

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

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

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*The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*  
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A complete concordance to this work can be found at  
[www.thomasmorestudies.org/publications.html#Concordance](http://www.thomasmorestudies.org/publications.html#Concordance).

Spelling standardized, punctuation modernized  
by Mary Gottschalk

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## **Punctuation**

The only punctuation marks found in the original printed version of *The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer* 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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*%*

## The Preface to the Christian Reader

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

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

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

*How the Church doth honor* their images: yet that have they done so  
*images and saints* far against their own conscience— 10  
by which themselves well wot that the

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

But we, on the other side, say plainly unto them that the  
things wherewith they corrupt the world are of infidelity and  
*The chief evil in an idol* faithless idolatry the very most accursed  
kind. The chief evil in an idol was 25  
that it bore the name of God, either itself or the devil that it  
represented, and, being so reputed and worshipped for God, robbed  
the reverence and devout honor from God.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- Besides the books of Latin, French, and Deutsch, in which there are of these evil sects an innumerable sort... there are made in the English tongue, first Tyndale's New Testament, father of them all by reason of his false translating. And after that, the Five Books of Moses translated by the same man... we need not doubt in what manner, when we know by what man and for what purpose. 5
- Then have ye his introduction into Saint Paul's epistle, with which he introduceth and bringeth his readers into a false understanding of Saint Paul... making them, among many other heresies, believe that Saint Paul were in the mind that only faith were always sufficient for salvation, and that men's good works were nothing worth, nor could no thank deserve nor no reward in heaven, though they were wrought in grace. And these things teacheth Tyndale as the mind of Saint Paul... whereas Saint Paul saith himself that they which so misconstrue him to the depraving of men's good works be well worthy damnation. 10 15
- Then have we by Tyndale the *Wicked Mammon*... by which many a man hath been beguiled and brought into many wicked heresies; which thing—saving that the devil is ready to put out men's eyes that are content willingly to wax blind—were else, in good faith, to me no little wonder; for never was there made a more foolish, frantic book. 20
- Then have we Tyndale's book of *Obedience*... whereby we be taught to disobey the doctrine of Christ's Catholic Church, and set his holy sacraments at naught. 25
- Then have we from Tyndale the First Epistle of Saint John in such wise expounded that I dare say that blessed apostle, rather than his holy words were in such a sense believed of all Christian people, had liefer his epistle had never been put in writing.
- Then have we the *Supplication of Beggars*, a piteous, beggarly book wherein he would have all the souls in purgatory beg all about for naught. 30
- Then have we from George Joye, otherwise called Cleric, a goodly, godly epistle... wherein he teacheth divers other heresies, but specially that men's vows and promises made of chastity be not 35

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

And this man, considering that when a man teacheth one thing  
*Note* and doth himself another, the people  
 set the less by his preaching, determined 5  
 therefore with himself that he would of his preaching show  
 himself example. And therefore, being priest, he hath beguiled a  
 woman and wedded her—the poor woman, I ween, unaware that he is  
 priest. Howbeit, if it be not done already... it is well likely  
 now that (but if God be her special guide) he shall by leisure work 10  
 her and win her to his own heresy.

Then have ye an exposition also upon the seventh chapter of Saint  
*1 Corinthians 7* Paul's epistle to the Corinthians... by  
*O evangelical liberty!* which exposition in like wise priests,  
 friars, monks, and nuns be taught that "evangelical liberty" 15  
 that they may run out a-caterwauling, and so woo and wed  
 and lawfully live in lechery.

That work hath no name of the maker, but some ween it was  
 Friar Roye... which, when he was fallen in heresy, then found it  
 unlawful to live in chastity, and ran out of his order, and hath 20  
 since sought many a false, unlawful way to live by... wherein he  
 made so many changes that, as Bayfield (another heretic, and lately  
 burned in Smithfield) told unto me, he made a meet end at last  
 and was burned in Portugal.

Then have we the *Examination of Thorpe*, put forth, as it is said,  
 by George Constantine—by whom there hath been, I wot well, of that  
 sort great plenty sent into this realm. In that book the heretic, that  
 made it as a communication between the bishop and his  
 chaplains and himself... maketh all the parties speak as himself  
 liketh... and layeth nothing spoken against his heresies but such 30  
 as himself would seem solemnly to assoil. Whose book when any  
 good Christian man readeth that hath either learning or any natural  
 wit... shall not only be well able to perceive him for a foolish  
 heretic, and his arguments easy to answer... but shall also see that he  
 showeth himself a false liar in his rehearsal of the matter... wherein 35  
 he maketh the other party sometimes speak, for his commodity, such



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

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

5

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

10

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

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

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Then have we the *Practice of Prelates...* wherein Tyndale had went to have made a special show of his high worldly wit...

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and that men should have seen therein that there were nothing done among princes but that he was fully advertised of all the secrets... and that so far forth that he knew the privy practice made between the King’s Highness and the late Lord Cardinal, and the Reverend Father Cuthbert, then bishop of London, and me: that it was devised wilily that the Cardinal should leave the chancellorship to me, and the bishopric of Durham to my said lord of London, for a while, till he list himself to take them both again.

25

Was this not a wily drift, trow you? Which while every man well seeth there was no man so mad to tell Tyndale, no man doubteth but that Tyndale devised it of his own imagination; and then needeth no man to doubt what manner a brain Tyndale hath, that dreameth such frantic drifts.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5

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

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

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*O false heretic!*

Tyndale doth, that it is sin to do the  
Blessed Body of Christ in that sacrament

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any honor or reverence but only take it for a token.

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

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

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

Much they cry out against the clergy... saying that the priests  
love to reign in men's conscience. But they themselves show that  
when *they* have made the *devil* reign in a man's conscience, so  
far forth that he hath no conscience to eat flesh on Good  
Friday, nor to cast Christ's cross in the cannell, nor to throw his  
Blessed Body out of the pyx—then, after that, likewise as the false 10

*Gal 6:13* preachers that were Jews labored to have  
all Christian people circumcised, to the intent 15  
that, as Saint Paul saith, they might “glory in their flesh”... so be  
these archheretics very glad, and great glory they take, when they  
may hear that any man is brought to burning through their books.  
Then they boast that they have done a great mastery, and say they  
have made a martyr... when their poisoned books have killed the  
Christian man both in body and soul. 20

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*To lie it is not lawful.* Saint Augustine saith that it is not lawful to lie for nothing: yet I tell not my tale to

lay a lie so highly to any such men's charge as these folk be, whose whole sect is nothing else *but* lies; but I rehearse you his letter because ye should see what truth there is in such folks' words.

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

I hear also that Tyndale highly rejoiceth in the burning of

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

*Prayer to saints*      pray to saints, and that he believed them to be God's friends, and that their prayers were profitable to us, and well done to pray to them. Whereupon I said unto him myself that I was glad to see him in that point yet amended, and I showed him, as the truth was indeed, that James held the contrary, and that he had so great a trust in Tewkesbury that I doubted not but when he should hear that Tewkesbury had revoked that point, he would revoke it too. As soon as Tewkesbury heard that, he went from it again by and by—and that so far that finally he would not agree that before the Day of

*O wonderful and erroneous opinions!*      Doom there were either any saint in heaven or soul in purgatory, or in hell either. Nor the right faith in the Sacrament of the Altar would he not confess in no wise. For which things and divers other horrible heresies, he was delivered at last unto the secular hands and burned, as there was never wretch, I ween, better worthy.

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

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

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

Another is there also whom his unhappy books have brought unto

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

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But God, which is very Truth, and bringeth at last always the truth to light, would not suffer such obstinate untruth at length to pass unpunished... but of his endless mercy brought his body to death, and gave him yet the grace to turn and save his soul. For so was it that—after divers sermons which he had after his abjuration, and against the prohibitions given him upon his abjuration, made in sundry secret corners, and some also openly, whereof the bishop yet, because he heard of none heresy therein, had forborne to lay the disobedience to his charge—he went unto Norwich, where he had infected divers of the city before. And being there secretly kept by a certain space, had in the while resort unto an anchoress... and there began secretly to sow his cockle, and brought unto her divers of Tyndale's books, and was there taken in the doing, and the books after found about another man, that was conveying them thence; and these things, whoso heard the whole process, came in such wise to pass that he could nothing doubt but that it came to light by the very provision of God.

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

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hear it. Howbeit, they confessed that he looked upon a bill and read  
 it... but they said that they could not tell whether it were the bill of  
 his revocation or not. And yet rehearsed they themselves certain  
 things spoken by him to the people at the fire... whereby they could  
 not but perceive well that he revoked his errors, albeit that some  
 of them watered his words with additions of their own—as it was  
 well proved before them. They could not also deny but that forthwith  
 upon his judgment and his degradation, he kneeled down  
 before the bishop's chancellor, in the presence of all the people,  
 and humbly besought him of absolution from the sentence of  
 excommunication... and with his judgment held himself well  
 content, and acknowledged that he had well deserved to suffer the death  
 that he then wist he should. 5

They could not say nay but that upon this humble request  
 and prayer... he was there, in the presence of all the people, assoiled, before  
 that he was carried out of the Court; which themselves well  
 wist would never have been but if he had revoked. 10

Yet was there another thing that they could not deny (for albeit  
 they said they were not thereat, yet they had heard it in such  
 wise that, as they said, they believed it to be true), and that thing  
 was such as itself alone must needs make them sure that he had  
 revoked his heresies. 20

The thing was this. He labored and made great instance  
 certain days after his judgment... that he might be  
 suffered to receive the Blessed Body of Christ in form of bread.  
 Wherein the chancellor made a while great sticking and  
 difficulty... to the intent that he would the better and more clearly  
 perceive what devotion the man had thereto. And finally perceiving  
 him to be of a true, perfect faith, and his desire to  
 proceed of a fervent mind, it was agreed and granted. And thereupon  
 was he houseled in so true, perfect faith, and so great devotion,  
 that every good Christian man hath great cause to rejoice therein.  
 And when his confessor in the end of the Mass, which Bilney  
 full devoutly heard upon his knees, brought unto him the Body  
 of Christ upon the paten of the chalice, with very good and godly  
 exhortation used unto him, that except he were in heart as he was  
 in word and outward semblance, he should else forbear to receive 25 30 35



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Now, as for me, the cause is, of my writing, not so much to debate 15  
and dispute these things with them—which (though I trust  
therein to give them no great place) many men *may* do much better  
yet than I—as to give men warning what mischief is in their  
books, because many good simple folk, believing that these men  
neither say nor mean so evil as they be borne in hand... and 20  
longing therefore to read their books and see the thing themselves,  
be first infected with some heresies that seem not at the first  
intolerable, ere ever they come at the greatest; and then, being  
before infected with the less, they fall at last to bear the greater, to  
which in the beginning they could never have abided. 25

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

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

Now—seeing the King’s gracious purpose in this point—I reckon that,  
 being his unworthy Chancellor, it appertaineth, as I said, unto  
 my part and duty to follow the example of his noble  
 Grace... and, after my poor wit and learning, with opening to his 20  
 people the malice and poison of those pernicious books, to help, as  
 much as in me is, that his people, abandoning the contagion of all  
 such pestilent writing, may be far from infection... and thereby  
 from all such punishment as, following thereupon, doth oftentimes  
 rather serve to make others beware that are yet clear, than to 25  
 cure and heal well those that are already infected; so hard is that  
*Heresy is hard to be cured.* carbuncle, catching once a core, to be  
 by any means well and surely cured. Howbeit,  
 God so worketh that sometimes it is. Toward the help whereof—  
 or if it haply be incurable, then to the clean cutting out the part 30  
 for infection of the remnant—am I by mine office, in virtue of  
 mine oath, and every officer of justice through the realm for his  
 rate, right especially bound... not in reason only, and good  
 congruence, but also by plain ordinance and statute.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

They bid the people for a countenance to be obedient. But they say therewith that the laws and precepts of their sovereigns do nothing bind the subjects in their *consciences* but if the things by them commanded or forbidden were before commanded or forbidden in Scripture. And all the words of Scripture whereby they be commanded to obey their governors would they restrain unto those things only that are expressed already within the corps of Scripture. So that if they can beguile the laws and precepts of their 30 35

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But in the other point, I may be bold to say that no good man 30  
may take him *well* where he saith that a Christian man is bound  
to obey their prince's "tyranny" if it "be not against his faith nor  
the law of God." And yet will I well agree that if these words were  
spoken of a good, faithful man's mouth, and where any need  
required it, they were very well said; as they were when the 35  
*Acts 5:29* apostles said, "We must rather please  
God than man." But when Tyndale, that  
is a heretic, putteth for a rule of the people's obedience to a  
good Christian prince that they be bound to obey his "tyranny" if



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

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

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

Which if any man were so mad to do... and then were therefor in their obstinacy burned, or otherwise in their rebellion slain—there were the triumph, the great feast and glory of Tyndale’s devilish, proud, dispiteous heart, to delight and rejoyce in the effusion of such people’s blood as his poisoned books had miserably bewitched, and from true Christian folk turned into false, wicked wretches. 5

Now, to the intent that ye may the more clearly perceive the malicious mind of these men, and that their pestilent books be both odious to God and deadly contagious to men... and so much the more perilous in that their false heresies wilily walk forth under the counterfeit visage of the true Christian faith—this is the cause and purpose of my present labor... whereby, God willing, I shall so pull off their gay, painted visors that every man listing to look thereon shall plainly perceive and behold the bare, ugly gargoye faces of their abominable heresy. 10 15

And for because the matter is long, and my leisure seldom and short, I cannot, as I fain would, send out all at once, but if I should keep still altogether by me longer than methinketh convenient. 20

I send out now, therefore, of this present work, these three books first. In the first of which I answer Tyndale’s preface made before his *Answer* to my *Dialogue*; which preface of his is, in a manner, an introduction into all his heresies. The second book is against his defense of his translation of the New Testament. The third, against two chapters of Tyndale’s *Answer*—the one, “Whether the Word Were before the Church, or the Church before the Word”; the other, “Whether the Apostles Left Anything Unwritten Necessary to Salvation”—whereupon great part of all his heresies hang. 25

Now shall I (God willing) at my next leisure go further in his book, and come to the very breast of all this battle: that is to wit, the question, Which is *the* church? For that is the point that all these heretics, by all the means they may, labor to make so dark that by their wills no man should wit what they mean. But I trust to draw the serpent out of his dark den... and as the poets feign that Hercules drew up Cerberus, the mastiff of hell, into the light, where his eyes dazed—so shall I, with the grace of 30 35

*Jn 1:9*                      that light “which illumineth every man  
                                     that cometh into this world,” make you  
 that matter so lightsome, and so clear to every man, that I shall leave  
 Tyndale never a dark corner to creep into, able to hide his head.

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

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

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

Finally, after that I shall have answered Frith... I purpose to return again unto Tyndale's book, and answer him in every chapter that he hath impugned in the four books of my *Dialogue*. Wherein I trust to make every child perceive his wily follies and false crafts, with his open, shameless lies put in and mingled among them, wherewith he fain would and weeneth to blind in such wise the world that folk should not espy the falsehood and folly of his execrable heresies. 5

I think that no man doubteth but that this work both hath been and will be some pain and labor to me; and of truth, so I find it. But as help me God, I find all my labor in the writing not half so grievous and painful to me as the tedious reading of their blasphemous heresies; that would God, after all my labor done, so that the remembrance of their pestilent errors were erased out of Englishmen's hearts, and their abominable books burned up, mine own were walked with them... and the name of these matters utterly put in oblivion. Howbeit, since I see the devil in these days so strong, and these devilish heresies so sore set abroad in some unhappy hearts, that they never cease in all that ever they may to spread these books abroad to such as keep them in hugger-mugger, and secretly poison themselves, weening the books were very good while they read but them alone—and then of those evil books so many daily made by so many idle heretics, and by and by sent hither—it were need, as meseemeth, that divers wise and well-learned men should set their pens to the book... which though they shall not satisfy them that will needs be naught, yet shall they do good to such as fall to these folk of oversight, weening that their new ways were well. 10 15 20 25

*Lk 16:8* Our Savior saith that the children of darkness be more politic in their kind than are the children of light in their kind. And surely so seemeth it now. For these false, faithless heretics whose hearts are in the deep, dark dungeon of the devil... are more wily, and more busy therewith, in setting forth of their heresies, than are the faithful learned folk in the defense of the truth. 30 35

*Mt 26:36–50* And as the true disciples of Christ were in slumber and fell in sleep in Christ's company, while Judas the traitor was waking and watching about his detestable treason: so while these Judases watch and

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

the reader and corrupt the soul unto the everlasting death; and therefore neither vouchsafe to read their books nor anything made against them neither, but abhor to hear their heresies so much as named; according to the gracious counsel of the blessed apostle 25

*Eph 5:3* Paul against fornication, where he writeth unto the Ephesians, "Let not fornication be so much as named or spoken of among you." And yet—since that would not be brought to pass that he counseled, and would fain have had observed—he was fain himself to speak thereof and write thereof, to arm the people against it, in more places than one; as both he and other apostles, and all holy doctors since, have been driven to write against heresies, and yet would fain that folk would so clear have cast all heresies out of remembrance that neither themselves should have needed to write thereof nor other folk to read that part of their books. 30 35

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

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

Furthermore, forasmuch as, according to the words of Christ,  
*Lk 17:1* it will none otherwise be but that some 15  
 stumbling blocks will always be by  
 malicious folk laid in good people's way: though best were to  
 stop your ears utterly and give none hearing to any false enchanter  
 that would bewitch you wilily, to make you delight in those  
 books—yet since some that be plain and simple may fortune to be 20  
 secretly misled by false, wily shrews except they be well armed  
 before... I doubt not by God's grace but if they read *first* the things  
 that are written *against* them, they shall themselves be able to  
 reject and confound any devil that would draw them to them.  
 And therefore—as I am sure that evil and ungracious folk shall ever 25  
 find the means that such books shall never in some corners  
 lack, whereby good people may be deceived and corrupted—it is  
 more than necessary that men have again at hand such books  
 as may well arm them to resist and confute them. Of which kind  
 of good books, albeit I know well there may, and doubt not but 30  
 there shall, be many better made than mine—and that some such I  
 see already—yet have I not so slightly seen unto mine own, nor  
 shuffled it up so hastily, nor let it so pass unlooked over by better men  
 and better learned also than myself... but that I trust in God it may  
 among the better stand yet in some good stead. And that it so 35  
 may to God's honor and the profit of some good folk, I heartily  
 beseech our Lord—without the adspiration and help of whose

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



## The First Book

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

## Tyndale

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

More

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

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

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

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

*Friar Frap* come at the end—than in a hundred sermons  
 of Friar Frap, that first gapeth  
 and then blesseth, and looketh holily and preacheth ribaldry to the 15  
 people that stand about.

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

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

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

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

And now, whereas he saluteth us with “the light of the Spirit” and intendeth to bring us in darkness of the devil; whereas he speaketh of “true repentance” and then would put away two parts thereof, that is to wit, both confession and satisfaction; and whereas he speaketh of “fast faith” and then teacheth a false, presumptuous faith, with such trust put in “faith alone” that he reckoneth all good works fruitless and unprofitable, and that “faith alone” sufficeth to salvation, how devilishly that any man live beside: we may well perceive that these that so teach be with their holy salutations the false, idle prophets of whom the blessed apostle Paul  
*Rom 16:17–18; Lk 20:46–47* writeth (unto the Romans) that by their sweet blessings waste out and empty the poor widows’ houses. For by such holy salutation, as by sweet blessing praying for them so good things as they seem to do, they win their hearts to assent after to their heresies, and so expel and kill true faith in their hearts; and God so taken from them, they make them widows, and so waste and empty out the substantial virtues of their souls.

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

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

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

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

## Tyndale

Our Savior Jesus (in the sixteenth chapter of John) at his Last Supper, when he took his leave of his disciples, warned them, saying,

*Tyndale is now the Holy Ghost  
sent down from heaven to rebuke  
the judgment of all Christendom  
this fifteen hundred years past.*

“The Holy Ghost shall come and rebuke the world of judgment”; that is, he shall rebuke the world for lack of true judgment and discretion to judge, and shall prove that the taste of their mouths is

corrupt, so that they judge sweet to be sour and sour to be sweet; and their eyes to be blind, so that they think that to be very service of God which is but a blind superstition, for zeal of which yet they persecute the true service of God; and that they judge to be the law of God which is but a false imagination of a corrupt judgment, for blind affection of which yet they persecute the true law of God and them that keep it.

More

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

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

*Ps 91:11–12*

alleged the Scripture unto Christ in  
desert.

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

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

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

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

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

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These truths had the apostles, the martyrs, the confessors, the holy doctors of Christ's church, and the common Christian people of every age from Christ's death hitherto. And in this common-known church of Christendom (except such as at sundry times have fallen therefrom, as Arius, Pelagius, Donatus, Wycliffe, and Hus, and such others... and now Luther, and Tyndale, and Friar Huessgen, and their fellows)

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*The Church never  
 lost the truth.*

hath ever the true judgment remained, and the right-savored taste; and never lost any of those heretics those necessary truths till the devil had through pride, envy, and malice made them set naught by the Church. And then did he cast them forthwith in such a fever that they clean lost their taste... and then did they as Tyndale doth now—judge sweet that all Christendom judged sour.

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

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

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

Tyndale  
 Saint. Paul in that place [v. 10] And this same is it that Paul saith in  
 speaketh not of any search the second chapter of the First Epistle  
 that spiritual men should make of to the Corinthians: how that the  
 the cause of God's commandments... natural man that is not born again  
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*but Tyndale feigneth the  
 thing to find by the search of  
 the cause some discharge of  
 the commandment.*

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

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### More

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

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How knoweth Tyndale that none of all these that hath been  
 adversaries to his doctrine—that is to wit, of all good men that ever  
 were in Christendom since Christ was born unto Tyndale’s time—was  
 born again or new-created with the Spirit of God? How himself  
 understandeth his high spiritual words, I wot ne’er; but I  
 wot well that all those holy fathers were reputed for good Christian—  
*Jn 3:5* and I ween they were all baptized and  
 born again “of water and the Spirit,”  
 as our Savior said unto Nicodemus... and after that, they lived well  
 and spiritually, and died well and spiritually, as appeareth by their  
 books and histories written of their lives, and miracles showed

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

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

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What a heap of high, vehement words hath Tyndale here heaped up together! Who would not ween that he were with some

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*2 Kgs 2:11; Gn 5:24*

holy meditation carried up in Enoch and

Elijah's chariot! But yet, good Christian reader,

for all his holy tale... remember again the friar and the nun, Luther and his wife, Tyndale's own master and mistress, the chief head and author of his high spiritual faith. For Luther, ye wot well, if Tyndale and his fellows be "spiritual" and "elects," must, as their first author of their new spiritual sect, be needs one of the very chief. Let not, therefore, Tyndale, good reader, with his gay, glorious words carry you so fast and so far away but that ye remember to pull him back... by the sleeve a little, and ask him whether his own high spiritual doctor Master Martin Luther himself, being specially born again and new-created of the Spirit, whom God in many places of Holy Scripture hath commanded to keep his vow made of chastity—when he then so far contrary thereunto took out of religion a spouse of Christ, wedded her himself

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in reproach of wedlock, called her his wife, and made her his harlot, and in double despite of marriage and religion both, liveth with her openly and lieth with her nightly in shameful incest and abominable bitchery—doth *he* the while, after Tyndale’s high words, search the deep secrets, and never leave searching till he come to the bottom, the pith, the quick, the life, the spirit, the marrow, and the very cause of that commandment why, and so judgeth allthing? 5

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

#### Tyndale

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

#### More

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

But yet, albeit that in many things a man may peradventure well and with fruit ensearch the cause of God’s commandments... yet may the spirit of a man that were as spiritual as Tyndale is, or 25

*The spirit of a man may wade too far in God’s secrets.* Luther either, and take Friar Huesgen to them... go sometimes too far in the searching of the deep secrets of God, and wade so far therein... that he shall find 30

*Prv 25:6–7, 27* these words of Holy Scripture true—“He that is the searcher of the majesty shall be oppressed of the glory”—and he shall find the deep secrets of God so deep that the secret bottom will *not* be found out for him... and especially in that thing in which 35

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

*Rom 11:33* predestinates, whereof Saint Paul crieth himself, "O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei!" ("O the height and deepness of the riches of the wisdom and science of God!"). 5

And as for that that Tyndale saith, that "whatsoever God commandeth the spiritual man to do, he never leaveth searching till he come at the bottom, the pith, the quick, the life, the spirit, the marrow, and the very cause why, and judgeth all things"—I say, as I said before, it may peradventure in *some* things do well to consider the causes of God's commandment, so it be done moderately and with reverence. But many such spiritual persons as Tyndale is, and Luther, and Friar Huessgen... so be wont to reason and search the 10

*1 Sm 15:1–23* cause of God's commandments with themselves as Saul did... or between *Gn 3:1–5* the devil and themselves as our mother *Ps 76:12* Eve did... that they fall upon fallacies *Eccl 5:3–4* and false causes... whereby, like as Saul was *Is 19:21* deceived in saving of the beasts for *Jon 2:10* sacrifice which beasts God had precisely 15

commanded him to destroy, and Eve was so beguiled that she thought she might well eat the apple which God had precisely commanded her to forbear—so doth, I say, too, these men that are in this new fashion spiritual; the devil (their evil spirit) and themselves, with their incessant search, find out false causes whereof they take occasion to *break* the commandments of God; which commandments other good, seely, simple souls without any search observe. 25

"Vow and pay your vows." As for example, lo, whereas God hath in Holy Scripture evidently commanded that whoso make a vow shall perform and keep it (as is written by the holy Psalmist: "Vow ye and pay your vows to our Lord"); and whereas our Blessed Lady thought herself bound thereto, and all the holy saints since Christ's days unto Tyndale's time have without any variance written and affirmed the same, and not only they but also all Christian people, both good and bad, have this fifteen hundred years 30 35

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Now, if Tyndale grant us that conclusion... we will then wade with him a little further, and join thereunto that if it be lawful for us to serve God for his benefits which we *have* received, it is also lawful for us to serve him for his benefits which we long and

*Two good causes of love towards God* hope to receive. And surely as the respect of his benefits which we have received is a good cause of love, so is the belief of his promises, and hope of his benefits to come, a good and a great cause of love toward him.

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

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

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

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

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*Mk 9:41* them, as Christ hath also given us good occasion, where he saith that whoso

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give so much as a draught of cold water shall not lose his reward,

*Lk 16:9; 12:33* and where he biddeth us give unto the

*Mt 25:31–40* poor to the intent that they may receive us into the eternal tabernacles, and where he

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

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*Lk 17:10* more than his duty, for every man is of  
his duty bound to labor for heaven  
and to serve and please God as well and as much as he may; and  
notwithstanding that we also tell them that the best work that  
any man worketh with God's help and grace is not, yet, rewardable 5  
with heaven of the nature or goodness of the work itself although  
he suffered every day in a long life a double martyrdom (according  
*Rom 8:18* to the words of Saint Paul, "The  
passions of this world be not worthy the  
glory that is to come that shall be revealed and showed upon us"); 10  
and notwithstanding that we tell them, too, that all the heavenly  
reward of man's good works cometh only of God's own liberal  
goodness, in that it hath pleased his high bounty to give so  
great a rich price for so poor and simple ware as are all men's  
works; and albeit that we tell them also that God would not reward 15  
our works in such wise were it not for the shedding of his  
Son's blood, and so we finally refer all the thank and reward  
of our good works, both the beginning, the progress, and the  
end, effectually to God and the merits of Christ's Passion—when we  
tell Tyndale and Luther all this, yet fare they as though they heard 20  
us not, and still they sing us on their old song that it is idolatry  
to serve God with any good works to the intent the better to please  
God therewith, and the rather to come to heaven therefor... and that  
we may not without sin for any help to heavenward serve God  
with any good work saving only faith. 25

Yet when we ask them whether we may not lawfully for the same  
intent serve God with hope too: to *that* thing they care not to  
grant; but then they confound the terms of "faith" and "hope," so as  
I neither wot how nor themselves neither. Then if we ask them  
farther whether it be not lawful to serve God with charity too (which 30  
now they leave and fall all to lusty love) with intent to get heaven  
the rather: to *that* they let not to grant also... but they say the  
cause is for that faith, they say, hath always charity therewith. But  
*1 Cor 13:2* albeit that in that point their affirmation  
*Jas 2:14–26* is false (as by reason and plain 35  
Scripture hath been often proved unto them),  
that is enough to me—that they grant that a man may lawfully

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

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

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

#### Tyndale

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

#### More

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

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

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

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

Tyndale 35

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



## More

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

## Tyndale

Out of his heart, not in  
his heart

And therefore he loveth him out of his heart. And if he be evil, forbeareth him and with all love and patience draweth

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

## More

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Tyndale

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

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

### More

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

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

*Lv 10:8*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

*Why fastings are observed* for a kind of pain, affliction, and punishment of the flesh for their 5

sins, and to put us in remembrance that we be now in the vale of tears and not in the hill of joy, saving for the comfort of hope.

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Mt 17:20; Mk 9:29* declareth himself in the Gospel of Matthew, where he saith that that kind of devils which he did cast out of the child is not cast out but by prayer and fasting. 35

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

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

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

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<i>Ex 24:18; 34:28</i>	First, the fasts that Moses fasted, first	
<i>Dt 9:9–10, 15–19</i>	for the Law, and after for the sin of the people and the sin of Aaron also—	
	were those fasts for nothing but for to tame his flesh?	
	Item: In the twenty-first chapter of the Third Book of Kings, “When	5
	Ahab had heard these words, he tore his garments and put on	
	his body a shirt of hair, he fasted and slept in a sack, and	
	went hanging his head low down; and our Lord said to Elijah	
	the Tishbite, ‘Hast thou not seen how Ahab hath humbled him before	
	me? And therefore, because he hath humbled himself for my sake,	10
	I will bring no evil in during his life.’” Doth it not manifestly	
<i>Ahab’s fast [1 Kgs 21:27–29]</i>	appear by these words that King Ahab	
	fasted not for taming of his flesh, to keep	
	it from wildness, but he fasted for the selfsame cause for which he	
	wore hair and slept in a sack—that is to wit, to humble himself	15
	before the face of God, and to do penance in punishing himself	
	for his sin, to move thereby Almighty God to mercy, and to the withdrawing	
	of his high punishment which else he feared would fall	
	upon his head; which punishment God, at the respect of the	
	king’s humble penance and pain of fasting and other affliction	20
	willingly taken by himself, <i>did</i> mercifully withdraw from him,	
	so that in all his days he suffered him to feel no part thereof.	
	And so may ye see this place of Scripture evident and plain against	
	Tyndale, and that very repentance requireth of the repentant	
	person not only taming of the flesh against the sin imminent,	25
	or to come, but also punishment, by fasting and other affliction,	
	for the sin already done.	
	And, now, Christ <i>hath</i> to Christian men promised of our sins	
	forgiveness, and of our pain release, by virtue of his pain; but	
	this meaneth he to them that set not their own sins at so light,	30
	after his great kindness showed, but that their own selves show, by	
	their own willful punishment, worthy to suffer pain also themselves	
	therefor—and then his pain hath given their pain the life	
	that maketh it quick and available—not intending, yet, that himself	
	so should take pain that the sinners themselves should sin	35

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

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

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

Again, in the Second Book of Ezra and the first chapter, thus said Nehemiah: “When I had heard such tidings”—that is to wit, how the walls of Jerusalem were thrown down, the gates burned, and the children of Israel in great affliction and misery—“I sat down and wept and mourned many days; I fasted also, and prayed before the face of the God of heaven.” 15

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

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

I suppose no man is of so simple wit and understanding but he may at the bare rehearsal of this brief text well perceive that Eliachim did not esteem fasting as Tyndale doth, neither took it *not* only for a taming of the flesh, but for a means also to purchase grace with remission and pardon, and also to obtain aid and help of God in that great necessity. 25

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

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

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

*Tb 12:8*

What saith Tobias? "Prayer," saith he,  
 "joined with fasting is good." He saith not 5  
 this only for young lusty folk for taming of their flesh in avoiding  
 of intemperance, for good Christian fasting goeth sometimes far  
 above the natural temperance; but he teacheth all men, that may  
 without harm, to join with prayer the pain of fasting, as a  
 thing pleasant unto God in such wise as the prayer is; and it 10  
*is* a secret, inward, effectual prayer, when the pain of all the body  
 repenting and punishing the sin crieth to God for mercy with  
 voice of the mouth.

In the thirty-fourth chapter of Ecclesiasticus it is written, "The man  
 that fasteth for his sins and again committeth the selfsame sins, 15  
 what availeth him this humility?"

Whereby it is well understood that he which fasteth and *amendeth*  
 himself—*his* fast *availeth*, and is profitable. And wherefor? Not  
 only for taming of his flesh—for that may be tame enough and yet  
 the man bad enough—but it availeth for remission of sin and for 20

*Note*

merit in heaven. For as holy Saint  
 Augustine saith, "To say that the fast of  
 a Christian man shall have no reward in heaven is not the opinion of a  
 true Christian man, but of a heretic."

The prophet Joel, in the second chapter: "And therefore now, 25  
 saith the Lord, turn to me with all your heart in fasting, weeping,  
 and wailing. Tear your hearts and not your garments," and so forth.

Lo, here the prophet exhorteth to fasting, as he doth to hearty  
 mourning and weeping, not for a countenance of sorrow, but to *be*  
 sorrowful and to take pain indeed... not in their clothes, where they feel 30  
 it not, but in their bodies and inwardly in their hearts, where they  
 feel it thoroughly... so that they may thereby not only tame their  
 flesh, but also turn again to God, that he may take pity upon  
 them and turn again to them.

Read we not in the third chapter of the prophet Jonah that 35  
 God, seeing the Ninevites chastise and punish themselves with  
 fasting and other afflictions voluntarily done unto themselves...

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

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

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

Finally, what will Tyndale say to the words that are written in 25  
the sixth of Matthew and spoken by the mouth of our Savior Jesus Christ, where he saith, “When ye fast, make not yourselves sad like hypocrites, for they waste out their faces to the intent it might be perceived that they fast. Forsooth, I say unto you, they have their reward already. But when thou fastest, anoint thy head and wash 30  
thy face, that it appear not unto men that thou fastest, but unto thy Father, which is in secret. And thy Father, that seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly.”

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

fasting? Which one place—being so plain, open, and manifest for the merit of fasting—though it might have been more than sufficient to confound Tyndale and his master Luther with all their scholars, yet have I been therein the longer, and have spoken of this matter somewhat the more at large, for the manifestation of their great blindness and, as it seemeth, malice to men’s souls; and for the comfort of them that hitherto have had the mind to punish the flesh with fasting, that they do not hereafter as unthrifths have in Almaine done already: leave off their devotion to God for the fond babbling of such sensual heretics. For if Tyndale will say that yet all this was nothing but to tame the flesh, that the men might pray the more quietly, without rebellious motions of the flesh—whatsoever he shall say therein, consider the places and his words together, and ye shall find all his process therein a

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*Mt 4:2* fair tale of a tub. For albeit that  
*Dt 9:18* Christ fasted forty days and “after” hungered—  
yet whether Moses hungered *in*  
*his* forty days or not, we be not very sure. And it seemeth well that he did, for he would not of likelihood have told it for any great thing that he fasted for the sin of Aaron, and also for the sin of the people, so straitly forty days that in the while he neither ate nor drank... if he never had in the while been neither ahungered nor athirst.

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

*Note*

leastwise one thing against the boldness of his wedded harlots, monks, and

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

10

#### Tyndale

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

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#### More

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

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But yet, albeit that Christ said unto the Jews that the *Son* of Man is master and lord even over the Sabbath day, to use it as *himself* list, which never listed to use it but to the best: yet can I not well see that *Tyndale* is in such wise master and lord of the Sabbath day, nor no man else, that he may use it as his man—

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*Mk 2:27*

though it was of God instituted for man and not man for it; that is to wit,

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

*Ex 16:23; 20:8–10; 31:15* as Tyndale calleth it. For the Scripture saith that God hath sanctified the Sabbath day unto *himself*. 5

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

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

*Nm 15:32–36; 27:1–3* working day thereof: this man hath in my mind much need to consider Zelophehad, 30  
*Note this example.* which for like using of the holy day—gathering wood on the holy day that he might have done on the working day—was by God’s own judgment stoned unto death.

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

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

#### Tyndale

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

#### More

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

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

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

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

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

*Lk 1:37* pray God, to whom nothing is impossible, to build them once again upon the rock of his faith, from which they show themselves so far fallen down that they be full unlikely to rise. For truly if they stood thereupon, their hearts would abhor to utter such frantic fantasies. 20

For as touching the significations and betokenings of the blessed sacraments, the lack of knowledge whereof Tyndale would make seem a sufficient cause of his villainous blasphemy—all good people that have the use of reason and come to these sacraments with good devotion be taught, and do think and conceive in their hearts, that God was incarnate and born God-and-man for our salvation, and suffered his Passion and died for our redemption, and that we were redeemed to heaven with his blessed blood, and that without 25

him we should never have been saved but had utterly lost heaven by the sin of Adam... and for this cause we call him our Savior, and believe that he hath promised us: that if we be christened and keep his holy commandments, and for the breaking be sorry and turn again by penance... God will bring us to heaven, that he hath promised us and bought us, too. And they believe that he hath 30

ordained here holy sacraments which he will that we shall receive with reverence, and that every man with those sensible 35

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

<i>The outward signs of the sacraments betoken an inward gift of grace.</i>	by his holy promise and ordinance; so that unto all good Christian men the outward, sensible signs in all the sacraments and holy ceremonies of Christ's	5
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church, by one general and common signification of them all, betoken and do signify, and that right effectually, an inward, secret gift and inspiration of grace effused into the soul with the receiving of that holy sacrament, by the Holy Spirit of God. 10

This common signification of the sacraments have all the commonalty of Christian people; and they believe not only that the sacraments be tokens of such grace and do signify it, but also be in some manner wise a means to come to the getting thereof, because God hath so ordained. 15

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

For that all Christian people have this faith and signification of sacraments, Tyndale cannot deny them... but if he list to belie them. 20

But why, trow you, cannot this signification serve Tyndale? Verily because he believeth it not; for he believeth not that any ceremony, or sacrament either, is in the work thereof any means to get any grace at all. And in almost all the sacraments he plainly saith that they neither cause any grace nor any grace do signify, nor be no sacraments at all—as by his own words I shall hereafter show you. 25

But in the meanwhile—forasmuch as in his preface here he maketh as though he cared but for the declaration of the tokens and sensible signs of the sacraments and ceremonies—I have showed him the great and chief signification of all: that is to wit, that they betoken the insensible grace that God giveth them into the soul through the merits of Christ's holy Passion. And this is the very chief signification that all holy doctors note and mark in the sacraments—as appeareth by the definitions that in their books they give thereunto. 30 35

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

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

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

*Ex 28:4–43* When our Lord in the Old Testament described so seriously all the apparel of the priests... did he tell the people therewith all the causes why? Of some we see that he did, as why he would not have Aaron ascend unto the altar by degrees. But of *all* his apparel, and all the fashion of the tabernacle, and the altar, and the Ark of the Testament, and the ceremonies of the expiation or purging of the tabernacle, and sanctifying of all the vessels, and consecrating of the priests with the rites and ceremonies of all their sacrifice—did 10

*Ex 20:26* the altar by degrees. But of *all* his  
*Exodus 26—27* apparel, and all the fashion of the  
*Leviticus 16* tabernacle, and the altar, and the Ark  
*Exodus 29* of the Testament, and the ceremonies of 15  
the expiation or purging of the tabernacle, and sanctifying of all the vessels, and consecrating of the priests with the rites and ceremonies of all their sacrifice—did

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

Now, if our spiritual father Tyndale had been there, that in every commandment will never cease searching till he come to the very bottom, and so judgeth allthing—when he should in all those 25 30 35



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

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

But go me to the New Law, and to those sacraments which Tyndale agreeth for sacraments, which be only twain: Baptism and the Sacrament of the Altar; in which, though he be content to call them sacraments, yet hath he divers full erroneous opinions and very false faiths. But begin, therefore, as I said, at Baptism, when our *Jn 3:5* Savior showed unto Nicodemus that except a man were born again of water and the Spirit, he could not enter into the kingdom of heaven: he told him there the necessity of Baptism, but not the proper signification of the water, why it pleased God to put it for the sacrament by which we should enter into heaven. Nor when he sent 20 25

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

appointed it unto the sacrament that washeth and cleanseth our souls. And yet whoso shall say that the water hath for that cause a convenient similitude for the matter shall say very well. And he shall also say well that will say as doth the holy apostle Paul

*Col 2:12; Rom 6:3–4*      where he likeneth the baptism to a kind  
of burying with our Lord in his sepulchre, 5

and the rising out thereof to a kind and manner of rising again with our Lord in his resurrection into a new manner and kind of clean life. And when he showeth that the bread is made one of many grains or corns, and the wine made one of many grapes, 10 he took a very convenient allegory and similitude and signification whereupon he might show that all we Christian people that are made participant of that holy bread and that holy wine changed and turned in Christ's holy Flesh and Blood (of which twain every one is evermore with the other) ought of many men 15 to be made as one, and in Christ and with Christ our Head, incorporated all in one Mystical Body.

But yet, though these things be marvelously well said, and other things more both have been and may be found that may be well alleged for good and convenient significations of those two 20 sacraments—yet doth not the Apostle tell us that those significations be the very things and the only properties for which God appointed those outward signs of water in the one sacrament and bread and wine in the other, before all other sensible things of which he might have made the outward signs of those sacraments 25 if it had liked him. But as the high knowledge of God foresaw all those properties that have been found, and all that any man could find further therein: so saw he many more, peradventure, which no man hath found yet, and whereof he hath made no man of his counsel; no more than why he would have any visible 30 token at all in the thing which he could have perfectly done without them and in many persons hath so done and doth.

