

The Apology of Sir Thomas More, Knight

by

Sir Thomas More

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

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Punctuation

The only punctuation marks found in the original printed version of *A Dialogue of Comfort* 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. 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.

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**Sir Thomas More,
Knight, to the Christian Readers**

The First Chapter

So well stand I not (I thank God), good reader, in mine own
conceit, and thereby so much in mine own light, but that I can 5
somewhat with equal judgment and an even eye behold and consider
both myself and mine own. Nor I use not to follow the
condition of Aesop's ape, that thought her own babes so beauteous and
so far passing in all goodly feature and favor; nor the
crow that accounted her own birds the fairest of all the fowls that 10
flew. But like as some (I see well) there are, that can somewhat less
than I, that yet for all that put out their works in writing: so
am I not so blind upon the other side but that I very well
perceive very many so far in wit and erudition above me, that
in such matter as I have anything written, if other men as many 15
would have taken it in hand as could have done it better, it might
much better have become me to let the matter alone than by
writing to presume anything to meddle therewith.

And therefore, good reader—since I so well know so many men
so far excel and pass me in all such things as are required in 20
him that might adventure to put his works abroad, to stand and
abide the judgment of all other men—I was never so far overseen
as either to look or hope that such faults as in my writing should by
mine oversight escape me could by the eyes of all other men
pass forth unspied; but shortly should be both by good and well- 25
learned perceived... and among so many bad brethren as I wist
well would be wroth with them, should be both sought out and sifted
to the uttermost flake of bran, and largely thereupon controlled
and reprov'd.

But yet against all this fear this one thing recomforted 30
The which is a sure anchor me: that since I was of one point very
fast and sure—that such things as I

3 *equal*: impartial, unbiased

4 *I use not*: do I make it a practice

11 *can*: know

22 *overseen*: mistaken

23 *look*: expect

28 *controlled*: criticized

write are consonant unto the common Catholic faith and determinations
of Christ's Catholic Church, and are clear confutations
of false, blasphemous heresies by Tyndale and Barnes put forth
unto the contrary—any great fault and intolerable should they
none find, of such manner sort and kind as the readers should in their
souls perish and be destroyed by; of which poisoned faults
mine adversaries' books be full. 5

Now, then, as for other faults of less weight and tolerable, I
nothing doubted nor do but that every good Christian reader
will be so reasonable and indifferent as to pardon in me the thing
that happeth in all other men; and that no such man will over me
be so sore an auditor, and over my books such a sore controller, as
to charge me with any great loss by gathering together of many
such things as are with very few men aught regarded; and to
look for such exact circumspection and sure sight to be by me
used in my writing as, except the prophets of God, and Christ and
his apostles, hath never, I ween, been found in any man's else 10 15

No man is perfect before—that is to wit, to be perfectly in
in all points. every point clean from all manner
of faults—but hath always been held for a 20
thing excusable, though the reader in a long work perceive that

De arte poetica the writer have, as Horace saith of
Homer, here and there sometime fallen
in a little slumber; in which places as the reader seeth that the
writer slept, so useth he of courtesy, if he cannot sleep, yet for company
at the leastwise to nap and wink with him, and leave his
dream unchecked. Which kind of courtesy if I should show how
often I have used with Tyndale and Barnes both, winking at
their tolerable faults, and such as I rather thought negligently
escaped them of oversight or folly than diligently devised of
wily falsehood or malice—if I would add all those faults to their
others, then should I double in length all my books, in which the
brethren find for the special fault that they be too long already. 25 30

But albeit that when I wrote I was (as I have told you) emboldened
and encouraged by the common custom of all indifferent readers—
which would, I wist well, pardon and hold excused such tolerable
oversight in my writing as men may find some in any man's, 35

3 *false*: incorrect / despicable 26 *wink*: close his eyes

5 *manner sort and kind*: a type and nature 28 *winking at*: turning a blind eye to

9 *nothing*: not at all 37 *may*: can

10 *indifferent*: impartial, unbiased

12 *sore*: stern, severe

14 *ought*: at all

17 *ween*: suppose

21 *though*: even if

23 *sometime*: occasionally

25 *useth he*: is he wont

almost, that ever wrote before—yet am I now much more glad and bold when I see that those folk which would fainest find my faults cannot yet happen on them... but after long seeking and searching for them, for all their business taken thereabout, are fain to put for faults in my writing such things as, well considered, shall appear their own faults for the finding.

5

For they find first for a great fault that my writing is over-long, and therefore too tedious to read. For which cause, they say, they will never once vouchsafe to look thereon.

But then say they further, that such places of them as are looked on by those that are learned and can skill be soon perceived for naught, and my reasons of little force. For they boast much that they hear sometimes divers parts of my books answered and confuted fully in sundry of some men's sermons, though my name be forborne; and then they wish me there, they say, for that it would do their hearts good to see my cheeks red for shame.

10

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And over this, they find a great fault that I handle Tyndale and Barnes, their two new gospelers, with no fairer words nor in no more courteous manner.

And over this, I write, they say, in such wise that I show myself suspect in the matter and partial toward the clergy.

20

And then they say that my works were worthy much more credence if I had written more indifferently, and had declared and made open to the people the faults of the clergy.

And in this point they lay for an example the goodly and godly, mild and gentle fashion used by him, whosoever he was, that now lately wrote the book of *The Division between the Temporality and the Spirituality*; which charitable, mild manner they say that if I had used, my works would have been read both of many more and with much better will.

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And yet they say, besides all this, that I do but pick out pieces at my pleasure, such as I may most easily seem to soil, and leave out what me list, and such as would plainly prove the matter against me. And so they say that I use but craft and fraud against Tyndale. For as for Friar Barnes, I perceive by sundry ways that the brotherhood speak much less of him, either for that they find him in their own minds well and fully answered or else that they take him, in respect of Tyndale, but for a man of a second sort. And that may peradventure be because he leaveth out somewhat

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2 *would fainest*: are most anxious to

5 *fain*: constrained

11 *can skill*: have expertise

12 *reasons*: arguments // *naught*: worthless

17 *over this*: moreover

18 *fairer*: nicer

25 *lay*: adduce

29 *of*: by

32 *soil*: refute

33 *what me list*: what I please

33 *matter*: case

39 *somewhat*: something

that Tyndale taketh in; that is to wit, the making of mocks and mows against the Mass, and the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar.

But finally they say further yet, that I have not fulfilled my promise. For I promised, they say, in my preface of my *Confutation*, that I would prove the Church; and that, they say, I have not done.

5

The Second Chapter

Now will I begin with that point that I most esteem. For of all the remnant make I little account. But surely loath would I be to misrehearse any man's reason against whom I write, or to rehearse him slenderly. And in that point undoubtedly they see full well themselves that they say not true. For there is no reason that I rehearse of Tyndale's, or of Friar Barnes' either, but that I use the contrary manner therein that Tyndale useth with mine. For he rehearseth mine in every place faintly and falsely too; and leaveth out the pith and the strength, and the proof that most maketh for the purpose. And he fareth therein as if there were one that, having day of challenge appointed in which he should wrestle with his adversary, would find the means by craft to get his adversary before the day into his own hands, and there keep him and diet him with such a thin diet that at the day, he bringeth him forth feeble, faint, and famished, and almost hunger-starven, and so lean that he can scant stand on his legs; and then is it easy, ye wot well, to give the seely soul a fall. And yet when Tyndale hath done all this, he taketh the fall himself.

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But every man may well see that I never use that way with Tyndale nor with any of these folk; but I rehearse their reason to the best that they can make it themselves; and I rather enforce it and strengthen it of mine own than take any part of theirs therefrom.

30

And this use I not only in such places as I do not rehearse all their own words (for that is not requisite in every place), but I use it also in such places besides as of all their own words I leave not one syllable out. For such darkness use they purposely, and Tyndale in especial, that except I took some pain to set out

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1–2 *mocks and mows*: derisive statements and jests

5 *prove*: establish the validity of

10 *misrehearse*: relate inaccurately

11 *slenderly*: inadequately

15 *faintly*: perfunctorily

22 *hunger-starven*: starved to death

24 *wot*: know // *seely*: poor

34 *darkness*: obscurity

35 *especial*: particular // *except*: unless

their arguments plainly, many that read them should little wit what they mean.

And to the intent every man may see that these good brethren little care how loud they lie: let any man look, whoso will... and he shall find that of Friar Barnes I have left out little, except a leaf or two concerning the general councils, and I show the cause why; and as for Tyndale, of divers whole chapters of his I have not wittingly left out one line—and very few, I am sure, of oversight either—but have put in all his chapters whole whereupon any weight of his matter hangeth, except only in the defense of such English words as he hath changed in his translation of the New Testament. And yet therein they can never say but that I have put in all the strength and pith of his proof. 5 10

But all the remnant of his chapters, as far as I have gone, have I put in whole, leaving out naught but railing and preaching without proof; and that but in one place or twain; and where I so do, I give the reader warning. 15

Now, that his chapters be whole rehearsed in my book I suppose it may meetly well appear by the matter consequently pursuing, if the reader leave my words out between and read but Tyndale's alone. Or if any one word or some few left out of chance put that proof in doubt... yet have the brethren among them, I warrant you, of Tyndale's books enough by which they may try this true. 20

And well ye wot if this were untrue that I say, some of them could assign at the leastwise some one such place for an example. But that thing neither do they nor never can while they live. 25

The Third Chapter

Now, whereas these good, blessed brethren say that my writing is so long and so tedious that they will not once vouchsafe to look thereon: they show themselves that my writing is not so long as their wits be short, and the eyes of their souls very purblind, while they cannot see so far as to perceive that in finding so many faults in that book which they confess themselves they neither read nor can find in their heart to look upon, they show 30

1 *wit*: know

2 *general councils*: ecumenical councils (of the Catholic Church)

7 *wittingly*: knowingly

19 *meetly*: fairly / *matter consequently pursuing*: content immediately following

23 *try this true*: put this to the test and find it to be true

25 *assign*: point out

26 *while*: as long as

31 *purblind*: myopic, nearsighted

32 *while*: when

themselves either of lightness ready to give hasty credence to other folk or of malice to make many lies themselves.

It is little marvel that it seem long and tedious unto them to read it over within, whom it irketh to do so much as look it over without; and every way seemeth long to him that is weary ere he begin. 5

But I find some men, again, to whom the reading is so far from tedious that they have read the whole book over thrice—and some that make tables thereof for their own remembrance—and that, such men as have as much wit and learning both as the best of all this blessed brotherhood that ever I heard of. 10

Howbeit, glad would I have been if it might have been much more short; for then should my labor have been so much the less.

But they will, if they be reasonable men, consider in themselves that it is a shorter thing and sooner done 15
It is a short matter to write heresies.
 to write heresies.

For the most foolish heretic in a town may write more false heresies in one leaf than the wisest man in the whole world can well and conveniently by reason and authority soil and confute in forty. 20

Now, when that Tyndale not only teacheth false heresies but furnisheth his errors also with pretense of reason and Scripture—and instead of reason, sometimes, with blunt subtleties and rude riddles too—the making open and lightsome to the reader the dark writing of him that would not by his will be well perceived hath put me to more labor and length in answering than some man would peradventure have been content to take. 25

And I sometimes take the pain to rehearse some one thing, in diverse fashions, in more places than one, because I would that the reader should in every place where he fortuneth to fall in reading have at his hand, without remitting over elsewhere, or labor of further seeking for it, as much as shall seem requisite for that matter that he there hath in hand. And therein the labor of all that length is mine own, for ease and shortening of the reader's pain. 30

Now on the other side, as for Tyndale and Barnes, I wot ne'er well whether I may call them long or short. 35

For sometimes they be short indeed, because they would

1 *lightness*: unthinkingness

3 *marvel*: wonder

10 *wit*: intelligence

12 *howbeit*: nevertheless

19 *conveniently*: properly

22 *pretense of*: claiming as support

23 *blunt*: pointless // *subtleties*: abstruse considerations

23 *rude*: simplistic; flawed

35–36 *I wot ne'er well*: I don't really know

be dark and have their false follies pass and repass all unperceived.

Tyndale's compendious eloquence Sometimes they can use such a compendious
kind of eloquence that they
convey and couch up together, with a wonderful brevity, four 5
follies and five lies in less than as many lines.

But yet, for all this, I see not in effect any men more long than they.
For they preach sometimes a long process to very little purpose.
And since that of all their whole purpose they prove in conclusion
never a piece at all... were their writing never so short, yet were 10
their whole work at last too long by altogether. But
greatly can I not marvel though these evangelical brethren think
Heretics think all my works too long. For everything
things too long. think they too long that aught is.

Our Lady's Psalter think they too long 15
by all the Ave Marias—and some good piece of the Creed, too.

Then the Mass think they too long by the Secrets, and the
Canon, and all the Collects wherein mention is made either of
saints or souls.

Instead of a long portuous, a short primer shall serve them. 20
And yet the primer they think too long by all our Lady Matins.
And the seven Psalms think they long enough without the litany.

And as for Dirige or commendation for their friends' souls, all
that service they think too long by altogether. 25

But now, good readers, I have, unto these delicate, dainty folk
that can away with no long reading, provided with mine own
pain and labor as much ease as my poor wit could devise.

First, when they were before fast in the Catholic faith, they
never needed to have read any of these heretics' books that have 30
brought them into these new-fangled heresies. But now, since they be
by their own folly fallen first into doubting of the truth,
and afterward into the leaning toward a false belief, they be very
negligent and unreasonable if they will not, at the leastwise for
their own surety, search and see somewhat whereby they may perceive 35
whether these new teachers of theirs be such as they take
them for.

Now have I then considered that they would peradventure wax
weary to read over a long book; and therefore have I taken the

8 *process*: discourse

38 *wax*: become, grow

20 *portuous*: (portable) breviary

39 *over*: from beginning to end

21 *Matins*: an hour of the Divine Office

25 *altogether*: the whole thing

27 *away with*: endure

29 *fast*: fixed firmly

35 *surety*: certainty, security // *somewhat*: something

more pain upon every chapter, to the intent that they shall not need to read over any chapter but one, and that it shall not force greatly which one, throughout all the book.

For I dare be bold to say, and am ready to make it good with the best evangelist of all this evangelical brotherhood that will set his pen to the contrary, that there is not one chapter of Tyndale's, or Barnes' either, that I have touched through mine whole work, but that I have so clearly and so fully confuted him that whoso read it indifferently may well and clearly see that they handle their matter so falsely, and yet so foolishly therewith, that no man which regardeth either truth or wit should once vouchsafe to read any farther of them. 5 10

Now, he that will, therefore, read any one chapter, either at adventure or else some chosen piece in which himself had went that his evangelical father Tyndale had said wonderfully well, or else Friar Barnes either—when he shall in that one chapter, as I am sure he shall, find his holy prophet plainly proved a fool, he may be soon eased of any further labor. For then hath he good cause to cast him quite off and never meddle more with him; and then shall he never need to read more of my book neither, and so shall he make it short enough. 15 20

Howbeit, if he list, for all that, to pardon his prophet in that one place, and think that he wrote that piece peradventure while the Spirit was not upon him, and that he saith much better in some other place, and so will read on further to find it: then shall himself make my work long. For he shall, I trust, read it over, and yet shall he never come to it. And thus, as for the tedious length of my writing, I have, I trust, without great length given the good brotherhood a sufficient answer. 25

The Fourth Chapter 30

But now will the brethren peradventure say that I may be bold to say very largely of mine own because men may not be bold in these matters to defend Tyndale's part.

2 *force*: matter

7 *touched*: criticized

11 *wit*: good sense

13 *at adventure*: at random

14 *went*: thought

19 *meddle more with*: have anything more to do with

22 *list*: choose

32 *say very largely*: speak very freely

33 *part*: side (of the controversy)

It were indeed somewhat better than it is, if they said true. But neither are such things so diligently controlled, nor such folk so afeard of such heretical favor, as they should be if every man did his part; nor they lack no wily drifts in such wise also to defend those things as they may save for themselves some color to say that they meant none harm.	5
And to prove that they be neither so sore afeard in such things nor lack such inventions of uttering their forbidden ware, besides the bold erroneous talking that is now almost in every lewd lad's mouth... the brethren boast that they hear divers parts of my book well and plainly in sundry of their sermons confuted; and then they cannot say, ye see well, that they leave me unanswered for fear.	10
Howbeit, though they be bold upon some parts even now, some parts haply there are whereupon they dare not be so bold yet, but little and little will peradventure hereafter.	15
Howbeit, some parts that they be already bold upon be meetly well for a beginning; whereof for example I shall remember you one or twain.	
Tyndale's false translation of the New Testament was (as ye wot well, and as himself confesseth) translated with such changes as he hath made therein purposely, to the intent that by those words changed, the people should be nuzzled in those opinions which himself calleth true Catholic faith, and which things all true Catholic people call very false, pestilent heresies.	20 25
<i>Tyndale's translation</i> This translation therefore being by the <i>condemned and burned</i> clergy condemned, and at Paul's Cross openly burned, and by the King's gracious proclamation openly forbidden, I wrote in a place of my <i>Dialogue</i> , in the 100 th leaf, among other things these words:	30
The faults be so many in Tyndale's translation of the New Testament, and so spread through the whole book, that likewise as it were as soon done to weave a new web of cloth as to sew up every hole in a net, so were it almost as little labor and less to translate the whole book all new as to make in his translation so many changes as need must be ere it were made good; besides this—	

1 *were*: would be

4 *drifts*: ploys

6 *color*: plausible reason

8 *inventions*: plans, schemes // *ware*: stuff

9 *erroneous*: heretical

10 *lewd*: uneducated // *divers*: several

15 *haply*: perhaps

23 *nuzzled*: nurtured

28 *openly*: publicly

29 *gracious*: godly // *place*: passage

that there would no wise man, I trow, take the bread which he well
wist was of his enemy's hand once poisoned, though he saw his
friend after scrape it never so clean.

These words of mind were rehearsed in a sermon, and answered
in this wise: that though there were bread that were poisoned indeed, 5
yet were poisoned bread better than no bread at all.

Now was this word, taken up and walked about abroad among
the brethren and sistren, so highly well liked among them that
some of them said that all my reasons were voided clean with that
one word. 10

Howbeit, indeed one of their own wives yet told her own
husband at home, when she heard him boast it, how jollily it was
preached "Better poisoned bread than no bread"... "By our Lakin, Brother
Husband," quod she, "but as properly as that was preached, yet would
A woman's answer I rather abide the peril of breeding 15
worms in my belly by eating of flesh
without bread than to eat with my meat the bread that I wist well
were poisoned."

And of truth, good reader, this word of his was one of the most
proud and presumptuous, and therewith the most unwise, too, that 20
ever I heard pass the mouth of any man reputed and taken for
wise.

For when the thing had been examined, considered, and condemned—
by such as the judgment and the ordering of the
thing did appertain unto, that false, poisoned translation was 25
forbidden the people—it was a heinous presumption of one
man, upon the trust of his own wit, to give the people
courage and boldness to resist their prince and disobey their
prelates, and give them no better staff to stand by than such a
bald poisoned reason: that poisoned bread is better than no bread. 30

For first I pray you, how proveth he that poisoned bread were
better than no bread? I would ween it were as good to forbear meat
and starve for hunger as to eat rat's bane and die by poison... but
if the preacher prove me that it were better for a man to kill himself
than die. 35

But now falleth he in double folly; for first, his proper, wise word
can have no wit therein but if he prove that the people must

1 *trow*: trust

4 *rehearsed*: quoted

9 *reasons were voided clean*: arguments were completely negated

13 *our Lakin*: colloquial variant of "our Lady"

14 *properly*: excellently, admirably

17 *wist*: knew

needs perish for lack of spiritual food except the Scripture be translated into their own tongue.

Now, if he say and affirm that... then every fool, almost, may feel the man's folly.

For the people may have every necessary truth of Scripture, and everything necessary for them to know concerning the salvation of their souls, truly taught and preached unto them 5

It is not necessary to though the corps and body of the Scripture
salvation that be not translated unto them in their
Scripture be in English. mother tongue. 10

For else had it been wrong with English people from the faith first brought into this realm unto our own days; in all which time before, I am sure that every English man and woman that could read it had not a book by them of the Scripture in English. And yet is there, I doubt not, of those folk many a good, saved soul. 15

And secondly, also, if the having of the Scripture in English be a thing so requisite, of precise necessity, that the people's souls should needs perish but if they have it translated into their own tongue—then must there the most part perish for all that, except the preacher make farther provision besides: that all the people shall be able to *read* it when they have it... of which people far more than four parts of all the whole divided into ten could 20

never read English yet, and many now too old to begin to go to school, and shall with God's grace, though they never read word of Scripture, come as well to heaven, and as soon too, as himself, peradventure, that preached that wise word. Many have thought it a thing very good and profitable that the Scripture well and truly translated should be in the English tongue. And albeit that many right wise and well-learned both, and very virtuous folk also, both 25

have been and yet be in a far other mind: yet for mine own part, I both have been and yet am also of the same opinion still, as I have in my *Dialogue* declared, if the men were amended and the time meet therefor. But that it were a thing of such precise necessity that the people's souls must needs perish but if that 30

be had; and that therefore we should suffer rather such a poisoned translation than none, and willfully kill ourselves with poison rather 35

10 *precise*: literal

20 *most part*: vast majority

28 *truly*: accurately

31 *in a far other mind*: of a very different opinion

36 *suffer*: allow

than we would take wholesome meat in at our mouth but if we may first have it in our own hands: this heard I never any wise man say; no, nor fool neither, till Tyndale came forth with his new-translated Scripture, translating the truth of Christ into false Luther's heresies.

5

And yet when the brethren have heard such a wise word in a sermon... that word use they to take solemnly for a sure authority, and say that all the long reasons of Sir Thomas More is here answered shortly with one word.

But now have I, with more words than one, made you plain and open the folly of that wise word.

10

And whensoever he that preached it can hereafter again, with many more words than I have here written, prove his word wisely spoken... let him keep one copy thereof with himself for leeing, and send another to me; and then that copy that I receive, I will be bound to eat it though the book be bound in boards.

15

The Fifth Chapter

Another example of such kind of answering have I seen made unto the first chapter of my Third Book of *Tyndale's Confutation*; of which answer the brethren boast greatly and say that I am answered even to the point.

20

For this word was said unto a friend of mine in great boast, by a special sure, secret brother of this new-broached brotherhood; whereupon, when I had heard it, I longed sore to see that answer. For in good faith, I had myself thought that I had so fully answered that chapter of Tyndale's which is "Whether the Church Were before the Word, or the Word before the Church," that he should never without his shame be able to reply while he lived. And therefore longing sore to see how I was answered now therein, I required my friend to find the means, if he might, that I might see the book—weening that some new work of Tyndale's had been of late come over. But afterward he brought me word that it was answered not beyond the sea, but here within the realm; not by any book specially made against it, but in a sermon once or twice openly preached. Howbeit, not of a sudden brayed, but afore-studied

25

30

35

4 *false*: untruthful / despicable

14 *leeing*: losing / lying

21 *even*: right

23 *new-broached*: newly introduced

24–25 *in good faith*: in all honesty

26 *were*: came, existed

30 *required*: asked // *might*: could

34 *specially made*: written specifically

35 *brayed*: cried out (as by an ass) / a pun on "braid," an extemporaneous attack

and penned; whereof the book as a spirit in close goeth about
Ps 91:6 secretly, *velut negotium perambulans in tenebris*, among this blessed brotherhood;
 but I trust to turn it into *demonium meridianum*, that every man may
 see him somewhat more plainly appear, and show himself in his own
 likeness. 5

Now is it so, indeed, that in that chapter of Tyndale's there be
 certain lines left out in mine answer. Howbeit, they were of
 truth left out by oversight in the printing, which may well
 appear by this: for in mine answer I so touch those words that 10
 the leaving out of them maketh mine own more dark and less
 perceived. And therefore are they content to find no fault at the
 leaving out of them, but make as though all were in; and also
 because that mine answer is, as they boast, by that sermon so well
 and substantially confuted. 15

But now, because I would be loath to be judged by the only
 brethren and sisters of the false fraternity—and to the intent they
 shall all well see that I fear not the judgment of indifferent folk—
 I shall put abroad, that all folk may see, those words of that solemn
 sermon by which they boast that mine answer unto that chapter 20
 of Tyndale's chapter is so goodly confuted.

The very formal words, lo, good readers, of that sermon, for as
 far as pertain to this matter, after the copy that was delivered
 me (which copy I reserve and keep for my declaration), therein be
 these words that hereafter follow: 25

Jas 1:18 Now it followeth in the epistle, "Voluntarie
 enim genuit nos verbo veritatis."

This text may be expounded after this manner: He made us by
 the truth of his word; he made us first (ye know) of nothing;
 and he made us as the chief and principal of all his creatures. 30
 For he gave unto us wit and reason, the which he gave unto no
 creature living in the earth but only to us. But to come more near
 the matter, we may say that God willingly begot us by the word
 of his truth... and hath put us here into this world, and here to 35
 be as the lord and ruler of all his creatures, the which he made for our
 comfort and succor. But yet we may go more near you, and say

1 *close*: confinement

2–3 *velum* . . . *tenebris*: like a pestilence that roams in darkness; a quote from Psalm 91

4 *demonium meridianum*: noonday devil

10 *touch*: treat of, discuss

11 *dark*: obscure

21 *goodly*: splendidly

22 *formal*: literal, verbatim

23 *after*: according to

24 *declaration*: exposition

how that he hath begotten us by the word of his truth. Mark,
I pray you, here, how that Saint James saith that God hath begotten
us through his word of truth. Here it appeareth that we be not
true of ourselves; for we are made true by *God*, through his word.

And whereas of ourselves we were no other but liars, God
of his infinite goodness hath made us by his word the children of
truth and of salvation, whereas before we were but liars, and such
as worketh none other thing but even the very displeasure of God.

Now God, of his merciful goodness, by his holy word of truth
hath made us his children, that is to say, the children of his
truth; “even as it pleased him,” saith Saint James, “he hath begotten
us by the word of his truth.” Mark how that he saith “even as it
pleased him” he begot us. If we were begotten and made as it pleased
him—then was it not done as it pleased *us*. And again, and if we
were begotten by him—then could not we give him none occasion
to love us. For why we came of him, and not we of us. Here may you
perceive also that this text maketh against them that will say
the Church was before the Gospel.

It is plain enough that the Church was *not* before the Word; for
Saint James saith that God begot us through the word of his
truth. If we were begotten *by* the Word, then needs must the Word
be before we were begotten—or else how should we be begotten by the
Word?—and by the Word, he saith, we *were* begotten. If God
begot us through the Word... we must needs grant that he that
begot us was before that we were begotten; and he that begot us
begot us by the Word; then needs must the Word be before that
we were begotten. Now, then, if this word were before we were
begotten... how can we say that the Church was before this word?

If we mean by “the Church” the church of lime and stone, then it
is plain enough that the Word was before any such church was
made. For we find that it was many a day after man was made
ere ever there were any such churches made. If ye mean by “the
Church” the universal church of God, the which is the congregation
of all Christian people; if you mean this church, and say how
this church was before the Word: then Saint James maketh you
an answer to that, saying how that by the Word this church was
begotten. Then needs must we grant that the word of God was
before any church was.

Yea, but some will not be content with this answer, but they will

14 *and if*: if

16 *For why*: By reason of the fact that

say that the Church was before that this word was written of any man, and it was admitted and allowed by the Church, and so was the Church before his word. Yea, but yet I will say to you again how that this word *was* written before the Church was; yea, and it was not written by men, but it was written by God our Savior before the beginning of the world; as witness Saint Paul, where he
Heb 10:16 saith to the Hebrews, “Dabo leges meas,” etc.
 “I will give my laws, saith God, into their hearts, and in their minds shall I write it.” Behold how God gave it them at the beginning in their hearts, and wrote it in their minds, and they exercise his law written in their hearts indeed and in effect.
 Thus may ye see that at the beginning God wrote his laws in their hearts, and therefore must we needs grant that the word of God was taught to them long ere ever the Congregation taught it.
 For you see that by the Word we were begotten; therefore the Word must needs be before we were begotten; or else how could the Word beget us?
 Some peradventure will say that the Church was before this word was written in books of paper and parchment and such other things, and that the Church did admit them to be read of them which they thought necessary to look on them. They will say that the Church was before this was done. Yea, but what thing is this to the purpose, or what shall we need to stand arguing of this matter?
 It is plain enough to all men that hath eyes to see and ears to hear, how the word of God was before any church was, and how the word of God was written before it was written in any books or tablets; and therefore what shall we need to dispute this matter? But good Lord, if it had not been written by the evangelists in those days, how should we do in these days, the which bring forth the Scripture for them indeed?—and yet they will bear them in hand that it is no Scripture and if it had not been written in books then! Notwithstanding, ye may perceive how the Word was ere ever the Church was, and the Word begot us, and not we the Word; and also it was written ere ever the Church allowed it to be written.

Now, good readers, to the intent ye may the better perceive for what purpose the brotherhood boasteth these words, ye shall understand that whereas Luther first and Tyndale after him

2 *allowed*: accepted as authentic

20 *of*: by

31 *bear them in hand*: give them to understand

32 *and if*: if

tell us for a foundation of all their abominable heresies that there is nothing that ought to be taken for a sure and undoubted truth of the Christian belief but if it may be proved by plain and evident Scripture: the King's Highness, in his most famous book of *Assertion of the Sacraments*, laid against Luther—and I, out of the same book of my said sovereign lord, took and laid against Tyndale and all such—that the word of God is part written in the

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The word of God is part Scripture, and part unwritten that
written, part unwritten. appeareth not proved therein; as, for example, the perpetual virginity of our

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Lady and other divers points which were only taught by Christ to his apostles, and by them forth to the Church... and so, by tradition of the Church beside the Scripture and without writing, taught and delivered unto Christian people from age to age... and so, the faith and belief of those things kept and continued

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from the apostles' days unto our own time. And that if the Church were nothing bound to believe but only the things plainly written in Scripture—then had all folk before Moses' days been left at liberty to leave all God's words unbelieved. And then had Christ's church in the beginning been at liberty to leave a great part

20

of Christ's own words unbelieved. For the Church was gathered, and the faith believed, before any part of the New Testament was put in writing. And which writing was or is the

The true Scripture is true Scripture, neither Luther nor Tyndale
known by the Church. knoweth but by the credence that they give to the Church.

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And therefore, since the word of God is as strong unwritten as

The word of God is as strong written, and which *is* his word written
unwritten as written. Tyndale cannot tell but by the church which hath by the assistance of the

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Spirit of God therein the gift of discretion to know it; and since that that gift is given (as Saint Augustine saith and Luther himself confesseth) to this common-known Catholic church: why should not Luther and Tyndale as well believe the Church in that it telleth them “this thing did Christ and his apostles say” as they

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must believe the Church (or else believe nothing) in that it telleth them “this thing did Christ's evangelists and apostles write”?

3 *but if*: unless

30 *assistance*: active presence

Now, good readers, Tyndale seeing how sore this reason of the King's Highness doth touch and turn up the very foundation and great part of his heresies, he doth in his book against me, of which book he maketh the title *Which Is the Church, and Whether It May Err or Not*, put this chapter, "Whether the Church Were before the Gospel, or the Gospel before the Church." Which chapter, to the end ye may the more clearly perceive the matter, I shall rehearse you whole; and after that, some part of mine answer thereto. And then if ye read again the words of this sermon that I have here inserted before... every child, almost, shall be well able to judge whether this preacher have in his sermon voided well mine answer or no. These are Tyndale's words:

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. 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 9, 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. 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.

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.

And moreover, as the dark air giveth the sun no light; but contrariwise, the light of the sun in respect of the air is of itself and lighteneth the air, and purgeth it from darkness: even so the lying heart of man can give the word of God no truth; but contrariwise, the truth of God's word is of herself and lighteneth the hearts of the believers, and maketh them true... and cleanseth them from lies; as thou readest, John 15, "Ye be clean by reason of

10 *were*: came, existed

the Word.” Which is to be understood in that the Word had
 purged their hearts from lies, from false opinions, and from
 thinking evil good, and therefore from consenting to sin.
 And, John 17, “Sanctify them, O Father, through thy truth. And
 thy word is truth.” And thus thou seest that God’s truth dependeth 5
 not of man. It is not true because man so saith or admitteth
 it for true. But man is true because he believeth it, testifieth, and
 giveth witness in his heart that it is true. 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 10
 the doctrine of Muhammad truer than Christ’s.

Lo, good readers, here have ye heard Tyndale’s chapter—the matter
 whereof the brethren boast that the words of that sermon do so well
 and substantially maintain, against mine answer made unto
 this chapter. 15

But now, to the intent ye may yourself judge whether that sermon
 may bear out their boast or not... I shall rehearse you some part
 of mine answer. Lo, thus beginneth mine answer unto Tyndale’s
 chapter:

Lo, he that readeth this and heareth not the answer—except himself 20
 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 make this objection to Tyndale but himself... then shall ye 25
 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, 30
 and Masses said and the other sacraments ministered among Christian
 people, before any part of the New Testament was put in writing;
 and that this was done by the word of God unwritten. And I said
 also there—and yet say here again—that the right faith which
 Adam had, and such as in the same faith succeeded him long ere 35
 writing began, was taught by the word of God unwritten; and

Note 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. 40

23 *playeth therewith so pleasantly*: deals with it so pleasingly

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 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. 5

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 of God, but by the tradition of the Church. 10

Which church—as all Christian men believe, and the Scripture sheweth, and Saint Augustine declareth, and Luther himself confesseth, and the devil himself saith not nay—the blessed Spirit of God hath inwardly 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” it “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 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. 15

And therefore I showed in my said dialogue—and yet the King's Highness much more plainly showed in his most erudite, 25

Note famous book against Luther, out of which I took it—that the word of God unwritten is of as great authority, as certain, 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 neither Luther, Tyndale, nor Huessgen, nor all the hellhounds that the devil hath in his kennel, never hitherto could, nor while God 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. 30

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 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 35

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 40

20 *suffered*: allowed

35 *never so fast*: no matter how zealously

said that the Gospel and the word of God unwritten 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 <i>part</i> of the Gospel was written; for as for all the <i>whole</i> 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 help	5
<i>Note</i> he hath had of all the heretics in Almaine this two or three years together, 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 <i>written</i> . 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 before the Gospel and the word of God <i>unwritten</i> ; 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 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.	10
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	20
Lo, good readers, here have I now rehearsed you but a piece of mine answer unto that chapter of Tyndale; and yet by this one piece alone may ye clearly perceive that all those words of that sermon go so far wide from the point that they not only do nothing help Tyndale (for all the labor that they take about it), but also the preacher of them taketh a fouler fall than Tyndale... in that the preacher stumbleth at the same stock, and falleth into the same puddle, that Tyndale did, and that after that he was warned by mine answer made to Tyndale before.	25
	30
For this here ye see: that this preacher in the first part of his words toucheth not the matter; but little and little he descendeth thereto by the expounding of these words of Saint James, "Voluntarie	
<i>Jas 1:18</i> enim genuit nos verbo veritatis"; that is in English, "He hath willingly begotten us	35
by the word of truth."	
Howbeit, the preacher Englisheth it thus: "He made us," or "begot" us,	

8 *Almaine*: Germany

10 *match therewith*: combat it

11 *fain*: constrained

18 *fondly*: foolishly // *juggleth*: plays tricks

20 *nothing*: not at all // *juggler*: magician

21 *galls*: little balls; possibly oak apples

28 *stock*: tree stump

“by the truth of his word.” Which words after that he hath expounded after divers manners, he cometh at last to that exposition by which he expoundeth those words in this wise: that “God hath willingly by his word made us the children of truth and of salvation.” And after a thing or two noted and marked therein (which I shall haply make you to mark well and see somewhat more therein hereafter than the preacher showeth you there), he cometh to the point with which we be now in hand, and therein thus he beginneth:

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Here may you perceive also that this text maketh against them that will say the Church was before the Gospel.

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But now do you, good readers, clearly perceive and see that this preacher saith wrong. For while they against whom he preacheth—that is to wit, they that say the Church was before the Gospel written—

*How the Church was
before the Gospel*

do both mean and plainly write that the Church was not before that the Gospel was in God’s mind, nor before

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it was preached and taught by mouth... but only before it was written in Books; and that the cause why they so say and write and put men in mind of that point is because that the heretics would make men ween that God’s word were of none authority, nor worthy to be believed, but if it were written in the Books: now I say that since ye know, good readers, that they against whom this preacher thus preacheth do mean, and say, and write, as ye now see they do... ye cannot but clearly perceive and see that this preacher doth in this point but labor to blind his audience, and meeteth nothing with the matter.

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For now, this thing had in mind and considered... all his reason after, which he taketh out of Tyndale’s chapter, waxeth even dead for cold.

For what heat or what one spark of life, after this thing considered, have all his words that follow, wherein he saith:

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It is plain enough that the Church was *not* before the Word; for Saint James saith that God begot us through the word of his truth. If we were begotten *by* the Word, then needs must the Word be before we were begotten—or else how should we be begotten by the Word?—and by the Word, he saith, we *were* begotten. If God begot

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8 *in hand*: dealing

13 *was before the Gospel written*: existed before the written Gospel

25–26 *meeteth nothing with the matter*: does not at all grapple with the issue

29 *even*: downright

us through the Word... we must needs grant that he that begot us was before that we were begotten; and he that begot us begot us by the Word; then needs must the Word be before that we were begotten. Now, then, if this word were before we were begotten... how can we say that the Church was before this word?	5
If we mean by "the Church" the church of lime and stone, then it is plain enough that the Word was before any such church was made. For we find that it was many a day after man was made ere ever there were any such churches made. If ye mean by "the Church" the universal church of God, the which is the congregation of all Christian people; if you mean this church, and say how this church was before the Word: then Saint James maketh you an answer to that, saying how that by the Word this church was begotten. Then needs must we grant that the word of God was before any church was.	10 15
All this childish reason, ye wot well, which Tyndale hath begotten him, and which he bringeth out of Tyndale's chapter and fathereth it upon Saint James, be it never so quick in another matter, is yet in this, as touching them against whom he preacheth it, clean quailed in the travail and utterly borne dead... while they against whom he preacheth say not precisely that the Church was before the Gospel, nor before God's word, but only say that the Church was before the Gospel and God's word was put in writing.	20
And that his reason is dead, as I say it is... himself that preached it perceiveth; and therefore he goeth farther and draweth nearer to the matter, and saith:	25
Yea, but some will not be content with this answer, but they will say that the Church was before that this word was written of any man, and it was admitted and allowed by the Church, and so was the Church before his word. Yea, but yet I will say to you again how that this word <i>was</i> written before the Church was; yea, and it was not written by men, but it was written by God our Savior	30
<i>Heb 10:16</i> before the beginning of the world; as witness Saint Paul, where he saith to the Hebrews, "Dabo leges meas," etc. "I will give my laws, saith God, into their hearts, and in their minds shall I write it." Behold how God gave it them at the beginning in their hearts, and wrote it in their	35

16 *All this childish reason*: This whole childish argument

18 *quick*: viable

19 *touching*: concerning

20 *quailed in the travail*: brought to an end during labor

21 *while*: when

minds, and they exercise his law written in their hearts indeed
and in effect.

Thus may ye see that at the beginning God wrote his laws in
their hearts, and therefore must we needs grant that the word
of God was taught to them long ere ever the Congregation taught it.
For you see that by the Word we were begotten; therefore the Word
must needs be before we were begotten; or else how could the
Word beget us?

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By these words, good readers, ye see that himself perceiveth
that all his other words were not worth a rush, because they came
not near the purpose, nor anything toucheth them against whom he
preacheth them. And therefore, seeing that Tyndale is by mine
answer therein proved a fool... he goeth, as ye see, further than Tyndale
went. But therein the nearer he cometh to the point, the more he
proveth himself to go the further from reason. For what reason
hath he that in arguing against another, saith but the same that they say?

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Now, all that ever he saith in these words, say we against whom
he preacheth them.

And we not only say the things that he saith now—that is
to wit, that God's word was ere ever it was written, and that it
was written in hearts ere ever it was written in Books—but these be
also the things that we specially lay against him whose said
chapter this preacher would with these words defend. For *since*
the Gospel of Christ and the words of God that are now written in
Books were all written in hearts before they were written in Books,
and yet were at that time of the same strength and authority that
they be now... we say to Luther and Tyndale, and all such other

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A very false opinion

heretics, that they say false in that they
preach and teach that men are bound
to believe nothing but if it be written in Books; since God is at his
liberty to give his word into his church even yet at this day by
his own mouth, through the inspiration of his Holy Spirit sent
thereunto, and by himself abiding ever therein... and, at the
preaching of the Church, write it in the hearts of the hearers, as well and
as surely as ever he gave his word to his church by his apostles,
and wrote it in the people's hearts at their preaching, at such time
as it was yet unwritten in any of the apostles' books.

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35

10 *rush*: straw

11 *the purpose*: the point at issue // *anything toucheth*: make any point against

15 *reason*: rationality, sense

17 *we against whom*: we, the ones against whom

And over this, we tell them that the same church by only which church they now know which books be those that have the word of God in them that the apostles and evangelists have written—the same church, I say, doth tell them that the words of God which God will have us believe, be not all written in those books, but some part still remain only written in hearts, as before the books written they did altogether. And we tell them that Tyndale must as well believe the Church in telling him which be those words of God that yet remain unwritten as he doth and must believe it in telling him which be those books in which the words of God are written.

And therefore, good readers, what things in this world could this preacher have devised worse to bring forth against me for Tyndale's defense than those with which, as ye see, Tyndale is most clearly confounded!

