impugn his adversary nor defend himself... would very fain  
 walk away thus, without any piece of his purpose proved, and make  
 men ween all were won with his merry scoff.

Howbeit, if Tyndale had here rehearsed you my very words of  
 my *Dialogue*, as I am in such cases wont to rehearse his... it would  
 (and that he saw well!) have made his quick, merry scoff wax very  
 dull and more than half dead... as ye shall well perceive, I  
 trust, when I come to that place in the replying to his several  
 answers made unto the chapters of my said work. Whereunto I  
 shall reserve the substance of mine answer to this wise cavillation  
 of his against mine exposition, and better men's too than

1 *foul*: nasty    3 *in this*: regarding this // *of the order of election*: on the way electedness works  
 4 *well and wisely*: very brilliantly // *a pretty*: a sharp-witted / an urbane    5 *pleasant*: jocular / humorous  
 5–6 *proper taunt*: ad hominem gibe    8 *to seek no*: i.e., not seek any // *that*: i.e., in which  
 9 *how that*: that // *should*: would    9, 13, etc. *fail*: die; be lost    9 *Master*: i.e., Mr.    10 *reserved*: kept alive  
 14, 18 *thou . . . again*: i.e., you have recovered your mental faculties    15 *put*: add    15, 35 *wise*: brilliant  
 15–16 *how they agree together*: how compatible they are    16 *as*: like    18 *according as*: inasmuch as  
 20 *How say ye?*: What do you say? // *proper*: fine-looking; legit-sounding    21 *framed*: put  
 21 *wit*: sanity / good sense    22 *Collins*: Apparently a heretic who went insane; see *DH* 434/17.  
 24 *feeling his matter*: i.e., realizing that his case is // *faint*: flimsy // *feeble*: weak    25 *reason*: rational argument  
 26 *very fain*: very much like to    27 *piece*: part // *purpose*: thesis    28 *ween*: think    28, 31 *merry*: hilarious  
 29–30: See *DH* 107/8—108/21.    29 *howbeit*: however    29, 30 *rehearse(d)*: quote(d)    29 *very*: actual  
 29 *of*: i.e., in    30 *cases*: instances    31 *that*: i.e., this // *quick*: scintillating / witty / sprightly // *wax*: turn  
 33–34 *several answers made*: separate answers made; answers made respectively  
 35 *the substance*: the greater part; most // *cavillation*: caviling / specious argument    36 *exposition*: exegesis

mine, of those words of our Savior spoken unto Saint Peter, “I  
*Lk 22:31–32* have prayed for thee, that thy faith shall  
 not fail.”

But whereas he can in no wise bear the common opinion of good  
 5 Christian people that the faith abode at any time only in our  
 Lady... and therefore mocketh, and maketh a gay game, that Saint  
 Peter’s faith should be preserved in our Lady, and that her faith  
 should be his faith: I ween it will be no very great, subtle thing  
 10 to perceive that the faith which Saint Peter confessed may both  
 be his own, in that he confessed it, and yet our Lady’s too, in that she  
 believed it... and the thing also believed is all one both in him and  
 in her... saving that it is hers in that *she* believeth it, and his in that  
*he* believeth it. And yet if he lost the belief thereof, it may be called  
 still “his,” understanding by that speaking that he first confessed  
 15 it. And therefore, in good faith, I cannot well see wherefore we  
 may not say “Saint Peter’s faith was in our Lady” as well as we may  
 say “Wycliffe’s heresies are in Tyndale.”

And therefore, whereas for the salting and seasoning of his unsavory  
 scoff, he changeth and misrehearseth my words, and the very  
 20 words of Christ’s Gospel, too... and hath a pleasure to play between  
 our Lady and Saint Peter, and to toss the faith like a tennis ball  
 from the one to the other, with fond words of his own foolish  
 framing, nothing near to the matter when the place in my *Dialogue*  
 shall be, as it shall once be, by God’s grace, surely seen and examined—  
 25 I trust to make you then see that all his proper sporting wherein he  
 playeth his pageant between Saint Peter and our Lady may, for any  
 wit it hath, serve him for a pastime if he sat sadly by frantic  
 Collins and picked rushes in Bedlam. And happy were Tyndale  
 if he were as well recovered of his frenzies as I trust in God Collins  
 30 is, at this day, of his.

But yet reserving, as I say, the farther answer to mine other place,  
 to which this matter much more appertaineth—yet since Tyndale  
 saith here himself that the cause why no such gloss needeth to  
 those words of our Savior is because that Saint Peter’s faith  
 35 never failed in his own person... he confesseth thereby that if it  
 ever at any time failed in his person, then at the leastwise some  
 gloss there needeth. And then dare I be bold to say that if there any

1 *of our*: by our    3 *fail*: die / be lost    4 *in no wise*: by no means // *bear*: share / tolerate  
 5 *abode*: remained // *at any*: i.e., at one / for some    6 *a gay game*: an object of high-spirited ridicule  
 6–7, 7–8 *that . . . faith should be*: (the idea) of . . . faith’s having been    8 *ween*: think // *great*: extraordinary  
 8 *subtle*: abstruse    9, 10, 14 *confessed*: professed    9, 16 *may (not)*: can(not)    10 *yet*: also  
 11 *and the thing also*: i.e., and also inasmuch as the thing // *all one*: entirely the same    13 *yet*: even  
 13 *may*: i.e., could rightly    14 *speaking*: i.e., manner of speaking // *first*: at first  
 15 *in good faith*: in all honesty // *wherefore*: why    16 *well*: rightly    19 *misrehearseth*: misquotes  
 20 *hath a pleasure*: i.e., takes a notion / decides for his own pleasure    22 *fond words*: silly statements  
 23 *framing*: contriving // *nothing near to the matter*: i.e., nowhere close to being on target // *place*: passage  
 24 *once*: at some time // *surely*: accurately    25 *proper sporting*: ad hominem sporting / fine game-playing  
 26 *playeth his pageant between*: i.e., pulls his fast one between; uses as his pawns // *may*: could  
 27 *wit it hath*: sense it makes // *sadly*: somberly; humorlessly // *frantic*: crazy  
 28 *happy were Tyndale*: fortunate would Tyndale be    29, 30 *of*: from    29 *frenzies*: mental derangements  
 31 *as I say*: See 554/29—555/3.    33 *cause*: reason    33, 37 *needeth (to)*: i.e., is needed (for)  
 34 *because that*: i.e., because    35, 36 *failed*: died; was lost    35 *confesseth*: admits  
 37 *be bold*: venture    555/37—556/1 *there any need*: i.e., some gloss is needed

need... the gloss, then, that he mocketh, let him rehearse it right, is such as he will not this five years find a better.

But leaving that gloss, as I say, till I come to my *Dialogue*—yet to see in the meanwhile whether any gloss needed or none, since  
 5 Tyndale agreeth that there needed if the faith at any time failed in Saint Peter... I shall not let for his pleasure once again to search whether the faith at any time failed in Saint Peter or no.

And to the intent that we may deal well and plainly together... let him and me first agree together what the thing is whereupon we  
 10 dispute. For he useth often, when he is convicted, to say that he took this word or that word otherwise than we take him therein.

Let us therefore first, because we speak of faith, hear him declare what himself calleth “faith.”

To this, after that he saw himself shamefully confuted  
 15 concerning his heresy of “faith alone sufficient for salvation,” he saith that he calleth not a *dead* faith any “faith”... but he meaneth always by “faith” a very *Christian* faith, that hath the love therewith, by reason whereof it cannot but work well.

Now shall ye see how courteously that I shall handle Tyndale. For  
 20 albeit ye see well that I might by many means and many plain  
*Jas 2:14–26* authorities, as well of Saint James as  
*1 Cor 13:2* Saint Paul, and the very Gospel too, convict  
*Gal 5:6* him in that point, as I have often  
*Mt 25:31–46* done already—yet shall I for his pleasure  
 25 let all that pass for this time, and take “faith” as he saith he taketh it himself.

But then ask I Tyndale this time, whether that in the time in which Peter forsook and forswore Christ, he did believe with such a belief that then wrought well, with love. If he say yea... then since  
 30 the work that he then wrought was the forsaking and forswearing of Christ, it must needs follow that he saith that the forsaking and forswearing of Christ was a good work. And then will it thereupon follow that since Saint Peter wept sorrowfully therefor, he was very sorry and sore repented him that he had well wrought  
 35 with love, and done a good work. So that I see no remedy but that Tyndale must needs, be he never so loath, confess and grant us that Saint Peter in that time did *not* believe with love that wrought well.