And therefore Tyndale taketh an evil way to stick upon that point so stiffly that he letteth not with open blasphemy to say that he had as lief “sand as holy salt,” and be “smeared with unhallowed butter” as anointed with the holy chrism which he calleth 35 “charmed oil,” because God will not show him every special

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tyndale 30

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

More

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

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

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

### *Of Matrimony*

Tyndale

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

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

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### More

#### *Matrimony*

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

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#### *Gn 1:28*

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

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

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mustard seed—or else of a net! He should rather yet, lest the grace get out, pardie, make it of a sack! “But there *is* no grace therein,” saith he. “And why?” say we. “Because,” saith he, “that God hath none promised.” “Whereby wot you that?” say we. “For I never read it in Scripture,” saith he. “Where read you, then, in Scripture,” say we, “that God hath made you a promise that he never made promise, nor never none would make, but he would first send you word by writing?” What Tyndale can say to this, I cannot tell. But till he can say better to this than ever himself or his master, either, could say to it yet, or ever shall say while they live... every man may soon see what men may say to him. 5 10

Luther yet, in his book of *Babylonica*, where he saith as Tyndale now saith—that matrimony, whereas Saint Paul saith it is a great sacrament, hath no grace nor is no sacrament—he answereth Saint Paul well and pertly and saith that Saint Paul said it peradventure of his own head, not of God’s Spirit. Then, when the King’s Grace had answered him, and that he saw that for aught he could do, men would believe Saint Paul better than him, and that still folk took matrimony for a sacrament, and that they thought that to faithful folk God with that holy knot gave grace toward the keeping and ordained it himself so to do: he swore then in great anger and made a great vow that he would plainly prove the contrary, and ran out of religion and wedded fleeing Cate, his nun, to show to the world himself a matrimony of his own making, that was neither any holy sacrament nor had any grace therein. And till that Tyndale do the same (as he saith priests both may and must!)—he shall never any other way prove his conclusion true while he liveth. 15 20 25

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

Tyndale 30

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

More

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

Christendom first began. And he is led thereto by two special  
*Two pretty motives* motives: the one, folly; the other, falsehood.  
 For of his folly he reckoneth himself sure  
 everything to be false that is not evidently written in Holy Scripture;  
 which one thing is the one half of all the false foundation 5  
 whereupon Luther and Tyndale have built all their heresies. For  
 upon this Tyndale saith, “There is not any promise of this sacrament  
 written in Scripture: ergo, there was no promise made by God.”  
 Which argument is so good that every boy in school laugheth it  
 to scorn, and well they may; for all the world can never make it good. 10  
 His other motive is falsehood, which is the antecedent of the same  
 argument; that is to wit, that this sacrament hath no promise in  
*Jas 5:14–15* Scripture. For it hath an *express* promise  
 in the epistle of Saint James, where he  
 biddeth that if any be sick, “he shall induce the priests to come and 15  
 pray for him and anoint him with oil, and the prayer of faith  
 shall heal the sick man . . . and if he be in sin they shall be forgiven  
 him.” “Nay,” saith Tyndale, “here we may see that the aneling doth  
 nothing; for Saint James saith that the ‘prayer of faith’ shall heal  
 the man.” This is a sure argument! “Lo, because Saint James giveth 20  
 the great effect to the faithful prayer—therefore the oil doth  
 nothing at all.” If it do nothing at all toward the remission of  
 sins—why would Saint James have it there that might, saving  
 for the sacrament, as well be thence as there? Except that Tyndale  
 ween that Saint James were so wise in natural things that he 25  
 thought oil a meet medicine for every sore!  
 This place in Saint James did so press upon Luther that he  
 was fain to say that the epistle was never of Saint James’ making,  
 nor nothing had in it of any apostolical spirit. But he that so  
 said was full of an apostatical spirit. 30

### *Of the Sacrament of Penance*

Tyndale

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

More

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



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

### *Of Confession*

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Tyndale

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

More

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

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

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

Luther yet, that was Tyndale’s master, as lewd as he is, played never the blasphemous fool against confession so far yet as 20

*Confession after Luther’s* Tyndale doth. For Luther, albeit he  
*mind is necessary.* would make every man, and every woman too, sufficient and meet to serve for a

confessor—yet confesseth he that shrift is very necessary and doth much good, and would in no wise have it left. But Tyndale amendeth the matter, and saith it is the very “work of Satan,” and they therefore serve Satan and work his work if they shrive themselves secretly and speak softly at the priest’s ear. But by likelihood he meaneth that if they speak out lustily, that every man may hear them, all is well enough. *For will waw forbade rowning.* 25 30

### *Of Satisfaction*

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

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

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### Tyndale

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

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### More

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

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sit and make merry, and then sin again and then repent a little  
 and run to the ale and wash away the sin, think once on God's  
 promise and then do what we list. For, hoping sure in that, kill  
 we ten men on a day we cast but a little blood into the main sea.  
 But he that setteth so much by his sin, and is so sorry therefor, that 5  
 to provoke our Lord to mercy the more by punishing himself  
 and taking pain therefor, either of his own mind or by  
 penance enjoined—he is a stark heretic; it were even alms to  
 burn him. For he that will take any pain for his own sin...  
 weeneth that Christ had not pain enough. Is not here a mad doctrine 10  
 of him that would seem a Christian man?  
 For as for that he telleth his tale as though men did reckon their  
 penance for a thing sufficient to satisfy for their sin—that is  
*Penance of itself is not* but a piece of his poetry. For he is not so  
*sufficient for sin.* foolish but that he knoweth well enough 15  
 that all Christian men believe that no  
 penance is of itself sufficient for the least sin, but the Passion  
 and pain of Christ *maketh* our penance available, to them that  
 set not so little by their sin but that they be content and think  
 themselves well worthy to take pain and penance for their sin 20  
 themselves.  
 But because he will that men repent the doing of their sin, and  
 then no more but faith... I would wit of Tyndale what calleth he  
 repenting: a little, short sorrow, or a great sorrow and a long? If a 25  
 little, pretty sorrow and very shortly done: I would as fain he said  
 true as I fear that he lieth. If a great, fervent sorrow with grief and  
 trouble of mind, not shortly shot over, but kept and continued  
 long: then force I little of his heresy. For no doubt is it but that  
 Tyndale's tale to such a man shall seem, Got wot, full fond. For he  
 that hath such repentance will to shrift, I warrant you, and take 30  
 penance of the priest, and do much more thereto, whatsoever  
 Tyndale tell him. And he that is christened and careth for no shrift—  
 repenteth never a deal; but they that repent not at all be Tyndale's  
 repentant sinners!  
 Will ye see that it is so? Go me to Martin Luther, the first master 35  
 of Tyndale in this matter, though now his scholar passeth him. While  
 that friar lieth with his nun, and wotteth well he doth naught, and

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

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### *Of the Sacrament of Order*

Tyndale

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

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More

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

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And what would it avail to dispute with him since he mocketh

*1 Tm 4:14*

and scoffeth out the words of Saint

Paul written unto Timothy in which

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the Sacrament of Order is so plainly proved that all the world cannot  
 deny it but if they make a mock at Saint Paul as Tyndale  
 doth!

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

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

Tyndale

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

And after, he saith further:

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

More

All this great scoffing ariseth only because that children be  
christened in Latin. For which only cause he saith that the  
baptism is utterly fruitless; yea, and by his tale worse than fruitless,  
too. For he saith they be now in like cause as are the other sacraments,  
which he saith have no promise in Scripture, and therefore  
are (he saith) superstitious. And lo, thus first ye see that as long  
as ever any children have in England been christened in Latin... there  
was never child the better for the christendom. And then if this lie  
be true... there is yet never a Christian man nor never a Christian woman  
in all England, except haply some well-Latined Jews converted,  
or else such English children as learned their grammar in their  
mother’s belly. 15  
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Howbeit, I would every other thing were as easy to amend as  
this is; for this matter may be soon eased. It may be now, upon this  
fault found, be provided upon Tyndale’s counsel that all the  
English children shall be christened in English, and then they shall  
understand all the matter well enough, ye wot well, and speak for  
themselves, too. 30

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

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

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

*A heretic is worse  
than a Turk.*

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

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

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

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

Tyndale

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

More

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

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

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

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*Eph 5:25–27*

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

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

*1 Pt 1:23*

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

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

*Jas 1:18*

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

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the word of truth"—"that is," saith Tyndale, "with the word of promise." He saith also, "Thou seest that it is not the work but the *promise* that

justifieth us, through faith.” He saith also that as the priest purgeth by  
 preaching of the promise, so do the sacraments, and none otherwise...  
 because he saith that the sacraments be but signs and tokens  
 that betoken and preach the promises. And so he meaneth that as  
 the priest preaching the promises doth give us a knowledge of them, 5  
 or putteth us in mind of them, and yet he doth but *show* us of the  
 promises and of grace, and doth not *give* us any *effect* of any promise  
 or grace, nor we by that preaching do not get no grace but by God’s  
 work beside: so, though he administer the sacraments, yet we do not  
 attain and get any grace neither by the priest nor by the sacraments, 10  
 nor by that work or deed that is done in administering or  
 receiving the sacraments, no more than by the priest’s preaching...  
 but only by the promise of God through faith to the infusing—  
 whereof the sacrament doth nothing work, nor is no cause thereof nor  
 cooperant thereto, nor means nor instrument therein, but only a 15  
 bare signifier and a shower thereof. And yet worse, then, thus: that  
 likewise as if a priest standing up in the pulpit to preach... do  
 there stand still and preach nothing at all, but so come down  
 again and say nothing... doth unto the people no profit at all—so  
 the sacraments, since they be but bare signs (as he saith) and serve 20  
 of nothing but to signify certain things, he saith therefore that  
 because the ministers of the sacraments do not open and declare  
 those significations to the receivers of the sacraments, therefore  
 the sacraments be fruitless... and men take no more profit by the  
 receiving of them than by the standing of the priest in the 25  
 pulpit that standeth there and preacheth not.  
 And it is to be considered that this is his opinion as well of the  
 Blessed Sacrament of the Altar as of the Holy Baptism. Whereby what  
 mind he hath of *that* blessed sacrament, he leaveth little doubt to  
 them that have either learning or wit. 30  
 If this opinion of Tyndale were true—that the priest doth in  
 administering the sacraments no more but preach the promises... and  
 in the administering he purgeth but as he doth by his preaching... and  
 when he preacheth not the significations, then he purgeth not—then  
 were there with the baptism no grace at all given unto children, 35  
 for the priest preacheth not then... and though he did, we find not yet  
 that he should sufficiently purge the child with preaching. And



yet if baptizing be nothing else <i>but</i> preaching, as Tyndale saith...	
then after that the priest had well preached all that were to be preached,	
and showed what the token and the sacrament meaneth... he might, as	
it seemeth by Tyndale's tale, send home the child again and never put	
water upon him! Tyndale will have us believe nothing but	5
plain and evident Scripture; I would he should therefore prove his	
tale here by plain and evident Scripture; for as for these places that	
he layeth, prove it nothing at all.	
<i>Eph 5:25-27</i>	
For the words of Saint Paul to the	
Ephesians, "Christ cleansed the congregation	10
in the fountain of water through the word," is the thing that all we	
say too; that is to wit, that by the holy words of Baptism coming	
to the water, God cleanseth the soul, according to the words of	
<i>Saint Augustine</i>	
Saint Augustine, "Accedit verbum ad elementum et	
fit sacramentum." But Tyndale, because Saint	15
Paul saith there "in the fountain of water through the word,"	
weeneth that he setteth the water but for a sign. As if that one would	
say a man "doth in his body fast, watch, give alms, and pray	
through the devotion of the soul," Tyndale would then say that the	
body were set but for a sign and in all these things doth	20
nothing at all!	
His text also of Saint Peter is nothing in this world for his	
purpose. For when Saint Peter saith, "Ye are born of new, not of	
mortal seed but of immortal seed, by the word of God which	
liveth and lasteth ever," what meaneth he other than that by our	25
Savior himself (which is the <i>living</i> word of God, that liveth and	
lasteth <i>ever</i> ) we be born again by the sacramental water and the	
sacramental word? Which <i>both</i> he there understandeth; for he	
there expressly speaketh of neither nother, but of the word that is	
God's Son.	30
<i>Jas 1:18</i>	
The words of Saint James also, that	
"God of his good will begot us with the	
word of truth"—how prove these words that the water of Baptism	
serveth but for a sign?	
"The 'word of truth,'" saith Tyndale, "is here understood the word of his	35
promise." How proveth Tyndale that? Because that Christ's promises	
be true, must it therefore needs be that Saint James in that place	

meant the word of promise? As though there were no more true of all that ever Christ spoke but only of his promises! Why may not in that place the “word of truth,” with which God hath of his good will begotten us, be understood our Savior Christ himself... by whom God hath begotten us indeed, and which is the very Truth itself, 5

*Jn 14:6*

as himself witnesseth of himself

where he saith, “Ego sum via, veritas, et vita”

(“I am the way, the truth, and the life”)? Thus may ye see that this text proveth Tyndale’s purpose nothing at all.

But now suppose that the very words of Saint James were that God had “begotten us with the word of his promise”; what had this made for the matter? How had this proved that the water and the sacramental words were but bare signs and tokens? If Saint James said that God had “begotten us by his goodness”—do these words exclude all the means that his goodness used toward it? If God would say to Tyndale, “I have brought thee into this world which thou dost now corrupt, and I have made the Christendom which thou goest about to destroy, and I have bidden thee beware of hell, into which thou runnest apace”—did he therein exclude Tyndale’s father and his mother, and his sacrament of Baptism and the minister thereof, and the preachers and teachers of the others? So ye may plainly see that Tyndale’s texts serve nothing at all to prove that the sacraments serve but only for signs. 10 15 20

This opinion hath Tyndale taken of Luther, which giveth to the sacrament nothing at all... but he saith that God giveth all the grace by the faith alone, and not by the sacraments anything at all. Now, the Church believeth and teacheth that God hath not so bound himself to his sacraments but that where he giveth the gift of faith to any that cannot come to Baptism, there he of his power may, and of his goodness will, give unto that man the gift of such grace to come to heaven without Baptism. But where God giveth grace *by* the baptism—there it is hard to set the baptism at so short as to say that it serveth but for a bare sign... and without the significations preached at the font standeth in no more stead than a preacher that preacheth not. 25 30 35

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

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

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

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

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

And into this mind they were led by the words of Holy Scripture, and partly for the excellence of the sacraments of the New Law in respect of the sacraments of the Old Law—between which two kinds of sacraments seemeth to be as great difference as

between the two kinds of the laws themselves; and that is no less than between figures, images, similitudes, or shadows, and the very things themselves... as saith Saint Paul: “Omnia in figura contingebant

*1 Cor 10:11* illis” (“Allthing unto them came  
*Lv 4:31–35; 5:6–18; 6:17–23* in figures”). 5

Then, since the sacraments of the *Old* Law had God, by his promise, assistant with them in remission of sins (as by the plain words of many places of Scripture doth appear), it seemed to those old holy, virtuous doctors that the sacraments of the New Law, for the preeminence over them, should of God’s especial influence have some effectual virtue, force, and power as an instrument of God in the working thereof. To which mind they have been moved not only for the cause foreremembered... but also, as I said before, for that the very words of Holy Scripture

*Acts 8:17; 19:6* seem to lead them to it... when they read  
in the Acts that by the putting of the  
apostles’ hands upon them that were christened, the Holy Ghost  
forthwith came into them and by miracle showed himself by  
their speaking in diverse tongues. And when they read Saint Paul  
writing to Timothy, “Neglect not that grace that is in thee, which  
*1 Tm 4:14* is given thee by prophecy, with the  
*2 Tm 1:6* putting upon of the hands of the  
priesthood”; and unto him also those

words, “I warn thee that thou resuscitate and stir up the grace  
of God that is in thee by the imposition” (or “putting upon”) “of my  
hands”—these places were very plain for their mind, when they  
here read that grace was by God infused with the receiving of the  
holy order of priesthood, by the outward sacrament of  
putting the bishop’s hand upon him. 25

It seemeth also that the words of God spoken by the mouth of the  
*Ez 16:9* prophet Ezekiel soundeth to the same...  
where he saith, “I have washed thee with  
water, and I have cleansed thy blood.” By which words it seemeth to  
be signified that the outward washing of the water of Baptism  
should be an effectual instrument of the inward washing of the  
soul. And by the mouth of the same prophet, in prophesying of the 35



love and charity toward God and our neighbor, and a purpose of working of good works—yet divers good, holy doctors have taught, as I say, by such places of Scripture, that God in the working of such cleansing of the soul and infusion of grace useth the sacraments not as a bare sign but as an instrument, with which and by which it pleaseth him to work them. 5

And they that think otherwise—that is to wit, they that think that the sacraments be but, as it were, the livery gown whereof I gave you the example, and hath no special power nor influence given of God by which it anything may work in cleansing of the soul—all they have none other thing for themselves, as far as I have read and could perceive, but arguments grounded upon philosophy and metaphysical reasons... by the constraint whereof, I will not say they be driven and compelled, but say that, as it seemeth me, they drive and compel *themselves*, to find glosses to these scriptures, and unto the words of other good holy doctors, too. 10 15

For as for my part, I would not let to deny a whole heap of those reasons in matters of the sacraments, which hang all upon God's will and pleasure and his omnipotent power. For albeit that we see no likelihood how that bodily water can work upon the spiritual substance of the soul—yet God can make 20

*Note* the fire, which is a bodily substance as well as is the water, to work not upon souls only discharged of their bodies in purgatory, but also upon that evil angels the devils, whose substance is as spiritual as is the soul—I cannot greatly see why we should greatly fear to grant and agree that by God's ordinance the water may be God's instrument in purging and cleansing of the soul. 25

Which argument, for aught that I perceive among them, is to mine understanding so simply assoiled... that till I hear either better or perceive them better, I like as yet that argument better than I like all their solutions that they make thereto. 30

For some of them be fain, for their solution, to grant almost that their pain in the fire were but a detaining therein by some stronger power than themselves; and then were the pain but as an imprisonment and restraint of liberty, if the fire burn them not. 35

And then why more in fire than in water, if they be for the  
 fire never the warmer? And on the other side, if that by the keeping  
 of them in the fire, the fire do work upon them and burn them, as  
 I think the truth is: then so may by God's ordinance the water  
 help to wash and cleanse the soul. 5

And surely since experience teacheth us that the soul, which is of  
 itself a spiritual substance, God hath of his high wisdom and  
 power found the means so to put it in a body, and so to knit it  
 thereto, that not only by fire or frozen water put about it, but also  
 without any outward thing put unto it, by the only boiling 10  
 of the distempered humors within itself, the soul is in such grief,  
 pain, and torment that it would be as fain out of the body as the  
 body would be rid of it—since we find this thus, I doubt nothing  
 at all but that God can, by more means than men can think or  
 imagine, so bind the spiritual soul to the fire that he shall feel 15  
 the fervor of that fire as he now feeleth the heat of his ague here; and  
 yet shall not the fire and he be made one person, as the soul and the  
 body be now. Which thing whoso would ask me how may that  
 be... might as well ask me how might the world be made when there  
 was nothing to make it of, and a thousand mad questions more. 20  
 But to the purpose, this I say: that God may by his power make the  
 water in the sacrament an instrument with an effectual influence of  
 power given by God thereto at the time to purge the soul... as well  
 as the fire either to purge it or punish it. In which thing since the  
 scriptures seem to say that he doth so, and no scripture saith the 25  
 contrary... and many good, holy men have been of that mind... I  
 see not why we should think otherwise.

2 Kgs 5:9–14                      When our Lord healed Naaman the Syrian by  
    his prophet Elisha in the water of  
 Jordan—no man doubteth but that *God* did the deed. Yet were it a 30  
 great boldness to affirm that the *water* there did work nothing  
 therein at that time; and yet had the water no such nature of itself.

No more had also the water of which it is written in the Gospel  
 Jn 5:4, 7                      of Saint John, where at the moving  
    thereof, whoso next were let down 35  
 thereto was there cured by “the angel of God”; and yet is it well

likely that God gave an influence of his power at the time, by which the water itself was made an instrument of that health.

And likewise where the woman was healed by the touch of  
*Lk 8:43–48* Christ's garment, whereof Saint Luke  
 speaketh in the eighth chapter—the words 5  
 of our Savior himself seem to show some influence gone forth  
 from himself into his garment, such as, by his might, with the  
 touch of his garment used as an instrument therein, was able to give  
 health unto that good, faithful woman.

*Jn 9:6–7* When our Savior, as is written in the 10  
 ninth chapter of Saint John, did take the  
 dirt of the ground, and did spit thereupon and made thereof a  
 plaster, and laid it upon the blind man's eyes and so gave him  
 his sight—I think that God gave an influence of his power into  
 that plaster, whereby he cured his eyes. Yet might he have done it 15  
 by his only word or by his only will, without any such outward  
 thing laid thereunto. But it pleased him to let them see that he  
 not only could do it himself, but could also make the very dirt  
 of the street able to do such cures... as not all the plasters in all the  
 surgeons' shops were able to attain unto. 20

Now, if they will say that it is not like, in curing the body and  
 cleansing of the soul—I say it *is* like, saving for the reason by  
 which they say that the bodily water cannot work upon the  
 unbodily soul. And therefore, thereto I say that by no natural  
 power, nor by *no* power except only God's, could these bodies— 25  
 that is to wit, those waters, garment, and plaster—have in such wise  
 wrought upon the bodies wherein they were working instruments  
 of these marvelous cures. And then I say by his power may the  
 bodily water as well be a working instrument upon the unbodied  
 and unbodily soul—be it in cleansing, purging, or punishing—as 30  
 upon the body.

For as for that reason by which some doctors reckon the matter  
 the more easy in the sacraments because the outward, sensible  
 things thereof work, as they reckon, upon the soul as part of the  
 whole man, by touching the body thereof... as the fire touching the 35  
 body paineth the soul and all: albeit I repugn not thereat, yet I



nothing ground myself thereon, since I never found among them  
all one reason yet whereby methought it proved otherwise but that  
*Corporeal water is able to work* God may make the bodily, corporeal water  
*upon the unbodied soul.* able to work upon the unbodied, incorporeal  
soul. Which if it may... since 5

God hath set the sacraments as *means* by which we come to  
cleansing of the soul and to salvation... albeit that no man  
denieth but that the power of God is chief, and that he regardeth  
Christ's Passion and our own faith, with divers other things—  
yet I see not why we should take all effect of working from the sacraments 10  
themselves, and leave them void of all grace, and call them  
bare, graceless tokens. For if that any man were of the mind that he  
thought the sacraments do nothing to the cleansing of the soul  
because that all that ever is done is done by the power of God—so  
might he think that no medicine doth anything in the cure of 15  
any disease, because that all the nature of the medicine is given  
unto it by the power of God too.

Howbeit, in this matter, whether that the sacraments have any  
influence of power given them by God whereby they may be workers  
and instruments in the purging or cleansing of the soul... or else 20  
that they be but in such wise means and cause of the grace as the  
livery gown, whereof I did put the example, is of the servant's  
finding in the lord's household... is not the thing wherein I will  
greatly stick. But in my mind the Scripture most serveth for that  
first opinion; and good holy doctors, and of the eldest, have been of 25  
that opinion, and nothing but philosophical reasons have drawn  
others from that opinion. And since that some others hath fallen to  
the other opinion, which giveth to the sacraments less force  
and efficacy than doth that first opinion, there are now come these  
new men—Luther, Friar Huessgen, and Hutchins, and such other lewd 30  
fellows—that would leave the sacraments, by their wills, no manner  
strength at all. And therefore so much like I the better the first  
way, that most holy men held, and that furthest goeth from the  
doctrine of those heretics, which make the sacraments, as they  
say, to serve only for priests and preachers—and then they preach themselves 35  
that the priesthood is no sacrament at all—and turn them all into

mocks and jests, comparing sand with holy salt, and butter-smearing to the anointing with the hallowed chrism; and such other foolish blasphemy.

Now, where they say that all the salvation standeth in promise of God, and nothing in the sacraments at all... because that they be but the tokens thereof: by this reason they will within a while take away the reverence from the very promise, too. For of truth, the promise of God worketh not our salvation no more than do the sacraments, but *God* worketh our salvation *himself*... and the promise is the token whereby we know he doth so. For if he had not promised it... we had not so surely known it, nor had not had so great a cause of good hope thereof... but yet might he have saved us though he had never promised us. And now them that he saveth, he saveth not so much by the force of his promise as by reason of the selfsame goodness that made him to make the promise. So that his own liberal *goodness* worketh our salvation, and the promise giveth the *knowledge* of our salvation.

Now say these men always that God saveth us “by his promise,” as though they were sure that if he were not surely bound by his promise, he would not now do it at all... and saving that his promise is once past him somewhat, as they make it unawares, he would else, if it were now to make, take a better advisement ere he bound himself so far.

In men such change and such repentance happeth that where one of his good will sometime bindeth himself to give... the other *may* thank the bond if ever the promise be kept. But God’s high providence so foreseeeth what he promised... that he can never forthink it. And his inestimable goodness is so great... that he giveth not because he promiseth, but he promiseth because he will give... and would give though he never promised as he determined to give *God’s promise is not the cause of his gift.* before he promised... and would yet promise if he had not promised... not that his promise should be the cause of his gift, but that we should by his promise have knowledge of his gift and comfort of the hope.

Now maketh me Tyndale the sacraments nothing but a token of the promise... and the promise he maketh the cause of the gift;

whereas of truth, as well the promise as the sacraments be tokens of the gift... and God's goodness is the cause of the gift. And God hath from the beginning determined that he would after the fall of Adam ordinarily not give it without the sacraments. But though he determined also to make a promise... yet never determined he that he would not give it without he made a promise. And so be both the sacraments and the promises tokens of the gift... and yet seemeth the sacrament, rather than the promise, a cause of the gift. For the sacrament, after the institution, seemeth *a* cause of the gift—at the leastwise in some kind of cause—and the promise seemeth no cause in no kind, neither since nor before. And thus ye may see what a wise process Tyndale maketh us. 5 10

But would God yet that this were the worst piece of Tyndale's teaching concerning Christ's promise. But he frameth Christ's promises after his own fashion. He saith that *we* make promises in sacraments where Christ made none; but *he* maketh promises that Christ made never such! For Christ promiseth heaven *if* men labor for it; Tyndale would make us ween we need no labor at all. Christ promiseth forgiveness through the Sacrament of Penance, if men amend and will do penance; Tyndale of the sacrament putteth two parts away, and almost the third too, and promiseth forgiveness for a very short, scant repenting at the first thought, by and by... and to do penance he taketh for idolatry. Christ promiseth us heaven *if* we do good works with our faith; Tyndale saith to do good works with intent the rather to come to heaven shall bring a man to hell, and lose the reward of faith. And thus Tyndale—which crieth out "Promise! Promise!" and will have nothing taught but Christ's promise—yet in these things, and a hundred more, striveth and fighteth *against* God's promises, and utterly goeth about to destroy them. 15 20 25 30

Finally, where Christ hath made a promise, one of the greatest, most solemn, most assuredly made, and thereto most fruitful and most necessary, that ever he made... that is to wit, that he would be with his church of Christian people all days unto the end of the world, and that he would send also the Holy Ghost unto them, that should teach them allthing and lead them into every 35

*Mt 28:20*  
*Jn 14:16–17, 26; 16:7, 13*

truth: Tyndale first (lest he should seem to gainsay this promise)  
 would shift it from the known church and company of all Christian  
 people professing the name and faith of Christ, unto a secret company  
 of such as they call “good” men and “elect”... which who they be  
 who can tell?—and yet since there can be no doubt but such as be or 5  
 have been very elects have always been parties of this known Christian  
 company... and since they were not false dissemblers... they have  
 believed as they showed, and they have showed that they believed as  
 we believe in such things as Tyndale now calleth misbelief; for  
 they have done therein as we do, and always the best have written 10  
 these things that we believe... and never was there any company, till  
 within this twenty years, that believed as Tyndale saith that he  
 believeth. And he saith also that his belief is so necessary to salvation  
 that the contrary belief is damnable... for else he would not, of  
 his courtesy, cry out so sore upon the clergy for teaching the contrary. 15  
 Whereupon, if Tyndale’s lie be true, there must then of  
 necessity follow that there must be true also one of these two very  
 plain falsehoods: that is to wit, that Christ hath never since his death  
 till holy Tyndale’s days had in this world here any church at all;  
 or else that if Christ have had here any church, yet from his own 20  
 death till holy Tyndale’s days, the Holy Ghost, whom himself sent,  
 never taught his church the truth. Now, then, if Christ had all this  
 while no church in earth... his promise was clearly broken by  
 which he promised to be with his church himself all days unto  
 the world’s end. For how were he with his church here unto the 25  
 world’s end... if before the world’s end so many hundred years together,  
 he had here no church at all?

And on the other side, if he had here all this while any church,  
 and then the Holy Ghost have not taught that church the truth: then  
 hath Christ broken that promise by which he promised that the 30  
 Holy Ghost should teach his church all things and lead them into  
 all truth. For how had the Holy Ghost taught it all things if he  
 have suffered the devil to teach it some things? And let Tyndale,  
 when he will, *answer this* point. Mark well and remember that we  
 speak here of belief and faith; not of works and deeds, lest, after his 35  
 custumable fashion, letting the belief go by, he answer us with

railing upon men's manners, and so lead the reader more than a mile from the matter.

And how hath the Holy Ghost led the Church all this while into all truth... if one holy truth be that friars when they list may wed nuns notwithstanding their vows, and the Holy Ghost hath almost this fifteen hundred years together suffered all his whole

*Breach of vows* church (neither good nor bad except) to believe that breach of such vows is deadly sin, and such manner marriage plain incestuous lechery, and to damn Tyndale's faith in that point for very false heresy?

And thus, good Christian readers, here ye plainly see what manner of fashion Tyndale teacheth Christ's promises. For whereas he setteth all at nothing saving only Christ's promises made to man, he teacheth men again to break their promise made to God... and so bringeth all his matters in conclusion to that point that if he lied not (as he doth!)... Christ had broken his promise made to his church; besides this, that of Christ's promises he denieth many, and them that he granteth he believeth shrewdly, and would make them serve us only for a blind boldness of sin.

### *Of the Sacrament of the Altar* 20

Forasmuch as he seeth that the Mass is the special thing in which the Sacrament of the Altar is honored, and in which it is most fruitful,

*What is received and offered* insomuch as there the Very Body and  
*up in the Mass* Blood of our Lord is not only received  
by the priest himself and for himself, 25  
but is also, for his own sins and other men's too, offered up to God as a holy host, oblation, and sacrifice... re-presenting the same sacrifice in which our Savior, both being the Priest and the Sacrifice, offered up himself, for the sin of the world, unto his Father in heaven, an acceptable sacrifice upon his painful cross: therefore doth Tyndale, after his master's doctrine, jest and rail and make mocks at the Mass, whereof these be his words... 30

#### Tyndale

What helpeth it that the priest, when he goeth to Mass, disguiseth himself with a great part of the Passion of Christ, and playeth out the rest under silence with signs and proffers, with nodding, becking, and mowing, as it were Jackanapes... when neither he 35

himself neither any man else wotteth what he meaneth . . . [nor] whereof  
no man can give a good reason [as he saith soon after].

More

Here he mocketh, and playeth himself, as ye see, in mocking these  
holy ceremonies used, as well in the apparel of the priest as in the  
Secrets of that Holy Sacrifice. Which he saith do no good, but  
much hurt, and make men superstitious. . . because, as he saith  
there, they have the more devotion thereby; and therefore he would  
have them left. As though the devotion that is increased by the beholding  
of those holy ceremonies were superstition because they  
understand them not!

If Tyndale say true in this. . . then did God by his own commandment  
make his Chosen People of Israel to fall into superstition instead  
of devotion, with the ceremonies used about the sacrifices  
in the Old Law, because they understood them not.

After this, he mingleth his lies therewith, saying that

[Christian men] think that they have done abundantly enough  
for God—yea, and deserved above measure—if they be present once in a  
day at such a mumming.

More

What may not such a man be bold to say, that is not ashamed to  
lie so shamefully? For he knoweth that all the readers well know that he  
lieth when they read it. . . and yet he is not ashamed to write it. What  
man would be so foolish to think that he hath done enough for God?

Yet layeth he another incommodity: that the infidels will “mock  
us and abhor us, in that they see nothing but such ape’s play  
among us, whereof no man can give a reason.”

Lo what a high reason hath Tyndale here found out: that such  
holy ceremonies whereof Christ’s church hath received many by the  
blessed apostles themselves, and from their days used ever hitherto (as  
appeareth by the writing of holy doctors far above a thousand years  
ago), we must now give over, for fear lest infidels as Turks and  
Saracens would learn of Tyndale to mock us for them. . . because we  
cannot tell them a good reason for each of them. Be ye sure, this is a  
right solemn reason! And Luther, indeed, maketh a much like; so  
that ye may see that they have weighed it well between them, or else

Tyndale would not after so long a leisure allege it again so solemnly.

But now would I wit of wise Tyndale whether if men could and did give a good reason unto Jews, Turks, and Saracens, and paynims... as, for example, such causes as Tyndale telleth some for great, hidden mysteries that no man could tell but he, which he fetched out lately of a good friar's book called *Rationale divinorum*... showing what signifieth the alb, the amice, and stole, and so forth—would then all the Jews, Turks, Saracens, and other infidels hold themselves satisfied and mock no more? If they so would... then were they all much less infidels than Tyndale is; for he hath sought out such things, and yet mocketh still. Howbeit, that is little marvel. For indeed he bringeth all such things forth but *for* to make mocks at them. 5 10

But then would I wit of wise Tyndale farther, whether if all these infidels that he speaketh of, as Jews, Turks, and Saracens, were present at the Mass... and no such ceremony at all used thereat but only kneeling, knocking on breasts, and holding up of hands at the sight of the Elevation, and receiving of that Blessed Sacrament... and that thereupon marveling on the manner thereof, they were told the very truth—that the cause of all this reverent behavior 15 20

*What body is under the form of bread* is because that there, under that form of bread and wine, is the very Blessed Body and Blood of our Savior himself, the same that hung upon the cross when he suffered his Passion for our redemption—would those infidels then hold themselves all content, and never mock at it more? Nay; will none of them besides the Blessed Sacrament mock at all the whole matter—both at the Incarnation, Death, Resurrection, and all? 25

Lo, thus ye see, good Christian readers, that by Tyndale's reason we must cast off clean all our whole faith... lest such infidels as himself is should make mocks thereat as he doth. What Christian ears can abide such blasphemous folly? 30

Yet would some unwise man ween, peradventure, that Tyndale doth, for all this, not mean anything against these holy ceremonies of the Mass... but only mocketh the priest because he 35

speakech not all the Secrets of the Mass aloud... and also because he teacheth not all the parish what all those ceremonies mean.

Surely there needeth no man to doubt but he that can find in his heart to make such mocks upon the devout observances used so many hundred years about the Mass... hath a lewd, beastly mind against the very Sacrament itself. 5

But yet, to the end that every man may see it the more clearly—ye shall perceive by his own words that according to Luther's babbling in his book of *Babylonica*... Tyndale teacheth plainly that the Blessed Sacrament is in the Mass no sacrifice, none host, nor none oblation; by which abominable heresy he taketh quite away the very special profit and fruit of all the Mass. These be his very words... 10

#### Tyndale

There is a word called in Latin *sacerdos*, in Greek *hiereus*, in Hebrew *cohan*—that is, a minister, an officer, a sacrificer, or a priest... as Aaron was a priest and sacrificed for the people, and was a mediator between God and them; and in the English should it have had some other name than "priest." But Antichrist hath deceived us with unknown and strange terms, to bring us into confusion and superstitious blindness. Of that manner is Christ a priest forever, and all we priests through him... and need no more of any such priest on earth to be a mean for us unto God. 15 20

#### More

By these words ye see that whereas the priests in the Old Law offered sacrifices for the people, and that of diverse kinds, as appeareth in 25

*Lv 5:1–26; Nm 5:5–8* Leviticus and Numbers and other places of Holy Scripture; instead of all which sacrifices Christ hath in his New Law instituted one only sacrifice, his own Blessed Body and Blood, to be offered up to his Father for his people by the hands of the priest in form of bread and wine... of which holy offering in the Mass now, the offering of Melchisedech, 30

*Gn 14:18–20* that offered bread and wine, was a solemn figure: Tyndale telleth us here that because Christ is a priest forever—and that all we be priests through him, man and woman—ye must understand we need, therefore, 35



he saith, no more of any such priest on earth that should be a mean between God and the people, to offer up any sacrifice to God for the people. For he saith farther that

Christ hath brought us into the inner temple, within the veil . . . ,  
and unto the mercy stool of God—and hath coupled us unto God—  
where we offer every man for himself the desires and petitions of  
his heart... and do sacrifice and kill the lusts and appetites of his  
flesh, with prayer, fasting, and all manner of godly living. 5

#### More

With these gay, glittering words would Tyndale so blear our  
eyes... that he would make us to reckon ourselves taken in so near to God,  
and so “coupled” with him, that even upon God Almighty’s “mercy  
stool” we offer every man so sufficiently for himself the “desires and  
petitions of his heart,” and so sufficiently “sacrifice and kill the lusts  
and appetites of his flesh, with prayer, fasting, and all manner  
of good living,” that we need now no priest as mean between God  
and us, to offer up for us to God the holy host and Sacrifice of all  
Sacrifices, the Blessed Body and Blood of our holy Savior Christ. 10 15

This is the goodness that he bringeth all his holy process to. And  
whereas in other places all is naught among us, and all is but sin—  
yet here, lest we should need the Sacrifice of the Mass, we be all  
God’s good sons, and kill and sacrifice full well the lusts and  
appetites of our flesh with prayer, fasting, and all manner of  
godly living. 20

Howbeit, when Tyndale saith that “we” offer our desires of our  
heart at God Almighty’s mercy stool... and that “we” kill and sacrifice  
the lusts of our flesh with prayer, fasting, and all godly living—  
he meaneth none of us peevish, popish papists, but the lively,  
lightsome Lutherans. For they, pardie, as ye see by Luther himself  
and his holy nun... kill and sacrifice their fleshly lusts  
with prayer, fasting, and much godly living, every man and  
woman wotteth how. 25 30

I marvel yet in what place of Scripture Tyndale findeth... that  
men sacrifice their *sins*. We find that men offer sacrifice *for*  
sin, and that men *kill* sin... and then peradventure offer *themselves*,  
clean depured from sin. But to offer up sin *in* sacrifice... 35

meseemeth it is a very stinking sacrifice, and of such a scripted man not very scripturally spoken. But therefore Tyndale turneth those two words out of their right frame, to juggle and blear our eyes with. For he saith not that we “kill and sacrifice” our fleshly lusts... lest we should have spied that it were no meet sacrifice; but he saith that we “sacrifice and kill” them—as though that in the Old Law, men had been wont to sacrifice the beasts first, and burn them up whole... or else burn part and eat part and then kill them after. 5

But Tyndale careth not how he set his words, so that he may make us to believe that we need no priest to offer up daily the same sacrifice that our Savior offered once and hath ordained to be by the priests perpetually offered in his church. For this is his labor to take out of our belief; and this is Luther’s labor, of whom he learned it in his book of *Babylonica*. And for this cause be they wroth with the holy Canon of the Mass, because the Sacrament is in the Mass called, as it is indeed, a sacrifice, a host, and an offering. 10 15

This would they have us leave off for the only spite that they bear to priesthood—because they see that in this point that holy order of  
*The excellent privilege of priesthood*      priesthood hath an excellent privilege, in which none angel hath the like authority. 20

And albeit that Tyndale telleth us many times, as the man is somewhat shameless, that we will not believe Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine, Saint Ambrose, Saint Gregory, and the other old holy doctors of Christ’s church—yet knoweth Tyndale that in this one point among many others, they be quite against him every one. And because it would here make a long work to rehearse many of their words: therefore, that Tyndale shall not deny but that I therein say truth, I shall allege him Luther, his own master... which in his book of *Babylonica* plainly confesseth the same, and answereth it with saying that the “Gospel of God” is “plain against them all”—as though that among them all, either never none had read the Gospel of God... or else never none had understood it but himself. And then, against them all, he construeth that gospel so foolishly... that, before God, a man would ween almost that a gosling had as 25 30 35

much wit as he. And yet now would his wise disciple Tyndale have us for his pleasure, in hatred of the order of priesthood... believe that the priest doth at the Mass make none offering of that holy Sacrifice for our sin. With which heresy he clean taketh away the very fruit of the Mass in which that blessed sacrament is both most honored of the people and is also most profitable to the people.

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But yet shall ye see further that as fair as he covereth himself in his speaking of this holy sacrament in some other places, yet in some he showeth his affection full well. For these are his words...

	Tyndale	10
<i>Ye may here perceive that after this wise preacheth not Tyndale.</i>	The sacrament of Christ's body after this wise preach they: "Thou must believe that it is no more bread, but the very body of Christ—flesh, blood, and bone, even as he went here on earth"—save his coat. For that is here yet, I wot not in how many places.	15

#### More

Is not here a fair mocking manner in rehearsing of that holy sacrament? But yet, to cover his infidelity, he maketh here a color as though he were angry that they teach no more. But he is angry indeed that they teach so much—or else could he never find in his heart to speak so mockishly of such a matter as he doth.

20

For every man well knoweth that where he maketh after as though they which teach the people this... did not teach them also the profit of the receiving, nor the promise of God: he doth untruly belie them. For who is there so simply taught but that he well understandeth that the receiving of that holy Body of our Lord in such wise as men are taught to receive it... is wholesome to the soul, and that by God's ordinance? And therefore is in Tyndale but a shameless lie, whereof every man well knoweth the contrary. Would God himself believed as well of this holy sacrament as the simplest-learned priest in a country teacheth his parish! Which if he did... his heart, I dare say, would not serve him so foolishly to jest thereat. For he speaketh there of preaching of promise... for no other cause but only to bring in his worshipful jest of our Lord's holy Body being in the sacrament—to say he is there, all save his coat. Of which

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holy sacrament he that jesteth so... believeth of likelihood that there is no more of his body there than of his coat. I have in his book of *Obedience* considered his words of this holy sacrament... and I have advised them the better for certain words that I have heard of him—and I see not one word by which he may be bound to say that ever he confessed it to be the very body and blood of Christ. Howbeit, if he had—it were not yet with that sort much the surer. For they may

*This is the saying  
of all heretics.* do as their master hath: say the contrary  
after; and when they say worse,  
then tell us that they have seen more 10

since and learned better.

Howbeit, he is indeed come to that point already, as ye shall perceive by his words in his book made against me—whereof I shall rehearse you part anon. And yet we need not much more proof when we see that he mocketh at the Mass, and would have no priest at all, nor the sacrament to be taken as a sacrifice... and now jesteth upon the doctrine that teacheth us to believe that in the sacrament is the Blessed Body and Blood of our Lord, to turn it to a mock—"Yea," saith this fool, "all save his coat." A worshipful jest in a Christian man's mouth! That mouth is more meet indeed for sand than holy salt.

What availeth [saith he] to teach folk this [that the very body and blood of our Lord is in that sacrament]? The devil knoweth that Christ died on a Friday, and the Jews too... and what are they the better? We have a promise [etc.].

Why steppeth he from the example of the same sacrament? Why saith he not, “The devil knoweth this to be true, that under the form of bread is Christ’s own body, and yet the devil is never the better”? Surely because himself believeth that the devil knoweth it not at all, nor God neither. And for because he would not yet have us therein perceive his mind to the uttermost, he joined the Jews with the devil to flee from the sacrament to the Friday, whereas he might have severed them and spoken of both... or else with the Jews and the devil he might have joined himself, and have bound all three in a bundle. For he believeth less than the one... and is as malicious as any of them both.

Yet to the intent that ye may perceive clearly that he is plainly of Luther's heresy that the Sacrament of the Altar is very bread still, ye shall understand that whereas I in my *Dialogue* rehearse Luther's heresies, and among others this heresy that I now speak of, Tyndale in his *Answer* affirmeth Luther's heresy for good and true, saying, "That that is broken, and that the priest eateth with his teeth—is it not bread? What is it else?" 5

And after those words, he goeth forth in jesting and mocking, God wot, full like himself.

And soon after, in another place, he saith (in defense of Luther's heresy), because he would have folk set less thereby and have less reverence thereunto, "It were a perilous case if men and women touched it, because the pope hath not oiled them." 10

And afterward he saith, "At Oxford, about the sacrament was no small question of late days, whether it were bread or none—some affirming that the flour with long lying in water was turned into starch." 15

#### More

What a cankered mind this heretic hath... there can, I trow, no man doubt that heareth what foolish gauds he deviseth upon it of his own frantic head. For if ever there *were* any such foolish fantasy spoken there... it was by himself and one or two wretched fellows of his own sect, sitting and blaspheming God upon their ale bench. 20

But now shall ye yet more plainly see to what point he goeth about to bring you. 25

#### Tyndale

It is the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, and Christ calleth it the new and everlasting testament in his blood, and commandeth that we should "so do" in the "remembrance" of him... that his body was broken and his blood shed for our sins. And Paul commandeth thereby to show or preach the Lord's death. They say not pray to it, neither put any faith therein. For I may not believe *in* the sacrament, but I must believe the sacrament, that it is a true sign, and it true that is signified thereby (which is the only worshipping of the sacrament; if ye give it other worship, ye plainly dishonor it)— 30  
as I may not believe *in* Christ's church, but believe Christ's church, 35

that the doctrine which they preach of Christ is true. If ye have any other doctrine... teach us a reason, and lead us in light, and we will follow.

#### More

No man can desire better knowledge of him than he showeth of himself in these words. For here he showeth plainly that though to blear our eyes with, he calleth it “the sacrament of Christ’s body and blood,” and his “new and everlasting testament in his blood,” and saith that we be commanded by Saint Paul “thereby to preach the Lord’s death,” yet he will not in any wise that men shall pray thereto nor put any faith therein. And it is no doubt but he that hath that mind believeth nothing at all that it is the very Body of Christ, wherewith his holy Soul is coupled, and his Almighty Godhead joined... from which, from the first assumption thereof, it was never severed. 5 10 15

And therefore unto all his other gay, glorious words he hath a false gloss... by which he meaneth that the Blessed Sacrament is nothing else but a token and a figure ordained for a remembrance of Christ, and not the very body and blood of himself.