But now shall ye see that this preacher perceiveth it well enough himself. And therefore after that he hath set forth Tyndale's reason, and dissimuled mine answer that I have made to it... and so, before his audience, wrestled a while in the dark, where, for lack of sight of the matter, they might not see how he fell... he waxed yet half weary thereof at last, and somewhat ashamed, too, lest he were peradventure spied, and fain would he therefore have shaken off the matter and rid himself out honestly; and therefore in conclusion he cometh down to this:

Some peradventure will say that the Church was before this word was written in books of paper and parchment and such other things, and that the Church did admit them to be read of them which they thought necessary to look on them. They will say that the Church was before this was done. Yea, but what thing is this to the purpose, or what shall we need to stand arguing of this matter?

It is plain enough to all men that hath eyes to see and ears to hear, how the word of God was before any church was, and how the word of God was written before it was written in any books or tablets; and therefore what shall we need to dispute this matter? But good Lord, if it had not been written by the evangelists in those days, how should we do in these days, the which bring forth the Scripture for them indeed?—and yet they will bear them in hand that it is

18 *dissimuled*: dissembled

22 *fain*: gladly

23 *rid himself out honestly*: extricated himself in a respectable way

27 *of*: by

no Scripture and if it had not been written in books then! Notwithstanding,
ye may perceive how the Word was ere ever the Church
was, and the Word begot us, and not we the Word; and also it was
written ere ever the Church allowed it to be written.

Here have ye seen, good readers, after long wrestling with me, 5
what shift this preacher maketh to shake the matter off. For seeing that
he can in no wise defend Tyndale's reason, he would at last fain
shake off the question. And indeed the question, as Tyndale
frameth it of his own fashion for his own advantage, is very 10
frivolous and foolish. And therefore this preacher goeth, as I say,
somewhat further and cometh nearer to the point in which the matter
of the question lieth. But then because he cannot defend Tyndale
and void mine answer, after the time driven forth in furnishing
of Tyndale's reason... when he cometh to the point, he leaveth mine 15
answer untouched, and would shake off the question for naught.

But that thing now, good readers, will not well be for him. For
the necessity of this question you see now yourself. For since
Luther and Tyndale and other such heretics do teach that no
word of God is now to be believed, nor to be taken for God's word
by the teaching of the Catholic Church, but if it be written in 20
Scripture—they drive us of necessity to tell them again that the

<i>The Church was before the Scripture.</i>	Church was before the Scripture, and before that <i>any</i> of God's words were written therein; and that <i>all</i> his words that he will	25
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have believed, were never written; and that he is not so tongue-tied
but that he is at liberty to speak yet more words when he will, and
may bind us as well to believe them as ever he bound us to believe
any word that ever he spoke before, be it unwritten or written.
And that in all such things Luther and Tyndale both, and Friar Barnes
too, and all the heretics of them, must, as I said, of reason believe 30
the Church as well when it telleth them "these things Christ hath by
his own Spirit or by the mouth of his apostles taught us" as when
it telleth them "these things hath Christ by the pen of his apostles
written us." Now is this knot so sure that it can never be loosed but
if these heretics, or this preacher for them, can by plain Scripture 35
prove us that God hath caused all such things to be written in Scripture
already—and, over that, made a promise, either that he will

1 *and if*: if

13 *avoid*: refute // *driven forth*: passed

20 *but if*: unless

21 *again*: in reply

24–25 *all his words . . . were never written*: not all his words . . . were ever written

never speak any such word more, or that if he do, he will at the leastwise take no displeasure with us though we tell him plainly that since it is not in Scripture already, he shall write it in if he will, or else will we not believe him.

The Sixth Chapter

5

And this preacher himself so well perceiveth that this point is true that I tell you, that he would fain, if he could prove it, say that all such things *are* written already in Scripture. And therefore though, because he seeth that I have in the last chapter of my first part of *Tyndale's Confutation* overthrown Tyndale therein, he forbore to affirm it forth out in plain and open words—yet he giveth his audience a proper insinuation thereof, and maketh a pretty glance thereat, in those words where he saith in the last end:

10

But good Lord, if it had not been written by the evangelists in those days, how should we do in these days, the which bring forth the Scripture for them indeed?—and yet they will bear them in hand that it is no Scripture and if it had not been written in books then! Notwithstanding, ye may perceive how the Word was ere ever the Church was, and the Word begot us, and not we the Word; and also it was written ere ever the Church allowed it to be written.

15

20

By these words would he, lo, though he say it not plain out, that folk should ween that of anything which we be bound to believe, the evangelists and apostles left in their days naught unwritten. Which point, if it could be proved, would help some heresies well forth, but yet not so many as heretics would make men ween. For many things that they say be not in Scripture are yet in Scripture indeed. As is for the Sacrament of Confirmation, and Aneling, and Holy Orders, and Matrimony, and the very Blessed Body and Blood of Christ in the Holy Sacrament of the Altar. And for good works against faith alone, and for holy vows of chastity against the abominable bitchery of friars that wed nuns, and many such other things. And in all such matters the question is not of the Word written or unwritten, but upon the interpretation and the right understanding of God's word already written.

25

30

35

12 *proper*: real

13 *pretty*: clever

13 *glance*: sudden movement producing a flash

29 *Aneling*: Anointing (of the Sick) // *very*: true, actual

31 *against*: as opposed to

32 *bitchery*: lewdness, harlotry

And therein is, in effect, the question also no more but whether that
in the construction and exposition of Holy Scripture we should of

A worthy number of reason better believe holy Saint Augustine...
holy doctors holy Saint Ambrose, holy Saint Jerome,
holy Saint Cyprian, holy Saint Chrysostom, 5
holy Saint Basil, holy Saint Cyril, and the three Gregorys
of Greece, holy saints all three, and holy Saint Gregory the Pope,
with all the other old holy doctors and fathers of the faithful
doctrine, on the one side... or else, on the other side, lewd Luther,
A rabblement of heretics and Lambert, Barnes, Huessgen, and 10
Zwingli, Schwarzerdt, Tyndale, George
Joye, and Denck, Bainham, Bayfield, Hitton, and Tewkesbury,
with Brother Burt, and young Father Frith.

There would be now, between these two sorts, no great doubt in the
choice (as methinketh) if he that should choose have wit. 15

And in such matters this is the great question indeed; which
thing if any of their favorers dare deny, and will affirm that in
the construction of the Scripture they have the old holy doctors
on their side... let all these heretics and all that bear them favor
find out among them all so much as one of all the old 20
holy saints that so did construe the Scripture as now these new
heretics do, for wedding of monks, friars, and nuns, which
the whole Catholic Church, all this fifteen hundred years before these
late, lewd heresies began, have evermore abhorred and held
for abominable—let these new brethren (I say) now find out, among 25
them all, any one of the old holy saints that said the breach of
their vows was no sin; and then am I content they say that all
the remnant be whole upon their part in all the remnant of all
their poisoned heresies.

But on the other side, if they cannot among them all find 30
out so much as one old holy man for their part in this point in
which we can bring many against them: then must they needs
confess that in the construction of the Scripture (forasmuch, at the
leastwise, as appertaineth to this point), saving for the undoubted
faith of the whole Catholic Church full fifteen hundred years 35
together against these vow-breaking brethren (which thing alone

8 *old*: early // *faithful*: in accord with the (Catholic) faith; orthodox

9 *lewd*: evil

15 *wit*: good judgment

sufficeth for their full condemnation), else standeth all the question but in this: whither of the twain should in the exposition of holy Scripture be by reason among the unlearned people better believed—the old holy, gracious doctors and saints, or these new wedded monks and friars, graceless apostates, and heretics. 5

And then since no good Christian man can doubt whither part is the better of these twain... no good man can there doubt (ye see well) but that these new doctors, Luther, Lambert, Tyndale, Huessgen, and Zwingli, with all their adherents, be plain, abominable heretics in this one point at the least. Which point while it is so shameful and full of filthy beastliness... I dare be bold to say that neither hath that man nor that woman any respect or regard of any cleanness or honesty that can with favor vouchsafe to read their books or hear them till they first forswear and abjure the defense and maintenance of that incestuous sacrilege and very beastly bitchery. 10 15

The Seventh Chapter

But now to return to the point which this preacher would covertly color in his said words, and would make it seem that the apostles and evangelists had written all things that God bindeth us to believe, where he saith: 20

But good Lord, if it had not been written by the evangelists in those days, how should we do in these days, the which bring forth the Scripture for them indeed?—and yet they will bear them in hand that it is no Scripture and if it had not been written in books then! 25

These words seem to be miswritten, either in the principal book or in the copy. For I think it would be, “if it had not been written by the evangelists in those days, how should we do in these days, in which we bring forth the Scripture for us indeed, and yet they bear us in hand that it is no Scripture.” Howbeit, howsoever his words were indeed, he meaneth by them (as ye see) to show that there was a necessity wherefore God caused all necessary things 30

4 *gracious*: godly, pious

5 *graceless*: ungodly; devoid of sanctifying grace

6 *whither*: which

10 *while*: when, since

13 *honesty*: honor // *vouchsafe*: see fit

15 “incestuous” in that monks and nuns are regarded in canon law as brothers and sisters

18 *color*: dissemble, camouflage

to be put in writing. But unto that point as I have already made
 answer unto Tyndale in the *Confutation*... all the things that the
 Church teacheth for necessary, and saith they were God's words—
 all those, I mean, which these heretics say be not specified
 in Scripture and that therefore they be not God's words nor any
 necessary truths, but false inventions of Satan (as Tyndale saith) 5
 and damnable dreams of men (as Barnes saith)—this preacher yet cannot
 deny but kept have such things been in remembrance and
 observed this thousand years, yea, twelve or thirteen hundred, among
 Christian people; yea, and as long as the Gospels of Christ hath been 10
 written, and haply somewhat before, too, as may be gathered of old,
 ancient writings.

Howbeit, though it were somewhat less shall little force for the
 matter. For if they may abide by any means in remembrance
 a thousand years... by the selfsame means may they abide in 15
 remembrance another thousand too. Then since these folks say
 that these things being so long preserved and kept in remembrance
 be out of the Scripture: now would I wit of this
 preacher whether they have been so long kept and preserved by
 God, or by man, or by the devil. If he say by God... then be they of 20
 likelihood good things, and not falsehoods but truths. And if he say that
 they be false, and that yet God hath kept them... then followeth it at
 the least that he could have kept them as well all this long while
 though they had been true, and that without the Scripture,
 as he hath kept them hitherto. 25

And thereof followeth it also that he had no necessity to cause
 every necessary truth that he would have kept in remembrance
 to be put in the Scripture, as this preacher would have it seem.

But now if this preacher will say, on the other side, that these
 things have not been preserved by God among Christian people... but 30
 be false things, and have all this long while been kept either by
 man or devil: yet since God is as strong and as mighty as man and
 devil both, it followeth, ye see well, that the thing which they have
 done in keeping of false things, God could as well do in the
 keeping of true things, and needed to the keeping no more Scripture 35
 than they.

And thus, good readers, every way ye see that this reason of this

11 *of*: from // *old*: early

13 *little force*: make little difference

24 *without*: outside, apart from

37 *reason*: reasoning

preacher which Tyndale laid against me before him—that God did
 cause all necessary things to be written in Scripture, because that
 else they could not have continued in remembrance—this reason,
 I say, ye see cannot hold. For those things have continued as long
 in remembrance which things themselves say be not in the
 Scripture. 5

For where this preacher protesteth the necessity of the putting of all
 things in Scripture—with a figure of apostrophe, and turning
 his tale to God, crying out,

O good Lord, if it had not been written by the evangelists in those 10
 days, how should we do in these days, the which bring forth
 the Scripture for them indeed?—and yet they will bear them in hand
 that it is no Scripture . . .

—these words, lo, prove plainly for my part: that there is as
 great surety in the word of God unwritten and taught unto the 15
 Church by the Spirit without the Scripture as in his word written in
 the Scripture. For whoso believe the Church will grant both... and
 whoso believe not the Church will deny both, as this preacher here
 saith himself. For he knoweth not which *is* the Scripture but by

The Scripture is known the Church. And therefore where he saith 20
by the Church. that men nowadays, if “we” lay them
 forth the Scripture indeed, “they will bear

them in hand that it is no Scripture”... verily if it hap (as it happeth often)
 that the preachers of these new sects do lay forth for them very
 Scripture indeed, which Scripture maketh not for them indeed, 25
 but some false *glosses* that they give the Scripture indeed—there will
 the true Catholic preachers say that they *abuse* the Scripture
 indeed. But they will never say that the Scripture which they
 brought forth is no Scripture indeed. For that way doth none use but
 these heretics only; nor they cannot all say that there is any leaf 30
 or line that ever themselves have taken for Scripture hitherto
 but the Catholic Church, of whom they learned it, doth affirm
 the same. But on the other side, there are some parts of Scripture,
 which the whole Catholic Church affirmeth for Scripture—
 which parts yet these heretics affirm for none. As, for example, 35
 the selfsame epistle of Saint James which this preacher made that sermon

5 *themselves*: they themselves

8–9 *turning his tale to God*: now addressing God (pun surely intended)

15 *surety*: certainty, reliability (32/15)

24 *lay forth for them*: cite as being on their side

26 *glosses*: interpretations

upon; which epistle Friar Luther and Friar Barnes both let
 not boldly to deny for Scripture, because in many places it destroyeth
 their heresies. And yet is there never a heretic of them,
 for all that, but where it may serve to seem to prove his purpose,
 there will he bring it forth for Saint James' own, and find 5
 no fault therewith.

And thus, good Christian readers, here have I somewhat showed you
 how little cause the brethren have to boast that piece of that sermon,
 and say that it hath well defended Tyndale's said chapter and
 clearly confounded me in that part of my *Confutation*. And this 10
 have I showed you somewhat the more at length because it toucheth
 a point that is either for the maintaining or confounding of
 many great heresies a very special key.

The Eighth Chapter

For as for the preacher's other pieces in the beginning of those 15
 words, I have let pass untouched... where he saith,

... "he hath begotten us by the word of his truth, even as it pleased
 him." Mark that Saint James saith "even as it pleased him" . . . If
 we were begotten and made even as it pleased *him*—then was it
 not done as it pleased *us*. And again, and if we were begotten by him— 20
 then could not we give him none occasion to love us. For why we
 came of him, and not we of us.

These words, good readers, have no great harm in them at the
 first face. But they allude unto certain words of Tyndale with 25
 which he argueth against me because I say in my *Dialogue* that man
 may with his free will, by good endeavor of himself, be a worker
 A very notable saying with God toward the attaining of faith.
 Against which saying of mine, Tyndale
 (as I have showed in my second part of *Tyndale's Confutation*),
 in mockage of man's endeavor toward the belief, and in scorning 30
 that man should captive his understanding and subdue his reason
 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 after this fashion:

1 *let*: forbear

5–6 *find no fault therewith*: see nothing wrong with doing that

11 *toucheth*: has to do with

13 *great*: big

21 *For why*: By reason of the fact that

23–24 *at the first face*: at first sight

32 *hideous*: portentous and fearsome

34 *sentence*: pronouncement

O how beetle-blind is fleshly reason! The will hath none operation at all in the working of faith in my soul, no more than the child hath in the begetting of his own 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.

5

To this piece of Tyndale's tale it seemeth that this preacher doth allude. And he covertly layeth, as ye see, the reason that Tyndale layeth for it: of the begetter and him that is begotten. But he layeth not the authority of Saint Paul, as Tyndale doth; but he layeth the words of Saint James which he hath here in hand—"God hath willingly begotten us with the word of his truth"—and sticketh for this purpose upon this word "willingly," and argueth thus: "God begot us 'willingly,' saith here Saint James; that is to wit, after his own will, and as it pleased him; ergo he did not beget us after our own will, nor as it pleased us."

10

15

This argument hath this preacher underpropped and enforced with interpreting of the word "willingly"... for that is the word of Saint James. Which word the preacher strengtheneth here with "after his own will, and as it pleased himself." And yet neither that word "willingly" of itself nor strengthened with all these others can make but a bare form of arguing if it were in another matter. For if I desired a man to give me a thing, and labored much to him therefor, and much endeavored myself in many things to please him, to the intent that he should give it me, and that he thereupon so did... this were then but a poor argument, to say thus: "This man willingly gave me this thing, and after his own will, and as it pleased him; ergo he gave it me not after mine own will and as it pleased me." For as ye see, it both pleased him to give it me and also it pleased me that he so should; or else I would never have desired it, nor never have labored therefor.

20

25

30

And thus ye see that the authority of Saint James nothing helpeth this preacher in his purpose against all occasion and all endeavor of man toward the getting of faith, by which we be begotten.

4 *wit*: intellect

7 *tale*: discourse

8 *layeth*: adduces // *reason*: reasoning

15 *after*: in accord with

22 *bare*: poor in quality

23–24 *labored much to him therefor*: worked hard on him for it

25 *much endeavored*: greatly exerted

32 *nothing*: not at all

33 *purpose*: case // *occasion*: occasioning; causative involvement

But Tyndale layeth that text of Saint James against the Sacrament of Baptism, to prove that “the word of the promise” doth all the work in the regenerating of the soul by faith... and that the water toward the infusion of grace, or washing of the soul, is none instrument of God, nor nothing else but a bare, graceless token... because Saint James saith that God hath cleansed us “by the word of truth”—which Tyndale there expoundeth “by the word of his promise”; as though never a word of God were true but only his promise. Now of truth, the word of God that a preacher preacheth, by which the points of the faith be learned... be signs and tokens that signify the things in the mind which are by those words brought unto the hearer’s ear and from the ear to the heart; as the water signifieth and betokeneth the inward washing of the soul in that sacrament. And as God useth the one token of the word to the washing and cleansing of the soul through the means of obedience of the will, in captiving of his reason and understanding into the service of faith, by credence and assent given unto the word of faith—in which, whatsoever Tyndale say and this preacher too, man having age and use of reason may be a willing worker with God, or else whereto should any man advise and bid another come unto the true faith?—so may God use the other token of the water as an instrument also to the same purpose, by the like means of obedience on the man’s part, in submitting himself to that ablution, for the fulfilling of God’s commandment and ordinance.

Howbeit, what I further answer Tyndale to these words of Saint James... whoso list to see, let him read in my first part of *Tyndale’s Confutation*, in the answer unto Tyndale’s preface, the number 53, and then set this to it; and he shall see that neither Tyndale there nor this preacher here hath by their manner of expounding these words of Saint James won themselves much worship. Howbeit, of truth the thing that goeth nearer to their purpose against all the work of free will, and all endeavor of man toward the attaining of faith, is the authority of Saint Paul that Tyndale bringeth forth; which yet proveth it not. And the reason that he layeth by example of the father and the son—which reason this preacher, though

5–6 *a bare, graceless token*: a mere symbol, not grace-bearing

21 *whereto*: why; to what purpose

22 *bid*: invite

32 *worship*: renown

33 *goeth nearer to their purpose*: comes closer to their argument

35 *authority of*: proof text from

somewhat faintly since he seeth it will not serve, yet somewhat repeateth here by these words, where he saith,

And again, if we were begotten by him, then could not we give him none occasion to love us; for why we came of him, and not we of us . . .

5

—by these words he meaneth the thing that Tyndale allegeth where he saith,

The will hath none operation at all in the working of faith in my soul, no more than the child hath in the begetting of his father.

And of truth, Tyndale and this preacher said somewhat, if in the spiritual generation the man that is regenerated were evermore as far from all work of will at such time as God goeth about to beget him by faith as is the child at such time as his grandfather goeth about by nature to beget his father. 10

But now, on the other side, if in the generation at the begetting of his father, the son be not yet so much as a child, nor hath no will at all; and at the time of the spiritual regeneration of himself, he that is regenerated hap to be more than a child, and have the freedom of his own will, and hath the choice thereby put in his own hand, whether he will, at God's calling to faith (by reading, preaching, miracle, and such other occasions, with good inward motions added also thereto), follow the Spirit, and walk and work with God by captiving of his own understanding and subduing of his own reason, into the assent and belief of the things that he shall be moved unto, and by calling upon the continuance of God's gracious help thereunto, and thereby come into the service of faith; or whether he will else reject God's good and gracious motion and resist it, and so flee from the getting of the gift of faith—if the man, I say, be at the time of his spiritual begetting in this case, as every man that hath at the time age and use of reason is... then is this example that Tyndale doth there put, and that this preacher doth here repeat, of the child at the carnal birth of his father, much less like the man at the spiritual birth of himself than is an apple like unto an oyster. 15 20 25 30

Howbeit, good readers, because the brethren blame my books 35

1 *faintly*: halfheartedly

6 *allegeth*: asserts

10 *said somewhat*: would have had something there

35 *blame*: criticize

for the length... I will make no longer argument of this matter here;
for in these few words it appeareth meetly well.

But if any man think himself with this not yet fully satisfied,
then hath he need, for his contentation, to see the matter handled somewhat
more at length. And whoso therefore listeth so to do, let 5
him read in my Fourth Book of *Tyndale's Confutation* (which is in the
first book of the second part), in the chapter of "The Manner and Order of
Our Election," beginning, if he list, in the leaf that is marked with
the number of 112, and then will his own reason serve him to see
how far the matter goeth; which if he read out, I dare boldly 10
promise that he shall there find such things as, against Tyndale
and this preacher both, shall, as for this point, in all reason be
sufficient to satisfy him.

But now if this preacher will peradventure say that of his
words in both these matters I have misrehearsed him... I am 15
ready to bring forth my copy and the man of whom I had it, too.
Or else I shall make him a much fairer offer: because he may
peradventure say that he never wrote that sermon himself, but
that some of his audience, which of devotion wrote as much as
they bore away upon the hearing, did write it diminute and 20
mangled for lack of good remembrance... let him upon this
answer of mine seen (if it happen to come into his hands) write
his own words himself... not only as well as he then suddenly
spake them, but as well also as he can with long leisure make
them. And when he hath done in them the best that ever he 25
can—and take whose help he will, too—if he make it so as he may
therewith void and refel my confuting of Tyndale in those two
points that those words of his sermon touch, then dare I be
bound to forswear this land and live in Antwerp and be Tyndale's
man. 30

Howbeit, if in the matter of man's endeavor toward the attaining
of faith by walking on with God willingly after that God
hath prevented him with his grace by calling on him and
giving him occasion to come forward—if any brother think to
escape and avoid my proof, in the place afore-remembered, by the 35

15 *misrehearsed*: misquoted

16 *of whom I had it*: from whom I got it

17 *fairer*: more attractive

20 *diminute*: diminished, incomplete

21 *mangled*: distorted (by the leaving out of essential parts)

23 *suddenly*: extemporaneously

27 *avoid*: negate, invalidate // *refel*: refute, disprove

28 *touch*: have to do with

30 *man*: manservant

33 *prevented* him: anticipated; come first, ahead of him

distinction that Tyndale hath learned of Philipp Schwarzerdt
and bringeth forth against me, of historical faith and feeling

A distinction of faith faith (which distinction divers of the
brethren and sistren have in their
mouths now, and therewith suddenly cast a mist before unlearned
men's eyes, and make them a-dazed, for the time, that never heard
of it before), he that would wind away with this distinction shall
nothing avoid my confuting of Tyndale in that place. For if
his distinction be true... yet upon God's gracious prevention
and first calling upon, I say and there prove that the willing
The willing endeavor of man endeavor of man in following, helpeth
to the attaining of every manner
kind of faith... and procureth the progress and increase of grace to
the perfecting of that virtue in man, and with man, which God
first began in man by God's own prevention without man—but
in them that have age and discretion, useth not to finish and
fulfill it without man; but when man refuseth, except he amend
and turn, else God leaveth finally his own good-begun work unfinished.
And therefore saith Saint Augustine to every man that hath
use of reason: "He that hath created thee without thee, doth not justify thee
without thee."

And yet for further conclusion, because I hear say that the
same distinction of historical faith and feeling faith glittereth
now so gaily in the brethren's eyes... let them read my *Confutation*
through. Or, because they call that too long, let them read but the
Seventh Book, which is entitled "The Defense of the Second Reason
against Tyndale." Or if they think that book alone too long, let them
leave a great part of the book, and begin in that leaf and that side of
the leaf that is marked with the number of 340. And then if they
can for heart-burning abide and endure to read it up to the end... I
dare be bold to warrant that they shall find the same gay, golden
distinction of historical faith and feeling faith, found
first by Philipp Schwarzerdt—which, like as Friar Huessgen hath named
himself Oecolampadius, hath made his name now Melanchthon—
this distinction, I say, so made by Melanchthon, shall they see so

1 *of*: from

7 *wind*: wriggle

8 *nothing avoid*: not at all invalidate

9 *prevention*: coming-before

16 *discretion*: use of reason // *useth not*: is not wont

31 *gay*: brilliant / specious

brought in there by Tyndale, and so set forth and furnished by the learning and labor of them both, that it cometh to such pass in conclusion that no part of all Tyndale's tale is brought to more shameful confusion.

But now the brethren will (when any good Catholic man provoketh them to read the place in my book) answer as divers of them have done ere this to such good Catholic folk as provoked them thereto and offered to read it with them, and thereupon to try between them whether Tyndale or I had better reason on our part: the brethren have upon this offer shrunk at last therefrom, after great crakes made of Tyndale's part, with great contempt of mine answer before; and have answered that they will not misspend their time in reading of mine answer, they see Tyndale's tale so sure. 5 10

Now, of truth, this had been a good answer and a reasonable, if when they were fast in the true Catholic faith, they would thus have answered any such as would have advised them to read in Tyndale, and search whether the faith of all the holy saints and of all the whole corps of Christendom this fifteen hundred years together were true or false. For that were a thing whereof it were a very frenzy to doubt. 15 20

But, now, they that are fled from the faith of all them of whose faith there was no cause to doubt... and are fallen to the faith of a few faithless folk (false apostates, wild wedded monks and friars, and their fond disciples)—if they make themselves so sure of their devilish doctrine that they refuse to read the things that are written for the confutation of their errors... every good Catholic man that so seeth them do, may with good reason tell them that they do not cleave to these foolish heretics for anything that they think them to say truth, but because they would fain it were truth whether it be or no; and that they show their frowardness therein very plainly, while their hearts abhor and cannot abide to read any book by which their own conscience giveth them that they shall find their opinions plainly proved false, and their archheretics plainly proved fools. For if they hoped the contrary, they would, I warrant you, be themselves the first that would call others thereto. 25 30 35

And thus much for this time sufficeth for this point.

3 *all Tyndale's tale*: Tyndale's whole discourse

10 *reason on our part*: reasoning on our side (of the controversy)

11 *crakes*: crowings, boasts

14 *Tyndale's tale so sure*: what Tyndale says as being so sound

20–21 *were a very frenzy*: would be a real madness

25 *fond*: foolish

30 *would fain it were*: would like it to be

31 *frowardness*: perversity

32 *while*: when // *abhor*: shrink with repugnance

The Ninth Chapter

Now come I to them that say I handle Tyndale and Frith and Barnes ungoodly and with uncomely words, calling them by the name of heretics and fools... and so use them in words as though the men had neither wit nor learning; whereas it cannot be denied, they say, that they be such as every man knoweth well have both. 5

As for wit and learning, I nowhere say that any of them have none; nor I mean no further but for the matters of their heresies. And in the treating of those... they show so little wit or learning either, that the more they have, the more appeareth the feebleness of their part and the falsehood of their heresies, if they have any great wit or any great learning indeed, and then, for all that, in the defending of those matters with such foolish handling so shamefully confound themselves. 10 15

Howbeit, of very truth, God upon such folk as, having wit and learning, fall willfully from faith to false heresy, showeth his wrath and indignation with a more vengeance in some part than (as some doctors say) he doth upon the devil himself. 20

For (as divers doctors hold opinion) the fiends be fallen from grace, and therefore have lost their glory; yet God hath suffered them to keep their gifts of nature still, as wit, beauty, strength, agility, and such other like.

And Father Alphonse, the Spanish friar, told me that the devils be no such deformed, evil-favored creatures as men imagine them; but they be in mind proud, envious, and cruel. And he bade me that if I would see a very right image of a fiend... I should 25

The right image of a fiend no more but even look upon a very fair woman that hath a very shrewd, fell, accursed mind. And when I showed him that I never saw none such, nor wist not where I might any such find—he said he could find four or five; but I cannot believe him. Nor, verily, no more can I believe that the fiends be like fair shrewd women if there were any such. Nor, as the world is, it were not good that young men should ween so. For they be so full of courage that, were the fiends never so accursed, if they thought them like fair women they would never fear to adventure upon them once. Nor, to 30 35

2 *ungoodly*: improperly, rudely

2 *uncomely*: unseemly, not nice

4 *use*: treat; act toward

10 *treating*: discussing

12 *part*: side (of the controversy)

17 *willfully*: deliberately

19 *doctors*: theologians

26 *evil-favored*: ill-favored, ugly

28 *bade*: instructed // *right*: accurate

29 *even*: just // *fair*: beautiful

30 *shrewd*: wicked

30 *fell*: cruel, malevolent

31 *showed*: told

38 *adventure upon*: take a chance on

say the truth, no more can I believe, neither, that the damned
Note spirits have all their natural gifts as
 whole and as perfect as they had before
 their fall.

But surely if they have... then, as I said before, God hath on 5
 Tyndale, Barnes, and Frith, and those other heretics, more showed
 his vengeance, in some part, than he did upon the devil. For in
 good faith, God hath, as it seemeth, from these folk taken away the
 best part of their wits.

For likewise as they that would have built up the Tower of 10
Gn 11:1–9 Babylon for themselves against God had
 such a stop thrown upon them that
 suddenly none understood what another said: surely so God
 upon these heretics of our time that go busily about to heap up
 to the sky their foul, filthy dunghill of all old and new false, 15
 stinking heresies, gathered up together against the true
 Catholic faith of Christ, that himself hath ever hitherto taught
 his true Catholic Church—God, I say, which when the apostles
 went about to preach the true faith, sent down his own Holy
Acts 2:1–12 Spirit of unity, concord, and truth 20
 unto them, with the gift of speech and
 understanding, so that they understood every man and every man
 understood them... hath reared up and sent among these heretics
 the spirit of error and lying, of discord and of division, the
 damned devil of hell, which so entangleth their tongues and so 25
 distempereth their brains that they neither understand
 well one of them another nor any of them well himself.

And this that I here say, whoso list to read my books shall find
 it so true, and so plainly proved in many places, that he shall
 well see and say that this is the thing which in my writing grieveth 30
 this blessed brotherhood a little more than the length.

And therefore, where they find the fault that I handle these
 folk so foul—how could I other do? For while I declare and show
 their writing to be such (as I needs must, or leave the most
 necessary points of all the matter untouched), it were very hard for 35
 me to handle it in such wise as when I plainly prove them

11 *the Tower of Babylon*: the Tower of Babel. It was in Shinar (see Gn 11:2), i.e., Babylonia.

12 *stop*: check, obstacle

24 *error*: going astray // *division*: dissension

30 *grieveth*: vexes

33 *other do*: do otherwise // *while*: when

35 *all the matter*: the whole issue // *were*: would be

abominable heretics and against God and his sacraments and saints very blasphemous fools, they should ween that I speak them fair.

But then they say that the pacifier which writeth of the
division between the spirituality and the temporality calleth no 5
man by no such names... but speak he never so evil of any, he can
yet use his words in fair manner, and speak to each man genteelly.
I cannot say nay but it is very truth. Howbeit, every man hath
not like wit nor like invention in writing. For he findeth many 10
proper ways of uttering evil matter in good words, which
I never thought upon, but am a simple, plain body much like the
Macedonians: Macedonians for whom Plutarch writeth
a proper story that King Philip, their master, made a
reasonable excuse. For when they were in 15
the war, some of their enemies fled from their own king and came
into King Philip's service against their own country; with
whom when the Macedonians fell sometimes at words (as it often
happeth among soldiers), the Macedonians in spite would call
them traitors. Whereupon they complained to King Philip, 20
and made the matter sore and grievous: that—whereas they had
not only left their own native country, but did also fight
against it and help to destroy it, for the love and service that they
bore toward him—his own people letted not in anger and in
despite to call them false traitors. Whereupon King Philip 25
answered them, "Good fellows, I pray you be not angry with my
people, but have patience. I am sorry that their manner is no better.
But iwis ye know them well enough—their nature is so plain, and
their utterance so rude, that they cannot call a horse but a horse,
they." And in good faith, like those good folk am I. For though 30
Tyndale and Frith, in their writing, call me a poet... it is but
of their own courtesy, undeserved on my part. For I can neither
so much poetry nor so much rhetoric, neither, as to find good
names for evil things; but even as the Macedonians could not call
a traitor but a traitor, so can I not call a fool but a fool, nor a
heretic but a heretic. 35

2–3 *speak them fair*: address them politely

4 *pacifier*: reconciler

5 *division . . . temporality*: dissension between the clergy and the laity

7 *in fair manner*: in a nice way

9 *wit*: mental capacity // *invention*: creativity

10 *proper*: clever, artful // *matter*: content, stuff

23 *letted not*: did not forbear

24 *despite*: contempt // *false*: disloyal

27 *iwis*: surely

28 *utterance*: speech // *rude*: unsophisticated

30 *poet*: a writer of fiction

31 *can*: know

Some of the brethren said that I should at the leastwise call Friar Barnes by the name of “Doctor,” because he was authorized and made a doctor of divinity by the university. But one answered for me to that, and said that name was given to serve for the time in which he was meet to teach; and not now, when he is not meet to teach, but is by the Church, for false teaching, forbidden to teach. But then, unto that, one of them answered again and asked, “Why should I, then, call him ‘Friar’ still, while he is now no longer a friar no more than a doctor?” 5

But unto this I could between them tell some reason of difference. Howbeit, rather than to make this book over-long by holding a problem upon every trifle... I shall be content, like as instead of “Doctor” men call him heretic, so instead of “Friar” to call him the other name that every man calleth all those that be run out of religion. Lo, there have I fallen on a fair figure unawares (that is, I trow, called “periphrasis”), to avoid the foul name of apostate. 15

But, now, these good brethren that find the fault with me that I speak no fairer unto these holy prophets of theirs... be so equal and indifferent that in them they find no fault at all for their abominable railing against so many other honest, honorable, good, and virtuous folk, nor for condemning for damned heretics the whole Catholic Church of all Christian people except heretics, both spiritual and temporal, secular and religious too. 20

But then the good brethren excuse them and say that they write against none but only them that are naught, and write but against their vices. 25

But this will evil defend them, when Barnes writeth against the whole clergy, and Tyndale saith expressly that of them all there is never one good. 30

And also they write not so much against pomp and pride and gluttony as against watching and praying, fasting and willful poverty; and all these things in good religious people the heretics abhor, and call it but hypocrisy.

Then rail they not so sore in words against the lay people; but, as fair as they flatter them to make them enemies to the clergy, yet they damn them all to the devil—both themselves and 35

3 *one*: someone

28 *evil*: ill

5 *meet*: fit

32 *willful*: voluntary

12 *holding . . . trifle*: debating every little thing

33 *religious people*: monks and nuns

14–15 *be run out of religion*: are fled from religious life

15 *fair*: polite // *figure*: expression

16 *trow*: believe

19 *equal*: impartial

21 *honest*: decent, upstanding

24 *spiritual and temporal*: of the clergy and of the laity

25 *excuse*: take up for

26 *naught*: bad, immoral

their fathers, and their grandfathers, and their grandfathers' great-
Note why all Christendom grandfathers too. For they say that this
hath been led from God, eight hundred years all the corps of Christendom
as heretics do say. hath been led out of the right way
 from God, and have lived all in idolatry, and 5
 died in service of the devil—because they have done honor to
 Christ's cross, and prayed unto saints and revered their
 relics and honored their images, and been baptized in Latin,
 and taken matrimony for a sacrament, and used confession, and done
 penance for sins, and prayed for all Christian souls, and been 10
 aneiled in their deathbed, and have taken their housel after the
 rite and usage of the Church, and have set more by the Mass
 than they should do, and believed that it was a sacrifice, a host,
 and an oblation, and that it should do them good, and have
 believed that there was neither bread nor wine in the Blessed Sacrament 15
 of the Altar, but instead of bread and wine, the very Body
 and Blood of Christ. All these things, say Tyndale and Barnes, both
 be very false belief and great, damnable sin in the doing; and so
 damn they to the devil the whole Catholic Church both temporal
 and spiritual, and (except heretics) leave not one man for 20
 God's part this eight hundred years past, by their own limitation;
 and of truth, if their false heresies were true, not in the
 other seven hundred before that, neither.
 Now, when that against all the whole Catholic Church (both
 that now is and that ever before hath been from the apostles' days 25
 hitherto, both temporal and spiritual, laymen and religious),
 and against all that good is (saints, ceremonies, service of God,
 the very sacraments and all), and most against the best (that is to
 wit, the precious Body and Blood of our Savior himself in the
 Holy Sacrament of the Altar), these blasphemous heretics in their 30
 ungracious books so villainously jest and rail—were not a
 man, ween you, very far overseen and worthy to be accounted uncourteous
 that would in writing against their heresies presume
 without great reverence to rehearse their worshipful names!
 If any of them use their words at their pleasure, as evil and as 35
 villainous as they list, against myself... I am content to forbear
 any requiting thereof, and give them no worse words again than if
 they speak me fair; nor, using themselves toward all other folk
 as they do, fairer words will I not give them than if they spoke

11 *aneiled*: anointed // *taken their housel*: received Holy Communion
 27 *ceremonies*: rites // *service of God*: the liturgy
 31 *ungracious*: wicked, ungodly
 32 *overseen*: out of line
 34 *rehearse*: speak // *worshipful*: illustrious
 38 *using*: behaving
 37 *again*: in return

me foul. For all shall be one to me; or rather, the worse, the better.
 For the pleasant oil of heretics cast upon my head can
 do my mind no pleasure; but contrariwise, the worse that such
 folk write of me for hatred that they bear to the Catholic church
 and faith, the greater pleasure (as for mine own part) they do me. 5
 But surely their railing against all others, I purpose not to bear so
 patiently as to forbear to let them hear some part of like
 language as they speak. Howbeit, utterly to match them therein, I
 neither can though I would, nor will, neither, though I could... but
 am content (as I needs must) to give them therein the mastery 10
 wherein to match them were more rebuke than honesty.

Now, if they excuse themselves and say they speak evil but of evil
Good things among heretics things (for so call they good works of
 are "evil works." penance, and so call they the ceremonies
 and sacraments of Christ's church), I 15
 answer them plainly that they lie; wherein every true Christian
 man will testify that I say truth; for those things be good and
 holy which they rebuke and call naught. And I say further, also,
 that by that excuse of theirs they make mine excuse too, in the thing
 wherewith they be worst content: that is to wit, where I somewhat 20
 sharply rebuke wedding of friars and nuns; which thing is, as all
 the world wotteth, beastly and abominable indeed.

And also if they will excuse themselves and say that as touching
 men, they rail against none but such as be lewd and
 naught—to this I answer first that in this thing they lie. For they 25
 rail against all. And some they call naught by name, whose
 special goodness shall have record and witness of all good folk
 that know them. Secondly, I say further that by this excuse of theirs...
 they must needs excuse me too, when I rebuke themselves. For they 30
 be well and openly known and convicted for heretics, which is, ye
Heresy of all crimes wot well, the worst crime that can be; and
is the worst. that, for heretics of such a manner
 sort as is the worst kind of that crime
 that ever came out of Christendom.

Howbeit, I am yet content, for all this, to fall at some reasonable 35
 composition with them. Let us take this way between us from
 hence forth, if they list. Like as I do not allow but abhor incontinence
 in sacred, professed persons that have vowed chastity... so let
 them confess that themselves abhor also the beastly, bitcherly

9 *can . . . could*: could even if I wanted to, nor would want to even if I could
 10 *give them . . . the mastery*: let them . . . win
 11 *more rebuke than honesty*: more disgrace than honor
 12 *excuse*: defend
 20 *worst content*: least happy *record*: attestation
 36 *composition*: agreement
 37 *allow*: sanction, condone

marriages of monks, friars, and nuns, and of all such as have unto God promised and vowed the contrary. And then, since all our matter is only of the faith... let them forbear instead of reasoning to fall to railing upon other men's living. For thereby fleeing from the matter of faith... they furnish out their process with lying, while the faults of some they lewdly lay to all.

5

If they will not (which were the best) revoke their false heresies; nor will not (which were the next) be heretics alone themselves, and hold their tongues and be still, but will needs be babbling and corrupt whom they can: let them yet at the leastwise be reasonable heretics and honest, and write reason and leave railing; and then let the brethren find the fault with me if I use them not after that in words as fair and as mild as the matter may suffer and bear.

10

But this way will they never take, I ween. For then they see well that their disciples will never have half the lust to look upon their books, wherein they should then find but a poor feast and an

15

*All the revel of heretics
doth stand in railing.*

evil-dressed dinner. For in their only railing standeth all their revel; with only railing is all their roast meat

20

basted, and all their pot seasoned, and all their pie meat spiced, and all their manchets, and all their wafers, and all their hippocras made.

The Tenth Chapter

Now passing over this point... I come to this that these good brethren say: that they list not to read my books... for I am suspect in these matters, and partial toward the spirituality.

25

As for suspect—if I be now suspect, the world waxeth all of a new kind. For men were wont to call those folk suspect that were suspect of heresy. And this is now a new kind of suspects, if men be now “suspected” of the Catholic faith. Howbeit, in that suspicion am I glad to be fallen, and purpose never to purge it.