Now thinketh me, then, that between Tyndale and me there lacketh

1 *rehearse*: quote    2 *this*: i.e., in the next    3 *leaving . . . till*: i.e., leaving discussion of . . . for till  
 4 *any . . . none*: some gloss or none is needed    5 *there*: i.e., one would be    5, 7 *failed*: died; ceased to exist  
 6 *let*: forbear // *search*: investigate    8 *deal . . . together*: contend with one another very straightforwardly/directly  
 9 *agree together*: come to an agreement with one another as to    9–10 *we dispute*: we’re arguing    10 *useth*: is wont  
 10 *convicted*: proved wrong // *took*: used    11 *him*: i.e., him as meaning it    12 *speak*: i.e., are speaking  
 13 *declare*: clarify    14 *after that he saw*: i.e., after and because of seeing    16 *dead*: lifeless; inoperative  
 17 *very*: i.e., really    18 *but work well*: fail to produce good works    19 *that . . . handle*: I shall treat  
 20 *might*: could // *plain*: clear / univocal    21 *authorities*: proof texts // *of*: from  
 22–23 *convict him in*: prove him wrong on    24–25 *for . . . for*: i.e., humor him and let all that pass, for  
 27 *this*: i.e., at this    28 *forsook*: parted ways with / repudiated / deserted // *forswore*: perjurally disavowed  
 29, 37–38 *wrought well*: operated well / produced a good work    33 *therefor*: i.e., for having done it  
 34 *sore repented him*: strenuously repented / felt strong regret // *wrought*: acted    35 *remedy*: help for it; alternative  
 36 *never so loath*: i.e., no matter how averse to doing this    39 *thinketh me*: it seems to me // *lacketh*: is lacking

now but one thing... and that is, what we call “failing.” For the better perceiving whereof, I will ask Tyndale this...

5 If Saint Peter had held on still in that forsaking and that perjury, still all his life, and so finally died therein, and had yet, for all that, all the while believed in his heart all the articles of the true faith, and the contrary of all that he said, and not only railed nothing, all that while, against Christ, but also loved him, too, saving not so well but that he would rather forswear that ever he saw him than to suffer pain and sorrow for him... I ask, I say, of Tyndale, if Saint Peter had continued  
10 his life, and died, in this state, had not then at no time in his life his faith that Tyndale calleth faith—that is to say, his belief with well-working love—failed him? If he say no... then will it follow, upon Tyndale’s word, that there may be many faith-ful folk with a well-working love, eternally damned in hell... except it be false that our Savior  
15 *Lk 12:9* saith: “He that denieth me before the  
*Mk 8:35* world, I will deny him before the angels of God”; and “He that will save his life in this world shall lose it.”

20 The most part, I suppose, that of the Christian people shall be damned... the cause of their damnation shall be that whereas they believe right and love God also, so far forth as he will let them live as they list and make merry, and bind them to nothing that they have no lust to do... love him not yet so sufficiently as for the love that they bear him, they will rather forbear the pleasures of  
25 their life, and also rather die, than deadly to displease him by the doing of any such thing as *he* will rather that they shall die than do it.

Now see I, therefore, no remedy but that Tyndale must needs agree that if Saint Peter had in such state lived and died... his faith well  
30 working by love had failed him.

Then since it had, then, in some time at the leastwise, failed him... let us divide that time of that state of his from his first denying and forswearing unto the very minute of his dying, supposing to continue still, and die, too, in the same state... into five  
35 equal parts, if it please him; and then have we five times, all of one fashion; to which five times Tyndale, if it please him, may give names to, and call them *A, B, C, D, E*.

1 *thing*: i.e., thing for us to be in agreement on    3 *held on still*: i.e., continued to persist // *forsaking*: repudiating  
4 *still all*: i.e., uninterruptedly throughout the rest of // *so finally died*: i.e., thus ended up dying  
6–7 *railed nothing* . . . *against*: done no railing . . . against; done no bad-mouthing . . . of    7 *saving*: just  
8 *forswear*: deny with an oath    9 *sorrow*: affliction; grief    9–10 *continued his life*: gone on living  
11, 13 *well-working*: good-works-producing    12, 30, 31 *failed*: become lacking in / gone missing from  
12–13 *upon Tyndale’s word*: from what Tyndale says    14 *except it be*: i.e., unless this is    17 *will*: seeks to  
19 *most* . . . *shall*: i.e., majority, I suppose, of the Christian people who will    22 *list*: please; want to  
22 *make merry*: have fun // *bind them to nothing*: i.e., will make nothing binding on them    23 *lust*: desire  
23 *as*: i.e., as that    25 *deadly to*: mortally    28 *remedy*: help for it  
29–30 *well working*: i.e., that produced good works    30, 31 *had*: would have  
33 *forswearing*: perjurious disavowing    34 *to* . . . *die*: i.e., him to have remained uninterruptedly, and died  
35 *one*: the same    36 *fashion*: kind; character

Now say I, then, since Tyndale must needs agree that in some of these five times Peter's faith failed... I ask in which of them?

Whereto, since they be all five of one fashion concerning his faith, he must needs grant that in all five it failed him.

5 Let us now, then, somewhat change our case, from that that might have been into that that was indeed. And after that Peter's faith had failed in the three first times—that is to say, those that are named *A, B, C* parts of the whole time whereof *A, B, C, D, E* were all the parts—let us put that in the fourth part, which we called *D*, Peter  
10 repented by help of God's grace, through the means of Christ's aforesaid prayer; and that his loving belief so came to him again, in that time which we called *D*; and that he would ever after rather suffer ten times to die than once to forsake God again. Now ask I Tyndale whether the not-failing of his faith now in  
15 the latter parts of his time—that is to wit, in *D* and *E*—doth now make it true that his faith faileth him not before, while it failed him indeed, in the three former times *A, B, C*, the three parts of his whole time *A, B, C, D, E*.

Now, what Tyndale must needs answer unto this, he can tell well  
20 enough, I warrant, when he looketh, in his card, upon those letters in his crossrow. For there he must needs see that though his faith faileth never after, while it failed not... yet before, *while* it failed, it *failed*, pardie! Whereof the proof is so plain upon his crossrow that he must needs see it!

25 Now, if Tyndale would wink at these letters like a wanton lad that no man could make him look up—yet shall I show you that he *hath* read them *already*, and spied full well that Peter sinned deadly... and, like a shrewd, wily lad, hath scraped it out of his book.

For ye wot well that in those words of our Savior unto Saint  
30 *Lk 22:32* Peter, he saith unto him: "And thou, after that thou shalt be converted, confirm thou and make strong thy brethren." As though he might say, "I have prayed for thee that thy faith shall not finally fail. But though it fail for a time by forsaking of me, as I tell thee truly thou shalt  
35 thrice do ere the cock crow... yet shall it come into thee again, by the means of my prayer. And therefore when thou shalt be converted

1 *some*: i.e., some one or more 2, 4, etc. (*had*) *failed*: went/was missing (from)

3 *whereto*: i.e., in answer to which question // *one*: the same // *fashion*: kind; character

5, 6 *that that*: that which 6 *after that*: i.e., after it happened that 9 *put*: posit

11–12 *so came to him again*: thus came back to him 13 *suffer*: allow himself

13 *forsake*: turn his back on; repudiate 16–17 *while it failed him indeed*: when it was in fact missing from him

17 *the*: i.e., those 20 *warrant*: guarantee; assure you // *in*: on // *upon*: at

21, 23 *crossrow*: alphabet line. (So called because on children's flash cards it was prefixed by a cross.)

22 *while*: when 23 *pardie*: by golly // *plain*: clear to see 25 *wink at*: shut his eyes to

25 *wanton lad*: i.e., boy so bratty 27 *spied full well*: caught full sight of the fact; perceived quite well

28 *deadly*: mortally // *shrewd*: naughty // *scraped it out of*: expunged it from 29 *wot*: know

31 *that*: i.e., the time comes that // *converted*: reverted / restored 32 *as though he might*: i.e., as if to

33 *finally*: irreversibly; permanently 33, 34 *fail*: go missing / be lost

34 *forsaking*: i.e., a repudiating; a denying 35 *thrice*: three times // *ere*: before

35 *into thee again*: back into you 558/36—559/1 *converted again*: turned back

again—that is to wit, after that thy lively faith fallen and failing  
for the time, and thou thereby turned from me to my enemy through  
forsaking and forswearing me, for deadly sinful dread of bodily  
death—*after* this, when thou shalt, I say, by my help and means of  
5 my prayer, with applying of thine own will therewith, have  
gotten grace and repented, and attained thy faith again, and be  
thyself converted and turned from mine enemy unto me again...  
then do thou confirm and strengthen thy brethren.”

10 Now see, for God’s sake, where Tyndale hath scraped out and  
altered one word... in which one word standeth the making and  
marring of all the whole matter.