It is also to be noted whereupon he groundeth this holy precept of his, that men should not pray to the Sacrament nor put any faith therein. He saith because that the Scripture doth not *command* it... therefore it is dishonor to the Sacrament to do it. Doth not these words alone teach us sufficiently to know the mischief of that heresy... by which they say that there is nothing to be believed without plain and evident Scripture... when we see now that Tyndale upon that doctrine of his forbiddeth us to honor the Holy Sacrament of the Altar? 20 25

Ye may see now that Tyndale uttered not all his false ware at once. For first he began with images... then with relics, then with saints, that we may worship none of all these. And now at last he teacheth us that we may not worship Christ’s own Body in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, nor put any faith therein. Put ye no doubt but he will say the same by his Soul within a while, and soon after that, by his Godhead too... and at the last, by the Godhead of the Father and the Holy Ghost both, and utterly deny all three. 30 35

God is good Lord which maketh this blasphemous fool speak  
in the end of his blasphemy a few true words with which himself  
destroyeth all his whole abominable doctrine. For he confesseth,  
as ye have heard... that though he may not believe *in* Christ's  
*Believe Christ's church!* church, as though the Church were his 5  
savior—yet he must believe Christ's  
church... that the doctrine which they preach of Christ is true.  
And with these words of his own, will I strain him fast and sure.  
For I ask no more but these few words of his own, to the confounding  
of all that ever he teacheth against our faith. For now hath 10  
he with these words destroyed the effect of his heresy... wherewith  
he would draw all to an unknown church of elects. For since we  
must believe the *doctrine* and the *preaching* of the church of  
Christ, as Tyndale saith himself, and that can we never do but if  
we know them whom we believe; and who be elects, we cannot 15  
know: farewell the force of all that heresy, by Tyndale's own tale!

And now, since he hath bound himself to confess that the  
church of Christ is and must needs be a church known here to men,  
and none such can he name but only the Catholic, known church  
of all Christian nations, from which he hath and doth labor to flit 20  
and flee unto a dark, unknown church of elects... the strength of  
which heresy his own words here have confounded: he must  
needs confess that Christ's church is the church that we be of, and  
out of which himself is down fallen, by unfaithfulness, into the deep  
dungeon of the devil. And now, since of his own confession he must 25  
believe the doctrine of the church of Christ; and of the same confession  
of his own it followeth that the church of Christ is this

*Christ's church is the* common-known church that hath from  
*common-known church.* Christ's days hitherto continued; and  
that it is evident also that by the doctrine 30  
of that church the doctrine of Tyndale concerning the Blessed  
Sacrament is false—forever hath it been by that church of Christ  
taught that the Blessed Sacrament *should* be worshipped, and faith  
to *be* put therein, whereof Tyndale teacheth the contrary—it is inevitably  
concluded, upon Tyndale's own words, that Tyndale is against 35  
Christ's *own blessed Person* a deadly, devilish heretic!

Now, since ye plainly perceive, good Christian readers, that this  
malicious man intendeth to turn poor simple souls out of the  
very faith... and of the seven holy sacraments would take five away...

and the other twain that he would seem to leave, he handleth yet in such wise as men may well see that he leaveth them as fruitless as the others... and finally, in effect, believeth neither nother: there will no good man look that we should now need to prove these holy sacraments to be true which all Christian people have this fifteen hundred years believed... because that now a fond fellow and a foolish heretic denieth them—except that any man were so mad to doubt whether there were any God at all, if he happed to hear any man so mad to say nay. 5

And surely there was never sect of heretics yet that there was so great madness to believe as these. For of other heretics, that have been of old... every sect had some one heresy, or else very few. Now these heretics come in with almost all that ever all they held, and yet more too. All the other heretics had some pretext of holiness in their living; these shameless heretics live in open, shameful, incestuous lechery, and call it matrimony. 10 15

The old heretics did stick upon Scripture when it was yet, in a manner, newly received; and they contended upon the understanding at such time as there had few Christian writers expounded the Scripture before them, so as they might the better say to the Catholic Church, “Why may not we perceive the Scripture as well as you?” But these new heretics be so far from shame... that in the understanding of Scripture, and in the affirming of all their heresies... they would be believed by their only word, against all the old holy doctors that have been since the death of Christ unto this day; and that in those rotten heresies, too, which they find condemned to the devil by the general councils of all Christendom a thousand years before their days; and, most mad of all, in denying the sacraments which they find received and believed, used and honored, so clearly from the beginning... that never was there heretic that durst for very shame so boldly bark against them, till that now, in these latter days, the devil hath broken his chains and of all extreme abomination hath set his poisoned barrel abroad; from the dreggy draught whereof, God keep every good Christian man, and such as hath drunk thereof, give them grace to vomit it out again betimes. 20 25 30 35

This long digression have I made you... to let you plainly see the summary purpose and effect of Tyndale’s doctrine touching the holy sacraments—which known unto good men sufficeth to



make their hearts abhor his devilish doctrine without any further argument. And as for them that at the bare hearing thereof abhor it not—they be surely so sore infected that, except the marvelous mercy of God, never shall there either reason or authority make them savor the truth.

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But now that Tyndale hath commended unto you the high spiritual wisdom of unfaithful heretics... he beginneth on the other side to rebuke and reprove the true faith of all good, faithful people.

Tyndale

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But the world captivateth his wit, and about the law of God maketh him wonderful imaginations... unto which he so fast cleaveth that ten John the Baptists were not able to dispute them out of his head.

More

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Now that Tyndale hath done with his own “spiritual” party, and hath, as ye have heard, holily declared how high spiritual wisdom they use in searching the very bottom of the cause in every commandment that God giveth... and according to the thing which they take for the cause, so order themselves either keep the commandment or break it: now cometh he to the other party, that is, to all that are no heretics, whom he before called “natural” and not “born again” nor “renewed with the Spirit”; all which folk he calleth here “the world,” and saith that “the world captivateth his wit, and about the law of God maketh him wonderful imaginations... unto which he so fast cleaveth that ten John the Baptists were not able to dispute them out of his head.”

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Here he meaneth that himself and his fellow “spiritual,” heavenly men be not captivated unto the law of God, as we poor “worldly” men of middle earth be. For they be no further bound to the law but as the cause of the law, sought out by themselves, leadeth them to and from; and therefore they be in an evangelical and in manner angelical liberty to do what they list... so that they give the law some cause that may serve their lust, as they have given to the law and commandment of vows—from which they have set themselves in such

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a spiritual liberty that monks and friars may lawfully lie with nuns and live in lechery, and call it wedlock.

And indeed they may *call* it wedlock and they will... as Lollards did of late, that put a pig into the water on Good Friday and said, "Go in pig and come out pike," and so when they had changed the name, they took it for fish and ate it. And so may these holy new "spiritual" men, when monks and friars wed nuns, they may call it wedlock and they will. But as the poor ploughman said unto the taverner that gave him water instead of wine, "God thank you, Master Winer, for your good wine, but in good faith, saving for the worshipful name of 'wine,' I had as lief a-drunken water"—surely so may we well say to these new holy, "spiritual" married monks and friars... saving for the worshipful name of  
*And truly spoken!* "wedlock," it were as good they lived in lechery as in such bitched bitchery.

But we seely souls of the world here be captivated and bound, he saith, and not in such a heavenly liberty... but make ourselves "wonderful imaginations" about the law of God; which thing much I marvel of. For the world is not often wont to muse much upon the laws of God, nor greatly to study upon them, but let them go by well and easily and think little on them... nor need not John the Baptist to dispute out of their heads any wonderful imaginations that they have studied about the law of God.

But, marry, on the other side, these new "spiritual" men have with their new liberty made themselves wonderful imaginations to which they cleave so fast that fifteen John the Baptists cannot dispute them out of their heads. For they have to the great wonder of the world made them an imagination that friars may live in lechery with nuns, and never need do penance neither for that nor for any sin else, but repent and do so still and believe that all is well, and do no penance nor take no pain for any sin at all.

Now every man well wotteth that Saint John the Baptist *did* dispute against these imaginations of *theirs*, both with his living and his teaching. For against their lechery his living disputed with chastity; and against their heresy of penance, he disputed with preaching penance. For he bade them, not every boy go forth and take himself for an apostle and go preach, but he

cried upon them to do penance—and not only bade them repent	
<i>Mt 3:2, 7–8</i>	and do penance, but also bade them if
	they would avoid hell and the wrath that
else was to come, they should do “worthy fruits of penance.” And	
because that they should not ween that it was but a word of office,	5
and that it sufficed to believe well in God’s promise, and so go their	
way and think themselves safe: he showed them in himself and his	
own living—for their institution, not for the deserving of his	
own sin—a form and fashion of a repentant sinner, in what	
wise he should do penance. And therefore he lived solitary,	10
<i>The penitent life of</i>	saving that his virtues caused him to be
<i>Saint John the Baptist</i>	visited. He lived in holy, vowed chastity
	and never wedded woman in his days,
nor never would have done though he had lived twice as long as	
Luther. He lived in poor and painful apparel. He lived in watch	15
and prayers, in fasting and forbearing meat. He drank no wine,	
<i>Lk 1:15, 80; Mt 3:4; 11:7–10</i>	but was content with water. This
	manner of penance-doing did Saint
John the Baptist teach and dispute, contrary to the false imaginations	
against penance, and wonderful devices of lewd, lecherous	20
living, that these new “spiritual” men have in their fantasy framed...	
which neither Saint John the Baptist nor such ten Saint John	
the Baptists, nor our Savior Christ himself, can dispute out of their	
heads.	
	Tyndale
	25
He believeth that he loveth God because he is ready to kill a Turk for	
his sake, that believeth better in God than he; whom God also commandeth	
us to love and to leave nothing unsought to win him	
unto the knowledge of the truth, though with the loss of our lives.	
	More
	30
Here Tyndale followeth his master Luther, that would have all	
Christian men suffer the Turks and fight not with them. Howbeit,	
I understand by Tyndale in his book after, that Luther hath eaten up	
his word again afterward for fear, when he saw his country prepare	
themselves against the Turks. But now Tyndale, that is out of	35
such fear, is, as it seemeth, disposed to maintain and set forth his	

master's former error again. For he layeth it to the charge of the Catholic Church, as a chief and principal fault, that we take it as a token of love to God if a man have a mind for God's sake to go fight against the Turks. But as madly as he mocketh it... a good token <i>is</i> it of love to God, for all that. For he that is for God's sake	5
<i>To fight against the Turk</i> content in the defense of other folk, his <i>for God's sake, is godly.</i> innocent Christian brethren, against the infidels, the enemies of God and them, to	
put his own life in pain and peril of death—we may be bold with Tyndale's license, while we have Luther's leave already, to warrant that it <i>is</i> a token of good and ordinate love to God, and for God to his neighbor.	10
For though we should love infidels to make them faithful, and be glad to suffer for them if our sufferance would bring them to the faith, yet are we not bound to love them above the household folk of Christ, and familiars of our own Christian faith—and namely so far that while they come not to learn the Christian faith but to kill the Christian men, a prince that hath the rule of us should suffer them to kill on and stand still by and preach.	15
I doubt not, therefore, but how holily soever it pleaseth Father Tyndale here preach in favor of the Turks... a prince <i>may</i> assemble his host, and of good zeal, with great thank of God, go against them and kill them, as well and better too than Moses killed the Egyptian that fought with the Hebrew.	20
And therefore we shall not, I trust, greatly need to fear the great word that Tyndale in the Turks' favor speaketh against those that will go and fight against them... where he saith that the Turk "believeth better in God" than such a Christian man. Wherein if Tyndale said true (as, God be thanked, he lieth)—how believeth then Tyndale himself in God, which (as his charitable books well declare) would be well content that heretics and infidels should with sedition or open war kill up the clergy of the Catholic Church, and the great part of such good people besides as would be adversaries to their pestiferous heresies?	25 30
Tyndale	35
He supposeth that he loveth his neighbor as much as he is bound, if he be not actually angry with him... whom yet he will not help	

freely with a halfpenny, but for advantage or vainglory or for a worldly purpose. If any man have displeased him, he keepeth his malice in and will not chafe himself about it till he see an occasion to avenge it craftily, and thinketh that well enough. And the rulers of the world he obeyeth, thinketh he, when he flattereth them, and bindeth them with gifts and corrupteth the officers with rewards, and beguileth the law with cautels and subtleties. And because the love of God and his neighbor, which is the spirit and the life of all laws, and wherefore all laws are made, is not written in his heart—therefore in all inferior laws, and in all worldly ordinances, is he beetle-blind.

#### More

All this gear is but a fardelful of lies; and that wotteth Tyndale himself well enough. For albeit that there be more than enough that in the Catholic Church of Christ, that use to commit such sins—yet use they not to think that they do well, and fulfill the law of God in doing... but they both believe and confess the contrary, and to their confessor acknowledge it as it is: for sin.

For though men in the Catholic Church *do* sin... yet to *take* it for *no* sin, but for holiness and virtue—this is neither the doctrine nor manner and guise of the Catholic Church of Christ. But this *is* in very deed the belief, or at the leastwise the guise and custom, of Tyndale's church and Luther's and Friar Huessgen's. For they have the love of God and their neighbor, the "spirit and life of all laws," so well and wisely written in their hearts... that they cannot be but fervently taken in their lewd, lecherous love; nor be not in "inferior laws" and "worldly ordinances" so "beetle-blinded" but that a friar can find the way to a nun's bed and it be at midnight, and after in the open day abide thereby, and avow the breach of their vow boldly for very well done and holily... and when he thus doth, "beguileth" not the laws with "cautels and subtleties," but boldly breaketh them up like a strong man, and beareth it out bigly with shameless devilish heresy.

#### Tyndale

And if he be commanded to abstain from wine, that will he observe unto the death too... as Charterhouse monks had liefer die than

eat flesh. And as for the soberness and chastising of the members,  
will he not look for... but will pour in ale and beer of the strongest,  
without measure, and heat them with spices; and so forth.

More

As for the monks of the Charterhouse, would God we were no  
further from very, virtuous devotion than those good men be from  
unlawful superstition; among whom, God be thanked, we see many  
live to very great age, and never heard I yet that any died for lack  
of eating flesh... and yet heard I never that any of them have eaten  
any, saving some such as have come from their cloisters into  
Luther's church—as Otho did in Almaine, which ran out of the  
Charterhouse and left fish and fell to flesh altogether, and took  
a wife for “soberness and chastising” of his monkly “members,” as  
Tyndale speaketh. 5 10

Tyndale

And the holy day will he keep so strait that if he meet a flea in  
his bed, he dare not kill her; and not once regard wherefore the  
holy day was ordained—to seek for God's word; and so forth, in all  
laws. 15

More

Tyndale, I think, hath not known many keep the holy day so  
strait... that would fear to kill a flea, as it pleaseth him to jest. But  
yet had I liefer that men would keep it so strait as he speaketh... than keep  
it so loosely as they do. But they that keep it so loosely... be neither afeard, I  
warrant you, to kill a flea nor to do worse, neither. And whosoever  
would keep it so strait as to forbear the killing of a flea in his bed—  
would keep it better than do the friars of Luther's church, that let not  
on the holy day to take a nun to bed. For as for hearing of  
God's word, in many places in Almaine among their holy sects,  
where they were in the beginning wonderfully hot upon sermons—  
they be now, blessed be God, waxen cold enough. 20 25 30

First, in many places, they sang the Service in their mother tongue,  
men and women and all; and that was a pretty sport for them for a  
while. But after a little use thereof, the pleasure of the newelty  
passed, and they set somewhat less thereby than by a three men's 35

song. They changed also the Mass; and soon after that, many cast it up clean.

Then was all their lust laid upon preaching, especially because every man might preach that would... saying that they followed the  
*1 Cor 14:27–28* counsel of Saint Paul... while one would 5  
 bid the preacher hold his peace and let  
 him speak another while, affirming that the Spirit had revealed  
 him the right sense, and that the preacher lied. Thus turned they  
 sermons in brawlings, so that sometimes the people parted them from  
 pointing their preachings with fists. But now, as I hear say, that 10  
 manner is well amended; they can suffer one to preach as long as it  
 please him, and no man once interrupt him; for they be there  
 waxen women, and all so cunning that scanty come any to hear  
 him. And thus doth Tyndale's church and Luther's sit at home in  
 their stews in honor of their holy day. 15

#### Tyndale

And in ceremonies and sacraments, there he captivateth his wit and  
 understanding to obey "Holy Church," without asking what they  
 mean, or desiring to know; but only careth for the keeping, and  
 looketh ever with a pair of narrow eyes, and with all his spectacles 20  
 upon them, lest aught be left out.

#### More

The ceremonies and sacraments Tyndale maketh his mockingstock;  
 but let him beware betimes, lest God mock him again.  
*And thus ought Christian* Better is it, good Christian reader, to do 25  
*men to do!* the thing that Tyndale here reproveth—  
 that is to wit, a man to captivate his  
 wit and understanding and obey Holy Church in the ceremonies  
 and sacraments, and keep them well without further search—than  
 to do as Tyndale hath done, that with his curious search hath so 30  
 narrowly so long pried upon them, with beetle brows and his  
 brittle spectacles of pride and malice, that the devil hath stricken  
 him stark blind and set him in a corner with a chain and  
 a clog, and made him his ape to sit there and serve him and to  
 make him sport, with mocking and mowing and potting the 35

sacraments, which yet the devil dreadeth himself and dare not come near them.

Tyndale

For if the priest should say Mass, baptize, or hear confession,  
without a stole about his neck... he would think all were marred,  
and doubt whether he had power to consecrate... and think that the  
virtue of the Mass were lost, and that child not well baptized,  
or not baptized at all... and that his absolution were not worth a mite.

5

More

This is another fardelful of lies; and that he wotteth well enough.  
For if the priest left off his stole... folk would then say he did  
lewdly, as they might well say indeed. But Tyndale knoweth full  
well that folk do not reckon the sacrament hurt thereby. For he  
knoweth well that children be sometimes christened of the midwife's  
hand... and the people knoweth well that she useth no stole. And thus  
everybody well perceiveth how shameless Tyndale is in these lies.

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15

Tyndale

He had liefer that the bishops should wag two fingers over him...  
than that another man should say "God save him"; and so forth.

More

Blessing of bishops Tyndale jesteth upon in more places than one.  
And forasmuch as he knoweth well that all Christian people have and  
ever have had a good, faithful belief in blessing, both where a  
man or woman bless themselves and also whereas any that hath  
authority over them given by God to bless them—which is a kind

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*To bless is a kind of prayer.* of prayer and invocation of God's  
grace upon the party so blessed with  
the Sign of the Cross... as the natural father or the godfather  
blesseth the child, or the curate his parishioner, or the bishop his  
diocesan—such things Tyndale taketh for trifles, and laugheth such  
blessing and crossing to scorn.

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For in his book of *Obedience*, the laying of the bishop's hand  
upon the priest in giving the Sacrament of Holy Orders he resembleth  
to the laying of a man's hand upon a boy's head when he  
calleth him "Good son." And the blessing, as he calleth it here the  
wagging of two fingers... so he calleth it there the wagging of the  
hand in the air.

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Howbeit, we need not much to marvel though Tyndale and Luther and Friar Huessgen and their fellows set little by the Sign of the Cross made by a man's hand in the air... since we see that they set so little by an image of the Crucifix, and also by Christ's Holy Cross itself—whereof Luther writeth that if he had all the pieces, he would cast them all “thereas never sun should shine upon them.”	5
But all Christian men since Christ's death hitherward... hath set much by that kind of blessing in which the Sign of the Cross is made upon a man, either by himself or by another. And not a few stories are there that testify great things done in the virtue of that Sign—not only among good Christian men, but also sometimes among evil men and the very infidels themselves.	10
And though that I intend not to prolong this work with writing of stories—yet cometh there one to my mind so meet for the matter, and written by so great authority, that I cannot let it pass.	15
<i>Saint Gregory Nazianzen</i> Saint Gregory Nazianzen, the great, famous old doctor, writing in his second oration made against the great emperor infidel commonly called Julian the Apostate, writeth	20
<i>A notable story</i> that when that man was fallen from the faith of Christ unto paganism and Gentility... giving himself therewith not only to the persecution of Christian men, but also to the following of every kind of superstitious folly, he took with him on a time certain necromancers and went into a cave to conjure up spirits, to enquire of them certain things whereof he was very curious to know. And when he was in the pit among them with their conjurations, there appeared many terrible sights, so far forth that albeit with the trust of his conjurations he bore it out a while, yet at the last the terror and fear so sore increased that he was fain for the surest refuge to bless himself with the sign of the cross which he so pursued and hated. At which only sign so made with the wagging (as Tyndale calleth it) of his hand in the air, as evil a hand as it was—yet were all the devils so sore afraid, that all their fearful illusions failed and vanished quite away.	25 30 35

Lo what a force and strength hath that fashion of blessing that Tyndale setteth at so light! Wherein many a man daily findeth great profit, in avoiding of temptations of our ghostly enemy the devil, and in many a sudden fear of the fiend.

And I little doubt but as Tyndale followeth Julian the Apostate in falling from the right faith, so would he at a need follow him also in blessing too. For as little as Tyndale setteth by blessing now, yet if he might once meet the devil in the dark, he would, I warrant you, cross and bless apace. And I beseech our Lord to give him grace so to bless himself betimes that he meet not the devil in eternal darkness, where whoso mishap to meet him can have no grace to cross and to bless himself... but shall instead of crossing and blessing, fall all to cursing and desperate sorrow and furious blaspheming without comfort and without end.

Tyndale 15

Wherefore, beloved reader, inasmuch as the Holy Ghost rebuketh the world for lack of judgment; and inasmuch also as their ignorance is without excuse... before whose faces enough is set to judge by, if they would open their eyes to see, and not captivate their understanding to believe lies; and inasmuch as the spiritual judgeth allthing, even the very bottom of God's secrets, that is to say, the causes of the things which God commandeth: how much more ought we to judge our Holy Father's secrets, and not to be as an ox or an ass without understanding!

More 25

*Jn 16:8-13* It appeareth well that the Holy Ghost, according to the words of our Savior at his Last Supper—which words Tyndale would falsely wrest awry—did rebuke the Jews and the Gentiles for lack of judgment, and that he taught the church of Christ the true judgment... by which ever since Christ's days, by the judgment of holy saints and all good Christian people besides, such things as now Luther and Tyndale and Friar Huessgen do teach have been always judged for heresies. And this is open before every man's eyes... except we would willingly captivate our understanding to believe Luther's lies. And therefore those that follow them of their ignorance... have none excuse when

they see against the whole consent of Christendom so many hundred years continued... four or five fond friars run out of religion and living in lechery take upon themselves to preach and say to the people of themselves, “*We be the spirituals*; we search the bottom of God’s secrets, we search the causes of God’s commandment, we understand the Scripture in its right sense; and all that have been called holy doctors and interpreters before our days, were either false or fools, and have either of evil will or of ignorance brought all Christian nations out of the right faith... till now that God hath of his high goodness sent us and our wives to preach ‘faith’ and teach heresy, and show lechery... to turn the world to grace.”

Now, he that would in the declaration and understanding of the Scripture of Christ and his apostles believe such a few fleshly, blind apostates against so many holy, blessed doctors and saints—what excuse could his ignorance have before God? Were not he a very ox and an ass without wit or understanding?

Tyndale

Judge, therefore, Christian reader, whether the pope with his be the church.

More

When Tyndale speaketh of “the pope with his,” here useth he a little sophistry. For he leaveth us in doubt what he meaneth by these words “the pope with his.” If he mean the pope with his cardinals... then speaketh he little to the purpose. For I never called, nor no man else, the pope and the cardinals the whole Catholic Church. But if he mean by “the pope and his” the pope and all the Christian realms and countries that have not by schisms and heresies departed and severed themselves from the corps of Christendom—he that then judgeth “the pope and his” to be the church of Christ judgeth as it is indeed.

Now, if Tyndale bring in question whether the pope be of all those Christian countries the chief spiritual head under God and general vicar of Christ—this question will not help him. For if there either yet be or any time hath been that either the Greeks or any other part of true Christendom did not recognize the pope for

their chief spiritual governor under God—yet always those that were learned or good men among them, and the whole people with them, in the necessary articles were of the same faith, and confirmed themselves to the see of Rome in such things as among them began to be disputable; as well appeareth not only by Saint Chrysostom and other old holy doctors of the Greeks, but also by the general councils in which the Greeks in matters of doubt and question finally confirmed themselves to the Latins and to the See Apostolic. 5

And for conclusion, both the Latin Church and the Greek Church, and Prester John's church, too, and every church that bore the name of any good Christendom—yea, and every church also of any honest heretics, too, and the church of paynims and Turks, too, and the church of Saracens, too (since Tyndale will have them all called churches), and finally, the church of all mankind since the earth was well inhabited, as many as ever have known so much as the name of God—hath ever hitherto damned the church of Luther and Tyndale and Friar Huessgen, that care not to break their promise made to God, and contrary to all honesty make mocks of their vows... 10 15  
and void of shame avow their filthy lechery for honest wedlock and lawful matrimony. 20

#### Tyndale

[Judge] whether their authority be above the Scripture; whether all that they teach without Scripture be equal with the Scripture; whether they *have* erred, and not only whether they can. 25

#### More

Judge here, good reader, whether that Tyndale play the part of an honest man, when the power and authority which the Church ascribeth unto God and his Holy Spirit... Tyndale would make you believe that they do take and ascribe it unto themselves. 30

*The word of God unwritten is* For no man saith that any man is  
*equal with his word written.* above the word of God; but we say  
boldly that his word unwritten is equal  
and as strong as his word written... and that he is as well to be believed  
without writing as with writing... and that himself and  
his Holy Spirit understandeth his own writing better than all 35

the creatures of the whole world. And then we say also that God by  
*Mt 28:20; Jn 14:16–17* the mouth of our Savior hath promised  
*Jn 16:13* that himself with his Holy Spirit shall  
 ever be assistant with his church... and that  
 he shall always instruct his church and lead it into every truth. 5  
 And we say that he keepeth, and ever hath kept, and ever shall keep,  
 that promise. And therefore we say that he teacheth his church all  
*God teacheth his* truth; I mean all truth necessary, as  
*church all truth.* himself meant, for their salvation; that is  
 to wit, all such things as he will upon 10  
 pain of damnation have them bound to believe. I say also that  
 upon this it must needs follow that, albeit our Lord doth suffer his  
*The Church doth not err in* church to err in the knowledge of a fact  
*the knowledge of God's law.* or deed done among men, yet will he  
 never suffer it to err and be deceived in 15  
 the knowledge of his law to which he will have it bound,  
 and in the time in which he will have it bound thereto. And therefore  
 will he never suffer his church to take, repute, and judge a  
 thing for sinful and damnable that is of truth good and pleasing  
 to God. For then should he thereby cause his church to leave good, 20  
 virtuous things undone themselves, and also to forbid it other  
 folk as things vicious and displeasing to God; and then were  
 his promise broken, since that the Holy Ghost had not then taught  
 them the truth necessary, but had suffered them to be led into  
 damnable untruth. 25  
 Then say I, further, that it consequently followeth also that God  
 shall much *less* suffer his church to take for good and pleasing to  
 God the thing that is very naught and odious unto God and damnable  
 to itself. For then should his church by such error not only  
 leave the good undone, but also do the evil, and not know which way 30  
 to amend it. And of these things I say that it followeth necessarily  
 that though the Church be not *above* the Scripture and Holy Writ, yet  
 it *is* so taught by the Spirit of God, and his holy, secret, inward  
 word unwritten, that it cannot be damnably deceived in the  
 understanding of his holy scripture written. And thereupon yet 35  
 farther followeth that all such as so construe the Scripture that they  
 would make the Scripture seem to be contrary to the faith of Christ's

church—do damnably construe it contrary to the teaching of God and his Holy Spirit. Which by his own promise doth always teach his church, and always leadeth it, and always shall lead it, into every necessary truth; and that unto the end of the world, according to the words of our Savior Christ himself.

5

*Note these three points.*

Of these points Tyndale denieth us three. One is that anything is certainly to be believed, except only the Scripture, and yet that must be, as Luther saith, evident, open, and plain; of which the contrary hath been so often proved unto him, so evidently, openly, and plainly, that if Tyndale were not evidently, openly, and plainly shameless, his heart would never serve him for very shame to speak anymore of that point. The other point is that he denieth the Catholic, known church to be the church of Christ, and putteth it in question which is *the* church, and finally putteth for the church of Christ here militant in earth the only secret, unknown folk that are predestinate. The third is that he putteth also in question whether *the* church may fall into damnable error. And thereto he saith that the church of elects doth err but yet it doth not err. And forasmuch as these things be the chief things whereof his book treateth: likewise as they that have wit and learning do already find his handling of these matters full of malice and very void of truth—so I trust, when we come hereafter to the places, to make right mean-learned folk, and mean-witted, too, perceive that all his high invention that he would have seem so sooth is in very deed a very mad man's dream.

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#### Tyndale

And against the mist of their sophistry take the examples that are past, in the Old Testament and authentic stories, and the present practice which thou seest before thine eyes.

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#### More

We be well content that these things try the mist of both parties... so that Tyndale take with him one thing or twain more, which I marvel wherefore he now leaveth out, saving that he seeth well that they will clearly dissipate and discuss the mist that he

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fain would walk in. For else why leaveth he clean out the New Testament now? We must pray him that we may take in that too.

And forasmuch as we do on both the sides agree upon the text of Scripture, and that the question much lieth whether Tyndale and his fellows understand it right, or else the whole church of all Christian nations: we shall pray him to be content that we may lay forth in that behalf the mind of the old holy doctors and saints which wrote of these matters so many hundred years ere ever this business began, and wrote not for the pleasure of either party. And them will we the rather allege because Tyndale, as well in his book of *Obedience* as in divers places of this book, is not ashamed to say that *we* will not believe the old holy doctors, but that *they* do, and be of the belief that those holy fathers were; and as I say, he is not ashamed to write this—yea, and that very often—when he wotteth well that among them all he cannot find one that ever believed other but that it was a shameful, abominable sin, a monk to marry a nun; which thing, hereafter in this book, Tyndale so foolishly defendeth that, saving for pity to see any man so mad, one that lay sore sick could not forbear to laugh at it.

#### Tyndale

Judge whether it be possible that any good should come out of their dumb ceremonies and sacraments into thy soul. Judge their penance, pilgrimages, pardons, purgatory, praying to posts, dumb blessings, dumb absolutions; their dumb pattering and hallooing; their dumb strange holy gestures, with all their dumb disguisings; their satisfactions and justifying. And because thou findest them false in so many things... trust them in nothing, but judge them in all things.

#### More

Judge, good Christian reader, whether it be possible that he be any better than a beast... out of whose brutish, beastly mouth cometh such a filthy foam of blasphemies against Christ's holy ceremonies and blessed sacraments sent into his church out of his own blessed, bloody side. And for because we find this fellow so frantic and so false in the railing and jesting against the sacraments of Christ—ye may well judge that whoso can delight or be content with

his blasphemous ribaldry hath great cause in himself to fear that his Christian faith beginneth to fail and faint.

#### Tyndale

Mark at the last the practice of our fleshly spirituality, and their ways by which they have walked above eight hundred years; how they establish their lies, first with falsifying the Scripture, then through corrupting with their riches (whereof they have infinite treasure in store), and last of all, with the sword. 5

#### More

Yea marry—*mark*, I pray you. For this is much to be marked, lo—that Tyndale cannot bear the fleshliness of *our* spirituality because the fleshliness of *their* church is spiritual! For the fleshly wedded harlots of their church be their chief holy, spiritual fathers and holy, spiritual mothers—monks, friars, and nuns. And because their holy church is but newly begun... Tyndale would we should ween that this eight hundred years and more, Christ hath had no church in the world at all. For so long, saith Tyndale, all hath been naught... by the reason that all this while the clergy hath falsified the Scripture, and hired men with gifts, and compelled them with the sword to believe them; and so all this eight hundred years, saith Tyndale, by these means all the Christian nations have instead of true faith believed false lies, and so have been out of the faith and all naught. 10 15 20

If Tyndale did not lie now (as, blessed be God, he doth), here had been a great gap in Christendom this fifteen hundred years. And where had Christ's promise been, then, all this while? With his elects? Nay; if this church have had all this while false sacraments... Christ hath had none elects all this while. For they have used, whatsoever Tyndale say, the same sacraments that their neighbors did. 25

I would also that he had told us how *much* more than eight hundred years the Church hath had false sacraments... lest that that he calleth now "more," he shall hereafter call it "much more." For thereto shall he be fain to fall, or else to call these eight hundred back again and confess the sacraments true... or finally (which he is most likely to do), babble on still, against all reason, against all good men, and against all 30 35



Scripture... and so that he be talking, never care what, whereof, nor how. For I am sure that in the sacraments and in the knowledge of *the* church, his malicious folly is reprov'd by the old holy doctors above his eight hundred years almost as many more, and over that, by plain Scripture, too.

5

Tyndale

Have they not compelled the emperors of the earth, and the great lords and high officers, to be obedient unto them, to dispute for them... and to be their tormentors... and the Zamzummim themselves do but imagine mischief and inspire them?

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More

Here is all the great anger that grieveth this good man: that either lord, king, or emperor meddleth anything for the maintenance of the faith, or set to their hands to the repressing of heresies.

But if Tyndale find this for a fault... he must go far above his eight hundred years. For it is far above a thousand since that, as evil lords, princes, and emperors have helped and maintained heretics... so, likewise, good lords, princes, and emperors have set to their hands to subdue them. And their maintainers have vanished away with them, and their amenders and punishers God hath maintained and favored; and good, godly men have called upon princes for their aid and assistance in such case, and at their instance and pursuit have princes and emperors both punished them and made many good laws against them.

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Tyndale

Mark whether it were ever truer than now. The scribes, Pharisees, Pilate, Herod, Caiaphas, and Annas... are gathered together against God and Christ; but yet, I trust, in vain... and that he that broke the counsel of Ahithophel shall scatter theirs.

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More

Mark now, good Christian reader, when Tyndale hath told us that the right faith is heresy and heresy right faith... and when he weeneth that he hath made men so wise, and we would at his word take white for black and black for white, and God for the devil and the devil for God: then, when he weeneth that he hath made men

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so blind, he biddeth look and “mark” that all emperors, kings, princes, lords, and prelates, and every kind of Christian people, that anything do or say against heretics—all they be Pilates, Herods, Caiaphases, and Annases, and are gathered “against Christ,” saith Tyndale; that is to wit, indeed against heretics that labor both with false heresies to destroy the true faith of Christ and also with their traitorous setting forth of seditions to raise rebellions, as they did in Almaine, and thereby destroy Christ’s good Christian people. 5

*1 Cor 13:2* For surely, good reader, though men may 10  
*Jas 1:26–27; 2:14–17, 25–26* have faith and yet lack charity (as Saint Paul saith, and Saint James too, every one of which two is worthy more faith and credence than fifteen hundred thousand Tyndales that telleth us the contrary)—but though a man *Faith may lack charity.* may, as I say, have faith and lack 15  
charity—yet if he lack faith, he may well have love, but he cannot have no charity.

And therefore, since Tyndale is thus run out of the right faith... never trust his false love lacking charity. For surely to win his conclusion, and bring in his heresies, and to get thereof the vainglory to be taken for an apostle—he would see seven cities burn and warm himself by the fire. 20

And even in this place he maketh a manner of motion thereof, showing himself to have some trust to work wonders at length. For he maketh as though the princes that would repress heresies were as *2 Sm 15:1–12, 30–37* Absalom with his army, and Ahithophel therein, that persecuted King David; as 25  
though Friar Luther and his wife, with his fond fellows and their lemans, were like to King David and his host. And then hath Tyndale a trust that some Hushai that is some chieftain of Luther’s counsel, which he meaneth, as it seemeth, shall be himself... shall by 30  
his high wisdom make as though he were a faithful friend and beguile all the company, and so scatter them and make them to be taken and slain, as Absalom was and his folk. But likewise as Tyndale’s whole story serveth here all against his purpose, because 35  
that here the truth doth of good mind labor to put *down* falsehood...

and Tyndale with his master and his fond fellowship, with their feigned, fair, holy speech, like Absalom with his fair hair, enforce themselves to bring *in* false heresies and destroy the true faith—why Tyndale should be like to Hushai, that can I nothing see, saving only for one thing: that for policy Hushai made a lie; and therein  
*2 Sm 15:34–36; 16:15–19* Tyndale overmatcheth him far, for he saith never true. 5

#### Tyndale

Mark whether it be not true in the highest degree, that for the sin of the people hypocrites shall reign over them. What shows, what faces and contrary pretenses are made—and all to establish them in their theft, falsehood, and damnable lies; and to gather them together for to contrive subtlety, to oppress the truth, and to stop the light, and to keep all still in darkness. 10

#### More

Tyndale is a great marker; there is nothing with him now but mark, mark, mark. It is pity that the man were not made a marker of chases in some tennis play. For in good faith, he should be therein much better occupied than he is in this... when he sitteth and marketh all other men's faults and leaveth his own unmarked... which every other man marketh well enough. 15 20

He biddeth the people mark that their princes are hypocrites in the highest degree... and so he teacheth their subjects to have them in good opinion and reverence. But I am glad, as help me God, on the other side, that the holy “spiritual” heads of Tyndale's heresies, as Friar Luther and Friar Huessgen, and all the whole pack of the principal fathers of all their frantic sects, have left off a piece of their hypocrisy and by their filthy “wedding” showed themselves plain, open ribalds. 25

#### Tyndale

Wherefore it is time to awake and see, every man with his own eyes, and to judge, if we will not be judged of Christ when he cometh to judge. And remember that he which is warned hath none excuse if he take no heed. Herewith, farewell in the Lord Jesus Christ, whose Spirit be thy guide, and doctrine thy light, to judge with. 30 35  
 Amen.

## More

Tyndale never spoke better than he doth even here. For of truth,  
 good Christian reader, it *is* high time to awake and look, every man  
 with his own eyes... and that time was never so convenient as now.  
 For in all other heretics before this time... every man was not able  
 to perceive them with his own eyes. Heresies were commonly somewhat  
 subtle, and had apparent texts in Scripture that, falsely  
 taken, seemed to make for them. And then had their living such a  
 pretense of honesty and cleanness... that these things so bleared the  
 unlearned people's eyes that they were not able to judge these men and  
 their matters every man himself with his own eyes; but they  
 followed the judgment of wiser and better and better-learned... and  
 by their teaching and good, holy doctrine, they saw and perceived  
 the other feigned and false. 5

But marry, now God hath (laud and thank be to him!) brought  
*these* fellows and *their* heresies in another case. For he hath suffered  
 them, of his high goodness, to show themselves at last, and to fall into  
 such open, beastly faults, friars and nuns creeping to bed together,  
 and then to preach and teach their shameless lechery boldly  
 about for good and lawful matrimony, that they have thereby now set  
 out their gear so sightly that every man may well and plainly see  
 such open ribaldry with his own eyes, and well and easily judge  
 the thing for sin and beastly bitchery, and the defense thereof for  
 a shameful shameless heresy, and the preachers thereof for more than  
 monstrous heretics. And therefore of this be Tyndale's words well  
 verified... that every man may and must awake and see with his  
 own eyes this abominable bitchery of these bold beastly preachers  
 that lay friars and nuns abed together and call them man and  
 wife. This must every man judge for abominable heresy... if we  
 will not be judged of Christ when he cometh to judge. 10 15 20 25 30

And therefore when Tyndale closeth up his preface with a solemn  
 threat... bidding men to remember now that "he which is warned  
 hath none excuse if he take none heed"—he saith as true as the  
 Gospel, but all against himself. For this open heresy of friars'  
 filthy "matrimony" giveth us so plain and open warning of their  
 worldly, fleshly, devilish spirit—so plain against all Holy  
 Scripture and all good, honest men—that we never could have excuse 35

before God if we would give such preachers, so bold in such ribaldry, either faith or credence or favorable hearing; namely since there was never in all Christendom since the faith first began any holy doctor, nor doctor good or bad before Luther's days, that anything hath written... but he hath abhorred and detested it to the devil of hell that ever any person, either man or woman, that hath vowed themselves monk, friar, or nun... should afterward run out of their religion, cast their vow at their back, and fall to flesh and "wed."

And therefore, good Christian readers, since Holy Scripture hath warned you of such teachers as Tyndale is, that teacheth such beastly "wedding" with contempt of their holy vows made before to God; and since that all holy men that have written upon Scripture have given us warning that it is plainly prohibited, as well by the true sense of Scripture as by the plain, open words; and all good, honest people of Christendom this fifteen hundred years have had such beastly "wedding" in great abomination; and now ye see that all the captains of these pestilent heresies which Tyndale now teacheth you have given you warning themselves—by their own deeds in their named wedlock, their very sinful lechery—that they themselves be such as, all this fifteen hundred years before, the Scripture hath reprov'd and all the world hath wonder'd on; and since ye see Tyndale now teach and allow their lechery and avow it solemnly for good and lawful matrimony: I nothing fear your judgment in this matter. For I make me bold in our Lord that ye be so wise in the wisdom of God, and so fastened in his faith, that when ye hear a high, holy word come out of such a mouth as praiseth monks' "marriages" and mocketh Christ's sacraments, and then preacheth like a player in a fond interlude—and playeth sometimes the friar, sometimes the fox, sometimes the fool, and sometimes the outright ribald—ye will not be so unwise to ween that he were a holy man and therefore hearken to him... but take him such as ye see he is, and let the devil's disour go. Delight not in his devilish doctrine, that ye see yourselves is naught, whatsoever he set therewith to make it seem solemn; but cleave ye fast to the faith of Christ which Tyndale goeth about to destroy... and believe the old fathers that ye see be saints in heaven. For as Tyndale's interpretation of Scripture, and the vices built thereupon, is

the very broad way to lead men to hell: so is those holy  
saints' expositions, with the virtues that they taught and showed,  
the very strait path that leadeth folk to heaven. In which our Lord,  
for his painful Passion, give us all grace so to walk... that we come together  
to that place where we may find our charity not changed but 5  
increased and perfected, our hope turned into having and possession  
of bliss, and our faith converted and changed into clear and lightsome  
knowledge; of which faith Tyndale so preacheth us the name that  
whoso believe him well is likely to lose all the fruit.

Thus endeth the First Book.

## The Second Book

Which confuteth the defense of Tyndale  
for his translation of  
the New Testament

*An Answer unto the First Chapter of Tyndale's  
Book: Why He Translateth This Word "Church"  
into This Word "Congregation"* 5

*Tyndale's translation of the*      In the beginning of my *Dialogue* I  
*New Testament*      showed that Tyndale's translation of the  
New Testament was well worthy to be 10

burned... because it well showed in itself that he had of an evil  
mind translated it in such manner of wise as it might serve him  
for a principal instrument toward the setting forth of all such  
heresies as he had learned of Luther and intended to send over  
hither and spread abroad within this realm; the truth of which 15  
my saying, Tyndale and his fellows have in such open fashion  
testified and declared themselves that I need for myself in that  
point to use no farther defense.

For every man well seeth that there was never English book of  
heresy sent hither since (as there hath been many, some particularly 20  
against the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, as was the  
devilish *Dialogue of the Father and the Son*, and the blasphemous  
book of the *Burying of the Mass*, whereof, our Lord be thanked, the  
maker is graciously turned again to God; and some were against  
purgatory, and some against almost altogether that good is in Christ's 25  
church... as are the books of Tyndale himself: his *Wicked Mammon*,  
his *Obedience*, and divers others)—in all these, evermore one  
piece of their complaint hath been the burning of Tyndale's  
Testament. For surely first his false translation, with their farther

false construction... they thought should be the bass and the tenor whereupon they would sing the treble with much false descant. And therefore very hot they take it that the goodness of the King's Grace, with the lords of his honorable Council and the clergy of the realm, have burned up their false-pricked books. 5

So was it, now, that among other tokens of Tyndale's evil intent in  
*The untrue alteration* his translation... I showed as for example  
*of certain words* that he changed commonly this word  
 "church" into this word "congregation,"  
 and this word "priest" into this word "senior," and "charity" into 10  
 "love," and "grace" into "favor," "confession" into "knowledge," and "penance"  
 into "repentance"... with many words more which he changeth  
 and useth daily, as in turning "idols" into "images," and "anointing"  
 into "smearing," "consecrating" into "charming," "sacraments" into  
 "ceremonies," and the ceremonies into "witchcraft," and yet many 15  
 more.

Now showed I there the causes why Tyndale did evil in translating the Scripture into our tongue with such manner changes... and showed also the things that might well make every man perceive that he meant therein the setting forth of some heresies, as 20  
 appeareth in my said *Dialogue*. Which things if I should here again rehearse and repeat, and in like wise all other things against which Tyndale doth object—it were too long a work, and as much as to plant and set into this book mine whole *Dialogue* again. Wherefore in all such things I must needs remit the reader unto the 25  
*Dialogue* itself.