30

5 *furnish out*: supply what is lacking in; fill up // *process*: argument

6 *lewdly*: vilely // *lay*: attribute, impute

11 *reasonable*: rational, reasoning // *honest*: decent

12 *use*: deal with

16 *lust*: inclination

18 *evil-dressed*: ill-prepared

18–19 *in their only railing*: in only their railing

22 *manchets*: rolls or small loaves made of the finest wheat

22 *hippocras*: spiced wine

32 *purge it*: clear myself of it (by oath or by ordeal)

Now, as touching partiality upon my part toward the spirituality—
 I marvel whereof they gather it. Myself am, pardie, a
 temporal man... and by twice wedding am come in the case that I
 can never be priest. And as for all the lands and fees that I have
 in all England besides such lands and fees as I have of the gift of
 the King's most noble grace, is not at this day, nor shall be while my
 mother-in-law liveth (whose life and good health I pray God long
 keep and continue), worth yearly to my living the sum of full
 fifty pounds. And thereof have I some by my wife, and some by my
 father (whose soul our Lord assoil), and some have I also purchased
 myself; and some fees have I of some temporal men.
 And then may every man well guess that I have no very great
 part of my living by the clergy, to make me very partial to
 them.

And over that, this shall I truly say: that of all the yearly living
 that I have of the King's gracious gift... I have not one groat by the
 means of any spiritual man, to my knowledge; but, far above my
 deserving, have had it only by his own singular bounty and
 goodness and special favor toward me.

And verily, of any such yearly fees as I have to my living at this
 day of any other... I have not had one groat granted me since I
 first wrote, or went about to write, my *Dialogue*; and that was, ye wot
 well, the first work that I wrote in these matters.

But then say the brethren (as their holy father writeth, and
 telleth also divers whom he talketh with) that I have taken great
 rewards in ready money of divers of the clergy for making of my
 books.

In good faith, I will not say nay but that some good and honorable
 men of them would, in reward of my good will and my labor
 against these heretics, have given me much more than ever I
 did or could deserve. But I dare take God and them also to record,
 that all they could never feoff me with one penny thereof, but (as
 I plainly told them) I would rather have cast their money into
 the Thames than take it. For albeit they were, as indeed
 they were, both good men and honorable... yet look I for my thank

2 *marvel*: wonder // *gather*: deduce 35 *thank*: reward

2 *pardie*: a mild oath, equivalent to "by golly"

3 *temporal man*: layman

6 *while*: as long as

7 *mother-in-law*: stepmother

10 *assoil*: release from purgatory

15 *truly*: truthfully

16 *groat*: a silver coin worth four pennies

21 *of any other*: from anyone else

22 *my Dialogue*: i.e., *A Dialogue concerning Heresies*

26 *of divers*: from several (members) // *making*: the writing

28 *say nay but that*: deny that

32 *all they*: they all // *feoff me with*: put me in possession of

of God, that is their better, and for whose sake I take the labor, and not for theirs.

And if any of the brethren, believing their holy fathers, think, as some of them say, that I have more advantage of these matters than I make for, and that I set not so little by money as to refuse it when it were offered—I will not much dispute with them longer upon the matter. But let them believe as they list... yet this will I be bold to say for myself, although they should call me Pharisee for the boast, and Pelagian for my labor, too: that how bad soever they reckon me, I am not yet fully so virtuous but that of mine own natural disposition, without any special, peculiar help of grace thereto, I am both over proud and over slothful also, to be hired for money to take half the labor and business in writing that I have taken in this gear since I began.

And therefore, cause of partial favor to the priests' persons have I none, more than hath every good Christian man and woman—which *Honor is to be given to the Sacrament of Order.* is of duty bound to give honor and reverence unto that holy Sacrament of Order with which the clergy is specially consecrated and dedicated to God.

But whereas the brethren say that I am not indifferent in the matter... therein do they the thing that they seldom do: that is to wit, say the truth. For if they call the matter either the vice or virtue of the persons, which I take not for the matter—yet therein am I not indifferent indeed between a temporal man and a spiritual.

The vice of a spiritual man For as for vice, I hold it much more damnable in a spiritual person than in a temporal man. And as for virtue—equal virtue—I hold it yet much more if it happen in the temporal man than in the spiritual; because though the thing be equal, they be not both equally bound thereto. And therefore if they take this for the matter—in this wise I am not indifferent.

Now, if they take for the matter the thing that I take for the matter—that is to wit, the true faith and false heresies—then am I much less indifferent. For God keep me from being indifferent

4 *advantage . . . matters*: monetary gain from these affairs

5 *make for*: assert

10 *fully*: quite

12 *over*: too

14 *business*: trouble // *gear*: stuff

22 *indifferent*: impartial

27 *hold*: consider

<i>In some things a man ought to be partial.</i>	between those two sorts. For every good man is bound between truth and falsehood, the Catholic Church and heretics, between God and the devil, to be partial... and plainly to declare himself to be full and whole upon the one side and clear against the other.	5
	But else, as for any partial favor that I bear to the clergy, whereby do these brethren prove it? I never said that they were all faultless, nor I never excused their faults. And if ever I did... let them rehearse of my writing some one place at the least; let them tell where I commend pomp and pride, where I praise avarice, where lechery, or such other thing.	10
	Those that be spiritual persons by profession, and are therewith carnal and wretched in their condition, have never been favored by me.	15
<i>The rooms and dignities that Sir Thomas More was in</i>	When I was first of the King's Council, and after, his Undertreasurer—and in that time while I was chancellor of his duchy of Lancaster, and when I was his chancellor of this realm—it was meetly well known what manner of favor I bore toward the clergy; and that as I loved and honored the good, so was not remiss nor slack in providing for the correction of those that were naught, noyous to good people, and slanderous to their own order. Which sort of priests and religious running out of religion and falling to theft and murder, had at my hand so little favor that there was no man that any meddling had with them, into whose hands they were more loath to come.	20
	And in this point found I their ordinaries so well minded to their amendment and correction that they gave me great thanks therefor.	25
	And I found those priests rather content to remain in the king's prisons a month than in the bishop's a week... saving for hope of deliverance by the common course of their purgation.	30
	And yet, as far as my poor wit could give me, saving that the danger of escapes is to the ordinary so chargeable that the fear thereof maketh them fain of their deliverance—else were they	35

1 *sorts*: sets of persons

2 *rehearse of*: quote from // *place*: passage

20 *meetly*: fairly

23 *naught*: morally bad // *noyous*: vexatious, harmful

23 *slanderous*: causing of disgrace

25 *running out of religion*: fleeing religious life

26 *meddling*: dealing

29 *ordinaries*: jurisdictional prelates; usually bishops

34 *purgation*: clearing themselves from suspicion by means of oath or ordeal

36 *fain*: desirous

likely to be waxen better ere they got thence, or else to tarry there as long as ever they lived.

But I perceive well that these good brethren look that I should rebuke the clergy, and seek out their faults, and lay them to their faces, and write some work to their shame... or else they cannot call me but partial to the priests. Howbeit, by this reason they may call me partial to the laymen too. For I never used that way neither toward the one nor the other. I find not yet such plenty and store of virtue in myself as to think it a meet part and convenient for me to play, to rebuke as abominable, vicious folk any one honest company, either spiritual or temporal; and much less meet to rebuke and reproach either the whole spirituality or temporality, because of such as are very stark naught in both. 5 10

I dare be bold to say that proud folk be naught, that covetous folk be naught, that lecherous folk be naught; and to speak against open-known thieves, open-known murderers, open-known perjured persons, open-known apostates, open-known professed or convicted heretics. But surely my guise is not to lay the faults of the naughty to the charge of any whole company... and rail upon merchants and call them usurers; nor to rail upon franklins and call them false jurors; nor to rail upon sheriffs and call them raveners; nor to rail upon escheators and call them extortioners; nor upon all officers and call them bribers; nor upon gentlemen and call them oppressors; nor so forth up higher, to call every degree by such odious names as men might find some of that sort. 15 20 25

And of all degrees specially for my part, I have ever accounted my duty to forbear all such manner of unmannerly behavior toward those two most eminent orders that God hath here ordained in *Two the most eminent orders* earth: the two great orders, I mean, of specially consecrated persons—the sacred princes and priests. Against any of which two reverent orders whoso be so lewd unreverently to speak, and malapertly to jest and rail, shall play that part alone for me. And rather will I that these brethren call me partial, than for such ill fashion indifferent. 30 35

And over this, I cannot see what need there were that I should rail upon the clergy, and reckon up all their faults. For that part hath

1 *thence*: out of there

9 *meet*: fitting

10 *convenient*: appropriate

11 *honest*: respectable

13 *stark naught*: thoroughly bad

18 *guise*: way, style

20 *franklins*: landowners of free but not noble birth

21 *false jurors*: grasping opportunists

21 *sheriffs*: local representatives of the king

22 *raveners*: plunderers

33 *malapertly*: impudently

34 *for me*: as far as I am concerned

Tyndale played and Friar Barnes both already... and left nothing for me to say therein, not though my mind were sore set thereon.

They have with truth and lies together laid the living of bad to bad and good both, in such a vile, villainous fashion that it would make a good stomach to vomit to hear their ribaldous railing. And yet not against the sacred persons only, but against the blessed sacraments also. 5

And now would their disciples that I should not speak against their execrable heresies and their despiteful dealing... but if I should by the way do as they do, and help them forth in the same. 10

And herein fare they much like as if there were a sort of villainous, wretched heretics that, meeting the priests and clerics (religious and other) going with banners, copes, crosses, and censers, and the Sacrament borne about with them, upon a Corpus Christi Day, would pick quarrels to them, and first call them all that could come in their villainous mouths, and haply say true by some; and then catch them all by the heads and throw them in the mire—surplices, copes, censers, crosses, relics, Sacrament, and all. 15

And then if any man rebuked their villainous dealing, and would step unto the priests, and pull them up and help to wipe the copes, and reverently take up the crosses, the relics, and the Blessed Sacrament: were it not now well and wisely spoken if one would reprove him that thus did, and say he should not meddle himself in the matter hot nor cold but if he would be indifferent and do somewhat on the both sides... and therefore he should, to show himself indifferent, either revile and rebuke the priests (or at the leastwise some of them)... and souse them somewhat in the mire for the pleasure of them that so served them... or else go by about his other business, and let the matter alone... and neither take up good man out of the mire, nor surplice, cope, nor censor, nor relic... but let them lay the Sacrament in the dirt again—were not this a goodly way? 20

Surely, for my part, I am not so ambitious of such folk's praise as to be called indifferent, nor will in writing against their heresies help them forth in their railing. 25

30

35

3 *laid* attributed, imputed

5 *ribaldous*: insultingly coarse and irreverent

9 *despiteful*: contemptuous

10 *by the way*: in the process

13 *religious*: members of religious orders

16 *to*: with

17 *haply say true by some*: perhaps be speaking the truth about some

23 *one*: someone

25 *somewhat*: something

32 *dirt*: mud, filth // *goodly*: splendid

The Eleventh Chapter

But now whereas the brethren lay a blame in me that I
had not used such a goodly, mild manner, and such an indifferent
fashion, as they find used by him that made the book of *The*
Division between the Spirituality and the Temporality: I am not 5
greatly blameworthy therein. For his book was put out since; and
therefore could I, when I wrote, take none example thereof; and every
man is not like inventive of his own wit. For surely he hath found
some certain proper invented figures in that book, in which I am so 10
far from finding the like of myself that being, as they now be,
found to mine hand already, hard were it for me in the like
matter to follow them.

And yet though my books be very far under his... they may be
for all that (ye wot well) meetly good, if his be so far excellent
as the brethren boast it. In which book yet, as much as they boast 15
it... he declareth and expressly testifieth like a true Christian man
(howsoever the matters go between the temporality and the
spirituality) that yet their opinions are heresies.

But they take, as it seemeth, all those words of his well in worth,
because they reckon themselves recompensed in another part, in 20
that they falsely persuade unto themselves either that he dissimuleth
for the while and believeth as they do... or else that, believe he
never so well himself, yet either of pity or some other affection
he could be content to help that they should themselves with their
evil belief be let alone and live in rest, and be suffered to believe 25
as they list.

But I trust in God that in that point they lean too much to the
letter of his words and, of their own favor to themselves, misconstrue
the good man's mind. For God forbid that any Christian
man should mean so. 30

Howbeit, as touching the matter wherewith we be now in hand—
that is to wit, the manner of mild and indifferent writing by me
or by him concerning the spirituality and the temporality—therein
am I very sure that his mild, indifferent book of the *Division*
neither is more mild nor more indifferent than any book of mine. 35

For first, as for mine own part, look my *Dialogue*, my *Supplication*

2 *lay a blame*: allege a culpability

3 *goodly*: nice

4 *made*: wrote

8, 11 *found*: provided

9 *proper*: distinctive // *invented*: coined // *figures*: expressions, figures of speech

10 *the like of myself*: possibly both “anything I like” and “anything like me”

12 *follow*: imitate

19 *well in worth*: in good part; without getting perturbed

23 *affection*: sentiment

24 *content*: willing

25 *rest*: peace // *suffered*: allowed

36 *look*: see, look at

and the laws of Christ's church; ever keeping love and concord
between the two principal parties, the spirituality and temporality,
lest the dregs of both sorts conspiring together and
increasing, may little and little grow too strong for both; whereto they
might have a fair gap and a broad gate to enter, if they might
find the means by craft to sever and set asunder the temporality
against the clergy to strive, and so let, as it were, the soul and the
body brabble and strive together... and while they study nothing
else but the one to grieve the other, the naughty then conspire and
agree together, and set upon the good people of both.

This hath been hitherto the whole sum of my writing,
without any displeasing word used either toward temporality
or spirituality. And more mild manner than this toward all good
folk hath not this other book, of *Division*, nor yet a more indifferent,
as far as I can see... but if he be reckoned more mild because he
setteth his words much more mild and cold when he speaketh aught
of heretics, and showeth himself therein more temperate and thereby
more discreet than I; and but if he be reckoned for more indifferent
because his words in rehearsing the faults of the spirituality be not
in the worst things partially pointed toward such as be
naught, but indifferently directed and pointed toward the
whole body.

The Twelfth Chapter

Howbeit, as touching the manner of his handling—to tell you
the very truth, it seemeth to me somewhat strange for one that
would go about the purpose that he pretendeth: that is to wit, to
pacify and appease two parties being at so sore a dissension and
“division,” as he saith, that the temporality is in grudge against the
spirituality, not here and there but everywhere noted—as he saith, “in
a manner universally”—through this whole realm. Howbeit, I trust in
God very far from so. And yet not fully so far but that it may
by misfortune, for abundance of sin and lack of grace, in time
grow and come to it.

For truth it is that murmur and dissension (God knoweth how it
began) against the clergy is a great way gone onward in its

4 *and*: by

5 *fair*: unobstructed

8 *brabble*: quarrel, squabble

9 *grieve*: harass

16 *cold*: not heated; dispassionate

26 *pretendeth*: claims to have

28 *grudge*: complaint, resentment

unhappy journey—and may by such manner and means of pacifying,
 within short process be conveyed round about the realm,
 and leave no place in peace. Not that I would think the man that made
 that book to be of such malicious mind as willingly to sow
 dissension... but that, as meseemeth, he taketh at the leastwise unawares 5
 a wrong way toward the contrary; and that the manner of
 his handling is far from such indifference as he should use
 that would make a loveday and appease any murmur and grudge
 of the lay people against the priests.
 For he showeth, in the progress of all his process, that the grudge 10
 is borne by the temporality... and the causes and occasions thereof
 grown and given, in effect, all by the spirituality. Which handling
 is not, as meseemeth, very much indifferent.
 I let pass that he which verily would intend to pacify,
 assuage, and appease a grudge would (as much as he conveniently 15
 might) extenuate the causes and occasions of the grudge. But
 and if he would needs walk plainly forth and take no such byways...
 he would not yet—at the *leastwise* not—accumulate and exaggerate
 the griefs, and by all the means he might, make the
 griefs appear many, great, and most odious. Or, finally, if for 20
 hatred of their faults, no favor of their persons could cause him
 to forbear that... yet would he forbear at the leastwise to seek up
 and rehearse causes of grudge before unknown unto the party
 whose displeasure he would assuage and pacify. But now *this*
 appeaser, contrariwise, not only doth in all these things the 25
 contrary... but bringeth forth also, besides all this, some such
 faults more as, if they were true, were of the greatest weight; and
 telleth them as though they were true, where they be very plain
 false indeed.
 But now the good brethren that boast it lay forth for a great 30
 token of temperance and good mind toward the spirituality
 that he forbeareth to speak anything of the great open faults that
 many priests be openly taken in... as theft, robbery, sacrilege, and
 murder... whereof in sundry shires of the realm there are at every
 sessions openly found some. 35
 And yet the most part of such faults as he speaketh of, he
 saith them not as of himself, nor affirmeth them not for true, nor

2 *process*: length of time

4 *willingly*: intentionally

8 *loveday*: day for amicable settlement

10 *all his process*: his whole discourse

12 *in effect*: in reality

15–16 *conveniently might*: appropriately could

17 *and if*: if

19 *griefs*: grievances

28 *where*: whereas

31 *token*: indication // *mind*: attitude

32 *open*: publicly known

36 *most part*: majority

as things, neither, spoken by the mouths of very many... but to mitigate the matter with, he saith no more but that thus by the clergy some say, and some find this fault with them, and some find that... and though that many small sums make a great, what can he do thereto? Can he let men to speak? Or is he bound to stop his ears and hear them not? Or may he not tell what he heareth some others say? 5

And yet say they further, that he telleth indifferently the faults as well of the temporalty as of the spirituality—and would there should not be between the temporalty and the spirituality so much as any one angry word. And therefore they say that it cannot be possible that he wrote of any evil intent, since no man can use himself neither more mildly nor with more indifference, nor, finally, with more tender charity. 10

But, now, to these excuses, some other men answer again that the leaving out of felony, sacrilege, and murder is rather a token of wiliness than any forbearing or favor. For since he saw well that every wise man would answer in himself that those great, horrible, open evils of such desperate, naughty wretches were not to be laid against the clergy (as the like in temporal wretches are not to be laid against the temporalty), he would therefore rather seek out and heap up a sort of those things that might, by his manner of handling, sound in the readers' ears to be such as the temporalty might ascribe and impute unto (and therefore bear a grudge unto) the main multitude of the whole clergy, and extend in substance unto every part. 15 20 25

And as touching that he saith not the things as of himself, but bringeth them in with a figure of "some say": to that point some others say that for that courtesy no man hath any cause to can him any thank. For under his fair figure of "some say" ... he may, ye wot well, and some say that he so doth, devise to bring in all the mischief that any man can say. And yet over this, without his masker of "some say" ... he saith open-faced some of the worst himself, and that in some things that are, as some true men say, not true. 30 35

Then, as touching his indifference in telling the faults of the temporalty too—of truth, among a great heap of shrewd faults rehearsed against the clergy, for which the temporalty might, if the things were all true, seem to have great cause of grudge... he

2 *by*: about

5 *thereto*: about it // *let*: forbid

6 *stop*: stop up, plug

12 *use*: comport

15 *excuses*: defenses // *again*: back

16 *felony*: somewhat serious crime

19 *desperate*: lawless, violent // 19–20 *laid against*: imputed to

22 *sort*: stack, collection

29–30 *can* . . . *thank*: give him any credit

34 *true*: truthful

37 *shrewd*: vile

rehearseth also some faults of the temporality too, as that they be to blame because they use the priests over-familiarly, and give them overly gay gowns or light-colored liveries, and one or two such things more as, though they might be amended, yet were of no such kind as the priests that so be dealt with have been wont to find any cause of great grudge. 5

Howbeit, yet in one place, to show his farther indifference... he layeth against them both that the priests against lay people, and lay people against priests, have used to have evil language, and either against other to speak unsitting words. And thereupon he showeth his tender charity, and saith, "If all these words were prohibited on both sides upon great pains, I think it would do great good in this behalf." 10

The Thirteenth Chapter

But now, good readers, if that it so were that one found two men standing together, and would come step in between them, and bear them in hand they were about to fight... and would with that word put the one prettily back with his hand, and allto buffet the other about the face... and then go forth and say that he had parted a fray, and pacified the parties: some men would say again (as I suppose) that he had as lief his enemy were let alone with him, and thereof abide the adventure, as have such a friend step in between to part them. 15 20

Howbeit, if this pacifier of this division will say that this is nothing like the present matter, because he striketh neither party, but only telleth the one the other's faults; or else (as he will say) telleth them their faults both: if it so happeth, good readers, he found a man that were angry with his wife (and haply not all without cause), if this maker of the book of *Division* would take upon him to go and reconcile them again together, and help to make them at one... and therein would use this way—that when he had them both before him, and before all their neighbors too, then, saving for some change to make it meet for their persons, 25 30

1 *rehearseth*: mentions

2 *use*: treat

3 *gay*: nice; high-quality

3 *light-colored liveries*: colorful clerical garments

6 *grudge*: resentment

9 *used*: been wont // *evil*: bad

10 *unsitting*: unfitting, inappropriate

17 *bear them in hand*: present them with the claim that

18 *prettily*: gently // *allto*: soundly

21 *again*: in reply // *had . . . were*: would as soon have had his enemy

22 *abide the adventure*: take the risk

29 *maker*: author

33 *meet*: suitable

else he would begin holily with the same words, in effect, with
 which he beginneth his indifferent, mild book of *Division*... and
 for an entry into his matter, first would say thus unto them: "Who
 may remember the state that ye stand in, without great heaviness
 and sorrow of heart? For whereas in times past hath reigned 5
 between you charity, meekness, concord, and peace... there reigneth
 now anger, and malice, debate, division, and strife. Which thing
 to see so misfortune between any two Christian folk, is a thing much
 to be lamented; and then much more to be lamented when it
 mishappeth to fall between a man and his wife. And many good 10
 neighbors greatly marvel, *iwis*, upon what causes this great
 grudge is grown. And therefore, to the intent that ye may remove the
 causes and amend these matters, and thereby then by the grace of God
 agree... I will tell you what I hear men say that the causes be." And
 now, after this holy prologue made... go forth and tell them that some 15
 folk say the wife hath this evil condition, and some others say
 that she hath that evil condition, and yet other some say that she
 hath another evil condition; and so, with twenty diverse "some say"s
 of other men, say there himself by the poor woman all the
 mischief that any man could devise to say; and among those, some 20
 things peradventure true, which yet her husband had never
 heard of before. And some things false also; whereof because the
 pacifier would be put unto no proof, he would not say them as of himself,
 but bring them forth under the fair figure of "some say." And
 when he had all said, then yet at the last say thus much of himself: 25
 "As for these things here and there I have heard some others say...
 whether they say true or no, the charge be theirs for me. But yet in
 good faith, good sister, since ye know that the displeasure and
 grudge that your husband hath to you is grown upon these
 causes... I marvel much myself that you do use the same conditions 30
 still. *Iwis* till you meek yourself and amend them, this
 anger of your husband will never be well appeased."
 Lo, with such words he voideth the color of his fair figure
 of "some say," either by forgetfulness or else by the plain figure of folly.
 For when he saith of *himself* that she keepeth those evil conditions 35
 still and amendeth them not... he showeth that all his "some say"s be of

4 *may*: can

7 *debate*: dissension

11 *iwis*: indeed

12 *grudge*: ill will

14 *agree*: get along

16 *evil condition*: bad trait

27 *charge*: responsibility

30 *use*: keep, exhibit

31 *iwis*: certainly // *meek*: humble

33 *voideth*: nullifies, makes void // *color*: disguise

his own saying, though he might haply in some of them hear
some others say so too besides.

But then if among all these faults so mildly rehearsed against
her, he would, to show somewhat of his indifference, tell her
husband his parse verse too... and say, "But yet, forsooth, your wife hath 5
not given you so many causes of displeasure for naught. For I will
be plain with you and indifferent between you both: you have in
some things toward her not dealt very well nor like a good husband
yourself. For this I know myself: that ye have used to

Note this, ye husbands! make her too homely with you, and have 10
suffered her to be too much idle, and suffered
her to be too much conversant among her gossips, and you
have given her overly gay gear and too much money in her
purse; and surely till you amend all this gear for your part, I cannot
much marvel though she do you displeasure. And sometimes 15
evil words between you causeth debate on both sides. For you
call her (as I hear say) 'cursed quean' and 'shrew'; and some say that
she behind your back calleth you 'knave' and 'cuckold.' And iwis
such words were well done to be left on both sides; for
surely they do no good. And therefore *if all these words were prohibited* 20
on both sides upon great pains, I think it would do great good in this
behalf." ...

... "Now get you hence as wise as a calf," would, I ween, the good
wife say to this good ghostly pacifier. For spoke he never so
mildly, and would seem never so indifferent; though he looked 25
therewith right simply, and held up also both his hands holily,
and would therewith swear to the woman full deeply that his intent
were good, and that he nothing meant but to bring her husband
and her at one: would she, think you, for all that believe him? I
suppose verily nay; nor her husband neither, if he were wise, 30
although he saw some part of his tale true—as none is so foolish
to say all false, that would win him credence. But believe the
husband as he list... I durst be bold to swear for the wife,
that he should never make her such a fool as to believe that he meant
to amend the matter, with rehearsing her faults more than ever her 35
husband had heard of, and some of them false, too—and then color

4 *somewhat*: something

5 *parse verse*: school lesson

10 *homely*: familiar, casual

11 *suffered*: allowed

12 *be . . . gossips*: associate too much with her chums

13 *gay gear*: nice stuff

16 *evil*: bad // *debate*: dissension

17 *cursed quean*: damned slut // *shrew*: bitch

18 *knave*: servant boy / scoundrel / jack (the face card lower than the queen)

24 *ghostly pacifier*: spiritual peacemaker

all his tale with his proper invention of “some say.” But she would for his “some say” shortly say to him, “I pray you, good man ‘Some Say,’ get you shortly hence. For my husband and I shall agree much the sooner if no such Brother ‘Some Say’ come within our door.”

Now of very truth this Pacifier, as some say, goeth yet worse to work in his book of *Division* than this “Some Say” that we put for an example between the man and his wife. For he gathereth first all the causes of displeasures that he can find out or devise... and divers of them such as few lay people unlearned—yea, and few of the learned, too—had anything heard of before, as are divers of those which he gathereth out of Jean Gerson. 5 10

If he say that he meant as Gerson did—that he maketh mention of them because he would have the clergy amend them—surely whoso for such good will telleth a man his faults, useth to tell it him secretly; and so did Jean Gerson himself when he wrote them in Latin, and not in the vulgar tongue. 15

But this Pacifier, contrariwise, because he would have the lay people, both men and women, look on them, doth translate them into English; whereas Jean Gerson would not that a man should reproach and rebuke the prelates before the people. 20

Also, this Pacifier aggrieveth—as much as in him lieth—the clergy of England for use of the laws not made by themselves, but be the common laws of all Christendom.

If he will say that he blameth but their abuses thereof the truth appeareth in some place otherwise in his book. And yet since he proveth that point but by a “some say”... he might with the same figure lay like faults in the temporalty concerning the laws of this realm, and prove it in like wise with a great “some say” too. And therein he showeth himself not indifferent, when he bringeth in the one and leaveth the other out. And on the other side, if he bring in the other too—then shall he make two faults for one. For if he handle them as truly as he handleth these—then shall he make two lies for one. 25 30

And yet besides all the faults that he bringeth in under “some say” and “they say”... some that himself saith without any “some say” be such as some say that he can never prove, and some, they say, be plainly and openly false. 35

By all which manner of handling it appeareth that if the man mean well himself (as by God’s grace he doth), then hath some

1 *proper invention*: fine device

3 *agree*: get along

16 *vulgar tongue*: vernacular

21 *aggrieveth*: bears heavily on

24 *thereof*: possibly a modifier both of “their abuses” and of “the truth”

28 *great*: big

32 *truly*: truthfully

other subtle shrew that is of his counsel deceived him, not only in the misframing of his matter more toward division than unity, but also by causing him to plant in here and there some such word as might make his best friends to fear that he greatly forced not for the furtherance of the Catholic faith.

5

The Fourteenth Chapter

But forasmuch as the touching of the book is here not my principal purpose... I will therefore not peruse it over and touch every point thereof. Which if I would, I could, I think, well make men see that very few parts thereof had either such charity or such indifference therein as not only the new, naughty brotherhood boasteth, but some good folk also take it at a superficial reading.

10

And yet because the brethren's boast hath made it an incident unto my matter; and that some things therein are such as it is more than necessary that men be well advised of them and well foresee what they do in them; and lest a better opinion of the book than the matter may bear (if it be pondered right) may be occasion to move men in some great things to do no little wrong; and to the intent also that ye may see that in all that I have said, I belie him not: I shall, for an example of handling, touch by the way one or two places of his.

15

And lest folk should think that I pick out here and there two or three lines of the worst: I will take his first chapter whole. In which though all be not naught, nor all false (for a very fool were he that would put forth a book and make all naught and all false, even in the very forefront that shall come first to hand), yet if it be considered and advised well... there will, I ween, even in the very first chapter appear less good and less truth, too, than men at a sudden shift, in the first reading over, do thoroughly perceive. Lo, thus it beginneth:

20

25

30

Who may remember the state of this realm now in these days, without great heaviness and sorrow of heart? For there, as in times past hath reigned charity, meekness, concord, and peace, reigneth now envy, pride, division, and strife; and that not only between

1 *subtle*: insidiously sly; devious // *shrew*: scoundrel; evil-minded man

4–5 *greatly* . . . *for*: was not very interested in

7 *touching*: discussing

8 *peruse it over*: go through it from beginning to end

15 *foresee*: perceive ahead of time

17 *matter may bear*: content can support

28–29 *at a sudden shift*: at first glance

laymen and laymen, but also between religious and religious,
and also between priests and religious, and, that is yet more to be
lamented, also between priests and priests.

Some say that a man might here a little lament this man's wit,
that weeneth it less to be lamented that debate and strife should be 5
between priests and religious persons, or between those that are,
both the parties, religious folk, than between those that are, both
the parties, priests. For some say that many religious folk be
priests. And they that so say... do say also that as many priests be
religious folk. And some say, therefore, that except this man 10
mean here by "religious" folk either women or children, with
whose variance the temporalty is not very greatly encumbered; or
else the lay brethren that are in some places of religion, which are
neither so many nor so much esteemed that ever the temporalty
was much troubled with their strife: else, besides these, there 15
falleth no variance lightly between religious and religious, wherewith
the temporalty have been offended... but it falleth of necessity
between priests and priests; and then the variance, namely
such a variance as this book speaketh of—that is so notable that the
temporality so much mark it, and hath so great cause to lament 20
it—when it falleth between religious and religious is a thing
no less lamentable than if it fell between as many priests when
themselves be both priests.

And then if he mean here by "priests" those that are secular
priests, as by his other words he seemeth to do; and so taketh it for 25
a thing more to be lamented if variance fall between secular
priests than between those priests that are in religion: then say some
men that he saith somewhat worse. And then they that so say, seem
to me to say true. For—albeit great pity it is to see strife and variance
fall between any secular priests—yet is it more pity to see it fall 30
between those priests that have also vowed and professed farther,
somewhat a more strait renouncing of all such manner thing as
matter of debate and strife do commonly spring upon. And therefore
this manner of increase and growing of this man's oration is but a
counterfeited figure of rhetoric, as some men say. 35

And in good faith, as for myself, I see not the reason that moved
him. For it were a very cold excuse to a man learned that will
weigh the whole periodus together, if he would hereafter say that he meant
by these words "between priests and priests" the priests that are in

12 *variance*: being at odds with one another

12 *encumbered*: involved

13 *religion*: religious life

16 *lightly*: commonly

18 *namely*: especially

30 *strait*: strict, rigorous

35 *counterfeited*: feigned, spurious

37 *cold excuse*: unconvincing defense

38 *periodus*: sentence (group of words
ending with a period)

religion. For besides that a man may by divers things well perceive the contrary... he had if he so had meant left then no lamentation for any strife that happeth between secular priests among themselves. I cannot, therefore, in good faith, divine what he should mean by that increase ending in “priests” after all the “religious,” but if he meant to signify that the state of priests professing religion were a state of less perfection, by reason of the profession, than is the state of those secular priests that have temporal lands of their own purchase or inheritance, or that else serve some chantry or live upon trentals abroad.

And surely if the man thus meant indeed... besides that he should have set out his sentence more plainly... his meaning will, but if he declare it the better, mislike better men and better learned, too, than I and he be both. And saving for that point—which is no small matter—else, as for his rules of rhetoric or grammatical congruity either, or oversight in reasoning, as things of no great weight I would not much vouchsafe to touch. For they be such offenses as a man may fall in and yet be a saved soul, as well as though he never wrote any work at all.

The Fifteenth Chapter

Which division hath been so universal that it hath been a great unquietness and a great breach of charity through all the realm; and part of it hath risen by reason of a great singularity that religious persons and priests have had to their state of living, whereby many of them have thought their state most perfect, before all others. And some of them have thereby exalted themselves in their own sight so high that they have risen into such a ghostly pride that they have in manner disdained and despised others that have not lived in such perfection as they think they do. And of this hath followed that some of them have had unsitting words of the others, calling them flatterers, dissimulers, and hypocrites; and they have called the others, again, proud persons, covetous, vainglorious, and lovers of worldly delights, and such other.

1 *religion*: religious life

8–9 *temporal lands*: lands not belonging to the Church

10 *chantry*: a chapel endowed for the daily singing of Masses for certain souls

10 *trentals*: sets of thirty Masses said for the soul of a deceased person

12 *sentence*: dictum

13 *declare*: explain // *mislike*: displease

16 *oversight in reasoning*: lapses in logic

17 *vouchsafe to touch*: bother to mention

23 *singularity*: sense of exceptionalness

24 *to*: toward

31 *unsitting*: unfitting, inappropriate

Of some particular variance among divers persons of the
clergy have I divers times heard—as sometimes one parson against
another for his tithes; or a parson against a religious place for
meddling within his parish; or one place of religion with
another upon some suchlike occasion; or sometimes some one
religion have had some question, and disputed, as it were, a problem,
upon the antiquity or seniority of their institution, as by
which the Carmelites claim to fetch their origin from
Elijah and Elisha. And some question hath arisen in the order of
Saint Francis between the Observants and the Conventuals.
(For as for the third company, that is to wit, the Coletans, there
are in this realm none.) But yet of all these matters was there never,
as far as I read or remember, in this realm either so very great
or so many such things all in hand at once, that ever it was at the
time noted through the realm and spoken of for a great, notable
fault of the whole clergy. And as for the faults of some particular
parties, either persons or places, is nothing that ought of reason
be reckoned for the cause of this division, and of this displeasure
and grudge of the temporality against the clergy; no more than
many more variances growing daily, in divers times and
places, with unlawful assemblies and great riots also, cause the
clergy to grudge against the temporality. And as it is not reason
that it so were... so that it is not indeed may well be perceived by
this. For if it were... then must this grudge of ours against them
have been a very old thing; whereas it is indeed neither so great
as this man maketh it, and grown to so great as it is, but even of late,
since Tyndale's books and Frith's and Friar Barnes' began to go
abroad. And yet—although that it appeareth well in his words afterward
that those variances can be no part or cause of this
division whereof he maketh his book—yet hath it delighted either himself
or some subtle shrews that so have set him a work to bring
them into, of a good mind and a favorable, to lay these faults to the
clergy's face, besides the matter of this division that he taketh in
hand to treat of.

Now, the remnant (whereby somewhat appeareth also that by the
increase of his oration, with putting in the end “and, that is yet

6 *religion*: religious order // *disputed* . . . *problem*: held, as it were, a debate

7–8 *as by which*: such as on what basis

22 *it is not reason*: it would not be reasonable

26 *even of late*: only recently

31 *subtle*: devious, insidiously sly // *shrews*: scoundrels

35 *remnant*: rest

more to be lamented, also between priests and priests," he meant to put for the more lamentable strife that variance which falleth between secular priests, than that that falleth between those that besides their order of priesthood have by their holy vows entered into religion) he handleth here in such wise that he first reproacheth both the parties of great singularity, which both religious persons and also priests have had to their states of living; by which words he showeth that each of them contend with other upon the perfection of their two states whither should have preeminence, these priests that are secular or those that are religious— and which of the both himself taketh for the chief appeareth by the piteous increase and growing of his lamentable oration. 5 10

Then rebuketh he of the religious, some that have appearance to be the most perfect and best, and saith that

through the great singularity that they have to their state of living, they have exalted themselves in their own sight so high that they have risen into such a ghostly pride that they have, in manner, disdained and despised others that have not lived in such perfection as they think they do. 15

This is a great thing spoken by guess, because among many good, virtuous folk, there may fall some by the devil's means into some great ghostly pride, as Lucifer did in the good company of angels. But this chance of such change is so old that these words will nothing serve his lamentable beginning—which standeth, ye wot well, in lamenting the change from the old virtues of times past into the new vices of this time present. And this vice is very old, and reigned most when religious folk lived best. And verily the clergy is not allthing so evil as he maketh it, if the religious folk live now so holily as the temporalty may note that through perfectness of living, the devil bring so many to such an high spice of pride. 20 25 30

But then goeth he forth and setteth them to chide together. Howbeit, his words be so confounded with "they" and "them" and "other," and in the two verses of their chiding, his words be so unsuitly sorted, that I cannot perceive which of the two parties calleth which, nor who calleth whom, by those names that he saith the one 35

6 of: for

12 *piteous*: pious / mournful / deplorable // *lamentable*: plaintive / regrettable

17 *ghostly*: spiritual

28 *allthing*: entirely

31 *spice*: kind, species

34 so *unsuitly*: in such an unordered way

sort calleth the other... nor himself, I suppose, neither, as the thing that he never knew for true, but thinketh he may boldly tell everything for true that any man perceiveth possible.

The Sixteenth Chapter

And another part of this division hath risen by diversities
of opinions that have been upon the authorities, powers, and
jurisdiction of spiritual men among themselves. And upon
these divisions some laymen have in time past favored the one
party... and some the other; whereby the people have greatly been
inquieted. 5

Diverse opinions upon powers, authorities, and jurisdictions
of spiritual men among themselves, there happeneth, I think,
now and then to rise, while in such cases either party hath his
opinion upon his own side. But of any great inquietation that the
people hath had by any such division risen within this realm... or
of any laymen bearing their favor some to the one party and some
to the other, I ween the people of this realm that felt it have forgotten
it, if any such were it is so long ago. And surely myself
remember none, nor, I trow, no man else for the time of this twenty
years... within which time, or ten fewer, all this gear is begun
whereof he maketh his division. And therefore this piece of his is, to
my feeling, very cold. 10

15

20

The Seventeenth Chapter

But I wot not fully by what occasion it is, that now of late the
great multitude of all the lay people have found default... as well
at priests as religious, so far forth that it is now in manner noted
through all the realm that there is a great division between the
spirituality and the temporalty. And verily it is great pity
that such a noise should spring and go abroad. 25

In the beginning he said that division reigneth now between
spiritual men and spiritual men. And then saith he here, "But it
reigneth now between spiritual men and temporal men." 30

1 *sort*: group

7 *spiritual men*: members of the clergy

22 *cold*: unpersuasive

25–26 *default* . . . *at*: fault . . . with

29 *noise*: rumor, report

I am content to let his *but* alone, and will not shoot thereat for this once. Howbeit, surely his *but*, being a preposition adversative, standeth more properly to shoot at between his two *nows* than it would if it were turned into some conjunction copulative.

But whereas he cannot fully tell by what occasion the great multitude have found default as well at priests as religious... a man needeth never to study for occasions thereof; but if he be so curious as to seek for faults, he may soon find enough, not only in priests and in religious, but in every sort and kind of temporal people too, and ever might yet in every age since Christendom began, and may peradventure, if he search well, find some in himself too. So that if there be no other cause of variance than that... they may, both spirituality and temporality, take each other by the hand like good fellows, and agree together well enough.

But yet happeth it well that this good Pacifier hath so great pity that the noise of this division should spring and go abroad. For he, to remedy that matter with, and to pull back the noise thereof, and to stop up clearly the spring... because all should be hushed and never more words made thereof, hath, as ye see, put it out abroad in print.

The Eighteenth Chapter

And some allege diverse causes why it should be so noised.

A very few folk may soon begin a noise of evil will and malice. And a noise may soon be borne abroad, whatsoever the matter be, with some of simplicity, some of light-giving credence, and some of a lust unto talking.

First they say that neither priests nor religious keep the perfection of their order to the honor of God and good example of the people, as they should do.

Verily, they that so say peradventure say not much untrue. For I think that every man's duty toward God is so great that very few folk serve him as they should do. And therefore whoso pry upon every man's deed so narrowly as to spy that fault and fall at

1 *but*: a pun on "butt" (a mark for archery practice)

2 *preposition*: proposition (the whole sentence beginning with that "but")

7 *curious*: solicitous

14 *agree together*: get along

15 *pity*: distress

23 *of evil will*: out of ill will

25 *simplicity*: a lack of intelligence or education

25 *light-giving credence*: credulousness

33 *narrowly*: closely

variance, of great zeal, with every man that doth not to the very point and perfection even all that he should do... shall wax within a while at variance with every man, and every man with him. But I suppose they keep it now at this day muchwhat after such a good, meetly mean manner as they did many of those years before in which this division was never dreamed on. And therefore they that say this is the cause... have need to go seek some other.

5

. . . but that some of them procure their own honor, and call it the honor of God, and rather covet to have rule over the people than to profit the people.

10

Were there never none of these till now so late as about the beginning of this division? Or be they all such now? Among
Lk 22:24 Christ's own apostles was some desire of prelacy, and that with some contention, too. There are of our prelates some such at this day, now, as I pray God that when there shall any new come, they may prove no worse. For of these when they die (if they wax not worse before), whoso shall live after them may in my mind be bold to say that England had not their better any day this forty years, and I durst go a good way above, too. But this is more by twenty years, and ten set thereto, than this division hath anything been spoken of.

15

20

And that some covet their bodily ease and worldly wealth, in meat and drink and such other, more than commonly any temporal man doth.