For whereas our Savior said, “When thou art once converted,  
then strengthen thou thy brethren”—Tyndale putteth out “converted”  
and maketh our Savior say, “When thou art come to thyself again,  
15 then strengthen thou thy brethren.”

And whereas he in his *translation* had put in this word  
“converted”... yet because he said herebefore, in this chapter, that  
the apostles were not by failing of their faith, nor by any deadly  
sin, turned in any wise at any time from God... but were only  
20 “amazed” and “astonied” and past all remembrance—therefore he now  
hath put out here this word “converted,” which signifieth a  
turning to God (and therein doth ever imply a turning *away* from  
God before), and hath put in the stead thereof these words “come  
again to thyself”... to make it agree with his other words, “amazed,”  
25 “astonied,” and forgetting of themselves, which himself said of  
them before.

Now this ye see, good readers, very well: that though we grant unto  
Tyndale that a man may be turned to good, and turned to be bad, and  
turned to virtue, and turned to vice, turned to God, and turned to the  
30 devil, too... yet wheresoever in the Scripture that word “turned”  
standeth so, alone, it is ever taken for turning unto God. And  
especially the word “converted” (which is the word that he hath  
changed), wheresoever in Scripture it so standeth, alone, is never

35 *How this word “turned” is taken for turning of a man unto himself,*  
*taken in Scripture* but unto God. For in turning to himself,  
he may turn from God unto the  
devil... as Lucifer by turning to himself turned to the devil.

1 *that is to wit*: that is to say; in other words // *that thy*: i.e., this thing has happened of your  
1 *lively*: living; operative // *fallen and failing*: i.e., falling away and being missing 2 *the*: i.e., a  
2, 7, 19, 36 *from*: away from 2 *through*: i.e., via your 3 *forsaking*: repudiating  
3 *forswearing*: i.e., perjurious disavowing of // *deadly*: grievously / mortally // *dread*: fearfulness  
4 *means*: i.e., the means 7, 12 *converted*: reverted / restored 9 *scraped out*: expunged  
10–11 *in . . . matter*: i.e., on which one word the making or breaking of the whole entire claim depends  
12 *when thou art once*: i.e., once you are 13 *putteth out*: takes out / ejects 14 *maketh*: i.e., has  
14 *thou . . . again*: i.e., you have recovered your mental faculties  
16 *translation*: i.e., translation of the New Testament 18 *failing*: i.e., a lapse // *deadly*: mortal  
19 *wise*: way 20, 24 *amazed*: overcome with confusion / stupefied  
20, 25 *astonied*: benumbed with astonishment; stunned 21 *put out*: taken out / ejected  
22–23 *a . . . before*: i.e., a previous being turned *away* from God 23 *stead*: place  
23–24 *come again to thyself*: i.e., recovered your mental faculties 24 *agree*: fit in 28 *may*: can  
31, 33 *so*: i.e., just like that 31, 34 *taken for*: i.e., employed for a; used to convey a  
35 *but*: i.e., but only a turning 36 *he*: i.e., one 37 *to the*: into the

And now ye see that Tyndale, to make the Gospel seem to agree with his heresy, changeth in his exposition the very chief effectual word whereupon the pith of all the matter hangeth. I will not therefore ask ye now the question that Tyndale doth: whether ye  
 5 think not as much wit in the head of mad Collins as in the brains of such an expositor; but out of question, I ween all wise men think that the same devil (or his mate) that made Collins mad hath sucked out the brain of this expositor, and blown his empty scalp full of busy, frantic heresies.

10 For else would he never for shame speak of that foolish heresy, that none elect at any time doth deadly sin... which thing he seeth so plainly reprov'd by the Scripture... and, except a very few heretics, else by the agreement, I ween, of all the whole people of the world, both Christian and heathen too—as many as believe the  
 15 soul to be immortal.

And yet is it a better sport to see how in the very point in which he weeneth himself to deal the most wilily, therein uttereth he his folly most foolishly.

For whereas all his purpose of this chapter of the order of our  
 20 election is only to prove that none elect at any time sinneth deadly: even in the very last end thereof, where he weeneth least—where he weeneth himself to sit surest in the chair of his glorious triumph, and most merrily mocketh and scoffeth at his adversary—even there, in his false exposition of this text of Scripture, “And  
 25 thou being once converted, confirm and strengthen thy brethren,” by his unwise wily change of this word “converted” into “come to himself”... he is fallen from himself and perceived not that that *change* hath made every man well perceive that himself, when he so changed that word, perceived very well that the word  
 30 “converted,” that is, “to God turned again,” proved clearly that Saint Peter *was* once from God *averted* and sinfully turned *away*. And therefore hath he by that wily change, even in the very last end of his chapter, with his own witness against his own purpose, all his whole matter *perverted*, and quite overturned and overthrown  
 35 his triumphant chariot... and with the very words of his merry mock, laid all his matter in the mire.

1 *agree with*: corroborate    2 *exposition*: exegesis // *effectual*: pertinent / potent  
 3 *the . . . hangeth*: i.e., the whole issue essentially hinges    5 *not*: i.e., there not to be // *wit*: sense / sanity  
 6, 8 *expositor*: exegete    6 *out of question*: unquestionably; no doubt about it // *ween*: suppose; expect that  
 6 *wise*: sane    7 *his mate*: i.e., one just like him    9 *busy*: frenetic / obsessive // *frantic*: wildly insane  
 10 *for shame speak*: i.e., not be kept by fear of embarrassment from speaking    11, 20 *none elect*: no elect person  
 11 *doth*: commits // *thing*: claim    11, 21 *deadly*: mortal(ly)    12 *reprov'd*: proved false // *except*: except for  
 13 *ween*: think likely; feel sure // *all the whole people*: the whole entire population  
 16 *yet is it a better sport*: it's even more entertaining    17, 22 *weeneth*: thinks    17 *deal*: be conducting himself  
 17 *wilily*: cunningly // *uttereth*: exposes    18 *folly*: idiocy; lack of good sense // *most*: i.e., the most  
 19–20 *all . . . election*: his whole aim in this chapter on how our electedness works    21, 32 *even*: i.e., right there  
 21, 32 *last*: i.e., tail    21 *weeneth least*: least expects to    22 *surest*: most securely    24 *even*: right  
 24 *exposition*: interpretation    25 *converted*: reverted / restored    26 *unwise*: nonsensical; absurd  
 27 *fallen . . . not*: i.e., brought down by his own self, not realizing    30 *again*: back    31 *once*: at some time  
 33 *witness*: attestation // *purpose*: argument    34, 36 *all his (whole) matter*: his (whole) entire case  
 34 *perverted*: wrecked // *quite*: completely    36 *merry*: high-spirited / hilarious // *laid*: buried // *mire*: mud



*The Recapitulation of All Tyndale's Process  
concerning "the Church," from the  
Beginning Hitherto*

For now shall you, good readers, understand that as concerning  
5 his declaration what is "the church," here his whole process endeth.  
And willing that we should now ween that he had well declared  
and proved us which *is* the very church, he now beginneth, after  
this chapter, another, new matter: that is to wit, to prove that the  
common-known Catholic church is *not* "the church."

10 And therefore, since here is an end of his own part... it is necessary  
that we briefly gather together and consider what thing he hath  
proved us therein, or at the least (for proved hath he nothing) what  
thing he hath *told* us therein, from the beginning  
hitherto.

15 Remember first, good readers, that the occasion of his book is for  
answer of my *Dialogue*—wherein I speak of the church by which  
*The doctrine of the universal* we be, and must be, taught and informed.  
*church cannot err.* And I show there that it is the common-known  
Catholic church of all Christian

20 people, neither gone out nor put out; and that the doctrine of this  
church is sure, and cannot err, in anything necessary to salvation.  
Which thing I there sufficiently do prove.

Now cometh Tyndale to teach us that "the" church is *another*  
church, which he will show you, and *not* the church that I told  
25 you. And whether the church that he showeth you can err or not,  
he will tell you. And therefore he maketh the title of this book "What  
Is the Church, and Whether It May Err or Not"—wherein hearken well  
now what he hath hitherto taught you.

First he told us, in the beginning, that this word "church"  
30 hath divers significations... among which at last, he bethought  
him upon twain. One, a general signification by which it is  
taken "for all that embrace the name of Christ, though their  
faiths be naught, or though they have no faith at all."