Now cometh Tyndale, and for answer thereof, and to disprove all that I lay against him in the translating of divers of these words, sheweth that the Latin text and the Greek may be his excuse and defense... forasmuch as the words in the Latin text and the Greek do, as 30  
 he saith, signify such things as he hath expressed in his English translation by those English words that I find the fault in. But first, to what purpose serveth all his defense, when he hath since himself proved, by his own other books, that he is a *heretic*,  
 and that his heresies be such as it must needs make it clear that 35  
 though *another* man translating the Testament, and being good and faithful, might have used haply those changes among without evil meaning or any suspicion thereof—yet *he*, since those changes so served for his heresies, must needs be, not suspected, but manifestly



*detected* and *perceived* to have used them, being such so many and so often, not of any chance or good intent, but of very plain purpose to give his heresies in the ears of unlearned men some color of proof in the text of the New Testament! And so might I now pass over six or seven of the first chapters of his book, as things that serve him of right naught. 5

But yet, to the intent ye may the better perceive how wisely the man defendeth the matter—in such wise as he showeth both lack of learning and more lack of wit, and most lack of grace—he doth at the last confess himself that he made the changes for the setting forth of his heresies; which was the point that I laid to his charge as the very thing for which his translation was very well worthy to be burned. 10

Now let us first consider how he defendeth his change of this word “church” into this word “congregation.” 15

First, to induce the matter as though he went about to make everything very open and plain, he telleth us a long tale of little weight: that this word “church” hath divers significations. And then he maketh as though he would tell how many; wherein when he hath all done, he leaveth out one of the very chief. For he telleth us that a “church” signifieth a “place” or a “house” where Christian men “were wont” to resort in “old time” to “hear the word” of God—and, he saith... 20  
not to pray, but to learn “how and what to pray.”

Then, he saith, it hath a second signification—but that is, he saith, but “mistaken” and “abused”—by which it signifieth the clergy; 25  
whom it pleaseth to him in his railing manner to call a “multitude of shaven, shorn, and oiled,” in mockage and reproof not so much of the priests as of the holy order of priesthood.

A third signification, he saith, it hath... by which it betokeneth “a congregation, a multitude, or a company gathered together in one, . . . as a man [may call] ‘the church of London,’ meaning not the spirituality only . . . but the whole body of the city, of all kinds, conditions, and degrees.” And “in this third signification” he saith 30  
that, though it be “little known among the common people nowadays,” yet in this signification is, he saith, “the church of God or 35  
Christ taken in the Scripture”—for “the whole multitude . . . that receive the name of Christ to believe in him.” And for the proof of this he layeth

many places of Saint Paul. Finally, yet, he remembereth himself at last and addeth unto this, as it were, a note, and saith...

### Tyndale

Notwithstanding, yet it is sometimes taken generally for all that embrace the name of Christ, though their faiths be naught, or though they have no faith at all. And sometimes it is taken specially for the elect only... in whose hearts God hath written his law with his Holy Spirit, and given them a feeling faith of the mercy that is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

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### More

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Lo, now ye have heard how many manner of wise Tyndale teacheth us that this word “church” is taken. In which yet he hath left out one signification or twain that this word plainly signifieth. One is that this word “church,” besides all the significations that Tyndale hath here showed us, doth signify that part of the Church that in synods and councils do represent the whole Church. As when we say that there is a law made by “the Church” that heretics shall not be suffered to preach; likewise as a parliament representeth the whole realm, and is by the common speech so called, too... as when we say that “the Realm” hath made a law that heretics shall be burned.

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“The Church” also signifieth sometimes a much less number: that is to wit, the only rulers or heads of the Church; as where we be

*Mt 18:17*

commanded to complain to “the church”...

it is not meant to all the whole town nor to

all the clergy thereof, but to rulers and governors. Since Tyndale hath taken upon him to show us here his high doctrine—how many manner of wise this word “church” is taken—it belonged rather unto him to have taken in these significations than some of them that he hath taken, as ye shall see anon.

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But first, I marvel me much that Tyndale hath either clean left out, or else put in so darkly that he would not have it perceived, that signification of this word “church” that is one of the principal significations thereof, and whereupon the greatest weight of all our matter dependeth. And that is that signification by which “the

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church” signifieth not, as Tyndale taketh it in his third signification for, *all* a multitude, gathered together in one, of *all* kinds, conditions, and degrees of people... but of such only people as be *Christian* people—and them not in one city only, but that whole number of every city, town, and village throughout all the whole world. This signification Tyndale leaveth out clean, because it toucheth most the matter. 5

For as for that he saith in his foreremembered note—he seemeth but to set a specification of his third signification, as though he would mean it for the whole number of citizens, or else for the only number of the elects, within some one city, as he there putteth London for his example. And if he would there name in his note the whole Catholic Church, I marvel why he saith that it is called so “sometimes”—as though that signification were very rare and seldom, whereas of truth there is of “the church” no signification neither more great nor more common than that by which it is meant and taken for the Catholic church and universal. 10 15

Howbeit, of truth Tyndale handleth his third signification very secondly, and fareth as one that would fain walk in the dark. For the places of Scripture seem to speak of only *Christian* people in this place and that. But his description of “the church” in that signification goeth far otherwise. For when he saith that it signifieth not only the clergy but the whole “congregation, multitude, or company gathered into one . . . as a man would say ‘the church of London,’ meaning not the spirituality only . . . but the whole body of the city,” and “all that pertain unto the town generally,” “of all kinds, conditions, and degrees”: of this signification surely few folk have heard. For though he name a Christian city for an example—yet may there be some cities, and have been, and yet be some such in some other places, that of the citizens and of the whole body of the city, and of such as pertain unto the town generally... not only be there Christian priests and Christian laypeople... but open, cast-out heretics also; yea, and peradventure Jews, Turks, and Saracens too, that be not christened at all. And in some cities, few Christian people and the remnant infidels; and such were the cities to whom the Apostle wrote. And then I am sure when Saint Paul spoke of “the church” of the Corinthians or of the Ephesians, he meant 20 25 30 35

not in this Tyndale's third signification after his description—all the whole body of the city, and all such as pertained thereto generally—but the Christian people only.

Nor now also, if Tyndale would speak of "the church of London," where all the whole town is Christian people—there would no man understand thereby the whole body of the city, but the clergy only; nor no man, Tyndale except, in speaking would so mean. But this darkness useth Tyndale... because he would have it seem that this word "church"—which in the English tongue hath ever had a good signification and a holy in men's hearts—should seem to have sometimes the contrary. Out of which darkness I shall draw Tyndale anon, I trust, and... according to my "poetry" wherein he mocketh me... pull up Cerberus into the light. 5 10

But now let us first consider a little his first signification, where he saith it signifieth a place whereunto "Christian people were wont in the old time to resort at times convenient, for to hear the word of doctrine, the law of God, and the faith of our Savior Christ, and how and what to pray, and whence to ask power and strength to live godly." 15

Why saith Tyndale here "in the old time"? For all this we do in the new time too, howsoever Tyndale list to lie. 20

Then goeth he further and lieth on lustily, saying that of Christ's promises nor of his mercy "we" know "nothing at all"; as though no man had here heard ever anything spoken that mankind is redeemed by Christ's Passion, and that he hath ordained his holy sacraments, and promised men grace that with faith and devotion receive them. Is not this man shameless so boldly to bear us all in hand that we never hear word of such things as every boy better believeth than he? 25

For every child that is of competent age... hath heard that God giveth by his holy ordinance (which ever includeth his promise!) grace with all his seven sacraments... whereas Tyndale of seven taketh it away from five, and from almost one and a half of the other twain too. 30

Every boy believeth, and believeth true... that God hath promised reward to good works. And Tyndale will not believe *that* promise at 35

all... but denieth it plainly, as plainly as God saith it himself in many places of the very Gospel.

But then on the other side, Tyndale telleth us that God hath promised always to every man the bliss of heaven for only faith alone. And here every boy believeth and wotteth well he lieth. 5

Now, touching the mercy of our Lord—who can speak of Christ’s Passion and speak nothing of his mercy? This man is too mad to talk with! God’s mercy is so great that no man can speak enough thereof. But the world waxeth such nowadays... that as it is need to pray for mercy, so were it need to preach of God’s justice, and put the people in mind of his wrath and indignation likely to fall upon us if we give ear to such deadly doctrine as Tyndale teacheth; and I pray God of his great mercy to give that man a better mind. 10

Yet goeth he further and saith that “of the law of God we think as did the Turks and the old heathen people—that it is a thing which every man may do of our own power.” 15

What careth Tyndale what he say... that careth not to write *this*, wherein every man’s ears that would him well, glow for very shame that hear him! Where heard he ever any man say that any man may fulfill the law of God of his own power? Marry, this we say, and say truth: that man hath such power *given of God* that he *Man worketh with God’s grace.* may work *with God’s grace* in the keeping of the law. But this cannot Tyndale bear; for their heresy is that man toward the keeping of God’s precept hath no free will at all; and now, dissembling his own heresy, he deadly belieth us. 20 25

Now of prayer, he saith we “think that no man may pray but at church... and that it is nothing else but to say a Pater Noster to a post”; and that the observances and ceremonies of the Church are “vain” things of our own imagination, “neither needful to the taming of the flesh nor profitable to our neighbor, neither honor to God.” 30

Those lies come in by lumps, lo! I dare say he never heard in his life man nor woman say that no man may pray but at church.

As true is it also that men say their Pater Noster to the “post”—by which name it pleaseth him, of his reverent Christian mind, to call 35

the images of holy saints and our Blessed Lady, and the figure of  
*Christ's cross* Christ's cross, the book of his bitter  
 Passion.

Though we *reverence* these in honor of the things which they  
 represent... and in the remembrance of Christ do creep to the cross  
 and kiss it and say a Pater Noster at it—yet say we not the Pater  
 Noster *to* it, but to *God*; and that wotteth Tyndale full well, but that he  
 listeth to rail.

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As for that he saith of the Service, ceremonies, and observances  
 of the Church, which he calleth here “vain imaginations,” “howling,”  
 “buzzing,” and “crying out like hallooing of the foxes or  
 baiting of bears”—and thus he saith it is now; but of “old” time he  
 saith that “the officers appointed thereunto preached the pure word of  
 God only, and prayed in a tongue that every man understood.”

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As for preaching of the pure word of God—I must wit of Tyndale  
 whether he mean the word written or unwritten, or both. If he say  
 they preached the word of God both written and unwritten, and only  
 that: then I say so do we now too. Peradventure he will say that the  
 preachers now lay thereto the old holy doctors: I say that therein  
 they lay but God's word; for they lay them for the better  
 understanding of God's word written, and for the better knowledge  
 of God's word unwritten. For we be very sure that it *is* his  
 word when we see that all the holy doctors that spent their life in  
 the study of his word—and in the keeping of his word, and the  
 preaching of his word—do testify from age to age, by their holy  
 writing, that those words unwritten which the Church believeth,

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*The Church believeth God's* were and be his words as well and as  
*words written and unwritten.* verily as those that be written in any part  
 of Scripture.

Then if Tyndale will say that our preachers preach Aristotle,  
 philosophers, and poets: thereto I say that they sometimes speak of  
 philosophers in things of nature or of moral virtues. And if this  
 new apostle now, Saint Tyndale, take this thing for so great a  
 heinous crime—then is he surely much more apostolical than  
 was Christ's old apostle Paul. For he letted not in his epistle to the  
 Romans to allege and allow the philosophers' cunning, though he  
 disproved and dispraised the folly of their fall and wretchedness of their

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*Rom 1:18–32; 2:14–16;* living. And in his epistle to Titus he took  
*Ti 1:10–16* it for no sin to allege the poets’  
 verses... but in the dispraise of them of Crete for using of Tyndale’s  
 fashion in lying, and also in giving the world warning to beware  
*1 Cor 15:33* of such as Tyndale is... whose evil 5  
 words and sermons do corrupt and  
 mar men’s good manners, as his doth where he would make men  
 ween that good manners were nothing worth. And thus if Tyndale  
 grant the one part—that is to say, that of old time they preached  
 both the word of God written and unwritten—then he winneth 10  
 nothing; for even so do they in the new time too.  
 Now, if he will not say they preached both of old time... but that  
 of old time they preached only the one, that is to wit, the word of  
 God written: then must we wit of Tyndale which he calleth the  
 old time. For this I wot well, and so doth Tyndale too: that, first of 15  
 all, Christ our Savior himself preached more than his word  
 written, and promised also without writing—and was believed  
 then without writing—that he would send the Holy Ghost, that  
*Jn 16:13* should teach his church all truth without  
 writing; and Christ full truly fulfilled 20  
 his promise without writing (and yet will not Tyndale now believe  
 him without writing); and after Christ’s death did his apostles  
 preach much more of God’s word than was written. And therefore,  
 if Tyndale ground his argument upon the “old” time and say  
 that they preached only God’s word written—I have driven him 25  
 onward one step down; for I have showed him here the *oldest*  
 time, and the best time, of Christendom, in which he can never  
 wrest out but that he shall confess that all the Christian preachers,  
 that is to wit, all the evangelists and all the apostles of Christ, and  
 Christ himself also... besides the Scripture preached God’s word 30  
 unwritten as long as ever they lived. For I trust that Tyndale, as  
 mad as he is, is not yet so mad... as to think that after that some  
 of the apostles had written either gospels or epistles, that then they  
 alleged their own writings for their authority, or their own  
 fellows’ either... as though their own words and their own writing 35  
 were not all of one credence.

But, now, if Tyndale be not content to stand to *that* old time... and will say that he spoke of old time but not of *so* old: then, since he compareth the “old” time with this time that is now, we must ask him which time is that which he taketh for the old time in respect of this new time now. We call an “old” man, ye wot well, at fourscore years, and at a hundred years “very old.” Will Tyndale stand to that time? Will he stand at two hundred? Three hundred? Four, five, six, seven, eight? Nay, surely he will none of all those hundreds. For he saith in his preface that all this eight hundred years and *above*, the preachers have been false and have falsified the Scripture. Now seemeth me that eight hundred years is, in respect of now, a meetly old time. And since he saith that by all *this* old time they have *not* preached God’s word well—I would know which is that old time in which they preached God’s word well, and the word only written, without any preaching of any word of God unwritten, and took for vain and false all that ever were called “God’s word” but if they found it written. Let Tyndale now tell us *that* old time. For this must he tell us, or else he taketh a foul fall.

Now will he make many shifts... and at the last he shall be fain to fall both into his own poetry and also into his grammar again... and come forth with his three degrees of comparison: old, elder, and eldest. And since neither the eldest time, of Christ and his apostles, may serve him (because they preach besides Scripture the word of God unwritten), nor the old time of eight hundred years now last past (because they preached, as Tyndale saith, divers sacraments, ceremonies, and promises as the words of God unwritten, in which he saith they preached false); but he will take an elder time than this and not so old as that—that is to wit, the time next after the apostles’ days—and he will say that all the words of God were then already written by the evangelists and the apostles... so that there was none of God’s words left unwritten... and therefore after their days by a certain time, the true preachers preached purely the bare word of God written in Holy Scripture: well, now be Tyndale and I come at last to some point. For he saith a thing here with which he answereth me well, and with good grammar, saving for his poetry, for that marreth all his matter. For I say surely that he saith not truth; but that of God’s words they wrote not all... but divers things were by God to them and by them to



others taught by mouth, and by Tradition from hand to hand  
 delivered, and from age to age hitherto continued in Christ's  
 church. And that I say truth in this point... I have divers good  
 and honest witnesses to bring forth when time requireth: Saint  
 Augustine, Saint Jerome, Saint Cyprian, Saint Chrysostom, and a 5  
 great many more... which have also testified for my part in this  
 matter more than a thousand years ago. Yet have I another ancient,  
 sad father also: one that they call Origen. And when I desired  
 him to take the pain to come and bear witness with me in this  
 matter, he seemed at the first very well content. But when I told him 10  
 that he should meet with Tyndale—he blessed himself and shrank  
 back, and said he had liefer go some other way many a mile than  
 once meddle with him. "For I shall tell you, sir," quoth he, "before this  
 time a right honorable man, very cunning and yet more virtuous,  
*Doctor Fisher* the good Bishop of Rochester, in a 15  
 great audience brought me in for a  
 witness against Luther and Tyndale even in this same matter, about  
 the time of the burning of Tyndale's evil-translated Testament.  
 But Tyndale as soon as he heard of my name... without any respect  
 of honesty fell in a rage with me and allto berated me, and called me 20  
 stark heretic, and that the starkest that ever was." This tale  
 Origen told me, and swore by Saint Simkin that he was never so  
 said unto of such a lewd fellow since he was first born of his  
 mother—and therefore he would never meddle with Tyndale more.  
 Now indeed, to say the truth, it was not well done of Tyndale to 25  
 leave reasoning and fall a-scolding, chiding, and brawling, as it  
 were, a bawdy beggar of Billiter Lane. Fie, for shame! He should have  
 favored and forborne him somewhat, and it had been but for his age.  
 For Origen is now thirteen hundred years old, or thereabout... and  
 this was not much above seven years since. 30  
 Now, if this made Tyndale bold to set Origen as short as his old  
 shoes—because Saint Jerome found some faults in his works—he  
 must remember again that many a good man (and among those,  
 Saint Pamphilus, the blessed martyr) found in Origen's doctrine  
 so much erudition, devotion, and virtue, besides that they verily 35  
 thought those errors none of his... nor never were there any such

faults found in his writing while himself lived, nor no man  
 offended with him, and many places in his books plain that seem to  
 say the contrary. And therefore many good men thought and yet  
 think, albeit Saint Jerome thought otherwise (as he might  
 well enough, while that point nothing pertaineth to the faith), that 5  
*Origen's books corrupted* those heresies were put into his books  
 after his death by some that were heretics  
 indeed... and would, for the great estimation that Origen was in  
 through all the Church, advance their own heresies forward  
 under the name and standard of his famous authority. 10  
 But granted now that those faults *were* his which were imputed  
 unto him, yet is *this* none of them; but Saint Jerome, that so  
 narrowly did examine his works, and so straitly marked and  
 condemned his errors, did reckon this for none, but did in this matter  
 like and allow him well... and, as he hath in many other things 15  
 approved him, and by his commendation caused of his works  
 divers to be reverently read in the Divine Service of the Church, so  
 in *this* matter he hath well declared that he well approved him, both  
 by this—that he hath not noted it among such as he found faulty  
 himself—and also in that it otherwise appeareth in Saint Jerome's 20  
 works that he was of the same mind himself. And therefore I  
 doubt not but that he shall be, for all Tyndale's scolding, accepted  
 and taken before all good and indifferent judges for a right substantial  
 witness... if I can entreat him to bear and abide the  
 brabbling of Tyndale's tongue, as I trust yet to entreat him hereafter. 25  
 And then will I bring in with him some others that I  
 have named—and yet others more besides—that shall, as I said, testify  
 with me before this book be done... that God hath taught his church  
 many things whereof in the Scripture his word is yet unwritten.  
 But now will I for the meanwhile, touching this point whereupon 30  
 the great weight of all the matter hangeth, go nearer unto Tyndale another  
 way.  
 It is, ye wot well, agreed between us—or if he would be so mad to  
 say nay, ye will yet yourselves agree this in his stead—that once of old  
 time, Christ himself and his apostles did teach and preach many 35  
 words of God unwritten.

Now, thus I say, since many things were taught first unwritten: if any of *them* be yet left unwritten... then say I that Tyndale is at the leastwise temerarious and overbold so certainly to affirm that any sacrament that the Church useth and so long hath used, or ceremony either, is idolatry; forasmuch as if we lacked sure proof upon our side—which indeed we lack not, by reason of God’s

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*Jn 14:16–17* Spirit by Christ’s own promise ever  
*Jn 16:13* abiding with his church and teaching  
it all truth—but if we lacked, I say, that

proof for our part, yet were he too presumptuously bold so precisely to affirm the contrary... since he cannot say nay but that they might be some of those that were sometime taught unwritten and yet remain observed unwritten... as that others that now be written were taught and kept without writing before.

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To this will Tyndale answer that *since* that time, *all* God’s words, promises, and sacraments that he would have kept and believed in Christendom, he *hath* caused to be written, by his evangelists and apostles, and left none unwritten, to the intent that his church shall not stand in any doubt nor fall into any error of any necessary point for lack of writing... but may know, by that he hath caused all to be written, that all be false and feigned, and men’s mad inventions, that they believe and observe unwritten. For why should he cause some to be written and suffer some left unwritten... to make men sure of some and to leave some in doubt?

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In this tale Tyndale telleth us two things. One, that God hath thus done indeed; another, the cause why. If he prove that indeed God *hath* so done—I never care for the cause... for *he* seeth why well enough, and therefore I will give no reckoning *why* God hath caused some to be written and some to be left unwritten. But this will I be bold to say: that he was not of any necessity compelled to write any one sacrament or ceremony, or weighty point of belief, for any fear lest it should fall away... and that he could not with his own Spirit keep it in men’s hearts and usage without writing, as well as he kept in the good generations the knowledge of his promises and his laws long and many ages before the Law was written—and yet wrote them not all therein neither, but the people had a faith of Christ among them more large than was written in

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their law... which went from hand to hand, I think from Adam's days, to whom it is likely that God made after his fall some larger promise and revelation of his redemption again than we find made unto him written in any place of Scripture. But we shall not need much proof for this matter; for that God was *able* to keep all his sacraments and articles of the faith without writing, Tyndale, I ween, will not deny me. 5

Now, to say that if he should have left some unwritten, it would have made doubts and debates and be occasions of errors and heresies... and the writing doth put all things out of doubt, and therefore God hath left none unwritten: we see that this maketh neither more sure nor less. For as well did men believe before the writing those things that are now written, as ever they did since; and we believe now the promises as well that are unwritten as any that are written. And the writing taketh *not* away all the doubts... but as many *rise* thereupon, and many more than upon those things that we believe unwritten. 10 15

For first, the credence to be given to the whole book in which they be written... hangeth all upon the same faith upon which depend the things that are unwritten. For as I believe the one, so believe I the other. And as one may by his own frowardness lack the grace to believe the things unwritten—so may another by his own malice lack the grace to believe any part of the whole book of Holy Scripture that is written... and take it all for fantasies. And in good faith, I am afeard that so do they which say they believe nothing else but it. For as for *part* of that book, they bring in question: as the Book of the Maccabees, because it maketh against their purpose concerning purgatory. And part they let not much to deny: as Luther doth the Epistle of Saint James, because it speaketh plainly against his idle, workless faith. 20 25 30

Now, in that parts which they grant for Scripture—yet taketh it not away all the doubts; but unto such folk as Tyndale is and Luther, that be so contentious, it ministereth rather much matter of doubt and of debate—and that much more than do the things that are observed without writing. 35

For first they refuse to observe them because they say they find

them not there written; and so riseth that question first upon the writing.

Then, if it be found there—then dispute they whether it be *fully* found there: as whether we find there both the token and the thing betokened. For the sacrament take they but for a bare sign... 5  
and the thing that is signified they call nothing but Christ's only promise. And here make they upon the writing many great battles to beat down almost all the sacraments, saving scant one and a half. Then upon the letter raise they many great errors, and say the Scripture is plainly upon their side. And this 10  
say not only Luther, Tyndale, and Zwingli, with Friar Huessgen and his fellows, against the interpretation of all holy doctors and saints, and the common faith of all true Christian people, fifteen hundred years before them; but each of themselves also against others among themselves say and swear that the Scripture is plainly for their part. 15

So that as for necessity of writing all or any part concerning the sacraments, ceremonies, or articles of the faith, God was not driven thereto... nor by the writing be taken away the doubts. But as I wot it well that God had good and great causes why he caused some things to be written—so had he causes as good why he left some unwritten. But neither can Tyndale tell why he should write all nor I give the reckoning why he left some unwritten. 20

To this will Tyndale haply say (for else cannot I see what he can say) that God hath caused all his words spoken to his church to be written in Holy Scripture... and hath in the same Scripture given us plain warning that he so hath done... and thereby hath he delivered us from divers doubts, though not from all. For albeit that divers doubts yet rise upon the writing, we, by his express warning in writing showing that all is written... be put out of all doubt that we shall believe nothing as his word whereof there is no writing. 30

Surely, if Tyndale tell me this tale—as indeed he doth, for both Luther and he, and Friar Huessgen and Zwingli and all the rabble of that rascal, never cease to say this (and they find fools that believe them better upon their bare words than they would more honest men upon their obligations)—but, now, as I say, if Tyndale tell me this tale: I shall by his leave be bold to deny it him... and 35

pray him once to prove it if he can find how. For this I wot well:  
 they have among them made great boast a great while... and always  
 promised that they *will* build up that tower... and make it very  
 strong and sure—and surely so have they great need to do, for therein  
 lieth all the store of all their gunpowder, brimstone, pitch, and  
 wildfire that they shoot out at the blessed sacraments of our  
 Savior Christ. And as for hitherto, brought they never yet so much  
 good stuff as would make a tile-pin to fence their fortress  
 with. And whatsoever they bring hereafter—they shall make poor  
 paper walls.

But to the intent that they shall not beguile you, let us with one  
 word or two put them in remembrance what things they be that  
 they must needs prove—and that by plain Scripture, too; for other  
 proof themselves will none admit.

*Two hard points to be proved* Tyndale must prove me first, therefore,  
 by plain and evident Scripture, that all  
 the words necessary to remain and be known, which our Savior  
 himself and his apostles taught once without writing—*all* those—  
 he hath caused to be by them and his evangelists written, preserved,  
 and kept, in plain and evident Scripture. When Tyndale hath  
 proved this, for which I dare give him respite till Doomsday, then  
 must he yet, by plain and evident Scripture, prove me farther, lo; and  
 for the proof thereof, though the points be but easy, let him take yet  
 his time fifteen days after, within which he must, I say, by  
 plain and evident Scripture, prove me farther yet, of these two  
 things one: that is to wit, either that every necessary word which  
 God hath spoken by himself and his Holy Spirit unto his church  
 since the death of his four evangelists and his twelve apostles...  
 he hath caused to be also secretly set in and written to these books  
 which Tyndale agreeth for Holy Scripture; or else must he prove  
 me, by plain and evident Scripture, that notwithstanding his  
 promise made unto his church in his apostles' days—that he would  
 with his Holy Spirit speak to his church himself and dwell therewith  
 and teach it all truth from time to time all days even to the Day  
 of Doom—yet as soon as he saw his apostles dead, and no man that heard  
 him left to bear us witness what he said... he began to go from his  
 word again, and swore that he would either no longer dwell here with

his church... or if he came, it should be but a-guestwise... and yet would he play mum, too, and neither by himself nor his Holy Spirit vouchsafe to speak any one word unto them that were at the leastwise aught worthy the writing, but some wanton trifle.

Remember now, good reader, that these be the things which Tyndale hath to prove. And when he proveth these few things... then believe hardily, and so will I do too. But surely whoso believe him with any less... understandeth nothing what the matter meaneth. 5

Now, yet once again, let us consider Tyndale's "old" time in which he saith the true, pure preaching was used that is now quite gone. I would ask him when ended that old time of his... and when began his new. He saith it hath been thus as it is, more than this eight hundred years; and methinketh eight hundred is a very long "now." But yet consider, good reader: if the true preaching was left and gone eight hundred years ago and more, then can he not say nay but that the true faith went quite away therewith... without which can be no church of Christ, neither Catholic nor of elects. And thus doth Tyndale tell us that this eight hundred years at the last, our Lord hath broken his promise... by which he promised to be with his church all days to the world's end. This man maketh high boast of Christ's promises... and would with them destroy all virtue save faith. And now ye see that plainly he denieth Christ's promise too... and will, I ween, at last deny even Christ and all. For as ye see at your eye, he draweth very fast toward it. 10 15 20 25

Now, till Tyndale, therefore, have proved us these few points that are for their falsehood impossible to be proved, the Church shall not need for his fond railing anything to fear to use the devout sacraments and ceremonies taught and delivered them by God and his Holy Spirit. For spite whereof the devil and his damned spirits cry upon to have them left off... and bear us in hand that they be fruitless. For Tyndale saith that they neither tame the flesh nor do good to thy neighbor, nor be honor to God. 30

But now doth all good Christian people very well perceive—by Christ's own *promise*, in the very *written* Gospel—that the church of Christ is taught by his Holy Spirit that these sacraments and ceremonies do please God. And they perceive and see also that the 35

holy saints which have used them before our days... be now long  
 ago rewarded in heaven with God. And they perceive also that in the  
 use thereof... their minds rise and be lifted up aloft in devotion  
 to God; and by these things and suchlike, they perceive well that  
 Tyndale doth but belie them. For since God's Spirit hath taught 5  
 them... they must needs be honor to God. And when men come together  
 to honor God, each of them is profitable to other; for else  
 were their assembly together in prayer no difference from the  
*Their prayers that pray* prayer of one man alone. But when they  
*together do profit each other.* come together to God's Service... the 10  
 whole company prayeth for the whole presence,  
 and so is every each the better for other's prayer... and all people  
 the better both for the prayer and the sacrament, and every  
 devout observance used in the church at the Divine Service.  
 And it is, thirdly, very profitable to the very taming of the flesh 15  
 also. For what thing is there that better tameth the flesh than the  
 2 Cor 12:7-9 grace of God? Did not God answer Saint  
 Paul, when he thrice prayed unto him to  
 withdraw the "prick of the flesh" with which our Lord suffered  
 the angel of Satan to vex him lest his heart might grow too 20  
 high and wax proud in beholding the marvelous greatness of  
 his revelations—which though some good men take for some other  
 kind of tribulation, I see not why it might not be the very fleshly  
 motion against his vow of chastity—did not then our Lord, I say,  
 make him answer in this wise: "Sufficeth unto thee my grace"? Now, 25  
 then, since nothing can better tame the flesh than the grace of God...  
 which not only can tame it, but also make the rebellion thereof so  
 resisted by the soul that the fight shall turn the man to merit and  
 reward: why shall not, then, such observances as the Spirit of  
 God hath taught us to serve him with—and which, obediently 30  
 done with devotion and with desire of grace, do stand in the  
 stead of one of the most effectual kinds of prayer—be profitable  
 to the taming of the flesh, and either cause it the less to rebel...  
 or else (which is yet, haply, better) strengthen the soul in such  
 wise against the rebellion of the flesh that by the valiant 35  
 resisting thereof, it may have the more glorious triumph of the  
 victory? And for experience (let Tyndale say what it please him)



good folk find this indeed: that when they be at the Divine  
*Godly ceremonies delight* Service in the church, the more devoutly  
*good folk.* that they see such godly ceremonies observed,  
 and the more solemnity that they  
 see therein... the more devotion feel they themselves therewith in their 5  
 own souls, and their flesh the more tame and less rebellious, and  
 far the better in temper... so that although they were at other  
 times and places in right great rage, yet in the church, at the voices  
 of Christ's ministers in the choir... with organs and altogether, 10  
 and beholding the solemn, godly sacraments and ceremonies in  
 their sight, they feel their passions appeased... as did King Saul,  
*1 Sm 16:14-23* in his rageous fury, at the sound of  
 David's harp.  
 Now, where he saith that of old time the officers appointed 15  
 thereto prayed in a tongue that all folk understood—of which point  
 Tyndale maketh much ado, and many times he speaketh thereof,  
 because he would fain have his false translation brought into the  
 church to be there said and sung on God's behalf—I will not say  
 nay but that in Greece and great part of Italy, they both said in 20  
 the beginning the Service of the Church in their own tongue. But  
 so did they not neither in Africa nor in Almaine, nor in Spain,  
 nor in France, nor in England, nor, as I trow, in any place, almost,  
 else, and yet were they good men that brought the faith about into  
 all these countries. And soon after, also, when the tongues changed 25  
 both in Greece and Italy—then left they still the Service in the old  
 language, which after the change the people did not understand;  
 which would not have been by so many good men so long suffered so,  
 if the contrary had been required of necessity. And Saint Paul in his  
*1 Cor 14:6-19* epistle to the Corinthians whereof Tyndale 30  
 so much speaketh... did but use the commodity  
 of the guise that then was among the Corinthians, for the  
 confirmation of his reason against them that could but read and  
 speak and yet would smatter in preaching... willing the Corinthians  
 to labor first for better understanding, and not thereby  
 meaning that of necessity the people must needs answer all together 35  
 unto the blessing of the priest or the bishop. Which  
 manner hath, peradventure, for something that in progress of time

they found abused therein, been changed into better... as have been divers other things and not without the secret working of God.

And surely if all the Service were in English—yet would it not thereby be much the more understood; which was all the matter that Saint Paul spoke. For many that now do understand the Latin tongue do little yet understand the sentence, farther than the bare stories and Collects. 5

But likewise as in some words that remain still untranslated into Latin... men use them with devotion, as “amen” and “alleluia,” that *Note* never know more of the signification 10  
than that they be holy words: so do there many a good man and good woman both say and hear the Service of God in the church with full great reverence and full great devotion... and therefore with great thank of God... though they have it not in their own vulgar tongue; which thing what it would do 15  
here, God knoweth. But as for Almaine, thereas it is so already... we see well enough that it doth no great good there. For whereas the people were fallen already to manifold heresies, they now turn all the sweet honey that they find in the Service quite into the poison that hath taken up their hearts before. 20

And therefore whereas Tyndale saith that there is nothing heard in the church among us but “howling,” “buzzing,” and “crying out, like hallooing of the fox or baiting of bears”—it may well seem so to Tyndale and such as he is; but unto good, devout folk it seemeth far otherwise. 25

But in their church in Almaine, there is another manner of howling and hallooing and crying out. For whereas we with holy words and true faith hail and halloo out the false fox, and bait out the rugged bear the devil—you, Tyndale, in your churches of heretics, cry out as loud as we, and louder too; for ye cry out men and women and all. But ye with your heresies halloo out all saints and bait out all holy sacraments, and drive out God and all. 30

If Tyndale had found fault with anything that is, peradventure, misused in some places... where haply the fashion is more ruffling, and in less moderation and soberness, than were convenient for moving men to devotion: as evil as I like the man in such things as he saith naught, that is almost in all... yet 25

would I find no fault with him in that he said well. But, now, he saith not that *some* such things be misordered *somewhere*... but that there is none other.

As for song, I see not why he should utterly dispraise in God's Service... which was a thing not only used in the Old Law but the New too, as well appeareth by Saint Paul in his first epistle to the Corinthians. As for harps and instruments of music... the Scripture

<i>Ps 150</i>	showeth it openly—both in the Psalms and	
<i>1 Chr 13:8</i>	many other places of Scripture—besides	
<i>2 Sm 6:14–15</i>	dancing, too, which is more than men	10
	use here now.	

But Tyndale can be pleased with no fashion, neither cathedral church nor parish church nor chapel, nor monks nor friars nor nuns, neither Greenwich, Syon, nor Charterhouse. If the choir be loud—then they “cry out.” If they sing anything—yet they “halloo” and “bait.” If they do but say soft—yet they “buzz.” So that I see well no fashion can please Tyndale but his own, for as he neither crieth out nor hallooeth, nor baiteth, nor buzzeth, in any Service saying. For as they say that know him, he saith none at all—neither Matins, Evensong, nor Mass—nor cometh at no church but either to gaze or talk.

But good Christian people, whom he belieth and saith that they ween no man may pray but at church—they pray both at church and at home... but yet more gladly at church. For though they know well that in avoiding of vainglory Christ taught us to pray in our chamber—yet showed he, for all that, that the common church is his house and specially deputed to prayer. And it is none hypocrisy to pray there, as it is to pray in the street. For when they pray in the church, they do but as other folk.

<i>Mt 6:5–6; 21:13</i>	that in avoiding of vainglory Christ taught us to pray in our chamber—yet	25
<i>Mt 21:12–13</i>	But now doth Tyndale's “congregation,” and the captains of his heresies, make it, as	30
	Christ said to the Jews, a very den of thieves—and worse than ever did the Jews that bought and sold therein, whom Christ beat out therefor. For these heretics now not only rob the church in an allegory sense—that is to wit, rob and steal away the chief prayers out of many great churches in Almaine—but also in the plain,	35

literal sense rob out the relics and ornaments of the church,  
to pollute and misspend them in profane uses to fill their  
bellies and cover their pocky, scabbed skins with, much worse  
than King Belshazzar abused the hallowed vessels of the Temple

*Dn 5:1–4* to serve his own proud, execrable  
gluttony. 5

And when they have thus robbed the churches: then lodge they, for  
more despite, their friars and their nuns in them... and of a  
hallowed church they make a stinking stews. And this is yet one  
signification more that Tyndale's master hath made a "church" to 10  
signify: *scilicet*, a *bordel* for brothels—*anglice*, a stews—which  
signification also Tyndale hath here left out.

*The Second Chapter: Why Tyndale* 15  
*Used "Congregation" for*  
*"Church"*

In the second chapter Tyndale saith that he changed this  
word "church" into this word "congregation" in the New Testament  
where he found this word *ecclesia* in Latin... because that the clergy  
had, he saith, brought the people into the ignorance of the true signification  
of this word "church," making them understand thereby 20  
nothing but the clergy.

First, this is undoubtedly false, whatsoever Tyndale say. For albeit  
that men call the clergy by the name of "the Church," as the part  
ordained of God to be the more spiritual part thereof—yet is there  
no man, I suppose, so rude but that he knoweth, and so heareth the clergy 25  
preach also themselves, that of the church of Christ is every Christian

*The Catholic Church* man... and that the whole Church is the whole  
Christian people... and therefore they call it  
the *Catholic* church, that is, universal... by which word never  
man was, I ween, so mad to mean only the priests, how boldly soever 30  
Tyndale against his own conscience report himself to every  
other man's. I would also, because he reporteth him so much to  
other men's conscience, fain wit of Tyndale by his own conscience,  
where he had ever heard any priest either preach or write—

or so much as say the word—that only the clergy is the Church  
and none of the Church but they. I suppose themselves have  
not given themselves the name. The word is English... and they  
teach not every man his mother tongue, as men teach children their  
ABC's. But the good people have of old time—though they know  
themselves also for part of the Church—yet because “the Church” 5

*That priests are called “the Church,” it cometh of  
humility of the laity.* signified a holy name of a Christian company  
gathered together in God, have  
therefore, of humility on their own part  
and reverence toward them, used to call 10

the clergy by that name... accounting them for the more godly  
part of that whole godly company.

And the spirituality, againward, do plainly declare and ever  
have declared in their preaching... that the name is general and  
common both to the temporalty and them... and at large they declare 15  
the diverse parts of the Church, and therein reckon themselves but for  
one. And this name so used by the temporalty of their own  
humility and reverence toward the spirituality—is not a thing  
new-found, but begun of old... at such time as both the  
parties were, I ween, somewhat better than I fear me they be both 20  
now.

But now, that thing that good folk have of good mind begun,  
and many hundred years continued... Tyndale, as one of another sort,  
would have utterly changed... and rather than laymen should have  
any such reverent mind to priests as to call them “the Church,” he 25  
would take it from them both... and, putting away from both that  
holy name of “church,” would call them both by the name of “congregation”—  
a word without any signification of Christendom any  
more than of Jews or Turks.

Tyndale 30

[To this answereth Tyndale and saith if this word “congregation”  
were a more general term than this word “church,”] it hurteth not,  
for the circumstance doth ever declare what thing is meant thereby.

More

If the setting of the circumstance make all well enough—he 35  
needeth not much to care what word he changeth, nor how. For he  
may set such circumstances, of his own device... that he may

make men perceive what he meaneth. For so he may translate the  
 “world” into a “football,” if he join therewith certain circumstances  
 and say, “This round, rolling football that men walk upon and  
 ships sail upon, in the people whereof there is no rest nor  
 stability,” and so forth, a great, long tale; with such circumstances 5  
 he might, as I say, make any word understood as it like  
 himself, whatsoever the word before signified of itself. But  
 surely the word “congregation” with the circumstances in the *text*  
 would not have served when he translated it first to make the  
 English reader to take it for the church; no more than “idols” for 10  
 images, or “images” for idols, as he translateth in like wise, or “repenting”  
 for doing penance, which he changeth too. But marry, he  
 hath added unto his translation such circumstances since, that the  
*Every man and woman is a* order of priesthood is right naught... but  
*priest with Tyndale.* that every man, woman, and child is as 15  
 very a priest as a priest indeed, and that  
 every man and woman may consecrate the Body of Christ and say  
 Mass as well as any priest, and hear confession and assoil as well as  
 may a priest; and that there is no difference between other folk  
 and priests, but all one congregation and company without any 20  
 difference save an appointment to preach; and also that the  
 common-known people of all Christian realms—clergy, laypeople, and  
 all—be not “the church,” nor be no part of “the church,” because they  
 use sacraments and ceremonies and Divine Service in churches... but  
 that “the church” is a secret congregation of unknown chosen heretics 25  
 scattered abroad in corners and studying to destroy the Church.  
 These circumstances indeed make men to perceive and understand  
 what Tyndale meaneth by this word “congregation” put in  
 his translation in the stead of “church.” And they perceive clearly by 30  
 these circumstances that he changed that word of purpose to set  
 forth those heresies of his with... as boldly as he now saith nay.  
 But all his gloss is, therein, that he will say *he* taketh them for none  
 heresies. But on the other side, all good, faithful people do, and  
 therefore they call the Church “the Church” still, and will not agree to 35  
 change the old “church” for his new “congregation,” but burn up  
 his books that so calleth it... and whoso would so begin to call it,

would and well might begin to call him “heretic,” for his delighting in the invention of heretics and his evil appetite to speak after a heretic’s phrase.

Tyndale yet, to defend his change of “church” into “congregation,” saith that I do not say truth in that I say that this word “congregation” is a more general term than this word “church.” 5

#### Tyndale

For wheresoever [saith he] that I may say a “congregation”... there I may say a “church” also... as “the church of the devil,” “the church of Satan,” “the church of wretches,” “the church of wicked men,” “the church of liars,” and “a church of Turks” thereto. 10

#### More

This is lustily said of Tyndale, and like a man. But it pleaseth him not to consider that I said that this word “congregation” *is* indifferent unto Turks and Christian men, and unto all other companies and a company of Christian men, so that it as well signifieth a company of Turks as of Christian men; and that this word “church” doth signify a company of *Christian* people, and is *not* indifferent to a company of Turks and of Christian men. And I said, and yet I say, that this is true of the usual signification of these words themselves in the English tongue, by the common custom of us English people that either now do use these words in our language or that have *The common usage of speech* used before our days. And I say that this common custom and usage of speech is the only thing by which we know the right and proper signification of any word... insomuch that if a word were taken out of Latin, French, or Spanish, and were, for lack of understanding of the tongue from whence it came, used for another thing in English than it was in the former tongue—then signifieth it in England none other thing than as *we* use it and understand thereby, whatsoever it signify anywhere else. Then say I now that in *England* this word “congregation” did never signify the number of Christian people *as* Christian people, with a connotation or consideration of their faith or Christendom... no more than this word “assembly,” which hath been taken out of the French and now is by custom become English... as “congregation” is out of the Latin. And yet I deny not but under those words, both twain, may be Christian men spoken of. 15 20 25 30 35

For every assembly and congregation in Christian realms *is* commonly made of Christian people. But they be not there called “congregation” or “assembly” *because* they be christened, but should be so called though they were Jews or Saracens, though they were so known and dwelled in Christendom. I say now, in like wise, that this word “church” never hath been used to signify other company than christened, in common speech of this realm. And for this cause—and yet most especially because of Tyndale’s evil intent—I said and yet say that he did naught in the change of “church” for “congregation,” a holy word for a profane as far forth as they both signify in our English tongue, into which Tyndale made his translation. 5 10

This was and is the thing that I said and say. Now, in saying this... I do not say untrue, though Tyndale be at his liberty to call a “church” what him list. For never said I the contrary but that Tyndale, wheresoever he may say a “congregation,” there he may say a “church” too. For though none Englishmen be wont to speak so, nor in the common speech the word signifieth not so, nor of the church that he should in his translation have meant of, no good man will say so—yet may Tyndale say so: “the church of Satan,” “the church of wretches,” “the church of wicked men,” “the church of liars,” and “a church of Turks” too; and yet, and he list, he may set to it “the church of heretics,” and “the church of devils” too. 15 20

But, now, though Tyndale *may* thus say for his pleasure, which I deny not—yet can he not say that this is the *proper* signification of that word, which is the thing that a translator must regard; but it is a certain figure, and manner of speaking, by which men use among to express a thing by its contrary... as a man might say, “This is the wisdom of a fool,” “This is the troth of a false shrew,” “This is the faith of a heretic.” Thus may Tyndale abuse the holy name of “church” to any lewd thing that he list; but this is not the part of a translator. 25 30

But Tyndale now—to convict me clearly by learning and reason doubly confirmed with Scripture—showeth himself in few words that he both lacketh learning and reason and shamefully abuseth the Scripture. These are his words... 35

#### Tyndale

M. More must needs grant (if he will have *ecclesia* translated throughout all the New Testament by this word “church”) that “church”



is as common as *ecclesia*. Now is *ecclesia* a Greek word, and was in use before the time of the apostles, and taken for a congregation among the heathen, where no congregation was of God or of Christ. And also Luke himself useth *ecclesia* for a church or congregation of heathen people, thrice in one chapter, even in . . . the Acts—where Demetrius the goldsmith, or silversmith, had gathered a company against Paul for preaching against images.