This is a very cold cause of this new division, to say that there be not now *commonly* so bad men in the temporalty as there be *some* in the spirituality. For when was it otherwise? Not even in Christ's own days. For Judas, that was one of his own apostles, was not only worse than the common sort of all those that loved their bellies and their ease among Christ's disciples, were they men or women; but worse also than the very worst in all the world beside. But what cause were this that the temporalty should (nor, though this man say thus, I think them not so unreasonable that they would) be at debate and division with the whole body of the clergy, because that some of them were worse than those that are in a mean, common sort of naughtiness among themselves!

25

30

35

2 *point*: culmination // even: just

5 *meetly mean*: appropriately moderate

22 *wealth*: well-being // *meat*: food

31 *the world beside*: the rest of the world

35 *a mean*: an average

And that some serve God for a worldly laud, and to be magnified
therefor, more than for the pure love of God.

That same some that so do, be some of the most foolish apes that
the devil hath to tumble before him and to make him laugh, when
he seeth them take so much labor and pain for the reward of the 5
blast of a few men's mouths.

Howbeit, there may be some such, for all that, and yet nothing
to the purpose of this matter. For as for the speech of fools, is not to be
accounted for a proof of division. And among wise men the
guess and conjecture that in the clergy there be secretly some very 10
naught before God, whom yet in the sight of the world men take
for very good, can by no reason be the cause of any grudge toward
the spirituality, wherein may be besides them that are such, and so
there are indeed, many very virtuous, holy men indeed—whose
holiness and prayer hath been, I verily think, one great special 15
cause that God hath so long held his hand from giving of some
The virtue of good men's prayers sorer stroke upon the necks of them that
are naught and care not in the spirituality
and the temporality both.

And yet this fault that this Pacifier assigneth, of serving 20
God for laud, is, I suppose, somewhat amended of late... and will
within a while, if some gear go forward, wear away quite, by the help
and means of another fault.

For if these heresies that rail upon religions, and call all their
prayer pattering, and all their fasting folly, and all their holy 25
vows of chastity worse than Friar Luther's lechery—if these heresies,
I say, may grow and go forward, as they begin to grow now and
prosper full prettily in some places; and then if those that be of the
same sect and of policy dissimule it for a season, may in the
meantime spread abroad an opinion in the minds of 30
men that of themselves mean none harm, that the religious
people do fast and pray but for laud: they shall well perceive
within a while that they shall have so little laud thereof that if there
would remain none other cause of this division but because they
serve God for laud, ye shall have it soon changed of likelihood; 35
and then shall we shortly agree together very well.

But now, good readers, consider, I beseech you, that if these causes

1 *magnified*: extolled

2 *therefor*: for it (i.e., for serving God)

6 *blast of*: air puffed out by

17 *sorer*: more severe

20 *assigneth*: alleges to be a cause (of the discord)

22 *quite*: altogether

24 *religions*: religious orders

28 *full prettily*: quite nicely

29 *policy*: practical wisdom

which this Pacifier allegeth under the color of “some say” be
 causes that might move the temporalty to be in division and
 grudge against the clergy—that is to wit, because they serve
 not God as they should do, but some of them love authority and some
 love their ease, and some serve God of vainglory, for laud and
 praise of men—then should this division not have so late begun,
 but must have been ever before; and can never be remedied hereafter,
 but as long as the world lasteth must this division ever
 continue still. 5

For how could this Pacifier find the means that in the whole
 clergy, so many as are therein, none should be naught... when of
 Christ’s apostles there was yet one naught in the small number of
 twelve! And verily in this declination of the world—and by
 this great fall of faith, the old fervor of charity so beginning to
 cool—it is to be feared at length that if it thus go forth and continue,
 both the spirituality from the apostles and the temporalty from the
 other disciples may fall so far down, down, down, down, that
 as there was then one naught among twelve, so may there in time
 coming, if these heresies go forward, among twelve spiritual, or
 peradventure twenty temporal either, be found at last in some
 whole country scant any one good. But that world is not, I thank
 God, in England yet, nor never shall, I trust, come. 10 15 20

Howbeit, that all may be good—that will be hard for this
 Pacifier to devise the means. So that if the being of some naught
 may be a good cause of division—division may be, by sometimes
 fewer naught, made sometimes somewhat less, but end can it never
 have while the world standeth. 25

But if this Pacifier, to cease and quench this division, *could*
 find the means to make all the whole clergy good: yet for all that—
 since he layeth for causes of this division that some men say this by
 the clergy, and some men say by them that—were all the clergy
 never so good indeed, and served God never so well, this division,
 by his own tale, yet could not for all that cease... except he
 could provide farther, that no piteous pacifier should, in lamenting
 of division, put forth a book and say that some laymen say that some
 of the clergy be naught, and love their ease and their wealth... and
 that some say that those that seem best and take most labor and 30 35

1 *color*: guise

25 *good*: valid

30 *never so*: no matter how

33 *tale*: account

34 *piteous*: pious / tenderhearted / deplorable

pain be but hypocrites for all that, and serve God but for vainglory,
to get themselves laud and praise among the people.

The Nineteenth Chapter

And some laymen say farther, that though religious men have
varied with religious... and that some priests have varied also 5
with religious in some points concerning the preeminence of
their perfection... as is said before: that yet in such things
as pertain to the maintenance of the worldly honor of the
Church and of spiritual men, which they call the honor of God...
and in such things as pertain to the increase of the riches of 10
spiritual men, religious or secular, they say they agree all in one.

As for calling the worldly honor of the Church, and of spiritual men,
the honor of God—I wot ne’er whether I perceive well what this
man meaneth thereby. But by the first of those two things—that is
to wit, by the worldly honor done to the Church and taken as 15
honor done to God—he seemeth to mean the honor that Christian
people here in the world use to do to the Church, as in building of
the churches fair and goodly, and in appareling the churches for the
use of God’s service honorably.

And then in the second point—that is to wit, the honor of 20
spiritual persons—he meaneth, I suppose, such honor as good
Christian people do, and are bound to do, to their prelates and their
curates, and to priests and religious persons, for the respect and
regard that they bear, both of devotion and very bounden duty,
to the holy sacrament of their sacred Orders, and holy profession of 25
their godly state of living.

Then as for the third point—that is, the things that he saith
pertain to the increase of riches in spiritual men—himself
declareth soon after that he meaneth trentals, chantries,
obits, pardons, and pilgrimages. 30

Now saith he that some laymen lay this for a farther thing:
that all the clergy do use to agree together in all these things, howsoever
they happen to vary among themselves for some other
things. And verily, therein I think he saith true; for so must

5 *varied*: quarreled, been at odds

13 *I . . . well*: I’m not at all sure I understand correctly

15 *worldly*: temporal

18 *fair*: beautiful // *goodly*: of good quality / of considerable size

18 *appareling*: furnishing

19 *use . . . honorably*: respectful celebrating of the liturgy

30 *obits*: annual memorial Masses

30 *pardons*: church festivals at which indulgences are granted

they do or displease God; and so doth every good layman agree with them therein too. And I have seen it proved by experience that in some of these things, when the laymen have moved some things sometimes whereby should be restrained some such things as the clergy might win by—yea, and also no little somewhat taken from them, to that that lawfully was their own before—the clergy have not striven with the temporality therefore... but rather than to stick in contention, have suffered and let it pass, albeit the cantles that have been cut off have been somewhat broader than a bridecake, and greater than a Christmas loaf in a right good husband's house. 5 10

And yet where this Pacifier saith that some laymen say that in all such things all the clergy, both secular and religious, agree and hold together: himself can, if he will, tell the same some laymen that so told him so, that some other laymen say nay. For they say that they see very well that in all those things there are now some such of the clergy such as it is pity that ever they were thereof, either secular priests or religious persons. And yet are there some such of both which now cast off their favor from both twain, and from the Christian faith also... and therefore agree not to these things, as those some men told this man that the whole clergy doth... but do both speak and write against all these things every whit—both honor to prelates, building of churches, buying of bells, and ornaments, and against pilgrimages, trentals, chantries, obits, and pardons, and finally purgatory too. 15 20 25

The Twentieth Chapter

And therefore they say that all spiritual men, as to the multitude, be more diligent to induce the people to such things as shall bring riches to the Church (as to give money to trentals, and to found chantries and obits... and to obtain pardons, and to go upon pilgrimages, and such other) than they be to induce them to the payment of their debts, to make restitutions for such wrongs as they have done, or to do the works of mercy to their neighbors that be poor and needy—and that sometimes be also in right extreme necessity. 30 35

3 *moved*: proposed

9 *cantles*: sections, portions

10 *bridecake*: wedding cake

24 *ornaments*: sacred vessels and utensils, and vestments

27 *multitude*: majority

29 *as*: such as

Now, in good faith, for aught that I see, such as so murmur
Five things that profit against chantries, trentals, obits, pardons,
men's souls and pilgrimages, as would have
 them all fordone... have an inward hatred
 unto the profit of men's souls, besides the envy that they bear 5
 to priests. For some of these things be such that they make not the
 priests so very rich that all the clergy should for the great lucre so
 sore bend unto the setting forth thereof.

For as for chantries, though there be many, no one man can
 have any great living thereby; and that a priest should have some 10
 living of such a mean thing as commonly the chantries be,
 there will, I ween, no good man find great fault that all the clergy
 would have it so; for so would, I suppose, every good layman too.

And as for pilgrimages—though the shrines be well garnished,
 and the chapel well hung with wax—few men, I fear me, 15
 need much at this day to grudge and complain of very chargeable
 offerings; but those men make most ado that offer nothing
 at all.

And pardons have been purchased not only by the spirituality,
 but in divers places by the good, faithful devotion of virtuous 20
 temporal princes—as was to Westminster, and unto the Savoy,
 great pardon purchased by the most noble prince of famous
 memory King Henry VII, father to our most dear sovereign
 lord the king that now is. And in good faith, I never yet perceived
 the people make so great offerings at a pardon that we 25
 should either pity greatly their cost or envy the priests that
 profit.

But then the trentals, lo, they be the things, ye wot well,
 whereby the multitude of the clergy, and especially the prelates, get,
 every man among them, an infinite treasure in a year; so that it is no 30
 marvel though the whole clergy, secular and religious, what
 variance soever they have among themselves beside (concerning
 the preeminence of their perfection, as this Pacifier saith), agree
 together, for all that, in this point: to keep and hold fast the
 trentals, because of the great increase of the riches that 35
 they bring in by heaps unto every man among them. I, that
 nothing can get by them, beseech God to keep in men's devotions

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 <i>aught</i> : anything | 26 <i>pity</i> : bemoan |
| 4 <i>fordone</i> : done away with | 26 <i>their cost</i> : the people's expenditure |
| 8 <i>sore</i> : grievously | 32 <i>beside</i> : otherwise |
| 11 <i>mean</i> : lowly | 35 <i>richesse</i> : wealth |
| 14 <i>garnished</i> : decorated | 37 <i>keep in</i> : cause to continue |
| 15 <i>hung with wax</i> : supplied with votive candles | |
| 16 <i>chargeable</i> : expensive; financially burdensome | |
| 19 <i>pardons</i> : indulgences gained via memorial Masses | |
| 19 <i>purchased</i> : obtained through the bequeathing of a stipend | |
| 21 <i>Westminster</i> : Westminster Abbey // <i>Savoy</i> : the Hospital of the Savoy | |

toward trentals and toward obits too. For as much as he saith
 that secular and religious both stick to these profits... yet if
 religious Lutherans may proceed and prosper, that cast off their
 habits and walk out and wed nuns and preach against purgatory,
 and make mocks of the Mass—many men shall care little for
 obits within a while and set no more by a trental than a ruffian
 at Rome setteth by a trentune. 5

Howbeit, where this Pacifier saith that some say that “all
 spiritual men, as to the multitude,” do rather induce the people to
 pilgrimages, pardons, chantries, obits, and trentals than to
 the payment of their debts, or to restitution of their wrongs, or
 to the deeds of alms and mercy to their neighbors that are
 poor and needy, and sometimes, too, in right extreme necessity: for my
 part, I thank God, I never heard yet of any one that ever would give
 that counsel; nor no more hath, I see well, this Pacifier himself,
 for he saith it but under his common figure of “some say.” But therefore
 this would I say: that either he believed those some that so
 said unto him... or else he believed them not. If he believed them not—
 it had been well done to have left their tale untold, till he had
 believed them better. And on the other side, if he believed them well—
 he might as well with conscience have been less light of belief, or
 boldly might have believed that they lied... rather than lightly
 believe the lewd words of some, and upon the malicious mouths
 of some, blow abroad in books so false a tale himself against not a
 small sum, but, as himself saith, “as to the multitude,” against
 all spiritual men. 20 25

The Twenty-first Chapter

And forasmuch as it is most commonly seen that among a great
 multitude there be many that work rather upon will than upon
 reason... and that though they have good zeal, yet many times they
 lack good order and discretion, which is
 the mother of all virtue... therefore some persons
 thinking that worldly honor and riches letteth greatly devotion— 30

3 *religious Lutherans*: monks who have left religious life and become Lutherans

6 *ruffian*: pimp

7 *trentune* (in Italian, *trentuno*): gang rape of a prostitute (by thirty-one men), sometimes arranged
 by a jilted lover

21 *might* . . . *conscience*: could with as good conscience

21 *light of belief*: ready to believe

22 *lightly*: readily

23 *lewd*: wicked

29 *work*: act // *will*: inclination, desire

33 *letteth*: hinders

so much that, as they think, they cannot stand together—have held opinion that it is not lawful to the Church to have any possessions. And some taking a more mean way therein have said that (as they think) it is lawful and also expedient that the Church have possessions—	
but they think that the great abundance that is in the Church doth great hurt, and induceth in many of them... a love to worldly things, and letteth and in manner strangleth the love of God. And therefore they think that it were good to take away that is too much... and to leave that is sufficient. And some also, as of a policy to pull riches from the Church, have inveighed against all such things as <i>bring</i> riches to the Church. And because great riches have come to the Church for praying for souls in purgatory, have by words affirmed that there is no purgatory; and that granting of pardons riseth of covetousness of the Church, and profiteth not the people; and that pilgrimages be of no effect; and that the Church may make no laws, and such other things... as founding of chantries, making of brotherhoods, and many more. Wherein they show outwardly to rise against all the things before-rehearsed, and to despise them... and yet they know and believe in their hearts that all these things be of themselves right, good, and profitable, as they be indeed if they were ordered as they should be. And some persons there be that through grace find default only at the abusion and disorder of such things... and speak nothing against the things themselves... neither of purgatory, pilgrimages, setting up of images, or such other. For they know well they be ordained of God, and that the disorder riseth only of man for covetousness, singularity, or some other suchlike default, through persuasion and deceit of the ghostly enemy.	5 10 15 20 25
Here is, good readers, a specially fruitful piece of three manner of “some say”s, or three manner of thinkings. The first is of those that think and say that it is not lawful that the Church should have any possessions... but that all their livelihood, and all such things as any riches cometh into the Church by, should be taken away every whit.	30
And these men in the judgment of this piteous Pacifier be not “discreet,” but yet they have, he saith, a “good zeal,” though. And this <i>Simon Fish</i> good zeal had, ye wot well, Simon Fish when he made the <i>Supplication</i>	35

3 *mean*: moderate

6 *hurt*: harm

8, 9 *that is*: that which is

17 *brotherhoods*: confraternities

22 *default* . . . *at*: fault . . . with // *abusion*: misuse, perversion

23, 26 *misorder*: corruption

27 *singularity*: desire to stand out // *default*: fault

35 *piteous*: pious / tenderhearted / deplorable

38 *made*: wrote

of Beggars. But God gave him such grace afterward that he was sorry for that good zeal, and repented himself and came into the Church again, and forsook and forswore all the whole hill of those heresies out of which the fountain of that same good zeal sprang.

5

And of truth, some such are there yet that have the same good zeal still that Simon Fish had when he was at the worst. And God sendeth some of them such good speed as they have good zeal. For some such have I known that have engrossed into their hands much other men's goods, and for a while flowered, and were accounted thrifty, and held their own and other men's too... but in conclusion wasted away both twain, and fain to find a place to hide their heads, or to keep them from prison find some other shift.

10

Note this tale to the end. Of these sort was there one, not very long ago, which went about to make a good bargain, and was not then known but for his own man—and yet is now, God be thanked, his own man again, for any other man that he hath to wait upon him. But so happed it then that as he sat in a tavern in Lombard Street with an honest merchant with whom he should have bargained... the other had heard an inkling, which yet he believed not, that this man was not much aforehand. And as they fell in talking of the world, they talked at last of the clergy—wherein when he was fallen, he waxed so warm with the wine, and so full of good zeal, that he swore by the Mass he trusted shortly to see them lose all... and that “the King should put them all forever out of his protection!” And with that word he clapped his fist upon the board, with such a fervent zeal that his own protection fell out of his sleeve. Which when the other perceived... “Brother,” quod he, “you be not a thief, I think, and therefore I trust it is no pardon that ye have purchased there. You trust, you say, to see the clergy put out of the King's protection—and I purpose to see *you* out of the King's protection ere you and I bargain anymore together!”

15

20

25

30

And such bankrupts be these men of that good zeal, that gape after the spoil of the spirituality... which when they have wasted and misspent their own, would then very fain, save for hanging, rob spiritual and temporal too.

35

8 *speed*: fortune

24 *waxed so warm*: became so heated

9 *engrossed*: amassed

27 *protection*: guarantee of immunity

10 *flowered*: flourished

37 *fain*: gladly

11 *thrifty*: frugal / successful / respectable

12 *fain*: forced

17, 18 *his own man*: a financially independent man / his own manservant

20 *honest*: reputable

22 *not much aforehand*: not too solvent

The Twenty-second Chapter

The second sort that this Pacifier speaketh of be they that think and say that it were good to take away from the clergy all that is too much, and leave that is sufficient... because that great abundance letteth, they say, and in manner strangleth, the love of God. And these that thus say... this Pacifier alloweth for folk wise and discreet. But by what *right* men may take away from any man, spiritual or temporal, against his will, the land that is already lawfully his own—that thing this Pacifier telleth us not yet. But he will peradventure at another time tell us of some men that lay this reason and that reason for it. But I have heard some good and wise

And truly spoken! and well-learned men say that all the world can never bring the reason that ever can prove it right. And as for mine own part, like as I have somewhat more largely said in my book of the *Supplication of the Souls*... if any man would give the counsel to take any man's land or goods from him, pretending that he hath too much, or that he useth it not well, or that it might be better used if some other had it: he giveth such a counsel as he may when he list, and will peradventure after, stretch a great deal further than the goods or possessions of only spiritual men.

And where he saith that some say that great abundance doth let and in manner strangle the love of God: that is many times very true, that many men in plenty forget God, which in penury run unto him. But this reason runneth out against every kind of men, spiritual and temporal too; and yet are there in both twain some in whom the love of God is neither letted nor strangled therewith...

The good use of goods is meritorious. but it is made by the good use thereof the matter and occasion of merit. Which if it might not be, but must needs let and strangle the love of God—then were the reason so strong against *all* men that *no* man might without deadly sin keep any abundance in his hands. And then if, to withdraw that inevitable necessity of damnable, deadly sin, it were lawful to take as much away from any one man as the remnant that were left him should be but even sufficient—the same reason would, as I say, serve, with one little wrench further, to take in

3 *were*: would be

13 *bring*: advance

15 *largely*: expansively

17 *pretending*: claiming

25 *runneth out*: militates

32 *deadly*: mortal

35 *remnant*: rest

36 *even*: just barely // *reason*: reasoning

like wise away from every other man, were he spiritual or temporal, in whom there might be laid appearance of so much abundance that it letted him to love God. For that is, ye wot well, every man bound to do, spiritual and temporal both.

And on the other side, if there be taken from no man anything but from him that hath so much as no man that hath so much may so love God as he may come to heaven: then shall there be from no man taken anything. For I doubt not but that there are at this day holy saints in heaven, of such as were spiritual and of such as were temporal, too, that had while they lived here as great possessions as hath either spiritual or temporal within the realm of England now. 5 10

Moreover—since this Pacifier accounteth them for “discreet” that, leaving the clergy sufficient, would that all the remnant were taken away from them, because the great abundance letteth them, they say, to love God—it had been well done that he had somewhat declared his mind how little he calleth sufficient... lest that some of his discreet folk would indiscreetly misconstrue that word, and for lack of such favor and pity as himself, ye see well, beareth to the clergy, would leave them too little and call it enough. For if this Pacifier would moderate and measure his sufficiency by the words of Saint Paul, where he saith, “Having meat and 15 20

1 Tm 6:8 drink and wherewith to be covered, let us be content”—except himself that loveth them go farther therein and appoint them their fare and their apparel too, some others haply that love them not so well will devise them a diet as thin as Galen deviseth for him that hath an obstruction in his liver; and because Saint Paul speaketh but of covering, will devise them clothes that shall only cover them and not keep them warm. 25 30

Besides this, it seemeth that yet his discreet folk should not under the name of abundance take all from the Church that they would take from every man to whom they would leave bare sufficient... but that they rather should, such as they would take from one that hath more than sufficient, divide it among such others of the Church that have less than sufficient. Now, if they should yet besides this (which I ween they should not) find yet a great sum remaining after all the spiritual folk sufficiently provided for... then had it been good that he had yet farther devised how it would 35

2 *laid appearance*: alleged an appearance

3 *letted*: made it impossible for him

17 *declared*: made known

19 *pity*: piety / compassion

21 *moderate*: regulate

22 *meat*: food

24 *except*: unless

32 *the Church*: i.e., the clergy

please him that his discreets should order the remnant. For
 though they be, as he taketh them, discreet persons of themselves,
 because they would take away but the great abundance, and leave
 but the bare sufficient—yet their discretion shall do a great deal
 the better if it like him to give them his discreet counsel too. 5
 When it should come to this point... here might peradventure himself
 and his discreets make us many devices, and ever the more the
 more undiscreet.

I have been within these four or five years—for before, I heard
 little talking of such manner of devices—but within this four 10
 or five years, I have been at such devices in divers good, merry companies,
 never earnestly talking thereof (for as yet I thank
 God that of this matter I never heard any such), but for pastime,
 by way of familiar talking, have I heard divers, both in 15
 hand with prelates and secular priests and religious persons,
 and talked of their living, and of their learning, and of their
 livelihood too; and whether themselves were such as it were better to
 have them or lack them; and then, touching their livelihood,
 whether it might be lawfully taken from them or not; and if it
 might, whether it were expedient so to be; and if it so were, then to 20
 what use. And in many such merry talkings I have always remembered—
 and because our communication came sometimes to a
 much like point, sometimes have I told and rehearsed—the story
Calavius that Titus Livius telleth of one Pacuvius
 Calavius, the Capuan, in the third book 25
 of his third decade, that treateth of the Romans' war with Hannibal
Capua and the city of Carthage. This Capua was
 of all Italy the chief city, and of the
 greatest power save only the city of Rome. In which city so
 happed it that the commonalty were fallen in grudge and murmur 30
 and at division with the senate; as this Pacifier saith that the
 temporality is here at these days against the clergy. Whereupon
 this Calavius, being a senator, and nonetheless leaning all
 unto the people (because he saw them by sufferance and oversight
 of the senate grown into an unbridled liberty; and, as they 35

5 *like*: please

7 *devices*: plans, schemes

11 *divers*: several // *companies*: gatherings

12 *earnestly*: seriously

14 *familiar*: friendly, informal

14–15 *in hand with*: with reference to; speaking about

16 *living*: way of life

22 *communication*: conversation

26 *decade*: set of ten; the “third book . . .” is Book 23.

must be when they conspire whole together, waxen the more mighty
 part), studied and bethought himself what means he might invent,
 first to bring the senate in his danger... and then by some benefit
 win all their good wills... and yet therewith increase his
 favor with the people besides. Upon this—being, as it happened, the
 5 chief governor of the city for the time—he brake upon a day
 suddenly to the senate, and told them that themselves wist well enough
 what grudge the people had to them... but the peril and
 danger that they then presently stood in, that, he said, wist
 they not. But he knew well that the people intended now, after the
 10 great overthrow which the Romans had late had at Cannae,
 to kill up all the senators, and break their league with the Romans
 and fall into the party of Hannibal. “Howbeit,” quod he, “if ye dare
 put yourselves in my hands... I have devised a way whereby ye
 shall see me shortly, not only save all your lives, but also preserve
 15 your state.” And when the senators in that sudden fear agreed to
 put him whole in trust to order all the matter as he would... he
 commanded them all suddenly to be locked fast in their
 council chamber; and, setting armed men at the gate to see that
 neither any other man should enter in unto them nor any of them
 20 come out, he called suddenly to an assembly the whole people of
 the city... and there said in this wise unto them: “The thing that
 ye have, dear friends, these many days much desired—that ye
 might once be revenged upon this unhappy senate, and remove
 them from the room that by their covetous and cruel dealing
 25 have well showed themselves full unmeet to bear the name of
 fathers unto the people—this thing have I now by policy for your
 sakes peaceably brought into your hands; and that in such
 wise as ye shall not need to fight therefor, or assault particularly
 their houses. In expugnation whereof, being as they would
 30 be fenced with their servants and their friends, yourselves might
 stand in peril. But I have shut them up yonder together alone
 by themselves, clean out of armor, without aid or any manner defense,
 where you shall have them all without any man’s death or stroke.”
 35 At this word glad was all the people—and giving him high
 thanks, would forthwith fain have been upon them. “Sirs, there

3 *danger*: power

6–7 *brake* . . . *senate*: one day suddenly burst in on the senate

25 *the room*: office

26 *full unmeet*: quite unfit

29 *particularly*: one by one

30 *expugnation*: siege, attacking

31 *fenced with*: defended by

34 *stroke*: injury

36 *would* . . . *them*: would have liked to set upon them immediately

needeth in this point none haste," quod he, "but one thing is
 there that if ye thought thereon, ye would, I dare say, do first. For
 they be the while safe enough, thereas they escape not from you.
 But I have ever known you so wise that ye will not, I wot well,
 set your short present pleasure before your perpetual wealth, which, 5
 ye see well, ye should do if ye should live lawless and without a
 rule; nor no law can serve except there be some governors. And
 therefore two things must ye do at once: that is to wit, both remove
 these and also set of yourselves some better men in their places.
 Wherefore I have brought here their names in a pot. Let them be 10
 drawn out; and as they come unto hand, determine your
 pleasure of their persons, and substitute therewith their successors."
 This motion of Calavius was such that either of reason they could not
 mislike it or else for shame they would not refuse it. And thereupon
 out was there drawn a name, at the hearing whereof they 15
 cried out, all the company, "An evil and a naughty man!" and bade
 away with him. "Very well," quod Calavius, "whom will you now
 name to put in his place?" At that they paused a little and began to
 bethink them. But shortly some named one, and some named another.
 But with perusing, after this fashion, of a few, there was 20
 none that one man named and advanced for good, but five
 for that one rejected him... as either very naught or at the least
 more unmeet to take in than he whom they would put out. So
 that long ere they had perused half... as much as they misliked
 many of their old, yet found they it so hard a thing to 25
 find out the better new, that they waxed weary of the seeking. So
 that Calavius, perceiving them begin in the matter somewhat to
 stacker and stay... persuaded them easily to concord with those
 that they had before; and thereupon they left off their election,
 and let the new-chosen pass, and kept their old senate still. 30

And surely somewhat like, but not all after this fashion, hath it
 fared in such good company as it hath happed me to be at communication
 upon these matters of the clergy. For in conclusion,
 after many faults laid against the spirituality that is now, and 35

1 *needeth*: is needed

3 *thereas*: there where

5 *wealth*: well-being

11–12 *your pleasure of*: what you want done with

20 *perusing*: examining

23 *unmeet*: unfit

28 *stacker and stay*: waver and hesitate

29 *concord with*: agree upon

32 *at communication*: in conversation

35 *the spirituality that is now*: the current prelates and priests

many new devices for their lands; when we came at last unto
 Calavius' pageant, and those that found the faults in the body
 at large in such a large fashion laid forth by them as though
 there were not one good man among them: when they had the
 names of this prelate and that prelate recited and rehearsed unto 5
 them by row, and were asked, "What say you by him?" and
 "What by him?"—albeit that they did by some of them say they were
 naught, and that if, like as the Capuans should have changed
 a senator for a commoner, so if they should for every one of the
 spirituality take into his place by choice and election some good 10
 temporal man, they might for this prelate or that, concerning
 some of them, shortly make a good change (for some of them
 thought they such as, for one point or other, they could not
 lightly find a worse)—yet on the other side again, at some of them
 they stayed and stackered, and with much work brought forth 15
 some at last, with whom they might, as they thought, match
 them... and yet by their own confession no more than match
 them, and in my mind not so much neither... but like as in some
 they and I somewhat varied, so in divers others we were agreed both,
 that for to make the change, neither could they find their 20
 better nor their match neither.

Now, whereas we went thus no farther than the prelates... if we
 should have perused over the whole clergy, both religious and
 seculars... though we might have found out some that both
 might and gladly would have been exchanged for the prelates (for 25
 I have heard many laymen that would be bishops with a good
 will)—and though we might have also found enough of
 those that would match them that are evil and naughty secular
 priests, and them that are run out of religion, too, and that would
 and were able to match them in their own ways were they 30
 never so bad—yet of those that would match the good, as few as
 some folk would have them seem, it would not, I ween, as the
 world goeth now, be very easy to find out so many. But as wealthy,
 and as easy, and as glorious as some say to this Pacifier that
 religion is... yet if some others should say to them, "Lo, sirs, these folk 35
 that are in religion shall out; come you into religion in their
 steads, and live there better than they do, and you shall have

2 *pageant*: play

3 *laid forth by them*: attributed to them

6 *by row*: in order, by rank // *by him*: about him

14 *lightly*: easily

18 *in some*: on some

19 *varied*: disagreed // *in*: concerning

23 *perused over*: gone through

29 *run out of religion*: fled from religious life

33 *wealthy*: prosperous

34 *glory*: glory-endowing

heaven”—they would answer, I fear me, that they be not yet weary of this world.

Then if they were invited into religion on the other fashion, and it were said unto them thus—“Sirs, we will not bid you live so strait in religion as these men *should* have done; come on and enter, and do but even as they did, and then shall you there have a good, easy life and a wealthy, and much worldly praise therewith”—I ween a man should not yet, for all that, get them to go to it. But as easy as we call it, and as wealthy too... and now peradventure when our wives are angry, wish ourselves therein... yet if it were thus offered, we would play as Aesop telleth a fable of a poor old man... which, bearing up a hill a burden of bushes in his neck, for help of his necessity, panting for weariness, in the midway laid down his burden and sat him down and sighed, and waxed so weary of his life that he wished and called for death. Whereupon Death came anon readily toward him, and asked him, “What wilt thou with me?” But when the poor fellow saw him, the lean whoreson, there so ready—“I called you, sir,” quod he, “to pray you do so much for me as help me up again with this bicched burden, and lay it in my neck.” So ween I that for all our words, if that easy life and wealthy that is in religion were offered us... as weary as we be of wedding, we would rather abide all our old pain abroad than in a cloister take a religious man’s life for ease. So that in conclusion we should be fain either to put worse in their stead or keep our old still, till as they little and little die and depart, God in like wise little and little, as he hath ever hitherto provided, shall inspire his grace into the breasts of others, and make them fall in devotion and enter into religion, and so succeed in their places.

Now, as it fared in our communication by the spiritual persons... so fared it, in a manner, by the spiritual men’s possessions. Not for that we might not always find others enough content to enter into their possessions, though we could not always find other men enough content to enter in their religions, but for that in devising what way they should be better bestowed, such ways as

4 *strait*: strictly, rigorously

6 *even*: just

12 *bearing*: carrying

13 *in his neck*: on his shoulders

14 *necessity*: very difficult situation // *midway*: middle of his way up

16 *anon*: at once

17 *wilt thou*: do you want

20 *bicched*: accursed, execrable

23 *wedding*: married life // *abroad*: on the outside

26 *and*: by

31 *by*: with regard to

34 *religions*: religious orders

at the first face seemed very good, and for the comfort and help
of poor folk very charitable, appeared after, upon reasoning, more
likely within a while to make many beggars more, than to relieve them
that are already. And some way that appeared at the first to more stand
the realm in great stead, and be an increase of the king's honor, 5
with a great strength for the land and a great surety for the
prince, and a great sparing of the people's charge... well appeared
after, upon farther reasoning, to be the clean contrary, and of all
other ways the worst.

And to say the truth, much marvel have I to see some folk 10
now so much and so boldly speak of taking away any possessions
of the clergy. For—albeit that once in the time of the famous
prince King Henry IV, about the time of a great rumble
that the heretics made, when they would have destroyed not the
clergy only but the King also and his nobility too... there was a 15
foolish bill and a false put into a parliament or twain, and
sped as they were worthy—yet had I never found in all my
time while I was conversant in the Court, of all the nobility of
this land, above the number of seven (of which seven there are
now three dead) that ever I perceived to be of the mind that it
were either right or reasonable, or could be to the realm profitable,
without lawful cause to take any possessions away from the clergy
which good and holy princes and other devout, virtuous people,
of whom there be now many blessed saints in heaven, have of
devotion toward God given to the clergy to serve God and 25
pray for all Christian souls. And therefore, as for such folk as this
Pacifier calleth “discreet” for their discreet invention of taking
from the clergy the abundance of their possessions... I never look
to see them so discreet as were those men both discreet and devout
that gave them. 30

The Twenty-third Chapter

Yet putteth this Pacifier a third kind of thinkers, such a
kind as I never to my remembrance have heard of before: that

1 *at the first face*: at first sight

6 *surety*: safety, security

7 *charge*: monetary burden

13 *great rumble*: big commotion

15 *sped as they were worthy*: brought to the outcome that they deserved

18 *conversant*: regularly present

27 *invention*: plan, scheme

32 *putteth*: posits

is to wit, of such as purposely say evil and openly speak heresy,
and for all that think well. And those, he saith, are “politic”
which, to pull away riches from the Church, speak against
allthing that anything bring into it... as against praying

The things that bring for souls in purgatory, granting of pardons, 5
riches into the Church pilgrimages, making of laws,
founding of chantries, making of
brotherhoods, and many more.

And though they speak against all these things... yet, he saith,
they know well enough that all these things be good and may be 10
well used. But because they bring riches into the Church... therefore,
he saith, though they know them for good and think them good,
yet they speak against them all, of policy; not against the abuses
only, but also against the very things themselves. For of those that
speak against the abuses only, he putteth another sort beside 15
these men whom he calleth, for this point, so politic. And he
saith that those that only speak against the abuses do better and
have more grace... but yet that excludeth not, ye wot well, but that
the others may be good enough, and have grace enough too, though
not so much. 20

Thus hath this Pacifier put three kinds of folk that would have
the goods taken from the Church.

The first, of those that would take all and leave nothing. And
those men, he saith, have a good “zeal.”

The second, of those that would leave sufficient and take 25
away the remnant. And those men have, he saith, good “discretion.”

The third kind he calleth those which, rather than the Church
should have anything, let not to speak against good things. 30
And those men, though they speak openly plat and plain heresy...
yet he denieth not to be wise men and use a good “policy.”

But, now, whereas they deny purgatory... this is, as methinketh,
an evil policy: for withdrawing of offerings from the clergy, to
withdraw therewith our alms from the poor lay people too... and
yet, that worst is of all, from the seely souls themselves that lie 35
there and piteously cry in pain.

1 *openly*: publicly

4 *allthing*: everything, all things // *as*: such as

5 *pardons*: indulgences

8 *brotherhoods*: confraternities

26 *remnant*: rest

30 *plat*: straightforward, downright

32 *whereas*: where; in that

35 *seely*: poor, helpless

36 *piteously*: pitifully

By this “policy” we wot well that these politic folk might impugn
in general the affection of giving anything in alms. For that
affection, ye wot well, bringeth in the year somewhat into some
part of the clergy. And well ye wot that since the belief of purgatory
and others of those things against which these politic 5
men so speak be plain and open truths revealed by God... and the
contrary belief is by the whole Catholic Church plainly determined
for heresy; and since men cannot know that a man believeth
the truth in his heart if he hold against it openly with his
mouth... and those, therefore, that speak heresies, every good man that 10
Accuse the heretic. heareth them is bound to denounce or
accuse them... and the bishops are
bound, upon their words proved, to put them to penance and
reform them... which if they refuse or fall in relapse, the
bishop is bound to deliver them, and all good temporal 15
governors are then bound to punish them: if every other man
did on all sides the part of a good Christian man, it appeareth that
the policy of those whom this Pacifier calleth so politic would
within a while prove a poor policy.

Howbeit, what mind this Pacifier hath himself concerning 20
these points—himself declareth that he believeth the right way
and the true. Which I am very glad to hear; and for my part, as
help me God, I verily trust he feigneth not therein, but as a true
Christian man verily saith as he thinketh. And yet is not every man
therein of my mind. And therefore it would be wrong if every 25
“some say” and every “some think” should serve to bring a man in hatred
or obloquy. For surely some say that they think that if some men
may, as he saith, of policy feign themselves heretics, and yet
believe full truly, for all that, in their hearts... some one man may
much better feign himself for policy full Catholic, and yet 30
in his heart believe the while full falsely. But whatsoever some
men say or some men think, in that matter I never will think
that a man believeth otherwise than he saith he doth, but if himself
should, by some other words or deeds of his own, declare of
his mind the contrary. And as I will not against a man’s 35

3 *somewhat*: something

34–35 *declare of his mind*: show his opinion to be

words spoken according to the right faith, think that he believeth wrong: surely so can I not think that he which in his words openly inveigheth against good and faithful things, and despiseth true points of the common-known Catholic faith, doth in his heart secretly think and believe right... but if he were among paynims that would for fear of pain compel him to reny his faith, which were yet in that case damnable to his soul, and therefore is here among Christian men, where no such force compelleth him, but upon his peril forbiddeth him, of very good reason damnable to his body. 5 10

The Twenty-fourth Chapter

Howbeit, what this good Pacifier, though he believe right himself and plainly protesteth the truth of his belief, yet what he would should be done either with those that against their own wrong words he believeth to believe right in their minds, or with those, either, whom he believeth to believe wrong indeed, I cannot very well gather of his words here. For here he saith of them thus: 15

And though some men have mistaken themselves in the said articles... yet divers others have said that if they had been well and charitably handled, they might have been reformed, and peradventure saved in body and in soul. 20

In these words I find again, good readers, a plain, open declaration as, in my mind, that this man believeth in these articles like a true Catholic man. For he confesseth in these words that all those that have died in the contrary belief be perished in body *and soul*. For he saith that some men say that with good handling they might have been reformed, and peradventure saved in body and soul. So that it appeareth by these words that neither himself thinketh, nor hath heard so much as any other men say, but that they be now plainly lost and perished for those heresies. Which is yet another good token that he not only believeth well himself, but also talketh not much, 25 30

3 *faithful*: orthodox

6 *paynims*: Muslims // *reny*: deny, renounce

13 *truth*: sincerity

19 *mistaken themselves*: erred, taken themselves down a wrong path

32 *token*: indication

nor hath no such conversation with heretics that they dare well
and plainly put him in full trust. For if he were... he should hear
them undoubtedly say that those folk be saved souls and holy
saints—as Bainham, that was late burned, said by Bayfield,
both a heretic and an apostate, that was burned about a year
before him. 5

Howbeit, though they call them saved souls and saints... yet will
they say that they be not in heaven. For there is no soul, they say,
A very false opinion but in some place of rest they lie
still and sleep full soundly... and sleep 10
shall, they say, till Gabriel's trumpet awake them and call them
up early, to rise and record their appearance before our Savior
at the general Day of Doom.

But in good faith, this one thing am I sorry to see: that since himself
seemeth to me so faithful, and that therefore I cannot persuade 15
unto myself but that in his own heart he loveth and favoreth
the clergy—which no man can, as I think, heartily hate but he that
hateth also the faith—some of these wily heretics, like the angels
of Satan transfiguring themselves into the likeness of angels of
light, should so deceive this good man, and so abuse his good, gentle 20
nature and simplicity, as to make him with their wily invented
figure of “some say,” under a pity pretended toward those
heretics that are in their obstinacy perished, set his words in such
wise as though his mind were to aggrieve and bring in hatred
among the people the name and body of the clergy... by 25
making the people ween that their ordinaries had with evil
and uncharitable handling been the occasion that those heretics
are both in soul and body destroyed... since they might, as is
here said under the figure of “some say,” by good and charitable
handling of the clergy have been better reformed, and peradventure 30
in soul and body saved.

Would God these same some folk, that so have said unto this
Pacifier, had named him at the leastwise some one that was so
evilly and so uncharitably handled that the lack of better and
more charitable handling hath been the loss of his body and soul. 35
For then might the clergy declare their demeanor toward
that man... and then should they perceive by this Pacifier in which

1 *conversation*: association

4 *late*: recently // *by*: about

13 *Doom*: Judgment

15 *faithful*: orthodox

22 *pretended*: claimed

24 *aggrieve*: discredit

26 *evil*: bad

34 *evilly*: badly

part of their dealing, good charitable manner lacked. But verily,
whomsoever they should have named... I doubt not but those that
were the ordinaries in the cause could easily prove that they
had used no rigor to him against the law, nor omitted no
charitable means unto him that came to their minds, while the 5
man lived and the matter in their hands, nor in providing for good
exhortation toward his conversion again and his salvation,
even till the life left his body.

But, now, forasmuch as some so say by them concerning some
of them that are gone... the clergy would, I ween, be yet glad 10
to hear in what wise manner of charitable fashion this piteous
Pacifier would have them handle other heretics hereafter, such
as shall be denounced and *ex officio* brought before them. For albeit
that this Pacifier in another place somewhat seemeth to mislike
that order—yet I fear me there would, as I shall after show you, many 15
a place in the realm swarm very full ere ever they were brought
before the ordinary by the means of accusation.