Another, by which it specially signifieth only the elects... "in  
35 whose hearts God hath written his law with his Holy Spirit, and

1, 5 (*all Tyndale's*) process: (Tyndale's whole) discussion    3, 14, 28 *hitherto*: to this point  
4 *concerning*: i.e., concerns    5 *declaration*: take on / setting forth of // *is "the church"*: i.e., "the church" is  
6 *willing* . . . *declared*: i.e., wanting us now to think that he has made quite clear    7 *us*: i.e., to us  
7 *which* . . . *church*: which church *is* the true one    8 *matter*: enterprise  
9, 18 *common-known*: common-knowledge    10 *part*: i.e., side of that first debate  
11 *gather*: i.e., extrapolate and put    15–22: See *DH* 187/1—207/18.    18, 21 *err*: be erroneous  
18 *show*: state    20 *doctrine*: teaching    21 *sure*: solidly reliable / definitely true // *in*: with regard to  
21 *necessary to salvation*: i.e., one must believe or do in order to get to heaven  
24 *show you*: identify for you / point you to    24–25 *told you*: i.e., told you it is    26 *book*: section  
27 *may*: can    27–28 *hearken well now*: pay close heed now to    29–31: See 145/16—146/9.  
30 *divers*: several // *at last*: i.e., as the last ones    30–31 *bethought him upon*: took thought of / considered  
31 *twain*: two    32, 33 *though*: even if    33 *naught*: bad / no good    34 *another, by*: i.e., the other, that by  
34 *specially*: specifically

given them a feeling faith of the mercy that is in Christ Jesus our Lord.”

All his other significations I let pass, as things not properly pertaining to this present question of the Catholic Church...

5 except only that which he hath also defined false: that is to wit, the particular churches of every Christian country; which be not, as Tyndale there taketh them, all the people in the town or the country—Christian or heathen or open-professed heretics—but only such as are parts of the Catholic Church.

10 But in all his declarations of all the significations... he hath, as ye have seen in my first part of this work, neither rehearsed them all nor taken right almost any one of these that he hath rehearsed.

For letting, as I say, the remnant pass, as now not pertinent properly to this matter, and reprov'd in mine first part of this  
15 work—of these two last significations hath he done his part in neither nother; but hath, as I there showed, left *out* the chief significations of all, and whereupon all the matter most especially dependeth: that is to wit, the *catholic* church of Christ, of all *true* Christian people.

20 For as touching the first of his two last, if he will say that he meant *that* for the Catholic Church, then I say that he defined it false. For the general, catholic church is *not* the number of “all that embrace the name of Christ” whether they have faith true or false, any faith or none.

25 For heretics such as Luther is, and Zwingli, and Wycliffe, and himself—that first willfully leave and forsake the Catholic Church and the Catholic faith thereof, and be therefor after precided and cut off therefrom, and cast out thereof—neither be nor never have been accounted either in the Church or of the Church... though they  
30 still call themselves Christian men and embrace his name, casting off the truth of his faith and fighting against good works by sects dissolving the unity, and being separate from the society, of the Catholic Church.

Then as touching the second signification, of the only elects,  
35 which is the church whereof he jabbereth in all this work... and would have it only taken for the church of Christ militant here in

3–4 *properly pertaining*: strictly speaking pertinent; really relevant 4 *of*: regarding

5, 22 *false*: falsely; wrongly 7 *taketh them*: claims them to be

8 *open-professed*: i.e., openly heresy-professing; overt 9 *such*: i.e., such groups of people

10 *declarations*: explanations 11, 12 *rehearsed*: mentioned 12 *taken right*: characterized rightly

12 *almost*: for the most part // *any*: even 13 *remnant*: i.e., rest of those explanations

13–14 *pertinent properly*: really relevant 14 *reprov'd*: confuted; proved wrong

15 *these two last significations*: See 561/30–562/2.

15–16 *his . . . nother*: i.e., what he should have regarding neither the one nor the other 16 *showed*: pointed out

17 *all the matter*: the whole issue 18 *dependeth*: hinges 18, 22 *catholic*: universal

19 *true*: i.e., right-believing; orthodox 20, 34 *as touching*: as regards 21 *that for*: i.e., by *that*

26 *willfully*: of their own volition // *leave and forsake the*: i.e., part ways with, and dissociate themselves from, the

27 *therefor*: on that account // *after*: afterward // *precided*: excised / excommunicated

29 *either*: i.e., as being either 30–31 *casting off*: divesting themselves of / jettisoning

31–32 *by sects*: i.e., by forming factions 32 *dissolving*: vitiating 34 *the only elects*: only the elect

35 *all this work*: i.e., all of this book of his 36 *it only*: only it; it alone // *in*: on

earth: let us consider, orderly from the beginning to the end, what he telleth us thereof, and to what wise end at last he bringeth all his purpose.

5 After his defense of his translation (very fondly defended), to prove us that “the church” is only the number of elects, “in whose hearts God hath written his law . . . and given them a feeling faith of the mercy that is in Christ Jesus our Lord,” he first moveth a question of his own devising—“Whether the Word Were before the Church, or the Church before the Word”—as though that question  
10 had in such wise been put by *us*, and that we had affirmed the Church to be before the Word.

There, with scoffs and mocks, he concludeth against us that the Word was before the Church; whereof never no man said the contrary.

15 But that the *written* word was before the Church—which was the thing that himself had said and meant, and which ever was and is his principal ground and foundation, whereof we *had* said, and yet say, the contrary thereof—in all that chapter neither anything proveth he nor anything so much as speaketh. And  
20 so that chapter nothing at all to purpose.

Moreover, since he bringeth forth that chapter for the proof that the only elects be “the church” (for thereabout goeth all his matter); and well ye wot the word of God, both written and unwritten, may be and is beloved both of the elects and of the not  
25 elected: therefore is also that chapter nothing at all to purpose.

Finally, since he speaketh of the law written by the Spirit of God in the heart... now, since that law so written there is rather the word of God *unwritten* than his word written in the books of the Scripture that we have... of which words only, Tyndale maketh all  
30 his matter, and abhorreth every word that God would either speak or write beside the Scripture that we have already: this chapter of Tyndale’s not only nothing maketh for his purpose, but also rather seemeth greatly to make against it.

Then goeth he forth with his other chapter wherein he laboreth  
35 to prove that “the apostles left nothing unwritten that were necessary to salvation”... meaning that we be bound to believe nothing but only that that they have written—and that (as Tyndale’s master Martin Luther saith), evidently and plainly written. Wherein whoso consider what I have answered him... shall, I trust, well perceive

1 *orderly*: in order    2 *wise end*: brilliant conclusion    2–3 *all his purpose*: his whole argument  
4 *translation*: i.e., translation (in his translation of the New Testament) of *ecclesia* as “congregation” rather than “church”; see 165/22—172/27.    4 *fondly*: foolishly    5 *us*: to us // *elects*: the elect    7–14: See 225/1–18.  
7 *moveth*: proposes for consideration    8 *were*: existed    10 *wise*: a way    11 *be before*: preexist  
13, 15 *was before*: preexisted    13 *no man said*: did anyone say    17 *whereof*: about which    18 *yet*: still  
18, 19 *anything*: at all    19 *speaketh*: says    20 *chapter*: i.e., chapter is    20, 25 *nothing*: in no way  
22, 24 (*the only*) *elects*: (only the) elect    22–23 *thereabout* . . . *matter*: i.e., that is the aim of all his argumentation on this subject    23 *wot*: i.e., know that    24 *may*: can    29–30 *all his matter*: his whole case  
30 *abhorreth every*: i.e., shuns like the plague every / has no use for any    31 *beside*: apart from; outside of  
32 *nothing* . . . *purpose*: contributes nothing to his argument // *rather*: instead; on the contrary  
33 *make*: militate / work    34 *laboreth*: strives    35 *were*: i.e., is    35–36 *necessary to*: essential for  
36–37 *be* . . . *they*: are not obliged to believe anything except only what they  
38 *evidently and plainly*: i.e., clearly and conclusively // *wherein*: whereon // *whoso*: i.e., whoever will

that it had been better for him to have left that matter untouched.

For both is his purpose on his part unproved and the contrary to him proved; besides that it is in many places proved that the sacraments which he reproveth be written in the Scripture indeed.

5 Howbeit, he correcteth and amendeth, therefore, his doctrine of that chapter, in another chapter after. For whereas in the former chapter he teacheth that we be bound to believe nothing of necessity but only that that is written in the Scripture—yet lest we should be thereby, concerning our belief, over-straitly restrained  
10 of our evangelical liberty... he bethinketh himself better... and in his other chapter after, he teacheth us that we be not of necessity bound to believe all that neither... but, so that we believe the *promises*, we may be saved well enough, he saith, believing not other things written even in the very Gospel  
15 itself.

This is his doctrine in his chapter... where he teacheth us that “the church” may err and that yet it cannot err—saving that suddenly, unawares, he confesseth even there the contrary.