5

#### More

Let us now begin at the first piece, and ye shall see what he hath: “M. More must needs grant that ‘church’ is as common as *ecclesia*, if he will have this word *ecclesia* throughout all the New Testament translated by this word ‘church.’”

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First I say that Master More must *not* needs grant this to Tyndale, never a whit. For if he turn it from a conditional proposition into an affirmative antecedent and consequent, it shall soon be showed him that his consequent were possible to be false and his antecedent true. For it might be that this word *ecclesia* did signify more things than the writers of the New Testament had occasion to speak of within the same. And then though I would grant unto Tyndale that this word *ecclesia* should throughout the New Testament be translated by this word “church,” yet must I not needs be driven to grant him, for all that, that “church” were as common as *ecclesia*, because it should not, yet, signify those other significations of *ecclesia* that were not spoken of within the New Testament. And thus whereas Tyndale would upon such an antecedent bind me by and by of necessity to his consequent, it appeareth that though I granted him the one . . . I must not needs, for all his great word, grant him the other at all.

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But, now, though I must not needs, yet will I grant him of courtesy . . . that if I will have *ecclesia* translated throughout all the New Testament by this word “church,” that then I must needs grant this term “church” to be as common, and signify as large and as many things, as this term *ecclesia*. But, now, when I, that must not needs, grant this to Tyndale, Tyndale may not choose but must needs grant me this again: that if I will *not* have *ecclesia* throughout the New Testament translated by this word “church,” that then Tyndale in all his gay tale telleth us nothing to purpose, but that argument is now like as if he would have argued thus—“If Master More will grant me that every horse is a goose, then must he needs grant

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me that every mare must have a gander to get her with foal." For I need not to grant him the thing that he supposeth.

Now tell I Tyndale that, in no wise, I will *not* have it so; and that I never told him that I would have it so; but I say plainly that if *he* should *throughout all* the New Testament translate this word *ecclesia* by this word "church," I say that he should translate it very naught.

5

And for because that Tyndale either evil perceiveth my words or else evil remembered them... or, finally, which is most likely, would willingly make the reader to take them wrong: I will desire the reader to look upon the place himself (which is the eighth chapter of the Third Book), and there shall he find that I find the fault not in that he translateth this word *ecclesia* sometimes into this word "congregation," but that he changeth this word "church" into this word "congregation"—that is to say, that he translateth this word *ecclesia* into this word "congregation"—in such places as he should have translated it into this word "church"; that is, wheresoever he hath put this word "congregation" for the company of Christian

10

15

*Note* people; for that company is in English signified, and of old hath been, by this holy word "church," and never by this word "congregation."

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This is the fault that I find, and tell Tyndale in that chapter good and plain causes wherefore, which Tyndale here letteth slip.

But I would in no wise that, as Tyndale taketh me, *ecclesia* should *always* be translated by this word "church"; for that were also wrong. For truth it is that *ecclesia* signifieth in the Greek tongue a congregation, without respect of either good or bad, Christian or un-Christian. For Tyndale saith therein truth, that the word *ecclesia* was used a thousand years before Christendom began, as the books prove. But it will be hard to prove and warrant that this word "church" was used for any congregation before Christendom began, or that ever it signified any congregation other than Christian. And therefore his reason grounded upon this word *ecclesia* is little worth... since it proceedeth not in like wise in this word "church."

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And yet, touching this word *ecclesia*... as cunning as Tyndale would seem therein, with his Greek and all... he seemeth but poorly to

“*Ecclesia*” perceive it. For ye shall understand that  
 this word *ecclesia* in the Greek tongue did  
 not signify every manner company or congregation—nor signified  
 not all the citizens of any city with that respect that they were  
 citizens of that city, or that they were gathered for playing or  
 fighting, or any such other cause—but only those congregations  
 that were gathered together to common upon matters of judgment  
 or policy, either about the common affairs of the town, concerning  
 peace or war or some other commodity, or for  
 private folks’ business in such places as all the common people were  
 judges, as much was used in Greece and sometimes in Rome too, and  
 was, as ye would say, the assembly of the court, or the common  
 council.

Now—forasmuch as Christian people did resort together among  
 themselves to prayer and preaching, and making of good ordinances  
 delivered them by the apostles—this name of *ecclesia* was  
 applied unto the congregation of the Christian company. And though  
 it began of such assemblies together, yet afterward it obtained  
 also, both among the Greeks and Latins christened, to signify the  
 Christian folk whether they were at church or at home, and to signify  
 also the universal number of all Christian people throughout all the  
 world; whereas it signified no such manner of thing among the  
 paynims before, but only their several assemblies such as I before  
 Contio described you, and which was in Latin  
 called *contio*. And yet took the Latin Church  
 the Greek word *ecclesia*—of the Greek Church, that began before  
 them—and never used this word *contio*, which signified among the  
 Latin paynims both the congregation, or assembly, and the oration  
 also that any man pronounced among them in the same assembly.

Now may ye perceive that Tyndale with all his Greek told you  
 but a lame tale. For he telleth you not what manner of congregation  
*ecclesia* did signify in the Greek... but mistaketh it to signify  
 every manner of congregation at adventure.

And by this ye may also perceive how little it maketh for his  
 Acts 19:32, 39, 40 purpose that Saint Luke, whereof Tyndale  
 so boasteth, calleth “*ecclesia*” thrice in one  
 chapter, of the Acts, the congregation that was gathered in Ephesus  
 against Saint Paul. For that was such a congregation as I tell  
 you that *ecclesia* properly signified among the paynims... saving

that they gathered together upon a rumor, and not after their  
customable calling.

Now, though the Church was then newly begun to be called by  
the same name of *ecclesia*, and that after the example of the other  
assembly, and the name not taken from the other assembly, nor  
their assembly for such matters called by none other—how would  
Tyndale have had Saint Luke tell the tale but by such words as  
then represented the matter? But that maketh nothing for his purpose,  
but utterly against it. For since that this word *ecclesia*  
did there signify that congregation of the Ephesians which were  
paynims—and therefore in that place ought not to be translated by this  
word “church,” which signifieth only a Christian congregation and not  
a congregation of paynims—so should *ecclesia* in like wise wheresoever  
it signifieth a Christian congregation be translated by this  
word “church”... which is and ever hath been the word that since  
Christendom first began among Englishmen hath always  
served therefor... and not be translated by this word “congregation,”  
which word of “congregation” is a word of Latin, and signifieth a  
sort gathered together into one flock; as they speak, “in gregem ovium,”  
“gregem gruun,” “gregem anserum.” And so when Tyndale hath all said and  
all done... this word “congregation,” except some special places  
where they have by custom appointed it to signify some sort of  
men—as in some universities it signifieth their assemblies—else,  
where no such custom hath appropored it to any special manner of  
congregation... the term “congregation,” absolutely set, signifieth  
no more a company of Christian men than a fair flock of un-Christian  
geese.

But yet the change of the word, if Tyndale had done it either  
of chance or of purpose for his pleasure, and for none evil purpose—  
I would never have spoken word against it. But forasmuch  
as I perceive that he hath been with Luther—and was, too, at the same time  
when he so translated it—and that I knew well the malicious  
heresies that Luther began to bring forth: therefore must I needs  
mistrust him in the change.

And now I say that even of his own words spoken here... ye  
may in his translations perceive his cankered mind. For he saith  
that Demetrius “had gathered a company against Paul for preaching  
against images.” Here may the Christian reader well perceive the  
poison of this serpent. It is to no man unknown that all good Christian

people do both abhor the idols of the false paynim gods and honor also the images of Christ and our Lady and other holy saints. And as they call the one sort “images”—so call they the other sort “idols.” Now—whereas Saint Paul preached there against

*Acts 19:24–40*                      *idols*—cometh this good man and saith he                      5  
preached against *images*.

And as he speaketh here—even so he translateth. For in the fifth chapter of Saint Paul to the Corinthians, where Saint Paul saith, “I have written to you that ye company not together if any that is called a brother be a fornicator or covetous or a worshipper of idols”—there translated Tyndale, “. . . or a worshipper of *images*”... because 10  
he would have it seem that the Apostle had in that place forbidden Christian men to worship any images... and that whoso worshipped any images, men should not company with him. Here ye may see the sincerity and plain meaning of the man’s translation. 15  
Now seeth he well enough that Saint Paul spoke not of images but of idols; and he perceived both that he so did, and also wherefore he so did, by his other words—written in the tenth chapter of the same epistle—where Saint Paul, speaking of the meat offered unto idols, which he would that Christian men should forbear, saith in this wise: “What say I, then? That the idol is anything? Or that it which is offered to idols is anything? Nay; but I say that those things which the paynims offer... they offer to devils and not to God, and I would not that ye should have any fellowship with devils.” 20  
25

*Images are honored  
for God’s sake.*

This only text of Saint Paul is  
enough to answer all the whole heap of  
heretics that bark against holy

images that good men honor for God’s sake. For Saint Paul here showeth that the cause why the worshipping of idols was unlawful among the Gentiles or paynims was because that the worship that was done to those idols was done to devils. And why, but for because that it was done to those idols for the love and honor that they bore to those devils, whom they called gods, and whom those idols represented? 30  
35

But so it is, on the other side, that good folk which worship images of Christ and his saints—do worship thereby Christ and his

saints whom those images represent. Wherefore it followeth that likewise as the paynims, worshippers of idols, did evil in the worshipping of them, because that in the worshipping of them they worshipped devils: right so do the Christian men *well* in the worshipping of *images*, because that in the worshipping of images they worship Christ and his holy saints. And now ye see, good Christian readers, that this one place of Saint Paul so plainly reproveth all these heretics that bark against images... that saving they be shameless, they should never look any man in the face for shame.

But Tyndale, to blind the reader with, hath corrupted in his translation all this place of Saint Paul also, and hath in every place put out “idol” and set in “image”... to make the reader ween that Saint Paul speak all this against images... which he so speaketh against the paynims’ idols that his reason which he maketh against them doth openly commend and confirm the Christian worshipping of holy saints’ images. And here may ye see what a true translation Tyndale’s is, and for what purpose he translateth it false... and God provideth that the scripture which he falsifieth openly fighteth against him.

This pageant hath he played also, shamefully falsifying Saint Paul, in the second chapter to the Romans... where Saint Paul saith to the Jews, “Thou abhorrest idols, and robbest God of his honor”—meaning that though they abhorred the paynims’ idols, and would not worship their false gods that were devils, yet for all that, they, by the breaking of God’s law with their evil living, they took away the honor from God, in causing him and his law to be dishonorably spoken of among the paynims.

Now cometh me Tyndale, and in despite of holy images he hath translated that place in this wise: “Thou abhorrest images, and takest from God his honor.” Here ye see Tyndale’s truth, lo! Did Saint Paul say so? Did Saint Paul mean so? Did the Jews abhor images? They abhorred idols, but not images. They abhorred not in the Ark the images of the angels, though they abhorred abroad the idols of devils. But Tyndale’s translation of this place may marvelously

*Note* well be said unto himself: “Thou abhorrest images, Tyndale, and takest the

honor from God; for thou wouldst have us set Christ's image at naught, which without God's dishonor we cannot do."

What shift shall Tyndale find now? Will he say that "idols" and "images" be all one, because that idols be a kind of images, and "image" is a term indifferent to good and bad? For a man may say "an image of the devil" as well as "an image of God." 5

Tyndale shall, I think, find no reader so slenderly witted to suffer him escape so. For though idols be of the kind of images... yet since they be such a special kind as always to Christian men's ears do signify evil images and devilish, he may not in translation change the name into the general, whereby it may not be perceived of which kind he speaketh. For this were very naught if he did it in favor of the worse kind, to make men ween it were better. And now, when he doth it in hatred of the better kind to make men ween it worse—that is to wit, in despite of the images of God Incarnate, and of his holy saints, to make them seem idols—he doth a hundred times worse. For he were not so wretched by a hundredfold as wretched as he were... that needs would in his fond fashion love God and the devil together, as he that would love neither nother. 10 15

And if that Tyndale would stiffly stick in this point and abide thereby... that his translation of "idol" into "image" is good enough because idols be images—then since that devils be angels (as indeed they be by nature, and evil angels be angels still), Tyndale may at his pleasure translate the devil into "angel" without any other addition, wheresoever he find him throughout all the Bible. And then shall he do therein as did a like-learned priest that throughout all the Gospels scraped out *diabolus* and wrote *Iesu Christus*, because he thought the devil's name was not meet to stand in so good a place. And thus I think that every child may now perceive with how little learning and less wit, and least truth, Tyndale hath translated this word *ecclesia* into "congregation" instead of "church"—and that he hath so substantially defended it that in the maintenance of one false folly, he is now found in twain. For by a like manner as he falsely translated *ecclesia* into the unknown name of "congregation" in such places as he should have translated it into the holy, known name of "church," and that he this hath done of a malicious purpose, to set forth his heresy of the secret, unknown church wherein is neither good works nor sacraments: 20 25 30 35

so is it now proved that in the same wise and of like malice  
 hath he translated “idols” into “images,” under the color of the likeness  
 of false gods and devils to make the Scripture seem to reprove the  
 godly images of our Savior himself and his holy saints. And now—  
 using himself in his translation in such malicious and erroneous 5  
 fashion—he complaineth that good men have burned his evil-translated  
 Books and will not suffer his heresies to go forward.

In the end of this chapter Tyndale telleth me that I have been “so  
 long used” in my “figures of poetry” that when I “err most,” I do now,  
 as he supposeth, “by reason of a long custom” believe myself that I “say 10  
 most true”; “or else, as wise people when they dance naked in a net  
 believe that no man see them, even so” he saith that I think mine “errors  
 so subtly couched that no man can spy them.” As for mine errors,  
 how subtly they be couched, I cannot tell; nor what other men shall  
 spy, I cannot say. But surely if I could spy any in my writing myself— 15  
 I would not fail both to confess it to God and the world and forsake  
 it. Now, if I be by custom of poetry so blinded that I cannot  
 see mine errors but ween that my lies were true—yet if I find any  
 that can show them me, I shall soon amend the fault. But I have  
 one good likelihood that I do *not* err or lie after such fashion as 20  
 Tyndale telleth me... in that if it so were, Tyndale then, that prieth  
 thereupon so narrowly and with such eagle’s eyes as he hath, were  
 very likely to spy it... namely since I go so bare, dancing naked in a  
 net. And I am sure if he spied any such thing in me... he would of  
 his charity be so good to me as to tell me. But surely he hath spied 25  
 none yet. For all that he hath hitherto pored out and called mine  
 errors be but his own, and turn upon his own top every one.  
 And as for my “poetry,” verily I can little else, and yet not that neither.  
 But it had been good for Tyndale’s soul—and a thousand souls  
 besides—that he had meddled but with poetry instead of Holy Scripture 30  
 all the days of his life. For of poetry though there should have  
 come little good... yet could there never have come such a heap  
 of harm to Christian people as he hath of his blind malice brought  
 into this realm by his untrue translating, and more untrue construing,  
 of the Holy Scripture of God... most maliciously making 35  
 the Blessed Word of God to serve him for an instrument to drive  
 men to the devil.



And yet if poetry be, as Tyndale calleth it, nothing but feigning and lying—then is *he* cunning enough, and can, I assure you, make as much poetry upon any part of Scripture as any poet can in England upon any part of Virgil. And he useth in his writing much plain poetry wherein he danceth naked not all in a net... 5  
but for the more part so stark naked, without any net at all, that there is not the breadth of a silken thread to cover his poetry; of which points of his plain, open poetry I have showed you some already, and shall anon show you many more.

Then he asketh me why I have not contended with Erasmus, whom he calleth my “darling,” of all this long while for translating of this word *ecclesia* into this word *congregatio*. And then he cometh forth with his feat proper taunt that I favor him of likelihood for making of his book of *Moria* in my house. There had he hit me, lo, save for lack of a little salt. I have not contended with Erasmus my darling because I found no such malicious intent with Erasmus my darling as I find with Tyndale. For had I found with Erasmus my darling the shrewd intent and purpose that I find in Tyndale, Erasmus my darling should be no more my darling. But I find in Erasmus my darling that he detesteth and abhorreth the errors and heresies that Tyndale plainly teacheth and abideth by; and therefore Erasmus my darling shall be my dear darling still. And surely if Tyndale had either never taught them or yet had the grace to revoke them, then should Tyndale be my dear darling too. But while he holdeth such heresies still—I cannot take for my darling him that the devil taketh for *his* darling. 10 15 20 25

Now, for his translation of *ecclesia* by *congregatio*... his deed is nothing like Tyndale’s. For the Latin tongue had no Latin word before used for the Church, but the Greek word *ecclesia*; therefore Erasmus in his new translation gave it a Latin word. But we had in *English* a proper *English* word therefor; and therefore was no such cause for Tyndale to change it into a worse. Erasmus also meant none heresy therein, as appeareth by his writing against heretics; but Tyndale intended nothing *else* thereby, as appeareth by the heresies that himself teacheth and abideth by. And therefore was there in this matter no cause for me to contend with Erasmus, as there was to contend with Tyndale, with whom I contend for putting in “congregation” instead of “church”—except that Tyndale peradventure meaneth that I should have been angry with Erasmus because 30 35

that instead of “congregation” in his Latin translation, he had not put in our English word “church.”

Moria	<p>As touching <i>Moria</i>, in which Erasmus under the name and person of “Moria,”</p>	
	<p>which word in Greek signifieth folly, doth merrily touch and reprove such faults and follies as he found in any kind of people... perusing every state and condition, spiritual and temporal, leaving almost none untouched; by which book Tyndale saith that if it were in English, every man should then well see that I was then far otherwise minded than I now write: if this be true, then the more cause have I to thank God of amendment. But surely this is untrue. For, God be thanked, I never had that mind in my life to have holy saints’ images, or their holy relics, out of reverence. Nor if there <i>were</i> any such thing in <i>Moria</i>—that thing could not yet make any man see that I were myself of that mind... the book being made by another man, though he were my darling never so dear. Howbeit, that book of <i>Moria</i> doth indeed but jest upon the <i>abuses</i> of such things, after the manner of the disour’s part in a play; and yet not so far neither, by a great deal, as the Messenger doth in my <i>Dialogue</i>—which I have yet suffered to stand still in my <i>Dialogue</i>, and that rather yet by the counsel of other men than of myself.</p>	<p>5</p> <p>10</p> <p>15</p> <p>20</p>
	<p>For albeit that it be lawful to any man to mislike the misuse of every good thing—and that in my <i>Dialogue</i> there be not only those evil things rehearsed, but answered also and assoiled, and the goodness of the thing itself well used is plainly confirmed and proved—yet hath Tyndale by erroneous books, in setting forth Luther’s pestilent heresies, so envenomed the hearts of lewdly disposed persons... that men cannot, almost, now speak of such things in so much as a play, but that such evil hearers wax a great deal the worse.</p>	<p>25</p> <p>30</p>
	<p>And therefore in these days, in which Tyndale hath (God amend him!) with the infection of his contagious heresies so sore poisoned malicious and newfangled folk... that the King’s Highness (and not without the counsel and advice, not of his nobles only, with his other counselors attending upon His Grace’s person, but also of the right virtuous and especially well learned men of either university,</p>	<p>35</p>

and other parties of the realm specially called thereto) hath,  
 after diligent and long consideration had therein, been fain  
 for the while to prohibit the Scripture of God to be suffered in  
 English tongue among the people's hands... lest evil folk, by false  
 drawing of every good thing they read into the color and maintenance 5  
 of their own fond fantasies, and turning all honey into  
 poison, might both deadly do hurt unto themselves and spread also  
 that infection farther abroad—I say, therefore, in these days, in  
 which men by their own default misconstrue and take harm of  
 the very Scripture of God, until men better amend—if any man 10  
 would now translate *Moria* into English, or some works, either,  
 that I have myself written ere this, albeit there be none harm  
 therein... folk yet being (as they be) given to take harm of that  
 that is good... I would not only my darling's books, but mine own  
 also, help to burn them both with mine own hands, rather than 15  
 folk should (though through their own fault) take any harm of  
 them, seeing that I see them likely in these days so to do.

But now, after this, Tyndale handleth me full uncourteously; for he  
 taketh away all my thank and reward that I should have had of  
 the spirituality. For he showeth them that I wrote not my book for 20  
 any “affection” that I bear to them... no more than Judas betrayed  
 Christ for any favor that he bore to “the high priests, scribes, and  
 Pharisees”; but that I did the one as he did the other—for the lucre  
 that should come thereof... after which he saith that I so sore hunger  
 that the good man, as my friend, prayeth for me that I eat not too fast, 25  
 for choking.

Now, if the spirituality had been about to have gathered a disme  
 among them and give it me—Tyndale here had lost it me every  
 penny. But God forgive the man and I do. For when he speaketh  
 of my “lucre,” in good faith he maketh me laugh; and so, I ween, he 30  
 maketh many more too, that know well, God be thanked, that I have not  
 so much lucre thereby that I stand in so great peril of choking  
 with lucre as Tyndale standeth in danger of choking (God save  
 the man!) with the bones of buttered beer.

Now, where Tyndale saith I have faintly defended the things 35  
 whereof I write: the things be strong enough and little need me to  
 defend them; and also, my purpose was not so much to do that that  
 needed not (that is to wit, to defend them) as to prove and make the  
 people perceive that Tyndale went about to bring in heresies

among them. And that needeth now as little; for Tyndale hath proved it himself.

And so little defense sufficeth for any reason that Tyndale layeth against it. And finally, if I were faint therein, as Tyndale saith—  
yet is a faint faith better than a strong heresy.

5

But Tyndale yet for all this, as a good, godly father of his abundant charity, saith that he “charitably” doth “exhort” me “in Christ” by the examples of Judas and Balaam to “take heed”; and further he counseleth me and my fellows, full holily, to “awake betimes, ere ever” our “sins be ripe, lest the voice of” our “wickedness ascend up and awake God out of his sleep, to look upon” us “and to bow his ears unto” our “accursed blasphemies against the open truth... and to send his harvestmen and mowers of vengeance to reap it,” except we “repent, and resist not the Spirit of God, which openeth light unto the world.”

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These words, when I read them, seemed me so pithy and so perceant, set and couched in such a high spiritual fashion... that they made me much to marvel what Tyndale had spied in me, and caused me to search myself, to see whether I had used any such high blasphemies that the wickedness thereof were likely to ascend up into heaven and awake God Almighty out of his sleep. But when I had over searched all my book and ransacked up the very bottom of my breast... though I found in the one some pretty peccadillos (such as I will not now confess to Father Tyndale, because he saith confessors keep no counsel), yet could I find, in good faith, neither in my breast nor in my book, I thank God, any such high blasphemies as Tyndale so highly crieth out upon, except he call it a high blasphemy to call heresies heresies; which I take, as help me God, in my poor conscience, for none higher blasphemy than to call a goose a goose. Nor I find no truth that I either blaspheme or once speak against, except Tyndale mean by this “open truth” all the false open heresies that himself teacheth against Christ’s holy sacraments. Against which kind of false truth I no more fear to speak... than against the devil himself that first found it out. Nor I cannot find wherein I resist the Spirit of God in opening his light unto the world... except that Tyndale take for the Spirit of God the spirit of the devil of hell... and for

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opening of light unto the world, he take the lightsome lantern  
of good example... by which the world may see for a show of holy

*Cate Calate, Luther's harlot* matrimony Friar Luther and Cate Calate,  
his nun, lie lusing together in lechery.

Now, to resist this devilish spirit my poor spirit, for all 5  
Tyndale's high, fearful charge, is so little afraid... that I call heartily  
to the Spirit of God to quench the foul firebrand of that helly  
light, and that so thoroughly that the world see never any such example  
more!

And now, when that I had thus thoroughly searched well my breast 10  
and my book, and saw my conscience clear, far out of any such  
cause of jeopardy—then Tyndale's terrible exorcism made me not  
much to tremble... since heretics have of old been wont always to use  
such words; but my mind more gave me to laugh at his high,  
solemn charge... whereby he would with his strange words enchant 15  
and charm the reader, and make him ween he were walking  
down to hell quick if he made so much as a mum  
against Luther's lechery.

Now, whereas Judas and Balaam were not meet examples for me,  
that bear myself neither for an apostle nor for a prophet, I might 20  
here lay them both well for plain examples to him that beareth  
himself for a right apostle that were sent to preach a new faith to  
this realm, and a new evangelist, too, that maketh with his false  
translation new scripture of his own; and very properly playeth  
he the part of Balaam, too, in that he laboreth to bring maledictions 25  
upon Jerusalem, that is, the Catholic Church of Christ. And here  
might I bring him other examples in, also very meet for the matter,  
of men much like himself—heretics, I mean, of old time, and  
some of later days, not long before Luther. And when I had rehearsed  
up a Ragman's roll of a rabble of heretics, and showed a shrewd 30  
sort that came to sorrow for their sin—then might I, lo, if I had  
Tyndale's spirit, spit out Scripture apace and exhort Tyndale again  
holily, to take heed and beware betimes lest like heresies and like malice  
bring him to like mischief. But as for me, I can no such fashion;  
and therefore letting all such high process pass—of ripe sins, and 35  
ascending to heaven and waking God out of sleep, and set him on

husbandry and drive him to harvest with mowers of vengeance  
and reapers of ripe sins—leaving Tyndale in his vengeable parables,  
I can no more, I, but pray God amend him and make him a good  
man.

*Against Tyndale's Using This Word "Senior,"  
and "Elder," and Not "Priest"* 5

Tyndale

Another thing which he rebuketh is that I interpret this  
Greek word *presbyteros* by this word "senior." Of a truth, "senior" is  
not very good English, though "senior" and "junior" be used in the  
universities; but there came no better in my mind at that time. 10  
Howbeit, I spied my fault since, long ere M. More told it me, and  
have amended it in all the works which I since made, and call it an  
"elder."

More 15

Tyndale in this chapter at great length declareth for his excuse  
four fair virtues in himself: malice, ignorance, error, and  
folly. For in his long babbling he hath never a clause but it falleth  
in one of these four, and some one in all four, as ye shall see further  
in his words following. 20

Here in the beginning, lest he should seem to have learned the  
knowledge of his ignorance by my monition, he saith that he perceived  
his fault himself before, and amended it, too. For whereas,  
for lack of finding a better English word, he saith that he had  
translated this word *presbyteros* into this word "seniors" in English—  
he hath now amended it and made it "elders." 25

Here hath he done a great act, now that he hath at last found  
out "elder." He hath of likelihood ridden many miles to find out that.  
For that word "elder" is, ye wot well, so strange and so little known  
that it is more than marvel how that ever he could find it out. 30  
And one thing I promise you: if it were not worse than "senior"... he  
had not found it yet. For this is a like amending as if he would  
where a man were blind of the one eye... amend his sight by  
putting out the other.

This word *presbyter* in the Greek, as it signifieth the thing that men  
call a "priest" in English... was called sometimes *senior* in Latin. But 35

this thing that Englishmen call a “priest”—and that the Greek Church called *presbyter*, and the Latin Church also, and sometimes *senior*—was never called “elder,” neither in the Greek Church nor the Latin, nor the English neither. Now, this being thus... judge, good readers, yourselves, whether of two bad, it was not better when he called a priest a “senior,” by which word it was called sometimes, at the leastwise in some language... than when he calleth a priest an “elder,” by which word it was never called nor known, neither in one language nor other. And so ye may see how wisely, by long leisure and warning, too, Tyndale hath amended his matter. 5 10

#### Tyndale

And in that he maketh heresy of it to call *presbyteros* an “elder,” he condemneth their own old Latin text of heresy also, which they use yet daily in the church and have used, I suppose, this fourteen hundred years. For that text doth call it an “elder” likewise. 15

#### More

See the sincerity and plainness of the good man. It is no mastery for him to make proper solutions if himself may make the objections such as no man objecteth nor would object against him but himself. For here he saith that I make it heresy to call *presbyteros* an “elder”—which thing I never said nor thought. But I said and say, and truth I say, that Tyndale did in his English translation change the word of “priest” into “senior” of a heretical mind and intent to set forth his heresy... whereby he teacheth that priesthood is no sacrament. 20 25

For as for this word “elder,” how could I *then* charge him with it as a heresy, when he had not *then* translated “elder,” but “senior”... till now that he hath by longer leisure amended it and made it worse! So that ye may first here see a piece of his plain poetry doubly proved and doubly reprovèd... by which he layeth unto me the thing that I never said nor had at that time either cause to say or occasion to think upon. 30

Nor now I say not that it is heresy if he have, as he saith, translated since that time *presbyteros* by this word “elder”; but I say he doth it with the mind of a heretic to set forth his heresy. For else I would not call it heresy if one would translate *presbyteros* a 35

“block”—but I would say he were a blockhead. And as very a blockhead were he that would translate *presbyteros* an “elder” instead of a “priest,” for that this English word “elder” signifieth no more a priest than this Greek word *presbyteros* signifieth an elder stick.

And yet—this thing being so properly spoken, as ye see—he saith  
that the old translation in Latin, read in the church this fourteen  
hundred years, calleth *presbyteros* an “elder” in like wise. Which word  
of Tyndale I would call a lie... saving that it is more than a lie by a  
syllable. 5

#### Tyndale

In the fifth chapter of the first of Peter, thus standeth it in the  
Latin text: “Seniores qui in vobis sunt, obsecro ego consenior, pascite  
qui in vobis est gregem Christi” (“The elders that are among you, I  
beseech which am an elder also, that ye feed the flock of Christ  
which is among you”). There is *presbyteros* called an elder. 10 15

#### More

Heard ye, reader, such another? Is *presbyteros* here called an elder  
in the old Latin translation? I find there this word *seniores* where  
the Greek Church used in their language *presbyteros*. But as for this word  
“elder,” which Tyndale saith is the old Latin translation—he were like  
to pore out his eyes upon the Latin Book ere he find that English  
word “elder” there, but if he cause it to be written in himself. 20  
And yet he layeth like texts three or four (some in the epistles of Saint  
John, and some in the Acts), where he findeth instead of *presbyteros*  
this word *seniores*, and *natu maiores*; and always he setteth thereto, “Lo,  
here is *presbyteros* called an elder, and an elder in birth,” as though this  
Latin word *seniores*, or *natu maiores*, were this English word “elder”...  
whereas he saith that *presbyteros* is called elder in the old translation...  
which, as ye see, must needs be false, but if this English word be in  
that Latin Book, and that he make English Latin and Latin  
English. 25 30

But now—lest he call the redargution of his folly “sophistication”—  
let us divine for him what he might mean. He will haply say  
that he meaneth that this Greek word *presbyteros* is, in the text that he hath  
alleged, called by the old translator *seniores*, and *seniores* signifieth  
“elder” or “elders.” And so, though this word “elder” be not in the Latin 35



translation, yet since that Latin word is there that signifieth in Latin the same thing that this word “elder” signifieth in English, we cannot blame him for translating *presbyteros* into this word “elder”... but if we blame in like wise the translator for translating *presbyteros* into this word *seniores*.

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First, if I said that the old translation were in that point not so well as it might have been... I should not say so alone. And Erasmus (whom Tyndale calleth my darling, and whom himself doth, for all that, in his own translation prefer before the old) doth, as well in the said epistle of Saint Peter as in the said twentieth chapter of the Apostles’ Acts, not only keep still the Greek word *presbyteros*, but showeth also that the old translator translated it not well (because he translated there this word *presbyteros* into this word *seniores*, and in the other place into *maiores natu*); but saith that he should rather have kept still the word *presbyteros* unchanged, because that word is it that signifieth authority with the Greeks... whereas *seniores* in Latin

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*1 Tm 4:12* signifieth but their age, and all were not old, as appeared by Timothy. And for that cause, in the said place of Saint Peter’s epistle... Saint Jerome amendeth that old translation and keepeth *presbyteros* still, reciting Saint Peter in this wise: “Presbyteros qui sunt in vobis, obsecro ego compresbyter. . . .” Wherein Saint Jerome was rather content to join the Latin conjunction with the Greek word, and call it *compresbyter*, than to change that word signifying the office into *seniores* and *consenior*, signifying but the age. For among the Latins, *senior* signified none other; but among the Greeks, *presbyteri* was the name that many times signified rulers and governors.

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Now, if we list, we may yet excuse the old translator... which how soon after Christ’s death he translated it, who can tell? And *then*—when the Latin Church had no Latin word for the Christian priests, already received and used—what blame was he worthy that took that word, not continually but among, which of all the Latin words seemed to him to go next the signification of *presbyteros* at that time? And that was, as him thought, *seniores*; in which word yet the Church never followed him, though; but though they read his translation openly in Divine Service, yet neither in their writing nor

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preaching would they take up that word and call a priest “senior”—  
as appeareth by the books and sermons of all holy doctors since.

And therefore Tyndale is without excuse, which hath translated  
*presbyteros* by this English word “elders”—a word unknown among  
Englishmen to signify priests... and among whom this word 5  
“priest” was the proper English word well known, and had served in  
that signification, so many hundred years before Tyndale was born.

Also, go me to the place which Tyndale allegeth in the First  
Epistle of Saint Peter: “Seniores qui sunt in vobis, obsecro ego consenior, pascite  
qui in vobis est gregem Christi.” Which place I take for example. For 10  
whereas he layeth two places of the epistles of Saint John, and one in  
the twentieth of the Acts... all be for one purpose, and this one place  
answered, answereth them all. I say, therefore, that Tyndale hath even  
here, in this his new book, translated that same place wrong, and all  
the remnant in like wise. And that will I prove partly by 15  
Tyndale’s own words which in this book follow the translation of  
those words.

... “The elders that are among you, I beseech which am an elder also,  
that ye feed the flock of Christ which is among you.” There is  
*presbyteros* called an elder. And in that he saith “feed Christ’s flock,” 20  
he meaneth even the ministers that were chosen to teach the people  
and to inform them in God’s word, and no laypersons.

#### More

Lo, Tyndale here showed himself that by this word *seniores* be  
there understood the ministers that were chosen to *teach* people. 25  
Then say I that if this word *seniores* was taken in that signification  
*there*... Tyndale should not translate it into this English  
word “elder,” which signifieth not the office, but the age, *here*. And  
this is, I say, true... all were it so that Tyndale’s false heresy were true,  
that Holy Orders were no sacrament at all... but a bare office. For if 30  
it were but in a profane, common story, in which men may boldly  
be in the translation at much more liberty than in Holy Scripture—  
yet were he a naughty translator that would translate a thing into  
such a word as in the tongue into which he translateth, is not  
understood in that signification. 35

As if percase a man would translate a Latin chronicle into English, in which were mention made of something done in London—if he found in that chronicle the aldermen called by the name of *senatores*, or peradventure *seniores*, he should yet in his English translation call them not “senators,” nor “elders,” neither, since neither of those two words is in English the name by which the aldermen of London be known; but he must therefore translate *senatores*, and *seniores* also, into “aldermen” in his English translation. And further, if he there found this word *senatus Londinensis*, he should not translate it into this word “senate,” but either into “mayor and aldermen” or percase (if the circumstance of the matter so lead him to it) into “mayor, aldermen, and common council.”

And therefore, as ye plainly see... Tyndale’s defense of his translating *presbyteros* into “elders” is as feeble to stick to as is an old, rotten, elder stick, and though it were but in a profane story.

Now, where it is in the holy story of Christ’s Gospel, what manner a thing is it to translate “elder” instead of “priest”—which word “elder” in English was never so taken nor understood—and thus to do without necessity, having this word “priest” so commonly known and so long?

Why doth he not by the same reason change “bishop” into “overseer,” and “deacon” into “server”? Both which he might as well do as “priest” into “elder.” And then must he with his translation make us an English *vocabulary* of his own device, too. And so, with such provision, he may change “chin” into “cheek,” and “belly” into “back,” and every word into other at his own pleasure, if all England list now to go to school with Tyndale to learn English, and else not.

Now, if he would say that with such changes he could change the names into the better and show us what the names signify—first, if he said therein true, he may tell us those significations in a tale beside; but he must in English let English words stand in his English translation, for all that. And yet were out of his mouth a right good tale evil worth the hearing; for with a little honey he mingleth so much poison that, rather than to swallow the one down with the other, a man were yet much better to forbear them both. Yet setteth me Tyndale one mighty strong bulwark to fence in all his field, out of which he shooteth a

sore shot of serpentines... when he asketh me why the apostles used not “this Greek word *hiereus*, or the interpreter this Latin word *sacerdos*, but always these words *presbyteros* and *senior*... by which was at that time nothing signified other than an elder.”

This shot shall I not now much need to fear. For likewise as  
 from the shot of a gun a man were meetly safe that had, ere the  
 gun were loosed, made a step aside fifteen hundred miles from it:  
 so, since I am stepped now fifteen hundred years from the apostles’  
 days, and almost as many from the interpreters’ time of whose  
 intents and purposes Tyndale asketh me now the why... I may say  
 that I never talked so much with them by mouth as to ask them the  
 why... and therefore, since they have not written me the why, I am not  
 bound to tell Tyndale the why.

But I ask of Tyndale no such far-fetched whys, but a why of his  
 own deed. And that since we now have, and hundreds of years have  
 had, English names enough for such orders of offices as he translated  
 out of Latin—I ask him this why: why did he translate the  
 same by this English word “elder,” which nothing signifieth  
 the same? And since that in the texts that himself allegeth, neither  
 the Greek word *presbyteri* nor the Latin word *seniores* signifieth  
 those places, by Tyndale’s own confession, the age, but the office: why  
 giveth he, then, that English word “elder” in their stead, which  
 signifieth not the office but the age? For though Tyndale say that  
*presbyteros* and *seniores* was at that time nothing understood but an  
 elder (wherein as touching *presbyteros* peradventure it will be proved  
 untrue), yet since himself saith not nay, but by his own words  
 affirmeth (and in that point it happeth him to say true indeed),  
 that both *presbyteros* and *seniores* be in those places set to signify the  
 office and not the age (for else had young Timothy, upon the  
 calling together of *presbyteros* or *seniores*, been left uncalled and had  
 leave to bide at home), whatsoever moved in the first giving of  
 the name the apostles or the interpreter to call the office by the name  
 of *presbyteros* in Greek or *seniores* in Latin... it was Tyndale’s part yet in  
 his English translation to give it that English name by which  
 the office (were it holy or profane) was and long had been commonly  
 known in England.

And further, if no special name would have contented him—yet  
 should he then have called *presbyteros* the “rulers,” “governors,” or  
 “officers,” or some such other English word which signifieth

office, rather than to call it “elders,” by which name there is in the English tongue none office understood at all, but only the bare age.

And thus, as touching change of *presbyteros* into “seniors,” and his amendment into “elders,” that is to wit, from evil to worse: ye see how well he hath acquitted him.

5

Howbeit, if he had had in the change none other fault but folly... it should have been long ere I would have gone about to find it. But now standeth all the matter in this which he slippeth over: that he did it of very cankered malice, by which he setteth forth against Christ and his church his deadly, malicious heresy... wherewith he would make men ween that Holy Orders were no sacrament. And for *that* cause he asketh why that the apostles did not call the priests *hiereus* in Greek, but *presbyteros*, which signified, he saith, nothing but only elders. And by this reason would Tyndale have it seem that the apostles did take the Christian priests for no more consecrated persons than other Christian men, because they used a word that had none holy signification.

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But Tyndale here, though he wink fast... is not yet so fast asleep as he maketh for. For if he listed to lift up his head and look up a little, he should soon see that his argument were assoiled with the other word which he hath also mistranslated of like malice: *ecclesia*.

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For if he will needs argue that priests be no persons consecrated, nor their Order no sacrament, because the apostles called them *presbyteri*... which name had at that time none holy signification in the Greek tongue, where they took it: then seeth Tyndale well enough (saving that he winketh and *will* not see it) that it must needs follow that Baptism were no sacrament neither, because the apostles and evangelists called it *baptisma*, and in Holy Scripture also named the holy company of baptized people by this Greek word *ecclesia*... of which two words, *baptisma* and *ecclesia*, neither nother had in the Greek tongue before, any holy signification at all, nor signified there any other thing than the one a washing, the other a congregation or assembly, of heathen, paynim people. And thus is in this point Tyndale’s plain folly and dissembled falsehood well and plainly convicted.

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And, now, since that the apostles and evangelists did apply and  
 appropier that profane word *ecclesia* to signify the whole company  
 of Christian people sacred and sanctified in the holy Sacrament of  
 Baptism, and in like wise the profane word *presbyteros* to  
 signify a certain sort of the same company specially consecrated 5  
 unto God by the holy Sacrament of Order: he that now translateth  
 those words in those places into the English tongue by any other  
 words than such as in the English tongue do signify those holy,  
 consecrated companies, the one segregated from paynims by the Sacrament  
 of Baptism, the other segregated from the laypeople by the 10  
 Sacrament of Order—as Tyndale hath done both in the holy name  
 of “church” and “priests,” calling the one but “congregation,” the  
 other first but “senior,” and now, that worse is, but “elder”—if he know it  
 for no fault, then is it great ignorance; if he forget to mark it,  
 then is it great negligence; if he perceive it and dissemble it, then 15  
 is it great falsehood; if he do it, as Tyndale doth, to make priesthood  
 seem none holy sacrament, then is it a very malicious, pestilent  
 heresy... like as if he would in like manner and of like intent translate  
*baptisma* into “washing,” to make men ween it were no nother  
 manner washing when the priest christeneth a child than when a 20  
 woman washeth a buck of clothes.

He planteth in a great process to small purpose... because I said  
 that Timothy was not old. And then Tyndale saith that Saint Paul  
 chose him because he found in him more wisdom, sadness, and 25  
 virtue than in the aged men of that place. And Tyndale doth well  
 to tell us so; for else would all the world have went that Saint Paul  
 had made a young man bishop because he would have had him  
 wild.

But then goeth he forth and showeth us a solemn process, that God  
 and necessity is “lawless”; and all this he bringeth in to prove that 30  
 not only young men but women also may for necessity administer all  
 the sacraments... and that as they may christen for necessity, so  
 they may for necessity preach, and for necessity consecrate also the  
 Blessed Body of Christ. And for to make this matter likely, he is  
 fain to imagine an unlikely case: that “a woman were driven [alone] 35  
 into an island where Christ was never preached.” As though things

that we call “chance” and “hap” happed to come so to pass without  
any providence of God! Tyndale may make himself sure that since

*Mt 10:29*

there falleth not a *sparrow* upon the ground  
without our Father that is in heaven, there

shall no *woman* fall aland in any so far an island, where he will  
have his name preached and his sacraments administered, but that  
God can and will well enough provide a man or twain to come to  
land with her; whereof we have had already meetly good experience,  
and that within few years.

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For I am sure there have been more islands, and more part of the  
firm land and continent, discovered and found out within this  
forty years last past than was new-found, as far as any man  
may perceive, this three thousand years before; and in many of these  
places the name of Christ now new-known, too, and preachings had,  
and sacraments administered, without any woman fallen aland  
alone. But God hath provided that his name is preached by such good  
Christian folk as Tyndale now most railleth upon—that is, good religious  
friars, and especially the Friars Observants, honest, godly,  
chaste, virtuous people—not by such as Friar Luther is, that is run  
out of religion, nor by casting aland alone any such holy nun  
as his harlot is.