Howbeit, let us put the example by someone that is likely
to be brought and delivered unto the ordinary by the means of
the King's Grace and his Council. I mean John Frith. For he is 20
in prison in the Tower already taken by the bishop's servants, by
the aid of the King's officers at commandment of His Grace
and his Council, and so by the King's officers brought into the
Tower, where he remaineth yet; and therefore he shall, I doubt not, be
brought, as I said, and delivered unto the ordinary. 25

Now, then, if the ordinary knew this good, piteous Pacifier, and
would, because he seeth his good and charitable mind, desire him
of his good advice and counsel, in what wise he might
best and most charitably handle him for the saving of his
soul and body, the laws of Christ's church observed, that the 30
saving of him, if he would stick stiff in his obstinacy, should not
be the occasion of corrupting and destroying the souls of other
men... what counsel would this man give him?

First, if no man would profess himself for his accuser, and
yet there would twenty be ready, when they were by commandment 35
of the Court compelled, not to let but depose the truth—that he
hath since he came in the Tower written afresh against

4 *rigor*: severity

14 *mislike*: disapprove of

15 *order*: procedure // *after*: later

27–28 *desire him of*: request of him

36 *let*: withhold

purgatory, and a book, that he calleth *The Mirror*, against religious, advising every man to give none of them nothing though they be of that religion that nothing have of their own; and twice hath he there in like wise written against the Catholic faith of Christ concerning the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar—whither would now this Pacifier: that the ordinary, having good proofs and yet none accuser, should proceed against him *ex officio*, or else for lack of an accuser let him fair go? If he would he should proceed *ex officio*, as I think he would think it reason: what should he then do?—since all cannot be done in a day. Whether should he let him walk abroad upon his promise to appear again, which Frith were likely to break and get him overseas; or else take sureties bound for his appearance, as John Purser and some such others were bound for John Burt, and force not to forfeit their bond for brotherhood, but let him slip aside and never bring him forth, and keep him close among the brethren as the other was kept, till the apostle may make some bishops among the new brethren... and after his new Titus and Timothy established each in his own see, then the new Paul, this apostle Frith, take shipping at Sandwich and sail into Friesland—would this Pacifier advise the ordinary thus? Or else to keep him in prison, where he should do no hurt, and let the walls and the locks be his sureties for his forthcoming?

Thus far yet, as I suppose, this Pacifier would advise the ordinary to keep Frith fast. But, now, when his heresies were laid unto his charge, as for to give counsel to the ordinary to exhort Frith to leave them... this Pacifier, I dare say, shall not need; nor to take him to grace, neither; nor to show him great favor upon good tokens of his repentance and amendment. But now if he were one of this Pacifier's politiques, and would say that he believed ever the right way in his own heart, contrary to the words that his own hand wrote... but, after the manner that this Pacifier speaketh, he wrote all these heresies of *policy*, because that by the belief of purgatory, and of the Sacrament of the Altar, and of miracles in so many places so plainly showed thereon, he saw that offering and riches came into the clergy; and therefore would say that he must not be taken for a heretic but for a man wise and politic: what advice would here this Pacifier give his ordinary?

What counsel would he give the ordinary if Frith would make

3 *religion*: religious order

5 *whither*: which

14 *force* . . . *forfeit*: do not mind forfeiting

16 *close*: concealed

22 *hurt*: harm

none excuse by policy, but say that he wrote against purgatory
 and all religious orders, and the Sacrament of the Altar too, for
 love that he beareth to the truth... and that those heresies be very faith,
 by which he will abide unto the death; what advice will this Pacifier
 give the bishop then? What good and charitable handling 5
 will he devise to save his body and soul—especially when he
 shall see certain letters which some of the brethren let fall of
 late, and lost them of likelihood as some good Kit loseth her keys...
 by which letters both Tyndale and George Joye write unto Frith
 and counsel him to stick fast... and Tyndale sheweth him 10
 that all the brethren look what shall become of him, and that
 upon his speed hangeth all their hope! I cannot tell what good
 and charitable handling this Pacifier can devise; but I dare
 say that there is neither ordinary nor other honest man, spiritual
 nor temporal, but that he is as sorry as this Pacifier himself to 15
 see that young man, or any other, so stubbornly set in such heresies
 that no man can show him the favor that every man fain
 would, without the displeasure of God and peril of their own
 souls and many other men's too.

The Twenty-fifth Chapter 20

And upon all these matters is risen a great opinion in the
 people, in manner universally, that in punishing and corrections all
 these persons before-rehearsed should have like punishment if
 spiritual men might have free liberty in that behalf. And that
 spiritual men would, if they could, as well put them to silence 25
 that speak against the abusion or disorder of such things as
 be before-rehearsed, as them that speak against the thing itself.

Those words be not very well spoken of this Pacifier by the
 people. For if he have spoken with many more than the one half,
 and felt their opinions himself—else is it not only against 30
 the spirituality spoken very shamefully, but also to the false, contrived
 rebuke of the whole people in manner universally. For
 since that neither this Pacifier nor any man else can bring forth
 any one of these heretics that have been by their ordinaries

3 *very*: true, authentic

8 *Kit loseth her keys*: a proverbial euphemism

10 *showeth*: tells

12 *his speed*: the outcome for him

14 *honest*: respectable

26 *disorder*: corruption

28 *of*: by // *by*: about

30 *felt*: sounded out

delivered for their obstinacy in the secular hands and burned,
 that have had any wrong done them, or been therein otherwise
 handled than charity with justice, according to the common
 laws of all Christ's Catholic Church, and the laws of this
 realm, have required: there is no good man nor reasonable that 5
 hath any cause thereby to conceive by the clergy such a malicious
 foolish suspicion as this Pacifier here untruly layeth unto the whole
 people of this realm in manner universally... when he maketh as
 though the whole people in manner universally were so malicious
 and so foolish as, because the clergy, which hath toward many 10
 heretics been overmuch favorable, have of necessity been driven
 to deliver them to the secular hands and therein have done them
 right, he maketh as the whole people were in manner
 universally so mad and malicious as thereupon to take an
 opinion that to those which are none heretics the clergy would 15
 do wrong.

Surely in this one point is this book of his the most indifferent
 that it is in any part that I see therein. For there is no point in all
 the book wherein it more defameth the spirituality than
 in this one it defameth in manner all the whole people universally. 20

But, now, if he say the people in manner universally think that
 those which are, as he saith, for lack of good and charitable handling
 lost and perished in body and soul, had wrong and
 ought not have been by the clergy delivered to the secular
 hands; and that therefore the whole people in manner universally 25
 do and well may think in their minds that the clergy would
 in like wise do wrong to others, and bring to like punishment
 all those persons that anything speak against only the abusions
 of such things as bring riches into the Church: now
 cannot this Pacifier thus excuse his words. For he confesseth in 30
 his own words that they which thus have been lost and
 perished, that might, as he saith, with good and charitable
 handling have been saved, be of those that have mistaken themselves
 in those articles of purgatory, trentals, obits, and pilgrimages,
 and have, as himself saith before, spoken against them and 35
 despised them... and then had they no wrong. For I am sure
 there was none of them but that he was either relapsed or else

1 *in the secular hands*: to the civil authorities

7 *untruly*: untruthfully

17 *indifferent*: impartial

23 *had wrong*: were done wrong

26 *well*: rightly

did of obstinacy stand still in them. And then appeareth it
 yet again that in going about to defame the clergy, he doth
 indeed greatly defame the *people*... when he saith that because the
 clergy hath punished them that have so far mistaken themselves
 in those articles that they have spoken against those holy *things* 5
 and despised the things themselves, the people would be so far unreasonable
 as therefore to think that they would punish in like wise all
 those that would only speak against the *abuses* and not against the
 things. For all the people see, pardie, that the clergy punisheth
 those that speak against the Sacrament of Matrimony... and yet they 10
 punish not those that speak against the abuses thereof, as
 adultery... or against those that under the name of matrimony
 live in sacrilege and incestuous lechery, as Friar Luther doth,
 and Friar Lambert, and Friar Huessgen and Otho the Monk, and such
 others. 15

And yet if he will go from his own words again, and say
 now that some of them that be for lack of good and charitable
 handling in body and soul so perished did not mistake themselves
 at all, nor did not speak against any of the things, but did
 only speak against the abuses; and that therefore he may without 20
 reproach of the people well say that the people have an opinion that
 the clergy would, if they might, have free liberty in like
 manner to punish all others that would in like manner speak; that is
 to wit, not against the good and holy things, but against the
 abuses of them: to this I say yet once again that he still defameth 25
 the people of a great, intolerable fault—that is to wit, an unjust and
 unreasonable judgment—while he saith that they think and
 believe that the clergy hath done to those men in so great a
 matter so great wrong, and hitherto not one such wrong proved.

But I shall in this point go yet a little nearer him. Since he speaketh 30
 of those that might with charitable handling have been in
 body and soul saved... it appeareth well, as I have said, that in
 this piece of his tale he speaketh of those that have *not* been saved,
 but in earth here condemned and burned, and in hell damned and
 there burning still. Now, as for any time so late before this brabbling 35
 or speech of any division between the spirituality and the
 temporalty, that this Pacifier might seem to mean of... I remember
 none delivered to the secular hands but Sir Thomas Hitton
 at Maidstone, and Sir Thomas Bilney at Norwich, and one of

22 *might*: could

25 *defameth*: accuses

27 *while*: when

35 *brabbling*: quarreling

36 *division*: discord

late at Exeter, and one of late in Lincoln Diocese; and in London here, Bayfield the Monk, and Tewkesbury the Pouchmaker, and Bainham. Now this will I say: let this Pacifier come forth—or if he be any religious recluse that cannot come abroad, let him appear by attorney. (Howbeit, it appeareth that he can be none such, but must needs be of likelihood some such as goeth much abroad, for else he could not surely tell us of so many “some say”s, nor what opinion the whole people of the realm hath in manner universally) and therefore let him come forth and appear in his own proper person, before the King’s Grace and his Council, or in what place he list, and there prove, calling me thereto, that any one of all these had wrong, but if it were for that they were burned no sooner; and because he shall not say that I bid him trot about for naught, this shall I proffer him: that I will bind myself for surety, and find him other twain besides, of better substance than myself, that for every one of these whom he proveth wronged, his ordinary, or his other officer by whom the wrong was done, shall give this Pacifier all his costs done about the proof, and a reasonable reward besides. And yet, now, though no man would give him nothing... it were his part, pardie, to prove it for his own honesty, since he hath said so far. And this dare I be bold to offer, to see the truth openly proved. After which well proved once to be as he saith, men may be bold to say the thing that they see proved true; and thereupon if they list to cast and suspect some further fear of the like—yea, or of worse, if they will—I will not let them. But without any such thing proved before... there will no reason nor good conscience bear it that we should suspect that our prelates and ordinaries in their judgments against heretics use to do them wrong... since all the laws both spiritual of the whole Church and temporal of this realm have ordained full faith and credence to be given to them therein. Which laws to contrary now there appeareth little cause, considering that the king our sovereign lord that now is, and long mote be, hath in his time as prudently and as virtuously provided for this realm, that it should have such prelates and ordinaries as should in learning, wisdom, justice, and living be meet and convenient therefor, as any prince hath (number for

5 *attorney*: proxy

21 *honesty*: honor

26 *let*: hinder

29 *use*: are wont

34 *mote*: may (he)

35 *meet and convenient*: fit and suitable

number) that hath reigned over this realm, I dare boldly say this hundred years... and should in my mind keep myself a great way within my bounds although I would set another hundred to it. But now letting this piece pass, wherein I might say many things more than I do—and would, save that the brethren would then call me long, and will yet peradventure say that I am scant short enough—let us go further and speed up this one chapter of his.

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The Twenty-sixth Chapter

And many other murmurs and grudges besides these that be before rehearsed... be among the people, more than I can rehearse now; but yet above all others methinketh that it is most to be lamented and sorrowed... that spiritual men, knowing these grudges and murmurations among the people, and knowing also that many laymen have opinion that a great occasion thereof riseth by spiritual men, and that they do no more to appease them, nor to order themselves in no other manner for the appeasing of them, than they do—for all that they do therein, most commonly, is this: they take it that they that find default at such abusions and disorder... love no priests; and therefore they esteem that they do of malice all that they do... to destroy the Church, and to have their goods and possessions themselves; and therefore they think it a good deed to see them punished, so that they shall not be able to bring their malice to effect. And therefore have they punished many persons, which much people have judged them to do upon will... and of no love unto the people. And though spiritual men are bound in this case—for appeasing of these opinions in the people which be so dangerous, as well to spiritual men as to temporal men, that many souls stand in great peril thereby—not only to reform themselves, and to leave and avoid all things that give occasion to the people so to offend... that may by charity be omitted and left, but also to fast, pray, wear the hair, give alms, and to do other good deeds for themselves and for the people, crying continually to our Lord that these divisions may cease, and that peace and concord may come again into the world: yet it appeareth not that they do so, but that they rather continue still

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7 *speed*: finish

19 *default*: fault

25 *will*: desire, inclination

32 *the hair*: hair shirts

after the old course, pretending by confederacies and worldly policies, and strait corrections, to rule the people; and that is greatly to be lamented, and it will be hard for them to bring it so about. But if they would a little meeken themselves,	5
and withdraw such things as have brought the people into this murmur and grudge, they should anon bring a new light of grace into the world, and bring the people to perfect love and obedience to their superiors.	
And here methinketh I might say farther in one thing, and that is this: that as long as spiritual rulers will either pretend that their authority is so high, and so immediately derived of God, that the people are bound to obey them, and to accept all that they do and teach, without arguments, resistance, or grudging against them; or that they will pretend that no default is in them, but in the people—and will yet continue still in the same manner, and after the same worldly countenance, as they do now, and have done late time past—the light of grace that is spoken of before will not appear; but that both parties shall walk in this darkness of malice and division... as they have done in time past.	10 15
His other murmurs and grudges that he saith he cannot now rehearse, he rehearseth after many of them in his other chapters... which I will pass over untouched, both for that the more part of them be such as every wise man will, I suppose, answer them himself in the reading, and satisfy his own mind without any need of mine help therein, and for that some things are there also therein that are very well said; and some also that be they good or bad, I purpose not to meddle much with, as are the things that touch any laws or statutes already made, be they of the Church or of the realm; defend them I am content to do, if I think them good. But on the other side, if I think them naught... albeit that in place and time convenient I would give mine advice and counsel to the change, yet to put out books in writing abroad among the people against them, that would I neither do myself nor in the so doing commend any man that doth. For if the law were such as were so far against the law of God that it were not possible to stand with man's salvation...	20 25 30 35
<i>Note</i> then in that case the secret advice and counsel may become every	

1 *pretending*: endeavoring

10 *pretend*: claim

13 *grudging*: murmuring, complaining

14 *default*: fault, defect

16 *countenance*: demeanor, style

21 *after*: later

22 *more part*: majority

30 *convenient*: appropriate

man... but the open reproof and redargution thereof may not, in my
mind, well become those that are no more spiritual than I. And
surely if the laws may be kept and observed without peril
of soul though the change might be to the better... yet out of time
and place convenient to put the defaults of the laws abroad among 5
the people in writing, and without any surety of the change
give the people occasion to have the laws in derision under
which they live—namely since he that so shall use to do may sometimes
mistake the matter and think the thing not good whereof the
change would be worse—that way will I not, as thus advised, 10
neither use myself nor advise no friend of mine to do. And
therefore I will, as I say, leave some things of his book untouched,
whether he say well or evil. And, finally, for that the touching
of this matter is no part of my principal intent, but
happeneth as an incident to fall in my way, wherein it sufficeth by 15
the consideration of one piece or twain to give men an occasion
to look well to the remnant and let it not over-lightly sink
deep down into the breast till it be well chomped and chewed in the
mouth; and not only see what he saith, but also, by the wisdom
of the reader, consider what may be said against it; and whoso 20
hath wit and readeth it in that wise, shall, I warrant you, soon
perceive that mild, indifferent book to bear more shrewd store of
evil stuff therein than the brethren that boast it would that
such good folk should see as of a good mind, meaning none harm,
ween everything were well meant that they see fair set out to the 25
show, and soft and smoothly spoken.

The Twenty-seventh Chapter

I will not, also, stick much upon his high, solemn divination
wherein he prophesieth that

as long as the spiritual rulers will either pretend that their 30
authority is so high, and so immediately derived of God, that the
people are bound to obey them, and accept all that they do and
teach, without argument, resistance, or grudge... and that they

- 1 *redargution*: reprehension, criticism
- 2 *spiritual*: of the clergy
- 5 *defaults*: defects
- 8 *namely*: especially // *use to*: habitually
- 10 *advised*: considered
- 13 *evil*: ill
- 18 *remnant*: rest
- 22 *shrewd*: malignant

will pretend that no default is in them, but will yet continue
 still in the same manner, and the same worldly countenance, as they
 do now and have done in late time past... the light of grace
 that is spoken of before

be with you now and evermore, amen.”

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The end of this holy sermon is to little purpose. For first, as for
 worldly countenance, is among the clergy within these few years
 not a little abated. Which thing whoso list with an even eye to
 look upon it, and indifferently consider it, shall not fail to
 perceive. And so there is good hope, if that may help the matter,
 that then the light of the grace that this gracious Pacifier spoke
 of before is not now very far behind. And verily, for aught that
 I can see, a great part of the proud and pompous apparel that many

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*In my Lord Cardinal
 Wolsey's days*

priests in years not long past were
 by the pride and oversight of
 some few forced in a manner against

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their own wills to wear was, before his goodly counsel so by this
 pretty printed book privily given them in their ear, much
 more, I trow, than the one-half spent, and in manner well worn
 out. And I wot well it is worn out with many which intend
 hereafter to buy no more such again. And for the residue of the
 countenance, I dare be bold to warrant that I can find—of
 those that most may spend—which, were they sure that it should
 in this matter do any good, would be well content to withdraw from
 all their other countenance the chief part of their movables,
 and of their yearly livelihood too, and out of hand bestow the
 one, and with their own hand yearly bestow the other, openly
 among the poor. And I durst again be bold to warrant that if
 they so did... even the selfsame folk that now grudge and call
 them proud for their countenance would then find as great
 a grudge and call them hypocrites for their alms, and say that
 they spend upon naughty beggars the good that was wont to
 keep good yeomen, and that thereby they both enfeeble and also dishonor
 the realm.

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Now, as for the other part of his prophecy, concerning that the
 light of grace that he spoke of before will not appear as long
 as spiritual rulers will pretend that their authority is so high,

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7 *worldly countenance*: demeanor, style / standing in the world

8 *even*: unprejudiced

15 *oversight*: supervision, management

17 *goodly*: splendid

18 *pretty*: nice

19 *trow*: feel sure

23 *which*: some who

25 *movables*: personal property

37 *pretend*: claim

and so immediately derived of God, that the people are bound to obey them, and to accept all that they do and teach, without arguments, resistance, or grudging against them: in this part he must first declare whether he mean in these words “their authority” all their whole authority, or their authority in some part. 5
 If he mean that they say thus of all their whole authority in everything that they may now at this time lawfully do or say: I answer that they neither pretend nor never did, all that authority to be given them immediately by God... but have authority now to do divers things by the grant of kings and 10
 princes, as have also many temporal men; and by those grants have such right in those as temporal men have by the like grants in theirs. And therefore in that part the Pacifier is answered.

And then if he mean that the light of his grace that he spoke of before will not appear as long as the prelates pretend that *any* 15
 part of their authority is so high that it is immediately given them of God... then hath this Pacifier lost the light of truth. For the greatest, and highest, and most excellent authority that they have, either God hath given them himself or else they be 20
 very presumptuous and usurp many things far above all good reason. For I have never read, or at the leastwise I remember not that I have read, that ever any king granted them the authority that now not only prelates but other poor, plain priests also daily do take upon them, in ministering the sacraments and 25
 consecrating the Blessed Body of Christ, with divers other authorities besides.

But it seemeth to him, peradventure, that in one point at the leastwise the spirituality is too proud. For he saith they pretend to be obeyed, and have their ordinances and their teachings 30
 observed, without resistance, grudge, or arguments to the contrary. Surely in such things as the whole clergy of Christendom teacheth and ordereth in spiritual things, as be divers of those laws which this Pacifier in some places of this book toucheth, being made against heretics... and albeit that they be, and long have been, through the whole corps of Christendom, both temporality 35
 and spirituality, by long usage and custom ratified, agreed,

8, 15 *pretend*: assert

28 *pretend*: aspire

and confirmed, yet he layeth some lack in them, calling them
 very sore: in those things I say that—since I nothing doubt in
 my mind but in that congregation to God’s honor graciously
 gathered together, the good assistance of the Spirit of
 God is, according to Christ’s promise, as verily present and assistant as 5
Acts 15:28 it was with his blessed apostles—men ought
 with reverence, and without resistance,
 grudge, or arguments, to receive them. And if a provincial
 council err... there are in Christ’s church ordinary ways to
 reform it. But in such things as any spiritual governors, after a 10
 lawful order and form, devise for the spiritual weal of their
 souls that are in their charge, and which things are such as
 good folk may soon perceive them for good: in these
 things, at the leastwise, should the good not give ear to the bad
 folk and froward, that against the best thing that can be 15
 devised can never lack a fond, froward argument. And therefore
 not only the apostles being diverse, assembled together with the
 Church in their council held at Jerusalem, did in those
 laws that they there devised and promulgated among the Gentiles
 that were in diverse countries far off converted unto Christ, did 20
 with authority write unto them, “These things have seemed both to
 us and to the Spirit of God necessary for you to keep,” lest some
 stubborn fools would peradventure be bold with froward
 arguments and reasoning to resist it; but Saint Paul also by
1 Cor 11:1–16 himself, when he devised unto the 25
 Corinthians certain good laws and orders
 concerning their order that he would have them keep in the
 church in time of God’s service, lest such as would fain with
 disputing against good order be taken and reputed for wise
 should with some problem pulled out of a penny pitcher inveigle 30
 and corrupt the company, whom far the feebler reason may
 draw to the worse part, for affection unto lewd liberty: he
 finally, besides the reasons that he laid for his law, did put
 them to silence with his authority... and forbidding them to
 reason or dispute thereagainst, but obey it, said, against all 35
 such arguments and such choplogics against good rules, “If

1 *layeth some lack*: alleges some defect

2 *sore*: oppressive, hard to bear // *I nothing*: not at all

8 *receive*: accept

9 *ordinary*: regular; conforming to order or rule

10 *after*: according to

11 *weal*: well-being

15 *froward*: perverse, contrary

16 *fond*: foolish

32 *lewd*: base

34 *forbidding*: a play on words: “forbidding” / “for bidding”

36 *choplogics*: sophistical arguments

any man will be contentious in this matter, let him well know
that we have no such guise or custom, nor the churches of God.”

But now will this Pacifier peradventure say that he neither
speaketh nor meaneth of such things as the spirituality doth or
saith that is good; but that the light of grace will not appear

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as long as the prelates pretend that their authority is so high, and
so immediate of God, that the people are bound to obey them, and
to accept *all* that they do and teach, without arguments, resistance,
or grudging . . .

—so that he hath circumspectly, for the nonce, qualified and moderated
his tale with this word “all”: that the prelates should not pretend to
be obeyed in things as well bad as good. Who heard ever the
prelates of this realm pretend this—that they should be obeyed in
all things were the things bad or good? I am very sure that ever
hitherto they have professed the contrary, and not letted to say
that if ever any prelate of this realm; yea, or the most part of
them; yea, or all the whole many, were so far fallen from God as
to preach the contrary of our old, known Catholic faith—as,
for example, that there were no purgatory after this world,
or that it were not lawful to pray to our blessed Lady or other
holy saints; or to preach that there is yet never a saint in heaven, but
that all souls lie still and sleep; or to preach against penance, as
Tyndale doth, that is as loath, good tender pernel, to take a little
penance of the priest as the lady was to come anymore to
disciplining that wept even for tender heart two days after, when
she talked of it, that the priest had on Good Friday with the
disciplining rod beaten her hard upon her lily-white hands—whoso
would, I say, preach any of these heresies, or that in the Blessed
Sacrament of the Altar were not the very Body and very Blood
of Christ, but, as Frith teacheth, nothing but wine and bread, or
else, as Tyndale jesteth, starch instead of bread: though there would
hereafter (which shall, I trust, never happen) all the prelates in this
realm fall thereto and preach the same, yet all the prelates hitherto
plainly do preach and teach that no layman should then believe
them.

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And therefore, like as if the prelates did pretend the thing that this
Pacifier speaketh of, then were his aforesaid words well and

2 *guise*: practice

10 *for the nonce*: on purpose // *moderated*: modified

11 *tail*: statement

15 *letted*: omitted

23 *pernel*: effeminate young man; little sissy

25 *disciplining*: a penance service (voluntarily participated in)

27 *disciplining rod*: a small bundle of rods

wisely tempered and circumspectly spoken... so while they neither pretend that thing now nor never herebefore did, there is little wit in those words. For now doth all his tale amount unto no more but that the light of grace will never appear as long as the prelates do the thing that they neither do nor never did. Is not this therefore, good readers, by this good Pacifier brought unto a wise conclusion?

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The Twenty-eighth Chapter

Now, where he most lamenteth that the clergy doth no more to appease these grudges of the temporality toward them, and after, he preacheth to them holily what things they should do that they do not—that is to wit, forbear such things as he spoke of before (whereby he specially meaneth, as both before and in divers places after appeareth, the evil and uncharitable handling of heretics; whereof the man hath nothing proved), but also that they should do things which, he saith, men see them not do (that is to say, give alms, and wear hair, and fast, and pray, that this division may cease)—now, that all the spiritual men do not so, that is very true. And it is as true, I trow, that this thousand years was never the time that all so did. And therefore if that thing cause and keep in this division, it must have been a thing of a thousand years old. But I think that many of them do all these things which this Pacifier preacheth to have done. For I am sure that though some do not their part therein... yet among the spirituality there *is* both giving of great alms and wearing of hair, and fasting, and praying for peace. But whether they take this division to be so great and so universal as this Pacifier speaketh of, that can I not tell; and peradventure they do not. And whether they do or no... surely *I* do not. Nor whether they pray for the pacification of this division in all such manner wise as the thing requireth, that I cannot tell... but there may be peradventure therein some oversight upon their part. For if they leave nothing unprayed for that may pertain to the pacification of this division, then must they peradventure put into their service (both Matins, Mass, and Evensong) some special Collect, and therein pray God that it may please him that the people may perceive the subtle sleights

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1 *while*: when, since

3 *tail*: statement

7 *wise*: sensible

17 *hair*: hair shirts

19 *trow*: feel sure

21 *keep in*: make continue

35 *Evensong*: Vespers (an hour of the Divine Office); evening prayer

of the devil, and some others of his limes, in many parts of this book of this pacification; which things peradventure the compiler perceived not himself, but was therein, of simplicity, by some subtle shrew deceived.

The Twenty-ninth Chapter

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But this Pacifier, perceiving that what one man doth in secretness, another cannot see... is therefore bold to say they do not all those things which he would have them do; that is to wit, fast, and pray, wear hair, and give alms. For, he saith, "that they do all these things it appeareth not."

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As for praying, it appeareth, pardie, they do. And that so much they daily pray as some of us laymen think it a pain once in a week to rise so soon from sleep, and some to tarry so long fasting, as on the Sunday to come and hear out their Matins. And yet is not the Matins in every parish, neither, allthing so early begun nor fully so long in doing as it is in the Charterhouse, ye wot well. And yet at our sloth and gluttony that are lay people, this Pacifier can wink and feign himself asleep. But that the clergy prayeth not, that can he shortly spy, as soon as their lips leave stirring.

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Howbeit, because he is peradventure of the clergy himself... therefore lest he should seem partial to his own party, he rather speaketh of their defaults than ours; wherein I will not much strive with him. But surely as he may be bold to preach being a priest... so if I were a priest too, I would be bold to preach thus much again to him: that for any winning of the gloss and fame of indifference, though he leave the faults of us lay people untouched, yet of his own party, the clergy, for no laymen's pleasure he never should say more than truth.

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For, now, as touching of alms... is there none given, troweth he, by the spirituality? If he say, as he saith here, that it appeareth not that they do give alms... I might answer again that they follow therein the counsel of Christ, which saith, "Let not thy

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1 *limes*: snares, deceptions

4 *subtle shrew*: insidiously sly scoundrel

11 *pardie*: by golly

14 *Matins*: an hour of the Divine Office said early in the morning

15 *allthing*: quite

18 *wink*: close his eyes

20 *leave stirring*: stop moving

26–27 *gloss and fame of*: appearance of and reputation for

30 *troweth he*: does he suppose

33 *which*: who

<i>Mt 6:3</i>	left hand see what thy right hand	
	doth"; as I might in praying have laid	
	those other words of Christ, "Thou, when thou wilt pray, enter into thy	
<i>Mt 6:6</i>	chamber and shut the door, and pray to thy	
<i>Mt 5:16</i>	Father privily." But likewise as God, for	5
	all that counsel, was content that men	
	should both pray and give to the needy, and do other works,	
	both of penance and of charity, openly abroad in company	
	where there be no desire of vainglory, but that the people by the	
	sight thereof may have occasion to give therefor laud and glory	10
	to God: so dare I boldly say that as they both secretly and	
	openly, too, do use and accustom to pray, so do they both secretly	
	and openly, too, give no little alms in the year, whatsoever	
	this Pacifier say. And I somewhat marvel that since this	
	Pacifier goeth so busily abroad that there is no "some say" anywhere,	15
	almost, in all the whole realm but that he heareth it and can	
	rehearse it—I marvel, I say, not a little, that he neither seeth nor	
	heareth any "some say" that there is in the spirituality given anything	
	in alms. I use not much myself to go very far abroad,	
	and yet I hear some say that there is; and I see sometimes myself	20
	so many poor folk at Westminster at the doles, of whom, as	
	far as ever I heard, the monks use not to send away many	
	unserved, that myself for the press of them have been fain to ride	
	another way.	
	But one answered me to this once, and said that it was no thank	25
	to them... for it was lands that good princes have given them.	
	But as I then told him again... it were then much less thank	
	to them that would now give good princes evil counsel for to	
	take it from them.	
	And also, if we call it no giving of alms by them because	30
	the lands whereof they give it, other good men have given them—	
	whereof will you have them give alms? For they have none other.	

The Thirtieth Chapter

Another thing also which this Pacifier seemeth to dispraise	
under the name of proud worldly countenance—if men were as	35

- 2 *laid*: adduced
 17 *rehearse*: repeat
 25 *one*: someone // *thank*: credit
 27 *again*: in reply
 34 *dispraise*: disparage

ready, in a deed of its own nature indifferent, to construe the mind and intent of the doer to the better part as they be of their own inward goodness to construe and report it to the worse, then might I say that the same thing which they call the proud

A full charitable alms worldly countenance, they might and would call a full charitable alms: that is to wit, the right honest finding and good bringing up of so many temporal men in their service... which, though they be no beggars, yet might peradventure, the great part of them, go beg if they found them not, but sent them abroad to seek themselves a service. 5 10

And like as if you would give a poor man some money because he needeth, and yet would make him work therefor in your garden lest he should by your alms live idle and wax a loiterer, the labor that he doth taketh not away the nature and merit of your alms: no more it maketh the finding of servants none alms though they wait on the finder and do him service in his house. And of all alms the chief is to see them well brought up, and well and honestly guided. In which point, though neither party do fully their duty... yet I suppose in good faith that the spirituality goeth in that point, which is no small alms, rather somewhat before us than anything drag behind us. 15 20

The Thirty-first Chapter

Then followeth their fasting... which thing the spirituality *doth*, as I suppose—all such as keep still the old Christian faith, and fall not unto these new heresies. 25

But this Pacifier findeth a fault, and rehearseth out of Jean Gerson, that the clergy keepeth not now the law by which it was ordained that the clergy should keep a longer Lent than they now do. And would God, as Saint Paul saith, that both they and we could and would every day. But this Pacifier, that is so well seen in the laws of the Church, seeth well enough that the universal custom to the contrary dischargeth the bond of that law, though 30

1 *indifferent*: neither good nor bad

4, 5 *might*: could

7 *right honest*: quite honorable

7 *finding*: maintaining; providing with food and clothing

7 *bringing up*: elevating

9 *great part*: vast majority

13 *needeth*: is in need

19 *honestly*: honorably

31 *as Saint Paul saith*: See 1 Cor 9:24–27.

32 *well seen*: well versed

34 *bond of*: bindingness of; obligation to keep

peradventure it discharged not them that first began the breach
 whereby the custom grew. For as for fasting, the custom of the
The strength of a custom country may either to the bond or to the
 discharge and interpretation of the laws
 made therefor—the custom, I say, may do much, as Saint Augustine 5
 showeth in more places than one. For if it were otherwise...
 then fasted almost no man any fast at all at this day while we
 dine at noon. For the very fast was of old, as both by the Scripture
The old manner of fasting and holy writers appeareth, to forbear
 their meal till night; which is, as ye 10
 see, all changed. And the Church, to condescend unto our
Why Evensong in Lent infirmity, hath been fain therefore to say in
is sung before noon Lent their Evensong before noon... and
 besides the natural days, to devise us
 new days *ex fictione juris*, that we should at the least have Evensong in 15
 the Lenten fast before we fall to meat. And yet we keep not that
 neither. But as an Almain of mine acquaintance, when I
 blamed him lately for not fasting upon a certain day, answered
 me, “Fareto sould te laymen fasten? Let te priester fasten”—so we
 begin, God wot, to fast full little for our own part... but bid the 20
 priester go fasten. And where ourselves would for our own part be
 fain that the Lent were two weeks less—yet would we that for
 the clergy the Lent were one week longer. But some of them toss
 it from themselves as fast, and send it to the friars. And verily,
 religious folk use, I trow, both long Lents and Advent, too, and 25
 some of them divers other fasts besides... and they be, pardie, a
 great part of the spirituality.

The Thirty-second Chapter

Then preacheth this Pacifier yet farther, that the clergy should
 wear hair. He is surely somewhat sore if he bind them all thereto; 30
 but among them I think that many do already—and some whole
 religion doth. But yet saith this Pacifier that it doth not
 appear that they do so. Ah, well said. But, now, if all the lack stand
 in that point, that such holiness is hidden, so that men may not
 see it... it shall be from henceforth well done for them, and so they 35
 will do if they be wise, upon this advertisement and preaching of

8 *very*: true

8 *Scripture*: See Jdg 20:26 and 2 Sm 1:12.

12 *been fain*: found it necessary

15 *ex fictione juris*: by a fiction of law

16 *fall to meat*: start eating

17 *Almain*: German

18 *blamed*: reproved

21 *where*: whereas

21–22 *be . . . were*: like for Lent to be

25 *use*: observe, keep

30 *sore*: severe

31–32 *religion*: religious order

33 *lack*: offense

36 *advertisement*: admonishment

this good Pacifier, come out of their cloisters every man into the marketplace, and there kneel down in the cannel and make their prayers in the open streets, and wear their shirts of hair in sight upon their cowls; and then shall it appear, and men shall see it. And surely for their shirts of hair in this way were there none hypocrisy... and yet were there also good policy, for then should it not prick them.

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The Thirty-third Chapter

But as for all this Pacifier's preaching, the spirituality may be content to take in good worth. For peradventure if he were known, he were such one as to preach to all the spirituality might well become his personage; and yet if he be but a simple parson indeed, yet the spirituality may meeken themselves according to his good counsel, and admit his wholesome admonitions. But surely this one thing, though the spirituality bear it and take it well in worth... methinketh yet that every good temporal man may very much mislike: that this Pacifier, in the beginning of this his holy preaching, preacheth upon them to their sore slander—first, with an untrue surmise grounded upon imagination, and after, with a very plain, open lie; neither an idle lie nor of any good purpose (of which two kinds of lying Saint Augustine admitteth neither nother, in folk of the perfection that this Pacifier, by his preaching used with such authority toward all the spirituality, should seem to be), but a lie very pernicious, which is one of the things that least can become any good Christian man.

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For first he saith that

... all that the spirituality doth to the appeasing of the people is, most commonly, this: that they take it that they that find default at abusons and disorder of the spirituality, love no priests; and therefore they esteem that they do it of malice, all that they do, to destroy the Church.

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2 *cannel*: gutter

10 *in good worth*: in good part; without becoming perturbed

12 *yet*: even

16 *well in worth*: with great equanimity

17 *mislike*: dislike, disapprove of

19 *surmise*: allegation

24 *used*: carried on

This is a goodly false surmise, grounded, as I said, upon a charitable imagination. But for all this, though good temporal men be evil-content with such as are in the spirituality naught, with whom the good folk of the spirituality be as evil-content as they: yet I verily trust for all this, as I say, that not the temporality nor any one good temporal man is, for them that are naught among the spirituality, so displeased and angry against the spirituality, that is to wit, against the corps and body thereof, that they should greatly need to be appeased; nor do not lay the faults of naughty spiritual persons to the rebuke of the whole spirituality—no more than they would think it reason that the strangers of other realms so should lay the faults of evil temporal folk here to the rebuke of the whole temporality that they should grudge and say shrewdly by us for them. 5

Now, if this Pacifier will say that it is not like... and will say that we be not suitly the “temporality” and “spirituality” of this realm, but that we be much better for our part than the spirituality be for theirs—the temporality shall not be dispraised for me. For I trust that though in respect of the goodness that God’s benefits unto man requireth of men again, and in respect of the constancy and perseverance in virtue that men should hold fast and keep, there are few or none good in neither nother party: yet in such kind of goodness as the frailty of our nature suffereth in this world, now up, now down, now falling by sin and now rising again by grace, the temporality is good, I trust, and the spirituality both, for all that there lacketh not a sort of some such as are very desperate, devilish wretches in both... 15

as no man doubteth but there was a very good church of Christ in his blessed apostles’ days, and yet were there even then many full very naught and stark heretics too therein. 20

And as for the difference in goodness between them and us, God knoweth the better and the worse both. But strangers of other countries that come hither and see both (saving some that have come both out of France and Flanders, and have here been put in trouble by the spirituality for bringing in of Luther’s gospel)—other strangers else, I say, when they have considered the spirituality of this realm, and compared them in their minds not only with the temporality of the same, but also with the spirituality of their own countries, have said that our spirituality may 25

1 *goodly*: splendid / huge

20 *again*: in return

3 *evil-content*: ill-content, unhappy

23 *suffereth*: allows for

12, 32 *strangers of*: foreigners from

27 *desperate*: lawless

14 *grudge* . . . *them*: resent and speak badly of us on account of them

16 *suitly*: fittingly

18 *the* . . . *me*: I would not want the laity disparaged // the laity is not to be disparaged on account of me

without any special reproach show their faces among other folk. And therefore, that the whole body of the spirituality of this realm is so far fallen in the grudge and indignation of the whole temporality as this Pacifier speaketh... I neither see cause why it should so, nor yet believe that it is so, nor think it either good or honorable for this realm that other realms should ween it were so.

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But whereas this Pacifier speaketh of appeasing: I pray God that some of the spirituality have not in some things gone about overmuch to appease that sort of people by whose means they have thought that all their dis-ease hath come—those folk, I say, of whom by good information they have had detected unto them for very stark heretics indeed; whom if, for any fear of such other folk's false suspicion springing upon such slanderous lies as this Pacifier speaketh of and groundeth his conclusions upon, the clergy begin to spare, and for any such causes begin to slack, and be the more remiss in the calling, attaching, and examining, and of the further ordering of heretics, God will not fail to make fall in their necks the double slander of that from which they flee. For when they wax so fainthearted in his great cause of repressing of heresies and maintaining of his faith that they forbear their duty for fear of false slanderous words... God will then make them fall into the more slander by the selfsame means by which they flee from the less. For instead of the false slander of evil men and heretics that they fear in the pursuing... God will send them a true slander, and make them be defamed among good men and Catholics, for their slack and remiss handling. And further if they fall into the folly that the prophet reproveth, and cease to call upon God for strength, and then tremble for dread where there is no peril, and for any dread of men (which, if they not only would slander them but beat them and kill them too, can yet kill but the body and then have spit all their poison) would forget the fear—God (which, when he hath slain the body, may

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Lk 12:4–5

send the soul into everlasting fire)—if
(which our Lord forbid) any bishop

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fall in this fear and cowardice of faint heart that, for any worldly fear, they suffer to be blown out the light of his lantern

10 *dis-ease*: trouble

11 *detected*: denounced

12 *stark*: complete, out-and-out

17 *ordering*: correcting, chastising, punishing

18 *in their necks*: on their shoulders

19 *slander*: disparagement, badmouthing

22 *slanderous*: derogatory

26 *be defamed*: fall into disrepute

30 *which*: who

33 *the fear*: the One who is to be feared

of faith, he will not fail to make fall upon them the terrible
Rv 2:5 communication and threat that the Spirit
 speaketh of in the Apocalypse unto the
 bishop of Ephesus: "I will come and remove thy candlestick out of
 its place."

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The Thirty-fourth Chapter

Now, where this Pacifier here surmiseth that the spirituality
 doth, most commonly, nothing else but maliciously misconstrue
 the minds, and therefore maliciously persecute and pursue
 the bodies, of all them that find default at their disorder and abusions: 10
 the untruth of this surmise well and plainly appeareth by
 this that every man daily heareth—that there is not in all the clergy
 any man that useth to preach the word of God but that,
 as he toucheth the faults of the temporality, such as he seeth in
 that audience meetly to be spoken of... so toucheth he in like wise 15
 the faults of the spirituality; and is for his so doing not hated of the
 spirituality, no more than of the temporality, but well commended
 of both. But of truth, he that would either upon the spirituality
 alone or upon the temporality alone, or upon any one part of
 either the one or the other, as of only kings, or only dukes, or 20
 only lords, or only gentlemen, or only men of law, or only
 merchants, make his whole sermon, when that one part only
 were not his whole audience; and would by that part among
 all folk say many shrewd things by manner of exhortation to
 the amending: though evil folk and malicious would have a 25
 pleasure to hear it, yet would no good folk and indifferent think
 that he did well; and especially if he would use that manner where
 himself pretended that all the remnant of his audience were
 in grudge and division already against that one part... whose faults
 and vices all his whole sermon holily putteth in all the people's 30
 ears to mitigate their hatred with; and with such preaching
 so to make the peace in like manner wise as, if he found a
 corner of his neighbor's house burning, he would of great love and
 policy lay on faggots and gunpowder to put out the fire.