Then cometh he forth in his chapter with this question  
20 whether “the church” can err or not. And there he first saith that this common-known Catholic church both may err and doth err... and proveth it by his bare word. And then he showeth what himself calleth the “elect church,” and saith that it is “the whole multitude of all repenting sinners that believe in Christ, and put  
25 all their trust and confidence in the mercy of God... feeling in their hearts that God for Christ’s sake loveth them and will be—or, rather, is—merciful unto them, and forgiveth their sins of which they repent, and all the motions unto sin of which they fear that they shall be drawn into sin again,” and this they believe  
30 and feel “without any respect of their own deserving,” and only for the respect of God’s troth and promise.

Then goeth he forth and boasteth highly this manner of “feeling” faith that is *heresies* instead of faith, as I have in mine answer proved; and therein he spendeth up that chapter.

35 But yet, though he thus describe the “elect church”—yet doth he not prove that this is the church which we must hear and obey. For God hath commanded us to complain to “the” church, and

1 *it . . . untouched*: i.e., he would have been better off saying nothing on that subject      2 *purpose*: contention  
4 *reproveth*: finds fault with / rejects      5 *howbeit*: however  
7–8 *be . . . necessity*: i.e., are not obliged to take anything as something we have to believe  
8 *that that*: what      9 *over-straitly restrained*: i.e., too tightly restricted in the exercise  
10–11 *bethinketh himself better*: takes better thought      12 *so that*: provided that; so long as      13, 17, 21 *may*: can  
17 *suddenly*: on the spur of the moment      18 *confesseth even there*: admits right there. (See 467/28—468/8.)  
19 *cometh he forth*: he forges ahead // *chapter*: i.e., chapter on it      20 *whether*: i.e., of whether  
21 *common-known Catholic*: common-knowledge Catholic / church commonly known as the Catholic  
22 *bare*: mere // *word*: word for it; say-so // *showeth*: sets forth      23 *himself*: he himself  
26 *God*: i.e., God the Father      28 *motions*: impulses; inclinations // *of*: by      29 *into sin again*: back into sin  
30 *respect of their own deserving*: i.e., eye to their own gaining of merit      31 *for the respect*: in consideration  
31 *troth*: truthfulness / trustworthiness      32 *goeth . . . boasteth*: i.e., he proceeds to extol  
32 *manner*: approach / kind      34 *therein he spendeth up*: i.e., on that he uses up the rest of  
35 *describe*: characterize      36 *hear*: listen to      37 *complain*: i.e., take our complaints

hear “the” church, and obey “the” church. And therefore, though we agreed everything that he saith in his chapter... he had yet, since his elects are unknown, proved thereby no piece of his principal purpose: that is to wit, *which is* “the” church.

5 Also, whereas his title of that chapter is “Whether the Church May Err”—Tyndale saying that the *Catholic* Church *may* err—whether the “elect” church which himself taketh for “the” church may err or not, he saith not in all that chapter any one word. And so is his chapter neither anything toward his principal purpose... nor  
10 yet, which is more shame for him, anything containeth in it belonging to the matter of the title!

Then cometh he forth with his other chapter, that a true member of Christ’s church “sinneth not, and is yet, for all that, a sinner.” Which chapter, besides that it is but a fond riddle with  
15 nothing but a heap of foolish heresies, as I have proved... yet is it also toward the matter—that is to wit, “which is ‘the’ church?”—nothing to the purpose at all... forasmuch as, though he saith that they can do no deadly sin, yet he confesseth that they may do such “horrible deeds” as must needs make them be taken for the  
20 children of the devil.

After cometh his other goodly riddle, that a Christian man “cannot err, and how he may yet err.” And therein he telleth us, as I have before shown you, that the elects cannot err in the promises of God... and as for all other errors, none can (he saith) be damnable  
25 to them, though the contrary of their error be written in the very Gospel.

By which doctrine of his ye may see that errors of doctrine in manner of *living*, Tyndale taketh for a small matter, because they be no promises of God. And therefore is Tyndale not greatly to be  
30 believed when he teacheth us that friars may wed nuns... because it is no promise of God, but a promise of the friar to the nun, and of the nun to the friar, each of them wedded and bedded with other, and both twain wedded and bedded with the devil.

Yet ye see well that this chapter if it were all as true as it is all  
35 false... proveth yet nothing which is “the” church. Whereas he should first have proved that the elects only be “the” church, and then, after, search whether they can err or not.

1 *hear*: listen to      1, 25 *though*: even if      2 *agreed*: granted  
2–3 *had* . . . *unknown*: i.e., would yet, since it cannot be known who these people are that he defines as the elect, have  
3 *piece*: part      4, 9 *purpose*: argument      4 *which is*: i.e., that of *which church is*      5 *of*: i.e., for  
5, 6, 7, 18, 22, 27 *may*: can      7 *himself* . . . *for*: he claims to be      8 *any one word*: i.e., so much as one word about  
9 *anything toward*: at all apposite to / any contribution to      10 *yet*: even      11 *belonging to*: having to do with  
11 *matter of the title*: title subject      14 *fond*: silly      16 *toward the matter*: i.e., relative to the issue at hand  
16, 35 *which*: i.e., which church      17 *nothing* . . . *all*: i.e., in no way at all to purpose  
18 *can* . . . *sin*: cannot commit a mortal sin      // *confesseth*: admits      19 *for the*: i.e., for      21 *goodly*: splendid  
23 *I* . . . *you*: See 461/14–18 and 468/1–5.      23, 36 *elects*: elect      23 *in*: with regard to      25 *to*: for  
25 *contrary of*: i.e., truth directly contrary to      27 *errors of doctrine in*: i.e., doctrinal errors concerning  
28 *they*: i.e., moral teachings      31 *it is no*: i.e., this is a matter of not a      32 *other*: the other  
33 *twain*: i.e., of the two      34 *yet* . . . *that*: i.e., you see well, moreover, that      35 *nothing*: not at all  
36 *only*: alone      37 *search*: i.e., investigate; go into the question of

Then cometh he forth with his other chapter, that the faith which he hath before described is “ever fought with,” but in the elects it is in such wise inexpugnable that when they once have it, it can never at any time fail.

5 Now, this great conclusion whereof he maketh this chapter is such that, as ye see well, thereupon dependeth many great matters. Yet doth he not in all this chapter bring forth any manner thing for the proof—either reason, Scripture, or other authority—but only by his own bare word telleth us that it is so. Now, if he told  
10 us a thing well known or commonly believed, I should not blame him. But, now, to tell us such a thing so strange, and unto every man save himself so inopinable, and such as no man would ween were likely to be true, and bid us so boldly believe it, and, save his own bare worshipful word, tell us no cause why: it is either  
15 a point of a man more authorized than an apostle... or else less witted than a very fool.

Finally cometh he forth at last with his chapter which he calleth “The Manner and Order of Our Election.”

20 Therein he telleth us, concerning elects, and the order of their choosing, that God doth first choose them, and after calleth them, and teacheth them, and maketh them see their “damnation in the law” and mercy “laid up for them” in him, and “what he will have them do.” And then they “choose” God again and “submit” themselves “to his laws, to walk in them.” And that thing he saith the man doth of necessity,  
25 because his will can do none other... but his wit must needs see the things that God maketh him see, and his will must needs agree to follow so the thing that his wit seeth.

Then he telleth us that the mercy of God always waiteth upon the elect... by reason whereof he can never so fall but that he shall rise  
30 again. But yet he showeth us further that, for all this, the elect sinketh down sometimes, and falleth into “trances” and “sleeps” by which he “forgetteth himself” and then doth divers “horrible” and abominable deeds in his sleep. But yet in all his “horrible” deeds he doth no deadly sin, because he doth them all of “frailty” and “infirmity,” and none of  
35 them “of purpose” or “willingly.” For willingly can he not do them, because he lieth asleep; nor in all that while his faith never faileth at any time. And this he proveth us by the examples of King David

2 *described*: delineated / prescribed    3 *wise*: a way // *inexpugnable*: impregnable    4 *fail*: be lacking  
5 *conclusion*: proposition / dictum    6 *dependeth*: hinge    7 *manner*: kind of    8 *reason*: rational argument  
9 *by*: on the basis of    9, 14 *bare*: mere    9 *word*: i.e., asserting of it    10 *should*: would  
11 *strange*: unfamiliar; foreign    12 *save*: except // *inopinable*: unthinkable // *ween*: think  
13 *were*: i.e., was // *save*: except for    14 *worshipful word*: august pronouncement of it; redoubtable say-so  
14 *cause*: reason    14–15 *it . . . man*: i.e., this is a telltale sign of a man either  
15 *authorized*: authority-endowed    16 *witted*: endowed with good sense // *very fool*: literal idiot  
18 *the manner and order of our election*: i.e., how our electedness comes about and works  
19–20 *the order of their choosing*: i.e., how their chosenness comes about and operates    21 *in*: under  
23 *again*: in response    24 *walk in*: live by    25 *can do none other*: cannot do otherwise    25, 27 *wit*: intellect  
26 *him*: i.e., it    27 *follow*: go along with // *so*: likewise    29–30 *rise again*: get back up  
30 *showeth*: informs    32 *divers*: various    33 *doth*: commits // *deadly*: mortal    35 *of purpose*: purposely  
35 *willingly*: volitionally    36 *faileth*: is lacking

and Saint Peter, and Saint Thomas of India, and the other apostles.  
 For there was, he saith, none of these that, in all that ever we read in the  
 Scripture reproveth in their deeds, as adultery, manslaughter, not-believing,  
 forsaking or forswearing of God—that ever was any deadly  
 5 sin, yet, or any failing of faith at any time while they did it.  
 And this he nothing proveth, but telleth, and looketh that for the  
 worship of his bare word, we should believe it.