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When Tyndale hath proved by this unprobable case that women  
may consecrate the Body of Christ—then he lamenteth the miserable  
servitude of the simple souls, the poor, seely women, because  
men will not suffer them to say Mass, and crieth out upon us: “O  
poor women! How despise ye them! The viler the better welcome to you!  
Better is to you a whore than a good woman!”

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O the tender heart of piteous Tyndale! He beginneth now, by  
likelihood, to look toward wedding; he speaketh like a wooer. But he  
will, I warrant you, no vile person; but because he is a priest and  
hath promised perpetually to live chaste... he will none whore, therefore,  
but rather will do as Luther hath done: wed a nun and  
make her a whore.

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Then exhorteth he full holily, and in manner conjureth also, the  
reader, in our Lord God, that he shall read over the two epistles  
of Saint Paul written to Timothy, whereof himself also rehearseth

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part—which whosoever read, shall see therein both the false malice of the man and yet the working of God therewith. For God hath caused Tyndale to put in such things as directly reprove his own conditions; and the devil hath made him falsely to leave out those words which if he had set in... must needs have openly declared that all is heresy that ever he goeth about. 5

For Saint Paul there teacheth Timothy to beware and avoid the company of “men of corrupt minds” which waste their brains about wrangling questions. And Tyndale is in company of none other... but such as Luther is, and Friar Huessgen, and their fellows, that had wasted out their wits so long about wrangling heresies that now they are fallen at last to run out of religion and waste out their brains about wrangling wives. 10

*1 Tm 6:3–11, 20; 5:1* Saint Paul also teacheth Timothy that he should not sharply rebuke any man that were elder than himself, but exhort him as his father, though himself was bishop and, as Tyndale saith, an apostle too. Now, Tyndale—being neither nother, nor having any office so much as among heretics—letteth neither sharply to rebuke his elders in age nor also to jest and rail upon all states, spiritual and temporal, throughout all Christendom, and namely against all religious men... but if they will run out and wed. And thus ye may see with what fruit Tyndale readeth Saint Paul. 15 20

Now would I that Tyndale had put in this place these words that *1 Tm 4:14* he leaveth out: “Noli negligere gratiam quae in te est, quae data est tibi per prophetiam, cum impositione manuum presbyteri” (“Neglect not the grace that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the putting-upon the hands of a priest”). And afterward, in *2 Tm 1:6* the second epistle: “Admoneo te ut resuscites gratiam Dei quae est in te per impositionem manuum mearum” (“I warn thee that thou stir up the grace of God that is in thee by the putting of mine hands upon thee”). 25 30

These words of Saint Paul to Timothy in those epistles which Tyndale exhorteth every man to read, and whereof himself rehearseth 35



also part, do manifestly reprove Tyndale's heresy, and clearly prove the holy order of priesthood a sacrament.

For these places show both the sensible sign of laying the Apostle's hands upon Timothy in the making of him priest... and also that God gave his grace therewith. And the first text sheweth also, after the Greek (in which it is "with the putting-upon the hands" not "of a priest," as the Latin is, but "of priesthood"), the power and authority that Timothy had in giving the same grace forth unto others whom he should after make priests. 5

And these texts do so plainly reprove him... that he is fain to make a shameful shameless shift to void them, such as all the world may wonder at. For he saith in his book of *Obedience* that the putting on of Saint Paul's hands upon Timothy was no sacramental sign... nor any other thing but a custom of putting a man's hand upon another... as men do here upon a boy's head when they call him "Good son," or as Saint Paul used to stretch out his arm to the people when he preached. 10 15

What availeth it to lay manifest Holy Scripture to Tyndale, that forceth so little so manifestly to mock it? Tyndale crieth out that every man misconstrueth the Scripture—and then himself, ye see what construction he maketh! Saint Paul saith plainly that Timothy received grace by the putting of his hands upon him. And Tyndale letteth not to tell him as plainly nay... and that he did but stroke Timothy's head and call him "Good son"—by likelihood because he was but young. But howsoever Tyndale list to trifle... these places plainly reprove and convict his heresy, and prove priesthood a holy sacrament. 20 25

Now falleth he to railing upon the holy *ceremonies* of priesthood, as shaving and anointing. And first he saith that "if only shaven and anointed may [preach, or consecrate the sacraments], then Christ did them not, nor none of his apostles, nor any man in long time after; for they used no such ceremonies." 30

This is a worthy jest, I promise you. If me listed here to trifle as Tyndale doth... I could ask him how he proveth that Saint Peter was never shaven, since I suppose he never saw him; or if he would put *me* to prove that he *was* shaven—and therein, when I could find no plain Scripture for it, Tyndale would not believe me but if I 35

brought forth his barber—I might tell Tyndale again that I were not bound, since the Scripture sheweth it not, to believe him that Saint Peter was ever christened, till Tyndale bring forth his godfather!

But these fantasies, of his and mine both, go far from the matter. 5  
 The truth is that as God by Moses taught his synagogue certain goodly ceremonies for the garnishing of the service done to him by his Chosen People there, and for the stirring of them to devotion: so hath he by his own Holy Spirit, whom he sent to instruct his Church, taught them holy ceremonies to be used about his blessed 10  
*Holy ceremonies stir sacraments, to the honor thereof and to*  
*up devotion. the increase of Christian men's devotion—*  
*as indeed it doth, whatsoever Tyndale*  
 babble. Now be there among these the shaving and the anointing of the priest. And so is there the apparel of the priest at Mass, and 15  
 many other observances used in the same. Now, if some of the same were before used either among Jews or paynims... yet Christ's church "borrowed" them neither of the Jews nor the paynims (as Tyndale saith), but took them again of God. Now, where Tyndale argueth that if none may consecrate the Sacrament but only "shaven and anointed," then Christ nor any of his apostles might not, because 20  
 they were never shaven nor anointed—he maketh a worshipful reason. For first, our Savior Christ—the very inward-anointed Priest whom God had anointed "with the oil of gladness above all his fellows"—needed neither ceremony nor sacrament as touching 25  
 himself. And as touching his apostles, though Christ unto them instituted sacraments—yet he left many of the ceremonies to the Holy Ghost to teach, by whom they be instituted and by whom they be in the Church continued. Now is there none that may consecrate the Sacrament but if he be first made priest... and priest is there 30  
 none made but the ceremonies of shaving and anointing are used in the making... though they be not the substance of the Sacrament of Order, no more than the catechisms and exorcisms at the christening be of the substance of the Sacrament of Baptism. And therefore though before those ceremonies used, priests might consecrate 35  
 unshaven and unanointed, when shaving and anointing was not yet instituted: yet *now* can there none do so, since there is no priest made unshaven and unanointed. For if they make any at Wittenberg by a bare choice, without the giving of the Sacrament of Holy Orders by such as have power to give them... they be no 40

priests nor may not consecrate at all, no more than may the devil.

### Tyndale

And seeing that the oil is not of necessity: let M. More tell me  
 what more virtue is in the oil of Confirmation, inasmuch as the  
 bishop sacreth the one as well as the other; yea, and let him tell  
 the reason why there should be more virtue in the oil wherewith the  
 bishop anointeth his priests. Let him tell you from whence the  
 oil cometh, how it is made, and why he selleth it to the curates,  
 wherewith they anoint the sick, or whether this be of less virtue  
 than the other.

### More

Tyndale here putteth many questions to me which he will that  
 I must needs answer because the oil in the making of a priest is  
 not of necessity; but surely these questions be to the matter of much  
 less necessity. Howbeit, because I must needs answer to men of  
 such authority when the questions be so solemnly put: I say  
 that if a bishop sacre the one oil and the other both alike,  
 there is no more virtue in the one than is in the other. But I say  
 that the oil being all one... it is in the anointing of the priest a  
 holy ceremony; and in the anointing of the child at Confirmation  
 it is the matter of a holy sacrament... and in the Aneling of the Sick  
 also, and every of these two is one of the seven which the Spirit of  
 God hath taught the church of Christ to know and use for seven  
 sovereign means of very special grace.

And therefore such difference is there as between the hallowed  
 water standing in the font before it be occupied—or if it were  
 sprinkled upon a man for holy water—and the same hallowed water  
 being occupied in the christening of a child at the time in  
 which it is applied thereto. For in that time, besides the goodness  
 that it hath of the hallowing... it hath another effectual goodness by  
 God's ordinance, whereby it is made a  
 means of purging the soul from sin, and  
 infusion of God's grace, and of enabling  
 the new-regenerated creature to inheritance of heaven.

And when Tyndale asketh me in any of these things the cause and  
 the reason why—I might as well ask him the cause and reason why in

the nature and property of any natural thing: beast, herb, tree, or stone. Which if I were so mad to look that Tyndale were able to tell me—what had he more to say than that God had planted that nature and property therein? Which answer shall also serve in these holy ceremonies and sacraments... whereof the *virtues* be caused by God's ordinance, through his holy words; whereof the *profit* is limited and apportioned after such rate and degrees as is to no man fully and perfectly known, but only to God, that giveth it. And thus answer I Tyndale to these questions. 5

He asketh farther from whence the oil cometh, and whereof it is made. What is that any more to the matter than from whence the water is fetched that is put into the font, or of what grapes the wine was made that Christ at his Maundy turned into his Blood? 10

Now, where he asketh me why the bishop selleth it unto the curates wherewith they anoint the sick: thereto I say that the bishop *sendeth* it to the curates because they should therewith anoint the sick in the Sacrament of Aneling. 15

But why he *selleth* it to the curates, if he so did: thereof can I not tell the cause... but if it were, peradventure, because he would be paid therefor. But I can tell well that the bishop selleth it *not*, to curates nor no man else, but the curates have it sent them free, but if they reward the bringer of their courtesy with a groat—which bringer is yet the archdeacon's servant, and not the bishop's. And this I can tell for I have enquired for the nonce. And by this can I tell as well that Tyndale here belieth the bishop shamefully for the nonce. 20 25

Tyndale

And when he affirmeth that I say—how the oiling and shaving is no part of the priesthood!—that improveth he not, nor can do, and therefore I say it yet.

More

It is very truth that I improve him not in that point... but am well content that he say it yet, and I will say the same. But I improve that he saith every Christian man, and every woman too, is as verily a priest as these that at the receipt of that Holy Order are both anointed and shaven. This is it that I improve; and this is it that is a stark heresy though Tyndale say it yet. 30 35

## Tyndale

When he ensearched the uttermost that he can—this is all that he can lay against me: that of a hundred, there be not ten that have the properties which Paul requireth to be in them. Wherefore, if oiling and shaving be no part of their priesthood—then evermore of a thousand, nine hundred at the least should be no priests at all. And Quoth-Your-Friend would confirm it with an oath and swear deeply that it would follow, and that it must needs so be. Which argument yet, if there were none other shift... I would solve after an Oxford fashion, with *concedo*, *consequentiam*, and *consequens*.

## More

Tyndale here maketh a tale, as though it were a dialogue, or, rather, a trialogue, between himself, the Messenger, and me... saying that I in my *Dialogue* did allege that if oiling and shaving were no part of their priesthood... then of a thousand priests, nine hundred at the least were no priests at all, for lack that of a hundred priests, there be not ten that have the properties that Saint Paul requireth to be in them. And he saith the Messenger would affirm it with a great oath... and that himself would, “if there were none other shift,” assoil it “after an Oxford fashion, with *concedo*, *consequentiam*, and *consequens*.” Wherein he meaneth that, since he *showeth* none other shift, he granted both twain for true: that is to wit, that except oiling and shaving be part of the priesthood, else it must needs follow that of a thousand priests, nine hundred be none at all, for lack of good conditions; and also he granteth not only that of reason it would so follow, but also that it is true indeed, that for as so much as oiling and shaving be *not* the things that maketh them priests, and good conditions they lack... therefore they be no priests at all.

But forasmuch as he saith that he will assoil it so for lack of other shift... he shall not need so to do; for I will find him another shift myself—and a plain contrary shift—and assoil it with *nego*, *consequentiam*, and *consequens*. For whereas he granteth both to be true: I say that they be both false. And whereas he maketh as though they were mine own words and the Messenger’s with me—in good faith, I neither remember them nor find them, albeit that I have purposely looked for them in all such places of my *Dialogue* as

methought it should be if it were there at all. And therefore leaving  
that point in question between us till I come to reply to his *Answer*  
made unto my *Dialogue*—at which time I shall read it over of  
necessity and must needs find it if it be therein—I will in the meanwhile  
not let, if I said it myself, to say that I said wrong. For by 5

*And so do all good men.* God's grace, never will I wittingly while  
I live defend the thing that myself  
shall think untrue, though it had happed me to say it myself...  
but that I shall well and plainly revoke it and call it back, not  
dissembling mine own oversight. And would God Tyndale would do 10  
the like, and Luther too—they should then neither so stiffly defend so  
shameless heresies as they do, nor make so shameless glosses of their  
own former words, when they see them so reproved that they can in  
no wise defend them... nor so shamefully change from worse to  
worse, as Luther hath against his own conscience done in some 15  
one matter thrice.

To the matter I say, therefore, that it is *false* that if oiling and  
shaving be no part of the priesthood, then it must follow that of a  
thousand there be nine hundred no priests at all. For I say that  
oiling and shaving be no part of the priesthood indeed... but be holy 20  
ceremonies used about the consecration; likewise as in Matrimony  
and Baptism both, be divers holy ceremonies used that be not the  
essential points of those sacraments. And therefore is it false that  
if oiling and shaving be no part of the priesthood, the priest is no  
priest for lack of priestly virtues. For the holy Sacrament of Order 25  
is given him by the imposition of the bishop's hands upon  
him in such wise as the church of Christ useth and ever hath used  
since the death of Christ unto these days.

And that the grace of God appointed unto Holy Orders *is* given  
with that putting-upon of the hands... is twice declared by Saint 30

*1 Tm 4:14* Paul in his epistles to Timothy—and that so  
*2 Tm 1:6* plainly that it grieveth Tyndale's heart to  
hear thereof, and maketh him to make a  
mock thereat and say it was but like as a man layeth his hand on  
a boy's head when he calleth him "Good son." 35

But the place is, for all that, so plain... that when Tyndale so  
playeth therewith and so laugheth thereat, he laugheth but from the

lips forward, and girneth as a dog doth when one porreth  
 him in the teeth with a stick. And thus have I proved the consequence  
 to be false which Tyndale granteth for true. Now, to that  
 other part, that is to wit, the consequent which he granteth for  
 true also, I say that it is false also. For likewise as he granteth that 5  
 a priest is no priest at all for lack of priestly conditions—so  
 might he say as well that a Christian man is not christened at all, for  
 lack of Christian conditions. And because Tyndale will have a priest  
 nothing but an officer—yet, after his own false and fond fashion,  
 he should not grant it for true. For then must he say that *every* 10  
 evil officer—mayor, bailiff, constable, or sheriff—if he misuse  
 himself in his office, were forthwith out of office. And thus ye see  
 that the consequent is false which Tyndale also granteth to be true.

But all this business maketh he for hatred and despite that he  
 beareth to priesthood, and to the Divine Service that the priests say, 15  
 whereof himself saith none at all... and for the malice that he  
 beareth to the Mass, which himself never saith... and unto the holy  
 sacraments which the priests administereth, and which Tyndale  
 utterly striveth to destroy.

*Against Tyndale's Translating of  
 Caritas into "Love" Rather Than  
 into "Charity"* 20

Here maketh Tyndale a great process... and telleth us that  
 "charity" hath in English speech divers significations: sometimes  
 love, sometimes mercy, sometimes patience. And what is all this to 25  
 purpose? Should he therefore leave out "charity" where it may conveniently  
 stand? By this wise reason we should never use the word in  
 one signification nor other... lest the one should be taken for the  
 other. Now it liketh him to forget that the circumstances take  
 away the doubt—which thing since he layeth so often for his 30  
 excuse, he must be content that it also serve for his charge. For since  
*Love* this word "love," that he setteth in the stead  
 of "charity," hath of itself some doubt  
 also, whether it mean good or evil, but if the circumstance somewhat  
 set it out: what need was it to put the indifferent word "love" 35  
 in the place of the undoubted *good* word "charity," whereas the sentence

well showed that it signified neither mercy nor patience, but love...  
and then the word signified that it meant *good* love, which *is*  
expressed by “charity”?

Then showeth he that the Greek word *agape* standeth so, sometimes,  
that he must needs interpret it “love” and not “charity”; as though I had 5  
found a fault with him because he used this word “love” in such  
places as this word “charity” might *not* conveniently stand!—whereas  
I find the fault in this: that he putteth out “charity” where it *might* well  
stand; and that so often that he seemeth to mislike the name of charity.

*Charity* Now, because I say that every “love” is 10  
not charity, but only such love as is good  
and ordinate: Tyndale answereth me, “No more is every ‘faith’  
Christ’s faith.” That wot we well enough; but yet, put by itself, it  
commonly signifieth “Christ’s faith” in matters of the faith; so that when  
we mean a false faith, we be fain always to set some other word 15  
therewith, as when we say “Tyndale’s faith,” “Luther’s faith,” “Friar  
Huessgen’s faith,” and such other like.

He putteth another example by this word “hope,” and saith that  
every “hope” is not a Christian hope... and yet he must use it, and a  
thousand other words like, such as be indifferent and signify 20  
both good and bad... *all* which if he should eschew, he should, he  
saith, translate nothing at all.

Who biddeth him leave all such words out? Or who saith that he  
should *never* put in this word “love”? He answereth the thing that  
no man layeth to his charge; and the thing that I lay to his charge 25

*Hope* he leaveth ever unanswered. For go me to  
his word “hope,” which *is* indifferent, and  
signifieth as well hope of getting the love of his leman as hope  
of reward in heaven for charity borne to his enemy. Though this be  
thus, yet if there were in English a word that signifieth none 30  
hope but a good, godly hope (as “charity” signifieth no love but a  
good, godly love), then were he an evil translator that, where the  
place in Greek or Latin speaketh of good hope, would not translate it  
into that English word that signified none other hope but good.

And therefore it well appeareth that Tyndale doth not well when 35  
thereas the Scripture speaketh of *good* love, he had liefer translate it  
by the word “love,” that is indifferent to both good and bad, than by  
the word “charity,” that signifieth no love but good. This is it that I



charge him with, and to this I would have him answer once... and not, leaving this untouched, walk and wander at large and never meet with the matter.

### Tyndale

[Yet saith he farther:] *Agape* and *caritas* were words used among heathen men ere Christ came, and signified, therefore, more than a godly love. And we may say well enough—and I have heard it spoken—that “the Turks be charitable one to another among themselves, and some of them unto Christian men.” Besides all this, *agape* is common to all loves. 5 10

### More

Yet he is in hand again with *agape* often, and bringeth not forth one wise word. For though this Greek word *agape* signify love indifferently, good and bad—yet this word “charity” signifieth no love but good. And therefore in such places of Scripture as *agape* signifieth *good* love, why should Tyndale, translating into English, rather take this word “love”—that signifieth no more good love than bad—rather than this word “charity,” that signifieth no love but good? This I ask him yet again! 15

Now, though this Latin word *caritas* was a word used among the heathen ere Christ came... and though it had signified in Latin at that time, among them, an evil love and a naughty—yet this *English* word “charity” never signified among *us* any other love than good; not even in that speech that Tyndale speaketh of, that “Turks be charitable among themselves, and some of them to Christian people too”... where it signifieth yet rather pity than love. And therefore Tyndale must in his English translation take his English words as they signify in *English*, rather than as the words signify in the tongue out of which they were taken *into* the English. And yet remember I not that *caritas* in the Latin tongue was used to signify evil love. And I say to Tyndale yet further, that though this English word “charity” had been English before the birth of Christ, and had then signified among English infidels an evil, wanton love—yea, though it had then, among them, signified none other love *but* naughty—yet since it signifieth not that but the contrary now in our 20 25 30 35

*Note* time, and so hath signified long before our days... Tyndale must needs in his

English translation use his English words in such signification  
as the people useth them in his *own* time, and not in such signification  
as they were used in of old time, which the people have  
changed and forgotten hundreds of years ere he were born.

For else he should make a gay confusion, if he would in the 5  
matters of virtue and Christian faith use the old words after the old  
fashion... and take *fides* for nothing but such as it signified ere  
Christ came. Then wheresoever he found in Saint Augustine and  
other holy doctors “*persona Patris*,” “*persona Filii*,” “*persona Spiritus Sancti*”...  
Tyndale must call them not the “persons” but the “visors” of the Father, 10  
the Son, and the Holy Ghost... and make men ween that they dance in  
a mask.

And thus yet again ye see to how little purpose this reason serveth  
Tyndale, that *agape* and *caritas* were words used among the heathen  
ere Christ was born. 15

#### Tyndale

Finally, I say not “Charity God,” or “Charity your neighbor,” but “Love  
God,” and “Love your neighbor.”

#### More

This is a pretty point of juggling... by which he would make 20  
the reader look aside, that himself might play a false cast the while...  
and men should not see wherein the question standeth. For he maketh  
as though I reproveth that he hath this word “love” in his translation  
in any place at all, whereas I neither so said nor so thought. But the  
fault I found—as in my *Dialogue* I said plainly enough—was that 25  
he rather chose to use this word “love” than this word “charity” in  
such places as he might *well* have used this word “charity”; and  
where the Latin text was *caritas*, and where this holy word “charity”  
was more proper for the matter than this indifferent word “love.”  
This was the fault that I found. And therefore whereof serveth his 30  
trifling between the noun and the verb? I let him not to say “Love  
thy neighbor”; nor I bid him not say “Charity thy neighbor,” nor  
“Good-affection thy neighbor,” nor “Good-mind thy neighbor,” no  
more than “Drink thy neighbor.” And yet as he may say there “Give  
thy neighbor drink”... so may he if it please him say “Bear thy 35  
neighbor good mind,” “Bear thy neighbor charity.”

## Tyndale

Though we say a man ought to “love” his neighbor’s wife or his neighbor’s daughter, a Christian man doth not understand that he is commanded to defile his neighbor’s wife nor his neighbor’s daughter.

5

## More

This matter is somewhat amended here by this word “*ought* to ‘love.’” But *else* if Tyndale fall not to the “charitying” but to the “loving” of his neighbor’s wife, or the “loving” of his neighbor’s daughter, I had as lief he bore them both a bare charity as with the frail feminine sex fall too far in “love,” namely since he saith that priests must needs have wives.

10

But whereof serveth him this example? Did any man forbid him to use this word “love”? He maketh as though I forbade that word utterly... because I forbid it him where he should not use it but “charity.” Thus crieth he out upon all the Church... and saith they forbid all matrimony, because they forbid the banns between friars and nuns.

15

*Against Tyndale’s Translating  
“Favor” Instead of “Grace”*

20

## Tyndale

And with like reasons rageth he because I turn *charis* into “favor,” and not into “grace”... saying that “every favor is not grace,” and that “in some favor there is but little grace.” I can say also in some grace there is little goodness—as when we say, “He standeth well in my lady’s grace,” we understand no great godly favor; and in universities there be many ungracious graces gotten.

25

## More

This is *all* that he saith for his putting out of “grace” and setting in of “favor.” And I pray you consider what cause hath he now showed why he so should do! And yet his title of this chapter is “Why ‘Favor’ and Not ‘Grace,’” as though he would tell you why. And hath he now showed you any cause at all?—but thinketh that his proper scoffing is sufficient to change the known, holy names of

30

virtue, through all Scripture, into such words as himself liketh.  
 And now he pleaseth himself wonderfully well because he hath  
 found out so feately that pretty scoff that “grace” signifieth sometimes  
 no good, as when a man “standeth well in his lady’s grace.” But he  
 seeth well that I find with him the fault for changing “grace”  
 into “favor” where the Scripture speaketh not of “the grace of my lady,” 5  
 but of “the grace of our Lord.” In speaking whereof—albeit that God’s  
 favor is never but good—yet is in respect unto his creature his  
*God’s grace and favor* grace and his favor *not* always one... but  
*is not always one.* he both favo<sup>r</sup>eth *for* his grace and giveth  
 grace *for* his favor... and favo<sup>r</sup>eth for his 10  
 mercy... and yet his favor and his mercy not both one, in respect, I  
 say, to his creatures, though his own nature be so entire and whole  
 that all that ever is in him is all one. And yet where he putteth his  
 example of “standing in his lady’s grace”... because it is yet but  
 indifferent, for that may be good enough, he should have made the example 15  
 by lewd Luther and his lewd lady’s grace. And when he saith  
 that in the university many ungracious graces be gotten, he should  
 have made it more plain and better perceived if he had said as  
 for example, when his own Grace was there granted to be made  
 Master of Art. And thus graciously hath he acquitted himself in 20  
 putting out of “grace.”

*Against Tyndale’s Changing of “Confession”  
 into “Knowledge,” and “Penance” into “Repentance”*

Tyndale 25

And that I use this word “knowledge” and not “confession,” and this  
 word “repentance” and not “penance”—in all which he cannot prove  
 that I give not the right English unto the Greek word.

More 30

This is plain untrue that Tyndale saith, as I have plainly  
 showed already in the words “church,” “priest,” “charity,” and “grace”;  
 all which chapters whoso read and consider from the beginning,  
 and advise well Tyndale’s words and mine, be he learned, be he not  
 learned, that readeth them, if he have natural wit and be but indifferent...  
 he shall, I doubt not, find Tyndale in these points so 35

clearly confounded that he shall trust both his learning the less and his wit the worse while he liveth after. Besides that he shall perceive also malice, hatred, and envy so stuffed in Tyndale's heart that although he had great wit and learning both, yet must the mist of such blind affections needs blindfold them both.

5

#### Tyndale

But it is a far other thing that paineth them and biteth them by the breasts. There be secret pangs that pinch the very hearts of them, whereof they dare not complain. The sickness that maketh them so impatient is that they have lost their juggling terms. For the doctors-preachers were wont to make many divisions, distinctions, and sorts of grace: *gratis data*, *gratum faciens*, *praeveniens*, and *subsequens*.

10

#### More

Nay, God be thanked, they have *not* lost these terms yet, and God forbid they should. For these terms of grace be no English terms...

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but terms necessary for the true knowledge of God's gifts and graces. But *Tyndale* hath indeed lost them, from whose heart the devil hath juggled all grace save *gratia gratis data*—and yet that too,

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almost; with which *gratia gratis data*, all had he thereof much more than he hath, he might go forth as he goeth: the straight way down to the devil. For those be graces and gifts as God giveth a man

whereof he may make a matter of virtue or a matter of vice, as him list to use them; and abusing them to vice, the man is much the worse for them: as beauty, strength, learning, or wit. *Gratia gratum*

25

*Gratia gratum faciens*      *faciens* is that grace by which the man is acceptable to God: as the grace given in

the baptism, though it be to children; and the grace with which in faith, hope, and charity man worketh good works—watch, fast,

30

pray, give alms, and such other like as God rewardeth in heaven. Now, forasmuch as man can do no good but if God begin (and he is always ready to begin!), therefore the grace with which God beginneth

*Gratia praeveniens*      to set us a-work is called *gratia praeveniens*.

And forasmuch as we should soon cease to but if grace continued with us (as our eye should cease to see if that we lacked light), God continueth his grace with us to

35

Gratia cooperans	work with us, which is called <i>gratia cooperans</i> . And yet forasmuch as he that well worketh with grace deserveth of God by God's goodness increase of grace, according to the Gospel—"Omni habenti dabitur et abundabit" ("To every man that hath, there shall be given, and he shall abound,"	5
<i>Mt 25:20–21, 28–29</i>		
	that well bestoweth his talents of grace and worketh well therewith)—therefore the grace that God giveth a man for the good use of his former grace may be called <i>gratia subsequens</i> . And finally, forasmuch as grace persevering with man at his end bringeth him to glory... which whoso attaineth is then in surety of steadfast and imperishable	10
Gratia consummans	grace and favor of God: this final grace is called <i>gratia consummans</i> , that is, grace that perfecteth the thing.	15
	Now, since every man perceiveth well that albeit that in God all is one grace, with which he preventeth our good works, and with which he helpeth them forth in the progress, and which addeth and maketh more abound, and with which he perfecteth his creature in glory—yet since that in us and our works it is diversely considered after diverse respects... and of every each of those respects falleth necessity for men in schools oftentimes to speak (especially for the reproof of those heretics that would have no divisions nor distinctions whereby the thing should be made open and plain, but would blind and beguile their hearers with darkness and confusion), reason requireth to give every diverse respect a diverse name among them that must often speak thereof... except that they should in an argument at every third word repeat a whole tale, where one word agreed upon may well and sufficiently serve.	20
		25
	And therefore ye may see that these be no juggling terms, but terms devised with good reason and of necessity. But surely the false, subtle juggler the devil hath taught these young jugglers, his scholars Luther, Huessgen, and Tyndale, to fall to such false juggling... that they labor sore to juggle away, not only those terms of grace, and the very name of grace, out of men's ears... but also the <i>belief</i> of all grace, and therewith the <i>effect</i> of all grace, clean out of	30
		35

men's hearts; and, free will and grace taken away, to make men believe that there is nothing at all but destiny. And so, pretending liberty, they put all in thralldom; and pretending virtue, they drive men to vice; and pretending God, they drive men to the devil. And this is Tyndale's juggling... which because he would not were perceived—to dissemble his false juggling and have *it* taken for truth—he calleth the plain truth by the name of "juggling," as ye shall hear by and by. 5

#### Tyndale

With "confession" they juggled, and made the people, as oft as they spoke of it, understand shrift in the ear; whereof the Scripture maketh no mention. No, it is clean *against* the Scripture, as they use it and preach it; and unto God an abomination, and a foul, stinking sacrifice unto the filthy idol Priapus. 10

#### More

This high, godly, "spiritual" man taketh for none abomination at all, but can abide well and hold very well with, and not defend it only, but commend it also... that a nun consecrated unto God should run out of religion and do foul, stinking sacrifice to that filthy idol of Priapus that Friar Luther beareth about to gather in his offering with; and that they shall both, and a great many such ribalds more... shamefully show their abominable bitchery, to the corruption of the world, openly. But he cannot abide in no wise that any man should so repent his secret sin that he should unto his confessor show it secretly. *This* can Tyndale in no wise abide. 15  
And why? For he would rather have sin showed in shameless boasting, whereby it might increase and grow... than shamefastly showed in confession, where it might be weeded out and cast away. 20

I purpose not here to fall in dispicions with Tyndale for the matter; nor at every lewd fellow's blasphemy... to bring the blessed sacraments in question. For since Tyndale cannot himself deny 25

*Confession* but that Saint Augustine, Saint Jerome, Saint Ambrose, Saint Gregory, Saint Cyprian, and other holy saints have both used, allowed, commended, and taken confession for a necessary part of penance; and 30  
every good man hath in himself ever found no little spiritual 35

profit and soul-comfort therein: it shall not now greatly force what a newly founded sort of heretics bark and bawl thereat.

And as for this word “knowledge,” is very far from the Greek word *exomologesis*... and as far from the Latin word *confessio*... and yet much more from the very matter itself: that is to wit, from the Sacrament of Penance. For both the Greek word and the Latin do signify an opening and a showing of the thing—and the matter itself meaneth a willingly offered declaration of the secret, hidden sin—and this English word “knowledge” is ambiguous and doubtful. For as it is a noun, it signifieth but the knowing of a thing, or understanding... as where a man saith, “This child hath yet no knowledge neither of good nor evil.” And when it is a verb, or that it is turned into this word “acknowledging”... yet signifieth it rather the not denying than the willingly telling of our own fault, and namely of our own offer. For that noun “acknowledging” and that verb “acknowledge” hath in our tongue their proper place where the fault is by some other laid unto a man’s charge... and where this Latin word *agnosco* or *agnitio* may stand in the place if they talked in Latin. As where we say of a stubborn body that standeth still in the denying of his fault that is laid before his face, “This man will not acknowledge his fault,” or “He will not be acknown of his fault.” And therefore is this word “acknowledge” or “acknowledging” not very meet nor very proper neither for the Greek word nor the Latin—and least of all for the matter, since that confessing and confession is the willingly made declaration of our sin unlaid unto us by any man save ourself. In which doing though the penitent use among with his confessor this word “acknowledging”—yet is it rather his willing behavior that serveth the matter than the property of that English word.

Now, if Tyndale will tell us that “confession” and “confessing” is drawn out of the Latin, and then will ask me what English word had we for the thing before: I ween we had *before*, none at all, but ever *since*, the proper English word hath been “shriff” and “shriving.” For, saving that the goodness of God brought in that thing with his holy sacrament of Penance (which was brought in by the Latins), men were, I ween, far off from confessing of their faults themselves of their own offer—and scanty would acknowledge them when they were laid unto their charge and proved to their



face. Only *God* hath brought in, with the grace of the sacrament, that men are so suppled and made humble in heart that they will willingly go show themselves their own sins to the priest (whom God hath there appointed in his stead), and there abide the shame and the rebuke thereof, and lowly submit themselves to such pain and penance as their confessor shall assign them, and the same faithfully fulfill in punishment of themselves for their sin. 5

But this is it that Tyndale meaneth: he would have all willing confession quite cast away, and all penance-doing too, as himself showeth by and by. 10

#### Tyndale

And in like manner, by this word “penance” they make the people understand holy deeds of their enjoining, with which they must make satisfaction to Godward for their sins—when all the Scripture preacheth that Christ hath made full satisfaction for our sins! 15

#### More

This is a great sin, lo: that ever any man should take pain for his sin. Now, though the Scripture preacheth that Christ *hath* made full satisfaction for our sins—yet would I fain that Tyndale should tell me where he findeth any one place in Scripture that Christ’s satisfaction for our sins is in such wise full that he will there be no pain put unto us therefor. Let us consider his own words that follow. 20

#### Tyndale

And we must now be thankful to God again, and kill the lusts of our flesh with holy works of God’s enjoining, and . . . to take patiently all that God layeth on my back. 25

#### More

This is well and holily spoken. But now let pass, for this once, holy Luther and his holy nun with all their holy works that they work together, in killing the lusts of their flesh, in showing themselves thankful again to God. 30

I will ask Tyndale, first, whether such holy works as God hath taught his Church to be enjoined unto him by his ghostly father... be not enjoined unto him by God. If not, he taketh away all the commandments of father and mother, prelate and prince, that 35

commandeth any good thing to be done to God's honor; unto all which persons in all such commandments, God commandeth Tyndale and every man else to be obedient, and accounteth their commandments for his own.

Yet if Tyndale will no pain enjoined but by God's own mouth... 5  
nor suffer nothing laid upon his back but if God truss up the pack himself and with his own hands, and bind it upon his back with a packsaddle: then will I yet wit of Tyndale whether God do not enjoin any such holy works, or lay any such burden upon the backs of repentant sinners, for the sins that be past, and whereof he is already repentant. 10

If Tyndale answer no: then shall we put him in remembrance of many places in Holy Scripture... as well in Exodus, where he promiseth to punish the people for their idolatry notwithstanding

*Ex 32:32-35; 34:6-7* their repentance and his remission too... 15  
*2 Sm 12:9-19* as in the Second Book of Kings, where he punished King David for his manslaughter and adultery notwithstanding his repentance... and many places besides.

Now, if he grant that God punisheth the sin notwithstanding the repentance of the penitent, and the remission of his displeasure: then granteth he, and so must he grant, that albeit one drop of Christ's precious blood had been sufficient to satisfy for all the sins of this whole world—and for all the pain, also, that were in any wise due to the same—yet hath it not pleased him so to

*Short forgivenesses make* order it. But lest that such short forgiveness, 25  
*men worse.* as well of all the pain as of the displeasure of God, and of the deadliness

(or, as men might say, of the "damnability") belonging to the mortal offense, might make men wax the worse and set much the less by sin: he forgiveth at the repenting and by the shrift and absolution his high indignation whereupon followeth the perpetual banishment from the sight of his face and fruition of his glory into the eternal torment of hell... but he leaveth ordinarily some temporal pain to be sustained for the evil act past—and that to

be suffered either here by good works of penance-doing, or other satisfactory pains or good works either in this world here or after this world in purgatory... but if they be by other folks' good deeds 35

done for them through God's goodness relieved. And this, I say, as by good authorities appeareth, our Lord doth ordinarily... not forbarring his absolute merciful power, whereby he may do when he will what he will.

Now, if Tyndale grant, as he needs must, that notwithstanding the repentance and the remission both—and Christ's satisfaction also for the eternality of the pain, and full restitution to God's favor—yet there remaineth a temporal pain, or by good, holy works, other satisfaction for the same: then is it *not* against all Scripture (as Tyndale saith it is), nor against any part thereof, neither, that men shall with penance-doing endeavor themselves to satisfy for that pain... since it is not God's ordinary pleasure that his Passion shall serve every man for the satisfaction of that pain, because it accordeth not with his ordinary justice... lest, the fear of all pain utterly taken away, men were likely to make little force how boldly they fall to sin. 5 10 15

And then if it be well done that a man for his sin willingly punish himself, why may he not meekly submit his will to the counsel of his confessor and take penance at his hand?

Tyndale 20

And if I have hurt my neighbor, I am bound to shrive myself unto *him*, and make *him* amends if I have wherewith; or if not, then to ask *him* forgiveness... and *he* is bound to forgive me. As for their "penance," the Scripture knoweth not of.

More 25

He never bringeth in a good word but for an evil purpose. He saith here very well concerning our duty toward our neighbors. But he saith maliciously—to make us withdraw our duty toward *God*, for the satisfaction of the temporal pain that is due for our *sin*, after the restitution to God's favor, and the eternality of the pain forgiven. And that pain God hath not ordained of common course to be satisfied by the only merits of Christ's Passion... but if men's works wrought with his grace be added thereunto. 30

Tyndale 35

As for their "penance," the Scripture knoweth not. The Greek hath *metanoia* and *metanoite*—"repentance" and "repent," or "forthinking" and "forthink"; as we say in English, "It forthinketh me," or "I forthink," and "I repent," or "It repenteth me," and "I am sorry," that I did.

## More

Tyndale here beareth us in hand that the Scripture speaketh not of “penance”... because himself giveth the Greek word another English name. And because that Tyndale calleth it “forthinking” and “repentance”—therefore all Englishmen have ever hitherto misused their own language in calling the thing by the name of “penance.” 5

Now, as for the word “penance”—whatsoever the Greek word be, it ever was, and yet it is, lawful enough (so that Tyndale give us leave) to call anything in English by what word soever Englishmen by common custom agree upon. And therefore, to make a change of the English word as though that all England should go to school with Tyndale to learn English... is a very frantic folly. 10

But, now, the matter standeth not therein at all. For Tyndale is not angry with the word but *because* of the matter. For this grieveth Luther and him: that by “penance” *we* understand, when we speak thereof, so many good things therein... and not a bare repenting or forthinking only, but also every part of the Sacrament of Penance— 15

*Penance includeth three things.* confession of mouth, contrition of heart, and satisfaction by good deeds. 20

For if we called it but the sacrament of “repentance,” and by that word would understand as much good thereby as we now do by the word “penance”—Tyndale would be then as angry with “repentance” as he is now with “penance.” For he hateth nothing but to hear that men should do any good. 25

*We* have, for our poor English word “penance,” the use of all Englishmen since Penance first began among them. And that is authority enough for an English word... except Tyndale will bind us to fetch authority of reason for every word, of every language, out of Albert’s *De modis significandi*... because that Friar Luther, Friar Huessgen, and Friar Lambert have so sore set their study upon Albert’s *De secretis mulierum*. And yet if he will needs press upon us therewith, we may say that we take in “penance” of the Latin word *paenitentia*, which the Church useth for the same sacrament; or we may say that the word “penance” is derived and cometh of the word *pain*... which both in heart, in word, and in deed, the penitent should endeavor himself to conceive and sustain for his sin. But this is it that Tyndale so sore doth abhor. For he consequently saith... 30 35

## Tyndale

So, now, the *Scripture* saith, “Repent” (or “Let it forthink you”) “and come and believe the Gospel” (or “glad tidings”) “that is brought you in Christ; and so shall all be forgiven you; and henceforth live a new life.”

## More

5

Here seemeth a godly thing, and is indeed very devilish. For the words that be spoken to the heathen to come to Christendom—in the entry whereof, at Baptism, they be new-regenerated to God, and cleansed clean and purged from all spots—these words draweth Tyndale to them that be christened already, and keep their belief still, and yet fall into deadly sin again. For whose reconciliation again to God, our Lord hath of his goodness instituted the Sacrament of Penance—without which they that after Baptism fall again to sin do lose the fruit of their baptism if the time serve them to take it.

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15

*Penance*

And therefore saith holy Saint Jerome

that the Sacrament of Penance is the

board upon which a man getteth to land and saveth himself after the shipwreck. Which words of his, Luther in his book of *Babylonica* sore dispraiseth. For Saint Jerome showeth that the Sacrament of Baptism is the ship, and was figured by the ship of Noah, out of which there was no man saved. And when a man breaketh the ship of his baptism in the storm of temptation, and falleth into the deep sea of sin: then hath he yet his remedy provided by God, if he catch hold upon the board of the salt sacrament of Penance and so swim... and God will help while he laboreth himself to land. But Luther and Tyndale would have us ween that after Baptism there needeth no more but repent... and by and by all is gone again and clean washed away—sin and pain eternal and temporal and altogether—and the man in like case as when he came first from the font.

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But whoso consider well the words of Saint Paul in the sixth chapter unto the Hebrews shall find it far unlike... where Saint

*Heb 6:4–6*

Paul saith in this wise: “It is impossible

that they which have been once illumined,

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and have tasted the heavenly gift, and have been made partners of

the Holy Ghost, and have also tasted the good word of God and the powers of the world to come, and then are slidden down, should be renewed again by penance, crucifying again to themselves the Son of God and having him in derision.”

Here showeth this blessed apostle Paul that the deadly sin  
committed after Baptism... putteth a man in that case that it shall 5  
“*Impossible*” be very hard (for so is “impossible” sometimes  
taken in Scripture) by penance to  
be renewed again; that is to wit, to come again to Baptism, or  
The great force of Baptism to the state of Baptism, in which we 10  
be so fully renewed, and the old sin so  
fully forgiven, that we be forthwith in such wise innocents that  
if we died forthwith, there were neither eternal pain nor temporal  
pain appointed for us (that is to wit, neither hell nor purgatory);  
but that deadly sin committed after Baptism is very 15  
hard by the Sacrament of Penance—confession, contrition, and  
great pain taken, too—to bring us again in the case that the  
temporal pain due therefor in purgatory shall be worn all out by  
our penance done here. In all which things we never exclude  
the special privilege of God’s absolute mercy. For by his mighty 20  
mercy the thing that is impossible to man is not impossible to God—  
as our Savior saith in the Gospel of Matthew. But I speak of the  
Mt 19:26 ordinary course of his common ordinance—  
in which is excepted also the prayers  
and good deeds with which any man is besides his own penance 25  
helped and relieved with the good deeds of other men’s charity,  
Other men’s good deeds or the spiritual treasure of Christ’s church  
relieveth us. upon good cause applied conveniently  
toward the redeeming of his temporal  
pain. But else I say—by the authority of Saint Paul in this place— 30  
that it shall be very hard for a man by penance wrought in grace to  
be restored again to the state of Baptism, clear from all pain due  
for the sin.

For since the Sacrament of Baptism, which regenerateth us and  
maketh us new creatures, doth not so fully apply the Passion of Christ 35  
for our satisfaction that it so dischargeth us from all the pain of  
sin but that we sustain yet, every man for himself, the painful

twitch of bodily death: we may well believe the Apostle in this place,  
 that the pain temporally due to our actual sin committed after  
 Baptism is not so soon worn out and paid by penance but that  
 it is, as Saint Paul saith, a thing very hard to do. For the spiritual  
 creature which Baptism begetteth and createth of new—Penance, 5  
 finding by sin again allto frushed, plastereth and patcheth  
 up, and maketh much work to cure the wound and bring it to  
 a scar.

I could for my part be very well content that sin and pain and  
 all were as shortly gone as Tyndale telleth us. But I were loath that 10  
 he deceived us if it be not so. And therefore, to the intent it may the  
 better appear that penance *is* necessary—and that to return to God  
 and clean to be forgiven is not so light a thing as Tyndale  
 maketh it, but that the church of Christ appointing pain for the  
 sin (and not a bare forthinking or repentance, as Tyndale 15  
 would have it) is therein taught by the Holy Spirit of God—let

*The manner how to return to God* every man consider in what wise the  
 prophet Joel describeth the manner  
 with which man should return to God again after sin: “The  
*Jl 2:12–13* Lord saith, Return to me with all your 20  
 heart, in fasting, in weeping, and wailing.