7 *surmiseth*: alleges

34 *faggots*: bundles of twigs

13 *useth to preach*: on a regular basis preaches

14 *toucheth*: mentions

15 *meetly*: appropriately

16 *hated of*: hated by

23 *by*: about

24 *shrewd*: bad

26 *indifferent*: unbiased

28 *pretended*: claimed // *remnant*: rest

29 *grudge and division*: resentment and dissension

The Thirty-fifth Chapter

Now, where this Pacifier, upon that misimagined surmise,
goeth on farther and saith that because the clergy so misconstrueth
the minds of all those that find fault at their disorder
and abusions,

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. . . therefore they think it a good deed to see them punished, and they
have therefore punished many persons, which much people have
judged them to do upon will, and not of no love to the people . . .

—in these words how charitably this Pacifier meant, I cannot tell;
but either by malice or oversight, either by default of himself
or craft of some subtle shrew, these words are as evil and
as maliciously written as anyone that would fain falsely defame
the clergy could imagine or devise.

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For here he saith that because they have (as himself beareth them
in hand) conceived a false suspicion against all those that find
fault at their disorder and abusions... therefore they not only
have persecuted and punished many persons, but also think
their wrongful persecution and unrighteous punishment well
done. What can be worse done than this? And therefore, as this
doing were the worst that could be if it were true... so is
this saying the very worst that can be since it is very false.

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And in these words the figure of “some say” will not well serve him;
and yet in it cometh here also much augmented and increased, in
that he saith not that “some men” so “say,” but that “much people” so
“judgeth.” Howbeit, as I said, this figure will not serve him here...
but he playeth like a wily thief that, because he would not be
known, would wear a visor... and yet, forgetting himself, would
first come forth barefaced... and when every man had seen him
and marked him well, would then put on his visor apace, and
cover his visage to walk away unknown. Even thus
wisely, lo, playeth this Pacifier here. For first he saith as of *himself*
that the clergy hath punished many persons “therefore”; that is
to wit, for the evil and false suspicion that they have conceived
against all those that find fault in their disorder and

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4 *misorder*: corruption

5 *abusions*: abuses

10 *default of himself*: his own fault

11 *subtle shrew*: insidiously sly scoundrel

14–15 *beareth them in hand*: maintains against them / would have them believe

27 *visor*: mask

29 *apace*: in a hurry

30 *visage*: face

abusions. And when he hath thus said as of himself, and thereby well showed himself... *then*, to cover and color it with, he saith that “much people” “judgeth” so. And therefore his whole tale amounteth unto no more but that himself first affirmeth it and after confirmeth his affirmation by the pretense that much people judgeth the same; of which much people he nameth yet never one—nor proveth that much people so doth, nor showeth cause wherefore either much people or little people, or any one person, so should—but bringeth forth a bare surmise in such wise imagined against the clergy as every man that list to lie may soon imagine in some other matter against any temporal men. 5 10

But as for his much people, I set not much by. For much people may sometime believe some one man’s lie. And against his much people, if there were much of them that so judge before the proof and fish before the net, and set the cart before the horse, as I ween there is not: yet is there against them much other people more wise in that point, and more circumspect, which till they see such an evil tale proved true will either of indifference keep themselves in a stay, and suspend their sentence for the season, or else, of a good mind, rather for the while think and believe the contrary. 15 20

Letting, therefore, for this time his much people pass... I would now demand of him how he proveth this abominable fault that he layeth here to the spirituality himself... where he saith plainly that they have punished many persons “therefore”; that is to wit, for the thing that he there hath rehearsed—which is, ye wot well, because they have, he saith, conceived a false suspicion against them for finding default at their disorder and abusions, and take it as though they loved not the clergy, but of malice would destroy the Church and have their goods and possessions themselves. Now, if the clergy have *therefore* punished many persons—because the same persons have only spoken against their disorder and abusions, and that the clergy have therefore misconstrued their minds and imagined that they would destroy the clergy for their possessions (which those other folk that spoke against their disorder went about with those words to get from the clergy to themselves)—if the clergy did, I say, for this cause of their own false, imagined suspicion, punish those many persons that this Pacifier speaketh of, what thing in this 25 30 35

2 *color*: disguise

3 *tale*: account

5 *pretense*: claim

9 *bare surmise*: mere, unsupported allegation

10 *list*: wants

12 *set not much by*: attach little importance to (them)

19 *indifference*: impartiality // *in a stay*: at a standstill

19 *sentence*: judgment

20 *season*: time being

20 *mind*: disposition

23 *demand of*: ask

26 *rehearsed*: repeated

world could they do that were worse? And therefore, since that saying against the clergy is an intolerable defamation but if that be true... I ask this Pacifier by what means he proveth it true.

And first, to show that in some part at the least his words appear false... every man knoweth that some of those that have been punished have been such as neither if the clergy lost their lands should have any part thereof themselves, and were of such well-known naughtiness and lewd living, besides, that no good man could think it likely that such folk as they were should do it for any devotion... as was Sir Thomas Hitton, that was waxen a joiner, and in many a day neither said Matins nor Mass, but raged and railed against the Blessed Sacrament; and Blomfield, the apostate that was abjured in London, and after railed against all religions at Ipswich, and thereupon taken and imprisoned at Norwich; and Bayfield, the monk and apostate that was, as an abjured and after perjured and relapsed heretic, well and worthily burned in Smithfield. These, with divers such others as have been punished for heresy, have been none such as the clergy needed to punish them for fear that they should get from them any part of their lands to themselves, nor were of such wisdom, learning, nor virtue neither, that the clergy could fear that any men of wit or of authority would anything regard their words; but only that the clergy feared: that by their means might grow the loss and destruction of many light persons' souls.

For if this Pacifier will say that the clergy feared lest those folk, and many such other like, should conspire and gather together, and pull all away from them by force—I cannot say nay but such a thing might indeed by long sufferance come about, as well in this land as it hath in others. But then if the clergy feared that thing... they feared for more than themselves. For surely if such thing should fortune, as I trust it never shall... those folk would not take only from the clergy, but, among others, from some of their own lay brethren too, such as have aught to lose.

But this Pacifier will peradventure say that though such manner folk as evil priests and apostates that the clergy have punished

9 *naughtiness and lewd living*: immorality and wicked way of life

11–12 *that . . . joiner*: who had become a cabinet maker

14 *religions*: religious orders

18 *worthily*: deservedly

23 *wit*: good sense // *anything regard*: pay any heed to

25 *light*: unthinking

28–29 *say nay but*: deny that

34 *ought*: anything

be none of those that they punished for that cause, but because they were heretics indeed... yet many others *have* they punished for that cause—that is to wit, because they misconstrued their minds and reckoned them for enemies to the clergy, for only finding of faults at the disorder and abusions of the clergy. And he will say, as he saith, that not only himself saith that the clergy have punished many persons therefore... but that also much people, though they say not so far as he saith—that is to wit, that they punished them *therefore*—will yet say that they punished them rather of will than of love to the people. Well, yet the same much people, if this Pacifier have heard them so say, though their so saying be grounded but upon imagination and guessing at the secrets of other men’s minds (as his own imagination is), yet judge they not so evil as himself doth. For if they judge in that punishment no more but less love to the people than desire to punishment... they judge not yet that the punishers did the parties wrong, as this Pacifier doth himself, that saith the clergy misconstrued their minds and, upon such mistaking of their minds for only speaking against their disorder and abusions, did therefore punish them.

And therefore letting, as I said before, his much people pass by about their other business... I ask this Pacifier himself, since he saith that the clergy hath for that cause “punished many,” what number is the least that he calleth many? For though very few be over many to be so wrongfully mishandled and punished for only speaking against disorder and abusions... yet evermore this word “many” must needs import and signify some greater number, pardie, than one or two or three.

And over this, because the matter whereupon this Pacifier bringeth it in is for a cause of a great and in manner universal grudge and division now of late (as he saith) sprung up and grown between the spirituality and the temporality... these many persons that he speaketh of, which have been so late for only speaking against disorder and abusions punished, must needs be so many as that there have been some such so punished almost in every diocese. For else he plain reproveth his own process,

14 *evil*: ill

19 *mistaking*: (culpable) misinterpreting

26 *over*: too

30 *over this*: furthermore

34 *late*: recently

37 *reproveth*: disproves // *process*: argument

and excuseth the clergy himself unawares... and layeth no little fault in the temporality, if for the wrongful demeanor of one bishop or twain in one person or twain, they would bear a universal grudge against all the remnant.

Now, to prove to what pass this Pacifier could bring his process of his "many" persons so sore mishandled and punished for only speaking against disorder and abusions of the clergy... let this Pacifier peruse and rehearse by name all the dioceses of England and Wales therewith, and I ween verily that except London and Lincoln, he shall scant in any one of all the remnant find punished for heresy four persons in five years, and in the more part of them, not five in fifteen years; nor delivered into the secular hands, in the most part of them, any one in twenty years. And then if this be thus, although (which I trow no man thinketh) of all those that in all the other dioceses have been punished were wronged every one... yet were not so few likely to have made so great a universal grudge as this Pacifier speaketh of. For I suppose no man doubteth but that by one occasion and other, more men than so many have mishapped to be in less space mispunished in so much space of the land by temporal men; and yet hath there not grown any universal grudge or division against any part of the people thereby.

Let us now, then, come to those two dioceses of London and Lincoln... and of those twain, first to speak of Lincoln: as great a diocese as it is, and as many shires as it hath within it, yet have I not heard of late many punished for heresy among them all. But about a ten-year ago, to my remembrance, there were in that diocese about twelve or fourteen abjured in one town; and at that time every man that I heard speak thereof, either in the Court or elsewhere, appeared very glad that such a bed of snakes was so found out and broken. For then were there, at that time, no pacifiers to put forth books and lament such divisions, with laying for a cause of the grudge that many persons were mishandled and punished for only speaking against the disorder and abusions of the clergy. But now every one that is punished anywhere is enough for a matter of a lamentable book of

1 *excuseth*: exonerates

2 *wrongful demeanor*: unjust conduct

3 *in*: toward

6 *sore*: terribly

8 *peruse*: examine one by one // *rehearse*: give an account of

12 *more part*: majority

13 *most part*: vast majority

14 *although*: even if // *trow*: trust

19 *space*: length of time

27 *ten-year*: decade

36 *lamentable*: plaintive / regrettable

division, that may, to pacify the grudge ere it begin, use a figure of “some say,” and “they say,” and “many say,” and “much people saith,” and “many men think,” and such other... and therewith inveigle the reader, and make some good folk ween that right were wrong and every one man a hundred.

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But now come I to the diocese of London, in which though there have been somewhat more ado in these matters there is no great marvel, since unto this diocese there is so great resort and confluence, not only from other parts of this realm, but also from other lands. And yet even here—of all that hath been punished in this diocese, either in the county of Essex (for as for in Middlesex, I remember none) or in the city itself, either of residents therein or of resorters thereto, Englishmen or strangers—since this Pacifier affirmeth that “many persons” be punished by the clergy for the only speaking against their abusions and disorder... and of those that have been punished either right or wrong, far the most part have been here (double and treble, I trow, to all the remnant of the whole realm)... and this is here next at hand, whereby the proofs of all such mishandling may here with least labor and charge be brought forth, and the truth most easily tried: let this Pacifier, of those many mishandled and wrong-punished persons that he speaketh of, come forth and here prove us some. Let him prove twenty, let him prove twelve, let him prove ten, let him prove six, let him prove twain; or for very shame, after such a great word of “so many,” let him prove some one, at the least. But surely I suppose he shall never be able to do that.

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The Thirty-sixth Chapter

But I suppose in good faith that this Pacifier hath, of some facility of his own good nature, been easy to believe some such as have told him lies... and hath been thereby persuaded to think that many other folk said and knew the thing that some few told him for very truth. And surely they that are of this new brotherhood be so bold and so shameless in lying that whoso

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13 *resorters*: visitors // *strangers*: foreigners

19 *proofs*: witnesses

20 *charge*: expense

21 *tried*: ascertained

shall hear them speak and knoweth not what sect they be of
shall be very sore abused by them.

Myself have good experience of them. For the lies are neither
few nor small that many of the blessed brethren have made, and daily
yet make, by me. 5

Divers of them have said that of such as were in my house
while I was Chancellor, I used to examine them with
torments, causing them to be bound to a tree in my garden, and
there piteously beaten.

And this tale had some of those good brethren so caused to be
blown about that a right worshipful friend of mine did of
late, within less than this fortnight, tell unto another near
friend of mine that he had of late heard much speaking thereof. 10

What cannot these brethren say, that can be so shameless
to say thus? For of very truth, albeit that for a great robbery,
or a heinous murder, or sacrilege in a church (with carrying
away the pyx with the Blessed Sacrament, or villainously
casting it out), I caused sometimes such things to be done
by some officers of the Marshalsea, or of some other prisons, with
which ordering of them by their well-deserved pain, and
without any great hurt that afterward should stick by them, 20
I found out and repressed many such desperate wretches as else
had not failed to have gone further abroad and to have done to
many good folk a great deal much more harm: yet though I so
did in thieves, murderers, and robbers of churches... and notwithstanding 25
also that heretics be yet much worse than all they... yet,
saving only their sure keeping, I never did else cause any such
thing to be done to any of them all in all my life, except
only twain; of which the one was a child and a servant of
mine in mine own house, whom his father had, ere ever he 30
came with me, nuzzled up in such matters, and had set him
to attend upon George Joye, or Gee, otherwise called Cleric,
which is a priest, and is now, for all that, wedded in Antwerp; into
whose house there, the two nuns were brought which John
Burt, otherwise called Adrian, stole out of their cloister to make 35
them harlots. This George Joye did teach this child his ungracious
heresy against the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar...

2 *abused*: misled, deceived

5 *by*: about

8 *causing them to be*: having them

9 *piteously*: pitifully; deplorably

11 *right worshipful*: very distinguished

20 *ordering*: correcting // *pain*: suffering inflicted as punishment

21 *hurt*: harm

22 *desperate*: lawless

31 *nuzzled up*: nurtured, indoctrinated

36 *ungracious*: wicked

which heresy this child afterward, being in service with me, began to teach another child in my house, which uttered his counsel. And upon that point perceived and known... I caused a servant of mine to stripe him like a child before mine household, for amendment of himself and example of such others. 5

Another was one which, after that he had fallen into the frantic heresies, fell soon after into plain, open frenzy besides. And albeit that he had therefore been put up in Bedlam, and afterward, by beating and correction, gathered his remembrance to him and began to come again to himself... being 10

thereupon set at liberty and walking about abroad, his old fancies began to fall again in his head. And I was from divers good, holy places advertised that he used, in his wandering about, to come into the church and there make many mad toys and trifles, to the trouble of good people, in the divine service; and especially 15

would he be most busy in the time of most silence, while the priest was at the Secrets of the Mass, about the Elevation. And if he spied any woman kneeling at a form... if her head hung anything low in her meditations, then would he steal behind her and, if he were not letted, would labor to lift up all her clothes 20

and cast them quite over her head. Whereupon I, being advertised of these pageants, and being sent unto and required by very devout, religious folk to take some other order with him... caused him, as he came wandering by my door, to be taken by the constables and bound to a tree in the street, before the whole 25

town, and there they striped him with rods therefor till he waxed weary, and somewhat longer. And it appeared well that his remembrance was good enough, save that it went about in grazing till it was beaten home. For he could then very well rehearse his faults himself and speak and treat very well, and promise to do 30

afterward as well. And verily, God be thanked, I hear none harm of him now.

And of all that ever came in my hand for heresy, as help me God, saving, as I said, the sure keeping of them—and yet not so sure, neither, but that George Constantine could steal away— 35

else had never any of them any stripe or stroke given them, so much as a fillip on the forehead.

6 *frantic*: insane

7 *frenzy*: madness, insanity

13 *advertised*: informed

14 *make . . . trifles*: play many mad tricks and pranks

16 *busy*: restless

18 *form*: bench // *anything*: at all

20 *letted*: prevented // *labor*: try

22 *pageants*: scenes // *required*: asked

23 *take . . . him*: make some other arrangement for him

30 *treat*: discourse

And some have said that when Constantine was gotten away,
 I was fallen for anger in a wonderful rage. But surely though I
 would not have suffered him go if it would have pleased him to have
 tarried still in the stocks... yet when he was neither so feeble
 for lack of meat but that he was strong enough to break 5
 the stocks, nor waxen so lame of his legs with lying but that he
 was light enough to leap the walls... nor by any mishandling
 of his head so dulled or dazed in his brain but that he had wit
 enough when he was once out, wisely to walk his way—neither
 was I then so heavy for the loss but that I had youth enough left 10
 me to wear it out, nor so angry with any man of mine that I spoke
 them any evil word for the matter, more than to my porter that he
 should see the stocks mended and locked fast, that the prisoner
 steal not in again. And as for Constantine himself... I could
 him in good faith good thank. For never will I for my 15
 part be so unreasonable as to be angry with any man that riseth
 if he can, when he findeth himself that he sitteth not at his ease.

But now tell the brethren many marvelous lies, of much cruel
 tormenting that heretics had in my house—so far forth that
 one Sygar, a bookseller of Cambridge which was in mine house 20
 about four or five days, and never had either bodily harm
 done him or foul word spoken him while he was in mine
 house, hath reported since, as I hear say, to divers, that he was
 bound to a tree in my garden, and thereto too piteously
 beaten; and yet besides that, bound about the head with a cord 25
 and wrung, that he fell down dead in a swoon!

And this tale of his beating did Tyndale tell to an old acquaintance
 of his own, and to a good lover of mine... with one piece
 farther yet: that while the man was in beating, I spied a little purse
 of his hanging at his doublet, wherein the poor man had 30
 (as he said) five marks; and that caught I quickly to me and
 pulled it from his doublet, and put it in my bosom; and that
 Sygar never saw it after... and therein, I trow, he said true, for no
 more did I neither, nor before neither, nor, I trow, no
 more did Sygar himself neither, in good faith. 35

But, now, when I can come to goods by such goodly ways... it
 is no great marvel though I be so suddenly grown to so great

3 *suffered*: let

5 *meat*: food

11 *wear it out*: endure it // *man*: manservant

14–15 *could* . . . *thank*: gave him in all honesty a lot of credit

18 *marvelous*: astonishing

19 *tormenting*: torturing

28 *lover*: friend, favorer

substance of riches, as Tyndale told his acquaintance and my friend... to whom he said that he wist well that I was no less worth, in money and plate and other movables, than twenty thousand marks. And as much as that have divers of the good brethren affirmed here nearer home.

5

And surely this will I confess: that if I have heaped up so much good together... then have I not gotten the one half by right. And yet by all the thieves, murderers, and heretics that ever came in my hands am I not, I thank God, the richer of one groat, and yet have they spent me twain. Howbeit, if either any of them or of any kind of people else that any cause have had before me, or otherwise any meddling with me, find himself so sore grieved with anything that I have taken of his... he had some time to speak thereof. And now, since no man cometh forth to ask any restitution yet, but hold their peace and slack their time so long—I give them all plain peremptory warning now, that they drive it off no longer. For if they tarry till yesterday, and then come and ask so great sums among them as shall amount to twenty thousand marks... I purpose to purchase such a protection for them that I will leave myself less than the fourth part, even of shrewdness, rather than ever I will pay them.

10

15

20

And now dare I say that if this Pacifier had by experience known the troth of that kind of people... he would not have given so much credence to their lamentable complaining as it seemeth me by some of his “some say”s he doth.

25

Howbeit, what faith my words will have with him in these mine own causes, I cannot very surely say, nor yet very greatly care. And yet stand I not in so much doubt of myself but that I trust well that among many good and honest men, among which sort of folk I trust I may reckon him... mine own word would alone even in mine own cause be somewhat better believed than would the oaths of some twain of this new brotherhood in a matter of another man.

30

The Thirty-seventh Chapter

But now to come to some spiritual men’s causes against whom there are laid like lies... one Simonds, a long well-known

35

1 *substance*: amount // *richesse*: wealth

29 *honest*: honorable

3 *plate*: articles made of or plated with a precious metal

10 *groat*: a silver coin worth four pennies // *spent*: cost

12 *meddling*: dealings

20 *protection*: guarantee of immunity

21 *even of shrewdness*: just out of meanness

23 *troth*: honesty, truthfulness

heretic walking about the realm, was taken not long ago by
 the officers of the Right Reverend Father my lord Bishop
 of Winchester... and, being put in a chamber to keep, and breaking
 out at a window, hath told many of his brethren since, that he
 was marvelously tormented by the Bishop's officers in prison, 5
 and should have been murdered therein too, and that else he would
 never have run his way. But he would never since complain of his
 harms to the King or his Council... but will rather of perfection
 suffer them all patiently than to pursue and prove them
 with his forthcoming again. 10

Would God this Pacifier might have the examination of that
 matter. It would peradventure do him great good hereafter,
 to find out the truth of such a false heretic's tale.

And now, notwithstanding that the brethren boast much of
 his happy escape—yet if he happed to die or be hanged somewhere 15
 thereas no man wist where but they, they would not let for a
 need to say that he escaped not at all, but was privily killed in
 prison, and privily cast away. For so said some of them by
 George Constantine, not only upon his first flight out of my
 keeping, but also even now of late, notwithstanding that they 20
 well know that many merchants of our own had seen him since
 laugh and make merry at Antwerp.

Such lust have these blessed brethren that ever talk of faith
 and Spirit and truth and verity, continually to devise and
 imagine lies of malice and hatred against all those that labor 25
 to make them good.

And such a pleasure hath either Frith himself or else some
 other false, foolish brethren of his sect. For he told one or twain,
 and caused the brethren to blow it further about, that word
 was sent him into the Tower that the Chancellor of London 30
 said it should cost him the best blood in his body.

Now, whether Frith lied or his fellows, let them draw cut between
 them. For surely where they tell it under such manner, as
 though Master Chancellor should rejoice and have a cruel desire
 of the man's death—I know him so well that I dare well say they 35
 falsely belie him therein.

Howbeit, some truth they might hap to hear whereupon
 they might build their lie. For so was it that on a time one

5 *marvelously tormented*: astonishingly tortured

8 *harms*: injuries

13 *false*: mendacious / treacherous / despicable

25 *imagine*: concoct // *of*: out of

29 *caused . . . to blow it*: had the brethren spread it

31 *it*: i.e., his stay in the Tower

32 *fellows*: cohorts // *draw cut*: draw lots

38 *one*: someone

came and showed me that Frith labored so sore that he sweat, again,
 in studying and writing against the Blessed Sacrament. And I
 was of truth very heavy to hear that the young, foolish fellow
 should bestow such labor about such a devilish work; and,
 wishing that the man had some good Christian friend to
 whom he would give ear, that might withdraw him from
 giving and inclining all his heart to the following of that frantic
 heresy, wherewith he were in peril to perish both body
 and soul, said in the communication these words, or others of like
 effect: "For if that Frith," quod I, "sweat in laboring to quench the
 faith that all true Christian people have in Christ's Blessed Body
 and Blood, which all Christian folk verily, and all good folk
 fruitfully, receive in the form of bread: he shall labor more
 than in vain. For I am sure that Frith and all his fellows, with
 all the friends that are of their affinity, shall neither be
 able to quench and put out that faith. And, over that, if Frith
 labor about the quenching thereof till he sweat... I would some
 good friend of his should show him that I fear me sore that Christ
 will kindle a fire of faggots for him, and make him therein sweat
 the blood out of his body here, and straight from hence send his
 soul for ever into the fire of hell."

Now, in these words I neither meant nor mean that I would it
 were so. For so help me God, and none otherwise, but as I would
 be glad to take more labor, loss, and bodily pain also,
 than peradventure many a man would ween, to win that
 young man to Christ and his true faith again... and thereby
 to preserve and keep him from the loss and peril of soul and body
 both.

Now might it peradventure be that I told Master Chancellor
 this tale; and so, I ween, I did; and he might thereupon
 happen to report it again, or say some suchlike words of
 like purpose to some other man; and that thereupon these
 brethren build up their tower of lies. Or else, which were
 not impossible, Frith, if he heard the tale told by me, might,
 withdrawing the best, and making it seem such as himself
 list, tell it out by Master Chancellor to bring him
 among the people in opinion of malice and cruelty. But his mild

1 *showed*: told // *labored so sore*: worked so hard

3 *heavy*: saddened

7 *frantic*: insane

9 *communication*: conversation

18 *fear me sore*: am very much afraid

32 *purpose*: effect

34, 36 *by*: about

mind and very tender dealing in such matters is among all the people, by good experience, so plainly proved and so clearly known that it will be hard to bring any such sinister opinion of him in any good, honest man's head, for the words of a great many such manner folk as Frith is... which not only speaketh lies against honest men, but also writeth false lies and heresies against the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar.

5

Some man will yet peradventure say that this is a thing far unlikely: that either Frith or any man else would wittingly take a burden from one man and lay it in another man's neck... and namely to lay it to the Chancellor from me, since that all such folk reckon in themselves that they have more cause of grief against me than him.

10

Surely if they were wise and intended to be good... they should neither think themselves to have cause of grief or grudge against me nor him neither. For of myself I wot well, and of him I believe the same, that we nothing intend unto them but their own wealth; which without their amendment by change of their heresies into the true faith again, is impossible to be gotten.

15

20

But for the point that I spoke of, that it were not so far unlikely as it would haply seem that Frith would turn that tale from me to Master Chancellor... ye shall perceive partly by his own deed, and partly by the dealing of some other such in suchlike manner of matter. For ye shall understand that after that Frith had written a false, foolish treatise against the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar... I, having a copy thereof sent unto me, made shortly an answer thereto. And for because that his book was not put abroad in print... I would not, therefore, let mine run abroad in men's hands. For as I have often said, I would wish that the common people should of such heresies never hear so much as the name. But forasmuch as that thing is impossible to provide but that heretics will be doing... therefore are other folk sometimes driven of necessity to speak of those matters also, and to make answer unto them.

25

30

35

And therefore when heretics abjure and do their penance... the preacher is fain to rehearse their opinions in the pulpit, and

1 *mind*: disposition

6 *honest*: truth-telling / honorable // *false*: untrue / despicable

10–11 *in . . . neck*: on another man's shoulders

11 *namely*: especially // *lay*: transfer

13 *grief*: resentment, anger

18 *wealth*: well-being

37 *fain*: obliged

there answer those devilish arguments openly with which those heretics first deceive men and women in corners secretly and after spread them abroad in audience by defense of those heresies in their examination openly.

And also, if their books be once put abroad in print... it is a thing very hard to get them well in again. But as for me, I used therein this provision for the remedy on both parts: that though I would not put mine answer abroad into every man's hands at adventure (because Frith's book was not put out abroad in print), yet I caused mine answer to be printed under mine own name, to the intent I might, as indeed I have, give out some to such as I perceived had seen his book before. 5 10

Now happed it that upon a time, the Right Reverend Father my lord Bishop of Winchester sent for Frith unto his own place, of very fatherly favor toward the young man's amendment—which he sore desired, both for other causes and, among other causes, partly also for this: because he was, not many years ago, a young boy waiting upon him, and a scholar of his. In that communication what words were between them were now too long to rehearse. But such they were as I would wish that all such as be wise, and ween that Frith were wise (which be, peradventure, some that hear the brethren speak of him, and weigh not themselves his words), had there stood by and heard. For they should, I am sure, have taken Frith ever after for such as he plainly, before good record, proved himself then—which was not a heretic only, but besides that, a proud, unlearned fool. 15 20 25

But as I was about to tell you, in that communication my said lord of Winchester among other things communed with Frith against his afore-remembered heresy that he so sweateth in, to impugn the true Christian faith concerning the Sacrament of the Altar. And when Frith there stood in his heresy, as stiffly as he defended it foolishly, secretly between them twain... my lord, longing that the fellow's folly might appear, called good and worshipful witnesses unto them. And then, because His Lordship perceived Frith loath to have it known abroad, out of the brotherhood, as yet (at that time that he went about to poison the realm with 30 35

9 *at adventure*: at random

10 *caused . . . printed*: had my answer printed

18 *scholar*: pupil, student

19 *communication*: conversation

20 *rehearse*: relate

25 *record*: witness

34 *worshipful*: reputable

that pestilent heresy against the Sacrament), my lord, I say, said unto him that it was now too late for him to think that he could keep close—"Revoke it, Frith," quod His Lordship, "ye may, and repent it, and so were it well done ye did; but keep it from knowledge you cannot, ye be gone now so far. For your books of this matter have been seen abroad in many men's hands; and that so long that, lo, here is an answer already made unto it"—and showed him my book in print; but of truth, he delivered it not unto him. Howbeit, soon after, he got mine answer, I cannot tell of whom; and since have I heard of late that he sweateth about the matter afresh, and hath, I hear say, the devilish books of Wycliffe, Zwingli, and Friar Huessgen secretly conveyed unto him into the Tower, and hath begun and gone on a great way in a new book against the Sacrament. 5

But the thing that I tell you this tale for is this. I am well informed that he knoweth very well that I made that answer; and it is not very likely but that by one or another he hath the book in print; and of likelihood he never had it otherwise. For that was as easy a way, ye wot well, as one to write it out that had it in print already; and before it was printed I know very well he could never get it. And at the leastwise I know it well that he knoweth well enough that the answer was made by me; and yet he dissimuleth that, and feigning himself not to know who made it, but to think it rather that my said lord of Winchester made it than any man else, maketh his new book, as I am very certainly informed, not against *me* by name, but all against my said lord, of a solemn pride, that he would have his book seem a disputation between the boy and the bishop. 15

But there shall not greatly need such a bishop so learned as my said lord is, to dispute with any such as Frith is, for five such books as that is, if it be no wiser than was his other; or than this his new is either, if it be no wiser than one telleth me that both can good skill and hath heard a great part read; nor, howsoever he have handled it, wise will it never be while the matter thereof is so false. And therefore when the book shall hereafter be finished and happeth to come to mine hands, I trust to make almost every boy able to perceive the false folly thereof, though he 20

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2–3 *keep close*: remain secretive

5 *of this matter*: on this subject

9 *of*: from

16 *made*: wrote

17 *one or another*: someone or other

31 *wiser*: more sensible

33 *can good skill*: is very knowledgeable

34 *while*: when

35 *matter*: thesis

cover his rotten fruit as close and as comely as ever any
costermonger covered his basket.

But this, as I said, ye may, good readers, see: that as Frith taketh
mine answer from me, which himself and every man else
knoweth well for mine, and imputeth it to the Bishop of Winchester...
it were not much unlikely that he would, when he had heard of a
thing that I had said, and when himself had made it worse,
then change it from me and impute it unto Master Chancellor of
London.

5

The Thirty-eighth Chapter

10

Which if he do, he doth it not alone. For this point played
also Thomas Philips of London, leather-seller, now prisoner
in the Tower. Whom when I was Chancellor, upon certain things
that I found out by him (by the examination of divers heretics
whom I had spoken with, upon the occasion of the heretics'
forbidden books), I sent for; and when I had spoken with
him, and honestly treated him one day or twain in mine house,
and labored about his amendment in as hearty, loving manner as
I could—when I perceived, finally, the person such that I could
find no troth neither in his word nor his oath, and saw the
likelihood that he was, in the setting forth of such heresies
closely, a man meet and likely to do many folk much harm—
I by indenture delivered him to his ordinary. And yet for because
I perceived in him a great, vainglorious liking of himself,
and a great spice of the same spirit of pride that I perceived
before in Richard Hunne when I talked with him; and feared
that if he were in the bishop's prison, his ghostly enemy the
devil might make him there destroy himself; and then might
such a new business arise against Master Chancellor that
now is, as at that time arose upon the chancellor that was
then; which thing I feared in Thomas Philips somewhat
also the more because a cousin of his, a barber in Paternoster
Row called Holy John, after that he was suspected of heresy and

15

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25

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1 *close*: secretly // *comely*: attractively

2 *costermonger*: apple seller

14 *by him*: about him

17 *honestly*: honorably

18 *hearty*: heartfelt

20 *troth*: truth / integrity

22 *closely*: secretly // *meet*: fit

25 *spice*: admixture

27 *ghostly*: spiritual

29 *business*: commotion

spoken to thereof, fearing the shame of the world, drowned himself
in a well: I for these causes advised, and by my means helped,
that Thomas Philips (which, albeit that he said that the clergy
loved him not, seemed not yet very loath to go to the bishop's prison)
was received prisoner into the Tower of London. And yet after 5
that, he complained thereupon, not against me but against
the ordinary. Whereupon the King's Highness commanded certain
of the greatest lords of his Council to know how
the matter stood. Which known and reported to the King's Grace...
His Highness, as a most virtuous Catholic prince, gave unto Thomas 10
Philips such answer as, if he had been either half so good as
I would he were, or half so wise as himself weeneth he were,
he would forthwith have followed... and not stand still in his obstinacy
so long as he hath now put himself thereby in another,
deeper peril. 15

Others have besides this complained that they have been untruly
and unjustly handled; and this have they not letted to
do after that they have been convicted and abjured, and their just
condemnations, after their open examinations and plain and
clear proofs, so well and openly known that they have by their 20
shameless clamor nothing gotten but rebuke and shame. And
yet were some of them, if their ordinaries had been so sore and so
cruel as this book of this Pacifier maketh them, fallen again in the
danger and peril of relapse.

And some hath been heard upon importunate clamor, and the 25
cause and handling examined by the greatest lords temporal
of the King's most honorable Council, and that since that I
left the office; and the complainer found in his complaining
so very shamelessly false that he hath been answered that he was
too easily dealt with, and had wrong that he was no worse served. 30

And such have these folk ever been found and ever shall.
For when they fall to a false faith in heart... their words cannot
be true. And therefore if this Pacifier well and thoroughly knew them...
I dare say he would less believe their lamentable tales than I
fear me that he hath believed some in complaining upon their 35
ordinaries, against whom he seemeth upon such folk's false
complaining to have conceived this opinion that his book of

8 *know*: learn

16 *untruly*: incorrectly

30 *had wrong that*: was done wrong in that

Division showeth—that is to wit, that the clergy think that every man that speaketh against their misorder and abusions loveth no priests, and that therefore they have punished many men; which God forbid were true. For if it were... surely they that so punished any one man for that cause (that is to wit, because themselves conceive a false suspicion against him), it were pity that they lived. But I think, in good faith, that the prelates will never desire to live longer than till this Pacifier prove that same false tale true. 5

The Thirty-ninth Chapter 10

I said before that I would touch of this book, and so have I touched, his first chapter whole, because it hath for the first setting forth the chief countenance of mildness and charity. And yet what charity there is therein, when it is considered, I suppose you see. For no part is there of the clergy that can please him—neither prelates nor mean secular priests, nor religious persons, not so much as any one man—as you may plainly perceive by other words of his in other places of his loving book. 15

And yet among all these faults, I see him find none with them that run out in apostasy; but all the faults be assigned in them that abide in their profession still. Nor I find not in his book any cause of his division to be found in the sowing and setting forth of these new-sprung heresies. And yet do they make, and needs must make, wheresoever they come, the greatest division that can be: first in opinions and contrarious minds, 20

and afterward in fervor of language and contentious words; and finally, if it go forth long, in plain sedition, manslaughter, and open war. 25

And this fault of these heresies he might as well have laid unto the clergy as some of the others that he sore speaketh of, 30

if he take heresies for any. For like as naughty priests and naughty religious persons have always been they that do those other faults which under the figure of “some say” this book layeth to the charge of the spirituality: so have naughty priests and naughty

16 *mean*: ordinary, undistinguished

20 *out*: away // *assigned in*: attributed to

26 *fervor*: heatedness

29 *might as well*: could as rightly

30 *sore speaketh of*: harps on

31 *naughty*: bad, immoral

33–34 *layeth . . . spirituality*: imputes to the whole clergy

religious folk (being among the clergy as Judas was among Christ's apostles) betrayed the faith of Christ, and begun and set forth these ungracious heresies, as fast and as fervently for their part as naughty lay folk for theirs; and both twain first corrupt some of their company at home, and after run out in apostasy, and put abroad their heresies in writing. 5

And some men say that some prelates have not done all their parts in the repressing and due punishment of them.

And yet, as great faults as these be, and such as all the temporality should be most grieved with and grudge at, and therefore should be most cause of this division, if there be such a division... 10

and that every default that is in *any* naughty persons of the spirituality be a cause of almost a universal division and grudge of the whole corps of the temporality against the whole body of the spirituality—yet, I say, for all this, the book of this Pacifier layeth no piece of *this* fault unto the spirituality; but rather findeth fault and cause of grudge and division in the spirituality for over-sore handling of them that are 15

heretics indeed; and laboreth to abash the ordinaries with obloquy, and put them in dread with fear of infamy, and falsely beareth them in hand that they have punished many persons for a wrong suspicion falsely conceived in their own minds against those whom they punished. 20

And thus far hath he gone in his first chapter. In which manner albeit I trust in God the man meant himself but well... yet I fear me some wily shrew hath somewhat set him awry in the tempering of his words. 25

The Fortieth Chapter

And verily, albeit, as I said before, I purpose not to meddle with every part of his book that I think were well done for him to amend, yet in his seventh chapter and his eighth—which twain treat all of these matters of heresies—for the great weight of the matter, I shall not forbear to show you some difference and diversity between his mind and mine. 30

3 *ungracious*: wicked // *fast*: zealously
 6 *out*: away
 12 *default*: fault, failing
 21 *beareth* . . . *have*: makes them out to have
 32 *all*: entirely
 34 *mind*: thinking

Another occasion of the said division hath been... by reason of divers suits that have been taken in the spiritual courts “of office” (that is called in Latin, <i>ex officio</i>), so that the parties have not known who hath accused them... and thereupon they have sometimes been	
caused to abjure in causes of heresies—sometimes to do penance, or to pay great sums of money for redeeming thereof—which vexation and charges the parties have thought have come to them by the judges and the officers of the spiritual court; for they have known none other accusers; and that hath caused much	5
people in divers parties of this realm to think great malice and partiality in the spiritual judges. And if a man be <i>ex officio</i> brought before the ordinary for heresy, if he be notably suspected of heresy—he must purge himself after the will of the ordinary, or be accursed; and that is by the law <i>Extra. de hereticis, cap. Ad</i> <i>abolendam</i> . And that is thought by many to be a very hard law, for a man may be suspected and not guilty, and so be driven to a purgation without proof or without offense in him, or be accursed.	10 15
I will, in this point of conventing <i>ex officio</i> , no further speak at this time than concerning the crime of heresy. For I am in good faith loath to meddle with this book of his at all. For loath am I anything to meddle against any other man’s writing that is a Catholic man, saving that it seemeth me verily that be this man never so good, yet if his mind were followed in this matter, it would work this realm great harm and no good.	20
For surely if the conventing of heretics <i>ex officio</i> were left, and changed into another order by which no man should be called, be he never so sore suspected nor by never so many men detected, but if some man make himself party against him as his accuser... the streets were likely to swarm full of heretics before that right few were accused, or peradventure any one, either.	25 30
For, whatsoever the cause be... it is not unknown, I am sure, that many a man will give unto a judge secret information of such things as, though they be true, yet gladly he will not, or peradventure dare not, be openly known that the matter came out by him. And yet shall he sometimes give the names of divers others... which being called by the judge, and examined as	35

5 *caused*: made

13 *purge himself*: clear himself

14 *accursed*: anathematized; excommunicated

15 *hard*: oppressive, cruel

18 *conventing*: summoning to appear before a tribunal

23 *never so*: no matter how

28 *detected*: informed against // *but if*: unless

witnesses against their wills, both know and will also depose the truth, and he that first gave information also; and yet will never one of them willingly make himself an open accuser of the party, nor dare, peradventure, for his ears.

And this find we not only in heresy, but in many temporal matters among ourselves... whereof I have had experience many a time and oft, both in the disclosing of felonies and, sometimes, of much other oppression used by some one man or twain in a shire, whereby all their neighbors sore smarted... and yet not one durst openly complain. 5 10

Howbeit, it cometh in heresies sometimes to much worse point. For I have wist where those that have been in the company at the time, being folk of good substance and such as were taken for worshipful, being called in for witnesses, have first made many delays... and afterward, being examined on their oaths, have sworn that they heard it not, or remembered it not, and took no heed to the matter at the time... whereas it well appeared, by the depositions of divers others being with them at the time, that in every man's conscience they lied. When would these folk become a heretic's accuser, against whom they would rather be forsworn than of the truth to bear witness? 15 20

And this thing maketh that it may be sometimes (albeit very seldom it happeth) that in heresy, upon other vehement suspicions, without witnesses a man may be put to his purgation, and to penance also if he fail thereof. Which thing why so many should now think so hard a law as this Pacifier saith they do... I cannot see, nor those wise men, neither, that made the law. And yet were they many wise men... and not only as wise, but peradventure many more also in number, than those that this Pacifier calleth many now, that, as he saith, find now the fault. For though it be alleged in the *Extravagant. de hereticis ca. Ad abolendam*—yet was that law made in a general council. 25 30

And verily methinketh that he which cannot be proved guilty in heresy, and yet useth such manner of ways that all his honest neighbors ween he were one, and therefore dare 35

3 *willingly*: voluntarily

4 *for his ears*: for fear of getting his ears cropped off

13 *of good substance*: well-to-do

14 *worshipful*: distinguished

21 *be forsworn*: commit perjury

23 *vehement*: strong, well-founded

25 *fail thereof*: fails to get himself proved innocent

32 *a general council*: an ecumenical council (Lateran IV)

35 *honest*: respectable

not swear that in their conscience they think him any other...