And here is all Tyndale's whole tale, that he hath from the beginning  
 hitherto told us, whereby we should learn of him which is  
 10 *the* church, and whether *the* church may err or not. In all which  
 whoso look it through, and mine answer therewith, shall well perceive  
 that he hath not in all his whole process half a leaf together, nor almost  
 half a *line*, without one great folly at the least, or else a lie and a  
 half.

Consider now that of his “elects”—which is of his words much  
 ado to perceive, they be so dark and so intricated of purpose, without  
 any dependence or order—yet in the end, when all is gathered together  
 and advised well, this is the whole sum: that God chooseth a  
 certain whom-he-liketh. And *when* he chooseth them Tyndale  
 20 telleth not—whether before the world made, or after themselves  
 born. But unto them he sendeth forth, and calleth them, and them he  
 giveth a “feeling” faith whereby they feel surely that they shall be  
 saved, without any regard of good works; and then they choose  
 him again, and agree to walk in his laws. But before their feeling  
 25 faith had, they never once think upon him.

For as for any endeavor of themselves, at God's good motion,  
 toward the faith, they do no more, he saith, than doth the child  
 toward the begetting of his own father. And his mercy waiteth  
 ever upon them. And their faith doth never at any time fail  
 30 them, nor they do never sin deadly, what horrible and abominable  
 deeds soever they do.

And since these folk that are Tyndale's elects have, or ween they  
 have, such a feeling faith that thereby they feel, or else ween they  
 feel, that they cannot be damned... but have here learned of Tyndale,  
 35 now, that what horrible deeds soever they do, they can never do  
 deadly sin... and be also very sure to repent, and then to be never

1 *of India*: See note for 533/29. 3 *reproved*: (that is) criticized / condemned // *as*: such as  
 3 *manslaughter*: homicide 4 *forsaking or forswearing*: i.e., repudiating of God, or perjurious disavowing of him  
 4, 36 *deadly*: mortal 5 *did*: i.e., were committing 6 *nothing*: not at all / in no way // *telleth*: i.e., just says  
 6 *looketh*: expects 7 *worship*: worthiness / prestigiousness // *bare*: mere // *should*: i.e., will  
 8–9 *tale* . . . *hitherto told*: i.e., speech . . . to this point given 9, 34 *of*: from 9 *which*: i.e., which church  
 10 *may*: can // *which*: i.e., of which speech 11 *whoso* . . . *through*: whoever looks it over 12 *process*: discourse  
 12 *leaf*: i.e., page // *almost*: hardly 13 *folly*: idiocy  
 15 *his “elects”*: i.e., what he says about the people he considers the elect to be  
 15–16 *is* . . . *ado*: is from his statements very difficult 16 *be* . . . *purpose*: are intentionally so unclear and convoluted  
 17 *dependence*: logical sequence 18 *advised well*: well pondered // *the whole sum*: all it adds up to  
 19 *whom-he-liketh*: i.e., whomever-he-wants-to / number of individuals to whom he gives his stamp of approval  
 20 *made*: i.e., was made 20–21 *themselves born*: i.e., they are born 21 *sendeth forth*: sends word  
 22 *surely*: with certainty / firmly 23 *of*: to 24 *again*: in turn / in response // *walk in*: live by  
 25 *had*: is gotten // *upon*: about 26 *of themselves*: i.e., made by them // *motion*: prompting / instigation  
 27 *toward*: i.e., toward their getting 29 *fail*: become lacking in 30 *nor* . . . *deadly*: nor do they ever sin mortally  
 32 *Tyndale's elects*: i.e., by Tyndale's definition the elect 32, 33 *ween*: think 35 *never do*: never commit

punished in hell, purgatory, nor in this life neither (for so far  
saith Tyndale now), but with a short repentance after long lying  
in sin, saying once “Christ, help!” for the manner sake (as it were  
after a sneezing), the friars may from the nuns’ beds sty even up  
5 straight to heaven: they may therefore be bold and hardy, and hardily so  
they be, to fall to what works they will. For since their faith is both  
full of false heresies and also can never fail them... they may make  
themselves sure, you see well, that they shall be no worse, pardie, not  
when they be at the very worst, than *faithful* harlots, *faithful*  
10 adulterers, *faithful* vow-breakers, *faithful* thieves, *faithful* murderers,  
*faithful* traitors to men, and *faithful* heretics to God!

And these be, as ye see now, Tyndale’s special elects... which  
only number, by his high spiritual doctrine, he would we should  
take for *the* church.

15 Now, good Christian readers, if we would grant unto Tyndale  
that all his lies were true that he hath made in all this whole process  
of his unto the end—yet were he far from the proving of his  
principal purpose, that is to tell us and teach us which is *the*  
church; toward the teaching whereof he hath nothing else done  
20 but only given us two definitions. Of which so declared as they  
be, neither nother is sufficient for his purpose—and yet the second  
much less than the first.

For whereas in the first he defineth it to be only the elects “in  
whose hearts God hath written his law with his Holy Spirit, and  
25 given them a feeling faith of the mercy that is in Christ Jesus our  
Lord,” afterward, in the second, he saith that it is “the whole multitude  
of all repenting sinners that believe in Christ, and put all their  
trust and confidence in the mercy of God... feeling in their hearts  
that God for Christ’s sake loveth them, and will be—or, rather, is—  
30 merciful unto them, and forgiveth them their sins of which  
they repent, and . . . all the motions unto sin of which they fear  
that they shall be drawn into sin again; and thus they believe  
and feel without any respect of their own deserving; yea, and for  
none other cause than that the merciful Truth of God the Father,  
35 which cannot lie, hath so promised and sworn.”

*Two special great heresies*      Now ye remember that Tyndale hath  
put you by the way two special great

1–2 *so far saith*: i.e., that far goes    2 *short*: brief / quick    3 *for the manner sake*: i.e., as a conventional thing  
3 *as it were*: i.e., like what one says    4 *may*: i.e., could // *sty*: climb // *even*: right    5 *hardy*: intrepidly daring  
5 *hardily*: indeed    6 *fall to what works they will*: go in for whatever activities they want to // *is both*: both is  
7 *false*: [a polite-language equivalent of] damn // *fail*: i.e., be lost by    7–8 *may . . . sure*: can rest assured  
8 *pardie*: by golly; by George    9 *harlots*: lechers / lowlives    11 *to*: toward    13 *only number*: number alone  
13 *high*: lofty // *doctrine*: teaching // *would we should*: would have us    15 *would*: were to  
16 *made*: written / told // *process*: discourse  
17–18 *were . . . purpose*: i.e., would he be far from having done the proving part of his main objective  
18 *that*: which // *which*: i.e., which church    20 *declared*: articulated    21 *nother*: the one nor the other  
23 *it*: i.e., *the church*    24, 28, 29 *God*: i.e., God the Father    31 *motions*: impulses; inclinations // *of*: by  
32 *into sin again*: back into sin    33 *respect . . . deserving*: eye to their own gaining of merit    35 *which*: who  
36, 37 *special*: particular // *great*: big    37 *put*: propounded to // *by*: along



heresies. One, that whosoever after baptism sinneth once of purpose and willingly, shall never have remission after. The other, that whoso have once his feeling faith, can never sin deadly after.

5 Let us now see in the end, besides that these heresies of his be already otherwise impugned and reprov'd—let us yet further see how his definition of “the church” and his heresies will jumble and agree together among themselves.

10 And first I ask Tyndale whether he that have “once after his baptism sinned of purpose and willingly”—and set “maliciously” thereto—may after, by God’s help, repent again that ever he so did... and believe therewith that he is bound to believe, and love God and his neighbors as God biddeth him to do. May he, after such a sin done, do this by God’s help, or not?