Tear your hearts and not your garments, and return to  
 your Lord God. For he is benign and merciful, patient, and  
 plenteous of mercy, and ready to forgive sin.”

Tyndale 25  
 And it will follow if I repent in the heart... that I shall do no more so  
 willingly and of purpose.

#### More

In these few words there are many doubts. First, how Tyndale  
 taketh “repenting in the heart”: whether he mean that whoso 30  
 repenteth in his heart shall no more do so again willingly and of  
 purpose as long as he so repenteth; or else that whoso repent once  
 in his heart shall never cease to repent... or though he do, shall  
 never yet do more so willingly and of purpose while he liveth. And  
 if he mean in the first manner, his words be little to purpose. For 35  
 if he grant that though he repent at one time, he may cease to  
 repent at another, and then do as evil as he did, and be as evil as  
 he was: then had I as lief that he said the man which once repenteth

will do so no more as long as he doth so no more, and will be good still till he be naught again.

Now, if he mean in the second manner, that whoso repenteth once in his heart can never after cease to repent as long as ever he liveth... or though he cease to repent, shall yet, as long as ever he liveth, never willingly and of purpose fall to sin again: then either of all that fall to sin again—that is to wit, of all Christian people, almost—there was never none that ever repented in heart... or else whosoever have once repented in his heart, all the sins that ever he doth after, he doth none of them willingly... or at the least he doth them not of purpose, but unwittingly, by chance and mishap, ere ever himself be aware thereof, at adventure, suddenly. 5 10

Now, if he say that never any which do sin again did heartily repent before... and then that he require no less than hearty repentance of man for his reconciliation to God: he preacheth us no gospel, nor telleth us no glad tidings, but the heaviest tidings that ever man told. For then he telleth us plainly that of all Christian people there is almost none that standeth in state of grace longer than the lack of reason excuseth the default of his deed... or that the lack of life leaveth him no time to sin again after his repentance. 15 20

For we plainly see that such as repent fall again to sin; and so, by him, they never so repented that ever they were reconciled again to God in all their whole life. And then were there also much *Note* doubt of their death. For though it be good in some case, yet were it not good always that every man were overly bold upon the sudden grace that the thief got at last, that hung on the cross at Christ's right hand. 35

And if Tyndale ween to make the matter more easy because he saith he that repenteth in heart will “do *so* no more,” meaning that he will no more fall to *that* kind of sin: this will not serve him. For he falleth out of God's favor and the state of grace by the committing of any other sin that is upon his damnation forbidden. And therefore if hearty repentance be able forever to keep him from one kind—it must be able to keep him from *every* kind of like deadliness, or else it sufficeth not. 30 35

Now to the other point. If Tyndale think to ease all the matter by this—that he saith not that he which repenteth in heart shall “do



so no more,” but that he shall “do so no more, *willingly* and *of purpose*”—then riseth there another doubt: what he calleth “willingly” and “of purpose.”

He hath, as it seemeth, some other understanding of this word “willingly” than other men have. *We* say that if he do it not willingly... he *sinneth* not at all, if his will nothing do therein at all, except it depend upon some other sin of himself done willingly before... as where a man sinfully falleth in drunkenness or in frenzy, and then, drunken or frantic, doth harm; or whereas one man giveth other occasion of ruin, as Tyndale doth... when men be burned here with his books, and after damned for his heresies—such men, peradventure, as he never knew, and yet fallen all their deaths, both of body and soul, in Tyndale’s neck. For as holy Saint Augustine saith, the heretic that is a teacher and a setter-forth of heresies, though he be deep damned in hell, shall never yet know the uttermost of his pain till the Day of Doom. For as many men as before that day be damned for his heresies... shall ever, as they come to hell, more and more increase his pain.

But else, I say, where a man hath no will in the deed nor in the occasion thereof—there is he, as I think, no partner in the sin. I wot not what Tyndale meaneth by “willingly” and “of purpose.” For he is wont to reckon as though there is nothing done “willingly” that is done of frailty... nor I cannot tell what he calleth “purpose”—how long time serveth, after his reckoning, to make it done of purpose.

But this I wot well: albeit that there be degrees and circumstances that aggrieve the sin and make it more weighty (as when it is in the mind long continued, and done of pure malice, and such other things), yet if these lack so the damnable deed that God hath forbidden to be done indeed, by him that is not against his will forced thereunto—this call *we* willingly done, and say that he sinneth deadly that so doth, although he never purposed himself long before upon it. As if a man meet another and kill him suddenly for an angry word... or meet a maiden suddenly and so deflower her—this would *I* call “willingly,” but if she were so strong or had so much help that she ravished the man’s maidenhood and deflowered him by force.

Now, such things as these be, we doubt not but that folk *have* fallen to again after repentance, and after penance, too; and such as have been by the Sacrament of Penance restored unto the state of grace. And since that these be damnable whether they be before purposed or no, therefore it is partly false, partly foolish that Tyndale saith—that whoso repent in heart shall never do so more, willingly and of purpose—since he that hath repented in heart *may* do so again willingly, and of purpose, too... and he that did it not of purposed purpose doth it yet, for all that, damnably if he do it willingly. 5 10

And for conclusion, though it may be said by good men of good mind, in exhortation to perseverance in good works, against the lightness of such as fall shortly to sin again, that they “repent not, but mock,” because their lightness giveth occasion and *Avoid this doctrine.* conjecture so to think and say: yet to put it for a rule and a surety, as Tyndale doth, that whoso repenteth once in heart shall never sin again willingly and of purpose... and that they that sin again willingly and of purpose did never repent in heart, is very false doctrine and a very plain heresy. 15 20

#### Tyndale

And if I believed the Gospel—what God hath done for me in Christ—I should surely love him again, and of love prepare myself unto his commandment.

#### More

It is undoubtedly a very good occasion to move a man to love God again, when he believeth the love that God hath to him, and the things that of very love God hath done for him. But yet it is not true that Tyndale saith: that every man which believeth this love doth so love God again that of love he prepareth himself unto *Mt 26:69–74* God’s commandments. I dare say that Saint Peter loved him well... and yet he both forsook him and forswore him too. But a man that well believed should peradventure prepare him to God’s commandments *if* neither the world, the flesh, nor the devil drew him back... nor such heretics worse yet than all three pulled the root of right belief 25 30 35

out of his heart. And how stand the words of Tyndale with Luther's holy doctrine which he preacheth against the liberty of man's free will... whereof if man have none, as their heresy teacheth, then how can it be true that a man can of love prepare himself to the commandments of God?

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And finally, if it be true that Tyndale saith (that is to wit, that if he believed the Gospel, he should surely prepare himself to the commandments of God); and then if this be true therewith, as indeed it is, that he that doth (as Tyndale doth) infect his neighbors with deadly poisoned heresies against the blessed sacraments, and thereby maketh their bodies be burned in earth with his books, and their souls burned in hell with his heresies, is the most traitorous despiser of God's commandments that can be devised: it followeth very clearly that Tyndale believeth not the Gospel at all; and surely no more he doth.

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And now cometh he and saith that I know that all that he hath said for his defense in the change of "church," "priest," "grace," "charity," "penance," and such others is true, because I knew (as he saith) the Greek before him; whereas I, by such little knowledge as I have of Greek, Latin, and of our own English tongue together, know his defense both very false and foolish. And that have I so clearly proved... that to the perceiving of both his falsehood and his folly, there shall not greatly need the knowledge of three tongues nor twain neither... but an indifferent reader that understandeth English and hath in his head any reason or natural wit. For albeit that the more learning the reader hath, the more madness he shall perceive in Tyndale's defense of these things foreremembered, yet he that hath wit and no learning at all shall clearly perceive enough.

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And to that intent only have I taken the labor to answer his defense—to make it open, to learned and unlearned both, that he bringeth to the matter, after his two years' musing thereupon, neither insight of any substantial learning nor yet any proof of reason or natural wit, but only a rash, malicious, frantic braid, furnished with a bare bold assertion and affirmation of false poisoned heresies. For, saving to make this appear, I needed not to touch those points at all. For every man well knoweth that the intent and purpose of my *Dialogue* was none other but to make the people perceive that Tyndale changed in his translation the common-known words to the intent to make a change in the faith.

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As, for example, that he changed the word “church” into this word “congregation” because he would bring it in question which were *the* church... and set forth Luther’s heresy that the church which we should believe and obey is not the common-known body of all Christian realms remaining in the faith of Christ, not fallen off nor cut off with heresies (as Bohemia is, and some parts of Germany), but that the church which we should believe and obey were some secret, unknown sort of evil-living and worse-believing heretics. And that he changed “priest” into “senior”... because he intended to set forth Luther’s heresy teaching that priesthood is no sacrament, but the office of a layman, or a laywoman, appointed by the people to preach. And that he changed “penance” into “repenting”... because he would set forth Luther’s heresy teaching that Penance is no sacrament.

Lo, this being the only purpose and intent of my *Dialogue*: Tyndale cometh now and expressly confesseth the same thing that I purposed to show. For he teacheth and writeth openly those false heresies, indeed, that I said then he intended after to do; so that himself showeth now that I did then show the people truth... and then needed I to make none answer, since his own writing showeth that he made his translation to the intent to set forth such heresies as I said he did.

For as for that that Tyndale calleth them none heresies but the very faith, forceth me but little; for so hath every heretic called his own heresies since Christendom first began. But for all that, the devil will be the devil though Tyndale would call him God.

And I made my book to good Christian people that know such heresies for heresies—to give them warning, that by scripture of his own false forging (for so is his false translation, and not the scripture of God) he should not beguile them and make them ween the thing were otherwise than it is indeed. For as for such as are so mad already to take those heresies for other than heresies, and are thereby themselves no faithful folk, but heretics, if they list not to learn and leave off, but long to lie still in their false belief: it were all in vain to give *them* warning thereof. For when their wills be bent thereto, and their hearts set thereon, there will no warning serve them. And therefore—since Tyndale hath here confessed,

in his *defense*, that he made such changes for the setting forth  
 of such things as I said—it is enough for good Christian men, that  
 know those things for heresies, to abhor and burn up his books,  
 and the likers of them with them; so that, as I say, I needed none  
 answer to his defense at all, saving to make, as I have done, 5  
 both learned and unlearned folk perceive him for an unlearned fool.  
 And yet—defending himself so fondly, and teaching open heresies  
 so shamefully—he saith it appeareth that there was no cause to burn  
 his translation, wherein such changes found as ye see, and being  
 changed for such causes as himself confesseth; that is to wit, for 10  
 a foundation of such pestilent heresies as himself affirmeth and  
 writeth in his abominable books. He might much better, if he cut  
 a man’s throat in the open street, say there were no cause to hang  
 him, but bid men seek up his knife and see it him safe! This  
 might he, in good faith, much better say then than he may now 15  
 say that there is no cause to burn his translation. With the falsehood  
 whereof, and his false heresies brought in therewith, he hath  
 killed and destroyed divers men, and may hereafter many,  
 some in body, some in soul, and some in both twain.  
 And therefore, where in the end he looketh so much to me 20  
 that he forgetteth himself... and, making me another holy sermon of  
 my “covetousness,” my great “advantage” in “serving” in “falsehood,” mine  
 “obstinate malice against the truth”... he forgetteth in the meanwhile  
 that his own malice is against the truth in such manner obstinate  
 that he doth as the devil doth, endure pain for the maintenance 25  
 of his false, devilish heresies against the truth; and, putting  
 me in mind again of the false prophet Balaam and his evil end,  
 and that all such resisters of the truth come at last unto an evil  
 death... he forgetteth in the meanwhile that double death that his fellow  
 heretics commonly come to, first by fire in earth, and after by 30  
 fire in hell... save they that at the one renounce his devilish heresies,  
 and so escape the other: Tyndale, therefore, whereas it liketh him  
     *Tyndale’s “truths”*           to liken me to Balaam, Pharaoh, and to  
   Judas too, since the pith of all his process  
 standeth in this one point, that his heresies be the true faith, 35  
 and that the Catholic faith is false; that the holy days nor the

fasting days no man need to keep; that the Divine Services in the church is all but superstition; that the church and the alehouse is all one, saving for such holy preaching; that men have no free will of their own to do neither good nor ill; that to reverence Christ's cross or any saint's image is idolatry; that to do any good work (fast, give alms, or other) with intent the rather to get heaven, or to be the better rewarded there, is deadly sin before God and worse than idolatry; to think that the Mass may do men any good more than the priest himself, were a false belief; a false faith also to pray for any soul; great sin to shrive us or to do penance for sin; friars may well wed nuns and must needs have wives, and the sacraments of Christ must serve for Tyndale's jestingstock—these be the “truths” that Tyndale preacheth. And because I call these “truths” heresies—therefore Tyndale calleth me Balaam, Judas, and Pharaoh... and threateneth me sore with the vengeance of God and with an evil death. What death each man shall die, that hangeth in God's hands; and martyrs have died for God, and heretics have died for the devil. But since I know it very well, and so doth Tyndale too, that the holy saints dead before these days, since Christ's time till our own, believed as I do, that Tyndale's “truths” be stark devilish heresies: if God give me the grace to suffer for saying the same—I shall never in my right wit wish to die better. And therefore, since all the matter standeth in this point alone—that if his heresies be the true faith, then I stand in peril, and if they be a false faith, I may be safe enough—let him leave his sermon hardily for the while, and first go prove his lies true, and then come again and preach; and Friar Luther also, and his leman with him, too; and then may the geese provide the fox a pulpit.	5
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Here endeth the Second Book, in which is confuted Tyndale's defense of his false translation of the New Testament.	30

### The Third Book

Hereafter followeth the Third Book, in which be  
treated two chapters of Tyndale's book:  
that is to wit, "Whether the Church Were  
before the Gospel, or the Gospel  
before the Church," and "Whether  
the Apostles Left Aught  
Unwritten That Is of  
Necessity to Be  
Believed." 5 10

*Whether the Church Were before the Gospel,  
or the Gospel before the Church*

Tyndale hath all this while, with his defense of changing  
"church" and other things used in the Church, maliciously by him  
changed in his translation... kept us, as it were, still striving with  
him in the church porch. But now have I won the porch upon  
him... and we be come to join together within the church. For  
now taking his translation for damnable as it is... we be come to  
try between us the falsehood of his pestilent heresies concerning the  
Church and the word of God by the Spirit of God taught unto his  
Church... with which heresies he corrupteth the word of God and  
with poison infecteth his Church—as I have before manifestly  
declared, both concerning Christ's holy sacraments and divers  
other articles of Christ's faith. 15 20

But forasmuch as by the discourse of my *Dialogue* I proved  
clearly that nothing can be sure and certain among Christian men,  
not so much as the Holy Scripture itself, but if we believe the  
Church... and I proved also that the church of Christ cannot fall in  
damnable error, but hath been, is, and ever shall be taught by the  
Spirit of God every necessary truth to the belief whereof God will  
have them bound... and that this church is and ever hath been 25 30

*Note* taught by the word of God partly  
written and partly unwritten... and that

those two words are both of one authority... and finally did I  
 prove that the very church of Christ here in earth, which hath the  
 right faith, and which we bound to believe and obey,  
 is this universal, known people of all Christian nations, that be  
 neither put out nor openly departed out by their willful schisms and 5  
 plainly professed heresies... and that Luther's church and all the  
 churches sprung out thereof, with all the prophets and patriarchs  
 of the same, as Zwingli, Bucer, Balthasar, Otho, Friar Huessgen,  
 Friar Lambert, and Tyndale, be the synagogue of Satan and servants  
 of the devil: now cometh me Tyndale and, perceiving 10  
 himself sore bound to the stake with the strength of this chain,  
 beginneth to writhe and wrestle, and fareth foul with himself,  
 to look if he could break any link thereof. Whereabout forasmuch  
 as he seeth that all the rabble of heretics have long labored of old...  
 and yet their books vanished away to the devil with themselves... 15  
 and that the devil hath of their dry ashes raised up a hundred  
 sorts of new sects of heretics, much more blasphemous than  
 ever were the old: he hath overlooked studiously all *their* books...  
 and with all the poison that the devil hath put in them hath  
 stuffed his mouth full, to spit it out again against God and his 20  
 holy sacraments and all good Christian people, whom he laboreth to  
 infect with the fury that they should not know the very church of  
 God (whereof themselves be members!), but would make them so mad  
 as to believe that the church of God were some one sort of a hundred  
 sects of heretics, and no mark among them all why more the 25  
 one than the other... whereas they must, and do, in this point all  
 agree—that they be all false save one—and the truth is indeed that  
 they be false every one.

Now, to know that the nearer Tyndale cometh to the matter, the  
 further he fleeth from the truth... and hideth himself in the darkness 30  
 of the devil, walking with a sconce of a dim light to  
 make men ween he would show them the way, and leadeth them clean  
 awry: ye shall hear how boldly he beginneth... and after shall I so  
 show you the matter that every child shall perceive his bold, wily  
 folly to come of no good trust in his cause, but lack of wit and 35  
 shame.



Tyndale  
*Whether the Church Were before the  
 Gospel, or the Gospel before  
 the Church*

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. 5

Wherefore, if the Word beget the Congregation, and he that begetteth is before him that is begotten: then is the Gospel before the Church. Paul also (Romans 10) saith, "How shall they call on whom they believe not? And how shall they believe without a preacher?" That is, Christ must first be preached ere men can believe in him. 10

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. 15

More

Lo, he that readeth this and heareth not the answer, except himself be well ripened in the matter, may ween that Tyndale in these words had acquitted himself like a man and borne me over quite, he solveth the objection so plainly and playeth therewith so pleasantly. But, now, when ye shall understand that never man was so mad to make this objection to Tyndale but himself, then shall ye laugh to see that he wrestleth all alone and giveth himself a fall, and in his merry solution mocketh also no man but himself. 20 25

I said in my *Dialogue* that the Church was before the Gospel was written, and that the faith was taught and men were baptized, and Masses said and the other sacraments administered among Christian people, before any part of the New Testament was put in writing... 30

*Right faith was taught by the word of God unwritten.* 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 35

long ere writing began, was taught by the word of God unwritten...  
and so went from man to man, from the father to the son by  
mouth. And I said that this word of God unwritten... is of as great  
authority as is the word of God written.

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. 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. Which church, as all  
Christian men believe, and the Scripture showeth, and Saint Augustine  
*The Spirit of God teacheth* declareth, and Luther himself confesseth,  
*the Church all truth.* and the devil himself saith not  
nay... the blessed Spirit of God hath inwardly  
taught, teacheth, and ever shall teach to know, judge, and  
discern the word of God from the word of man... and shall keep  
the Church from error, leading into every *truth*... as Christ saith  
himself in the sixteenth chapter of Saint John’s Gospel. Which he  
did not if he suffered the Church to be damnably deceived in  
taking the word of man for the word of God... whereby it should instead  
of service to be done to God, fall in unfaithfulness, and with  
idolatry do service to the devil.

And therefore I showed in my said *Dialogue*—and yet the King’s  
Highness much more plainly showed in his most erudite, famous  
book against Luther, out of which I took it—that the word of God  
*The authority of the word* unwritten is of as great authority, as certain,  
*of God unwritten* and as sure as is his word written  
in the Scripture; which point is so fast  
and sure pitched upon the rock our Savior Christ himself that  
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.

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 which  
he hath set so gloriously forth in the forefront of his battle, as  
though they were able to win the whole field. For whereas I said

*The word of God unwritten*      that the Gospel and the word of God *unwritten*      10  
*was before the Church.*      was *before* the Church... and by it

was the Church begun, gathered, and  
taught; and that the *Church* was before that the Gospel that now is  
written was *written* (that is to wit, before any *part* of the Gospel was  
written; for as for all the whole Gospel—that is to wit, *all* the words of  
God that he would have known, believed, and kept—was yet  
never written): this being the thing that I said, Tyndale, with all

*The Church was before*      the help he hath had of all the heretics  
*the Gospel written.*      in Almaine this two or three years together,  
is yet in such despair to be able      20

to match therewith that he is with shame enough fain to forget  
that I said the Church was before the Gospel *written*, which  
thing himself cannot deny, and is fain to frame the doubt and  
make the objection... as though I had said that the Church had been  
before the Gospel and the word of God *unwritten*; whereof himself  
knoweth well that I said clean the contrary. And therefore, good  
readers, having this thing in your remembrance, take now the  
pain to read Tyndale's words again, and ye shall have a pleasure  
to see how fondly he juggleth before you. For now, his craft opened and  
declared unto you, ye shall perceive that he playeth nothing clean...  
but fareth like a juggler that conveyeth his galls so craftily that all  
the table spieth them!

#### Tyndale

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.      35

## More

- And this liketh me very well; and so much the better by cause that the goodness of God causeth Tyndale to speak these words nothing touching the matter for any reproof of my book, but only reproving himself and condemning all his whole sect. For I never said, nor no man else, as I suppose, neither Christian nor heathen, that God taketh his truth or his light of man, but man of God. And therefore this holy sermon he spendeth but in waste... saving, as I said, for the condemning of himself and his sect. 5
- For since it is true that by the light of God, as Tyndale here confesseth, men's hearts be cleansed from lies and false opinions and from thinking evil good, and therefore from consenting to sin; and we see well that Tyndale and all his sect be set all upon heresies and false, blasphemous lies, and think (if they think as they say) both evil good and good evil... for they call Christ's sacraments evil and Luther's lechery good... and so not only consent to sin, but also commit and defend and teach the whole dead, stinking sea of sin: it followeth, by Tyndale's own holy sermon here, that his own heart and the hearts of all his whole sect be the dark air of hell... from which the light of God's own glorious Son, that came to give light into the dark air of this earth, hath far withdrawn its beams. And this hath Tyndale with his own holy words, devised of none occasion... and far from the matter, but only to show the glory of his high spiritual phrase—nothing done at all but given himself a fall and thrown all his matter in the mire. 10 15 20 25
- Yet hath he one word by which it appeareth that while he saw himself fallen, he would pull down other men into the mire to him. For if ye consider his words, ye shall see that he coucheth them in such wise that he would make men ween that wheresoever there were a true belief, and false opinions taken away... that there it must needs be that men shall not consent to sin. Which thing he doth for the color and cloak of *their* false opinion, by which they teach that “faith alone” always sufficeth—wherein when they find themselves so shamefully confuted and convicted, they be loath to seem to flee by day, and therefore they flee by night and retreat themselves in the dark... making as though they were mistaken and meant nothing but that whoso have a *right* belief, and not a 30 35

false opinion, it cannot be but that he must needs do well; as Tyndale saith here that he which doth not believe evil to be good, he shall never consent to sin.

As it is a great folly to affirm this... so were it almost as much folly to confute this. For who is there that thinketh that to kill a man for his money is no sin? And yet many wretches do it. Who thinketh that adultery is no sin? And yet many wretches do it. Who thinketh that to wed a nun is no sin? I dare say not even these wretches themselves that wed them, but they verily know it for sin and yet the wretches do it. And therefore this tale of Tyndale's is but a very foolish heresy. 5 10

Tyndale

... John 17, "Sanctify them, O Father, through thy truth. And thy word is truth." And thus thou seest that God's truth dependeth not of man. It is not true because man so saith or admitteth it for true ... 15

More

Whereof serveth all this, while no man said the contrary?

Tyndale

... but man is true because he believeth, testifieth, and giveth witness in his heart that it is true. 20

More

*Mt 16:16; 26:69–74*

Nay, pardie, this is not always true. For Saint Peter himself was not true when he testified and gave witness with his Master in his heart and yet forswore him openly with his mouth. And Judas believed in his heart that God's word was true... and yet was himself not true, but a false thief and a false traitor too. And nowadays also be there many false thieves and false traitors unto God—false heretics, I mean, that by the word of God believe and wot well enough that it is abominable theft and sacrilege for a friar to wed a nun... and yet, as false harlots, both do and teach the contrary to their own belief. 25 30

Tyndale

And Christ also saith himself (John 5), "I receive no witness of man." For if the multitude of man's witness might make aught true, then were the doctrine of Muhammad truer than Christ's. 35

## More

Now cometh he somewhat to his purpose indeed... but he cometh to a full shrewd purpose. For by these words of Christ in the fifth chapter of John... he would make it seem that there should no credence be given to the *Church*, because they be *men*... and therefore cannot (as Tyndale saith) bear witness unto Christ nor his word, since Christ saith himself, "I receive no witness of man." To this purpose hath he brought forth all his gay, painted process before... the glittering whereof he hopeth should so daze our eyes that we should not see the falsehood of his short, sudden conclusion in which he knitteth up Christ and Muhammad together to confound the credence and authority of Christ's church. 5 10

But, good Christian readers, deferring for the while Muhammad's doctrine (with whom Tyndale may make a match!), I shall show you what fraud and deceit Tyndale here useth both in the translating and in the interpretation of these words of our Savior Christ that he rehearseth, written in the fifth chapter of Saint John. Christ in that place neither meaneth nor saith that he taketh *no* witness of man, as Tyndale rehearseth, but he both meaneth and saith that he taketh not his *special* witness of man, but of God. And to the intent that ye may the better perceive that for to make his heresy seem proved by the Gospel, he falsely translateth the Gospel... ye shall understand that the Latin tongue lacketh one certain article that the Greek hath, and which article in part both our English language hath and the French also, and divers other tongues, and it is in English this word "the." For whereas we have two articles in English, "a" and "the," "a" (or "an," for both is one article, the one before a consonant, the other before a vowel) is common to everything, almost; but "the" signifieth oftentimes some special thing, and divideth it from the general. As when I say "a man" or "a horse," it standeth indifferent, and appeareth not what man or what horse I mean. For if I would be so unwise to say to my servant, "Go do me this errand to a man," he should not wit what man he should go to. But when I say, "Go do this errand to the man," he wotteth well that I mean a certain, special man, to him and me known, to whom the errand pertaineth. This article "the" doth, therefore, 15 20 25 30 35

in our English tongue, give great light unto the sentence; and the Greek tongue hath an article that doth the like in theirs; and the lack of the like doth in the Latin tongue leave oftentimes the sentence obscure and dark which would with that article, if the Latin language had it, appear open and plain.

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I shall show you first an example thereof in the first chapter of the Gospel of Saint John, which place Tyndale hath wrong translated also... for what cause, the devil and he knoweth. For Tyndale is not ignorant of that article, neither the Greek nor the English, and maketh himself as though he translated the New Testament out of Greek. These words be the words of the Gospel in that place, after Tyndale's translation:

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This is the record of John, when the Jews sent priests and Levites from Jerusalem to ask him, "What art thou?" And he confessed and denied not, and said plainly, "I am not Christ." And they asked him, "What, then? Art thou Elijah?" And he said, "I am not." "Art thou a prophet?" And he answered, "No."

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I would not here note, by the way, that Tyndale here translateth "no" for "nay"—for it is but a trifle and mistaking of the English word—saving that ye should see that he which in two so plain English words, and so common, as is "nay" and "no," cannot tell when he should take the one and when the other... is not for translating into English a man very meet. For the use of those two words in answering to a question is this. "Nay" answereth the question framed by the affirmative. As, for example, if a man should ask Tyndale himself, "Is a heretic meet to translate Holy Scripture into English?"—lo, to this question, if he will answer true English, he must answer "Nay," and not "No." But and if the question be asked him thus, lo—"Is not a heretic meet to translate Holy Scripture into English?"—to this question, lo, if he will answer true English, he must answer "No," and not "Nay." And a like difference is there between these two adverbs "yea" and "yes." For if the question be framed unto Tyndale by the affirmative, in this fashion—"If a heretic falsely translate the New Testament into English, to make his false heresies seem the word of God, be his books worthy to be burned?"—to this question, asked in this wise, if he will answer true English he must answer "Yea," and not "Yes." But, now, if the question be asked

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him thus, lo, by the negative—“If a heretic falsely translate the New Testament into English, to make his false heresies seem the word of God... be not his books well worthy to be burned?”—to this question, in this fashion framed, if he will answer true English, he may not answer “Yea,” but he must answer “Yes,” and say, “Yes, marry be they, both the translation and the translator, and all that will hold with them.” 5

And this thing, lo, though it be no great matter... yet I have thought good to give Tyndale warning of, because I would have him write true one way or other; that though I cannot make him by no means to write true matter, I would have him yet at the leastwise write true English. 10

But now to the matter itself. Ye see that by Tyndale’s translation, the *Jn 1:21; Lk 7:26–28* Jews asked of Saint John whether he were a prophet, and that he answered nay... 15  
and so he denied that he was a prophet. Now doth *Christ* testify of him that he was both “a prophet” and “more than a prophet”; so that if Saint John should say of himself that he was no prophet, and Christ said yes... either should Saint John say untrue himself or else should there an untruth be spoken by the mouth of our Savior himself; of which two things the one is incredible and the other impossible. And in the Latin tongue this thing is left in doubt, for lack, as I told you, of an article correspondent to the Greek article and to the English article “the”; and for that cause, some right holy men, and very well learned, were for lack of the Greek tongue much troubled with that place, how it might be understood right. But Tyndale by the Greek tongue perceiving the article... saw well enough that he should not have translated it into the English, “Art thou *a* prophet?” but “Art thou *the* prophet?”... and then were the matter open and plain. For they asked him not whether he were *a* prophet—that is to wit, whether he were any prophet—but whether he were *the* prophet; that is to wit, the great prophet of whom 20  
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*Dt 18:15* Moses prophesied and promised in the Deuteronomy. Of which prophet there was opinion among many of the Jews not that he should be Christ, but a great prophet that should come before him. And therefore they asked Saint John, “Art thou the prophet?”—meaning that special 35



prophet. And yet the Jews that asked Saint John the question—  
 notwithstanding that by their own question they knew that he  
 did not in his answer deny himself to be *any* prophet, but that  
 special prophet of whom they meant—did yet falsely rehearse him  
 in their anger, when they said again unto him, “If thou be neither  
 Christ nor Elijah nor prophet, why baptizest thou, then?” And as the  
 Jews did then wittingly false rehearse him, so doth Tyndale as  
 falsely now translate him... making it seem that, by their question  
 and his answer, either Saint John should say untrue or else our  
 Savior himself. And for what intent, let Tyndale himself tell;  
 but that he so doth, his translation showeth. And that he doth it  
 wittingly well appeareth by that he is not so ignorant in the Greek  
 tongue but that he knoweth the article there which he should have  
 taken into the English... and in many other places so hath he done.  
 And in *this* place if he had not perceived it himself—yet that good,  
 virtuous, and well-learned man Nicholas de Lyra gave him warning  
 thereof; whom though Tyndale list to set at so short and mock and  
*Nicholas de Lyra* scorn, saying that “Lira delirat,” yet he  
 shall not say nay but he gave him good  
 warning here, and hath indeed more good learning in the Scripture  
 of God than hath Luther and Hutchins, and five Friar Huessgens, and  
 as many Friar Lamberts too.

Now that I have showed you somewhat of the strength and effect  
 of the article, both Greek and English, which declareth that the  
 word whereto it is set signifieth not a thing generally and confuse  
 at large, but some special thing determinate of that kind;  
 and that I have showed you one example thereof in the Gospel, which  
 Tyndale hath evil translated: I will now go further and show you  
 how he hath evil translated also this selfsame text of Saint  
 John too which he now allegeth, and hath therein falsified the  
 words of our Savior himself which he now bringeth forth for  
 his purpose.

The words spoken by our Lord be, as Tyndale hath translated  
 them, these: “I take no record of man.” In the Latin they be thus:  
 “Ego testimonium ab homine non recipio.” Which if it be translated into  
 English without the article (as the Latin hath none), then is it thus:  
 “I take not record of man”; and not, as Tyndale hath translated, “I take  
 no record of man.” He maketh his English as though the Latin were  
 “Ego nullum testimonium ab homine recipio.” And whether the sentence be

precisely both one in these twain—"I take not record of man" and "I take no record of man"—we shall not now need to dispute, since Tyndale taketh the sentence wrong which of them both soever were the words, as I shall show anon. But first I shall go forth and show you, as I began, that he should have translated the words into English otherwise—and thereby have expressed the Greek the better, and yet not contraried the Latin.

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Ye shall therefore understand that in that place of Saint John the fifth chapter, where Tyndale hath translated Christ's words in this wise, "I receive no record of man," the Greek Book hath there, upon this word "record," the article that is, as I have showed you, correspondent unto our English article "the"; by which article put before the word "record," that word there, in the tongue in which the Evangelist wrote the words himself, signifieth not a common record in general, but a certain, special kind of record—as the Greek article made the word "prophet," in the first chapter, to signify not a prophet in general, but a special prophet whom the Jews looked for.

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And therefore I say that Tyndale should in his English translation not have left out that article "the," but should at the leastwise have translated it thus: "I receive not the record of man"; whereas with his translating "no record," that article "the"—whereupon the weight of the sentence hangeth—he hath not only left out, but clean excluded also. For if he had translated it "I receive not record of man," though he left out "the," yet he might take it in thereto and amend it, making it "I receive not the record of man." But now that he hath translated it "I receive no record of man," he hath excluded it utterly but if he take in "not" and put out his false "no"; for he cannot say "I receive no the record of man." And this hath he done not of ignorance but of malice, to make it seem that Christ utterly refuseth and rejecteth all manner witness of man in testification and witnessing of him and his truth. And this translation therefore deviseth Tyndale... because he would have us ween that Christ would have the witness of all his Church utterly serve of naught.

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But, now, because it will peradventure seem unto some men that though he had in his translation expressed the Greek article and

made it thus, “I take not the record of man,” that yet it were all one and no difference between those words and these, “I take no record of man”—of truth, the difference is not easy for every man to perceive... and yet some difference is there indeed, as there is between these twain. If a man would say in speaking of God and Moses, “I take  
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Moses for no leader of the children of Israel,” he should say wrong, for he should deny him to have been their leader in any manner wise as he was their leader indeed. But if he would say, “I take not Moses for the leader of the children of Israel,” he should say well enough; for  
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he should thereby not utterly deny Moses to have been any manner leader of them... but he should deny that he was their only leader, or their chief leader... meaning that though he were *a* leader, yet God was *the* leader, that is to wit, the chief leader. Now, if any yet perceive not clearly the strength of this article, he may consider that it is not all one to say “I take you for no man,” or “I take you not for a man,”  
15  
and “I take you not for the man.” The two first excludeth him utterly from all the nature and kind of man; the third doth but deny him to be some such certain man as they mean of.

But yet shall ye further understand that, as I said in the beginning, though our article “the” be correspondent unto the Greek  
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article in declaring the certainty of the thing that it is put unto, and in restraining the word from its general signification to a more determinate especialty; and that in many things this is very plain and clear: yet doth not our article, sometimes, so fully and so effectually declare that thing as doth the article in the Greek  
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specially, but if we change the order of our English words from the order of the Greek. And therefore I say that to put away the doubt, and for the better expressing of the article, Tyndale should in the translating of that place have changed somewhat the order of the words. And where they lie in the Latin in this wise—“I receive  
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not the record of man”—he should rather have translated it thus: “The record I receive not of man.” For by so translating those words and so changing the order, he should have gone more near to the expressing of the very sentence that Christ there spoke and meant—which was that the *special* record he took not of man, but of God...  
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and not that he would take of man no manner record at all; as I shall

anon so clearly prove you that Tyndale shall never while he liveth wade out thereof.

But first, it will haply seem hard to some men that he which translateth should in his translating make any change in the order of the words. Ye shall understand that it is a thing which he *must* many times needs do... because of the manners and forms of speaking in diverse languages. For if he shall always translate word for word and in the order as it standeth, he shall sometimes give a sentence unable to be perceived or understood; and sometimes a wrong sentence; yea, and sometimes a contrary, too—of all which I could give you examples, were it not both needless and also too long for this present book. 5 10

I will therefore of a great many give you but one... in which Tyndale hath, for lack of changing the order of the words, translated a very plain place in the very beginning of Saint John's Gospel, whether wrong or no let others judge... but surely otherwise than I would have done. 15

His translation is this: "In the beginning was that word, and that word was with God, and God was that word."

First, this word "that" putteth Tyndale for the article "the," whereof I have showed you before; wherein he doth much amiss. For it is no doubt but that it is here put for to signify the specialty of the thing, as of *God* and *the Word*; because there be many words, and the paynims worshipped many gods... the article is set to those words to signify not *a* word nor *a* god—as though it were one of the many words of men, or one of the many gods of paynims—but *the* God, and *the* word that is the singular God and the singular Word: that is to wit, the Word of God. And that article is not in English this word "that," as Tyndale hath translated... but this word "the," as he should have translated... but if he will turn the article out of its kind. 20 25 30

A man may say "The man that we spoke of was here," or "That man that we spoke of was here." But and if he speak of him absolutely, without mention of any speech before had with him, he must then say "The man was here," and may not say "That man was here" but if he add somewhat to it. 35

If ye speak of the chief captain of the field, ye may say "The captain will march on tomorrow." But ye may not say "That captain will march on tomorrow" but if ye show *which* captain

by some other token, or else point him with your finger. And Tyndale knoweth this well enough... and therefore he calleth God always “the Lord,” and not “a lord” nor “that lord.” And therefore I marvel why he translated *In principio erat verbum* “In the beginning was that word”; for surely that word “that” was not to begin with, nor to stand there but if Tyndale intended to mock. 5

But as I was about to say, where he translateth “God was the Word”... albeit that in the Greek and in the Latin it doth well enough, and in the English that manner of speaking may stand in many other things, and especially in the plural number, or in the first person or the second singular, where the things that we speak of, or the article, or the diversity of the word which is in the verb, in our English tongue, changed in those two persons singular, taketh the doubt away and maketh the matter open which of the two terms we take for *subiectum* and which for *praedicatum*: yet in this great matter I would rather in our own tongue have changed and turned the order of the words and translate it thus—“The Word was God”—than as Tyndale doth, “God was the Word”... likewise as I would in English rather say “Christ was God” than “God was Christ.” For these words “God was Christ” or “God was the Word” be not well spoken, saving that we understand thereby the other, with the words changed; that is to wit, “Christ was God” and “The Word was God.” For else, understood as it standeth, “God was Christ” were as much to say as that all three Persons—the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—were Christ all three. 20 25

Howbeit, I say not this to show that I think that Tyndale meant any evil in this; nor I impugn not in this point his translation so greatly but it may be borne; but I say the other is in English better and more clear. And I say this... to show that the order of the text in Scripture may be sometimes by the translator better changed than kept. And I tell you this to the intent that ye may the more clearly perceive that Tyndale should not have letted in the other place that he alleged, in the fifth of Saint John, “I receive no record of man,” to change the order of the words with setting in the article, and to have said “The record I receive not of man.” Yea, and since the article signifieth the special kind of record: rather than to do as he hath done—left it quite out, as though God 30 35

refused all manner witness of man—he should rather have translated  
 it “The *chief* record I receive not of man”; as himself hath, in the  
 fourteenth of Saint John, translated, “The chief ruler of this world cometh”...  
 whereas in the Greek is not this word “chief”... but that he  
 putteth it in himself because of the article, which he would not 5  
 withdraw from the *devil*, lest he should have diminished *his* honor.  
 But he withdraweth it here from the witness of *God*... because he  
 would take from God the witness of all true Christian people, which by  
 their true belief do set their seals as witnesses to the truth of  
 God. 10

Now, if he will contend and strive with us upon the vigor and  
 strength of this article “the,” or of its correspondent in the Greek... and  
 bring us forth example in our speech, or in the Greek either, in  
 which it may seem that those articles have not always that manner  
 strength: all this shall nothing serve him at all. 15

For if they have *sometimes* that strength, and then the matter  
 showeth that the Greek article hath that strength in *this* place, that  
 we speak of now: that shall suffice to prove that he hath done wrong to  
 leave it out when he might in the English find the means to  
 express it. And it appeareth that he did yet worse when he *sought* 20  
 the means to *exclude* it; and worst of all since he left it out  
*maliciously*, for the maintenance of his heresy by which he  
 would make it seem that Christ by those words rejected and refused  
 the witness of his whole Catholic Church. For which cause he hath  
 double translated those words wrong, or rather treble, as few words 25  
 as they be. Once in leaving out the article “the”; the second in putting  
 in this word “no”; the third, whereof I spoke not yet, in this word  
 “receive,” instead of this word “take.” For the Greek is *lambano*, and  
 the Latin is *capio* or *accipio*; and both the Greek and the Latin signifieth  
 taking, and not receiving. Now, it is not all one to say 30  
 “I take no record of man” and to say “I receive no record of man.”

*The difference between “to* For the one signifieth that I care not  
*take” and “to receive”* for it, nor that I will not go about  
 it. But the other—“I receive no witness of  
 man”—signifieth that I *will* not receive it, but refuse it though it 35  
 be offered... or else another thing which will not serve for Tyndale’s  
 excuse: that is to wit, I receive none because no man offereth

me none. But Christ without seeking for it was offered the witness of Saint John; which Tyndale maketh as though Christ rejected, while he falsely translath the words of our Savior and maketh him say “I receive no witness of man.”

Now shall I plainly show you, by many places of Scripture, that it is false that Christ receiveth no record of man; and then may ye thereby see that Tyndale hath translated false. Or if he would blind you with brabblings upon the Greek tongue... ye shall at the leastwise perceive plainly that he taketh the sentence falsely. For these two be plain repugnant: that God receiveth some record of man... and that God receiveth no record of man. 5 10

For Tyndale cannot say here that Christ spoke it there by the figure called hyperbole, as Saint John did where he said “His witness *Jn 3:32–33; Lk 24:44–49* no man taketh,” meaning very few.

Our Savior himself in the twenty-fourth chapter of Saint Luke—when he had showed his apostles and others of his disciples that all things written of him by Moses and the prophets and in the psalms were and must be fulfilled, and thereupon opened their wits to the understanding of Scripture, and said unto them, “Thus it is written,” and “Thus it behooved Christ to suffer and to rise again from death the third day,” and that penance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem—he said unto them further, “And ye are witnesses of these things... and lo, I will send the promise of my Father upon you... but tarry you in Jerusalem till ye be endowed with power from on high.” 15 20 25

Lo, here ye may see that Christ did not say that he would receive no witness of man. For he said himself that those men should be his witness among all nations.

He saith also himself unto them in the first chapter of the Acts, “Ye shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem, and in all Jewry, and in Samaria, and even unto the world’s end.” The New Testament is full of those places... in which it appeareth plainly that men be the 30

*[Acts 1:8] How God’s truth* witnesses of God. For though that his  
*hath need of witness* truth is so justified in itself that it needeth no witness, neither of man nor 35

angel, as touching any need that God hath for himself, yet since he intendeth to work the way to man's salvation not by only miracle (whereby he might, if he would, so wrest man's will to consent that he should not fail to believe... or cast into the heart such a light of understanding that he should not fail to *know*... 5 every article of the faith), but also by a natural way joined thereunto, wherein the will of man may, by the labor of himself (with God) in the captivating of his wit (with help of grace) into the obedience of the word of God, somewhat endeavor himself toward his own salvation by faith: it pleaseth God to use in this way the 10 witness of men for a means... as he saith in the same fifth chapter, speaking of the witness of Saint John, where he saith, "The record I take not of man, but I tell you this because ye should be saved"... giving them knowledge that though his credence hang not upon the mouth of man... for he hath, as he there saith, a greater witness than 15 the witness of Saint John, that is to wit, the witness of the Father himself... yet was it ordained that he should have *also* the witness of Saint John, and so, afterward, of his evangelists and apostles—yea, and after that, of his other holy doctors and saints of every age, and, especially, the witness of his whole Catholic Church, to hear and give credence unto 20 them—for a means by God provided by which man should come to faith for his salvation. Here ye perceive that not only in other places of Holy Scripture... but also in the selfsame place that Tyndale bringeth forth himself, willing by his false translating and false understanding to make men ween that God taketh no manner witness of 25 man, it is clearly proved that he neither said nor meant in that manner... but that he received not his *chief* record of man, because he had greater record than man—that is to wit, as well the works which his Father made him work as also the witness of his Father himself—which notwithstanding, he received and accepted for a 30 means of man's salvation the witness of man *also*, as ye see by these places of Scripture.