And indeed so he is! is well worthy, methinketh, to do some
penance for that manner of behavior
whereby he giveth all other folk occasion to take him for so
naughty. 5

And by the common law of this realm, many times upon
suspicion the judges award a writ to inquire of what fame
and behavior the man is in his county; and himself lieth
sometimes still in prison till the return; and if he be returned
good—that is to wit, if he be in a manner purged—then is he delivered; 10
and yet he payeth his fees ere he go. And if he be returned
naught—then use the judges to bind him for his good abearing,
and sometimes sureties with him, too, such as their discretion
will allow. And then to lie still till he find them is sometimes as
much penance to the one as the spiritual judge enjoineth to the 15
other. For the one cometh to the bar as openly as the other to
the consistory; and sometimes his fetters weigh a good piece of a faggot,
besides that they lie longer on the one man's legs than the faggot
on the other's shoulder. And yet is there no remedy but both these
must be done, both in the one court and in the other; or else instead 20
of one harm (which to him that deserveth it not, happeth
seldom, and as seldom, I am sure, in heresy as in theft, and
much more seldom too), ye shall have ten times more harm
happen daily to folk as innocent as they; and of innocents many
made nocents, to the destruction of themselves and others too, both 25
in goods, body, and soul.

And because this Pacifier taketh it for so sore a thing in the
spiritual law that a man shall be called *ex officio* for heresy, where
he shall not know his accuser: if we should change the spiritual
law for that cause, then had we need to change the temporal, 30
too, in some such points as change it when ye will, and ye shall
change it into the worse for aught that I can see, but if it be
better to have more thieves than fewer.

For, now, if a man be indicted at a sessions, and none evidence
given openly at the bar (as many be, and many may well be; for 35
the indicters may have evidence given them apart, or have heard
of the matter ere they came there, and of whom be they not bound to

7 *fame*: reputation

12 *abearing*: conduct, behavior

17 *consistory*: Church tribunal

25 *nocents*: guilty people

35 *well*: rightly

37 *of whom*: from whom

tell, but be, rather, bound to keep it close, for they be sworn to
 keep the king's counsel and their own), shall, then, the party that
 is indicted be put unto no business about his acquittal? And
 who shall tell him there the names of his accusers, to entitle him to
 his writ of conspiracy? This Pacifier will peradventure 5
 say that the same twelve men that are his indicters are his
 accusers, and therefore he may know them. But what helpeth
 that his undeserved vexation if he were faultless? For amends the
 law giveth him none against any of them, nor it were not well
 done he should; but may, when he is after by other twelve acquitted, go 10
 get him home and be merry that he hath had so fair a day—as a
 man getteth him to the fire and shaketh his hat after a shower of
 rain. And, now, as it often happeth that a man cometh into a
 shower by his own oversight, though sometimes of chance
 and of adventure: so surely though sometimes it hap that a man be 15
 accused or indicted of malice, or of some likelihood which
 happed him of chance and not his fault therein... yet happeth it in
 comparison very seldom but that the party by some demeanor of
 himself giveth occasion that folk have him so suspected.
 Now, if this Pacifier say that yet here is at the leastwise in a 20
 temporal judge an open cause appearing, whereupon men may see
 that the judge calleth him not but upon a matter brought unto
 him; whereas the spiritual judge may call a man upon his
 own pleasure if he bear the party displeasure: this is very well
 said as for the temporal judge. But what saith he now for the 25
 temporal twelve men? For ye wot well, they may do the same if they
 were so disposed; and then had I as lief the judge might do it as
 they. For in good faith, I never saw the day yet but that I durst as
 well trust the troth of one judge as of two juries. But the judges be
 so wise men that for the avoiding of obloquy, they will not be 30
 put in the trust.
 And I dare say the ordinaries be not so foolish neither but that
 they would as fain avoid it too, if they might... saving that very
 necessity, lest all should fall to naught, compelleth them to
 take this way; which necessity sometimes causeth also both the 35
 temporal judges and the King's Council to put some folk to business,
 or dishonesty sometimes, without either jury or bringing

1 *close*: secret

3 *business*: trouble, ado

14 *oversight*: imprudence

15 *of adventure*: by accident

16 *of malice*: out of malice

16 *of some likelihood which*: because of some indication that

27 *had . . . it*: I would as soon have the judge do it

29 *troth*: integrity

36 *dishonesty*: disgrace

Note of the accuser to the proof of the matter
in the party's presence.

For if the judge know by sure information that some one man
is of such evil demeanor among his neighbors that they may
not bear it; and yet that the man is, besides, so violent and so jeopardous 5
that none of them dare be known to speak of it: will there
no judges upon many secret complaints made unto them, without
making the party privy who told him the tale, bind
that busy, troublesome man to good abearing? I suppose yes, and have
seen it so, too; and wrong would it be sometimes with good, poor, 10
peaceable folk in the county but if it were so done among. And
myself, when I was Chancellor, upon such secret information
have put some out of commission and office of justice of the peace,
which else, for much money, I would not have done, and yet if I
were in the one room still and they in the other again, but if they 15
be amended (whereof I neither then saw nor yet hear any likelihood),
I would put them out again, and never tell them who told
me the tales that made me so to do.

But yet will peradventure this Pacifier say that sometimes,
in some very special case, he could be content that the spiritual 20
judge should upon his discretion call one for suspicion of heresy
ex officio; but he would not have men commonly called but either by
accusation or presentment in their senes or indictments at the
common law. I had as lief, for anything that I see, that this Pacifier
should say thus: "By this way that they be called I would not have 25
them called; but I would have them called after such an order as
they might be sure that then should they never be called." For
as for accuse folk openly for heresy, every man hath experience
enough that ye shall seldom find any man that will... but if the
judge should set an officer of the Court thereto, without any peril of 30
expenses; and then were this way and that way all of one effect.
And as for presentments and indictments, what effect would
come of them concerning heresy, ye see the proof, I trow, meetly
well already.

Heresy in all sessions For this is a thing well known unto 35
Is first charged. every man: that in every sene, every session
of peace, every session of gaol

1 *proof*: examination
5 *jeopardous*: dangerous
9 *busy*: pesky // *troublesome*: troublemaking
11 *among*: now and then
15 *room*: office, position // *but if*: unless
16 *likelihood*: indication
21 *call one*: summon someone
23 *senes*: ecclesiastical visitations
24 *I had as lief*: I would just as soon
29 *but if*: unless

delivery, every leet through the realm, the first thing that the jury have given them in charge is heresy. And for all this, through the whole realm how many presentments be there made in the whole year? I ween in some seven years not one. And I suppose no man doubteth but that in the meantime some there be. 5
I will not be curious about the searching out of the cause, why it is either never or so very seldom presented, not five in fifteen years. But this I say: that since some will not, some cannot, and none doth...
if he should put away the process *ex officio*, the thing should be left undone; and then should soon after, with heretics increased and multiplied, the faith be undone; and after that, through the stroke of God revenging their malice and our negligence, should by sedition, and trouble, and dearth, and death, in this realm many men, both good and bad, be undone. And therefore, for conclusion of this piece, my poor advice and counsel shall be that for heresy— 10
and *especially* now, this time—men shall suffer the processes *ex officio* stand; and for as many other sins also as are only reformatory by the spiritual law, except there be any such sins of them as ye think were good to grow. 15

The Forty-first Chapter 20

And it appeareth (*De hereticis li.vi.*, in the chapter “In fidei favorem”) that they that be accursed and also parties to the same offense, may be witnesses in heresy; and in the chapter “Accusatus,” par. “Licit,” it appeareth that if a man be sworn to say the truth concerning heresy, as well of himself as of other, and he first confesseth nothing, and after, contrary to his first saying, he appealeth both himself and other—if it appear by manifest tokens that he doth it not of lightness of mind, nor of hatred nor for corruption of money—that then his witness in favor of the faith shall stand, as well against himself as against other; and yet it appeareth evidently in the same court, and in the same matter, that he is a perjured person. 25
This is a dangerous law, and more likely to cause untrue and unlawful men to condemn innocents than to condemn offenders. And it helpeth little that if there be tokens that it is 30
35

- 1 *leet*: a court of record held once or twice a year
6 *curious*: solicitous
13 *trouble*: civil unrest // *dearth*: famine, want
22 *accursed*: excommunicated
26 *appealeth*: incriminates
28 *lightness of mind*: capriciousness
33 *untrue*: dishonest

not done of hatred, nor for corruption of money, that it should be taken; for sometimes a wolf may show himself in the apparel of a lamb. And if the judge be partial, such tokens may be sooner accepted than truly showed.

This piece, concerning the testimony of known evil persons to be received and taken in heresy... I have somewhat touched in the third chapter of the Third Book of my *Dialogue*; where since they may read it that will, I will make here no long tale again thereof. But well he wotteth that heresy, whereby a Christian man becometh a false traitor to God, is in all laws, spiritual and temporal both, accounted as great a crime as is the

Heresy is as great a crime as treason. treason committed against any worldly man. And then why should we find so great a fault that such witnesses should be received in a cause of heresy as are received not only in a cause of treason, but of murder also, and of other more single felony; not only in favor of the prince, and detestation of such odious crimes, but also for the necessity which the nature of the matter worketh in the proof. For since evil folk use not to make good folk of their counsel in doing of their evil deeds... those that are done should pass unpunished, and more like be committed afresh, but if they were received for records to their condemning that were of their counsel and partners to the doing. Which kind of folk will not let to swear twice nay before they confess once yea; and yet their one yea more true upon their bare word than their twice nay upon a solemn oath; and yet confess they not so simply but that it is commonly helped with some such circumstances as make the matter more clear.

Now see you well that, as himself showeth, the law provideth well against all light receiving of such confession. And yet this Pacifier saith that all that helpeth little, because the judge may be partial, and “the witness may be a wolf, showing himself appareled in the apparel of a lamb,” which appearing in apparel poor men that cannot apparel their speech with apparel of rhetoric use commonly to call a wolf in a lamb’s skin.

But what order may serve against such objections? What place is there in this world, spiritual or temporal, of which the judge may not have some say that he is, or at the leastwise (as he saith here) may be, partial? And therefore not only such witnesses

4 *truly*: truthfully

7 *Dialogue*: *Dialogue concerning Heresies*

9 *tale*: telling

12–13 *worldly*: earthly

16 *single*: out-of-the-ordinary

19 *use not to*: usually do not

22 *records*: witnesses

25 *bare*: mere

36 *order*: procedure

should be by this reason of his rejected in heresy, treason, murder,
 or felony; but also, by his other reason of a wolf in a lamb's skin,
 all manner of witness in every matter. For in every matter may it
 happen that he that seemeth a lamb may be indeed a wolf...
 and be naught where he seemeth good... and swear false where he
 seemeth to say true. And therefore this patch of this Pacifier
 concerning witnesses—every wise man may bear witness
 that there is little wit therein; and less good would grow thereof
 if folk would follow his invention and make of the laws a
 change.

The Forty-second Chapter

And in that chapter there, that beginneth "Statuta quedam," it is
 decreed... that if the bishop or other inquirers of heresy see that
 any great danger might come to the accusers or witnesses of
 heresy by the great power of them that be accused: that then they
 may command that the names of the accusers or witnesses shall
 not be showed but to the bishop or inquirers... or such other
 learned men as be called to them, and that shall suffice—though
 they be not showed to the party. And for the more indemnity
 of the said accusers and witnesses it is there decreed... that the
 bishop or inquirers may enjoin such as they have showed
 the names of such witnesses unto... to keep them close upon pain of
 excommunication, for disclosing that secret without their
 license. And surely this is a sore law: that a man shall be condemned...
 and not know the names of them that be causers thereof.

And though the said law seem to be made upon a good consideration
 for the indemnity of the accusers and witnesses... yet
 it seemeth that that consideration cannot suffice to prove the law
 reasonable. For it seemeth that the accusers and witnesses might be
 saved from danger by another way, and that is by this way. If
 the bishop or inquirers dread that the accusers and witnesses
 might take hurt... as is said before: then might they show it to the
 King and to his Council, beseeching His Grace of help in that
 behalf, to save and defend the accusers and witnesses from the
 extort power of them that be accused. And if they would do so,
 it is not to suppose but that the King would sufficiently provide
 for their safeguard. But forasmuch as it should seem that

1 *reason*: consideration

3 *matter*: case brought to court

6 *patch*: i.e., section of the patchwork argument

8 *wit*: sense

9 *invention*: plan

13 *inquirers*: inquisitors

22 *close*: concealed

24 *license*: permission // *sore*: oppressive

35 *extort*: extortionate, extreme

spiritual men somewhat pretend to punish heresies only of
 their own power... without calling for any assistance of the temporal
 power... therefore they make such laws as may help forth their
 purpose, as they think. But surely that is not the charitable way,
 to put the knowledge of the names of the accusers and 5
 witnesses from him that is accused; for if he knew them, he might
 percase allege and prove so great and so vehement cause of rancor
 and malice in them that accuse him... that their sayings by no
 law ought not to stand against him. And that spiritual men
 pretend that they only should have the whole inquiry and punishment 10
 of heresy, it appeareth *Extra. de hereticis li. vi. cap. Vt*
inquisitionis, par. "Prohibemus," where all powers, and all lords
 temporal and rulers, be prohibited that they shall not in any manner
 take knowledge or judge upon heresy, since it is mere spiritual;
 and he that inquireth of heresy taketh knowledge of heresy. And 15
 so the summa called *Summa rosella* taketh it, *titulo* "Ex communicat.,"
 par. iiii. And if that be true, it seemeth then that all justices of
 peace in this realm be excommunicate: for they by authority of
 the King's commissions, and also by statute, inquire of heresies.
 And I think it is not in the Church to prohibit that: for though 20
 it were so, that the temporal men may not judge what is heresy
 and what not, yet they may, as it seemeth, by their own authority
 inquire of it—and inform the ordinary what they have
 found. And also if a metropolitan with all his clergy and people
 of his diocese fell into heresy, it would be hard to redress it without 25
 temporal power. And therefore temporal men be ready and are
 bound to be ready to oppress heresies when they rise, as spiritual
 men be. And therefore spiritual men may not take all the thank
 to themselves when heresies be punished, as though their charity
 and power only did it, for they have the favor and help of temporal 30
 men to do it; or else many times it would not be brought
 about.

The provision of the law that he speaketh of was made, as appeareth,
 upon a great cause, in the avoiding of the great danger that
 might in some special case happen to those by whose means 35
 heresies were detected and convicted. But this law this Pacifier
 accounteth sore and uncharitable... and deviseth, as he
 thinketh, a better. But his device peradventure though it would serve

1 *pretend*: endeavor

7 *percase*: perhaps // *vehement*: strong

24 *metropolitan*: head of an ecclesiastical province

28 *thank*: credit

36 *detected and convicted*: exposed and proved

in some one land would yet not serve in some other; and they that made that law made it as it might serve most generally through Christendom... whereas this device, though it might serve in England, might not have served well in many places of Almaine that are perverted since, not even while the matter was in a mammering before the change was made. 5

But surely that law and others of old made against heresies—if if they had been in Almaine duly followed in the beginning, the matter had not there gone out at length to such an ungracious ending. And undoubtedly, if the prince, and prelates, and the noblemen of this realm, and the good people of the same, had not been diligent in the time of the prince of famous memory King Henry IV both to have against heresies those laws of the Church kept with which this Pacifier findeth now these faults, and also to make great provisions against it besides—it was then very likely and coming to the point as utterly to have subverted the faith in this realm here as it hath done since in any part of Switzerland or Saxony. 10 15

And also the doubt that this Pacifier putteth in exceptions to be laid by the party against the accusers or witnesses... since the knowledge of the party lacketh, must be supplied the more effectually by the judges, to inquire and ensearch by their wisdoms whether any suspicion of evil will or other corruption might lead the witnesses or accusers anything to depose or do in the matter. Wherein if diligence be by the judges used... it will be very hard that any such thing should be of any weight but they shall hear thereof, and may consider the matter accordingly. 20 25

And on the other side, the remedy that he deviseth for the surety of the witnesses should not peradventure make the men so bold as in a cause of heresy to meddle in the matter against some manner of man... but that they rather would for their own surety keep their own tongues still than, with all the surety that could be found them beside, have their persons disclosed unto the party. 30

And as touching the conjecture of this Pacifier that the spirituality pretend that no layman should have the inquiry and punishment of heresies: the laws of this realm and the laws 35

4 *Almaine*: Germany

5 *a mammering*: an unsettled state

9 *ungracious*: ungodly

23 *evil will*: ill will

29 *surety*: safety, security

30 *meddle in the matter*: involve themselves in the case

33 *beside*: otherwise

35 *conjecture*: supposition

of the whole Church may well stand together, for aught that I see in them both; and so have they in these matters of heresy, God be thanked, hitherto full well. And therefore this Pacifier seemeth me to bring in this matter to no great purpose now, but if it be either to set some division or else to fill up the leaf. And therefore, since, as I said before, I purpose not in any open English book to ransack and rebuke either the one law or the other, I shall let him with that matter alone.

5

The Forty-third Chapter

Nevertheless, mine intent is not to prove the said laws all wholly to be cruel and unreasonable... for I know well that it is right expedient that strait laws be made for punishment of heresies, that be heresies indeed... more rather than any other offense; and that the discretion of the judges spiritual may right well assuage the rigor of the said laws, and use them more favorably against them that be innocents than against them that be willful offenders... if they will charitably search for the truth. But surely if the said laws should be put into the handling of cruel judges, it might happen that they should many times punish innocents as well as offenders; but I trust in God it is not so. Nevertheless, whether it be so or not, certain it is that there is a great rumor among the people that it is so, and that spiritual men punish not heresy only for zeal of the faith, and of a love and a zeal to the people, with a fatherly pity to them that so offend, as they ought to do, how great offenders soever they be; but that they do it rather to oppress them that speak anything against the worldly power or riches of spiritual men, or against the great confederacy that (as many men say) is in them to maintain it.

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Now, his intent is not, he saith, to prove the said laws of the Church against heresies wholly cruel and unreasonable... but so much of them as it standeth not with his pleasure to approve. And now he is content that strait laws be made for punishment of heresies, such as be heresies indeed: wherein, in this book of his, he meaneth two things. One, that he is content they be sore punished if they be condemned. But first he would

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5 *set*: start (as one would a hymn) for others to take up

6 *open*: available to the public

7 *ransack*: investigate in detail // *rebuke*: criticize

12 *strait*: strict, rigorous

15 *use*: implement, apply // *against*: with regard to

35 *sore*: severely // *condemned*: found guilty

have them called by such means as he seeth well they never
 should be sent for. And then he would exclude all such witnesses as were
 likely to bewray them. And when that no man shall accuse them,
 nor no man be received that can prove it against them—then
 when the judge can lawfully convict them, he would, I trow, be
 content that they were burned twice; and so would, I ween,
 themselves be content too; for they shall be safe enough, I warrant
 you, then. 5

Yet another mystery he meaneth, whatsoever it be, in those
 words “the punishment of heresies that be heresies indeed.” Here would he
 peradventure have every heresy, when these new brethren were
 taken therein, be brought in question again, and stand in controversy
 whether it were heresy or not; and that were another good
 help for them—as though the Church used to lay to their charges
 the speaking against some false faith; or at the leastwise would prove
 them heretics in speaking against some such things as they had
 never heard of before. 15

But now he showeth why he doth not wholly condemn these
 laws of the Church. But then the cause he showeth to be such as
 he by and by taketh it away. For he layeth the cause to be for
 that the judges (if they be good and charitable) may by their
 wisdom and goodness moderate and temper the rigor of the laws...
 but on the other side, the evil judges may do by those laws, he
 saith, much harm. But, now, what laws are there, or may there be,
 by the abuse of which none evil judge may do harm? 20 25

But then, to show that by these laws of the Church much
 harm and little good or *none* could come... he handleth it
 so that he would make men ween there were not a good, indifferent
 judge in all the whole clergy. For when he hath showed what hurt
 an evil judge and a cruel should do by those laws... he saith that himself
 trusteth the spiritual judges be not such. Howbeit, lest we
 should take him at that word and believe him... he showeth us yet
 that the common people with a great rumor say the contrary. And
 the thing that he saith here under the name of “the people” and
 “great rumor” ... that saith he in his first chapter under the name of
 “many men.” And yet immediately before that... he saith much
 worse as of himself... affirming that “many persons” have 30 35

3 *bewray them*: give them away; testify against them
 14 *used . . . charges*: was wont to inflict charges on them for
 20 *by and by*: immediately // *layeth*: alleges
 22 *moderate*: mitigate
 24 *may*: can
 29 *hurt*: harm
 30 *an evil judge and a cruel*: an evil and cruel judge

been punished by the spirituality for an evil suspicion and a false of their own imagination, because those many persons so punished had before spoken only against spiritual men's disorder and abusions; which point honesty would he should have proved first, and then write it after.

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And now cometh he and covertly goeth about to make men ween that *no* spiritual judges be indifferent. For thus he saith:

And though many spiritual men may be found that have right many great virtues and great gifts of God, as chastity, liberality, patience, soberness, temperance, cunning, and such others... yet it will be hard to find any one spiritual man that is not infected with the said desire and affection to have the worldly honor of priests exalted and preferred; and therefore if any layman report any evil of a priest, though it be openly known that it is as he saith—yet they will be more diligent to cause the layman to cease off that saying... than to do that in them is to reform that is amiss in the priest that it is spoken of, taking, as it were, an occasion to do the less in such reformations... because laymen speak so much against them. But surely that will be none excuse to spiritual rulers before God, when he shall ask account of his people that were committed unto their keeping.

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If the best spiritual men be such as this Pacifier here saith they be, then be they a very shrewd sort indeed, if they be all so bad that it be hard to find any one but that though any priest be so naughty that his lewdness is openly known, yet if any layman report it... the best spiritual men will, he saith, be more diligent to cause the layman cease off his saying than to do their devoir to reform the priest; yea, and yet more than this, he saith they will do the less toward the amendment of the priest because laymen speak so much of it. And this saith this Pacifier *himself*, showing forth boldly therein his own open face without any visor of "some say." And therefore, since he saith this even by the best... till he prove it somewhat better, this shameful tale is somewhat shameless, dare I say; and somewhat is it foolish, too, since he saith therewith that those which thus will do, have yet, among many other great gifts of God, patience, soberness, temperance,

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35

4 *honesty*: honor, decency

9 *as*: such as

10 *cunning*: learning, erudition

13 *preferred*: advanced

23 *shrewd sort*: bad lot

25 *naughty*: bad // *lewdness*: evil behavior

27 *cause*: make

28 *devoir*: utmost

32 *visor*: mask // *by*: about

and cunning too. For I am sure if they have that condition,
 that they be so affectionate unto every priest that
 they can so evil bear the dispraise of his open, known unthriftiness
 that they will do the less toward his amendment because laymen
 much abhor his lewdness—this Pacifier may be patient, 5
 I will not say nay, and may peradventure have much cunning,
 too; but surely either is this Pacifier not very sober, or hath his
 brain otherwise somewhat out of temper, if he take them (as he
 calleth them) for patient folk or for temperate either.

The Forty-fourth Chapter 10

And yet to bring the spirituality in the more hatred, and to make
 the name of the spirituality the more odious among the people...
 this piteous Pacifier in divers places of his book, to appease
 this division with, allegeth against them that they make
 great confederacies among them, to make and maintain a 15
 party against the temporality; and by such confederacies, and
 worldly policies, and strait corrections, to rule the people and
 punish them, and keep them under. And this point he bringeth
 in here and there in divers places, sometimes with a “some say,” and
 sometimes with a “they say,” and sometimes he saith it himself. 20
 And I wot not well if he hated the spirituality indeed
 (as some say he doth, and yet I trust he doth not) what more
 odious thing he might say.

What any one kind or sort of people is there in this realm—husbandmen,
 artificers, merchants, men of law, judges, knights, 25
 lords, or other—but that evil-disposed people might begin
 against them a seditious murmur... casting abroad a suspicious
 babbling, of gathering, and assembling, and rounding, and
 talking, and finally confederating together? And yet all such
 suspicious babbling not worth a feather all together, when it 30
 were well considered.

But in sundry places much he harpeth upon the laws of the
 Church... as though the spiritual laws which the spirituality
 here have made were a great cause of this division. And then

3 *evil*: ill // *dispraise*: criticism // *unthriftiness*: dissoluteness

8 *temper*: proper condition

13 *piteous*: pious / tenderhearted / deplorable

18 *under*: in a state of subjection

21 *wot not well*: don't really know

23 *might*: could

24 *sort*: class

28 *rounding*: whispering

divers of the laws that he speaketh of be laws *not* provincial,
 made by the clergy here, but the laws usual through the whole
 church of Christ... whereof the making may not be laid to them;
 nor men are not, therefore, so unreasonable (though those laws were
 less good than the great wisdom of this Pacifier could
 devise) as to be angry for them with our clergy that made them
 not, but have been bound to keep them. 5

And as for defaming them with the abuse of those laws toward
 cruelty, as he doth in his book—there is no great cunning in the
 making of that lie. For every fool that list may devise and lay
 the like to some other folk when he will. 10

Now, as for their assemblies and coming together to the making
 of their laws and constitutions provincial—this Pacifier to
 lay those for any confederacies that should be now a cause of this
 so sudden a late grudge and division were a very far-fetched invention. 15
 For, setting aside the disputation whether those constitutions
 be so unreasonable as this Pacifier would have
 them seem... this thing sufficeth against him: that there is not, I
 think verily, any one provincial constitution that he speaketh of
 that was made, or to any man's grief or grudge put in execution,
 in the time of any of all the prelates that are now living. And how
 could, then, any of them be any such confederacy or cause of this
 late-sprung division? 20

But I suppose he calleth those assemblings at their convocations
 by the name of confederacies. For but if he so do... I wot ne'er what
 he meaneth by that word. And on the other side, if he so do... for
 aught that I see, he giveth a good thing and a wholesome an
 odious, heinous name. For if they did assemble often, and
 there did the things for which such assemblies of the clergy in
 every province through all Christendom from the beginning were
 instituted and devised... much more good might have grown
 thereof than the long disuse can suffer us now to perceive. 25 30

But as for my days, as far as I have heard, nor, as I suppose, a
 good part of my father's, neither... they came never together to
 convocation but at the request of the king; and at their such
 assemblies concerning spiritual things have very little done. 35
 Wherefore that they have been in that great necessary point

2 *usual*: in use

4 *though*: even if

8 *defaming them with*: falsely accusing them of

10 *list*: wants to // *may*: can

15 *late*: recent // *invention*: contrivance

25 *I wot ne'er*: I have no idea

28 *heinous*: hateful

37 *Wherefore*: As a result of which

of their duty so negligent, whether God suffer to grow to a
secret, unperceived cause of division and grudge against them,
God, whom their such negligence hath, I fear me, sore offended,
knoweth. But surely this hath in my mind been somewhat a greater
fault in the spirituality than divers of those faults which under his 5
figure of “some say” this Pacifier hath made very great in his book.

But surely if this Pacifier call those assemblies confederacies...
I would not greatly wish to be confederate with them, and their
associate in any such confederacies. For I could never wit
them yet assemble for any great winning, but come up to their 10
travail, labor, cost, and pain, and tarry and talk, etc., and so get
them home again. And therefore men need not greatly to grudge or
envy them for any such confederacies.

The Forty-fifth Chapter

But what faults soever this Pacifier find in the spirituality... 15
yet of his tender pity he hath ever a special eye to see that they
should not rigorously mishandle such good men as are suspected
or detected of heresy. And therefore, whereas in other places he hath
showed before that they have punished many men of malice,
for only speaking against their disorder and abusions—now 20
he cometh in the eighth chapter... and lest besides their malice
they might happen to punish them also for their own ignorance,
therefore he teacheth the spiritual judges one great point
concerning heresy, and saith:

It is a common opinion among doctors that none is a heretic for 25
that only he erreth... but for that he defendeth opinatively
his error. And therefore he that erreth of simplicity may in no
wise be said a heretic. And *Summa rosella*, in the title
“Hereticus in principio,” saith that a man may err and merit
thereby—and he putteth this example. If a simple, unlearned man hear 30
the preaching of his bishop, that preacheth haply against
the faith... and he believeth it with a ready mind to obey: this man
meriteth—and yet he erreth; but that is to be understood where
ignorance excuseth. Then it seemeth that it is not enough
to prove that a man is a heretic for that he hath held opinions 35

9–10 / . . . yet: I never yet have known them to

18 *detected*: accused

19 *of*: out of

20 *for only*: just for

25 *doctors*: theologians

26 *opinatively*: opinionatedly, obstinately

against that the Church teacheth—nor that he ought not to make any
 purgation nor abjuration for it—for that that he held in such case
 was not his faith, but the faith of the Church was his faith, though
 haply he were not then fully advised of it. And therefore Saint
 Aidan, when he held the wrong part of keeping of Easter, was no
 heretic... and some say that Saint Chad was of the same opinion
 as Saint Aidan was... which in like wise was no heretic... for
 their desire was to know the truth—and therefore it is not read that
 they made either purgation or abjuration. Nor yet the abbot
 Joachim... which nevertheless erred... for he was ready to submit
 him to the determination of the Church—and therefore he was
 neither held as a heretic nor compelled to abjure. Then, if
 this be sooth... it were great pity if it should be true, as is reported,
 that there should be so great a desire in some spiritual men to have
 men abjured... or have the extreme punishment for heresy... as it
 is said there is. For as some have reported... if any will witness
 that a man hath spoken anything that is heresy—though
 he speak it only of an ignorance... or of a passion—or if he can
 by interrogatories and questions be driven to confess anything
 that is prohibited by the Church: anon they will drive him to
 abjure, or hold him attainted, without examining the intent or
 cause of his saying... or whether he had a mind to be reformed or
 not. And that is a very sore way; our Lord be more merciful to
 our souls than so grievously to punish us for every light default.

This process were a pretty piece, and somewhat also to the purpose,
 if this Pacifier's doctoring were a good proof that the spiritual
 judges knew not this tale before, nor wist what appertained
 unto their part in this matter until this Pacifier taught them
 this great secret mystery sought out in *Summa rosella*—so strange
 a book to find, and so hard to understand, that very few men
 had meddled with it before.

But the tale is not so much told of any pride to teach them,
 as of charity to teach us, to take and believe for true every false,
 feigned tale with which any man list to belie them. For upon
 this lesson he bringeth in, as you see, his charitable infamation of
 the clergy's cruelty... making men ween it were so, under his fair
 figure of lamentation “and great pity that it were if it should be so...
 but yet it is”(he saith) “reported so, and some say that it is so.”

- 1 *against that*: against that which
 5 *held the wrong part of*: was on the wrong side of the controversy about the
 13 *sooth*: true
 20 *anon*: right away
 21 *attainted*: tainted, stained
 23 *sore*: harsh, oppressive
 24 *light default*: little failing
 25 *This . . . piece*: This passage would be a fine piece
 26 *doctoring*: theologizing
 27 *tale*: information
 29 *strange*: out-of-the-way
 31 *meddled*: dealt

But surely some say again that like as there is nothing so evil but that some may hap to do it... so is there nothing so false but some may hap to say it. And some others say also that like as there is nothing so false but some man may hap to say it... so can no man say anything so false but some man under pretext of pacifying may hap to repeat and report it. 5

For as for all that gay reported tale that some laymen say that some spiritual men have

so great desire to have men abjured, or to have extreme punishment for heresy, that if any will witness that a man have spoken anything that is heresy, though he speak it but of ignorance or of a passion, or if he can be driven by interrogatories and questions to confess anything that is prohibited by the Church... anon they will drive him to abjure, or hold him attainted, without any farther consideration of his intent or cause or whether he would be reformed or not . . . 10 15

—all this tale, though he tell it but, as it were, by *some* spiritual men, yet is it told to make all laymen ween that those some spiritual men were so great a sum that it were some great cause of all this great grudge and division which he saith that the temporalty now hath in this realm against the spirituality “in manner universally.” Wherein he maketh yet, as I trust, in manner a universal lie... since I can yet see no such universal cause... and least cause of all in this point specially which most specially, as the sorest and the most cruel, heinous point, in sundry places of his book this Pacifier preacheth and presseth upon—that is to wit, the mishandling of men in the cause of heresy—making men ween, with his heinous handling, that the spiritual judges in this realm handled that thing so cruelly that all the world had cause to wonder and grudge thereat. 20 25 30

But when all his wholesome holy babbling is done... every man may see these three things true. First, that since in punishing of heresies there is, and a good while hath been, so little business in all the shires of England and Wales, both about examination and punishment of heretics, except only London and Essex, and those are both in one diocese... his “some spiritual men” that he would have seem so great a sum are yet of truth so few that 35

7 *all that gay*: that whole specious

17 *by*: about

25 *heinous*: atrocious

28 *heinous*: hateful / atrocious

33 *business*: activity

35 *punition*: punishment

he seemeth in manner to point them with his finger, and might as well in manner rehearse them even by name.

Secondly, of those same some so few... yet is there some so learned to whom the matter most specially pertaineth, that if this Pacifier keep no more cunning in his breast than he putteth out in his book (as cunning as he weeneth it were), he is no more able to teach some one of those the lessons that belong to the matter than he that learned to spell is able and meet to teach a good master in grammar to read.

5

Thirdly, that all his whole tale of their great desire of men's shame or harm, and of their mishandling of men, and of uncharitable dealing, is a very false, feigned tale; and so hath been already proved and found, in those that have had their surmise brought forth unto the trial; and so shall be proved again, I doubt it not, whensoever this Pacifier will fall from that babbling of a generality (wherein he may point and spice a false tale with suspicious words) and come to the naming of any one person special, and before any folk indifferent offer himself to the proof.

10

15

For let him come forth and name any one whom he will... and I warrant you the deed shall show itself that the spiritual judges which had the matter in hand were neither such as needed of this Pacifier to be taught what belonged unto right... nor were so malicious and cruel but that they would be as loath as himself to do them rigor or wrong.

20

And he shall find, whomsoever he will name that hath been either punished or abjured, that the matters which have been laid unto them, they have not been by any subtle questions induced to confess them; but they have been both well proved against them... and neither have been slight nor light, nor so strange articles and unknown as they might therein of ignorance or simplicity so sore overshoot themselves.

25

30

But where this Pacifier speaketh of passions and of willing to be reformed: surely if he will so lightly pardon all passions that he will have no man punished for anything done or said in a passion, then shall his piteous affection many times do much harm, by the taking away of the punishment whereof the fear

35

Punishment is ordained to refrain the passion. is ordained to refrain the passion and to make others also forbear the like for any such manner passion.

2 *rehearse*: mention

5–6 *cunning*: erudition / erudite

10 *all his whole*: his whole entire

13 *surmise*: formal allegation

16 *point*: dot, sprinkle

17 *special*: specific

20 *the . . . itself*: the deed itself will show

24 *rigor*: severity, harshness

27 *subtle*: wily

30 *strange*: out-of-the-way

For well ye wot, men fall in adultery through such damnable passions. And by the passion of ire and anger, men fall into manslaughter. And by a passion of pride, many a man falleth to treason. And by the same passion also, men fall into heresy, and sometimes, ye wot well, fall in a plain frenzy too. And in their passions of heresy, they speak ungraciously, and contend against the sacraments, and blaspheme our blessed Lady, and our Savior himself also, and horribly despise the holy housel, and make mocks and mows of the Mass, and rail on Christ's own Blessed Body and Blood in the Blessed Sacrament. Will this Pacifier that all these blasphemous, damnable heretics shall be spared, for such desperate, damnable passions? If that way were allowed... then were that heretic most sure, that against all the faith most could rail and rage. For then might it be said that the man was in a great passion.

Now, as for willing to be reformed—I dare say *that* the spiritual judges would gladly see *every* man, and therein would gladly show them all the favor they could; but sometimes they cannot show all the favor that they fain would. For though they may receive him and save his life at the first time—yet are they straited by the plain law that they may not so do at the second, when the man is relapsed.

And the laws have determined who shall be taken and reputed for a heretic, and who not, as well as this Pacifier can teach us, and a little better too. And they have both had a respect and a sure eye to provide that neither innocents or plain, simple folk should be for any slight offense sore handled or untruly circumvented and punished... nor that wily, false, wretched heretics should by craft and sophisms be suffered to seem wise among unlearned people, and feign simplicity and say they repent, and so be sent away lightly, to go teach their heresies and sow their poison into men's souls again.

For if that way were taken which it seemeth that this Pacifier would have, that every man might be held excused that would say he spoke heresy of ignorance, or of oversight, or of simplicity, or of a passion—or which as often as he would not defend his heresy and stubbornly stick thereto, or though he did for the while, would afterward yet offer to be reformed, and promise that he would amend—if all these, I say, should always pass

5 *frenzy*: insanity 27 *untruly circumvented*: guilefully entrapped
 8 *despise*: treat with contempt 35 *of oversight*: by mistake or accident
 8 *the holy housel*: Holy Communion
 9 *mocks and mows*: derisive statements and jests
 13 *sure*: safe
 19 *fain would*: would like to // *receive*: take him back; receive him to grace
 20 *straited*: constrained

unpunished, the church of Christ at the making of the laws foresaw, and all Christendom should shortly find, how little fruit would grow thereof.

And when this Pacifier hath told thus much mishandling
and cruelty of the clergy, wherein if he said true it touched 5
yet very few, and hath proved it by a “some say” of as few; and
findeth some such things for faults as, if they were changed after
the fashion of his book, would of heretics in many places for a very
few make a very great many; and the lies that heretics of malice
blow about against their judges, laboreth to make men believe 10
them for true, by his repeating and reporting under a pretext
of charity: then endeth he that painted process with his devout
prayer full holily, and saith,

This is a very sore way; our Lord be more merciful to our souls
than so grievously to punish us for every light default. 15

When he hath proved those evil devices good, and those false
lies true... *then* let this good Sir John “Some Say” take his portuous
and his beads and pray. But in the meanwhile those good
men whom by such figures and such holy pretexts he goeth
about ungodly to defame... do earnestly pray God for him, to give 20
him the grace to change this evil fashion and this very sore
way. And they pray God heartily to be more merciful to this
Pacifier’s poor soul than this Pacifier is to other men’s... whose
souls, believe himself never so well, and mean he never so well
therewith, yet his book goeth about, by sowing of dissension 25
and emboldening of heretics, to infect and envenom
with a grudge and hatred against the spirituality, and with the
canker of pestilent, poisoned heresies... and all against their own
salvation.

The Forty-sixth Chapter 30

For here shall ye see to the further encouraging of heretics what
another goodly “some say” this good Sir John “Some Say” findeth.
Lo, thus he saith:

12 *painted*: camouflaged line of argumentation

14 *sore*: harsh, oppressive

17 *portuous*: (portable) breviary

21 *sore*: harsh, oppressive / sorry, contemptible

32 *goodly*: splendid

And here some say... that because there is so great a desire in spiritual men to have men abjure, and to be noted with heresy... and that some as it were of a policy do noise it... that the realm is full of heretics, more than it is indeed: that it is very perilous...	
that spiritual men should have authority to arrest a man for every light suspicion, or complaint, of heresy... till that desire of punishment in spiritual men be ceased and gone—but that they should make process against them to bring them in upon pain of accursing; and then, if they tarry forty days... the king's laws to bring them in by a writ <i>De excommunicato capiendo</i> , and so to be brought forth out of the king's gaol to answer. But surely, as it is somewhat touched before in the seventh chapter, it seemeth that the Church in time past hath done what they could to bring about that they might punish heresy of themselves... without calling for any help therein of the secular power.	5 10 15
And therefore they have made laws that heretics might be arrested and put in prison, and stocks if need were... as appeareth <i>Clementinis de hereticis. Capi. Multorum querela</i> . And after, at the special calling on of the spirituality... it was enacted by Parliament... that ordinaries might arrest men for heresy; for some men think that the said Clementine was not of effect in the king's law to arrest any man for heresy—but if a man were openly and notably suspected of heresy, and that there were sufficient record and witness against him... and there were also a doubt that he would flee and not appear... whereby he might infect others, it seemeth convenient that he be arrested by the body; but not upon every light complaint that full lightly may be untrue. And it will be right expedient that the King's Highness and his Council look specially upon this matter—and not to cease—till it be brought to more quietness than it is yet, and to see with great diligence that pride, covetousness, nor worldly love be no judges, nor innocents be punished, nor yet that willful offenders go not without due correction.	20 25 30
In this process, lo, good readers, this Pacifier declareth that he would have the King's Highness and his Council so specially look upon this matter that neither innocents should be punished nor yet willful offenders go without due correction. Who could end and conclude all his matter more fruitfully?	35
But, now, the special ways whereby he deviseth that the King's Highness and his Council should bring this thing about... be twain.	

2 *noted*: stigmatized

8 *make process*: serve a process

9 *accursing*: excommunication

19 *calling on*: request

23 *record*: evidence

24 *doubt*: fear

25 *convenient*: appropriate

26 *by the body*: bodily

27 *full lightly*: quite easily

The one is if they provide that neither men that be proud nor covetous, nor have any love to the world, be suffered to be judges in any cause of heresy.