15 Tyndale will peradventure say he may not. Then I ask him how  
*Heb 6:4–8* he proveth that. Thereto peradventure he  
*Mt 12:31–32* will say that the words of Saint Paul  
 “It is impossible that they which have

once been illumined,” etc., and the words of our Savior himself  
 20 spoken of the sin of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, do prove it; which I will then deny. For those places, taking them as falsely as any heretic can construe them, say yet at the uttermost no more but that his sin shall never be *forgiven* him—and saith not that he shall never again *repent*; nor that he shall never  
 25 well believe, nor that he shall never after love God nor his neighbor.

Whereunto if Tyndale will say that if he might come to very repentance and very belief and love, he needs must have his sins remitted and be saved; and since God saith he shall never be forgiven, and so never saved, he saith he shall never so repent and

30 *Note* believe and love: to that I answer Tyndale two things. One, that God in all his threats reserveth his special prerogative of his mercy, by which his absolute power is never bound under any rule of his ordinary justice. Secondly I say that forasmuch as those words  
 35 be minatory and threats, they be all of truth none otherwise to be understood than “except he repent.” As God himself plainly expounded all his such words by the mouth of his own holy

*Ez 33:14–16* prophet Ezekiel, saying, “Though I should say to a sinner, ‘Thou shalt die,’

1–2, 10 *of purpose*: purposely 2, 10 *willingly*: volitionally

2 *have . . . after*: i.e., afterward receive remission of that sin or of the punishment due for it 3 *deadly*: mortally

4, 25 *after*: thereafter 6 *impugned*: opposed as erroneous // *reprov'd*: proved false 7 *jumble*: mix

8 *agree together*: jibe 9 *have*: has 10 *set*: i.e., let’s add 11, 16 *thereto*: to that

11, 13, 15 *may (not)*: can(not) 11 *after*: afterward // *repent again*: i.e., turn around and repent

12 *that*: that which // *bound*: obliged 13 *biddeth him to do*: commands him to

14 *such a sin done*: i.e., committing such a sin 15, 16 *peradventure*: perhaps

18 *they which*: those who 19 *illumined*: brought into the light // *of*: by 20 *of the*: about the

21 *places*: texts 22 *uttermost*: very most 23 *but*: than // *his sin*: i.e., the sin of such a person

24 *again*: i.e., turn around and 25 *well*: rightly 26 *might*: could 26, 27 *very*: true 27 *needs*: necessarily

32 *reserveth*: retains; keeps at his disposal // *by*: i.e., by reason of

34 *words*: i.e., words of Saint Paul and of our Savior 35 *minatory*: minatory; i.e., warnings

35 *of truth*: in actuality // *none*: i.e., not // *except*: unless

and the same sinner repent him of his sin—and deal justly and righteously, and deliver again the pledge, and make restitution of the robbery that he hath committed, and walk in the commandments of life, and do no unrighteous thing—he shall live

5 in life, and shall not die. Of all his sins none shall be laid to his charge. He hath dealt justly, and righteously he shall live in life.”

Then, since God at the leastwise *may* remit his sin and save him *if* he so repent; and in Scripture is there nothing spoken to the contrary but that he *may* so repent: it *may*, therefore, I say, 10 without any repenting be both put and granted that he so shall repent.

And therefore I put now that he so do repent... and then ask I Tyndale whether he shall be saved or no. If he say yea, he destroyeth his heresy; for then he granteth that he which after 15 baptism sinneth maliciously *may* for all that be saved. If he say nay, then he destroyeth his definition; for then may there be some *repentant sinners*, with all that ever in his definition followeth, and yet they shall be none of the church of his elects.

And thus must either his heresy destroy his definition or his 20 definition must destroy his heresy. Of which twain yet it will be more honesty for him to keep his definition still, whereupon all his whole matter hangeth... and let his heresy go to the devil that gave it to him... and then understand those places of Scripture whereupon the devil taught him to ground it, that either the “blasphemy 25 against the Holy Ghost” is final impenitence, and the other no restitution by the penance to the renovation of Baptism, or else that the sore words of the both places, after a certain vehement manner of speech used in Holy Scripture, sometimes signifieth only great hardness and difficulty, and not as himself teacheth us, an utter 30 impossibility of remission. But now let us see how his definition will stand with his second heresy.

You see well and perceive that in his second definition he restraineth his “elect church” unto only “repentant sinners” that believe as himself sheweth you.

35 And then hath he confessed unto you that his chosen elects plainly do sometimes abominable deeds... which deeds yet they

1 *and the*: if that    2 *deliver again the pledge*: i.e., give back (when he should) what has been given him as collateral  
 3 *of*: for // *walk in*: live by    5–6 *laid to his charge*: i.e., held against him    10 *repenting*: qualm; compunction  
 10 *both put*: i.e., as a real possibility both posited    12 *put*: postulate    14, 16 *destroyeth*: demolishes; does in  
 14 *which*: who    18 *and . . . none*: i.e., who yet are not members // *his elects* i.e., the Tyndale-defined elect  
 19, 20 *destroy*: do in; wreck    20 *twain*: i.e., two things    21 *honesty for*: respectable of / face-saving for  
 21–22 *all his whole matter*: his whole entire case    22 *hangeth*: hinges    23 *places*: texts; passages  
 24 *that either*: i.e., as meaning either, the one of them (Mt 12:31–32) that  
 25–26 *the other no restitution*: i.e., the other (Heb 6:4–8) that there is no restoration  
 26 *penance*: repentance / Sacrament of Penance  
 26 *renovation of Baptism*: i.e., newness of life endowed by the Sacrament of Baptism. (See 213/1—215/24.)  
 27 *sore words of*: strong language used in // *the both places*: i.e., both those passages // *after*: according to  
 27 *vehement*: emphatic; forceful    28 *speech*: speaking    29 *hardness*: arduousness // *himself*: i.e., Tyndale  
 30–31 *how his definition will stand*: how compatible his definition is; how well his definition will square  
 32 *perceive*: are aware    33 *restraineth*: restricts    34 *himself sheweth you*: i.e., he himself tells you they do  
 35 *confessed*: admitted    36 *which*: i.e., of which

repent not always till the rage be past... and till, as Tyndale saith, that they have “played out their lusts”; yea, and sometimes, too, till the “cold fear of death” turn them to give an ear to good counsel.

5 Now see you then very well that they be, by Tyndale’s second definition, all this while expressly put *out* of “the church” till they repent again. And then consider further, how far against all reason.

Ye remember very well, I wot well, that he teacheth us plainly that none of his elects doth at any time sin deadly—though  
10 their deeds be never so horrible and abominable—because of their “feeling faith,” which can neither at any time fail nor suffer any of their horrible deeds to be deadly sin. And therefore are they consequently *never out* of the favor of God, not even in the time wherein they do their horrible and abominable deeds, and  
15 before the repenting of them, which may be, ye wot well, many times long between. In *all* which time they be, by Tyndale, out of all deadly sin—and therefore good folk and *faithful*, and God’s good children, still.

And therefore, since they be so, wherefore doth Tyndale—that is in  
20 some places so angry with the Catholic Church for the putting out of evil folk by excommunication—excommunicate *good* folk now, and put out of his “elect church” himself and *faithful*, and, finally, such as, though they be “fallen asleep” in lechery, theft, sacrilege, incest, and murder, stand yet highly still in God’s especial grace  
25 and favor?

Now, the faults that are common to both his definitions, and yet more open in the second than in the first... I shall not need to rehearse you. For both have I touched some of them before... and also  
30 many of them be to every good Christian man so open at his eye that he can need none other way to give him warning of them.

For whereas all his elects depend upon his “feeling faith” and his “repentance”: while himself showeth what false articles he teacheth his elects for their faith, every good-faithful man very well  
35 feeleth that the more that Tyndale’s elects feel his false faith, the less *faith* have they, and the more faithless be they.

And when he teacheth them to repent the right belief of Christ’s sacraments, and therein the right rule and order of repentance—every true repentant person well perceiveth that Tyndale’s “repentant” elects, abhorring from shrift, and rejecting the

1 *rage*: fit of passion // *past*: over    2 *that*: such time as // *lusts*: desires    4, 16 *by*: according to  
6 *repent again*: i.e., turn around and repent    8, 15 *wot*: know    9, 31, 33 *his elects*: i.e., his elect / the people who  
are by his definition the elect    9, 12, 17 *deadly*: mortal(ly)    10 *never so*: no matter how    11 *fail*: be lost  
11–12 *suffer . . . to be*: i.e., allow it to happen that . . . is a    13 *out of the favor of God*: not in God’s good graces  
16–17 *out of all*: utterly free of    18 *still*: uninterruptedly    19 *since*: given that // *wherefore*: why // *that*: who  
20 *places*: i.e., places of his book(s) // *the putting*: its putting    22 *faithful*: i.e., other people who have what he  
claims to be the right and saving faith    26 *faults*: defects // *both his definitions*: See 568/15–35.    27 *yet*: even  
27 *open*: obvious    28 *rehearse*: point out to // *touched*: touched upon    29 *open at his eye*: clear to see on his own  
30 *none . . . them*: i.e., in no other way to be made aware of them    31 *depend upon*: i.e., are such on the basis of  
31 *and his*: i.e., and his concept of    32 *while himself showeth*: when he himself makes known  
33 *good-faithful*: right-believing    34 *feeleth*: realizes // *feel*: experience / entertain / hold  
36 *repent*: i.e., repent of holding / renounce    36 *of*: i.e., concerning  
37 *rule and order*: i.e., standard procedure and regimen    39 *abhorring*: shrinking with horror // *shrift*: confession

Sacrament of Penance, but if they mend and repent better will instead of purgatory, which they now mock and jest at, weep and repent in hell this foolish fruitless fashion of their impenitent “repentance.”

5 But now suppose that all were very well, that Tyndale here hath said; yet how hath he with all that proved his purpose? He hath told us that the whole multitude of his-fashioned elects is “the church.” But what one word hath he told us toward the proof? Neither reason nor one authority of any old holy saint, nor any one text  
10 of Scripture... but only one or twain such as nothing maketh for his matter, but utterly clear against him.

And therefore though we grant unto him that the whole multitude, not of his false-framed “elects,” but of the very, final elects, be *a* church of Christ... as he doth and must grant unto  
15 us that the whole multitude of Christian people not gone out nor put out is *a* church of Christ (of which the church of very elects be, though the better part, yet a part and but a part, and peradventure the less part... and Tyndale’s elects, either no part or but a part, and the very worst part): yet that the only elects, though  
20 they be *a* church, be *the* church (which is the thing that he should prove)—*that* hath he neither proved nor anything brought effectual toward the proof, no more than if he never had meant it nor thought it.

And therefore now hath he nothing proved which is *the*  
25 church... though we would yet, of our courtesy, further grant him that all his whole heresies were the very faith... and that the very elects were only those in whose hearts the devil hath written his law... or else (which were yet far worse) that the very elects were only those in whose holy hearts *God* had *himself* so written  
30 his will with his Holy Spirit that they should thereby feel that spiritual folk should please God with waxing fleshly, and friars with wedding nuns... and that if they would be saved, they  
*How God may be pleased after* should have therein no respect unto good  
*the mind of Tyndale* works, but think that only “faith in the  
35 promise” and bare repentance, without shrift or penance, shall sufficiently save them... so that they believe

1 *but if*: unless // *mend*: reform 2 *mock*: scoff // *jest*: jeer // *weep*: bewail 3 *fruitless*: unavailing; futile  
5 *all were*: everything was // *well*: right; correct 6 *purpose*: contention 9 *reason*: rational argument  
9 *authority of*: proof text from // *old*: early 10 *but*: except // *twain*: two  
10–11 *nothing maketh for his matter*: i.e., militate not at all for his thesis 11 *him*: it 12, 25 *though*: even if  
13 *false-framed*: falsely styled 13, 16, 26, 28 *very*: true 17, 18 *but*: only 17 *peradventure*: perhaps  
18 *less*: smaller; less numerous 19 *worst*: least good // *the only*: only the  
21 *brought*: brought forward; presented 22 *effectual*: i.e., that does anything // *proof*: i.e., proof of  
22, 23 *it*: i.e., to 24 *nothing*: not at all / in no way // *which*: i.e., which church 25 *would yet*: were to also  
25 *of our courtesy*: i.e., as a favor, for the sake of argument 26 *all his whole*: i.e., his whole entire set of  
26 *were*: i.e., was 28 *were yet far worse*: would be far worse yet 30, 31 *should*: would  
31 *spiritual folk*: i.e., priests and religious 31, 32 *with*: by 31 *waxing fleshly*: becoming carnal; getting physical  
32 *would*: wanted to 33–34 *after the mind*: according to the thinking  
33 *have* . . . *unto*: i.e., with regard to that take no consideration of 34 *only*: just 35 *bare*: mere  
36 *shrift*: confession // *so that*: provided that; so long as

sure that all the seven sacraments serve of nothing, but be but  
bare signs and tokens, and utterly as graceless as themselves are  
witless... and especially so that they believe that the Blessed Body nor  
Blood of Christ be not in the Sacrament of the Altar, nor that they  
5 do none other honor in no wise thereto but only believe and remember  
that there is nothing but a memorial of his Passion in a cup of  
wine and a gobbet of cakebread... and yet in doubt and question  
whether it be bread or starch. And then that, with this godly belief,  
they see surely to themselves that they serve no saints, but rail upon  
10 their relics, and despise their images, and therewith the crucifix  
too, and the Holy Cross itself also; and then, lest they might  
hap to lose a whole day in God's service, keep themselves well and  
warily from all holy days, and especially (for so these heretics  
in their books call it) from the foolish fast of Lent. And thus  
15 living, and therewith believing these aforesaid heresies so  
firmly that they think verily they feel their false faith with their  
very fingers' ends... be bold then, hardily, and believe verily that  
their feeling faith shall never fail them... but at all times so  
preserve them that they cannot only never be damned, but over  
20 that, can never do deadly sin, though they do never so many  
devilish deeds; but for all their falsehood, theft, adultery, vow-breaking,  
treason, murder, incest, and perjury, shall for their only  
feeling faith be good and faithful false, faithless wretches, and  
therefore God Almighty's own minions still.

25 And thus, good Christian readers, since ye now plainly perceive  
that Tyndale hath here, for his own part, nothing proved us  
that his false-framed "elects," nor yet that only the very, true  
elects, be the church of Christ in earth, nor hath nothing shown  
us which is; and therefore only, with all his long process, uttered and  
30 taught his errors and his heresies... and left the matter not unproved  
only, but untouched too, which he took upon him and professed  
to prove, that is to wit, which is *the* church; but, as though  
he had well and plainly proved it which he hath not so much  
almost as spoken of, leaveth off his own part now and turneth  
35 him to impugn ours: I shall leave him, for his part, a while in the  
mire in which himself hath overthrown his matter... and shall

1 *sure*: firmly // *of*: for 2 *bare*: mere // *tokens*: symbols // *graceless*: devoid of grace  
3 *witless*: devoid of good sense // *so that*: provided that 4 *in . . . Altar*: present in . . . Eucharist // *nor*: i.e., and  
5 *honor*: obeisance // *wise*: way [such as by genuflecting] // *thereto*: i.e., to the Blessed Sacrament  
6 *there*: i.e., there on the altar // *memorial*: reminder 7 *gobbet*: piece // *cakebread*: sweet unleavened bread  
7 *yet*: i.e., also that it's 8 *with*: along with 9 *serve no*: i.e., do no venerating of // *rail upon*: inveigh against  
10 *despise*: show contempt for 12 *hap*: happen; turn out // *well and*: very 13 *warily*: vigilantly; carefully  
13, 14 *from (all)*: i.e., from (all) observance of 16 *think verily*: veritably think 17 *fingers' ends*: fingertips  
17 *hardily*: stoutly; intrepidly // *believe verily*: actually believe 19 *preserve*: protect; take care of  
19 *cannot only never*: not only can never 19–20 *over that*: on top of that; moreover  
20 *do deadly*: i.e., commit mortal // *never so*: no matter how 21 *falsehood*: mendacity 22 *for*: on account of  
22–23 *their only feeling faith*: i.e., their "feeling-faith alone" / their nothing-but-feeling faith 23 *false*: despicable  
24 *minions*: favorites; pets 26, 28 *nothing*: (not) at all 26 *us*: to us 27 *false-framed*: falsely styled  
27 *yet*: even // *very*: real 28 *in*: on // *shown*: made known to 29 *which*: i.e., which group of people  
29 *only*: i.e., has only // *process*: discourse // *uttered*: given utterance to / put out for sale 30 *matter*: thing  
31 *untouched too*: i.e., also not even discussed // *took upon him*: undertook 32 *which*: i.e., which church  
33 *well and*: good and; quite // *it*: i.e., this thing that 33–34 *not . . . as*: i.e., practically not so much as  
34 *leaveth off*: drops; abandons // *part*: side of the controversy 36 *mire*: i.e., slimy and filthy mud // *matter*: case

show you shortly how angrily he riseth up, and royally rayed in  
 dirt, because he cannot prove the church of Christ here in  
 earth to be a congregation unknown, layeth his miry hands upon  
 the known Catholic church of Christ, and fain would pull  
 5 that down too, and so leave no church at all.

Here endeth the Fourth Book.

1 *rayed in*: bespattered with      2 *dirt*: excrement // *in*: on  
 3 *miry*: besmirched / filthy      4 *fain would*: i.e., tries as hard as he can to