The other is that the bishops shall arrest no man for heresy till the desire that spiritual men have to cause men abjure heresies, and to punish them for heresies, be ceased and gone. 5

And surely I think that his two devices will serve sufficiently for the one part—that is to wit, that none innocents shall be punished. But I fear me very sore that they will not serve half so sufficiently for the other part—that is to wit, that willful offenders go not without correction. 10

For, now, to begin with his first device, that none be suffered to be judges in cause of heresy that are proud or covetous, or have love to the world: if he mean of such as have none of these affections with notable enormity, then till he prove them that are already, worse than he proveth them yet—that is to say, till he prove it otherwise, by some of their outrageous deeds in the dealing and mishandling of men for heresy that he here defameth them of, than he hath yet proved, and that he prove their cruel, wrongful dealing otherwise than by “some say”s, or by his own saying—the King’s Highness and his Council can see, for all his wholesome counsel, no cause to change those judges that are already, but to leave them still; and then serveth that device of naught. 15 20

And on the other side, if he mean that the King’s Highness shall suffer none to be judges in cause of heresy that hath any spice at all either of pride or of covetousness, or any love at all unto this world: heretics may sit still and make merry for a little season, while men walk about and seek for such judges. For it will not be less than one whole week’s work, I ween, both to find such and to be sure that they be such. 25 30

And it will be somewhat the more hard because that whereas men would have went soonest to have found them, there this Pacifier hath put us out of doubt that there shall it be marvelous hard to find any one of them: that is to wit, in any part of the spirituality—prelates, secular priests, or religious persons—any one or other. For he saith plainly that have they never so many virtues 35

15 *affections*: dispositions, propensities

15–16 *them that are already*: the current judges

17 *outrageous*: excessively violent and injurious

18 *defameth*: accuses

20 *serveth that device of naught*: that device serves for nothing

25 *suffer*: allow // *spice*: admixture

31 *whereas*: where

32 *went*: thought, expected

beside... yet it will be hard to find any one spiritual man but that he is so infected with desire and affection to have the worldly honor of priests exalted that he is, through such pride, far from such indifference and equity as ought and must be in those judges that this Pacifier assigneth, which must have no spice of pride, covetousness, nor love toward the world. And then since in all the spirituality it will be, as he saith, hard to find any one... it will be, ye wot well, twice as hard to find twain; and yet be they too few for all the realm, though they were made justices of eyre.	5
Now, if it will be so hard to find any one such in the spirituality... I can scant believe but that it would be somewhat ado to find many such in the temporalty either; and especially not only such but those also that the king might be sure to be such; besides that there must be then many changes and many new devices of laws for the matter, because few temporal men be sufficiently learned in those laws of the Church by which that matter hath been accustomed to be ordered before. And haply if any such men be so sufficiently learned... yet is it possible that those men which are so learned are not those that are so pure and clean from every spice of pride, covetousness, and worldly love. And therefore were the heretics likely thus to make merry a good while, before there should be found good judges for them.	10
Now, as for the other point, that bishops should not arrest them... this would also help to the surety of innocents, as from any trouble of suit; and so will it also, further, if neither bishop nor king arrest them. And in like wise will it save innocents from the trouble of all false indictments if no man should be neither for no felony arrested nor indicted neither.	15
But then this way would not well serve for the other side, that willful offenders should not pass unpunished. And thereby, since it would <i>help</i> willful offenders to pass without punishment... it might hap to punish innocents more sore than should the trouble of suit and wrongful arresting do.	20
But yet is this Pacifier not so favorable toward folk suspected of heresy as to take away the power of the bishop forever, of arresting them, and to drive the ordinaries forever to sue citations against heretics and process of excommunication; but	25
	30
	35

1 *beside*: otherwise

2 *affection*: inclination

5 *assigneth*: designates

9 *justices of eyre*: circuit judges

15 *devices*: devisings

17 *hath . . . ordered*: has customarily been regulated

will have, he saith, the bishop's power of arresting no longer
suspended than as long as spiritual men have that great desire
to cause men abjure or to have them punished for heresy—as
though he had well proved that they have so, because he saith that
some men say so.

5

But, now, if "some say" be no sufficient proof... then is his tale lost.
For then he showeth no cause why that power of theirs should in any
cause be more suspended now than in any time herebefore. And
on the other side, if "some say" be a good proof... then the suspending
will be as long as a depriving forever, since there shall never be any
time in which there shall lack one or other "some say" to say more
than truth.

10

Yet is he content at the last, lest every man might spy the
peril of his device, to temper his device in such wise that till
the spirituality have left their cruel desire of abjuring and punishing
folk for heresy, they should not be suffered to arrest
folk for every light suspicion, or every complaint, of heresy.
Howbeit, he granteth that where one is openly and notably suspected
of heresy, and sufficient record and witness against him,
and besides all that, a doubt that he would flee, whereby he might
infect others: then he granteth it convenient that he should be
arrested by the body. And therein he bringeth in the Clementine
and the statute by which the ordinaries have power to arrest folk
for suspicion of heresy; and would, as far as I perceive, have the
King reform them after his device. But yet, since which is a light
suspicion and which is a heavy, and which is a light
complaint and which is a heavy, and which is an open suspicion
and which but a privy, and which suspicion is notable
and which is not notable, and which witnesses be sufficient and
which be not sufficient, be things that must be weighed by the
spiritual judges; and upon their weighing of the matter for light or
heavy must follow the arresting of the party or the leaving of the
arrest: we be come again, as in a maze, to the point where we
began—that, be the matter great or small, lest all the while they
be cruel they should judge light heavy and small great, their
arresting of any at all must be suspended from them, and send

15

20

25

30

35

3 *cause*: make

20 *doubt*: fear

21 *convenient*: (to be) appropriate

22 *by the body*: bodily

25 *after his device*: in accord with his plan

34–35 *lest . . . great*: lest all the time that they inflict torture, they should be judging
a minor offense to be a major one

them to sue by citation, till men see that same mind of theirs of
 desiring men's abjuration and punishment utterly changed
 and cease; that is to say, till there be no man left that will so much
 as say that some men say that they have not left that mind yet,
 and make a lie again of them then as those some have done that 5
 have so said already to Sir John "Some Say" now. And long will
 it be, I warrant you, ere ever all such folk fail.

And therefore—since in the mean season, by this Pacifier's good
 device, heretics may go unarrested—I cannot believe that
 if his way were followed, it would be any good means to make that 10
 willful offenders in heresy should not pass unpunished, as fast as,
 both in the end of this chapter and the other before also, he
 calleth upon the King's Highness and his Council, and his Parliament,
 to look upon this matter after his good advertisement, and
 never cease till they bring it to effect. 15

I little doubt but that if the King's Highness do as I doubt not but
 His Highness will do—maintain and assist the spirituality in
 executing of the laws, even those that are already made against
 heresies, and command every temporal officer under him
 to do the same for his part—though there were never more new 20
 laws made therefor, yet shall both innocents be saved harmless
 well enough and offenders punished too.

The Forty-seventh Chapter

Now, whereas this Pacifier saith that some of the spirituality as
 of policy do noise it that the realm is full of heretics more than 25
 it is indeed: I think there is no politic man of the spirituality
 that will make that noise, whereby the heretics might be the more
 bold, and the Catholics more inclinable to the worse part,
 and the more faint and feeble in the faith.

But I know this very well: that *heretics* have made that noise, 30
 both for the cause aforesaid and also to fear the ordinaries therewith,
 and to put their officers in dread from doing of their office.
 And peradventure upon such noise some officers have been afeard.
 And at the leastwise, I wot well, some heretics have been so

7 *fail*: are lacking

8 *mean season*: meantime

11 *fast*: earnestly

14 *after his good advertisement*: in accord with his good instruction

18 *even*: exactly

19 *temporal*: civic

28 *part*: side

bold that they have not feared to flock together—not all at the first for heresy, but some fall in among them for good company, to do some shrewd turn, they cared not greatly what; but afterward, with a little more acquaintance and communication, have fallen into their heresies also. And such noises be sometimes for the advantage and furtherance of them that intend unhappiness, to make folk ween they were very many, be they never so few. 5

I remember many times that even here in London, after the great *Evil May Day* business that was there on a May Day, in the morning, by a rising made against strangers—for which divers of the apprentices and journeymen suffered execution of treason, by an old statute, made long before, against all such as would violate the king's safe-conduct—I was appointed, among others, to search out and inquire by diligent examination in what wise and by what persons that privy confederacy began. And in good faith—after great time taken, and much diligence used therein—we perfectly tried out at last that all that business, of any rising to be made for the matter, began only by the conspiracy of two young lads that were apprentices in Cheapside. Which, after the thing devised first and compassed between them twain, perused privily the journeymen first, and after the apprentices, of many of the mean crafts in the city... bearing the first that they spoke with in hand that they had secretly spoken with many other occupations already, and that they were all agreed thereunto... and that besides them, there were two or three hundred of serving men of divers lords' houses, and some of the King's too, which would not be named nor known, that would yet in the night be at hand... and when they were once up, would not fail to fall in with them and take their part. 10 15 20 25

Now, this ungracious invention and these words of those two lewd lads (which yet in the business fled away themselves, and never came again after) did put some others, by their oversight and lightness, in such a courage and boldness that they went themselves able to avenge their displeasure in the night... and after either never to be known, or to be strong enough to bear it out and go farther. 30 35

And the like ungracious policy devise now these heretics that call themselves evangelical brethren: some pot-headed apostles they have, that wander about the realm into sundry shires, of whom

3 *shrewd turn*: bad deed
 6 *unhappiness*: evil; mischief
 8 *even*: right // *great*: big
 9 *business*: commotion
 10 *rising*: uprising; riot
 12 *of*: for
 17 *tried out*: ascertained

20 *compassed*: plotted
 21 *perused*: spoke with, one by one
 22 *mean*: humble, lowly
 33 *oversight*: rashness
 33 *lightness*: credulity
 33 *went*: thought
 38 *pot-headed*: lamebrained

every one hath in every shire a diverse name; and some peradventure, in corners here and there, they bring into the brotherhood. But whether they get any or none, they let not to lie when they come home, and say that more than half of every shire is of their own sect. And the same boast Bayfield, the apostate which was after burned in Smithfield, made unto mine own self. But, blessed be God, when he came to the fire, he found none very ready to pull him from it. 5

Howbeit, there was in one place of the diocese of London, but late, a company that by such means, each encouraging other, took such heart and boldness, and openly, by day, they ensembled themselves together, to the number of a hundred or above, to rescue a well-known open heretic out of the ordinary's hands. Howbeit, as many as they were, they sped not, and some of them punished after. 10 15

And in that same diocese also, when there was a priest taken for heresy, and in the commissary's hands... word was brought him that except he delivered the priest and let him go, he should within two hours have two or three hundred come fetch him, that would pluck down his house or burn it over his head. Whereupon the commissary, worse afraid than hurt, delivered out the priest; whom if he had kept still, there would peradventure, for all the crakes, not one heretic of them all have been so bold to come fetch him. But yet that could I not well have warranted him. 20

And in some place of the same diocese also, they have made a great face and said that though the King sent his commission under his great seal therefor... they would not suffer a sore-suspected priest of theirs for heresy to be taken thence. Howbeit, when that after, I sealed a commission and sent it upon the assay, it made their hearts (God be thanked) faint and wear so well come down that they laid all the wight to a few lewd fellows and women in the town. 25 30

And therefore, boast and brag these blessed brethren never so fast, they feel full well themselves that they be too feeble in what county soever they be strongest. For if they thought themselves able to mate and match the Catholics... they would not, I ween, lie still in rest three days. 35

14 *sped not*: did not succeed

17 *in . . . hands*: in the custody of the bishop's representative

20 *pluck*: tear

22 *crakes*: blustering

26 *face*: show

29 *upon the assay*: as an experiment; to test that out

31 *all the*: the whole // *wight*: weight / fellow // *lewd*: low-class

34 *fast*: vigorously, strongly

36 *mate*: rival

37 *rest*: peace

For in all places where heresies have sprung hitherto, so hath it
 ever proved yet. And surely so negligently might it be handled,
 and the matter so long forslotted, that at length, in time, so might
 it hap here too. And verily, that they look once therefor (as far
 as they be yet from the power) some of them have not let to say, 5
 nor some to write it neither. For I read the letter myself which
 was cast into the palace of the Right Reverend Father in God Cuthbert,
 now bishop of Durham and at that time bishop of London...
 in which, among many other bragging words, meet whatsoever
 they were for those heretic brethren that made it, were 10
 these words contained:

There will once come a day.

And out of question that day they
And yet do! not only long for, but also daily look
 for; and would, if they were not too weak, not fail to find it... and in 15
 some morning early, like good, thriving husbands, arise by themselves
 uncalled, as they suddenly did in Basel.

And the greater hope have they because in places where they fall
 in company, men use them not nowadays as the time was when
 they did. For they see that it beginneth almost to grow in custom 20
 that among good Catholic folk, yet be they suffered
 boldly to talk unchecked. Which thing albeit far from commendable,
 yet with many folk it happeth upon a good surety
 that good men in their own mind conceive of the strength and 25
 fastness of the Catholic faith; which they verily think so strong
 that heretics, for all their babbling, shall never be able to vanquish.
 And therein undoubtedly their mind is not only good but
 also very true. But they think not far enough. For as the sea
 shall never surround and overwhelm all the land, and yet hath it
 eaten many places in, and swallowed whole countries up, and made 30
 many places now sea that sometime were well-inhabited
 lands, and hath lost part of its own possession in other parts
 again: so, though the faith of Christ shall never be overflowed
 with heresies, nor the gates of hell prevail 35
 against Christ's church—yet, as
 in some places it winneth in new people, so may there in some
 places by negligence be lost the old.

3 *forslotted*: neglected through sloth
 4 *look once therefor*: expect it to happen at some future time
 9 *meet whatsoever*: however fitting
 13 *out of question*: undoubtedly
 16 *thriving husbands*: prosperous householders
 20 *grow in custom*: become customary
 23 *surety*: confidence, certainty
 28 *true*: correct

For if that we, because we know our cause so good, bear ourselves thereupon so bold that we make light and slight of our adversaries—it may happen to fare between the Catholics and heretics at length as it fareth sometimes in a suit at the law by some good man against whom a subtle, wily shrew beginneth a false action, and asketh from him all the land he hath. 5

This good man sometimes, that knoweth his matter so true, persuadeth to himself that it were not possible for him to lose it by the law. And when his counsel talketh with him, and asketh him how he can prove this point or that for himself... answereth again, 10

“Fear ye not for that, sir, I warrant you—all the whole county knoweth it—the matter is so true, and my part so plain, that I care not what judges, what arbiters, what twelve men go thereon. I will challenge no man, for any labor that mine adversary can make therein.” And with such good hope... the good man goeth 15

him home, and there sitteth still and putteth no doubt in the matter. But in the meanwhile his adversary (which for lack of truth of his cause, must needs put all his trust in craft) goeth about his matter busily, and by all the false means he may, maketh him friends, some with good fellowship, some with rewards, 20

findeth a fellow to forge him false evidence, maketh means to the sheriff, getteth a partial panel, laboreth the jury... and when they come to the bar, he hath all his trinkets ready... whereas good Tom Truth cometh forth upon the other side, and because he weeneth all the world knoweth how true his matter is, 25

bringeth never a witness with him, and all his evidence unsorted. And one wist I once, that brought unto the bar (when the jury was sworn)... and openly delivered his counsel... his tinder box, with his flint and his matches, instead of his box of evidence; 30

for that had he left at home. So negligent are good folk sometimes, when the known truth of their matter maketh them over-bold.

And surely muchwhat after this fashion in many places play these heretics and we. For like as a few birds always chirking and flying from bush to bush, many times seem a great 35

many: so these heretics be so busily walking that in every alehouse,

6 *false action*: frivolous lawsuit

7 *his . . . true*: his case so correct

21 *maketh means to*: brings personal influence to bear on

22 *sheriff*: the local representative of the king // *laboreth*: works

23 *trinkets*: paraphernalia

26 *unsorted*: not provided

34 *chirking*: chirping

in every tavern, in every barge, and almost every boat,
 as few as they be, a man shall always find some; and there be they
 so busy with their talking, and in better places also where they
 may be heard, so fervent and importunate in putting forth of anything
 which may serve for the furtherance of their purpose, 5
 that between their importunate pressing and the diligence, or
 rather the negligence, of good Catholic men appeareth oftentimes
 as great a difference as between frost and fire.
 And surely between the true Catholic folk and the false
 heretics, it fareth also much like as it fared between false Judas 10
 Mt 26:38–50 and Christ's faithful apostles. For while
 they, for all Christ's calling upon them
 to wake and pray, fell first in a slumber and after in a dead sleep—
 the traitor neither slept nor slumbered... but went about full
 busily to betray his Master, and bring himself to mischief. 15
 But yet when he came with his company, they escaped not all scot-free;
 Jn 18:10 nor Peter well awaked out of his
 sleep was not so slothful but that he
 could cut off one knave's ear; nor all the wretches of them, with all
 their weapons, able to stand against Christ's bare word, 20
 when he said, "I am he whom ye seek"... but to ground they fell
 Jn 18:6 forthwith, upright upon their backs.
 Whereby we be sure that neither heretics
 nor devils can anything do but by God's special sufferance;
 Neither the devil nor heretic and that they shall, between them 25
 shall prevail against the Church. both, never be able to destroy the
 Catholic faith, nor to prevail against
 the Catholic Church; and all the mischief shall be their own at
 length, though God for our sin suffer them for a scourge to
 prevail in some places here and there for a while; whom upon 30
 men's amendment he will not fail to serve at the last as doth
 the tender mother which, when she hath beaten her child for his
 wantonness, wipeth his eyes and kisseth him, and casteth the rod
 in the fire.
 Howbeit, if ever it should (as God forbid it should, and I trust it 35
 never shall), by such cold sloth and negligence on the Catholic
 part, and such hot, fervent labor of the heretics, that the
 heretics' part should hap to grow so strong as they should conspire
 to give the adventure by feat of hands: I nothing doubt of good

6 *diligence*: carefulness, cautiousness

13 *wake*: stay awake

14–15 *full busily*: quite energetically

20 *bare*: mere / unsheathed / unarmed

33 *wantonness*: waywardness

36 *cold*: unimpassioned, apathetic

39 *give the adventure*: try their luck // *feat of hands*: hand-to-hand combat

men's good hearts, nor of the present aid and help of God, but that the presence of peril raising men out of this dull sleep, would cause them then so to wax warm and diligent in the matter that the heretics should have such speed as they have before this time had in this realm when they have attempted the like.

5

But yet, though the heretics' part should (as I verily trust they should) have evermore the worst... yet very sure it is that neither part should have the better; but that it would then well appear that it had been much more wisdom for all good Catholic men to have waxen warmer before, and to have repressed those heretics in time, before they grew to so many.

10

And this thing was perceived very well both before the making of that statute of King Henry IV, which statute this Pacifier would have now reformed, and also at the time of the making; and yet much better soon after, in the reign of the prince of famous memory King Henry V. For before this statute made... the Parliament, in the fifth year of King Richard II, complained of heretics... and found great harm grow that they were not arrested, but without arrest, in contempt of the censures of holy Church, spread their heresies about from shire to shire and from diocese to diocese. Whereof the realm feared, as the statute expresseth, that thereof would at length grow some great commotion and peril. And therefore it was then provided that at the request of the ordinary, the chancellor should from time to time award out commissions to attach such heretics and keep them in strong prison till they were justified and ordered according to the laws of the Church. And yet was it afterward well perceived that this provision could not suffice. For the heretics would commonly be gone before the commission could come, and do as much hurt in another place. And therefore the Parliament in the second year of King Henry IV, both being informed by the clergy and also by themselves perceiving that those heretics increased still, and would at length do some great mischief but if they were better repressed... did among other good things provide that the ordinaries might arrest the heretics and imprison them themselves. And yet was all that too little too. For in some places the heretics waxed too strong, and would not be arrested for them. And therefore at last it came to that point that men long had looked for. For those heresies begun by Wycliffe in the time of the noble prince King Richard II, and being then by some folk

15

20

25

30

35

3 *warm*: heated; worked up // *diligent*: careful / industrious

4 *speed*: success, fortune

6, 8 *part*: side

8 *well appear*: become quite obvious

9 *had . . . wisdom*: would have been much wiser

25 *justified and ordered*: convicted and punished

29 *hurt*: harm

maintained, and by many men winked at, and almost by all folk forslotted...
 the peril was so long neglected that the heretics were
 grown unto such number, courage, and boldness that afterward, in
 the time of the said famous prince King Henry V, they conspired
 among them not only the abolition of the faith, and 5
 despoiling of the spirituality, but also the destruction of the King and
 all his nobility, with a plain subversion and overturning of
 the state of his whole realm. Upon which their false conspiracy
 disclosed... when they were by the policy of the noble prince and his
 Council disappointed, and secretly prevented, and the field taken 10
 up before, in which they had intended to gather together by night
 and from thence to have made their invasion: then, after due punishment
 done upon many of them, it was well perceived what great
 need it was ever after to repress and subdue such seditious heresies
 forthwith, at the first springing. And therefore was there by and by 15
 thereupon, by the full Parliament, not only that law confirmed
 which law this Pacifier here speaketh of in this chapter, but also
 more made thereunto: as that they that were delivered to the secular
 hands should forfeit both goods and lands; and that the great
 officers of the realm should be solemnly sworn to repress heretics 20
 and assist the ordinaries. And therefore undoubtedly the good
 Christian zeal of the prince, the nobles, and the commons toward the
 maintenance of the faith... and their high wisdom in providing
 for the conservation of the peace, rest, and surety of the realm, were
 the authors and very doers in the making and passing of that very 25
 virtuous and very prudent act. Which act, that ever this Pacifier,
 or a great many such, shall be able to induce this prudent
 Parliament to change, that will I see ere I believe. Which I
 trust I never shall in this time... *namely*, in which, though there
 be not the fifteenth part of so many heretics as these that be would very 30
 fain there were, and while there be not, yet would have them seem
 to be, yet are there of truth many more than there were
 within these few years past; and thereby the cause for which the
 statute was made not only standeth still, but is, over that, of late
 very greatly increased; and so more need to let those laws stand, 35
 and make more such to them besides, than by the assuaging and mitigation
 of any part of them, to bring these heretics into such

1 *winked at*: turned a blind eye to

10 *disappointed*: thwarted // *prevented*: anticipated; beaten to the punch

15 *by and by*: immediately

18–19 *secular hands*: civil authorities

24 *rest*: tranquility // *surety*: safety

25 *very*: true

29 *namely*: especially

30 *the fifteenth part of so many*: one-fifteenth as many

30–31 *would very fain*: very much wish

courage and surety as the goodly devices of this Pacifier could not fail, if they were followed, to bring them.

The Forty-eighth Chapter

Which—whereas he useth to the setting forth of his purpose a
surmised suspicion against the spirituality, making men believe 5
under his figure of “some say” that the spiritual judges mishandle
those matters and use themselves therein cruelly—I dare be bound to
warrant that right good witnesses and worshipful shall record and
testify that they have been present and seen the judges handle
them with very great favor always, and sometimes, to say the truth, 10
too tenderly.

Whereof, for the meanwhile, methink I may take to record, for
all his “some say”s, this Pacifier himself and his own words
which in this piteous book of *Division* himself saith. For in
his first chapter he saith (as I showed you) that some men, to 15
pull riches from the Church, have not only spoken and by plain
words affirmed heresy, but have also despised pilgrimages and
purgatory and plain inveighed against them, of policy.

Now seeth every man that any eyes hath, that if the
ordinaries and the spiritual judges were so fierce and so cruel as 20
this Pacifier speaketh of, then would not those other men think that
openly to speak and affirm false heresies were for any manner purpose
any proper policy. And therefore as for such cruelty and mishandling
of innocents... that this Pacifier’s tale is untrue, both
other good folk can testify and his own words also bear witness. 25

And therefore need we no such change of the laws for that
purpose. But on the other side, what harm would come of his
mitigations, and what increase of heretics, the whole sum
and sequel of his devices do more than manifestly show. 30

For suppose me, now, that a tinker or a tiler which could (as
some there can) read English, and being instructed and taught
by some old cunning weaver in Wycliffe’s “Wicket” and Tyndale’s

1 *goodly*: splendid

4 *Which*: i.e., “them,” “these heretics” (see previous sentence) // *purpose*: thesis

5 *surmised*: trumped-up

7 *use*: conduct

8 *worshipful*: respectable

17 *despised*: denigrated, scorned

23 *proper*: true

31 *tinker*: a repairer of pots and kettles // *tiler*: a layer or maker of tiles

33 *cunning*: learned

books, and Frith's, and Friar Barnes', were now become himself
 an usher, or, after his master's decease, a doctor; and that were
 such a one as Frith writeth resorted to him, which, though he
 was but Frith's disciple and scholar, was yet (he saith) more meet
 to be bishop than many that wear the mitre: now if this
 tinker or tiler lurking about and teaching his gospel in
 corners, were secretly detected to his ordinary, and thereupon sent
 for and came... he should, by the device of this Pacifier, for the first
 shift say, "Bring me forth mine accuser"; and then, since the calling
ex officio were gone, home goeth the tinker again merrily for that
 time, and taketh forth his scholars a new lesson.

Then if the Court will appoint an officer of their own for an
 accuser, as an officer of a temporal court may give information
 for the king: the tinker yet, when he were called again, would
 cry out upon that. And whoso holdeth against the process
ex officio would take the tinker's part therein too, and
 call those twain but both one; and so home goeth the tinker
 again.

Then if some man (which would be long erst, I ween) could yet
 at the last be found that would offer himself as an accuser
 against this tinker when he were called again and his heresies
 were laid unto his charge: yet if the witnesses were, peradventure,
 some scholars of his own... and, lacking the wily shifts that himself
 had, first had denied their heresies upon their oaths, and after
 yet confessed them again—both upon themselves and their master
 tinker too—then, were there never so many of them, yet by the device
 of this Pacifier, all their witness were naught worth, because
 they were naughty men, heretics themselves, and first forsworn
 also; so that yet home goeth the tinker again.

Now if there were, after other good, honest proofs, one that
 would come in and prove plainly the heresies that he held—when
 the tinker were thereto called, he would say he said it all of ignorance.
 Then if the matter were such as he must needs have heard
 of and known the true faith before, as pilgrimage, purgatory, or
 the Sacrament of the Altar: he will not yet stick much to say,
 "Bring in somebody here that will swear that ever he did teach

2 *usher*: assistant teacher // *doctor*: full-fledged teacher

4 *scholar*: student // *meet*: fit

8 *device*: plan

9 *shift*: tactic, ploy

19 *would be long erst*: it would be a long time before

27 *naught worth*: not worth a thing

28 *naughty*: wicked // *forsworn*: perjured

30 *honest proofs*: respectable witnesses

35 *stick*: hesitate

it me.” And yet when that answer in such an open matter
 will not serve—he will say that he said it of simplicity, and that
 he believeth as the Church, believeth he. And when he is asked how
 the Church believeth, he will say he wotteth ne’er. And if his words
 be rehearsed unto him clean contrary to the common-known Catholic
 faith of the Church—he will say he was not aware that the Church
 believed so; and will say that they should not speak of such high
 matters, that serve for doctors, to such a poor tinker that meddleth
 with brass and not with Latin. And there shall he then have some
 of his other faculty gather and stand about, and say it is pity indeed
 that such a poor, simple soul should have any such
 questions asked him. But they will put it for no pity at all that
 such an unlearned fool shall among such others as are less learned
 than himself, teach boldly the false part, and there brag and
 boast that he better understandeth the matter than all the doctors
 in the town.

Yet if it appear that by sore words he despised and inveighed
 against pilgrimages and purgatory, and such other things, so that
 he did it not of simplicity when he spoke therein so shrewdly—then
 hath this Pacifier taught him to say that he did it of policy, to
 pull away riches from the Church; and therefore can that be
 no heresy.

Now if the judges be so sore and so cruel that they will not allow
 that policy—yet hath this Pacifier taught him farther to say,
 that he did but speak it affirmatively, and will not hold it
 opinatively; and then, ye wot well, it is by this Pacifier no
 heresy.

And therefore must his judges, when they have all done, send
 this tinker yet once home again—and not keep him too long away,
 lest his scholars should play the truants and lack their learning
 the while.

And yet if he said as much after again, and thereupon were
 called again—he might say again that he were overseen
 in that saying, of a lightness of wit and slipperiness of tongue. But
 he will not hold it opinatively; and therefore yet again it may
 be no heresy; so that home must the tinker again.

And now if it should happen him to say and do so far as he
 were afraid to bide any farther reckoning, namely where spiritual
 men so fierce and so cruel should be his judges—the bishop

1 *open matter*: matter of common knowledge

4 *wotteth ne’er*: has no idea

8 *doctors*: theologians // *meddleth*: deals

9 *Latin*: a pun on “latten” (an alloy similar to, or identical with, bronze)

10 *faculty*: trade, profession

17 *sore words*: strong language

23 *sore*: harsh // *allow*: sanction; take as acceptable

might not arrest him yet, till proofs be brought in first that the
 spirituality have left their great desire to abjure and punish
 heretics; but must all the meanwhile cite him, suspend him,
 and accurse him, and fetch him in by the King's writ when he
 is run out far off into another country, and there hath changed
 his name and set up a new school, whereas men can neither find
 him nor yet wot where to seek him. 5

When should there by these means willful offenders be punished?
 Which though this Pacifier pretend that he would have
 done... yet consider these three chapters of his which I have
 rehearsed you—the first, the seventh, and the eighth—and ye shall
 find his devices come to little better effect than after this
 fashion that I have here described you. 10

And then—if such good provisions may be made for
 them that they may never be brought in to answer, and that they
 may have so many shifts whensoever they come—it will little fear
 them what pain ye set after conviction. Burn them twice, if
 ye will, after judgment, they will with good will agree... providing
 first such good acts for them as they shall never come so
 far. 15 20

And therefore, good Christian readers, would God the world were
 such as every man were so good—spiritual, temporal, and all—that
 neither party could find any fault in other; and all these heretics
 so clean gone and forgotten, and all those that are infected were
 so clean turned and changed, that no man needed either
 abjuration or punishment. But since that this is more easy to
 wish than likely to look for—therefore is it wisdom that spiritual 25

Very good counsel and temporal both, albeit men be not
 all saints, yet if their conditions be
 tolerable, either party labor to make himself better, and charitably
 somewhat either party bear with other. And those extreme vices
 which neither the one nor the other ought in any wise to
 suffer, as theft, adultery, sacrilege, murder, incest, and perjury,
 sedition, insurrection, treason, and heresy... both parties in one
 agreeing, to the honor of God and peace of Christ's church,
 with rest, wealth, and surety of the prince and the realm, diligently
 reform and amend in such as are amendable; and those whose
 corrupt canker no cure can heal, cut off in season for corrupting
 farther. 30 35

4 *accurse*: excommunicate

7 *yet*: even

9 *pretend*: claim

17 *pain*: suffering inflicted as punishment

33 *suffer*: tolerate // *as*: such as

36 *rest*: tranquility // *wealth*: prosperity // *surety*: safety

38–39 *in . . . farther*: in good time, for fear of their doing more corrupting

The Forty-ninth Chapter

And thus, good Christian readers, I make an end of this matter—
the book, I mean, of this division; wherein I have nothing
touched nor intended but only that I would not the temporalty bear
the spirituality the worse mind or affection for any such subtle 5
invented ways that lay the faults of the bad to the whole body
(wherein be many good) and under a figure of “some say” say
some things false themselves; nor that men should causeless, upon
such surmised and unproved cruelty, change the good laws
before made against heretics, whereby to the displeasure of God 10
and provoking of his indignation, we were likely to have the faith
decay, and more harm grow thereon than any man yet can tell.

The whole sum and effect, therefore, of my mind in this matter is
that as touching the spirituality, I bear a tender mind, of truth, 15
toward (I say) the body, not toward those that are naught therein.
And this mind is every man bound to bear; and I trust
so doth this Pacifier too, and will of himself, I ween, do well
enough, if he use to the contrary none evil counsel.

As touching heretics, I hate that vice of theirs and not their 20
persons; and very fain would I that the one were destroyed, and
the other saved. And that I have toward no man any other mind
than this (how loudly soever these blessed new brethren, the
professors and preachers of verity, belie me), if all the favor and
pity that I have used among them to their amendment were 25
known, it would, I warrant you, well and plain appear; whereof,
if it were requisite, I could bring forth witnesses more than
men would ween.

And sure this one thing will I be bold to say: that I never
found any yet but had he been never so bad, nor done never so 30
much harm before—yet after that I found him once changed
and in good mind to amend, I have been so glad thereof that I
have used him from thenceforth not as an evil man or an abject, nor
as a stranger, neither, but as a good man and my very friend.

Howbeit, because it were neither right nor honesty that any 35
man should look for more thank than he deserveth... I will that all
the world wit it, on the other side, that whoso be so deeply grounded
in malice, to the harm of his own soul and other men’s
too, and so set upon the sowing of seditious heresies, that no

5 *mind or affection*: attitude or feeling

35 *thank*: credit

6 *invented*: contrived

9 *surmised*: groundlessly alleged

12 *decay*: decline

20 *fain would I*: earnestly would I have it

32 *used*: treated // *abject*: outcast

33 *very*: true

good means that men may use unto him can pull that malicious folly out of his poisoned, proud, obstinate heart: I would rather be content that he were gone in time than over-long to tarry to the destruction of others.

Finally, as for the author of the book of *Division*, because he professeth these heretics' opinions for heresies, as they be... I trust in all his other things himself meaneth but well... but partly may be by some pitiful affection led. And some things he saith but upon report; and some things affirmeth, peradventure, as of himself because of the firm credence that he therein hath given to some that were not so credible as he took them for. But in conclusion, whatsoever he be, for anything that I perceive in his book, he shall, I trust, in conclusion be found no such manner of man as folk should of reason reckon to bear unto the weal of the prince and the realm any better mind than I. Howbeit, if his wit and his learning find a better way than not only I (which am but a plain soul and can invent no newelties, but am content to stand to the old order and laws) but also than all they which for this realm in special, and for the whole church of Christ in general, have made those provisions of old: I neither can nor will forbid any man to follow him. 5 10 15 20

But this will I be bold to counsel every man to whose part soever any such change shall pertain: first, that they have, as I doubt not but they will, a good Christian mind to the maintenance of Christ's Catholic faith; and that they therein stand by the old, without the contrary change of any point of our old belief for anything brought up for new, not only by Luther, Tyndale, Frith, or Friar Barnes... but also if there would (as there never *Gal 1:8* will) an angel (as Saint Paul saith) come out of heaven and preach a contrary new. 25 30

Secondly, forasmuch as these new fathers of these new brethren, like as they make falsehood truth and truth falsehood, and faith heresies and heresies faith, so do call also the new old and the old new—not letting to call in their books that faith but new which themselves confess in the same books to be more old than the age of eight hundred years—I will advise you therefore, good readers, for the true taking of the old faith, and for the discerning thereof from all new, to stand to the common, well-known belief of the common-known Catholic Church of all Christian people; such 35

8 *pitiful affection*: tenderhearted feeling

14 *weal*: well-being

19 *in special*: in particular

faith as by yourselves, and your fathers, and your grandfathers,
 you have known to be believed; and have, over that, heard by them
 that the contrary was in the times of their fathers, and their grandfathers
 also, taken evermore for heresy. And also ye that read but
 even in English books shall in many things perceive the same 5
 by stories five times as far before that.

We must also, for the perceiving of the old faith from new,
 stand to the writings of the old holy doctors and saints... by whose
 expositions we see what points are expressed in the Scripture, and
 what points the Catholic Church of Christ hath, beside the 10
 Scripture, received and kept by the Spirit of God and tradition of
 his apostles.

And specially must we also stand, in this matter of faith, to the
 determinations of Christ's Catholic Church.

Now, if any man will bear other in hand that this point or that 15
 point is not determined, or that the holy doctors of the Church
 write not in such wise but the contrary... then whosoever is not of
 such learning as to perceive by himself whither of those two say
 true that hold therein contrary parts—then, except the article be
 a plain, open-known thing of itself, not doubted before— 20
 let him not be light of credence in the believing either the
 one disputer or the other, though they would both preach high
 praises of their own cunning, and say that besides all their much
 worldly business they had spent many years about the study
 of Scripture, and boast that their books of divinity were worth 25
 never so much money, or that by the Spirit they were inspired
 and with the celestial dew suddenly sprung up divines, as lusty,
 fresh, and green as after any shower of rain ever sprung any bed
 of leeks. Let no man, I say, be light in believing them, for all
 that; but let him, by my poor counsel, pray God inspire himself 30
 to believe and follow the thing that may be his high pleasure;
 and let him thereupon appoint with himself to live well; and
 forthwith, to begin well, get himself a good ghostly father, and
 shrive him of his sins; and then, concerning the question, ask
 advice and counsel of those whom himself thinketh, between 35
 God and his new-cleansed conscience, for learning and virtue most
 likely, without any partial leaning, indifferently to tell him truth.

2 *by*: by way of

32 *appoint with himself*: resolve

5 *even*: only

34 *shrive him*: obtain absolution

5 *English books*: books written in English

8 *stand to*: go by, be guided by // *old*: early

8 *holy doctors*: Doctors of the Church

19 *parts*: positions

20 *open-known*: obviously known

23 *cunning*: erudition

25 *of divinity*: on theology

27 *divines*: theologians

And thus far I say for the faith itself, because I hear some men much speak and boast that they will labor for declarations of heresy, which, as meseemeth, is a thing that little needeth. For I never wist any man in my life put in trouble for any point of heresy but such points as were for heresy well and openly known among the common people. And Saint Paul saith that heresies be manifest and open; so that he thought, as it seemeth, that there needed none other declaration than the common-received faith of the Christian people to the contrary. 5

But now, as touching any new order concerning heresies, with the change of laws before devised for the repression of them—I have no more to say therein, but advise every good man endeavor himself to keep well the laws already made of old... except he see the cause of the making changed, or some other great necessity; and that he see that point by more ordinary means proved than either by “some say” or “they say,” or “many say”; or else that he perceive well, at the least, that those folk which would labor to change them be better and wiser both, than ever were those that made them. And thus finish I this matter concerning heresies... beseeching our Lord and Savior, for his bitter Passion, that as his holy sacraments thereof took their strength, so by the prayer of all those holy saints that have both by their holy doctrine and example of living, some of them planted the faith and some of them in sundry times well watered the plants, so himself will of his goodness specially now vouchsafe as the warm sun 10 15 20 25

1 Cor 3:6 (the very, eternal, only-begotten Son of his eternal Father) to spread his beams upon us, and aspire his breath into us, and in our hearts, as Saint Paul saith, give his faith strength and increase.

The Fiftieth Chapter 30

Now come I to the last fault that the brethren find in my books. For as for one more that was showed me within this seven-night, I not so much esteem as to vouchsafe to answer: that is to wit, where they reprove that I bring in among the most earnest matters, fancies and sports and merry tales. For as Horace saith, a man may sometimes say full sooth in game. And one that is but a layman, as I am, it may better haply become him merrily to 35

2 <i>declarations</i> : explanations, clarifications	35 <i>merry tales</i> : funny stories
10 <i>order</i> : procedure	36 <i>sooth</i> : truth
15 <i>ordinary</i> : conforming to order or rule	36 <i>game</i> : jest
32 <i>showed</i> : told	37 <i>merrily</i> : in a funny way
34 <i>earnest</i> : serious	
35 <i>fancies</i> : whimsical speculations // <i>sports</i> : jests	

tell his mind than seriously and solemnly to preach. And over this, I can scant believe that the brethren find any mirth in my books. For I have not much heard that they very merrily read them.

But as to the last fault that they find, which I was about now to speak of, whereas they say that as concerning the Church, I have not fulfilled my promise... I shall here first put you in remembrance what my promise was. 5

In the end of my preface before *Tyndale's Confutation*, these are my very words: 10

Now shall I (God willing) at my next leisure go farther 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. 15

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
Jn 1:9 of 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. 20

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 frantic follies—after this done, I say... before I go farther with Tyndale... I purpose to answer good young Father Frith. 25

Now, good readers, whoso list to say that I have not fulfilled this promise—if he read not my book, I cannot make him see the thing that he list not to look on. 30

If he have read it, and think himself not satisfied—I cannot make him perceive more than his wit will serve him.

If he understand it well, and yet will say my promise is not fulfilled—I cannot let him for his pleasure to lie. But let him, whatsoever he be, put in writing what moveth him so to 35

2 *over this*: besides // *scant*: scarcely

3 *merrily*: happily

15 *dark*: obscure

17 *feign*: fictionally relate; mythologize // *mastiff*: guard dog

21 *lightsome*: well lit

26 *trifling*: hair-splitting, silly / delusive, deceptive

27 *subtle*: abstruse

28 *frantic*: insane // *follies*: ridiculous ideas

36 *let . . . lie*: keep him from lying for his pleasure

say, and I shall then, I doubt not, make other folk perceive that
all my promise in that point I have fully performed and more; that
is to wit, by as much more, at the least, as all mine eight books
amounteth. For like as in the others I have fully confuted Tyndale's
church: so have I in that book confuted as for this world, the 5
church that Friar Barnes had falsely framed here also—whereof I
promised nothing. So that as touching the certainty of the Church,
and of the infallible doctrine thereof... whoso read and advise well this
work of mine made for the confutation of Tyndale; and
therewith read and consider the seven first chapters and the last of 10
my *Second Book of my Dialogue*, whereupon Tyndale made all
his work—I doubt not but he that thus will do shall find himself
fully satisfied.

And therefore, good Christian readers, as for such farther things
as I have in my said preface promised—I purpose to pursue at some 15
other, farther leisure. But first I think it better to bestow some
time upon another thing; and leaving for a while both
defense of mine own faults and finding of other men's in
writing, think better to bestow some time about the
amending of mine own in living, which is a thing now for many 20
men more necessary than is writing. For of new bookmakers
there are now more than enough.

Wherefore, that all such as will write may have the grace to write
well... or, at the leastwise, none other purpose than to mean well—
and as well writers as others to amend our own faults and live well— 25
I beseech almighty God to grant us; and that all folk, spiritual
and temporal, in this world living, and all good Christian souls departed
hence and yet not out of pain, may for grace every party
pray for other; and all the blessed, holy saints in heaven, both
here for grace and there for glory, pray to God for us all. Amen. 30

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