And likewise in the fifteenth chapter of Saint John our Savior joineth the witness of men to the witness of the Holy Ghost, where he saith unto his disciples, "When the Comforter is come whom I will send unto you from the Father, which is the Spirit of 35 Truth that proceedeth of the Father, he shall bear witness of me... and ye shall bear witness also, because ye have been with me from the beginning."



And yet for because we should not by these words ween that he would have no witnesses of men but those only that were with him in his own time while he lived here on earth, God saith by the mouth of Saint John the Baptist in the third chapter of Saint John the Evangelist: “He that cometh from heaven is above all, and testifieth the things that he hath seen and heard, and his testimony no man receiveth. Whosoever do receive his record hath put his seal thereto that God is true.” And what is that to say but that every true-believing man is a witness that God is true? 5

And thus appeareth it not only that Tyndale hath mistranslated and misconstrued these words of Christ, “I receive no witness of man,” for the furnishing of his heresy by which he would take away the credence of Christ’s Catholic Church; but also ye see it proved, by these words of Saint John the Baptist, that every true-believing man, 10  
*Every true-believing man is a good witness of God.* that believeth God’s word, is a good witness of God and his word; which clearly proveth that Christ’s Catholic Church is a very special witness. For only in that church is the number of true-believing men... and all that are fallen out of that Catholic, known church are very false-believing heretics. 20

And also since our Savior saith, “My chief witness I take not of man... but yet I say to you this” (that is to wit, the witness of the good, holy man Saint John) “because ye should be saved,” it appeareth that Tyndale, refusing all witness of man, is likely to be one of those that for unfaithfulness never shall be saved. 25

Now, albeit that I have in this chapter plainly convicted Tyndale of malicious falsehood used by him in perverting the Holy Scripture of God, as well in the words as in the sentence, for the setting forth of his pestilent heresy taking away the credence that men are bound to give to the church of God, and thereby the obedience that men are bound to bear to the church of God; and that he doth all this because he would instead of God’s church bring men into the congregation of the devil: yet forasmuch as I see that Tyndale setteth not a little by this chapter and would we should ween that it were highly well handled, I will a little 25

stick the longer therein, to the intent that I may make you the better and the more clearly perceive that all that he saith therein is either plain untrue... or else such part as is true proveth his purpose false.

And forasmuch as Tyndale is all in “the word of God”... and would  
 thereby make us ween that men’s words should utterly serve of 5  
 naught, not so much as for the witness of God’s word: ye shall  
 understand that whereas Tyndale saith that the word of God “cleanseth”  
 man’s soul from false faith, “John 15, ‘Ye be clean by reason of the  
*[Jn 15:3] God’s word alone* word,’” it is not true that, as Tyndale 10  
*doth not cleanse the soul* would have it seem, the word *alone*  
*from false faith.* cleanseth the soul from false faith, no  
 more than faith alone, as he would have it  
 also seem, cleanseth the soul from sin. For, besides the grace and  
 goodness of God preventing men’s will, with offering man by 15  
 the hearing of his word a gracious occasion of faith; and besides  
 man’s own will working with grace toward the captivating of  
 his understanding toward the belief of God’s word; and besides  
 the grace, aid, and help of God working with man’s will toward  
 that obedience whereupon followeth that grace that accomplisheth 20  
 and perfecteth the full act of believing—besides all these,  
 I say—there helpeth toward it another thing, without which  
 many a man should never have come to it: and that is, besides  
 the *word* of God, the wonderful *works* of God in doing great and  
 marvelous miracles, without which many a man should never 25  
 have believed that he had been God; as himself testifieth in the fifth  
 of Saint John, saying, “The works which my Father hath given  
 me to do, the same works which I do... they be witness of me that  
 my Father sent me.”

Will ye see that Christ putteth not all in his word, but joineth his 30  
 work therewith? Hear what he saith in the fifteenth chapter of Saint  
 John: “If I had not come and spoken unto them, they should have no  
 sin; but now have they nothing to cloak their sin with.  
 He that hateth me hateth my Father.” Now, though this be indeed  
 true—that if Christ had never come and spoken to them, there 35  
 could not have been laid unto them the sin of that unbelief  
 whereof they were now faulty when they refused to believe on him and  
 hated him—yet to show that his only preaching was not the thing  
 that so should bring them and bind them to believe upon pain

of damnation... but if he wrought miracles among them for the *proof* of his word: therefore he saith further, “If I had not done works among them which none other man did... they should be without sin. But now they have seen, and yet have hated both me and my Father.”

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Thus have I clearly showed you that whereas Tyndale would have it seem that God’s word alone always cleanseth men’s souls from false faith—he *teacheth* in that a false faith; for the miracles many times help to the cleansing of men’s souls.

And let Tyndale stick well to this point; for I intend shortly to show by this that the miracles wrought in Christ’s church clearly reprove all the false faith that he and his master, and all their whole hundred sects that are their offspring, preach.

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But first, where Tyndale saith that God’s word is true, and layeth therefor the seventeenth of Saint John—no man saith nay to that. And where he saith further that God’s truth dependeth not of man’s word—we will grant him this, and much more, too, than he looketh for. For

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*The truth of God doth not depend upon God’s own word.* I say further that the truth of God dependeth not upon God’s own word, neither...

but is absolutely true in itself, without any dependence upon his word at all. And as it is true that Tyndale saith—that God’s truth is not true because man so saith—so is this true also: that God’s truth is not true because God so saith. But on the other side, likewise as this argument or consecution is true—“God saith that whoso believe not his church... is to be taken as a paynim; ergo, that thing is true”—so is this consecution true: “Christ’s church saith that whoso break his vow of chastity sinneth deadly, and whoso holdeth it for lawful holdeth a heresy; ergo, these two things be true”; and yet is neither the saying of the Church the cause of the truth of these two, nor the saying of Christ the cause of the truth of the other. But likewise as if I see one sit, it must needs be that he sitteth while I see him sit, because I could not see him sit but if he sit indeed; and yet he sitteth not *because* I see him sit, for sit he should though I saw him not; nor if I say that he sitteth, the truth of his sitting dependeth not upon my saying, but the truth of my saying dependeth upon the truth of his sitting: so doth the truth of God’s deed not depend upon the

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truth of his word... but the truth of his word dependeth  
upon the truth of his deed. For though the word of God cannot  
be but true (since if the thing were not true, God, that *is* the Truth,  
would not say it)—yet is the thing true that God speaketh... not because  
it is truly *spoken*, but because it is truly *done*. For truth 5  
was the thing in itself, and truth it should have been all had it  
never been spoken. And this I say is true touching the words and  
propositions by which God anything telleth to his creatures (by  
writing or without)—lest Tyndale make us here some sophistication  
as though I spoke of the great Word of God whereby allthing 10  
is made: the Son of God himself, one equal God with his  
Father and their Holy Spirit.

<i>Whereto serveth the truth  of God's word</i>	If Tyndale ask us now whereof serveth, then, the truth of God's words: I say that it serveth to make known or believed	15
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among us the truth of God's deed. For when God saith, "Whoso  
believeth and is baptized and liveth well after, or doth penance for  
his sin... shall for his faith and good works be highly rewarded in  
heaven"—though this shall not be true because God saith it, but because  
he will do it... nor he doth it not because he will say it, but 20  
he saith it because he will do it—yet hath he ordained that his  
word shall be the way by which that truth shall be showed us... and  
that miracles joined unto his word should make us perceive that  
it *is* his word, whereby with reason we must needs be bound to  
believe it... and it being believed, we be by reason bound to obey 25  
it.

And this is, therefore, the way that God hath taken from the beginning;  
that is to wit, he hath from the beginning joined his word  
with wonderful works, to make his word perceived for his own.

Thus did he in every age before the coming of Christ. Thus did he in Christ himself, whose words he proved by his wonderful works, as himself saith in the fifteenth of Saint John. Thus did he also by his blessed apostles, whose doctrine he confirmed by miracles. And thus hath he done ever since. For likewise as when he sent his own Son, lest men should not believe him and his doctrine declaring himself such as he was... God made him do miracles, more, and more excellent, than ever any did among men before (John	30       35
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15): when he sent his apostles and his disciples to preach, lest they should not have been taken for God's messengers—and that if they had but told the miracles that Christ did, the countries to whom they were sent would have went that they had lied and feigned such fables themselves—therefore Christ caused them to do  
*Exodus 7—10* miracles in his name before the people...  
 as God caused Moses to do before Pharaoh. 5

And when the world was turned to him, and that apostles were not sent about, then was the Church of every time the apostle to such as were born and came into the world in their time... of whom such as lived and remained after their time... were in their stead left for the apostle that should teach and preach to those others that should be born into the world in *their* time; and so forth from age to age. 10  
 And for because that they which from time to time come into this world, newborn first of their fleshly father and mother, and after of God and their mother Holy Church by the water and the Spirit, should be sure that their said mother the Church *is* Christ's apostle and teacheth them the true doctrine, and neither deceiveth them with false scripture (as doth the congregation of Turks) nor with false traditions (as do the synagogues of Jews), nor with false expositions (as do the false churches of heretics): he causeth his church to do miracles still in every age, and to be discerned and known by the plenteous working of God's wonders by himself wrought therein—so many, and so great, that no man can be ignorant thereof but he that will neither see nor hear... or is so desperate and so sore set in an obstinate malice that he will to the devil willingly, by doing now as the Jews did of old and as Tyndale now doth of new... ascribing the miracles wrought by the goodness of God to be done in God's church by the power of the devil. 20 25

And yet when Tyndale is so devilish to tell us thus... he toucheth nothing this point which I laid against him in my *Dialogue*: 30  
 that if his lie were true, then should it follow that of so many false churches of false heretics, there should some such miracles be wrought as well as in ours... since if that our church were a false church, it were yet but one of the many. And if he will say that ours were the greatest and the falsest, and therefore false miracles therein greatest and busiest: yet must he tell us wherefore it is that 35

among so many of their false churches more, God suffereth not at the leastwise for their little, pretty, small falsehoods, some little, pretty, small miracles to be done. But whereas of truth their falsehoods be so great and outrageous that they stretch from heaven to hell—they have not yet, among them all, one miracle done, great nor small, neither by God nor devil. 5

And this I show you (for the order of the thing) that ye may perceive that the truth of God is justified in itself, and dependeth not upon his word, nor his word is not the cause of his truth... but by his word he *showeth* his truth... and by his word we believe that he *doth* it; and by his apostles and evangelists we believe that he *said* it; and by the Church of every age following, we be taught and believe that the evangelists and the apostles preached and taught, partly by writing, partly by word without writing, such things as the Catholic Church of Christ telleth us to have been taught by them. And by the miracles done in the same Catholic Church, we know that the same church is the very church of God... and that the doctrine of the same church is revealed and taught unto it by the Spirit of God... and that all other congregations teaching the contrary be false churches, and either their writing be false scriptures or their expositions falsely confound the Scripture... since God hath left his miracles for a mark of his true church, and by the means thereof for a mark of his true doctrine, too... whereby it should be known where were his faithful folk... and his very words, with the right understanding of the same, from all the faithless and feigned-faithful folk, and wrong writing, and false interpretations, and counterfeited preachings, in the world, in that God would leave all those congregations void of all miracles—whereby hath been his perpetual custom to declare and magnify his truth from the beginning of the world unto this day... as I shall yet farther prove in a treatise apart, wherein I shall answer the words of Tyndale, as well in his book of *Obedience* as elsewhere, as near as I can gather them, by which he would make us believe that all true miracles were ended either in the apostles' days or soon after... and that all were false illusions of the devil that have been done ever since. Which if he will have believed... he must, I say yet again, tell us then wherefore miracles have all this while continued only 10 15 20 25 30 35

in our Catholic church, and in no false church of heretics as well as with us, since himself cannot deny that of so many sects as they be, they must needs be all false save one.

And therefore, though it be true, as indeed it is, that the true doctrine doth prove the true miracles, and false doctrine proveth the false miracles; by which we be sure that the Christian miracles be true, and the paynims' miracles false: yet know we which *is* that true doctrine by the reason that the true doctrine hath been better proved, and daily is better proved, by more and greater than ever was the false doctrine, or ever shall be to the world's end. For  
*Jn 15:24* as our Savior saith himself—"If I had not come and wrought works *such as no man else had done*, they had been without sin." And he promiseth  
*Jn 14:12* that his preachers shall do the same, and yet greater; and so *did* his apostles, and his disciples, and his holy doctors, ever since, in every age.

And as for false miracles... the Catholic Church of Christ, as it is taught by the Spirit of God, discerneth them well enough from the true... and therefore it discerneth and forbiddeth the marvels that appear in crystal stones, and such other superstitious conjurations... and is not moved anything to set by them, but condemn them though they be marvelous... and hath the Spirit of God, according to Christ's promise, assistant, whereby it both rejecteth the superstitious marvels and worketh the very-faithful miracles, for the proof of the true-faithful doctrine and the true mark and knowledge of Christ's very, true church, since none hath miracles but it.

Now, if Tyndale will say that the doctors of the Catholic Church have not done miracles for *every* point of their doctrine: I say no more did the apostles themselves, though Tyndale say yes, which he shall never prove. But by their miracles they proved themselves true preachers and God's true messengers... and that thing sufficed for the proof of their whole doctrine. And so God hath done miracles since for all his saints in every age... and that sufficeth to prove that their faith was true and the contrary false.

And if he say farther that *every* man in the Catholic Church doth not miracles, nor every doctor neither: to that I answer that of many men teaching all one faith, it sufficeth if any one of them do miracles. For when the Jews were in desert, *every* man that was

of the well-believing sort did not miracles... nor Aaron also did no miracles, but Moses did, and God wrought wonders among them himself.

Nor when divers apostles went together... every one of them did not always a miracle by himself. But since they were all of one faith, it sufficed for the proof of the teaching of them all, that any one of them did. 5

If he will say that sometimes the doctors which we call holy saints have not all agreed in one... but some one hath sometimes thought in some one thing otherwise than others have done: I say that this his saying is nothing to purpose. For God doth reveal his truths not always in one manner... but *sometimes* he showeth it out at once as he will have it known and men bound forthwith 10

*Ex 3:10, 18–22* to believe it—as he showed Moses what he would have Pharaoh do. Sometimes he showeth it leisurely, suffering his flock to come and dispute thereupon... 15

and, in their treating of the matter, suffereth them with good mind and Scripture and natural wisdom, with invocation of his spiritual help, to search and seek for the truth, and to vary for the while in their opinions, till that he reward their virtuous diligence with leading them secretly into the consent and concord and belief of the truth by his Holy Spirit, “qui facit unanimes in domo” 20

*Ps 67:7 (Vulgate)* (“which maketh his flock of one mind in his house,” that is to wit, his church). So that in the meanwhile the variance is without sin, and maketh nothing against the credence of the Church... except Tyndale will say that he will neither believe Saint Peter nor Saint Paul in anything that they teach... because that once they varied in the manner 25

*Gal 2:7–8, 11–21* of their doctrine, as appeareth. But he shall never find that any of the holy doctors held obstinately the contrary of that thing which the whole Catholic Church had in his time determined for an article of the faith. For I dare surely say that if any so had done... he had repented and changed ere God did any miracle for him either quick or dead. 30 35

And therefore as touching Tyndale and Luther and Friar Huessgen, this objection will not excuse their obstinate heresies held so



stiffly against all the old holy saints, while they say now that friars may well wed nuns... but if they repent, and leave their heresies, and do penance, and teach truth; for by such means they may yet be saints too, and so I pray God make them.

Now, if Tyndale will yet further say that the Church itself have not always in every age utterly believed alike... but that the Church in some age hath believed otherwise than it hath in some other: I say that this can also nothing serve his purpose. For, whatsoever Tyndale say, never shall he prove the contrary but that God is at his liberty still, and ever still shall be, to teach his truths more and more, as his pleasure shall be to have them known, and to govern his church to his pleasure in diverse ages after diverse manners, such as himself list for to devise... whereof his church is by their whole consent sure. For else shall the Spirit of God—assistant ever with them, by God's promise, and leading them into all truth—never suffer his whole Catholic Church to consent thereto.

And if Tyndale say the contrary of this... he must also say that Christ hath broken his promise... and he must also tell us that we be still bound yet unto this day, and ever shall be bound still, to the law made by God and his holy apostles at Jerusalem, which they *Acts 15:20, 28–29* made and sent out in writing... where they forbade fornication and eating the meat offered up to idols, and all meat of beasts suffocated or strangled, and the eating of any beast's blood. Which ordinance if it now stand, and that we must now believe that it is not now lawful to do any of those things there forbidden (as we must indeed if God were not, for all that, at his liberty still in the governance and teaching of his church, what he will have believed and what he will have done), then is quite gone a good piece of their pleasant preaching of their evangelical liberty. For then whereas they preach that every man is at liberty to eat what he list... they leave no man at liberty to eat a poor pudding.

But his church is sure enough... by that they know well that their whole assent is not wrought without the Spirit of God assistant in his church. And that themselves *be* his very church they be sure enough... by that they see him specially present with them by his continual miracles, which fail in all false churches that be fallen out of this. All

which false churches this true church, of charity (Christ's proper  
*Christ's proper badge* badge), ceaseth not to solicit and labor  
 to revoke and receive again into the port  
 of salvation and the haven of heaven—except the devil, by their  
 deadly malice, drown them utterly with driving them down into 5  
 the depth of indurate heart, thoroughly pierced with their pestilent  
 heresy.

And yet I say further that this objection of diverse articles  
 believed by the Church in diverse times will not serve the heretics  
 for their defense... since that *they* teach such things for true as not 10  
 only all the holy doctors and all the holy saints of every time, but  
 also all the whole Church of every time, have ever taught to be false.  
 Or else they must show us some one man, at the leastwise, that in  
 this fifteen hundred years before their days hath held for good  
 and lawful that such persons as have vowed chastity to God may 15  
 run out of religion and wed harlots at their liberty.

Now, if Tyndale will take hold of that that I have said—that God  
 is at his liberty to reveal a thing when he will—and that he hath  
 now revealed this new article to him and his holy fellows: they  
 must, I say, then prove us by miracles that they be God's true 20  
 messengers; for else why should we believe them?

If he say that they prove it by Scripture, in that they preach his  
 word: I say again, the *Scripture* I know for God's word, but  
*them* I know not for God's *messengers*, because they will not be 25  
 acknown of *all* God's words; for they will believe no word of his  
 without writing... and also, his words written they misconstrue.  
 And therefore, concerning the word of God written, the question  
 lieth between us not upon God's word, but upon the right  
 understanding thereof, wherein while all the old holy doctors be 30  
 quite against them, we say now to Tyndale that of reason we may  
 not believe him. For in these points wherein we vary—as, for example,  
 that friars may wed nuns—either the Scripture is plain and easy  
 to perceive, or doubtuous and hard to understand. If it be plain  
 and easy: we cannot think but that among so many of the old holy,  
 wise, and well-learned doctors, some one at the least, in all this long 35  
 while, should have been as able to perceive it as Luther and he now

so suddenly. And on the other side, if he say that in that point the Scripture is dark and hard: then may we with reason think that Luther and he, and Friar Huessgen too, may as well misunderstand it now as all those holy, wise, well-learned saints all this fifteen hundred years. So that yet again we be come to the point that Tyndale, if in his doctrine depending upon the exposition of Scripture he look to be believed, that friars may wed nuns, against the doctrine of all those old holy doctors that in their expositions call it abominable lechery—he must needs do miracles as they did, or else must Luther or Friar Huessgen, or some one of their fellows at the least. 5 10

For where he saith, in one place of his book against me, that we may require no miracles of them—if he had said because they *can* none do, I would have taken it for a final answer, and would have troubled him no more with that troublous question. But, now, because he saith it *needeth* not... and would it should seem that the miracles which Christ and his apostles did should serve for the proof of his doctrine—my conscience cannot suffer me to let him go so. 15

For since our question is not upon Christ's and his apostles' words, which their miracles proved true, but upon the exposition and understanding that Tyndale and Luther giveth to them—which expositions all they that God hath, ever since the apostles' days hitherto, by miracles proved to be his true preachers... have plainly taught to be false—Tyndale may not say for shame but that for his doctrine taught by those expositions, if he will be believed against many preachers proved true by many miracles, *he* must do miracles too... or else if we believe him before all them, we be much more than mad especially but if some of his company and fellows in his heresy did some miracles for him; which, our Lord be thanked, he suffereth no false church of heretics to do, but his own Catholic Church alone. 20 25 30

And now in such things as God seeth most need, and the heretics most busy to assault his church—there doth he most specially fence in his church with miracles. As in the reverence of images, relics, and pilgrimages, and worshipping of saints, 35

and his holy sacraments—and most of all, that holy Sacrament of the Altar, his own Blessed Body—for which manner of things he hath wrought and daily doth many wonderful miracles... and the like of those that he wrought in the time of his apostles, to show and make  
*The Catholic Church is Christ's* proof that his Catholic Church is his  
*perpetual apostle.* perpetual apostle, how many nations soever  
 fall therefrom, and how little and small  
 soever it be left.

And therefore we say not, as Tyndale beareth us in hand, that the truth of God dependeth upon the multitude of men's mouths;  
 but that the Catholic Church, illustrated with the miracles of God, and taught by the Spirit of God... is set upon the high mountain of the stone that is Christ... and therefore can never be hidden, but that the miracles which God ever worketh and ever shall work therein doth and shall make the light of the doctrine shine and show the right way to heaven.

And these miracles hath God often wrought to the conversion and amendment of Jews and heretics... and often to the confusion and burning up of obstinate Jews and heretics, with the beginning of their hell even here in earth.

Now, Tyndale denieth not but that there be and have been such miracles... but he saith that they be done by the devil. But then say I that in his so saying he is worse than ever was the devil. For the devil durst never say so much himself as did the Jews and now Tyndale say.

But when he saith it... I say, yet again, he must show me why there be no miracles among all his false churches of heretics... or else to call the true miracles of God done in the Catholic Church of God false illusions of the devil is a word well able alone to prove himself a devil.

Now, if Tyndale will say that the Turks have miracles among them as well as our church: I may deny it him, by his own rule, but if he prove it by plain Scripture. But, now, if I grant it him, yet shall it not serve him. For I may prove him by plain Scripture that there be neither none *such* nor so *many* done among them as these be that be daily done in Christ's Catholic Church. For our Savior saith that his own miracles passed all that had been before... and that yet his apostles and disciples, and his faithful, believing  
*Jn 15:24; 14:12* folk, should do as great and greater. And we see that in the Catholic Church God

hath done and daily doth for his saints, both while they were  
 here and after their departing hence—and hath also done and daily  
 doth at divers images and pilgrimages—as great miracles in  
 confirmation of our faith in that behalf as ever he did in the time  
 of the apostles. And therefore am I very sure that neither paynims nor  
 Turks be able to match our church in miracles; but that ours as  
 far pass all theirs, if they have any, as ever the miracles of

*Ex 7:8–12; 8:1–10*

Moses passed the witchcraft of the  
 Egyptian jugglers. And of this am I as  
 sure... as that the false churches of heretics do no miracles at  
 all.

Furthermore, as for miracles or marvels done among the Turks  
 or Saracens—since Tyndale is not yet, as far as I know, circumcised,  
 nor professeth not himself a Saracen, nor I know him not very  
 surely for a Turk but for a heretic, I shall not greatly need to  
 dispute with him upon miracles done among the Muhammadans...  
 but (which were as good as to do that he doth!) let him go circumcise  
 himself, and then come again and speak for Muhammad and  
 his men, and I shall answer him further for their miracles. But in  
 the meantime while I know him but for a heretic, it is enough  
 to tell him that among all the false churches of false heretics there be  
 no miracles at all. But God worketh his miracles in his true church,  
 to show his true church—that is to wit, his true apostle. And then, his  
 true preacher known—that is sufficient for all his preaching, and  
 to prove that he doth teach and expound the Scripture after the right  
 understanding... taught and inspired by the Spirit of God, sent to  
 dwell with his church forever, according to Christ's promise; and  
 therefore shall not need no particular miracles upon every article,  
 for Christ used not that himself.

And thus in this mine answer to his one chapter... which he so  
 gaily flourished that he had went the glittering thereof would have  
 made every man's eyes so a-dazed that no man should have spied his  
 falsehood and found out the truth—I have in such wise confounded  
 him and all his whole doctrine utterly... that if I never would write one  
 word more, yet should he never against this alone defend his  
 devilish doctrine while he liveth, and take all the devils in hell to  
 help him.

*Whether the Apostles Left Aught Unwritten  
That Is of Necessity to Be Believed*

We be come now, good Christian reader, unto that matter which is undoubtedly one of the most special points that are in debate between these heretics and us. For upon this question hangeth all their whole hold in the destruction of many holy things believed and observed in Christ's Catholic Church. 5

For if we speak of fasting the Lent or other holy vigils—they say we find it not in Scripture. If we speak of keeping the holy day—they say the Scripture appointeth none. If we speak of worshipping the Sacrament of the Altar—they say it is not commanded in Scripture; and so of every good thing, almost, in like wise. For in this point they end not. It serveth them but for a step forward. For after time that they have said this once, that every necessary thing is written; albeit that they say therein false and are never able to prove their saying true, as ye shall see anon: yet when they be confuted and concluded openly therein, they dissemble shamefully their confusion... and, making then as though their part *were* proved, they run on farther and will hear no more thereof... but deny also the things that be well and plainly written in Holy Writ indeed. 10 15 20

As, for example, when we say that Confirmation, Priesthood, and Matrimony be holy sacraments—Tyndale saith nay... for, he saith, it is not written in Scripture. We show him plain scriptures for them, of grace given in them “by the imposition of the hands,” by *1 Tm 4:14* the words of Saint Paul... and Tyndale laugheth his words to scorn, saying it was but a manner of the country, as a man layeth his hand upon a boy's head when he calleth him “Good son.” And as for matrimony... *Eph 5:22–32* he saith that Saint Paul meant not in such wise... and that he can make as good a sacrament of salt, of mustard seed, of a key, or of a net. 25 30

So that, as I say, believe them once in this, that we be bound to believe nothing but the only Scripture; and take away the credence from the Catholic Church (as though that God, leaving his only Scripture therein, had broken his promise and taken his 35

Spirit therefrom!): the very Scripture itself shall serve every foolish heretic for a babble.

Now, forasmuch, therefore, as the matter of this chapter, wherein Tyndale, as he did in the chapter last before, in which I have plainly confounded him, goeth about again to take away the credence of Christ's Catholic Church... which once fallen away, the credence and the fruit of Scripture and all goeth with it (for both would every sect of heretics wrest it unto their own

*By the Church we know* errors... and, as Saint Augustine saith, save  
*the Scripture of God.* for the Church we know not the Holy  
 Scripture of God from unholy writing of

man): I require the reader to consider well what he readeth, and pass it not over suddenly, but advise it sadly... and I doubt not then but he shall plainly see that Tyndale shall in this chapter, as solemnly as he setteth forth, take a shameful fall. Hear now, therefore, what he saith.

#### Tyndale

But did not the apostles teach aught by mouth that they wrote not? I answer, Because that many taught one thing, and every man the same in diverse places and unto diverse people, and confirmed every sermon with a sundry miracle: therefore Christ and his apostles preached a hundred thousand sermons, and did as many miracles... which had been superfluous to have been all written.

#### More

Now consider, good reader, that Tyndale's purpose is to prove us that the apostles wrote all that was of necessity to be done or to be believed. And remember that as yet he doth but *tell* us that they did so, and proveth it not yet... but he will anon, full worshipfully. But in the mean way mark me this first: that he saith that Christ and his apostles did confirm every sermon with a sundry miracle. For till he prove me that by Scripture... I deny it plainly. For since neither Scripture teacheth it nor the Catholic Church preacheth it, nor any reason proveth it: I may well and boldly deny it, and so I do.

For I see well his falsehood for which he feigneth it. He seeth miracles wrought by God plenteously in his Church, and that thereby his

Church and the faith thereof is confirmed; and therefore, to bring at the leastwise some part thereof in question, he would say that we find not special miracles done for every point. But I say no more did the apostles neither, nor Tyndale shall never prove it. For if he will prove me that... he must prove me true not only the thing that himself saith, which is more than ever he shall prove true— that is to wit, that they proved every sermon with a sundry miracle— but also that either they never preached but one article in one sermon, or if they preached many... he must then prove me two things: one, that they confirmed that sermon with as many miracles as they preached points; another, that they showed the people that the miracles which they then did was so many miracles for so many points; for else might all those miracles be done for the proof of one of those points, and all the remnant unproved. For if Tyndale will say that thing needed not, forasmuch as any one miracle sufficed to prove them all, since it proved him a true preacher: then shall Tyndale say, lo, the thing that I would have him say; for then himself proveth that it needed not that they should prove every sermon with a several miracle made among one people—nor peradventure any *one* sermon, neither, otherwise than as by miracles showed at other occasions beside their sermons, they proved themselves holy men and God’s messengers. For we find many miracles done by them at such times as they were not making of sermons. And yet when they did them in Christ’s name... we find not always that they added a special article of our faith, which specialty they would have by that miracle confirmed.

And thus ye see that here he affirmeth one thing that he shall never prove; which thing yet I would not vouchsafe to speak of, saving that he doth it of an evil purpose. For his master Martin Luther, when Erasmus laid against him for man’s free will the doctrine of the old holy saints whose faith was approved by miracles, laid against him again that though they did miracles, Erasmus yet could not prove that any of them did a miracle specially for that article; and therefore he would have that article seem unproved as for any miracle. And this way taketh Tyndale now for the selfsame intent... and therefore feigneth that the apostles “confirmed every sermon with a sundry miracle.” But I doubt not but that if



we should bid Tyndale here, or Luther himself, prove us every article of his faith which he would we should ween were the faith that the apostles preached—if we should, I say, bid them prove us that the apostles confirmed every article thereof by a sundry miracle—they should seek in Scripture till their eyes were sore ere they found it.

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Moreover, Tyndale's words fight together, and one part cannot agree with another. For if these words be true—that they proved every sermon with a sundry miracle—then is it false that he saith here also: that is to wit, of miracles as many be written as needeth.

For if it be true that Tyndale saith, that the apostles “confirmed every sermon with a sundry miracle”; and that was not needful but because it was needful that every necessary point of faith that they preached should be proved by miracle: it followeth that every necessary point that they preached, they did prove by miracle.

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Then, further, if every necessary point that they preached, they proved by miracle because it was needful that it should be, for credence to be given to that point for our soul's health—it was needful, then, for the conservation of the same credence, if the credence could not be kept without writing, that of every such necessary point of faith and necessary doctrine of theirs, without which believed we cannot be saved... there were one miracle written at the

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least. But there is not of every such article one miracle written; ergo, it is not true that Tyndale goeth about to prove: that the miracles as many be written as need... and that every necessary thing is

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written. And verily if everything that we should necessarily believe had been the intent of God to have it put in writing... and that it had been also necessary that every point were proved by one miracle...

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and not sufficient that the preachers were proved by miracles themselves, and thereby their doctrine to be believed: it were very probable, then, both that the writers would have written some things much

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more openly and plainly than they have done... and also that of every necessary point of faith, they would have written one miracle at the least. But, now, since God intended not to give his New Law by books,

but specially by the necessary points thereof written in men's hearts... whereof himself would be the special inward master: he

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hath provided the Scripture to serve for part, but not to serve alone for all. And since such miracles as be written therein, suffice to prove

the apostles God's true preachers... and therefore needed not miracles to be *written* for every point of their preaching: no more needed there to be miracles *done* for every point of their preaching.

And for farther proof thereof... how many things preached the apostles by their epistles, with which we read not that they sent by the messengers for every point a miracle! 5

And thus, good readers, here ye see first that this point of Tyndale's preaching must be better proved... which point thus *reproved* answereth and reproveth clearly divers other places of his book hereafter. But yet is it farther to be considered and weighed in his words that he saith that 10

the pith and the substance, in general, of everything necessary to our souls' health—both of what we ought to believe and what we ought to do—was written. . . . So that whatsoever we ought to believe or do, that same is written expressly... or drawn of that which is written. 15

#### More

*Lk 16:1–8* In these words though I find lack of truth... yet I somewhat allow his wit... as our Savior said by the wicked bailiff which, though he played the false shrew for his master, provided yet wilily somewhat for himself. 20 And so playeth Tyndale here. For now that he plainly perceiveth that the doctrine is plainly false which his master Luther and himself too have taught so plainly between them all this while—that is to wit, that there is no necessary truth to be believed but if it be proved by plain and evident Scripture—now cometh Tyndale and seeth that they shall be put to flight and fain to run away... and therefore wilily provideth a starting hole, stepping from “plain and evident Scripture,” their old specially plain, evident words, unto dark, debatable terms of “general,” “pith,” and “substance,” and of “drawing out” and “deducing” and “depending” upon Scripture... upon every which word he may make an argument when it cometh to the point. 25 30

But yet if he would honestly stand to his tackling in this point, and give us the like liberty that himself will take... and neither use false deductions of his own nor refuse our deductions if we deduce them well: we would never find fault in this point. But, now, let *us* deduce a thing never so straight, it cannot be allowed. 35

Let *himself* draw it never so far awry... yet will he swear that it is right enough. I shall give you, for the more clearness, one example

*Mt 28:20; Jn 14:16–17* of either side. We say that since our Savior hath himself promised, in the Gospel, that himself and his Holy Spirit shall be with his church all days unto the end of the world—it followeth, say we, thereof, that his church shall never fail as long as the world lasteth. And because our Savior saith in like wise that his Holy Spirit, ever  
*Jn 16:13* abiding with his church, shall teach his church all things, and lead them into every truth, and put them in remembrance of all that himself had or would say unto them—we deduce thereupon that he will not suffer his church fall into the erroneous belief of any damnable untruth... but lead them into the truth that is the contrary of that untruth. And since he said not, “The Holy Ghost shall write unto you all things,” nor “. . . shall write you all truth,” but “. . . shall *lead* you *into* all truth”—we deduce thereupon that the belief whereinto the Spirit of God leadeth us, and planteth it in our heart, is as good and as sure to salvation of our souls without any writing at all as if it were written in parchment with golden letters and Christ’s own hand.

Here have I showed you an example of our deductions... which I trust every man may see that we draw it not far off, but that the Scripture well and clearly maintaineth our deducing thereof. And the example also that I show you serveth much for our matter against Tyndale, that contendeth and laboreth to prove that we be bound to believe nothing but God’s promises... and here he seeth that God *promised*, not to put allthing in writing, but that the Holy Ghost should teach us by *leading* us *into* every truth.

Now shall I show you an example of Tyndale’s deduction upon Scripture, which, as God would, he bringeth forth himself in this same present chapter, to the intent that ye should not lack a show... whereby ye shall see how plainly he proveth his holy doctrine by the Holy Scripture.

*Mt 22:39* The Scripture saith, “Love thy neighbor as thyself.” Now, upon this text deduceth Tyndale that women may christen, and consecrate the Body of Christ and say Mass too. How other men will allow this deduction, I cannot tell. But lest they that like it not might hap to ween that he saith it not, I shall rehearse you his own very words.

## Tyndale

They will haply demand where it is written that women should baptize. Verily in this commandment “Love thy neighbor as thyself,” it is written that they may and ought to administer not only Baptism but all other [sacraments] also in time of need, if they be so necessary as they preach them.

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## More

Lo, sir, here ye see that if the Mass be so necessary as the Church teacheth... which saith and hath ordained that it is necessary to be said unto the parish at the leastwise every Sunday: if the priest be not at home, then some good wife may for a need step to the altar and say Mass in his stead... because the Scripture saith, “Love thy neighbor as thyself.”

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What is there that these folk may *not* prove by Scripture... if they may deduce it thus and have their deduction allowed? Uzzah made as good deduction as this, and yet had no thank. For

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*1 Chr 13:9–10*

he thought that because of the commandment “Thou shalt honor thy Lord

God”... he might, and was bound to, set his hand unto staying and keeping up of the Ark of the Testament, that was about to fall. But God taught other men by that man’s sudden death... that he was too malapert, to meddle with that kind of God’s honor that was not meet for him. And Tyndale because a woman must love her neighbor as herself... will have her not touch the Ark, but the

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Blessed Body of God, and bodily consecrate it herself—which neither the Blessed Mother of Christ nor the highest angel in heaven durst ever presume to think, because God had not appointed them to that office. Such deductions upon Scripture made they of likelihood that took upon them in the Old Testament more than their part came to—as Korah and Abiram, and the king Uzziah, that would

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*Nm 16:1–33*

needs play the priest and incense God

*2 Chr 26:16–23*

himself... for which honorable service our Lord sent him shame and sorrow.

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Now, if Tyndale ask me why a woman may christen and not consecrate, since both be sacraments: I can answer him the common answer, that though both be necessary... yet both be not like great

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nor like necessary. For both is there greater reverence to be had to the sacrament of Christ's Body than to the sacrament of Baptism, and yet is Baptism of more necessity than the other, since that for fault of Baptism salvation faileth, and not for fault of housel. But as for my part, I would give him none answer to that question other than the ordinance of God's Spirit... which I see that God hath taught his Church, and else would he not suffer them to believe that it were well done, whereof no man is bound to give a precise cause. But it were overmuch boldness to think that we could precisely tell the cause of everything that it pleaseth God to devise... though Tyndale and his spiritual sort will not obey God's bidding till themselves, as he saith, have ensearched and found the very, full cause why.

It is to me, for all Tyndale's deduction, a greater question yet, saving for the custom of Christ's Catholic Church... why a woman may christen, than why she may not consecrate. For surely, since God *sent out* only *men* to baptize, I would set no woman thereto for *any* need, no more than to be a confessor and assoil men of their sins for need... saving that I see the one ever used everywhere in Christ's whole church, and the consent of holy saints approving and allowing the same. And in consecrating, never woman did it... nor good man believed that any woman might do it. Which belief if it were false, I doubt not but the Spirit of God, teaching his church, would ere this have led his church into the contrary truth, according to Christ's promise.

But now, as I say, ye see by Tyndale's example for what intent and purpose he putteth in his deducing and drawing of articles of the faith out of the Scripture... wherein he may as well believe what he will and take what he list, not of the tradition of Christ's Catholic Church, but of the tradition of Martin Luther's leman... as frame himself a faith by a deduction of Scripture deduced in such a fashion.

In the same manner, he draweth out of Scripture (in his book of *Obedience*, and in this book also) that a friar may marry a nun by the authority of Saint Paul. For, being asked where he findeth it in Scripture, he saith it is written in these words to Timothy: "A bishop must be unreprouable and the husband of one wife."

<i>1 Tm 3:2</i>	And in the words of Saint Paul “There	
<i>1 Tm 4:3</i>	shall come false prophets that shall forbid	
<i>1 Cor 7:9</i>	marriage.” And in this text also: “It	
	is better to marry than to burn.”	
Is not this conclusion, trow ye, well deduced? In the first because		5
Saint Paul did put in this word “one” to forbid and exclude any		
<i>more</i> than one—Tyndale deduceth that a bishop must needs have		
one; and thereby maketh Saint Paul false in another place, where		
<i>1 Cor 7:7–8</i>	he counseleth and wisheth that he should	
	rather have none.	10
In the second text because Saint Paul condemneth them that		
would say it were not lawful for <i>any</i> man to marry—Tyndale		
deduceth that <i>every</i> man may marry though himself have made		
unto God a contrary promise before; and might as well deduce that no		
man may be forbidden to marry though he have a wife already. For		15
the friar is as well and as clearly forbidden to marry by the scriptures		
that forbiddeth him the breach of his vow... as is the man forbidden		
to marry that hath a wife already.		
And upon the third text, because Saint Paul saith that it is		
better to marry than to burn—Tyndale deduceth that it is better for a		20
friar to marry than to forbear lechery... and considereth not that when		
he breaketh his vow and weddeth a harlot, <i>then</i> he burneth both		
body <i>and</i> soul: first here in the fire of foul, filthy lust, and after		
this world in everlasting fire of hell. Is not this conclusion worshipfully		
deduced upon Scripture? It is marvel that he deduceth		25
it not rather upon the text that he speaketh of here—“Love thy neighbor		
<i>Nm 30:2–3; Mt 22:39</i>	as thyself”—and upon this text	
<i>Mt 7:12</i>	also: “Do to another as thou wouldst be	
	done to thyself.” These have yet some	
better color for Luther and his leman—and I doubt not but he		30
will find them at last and say that his marriage <i>is</i> grounded		
there—because he loveth her with such a lewd, lousy love as the		
lewd, lousy lover in lechery loveth himself... and is so righteously		
disposed that he will never desire that she shall lie with him but		
when he is even as well content that himself shall lie with her.		35

This that we say now in sport... he will say once in earnest, I warrant you.

Now, for the declaration of his purpose in drawing and deducing of the article of their faithless faith out of Scripture of God, these examples suffice; and therefore I shall proceed farther.

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Now, next he cometh to the purpose to prove you that every necessary thing that we be bound either to believe or to do is written in Scripture. And now hark, I pray you, how properly the good man proveth it. These are his words...

Tyndale

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For if that I were bound to do or believe under pain of loss of my soul anything that were not written nor depended of that which is written, what helped me the Scripture that is written?

More

Lo, here is his first argument, that he setteth forth in the forefront of the field, as a specially strong band. Which argument whoso well advise and consider—if himself have wit—shall plainly say that it cometh out of a madman's mouth.

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For by this reason, till the Gospels were written... every man might have refused all the doctrine of Christ in every point that was not written in the Scripture before his day, nor drawn out thereof by a little straighter line than Luther draweth his. And when Christ taught them the counsel of virginity and many other wholesome things above the perfection of their Old Law—they might have said, "Show me this in writing." And then if he had answered that himself being such as he was (and for such testified by writing, and by the word of his Father, and by his own wondrous works), owed to be believed of them in *everything*, upon pain of the loss of their souls—they might have said again as Tyndale saith now: "If we be bound upon the pain of loss of our souls to believe anything that is not written nor dependeth of that which is written, what helped us the Scripture that is written?" This tale of Tyndale's might they have told unto Christ himself, against the Sacrament of Baptism and the Sacrament of the Altar too.

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1 Cor 11:34

Now, when Saint Paul in his epistle to the Corinthians said, "I will order the

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remnant when I come myself”—they should by Tyndale’s reason have sent him his epistle again and say, “If we shall be bound to do anything unwritten, what availeth us all that ever thou writest?”

But there needeth no places of Scripture to this blasphemous folly of Tyndale spoken *against* the Scripture... because God hath taught and left some part of his pleasure *without* Scripture. For if a man write certain rules to his household servants, and yet give them certain, besides, by his own mouth—such as peradventure should need no warning in writing because the continual use and exercise of them could not suffer them to be forgotten (in which kind of commandments be the blessed sacraments so daily used in Christ’s church that forgotten they cannot be, nor left they shall not be, for all the business that these heretics, the devil’s doctors, can make)—if this lord’s servants were so wise to learn this lesson of Tyndale and say, “Nay, sir, and ye leave these things unwritten, then a straw for all that ye have written!”: might not the master say that his men were a sort of malapert, foolish knaves? And this is, as ye see, Tyndale’s first reason wherewith he full properly proveth us that the apostles wrote altogether that ever we should be bound to believe. Which reason ye see yourselves is not worth one rush... but, rather, a plain unreasonable blasphemy foolishly spoken against the Scripture of God... which he saith serveth for naught if God bind us to believe any word of his besides.

Now let us proceed to the second... which is, I promise you, *very* second, for any fruit that ye shall find therein. These are his words...

#### Tyndale

Inasmuch as Christ and all his apostles warned us that false prophets should come with false miracles, even to deceive the elect if it were possible: wherewith should the true preacher confound the false, except he brought true miracles to confound the false, or else authentic scripture of full authority already among the people?

#### More

Great cause have we to give thanks to God... whose goodness wresteth the tongues of heretics and maketh them there speak most



against themselves where they ween to speak for themselves the best,  
 as he serveth Tyndale here. For these be the words that I would  
 have wished him to say! For whereas he meaneth that all must be  
 written because that else there were nothing that could confound  
 false prophets that should come and show false miracles, except  
 the true preachers should show true miracles against them: I  
 answer to Tyndale two things. The first is that it is plain false  
 that Tyndale taketh for a plain truth: that is to wit, that the true  
 preachers could have nothing to confound the false prophets that  
 should come with false miracles, but if all the truth were written  
 in scripture authentic among the people. And that if it so were...  
 then the true preachers had enough without true miracles to  
 confound the false prophets bringing false miracles. The second  
 thing that I answer him with is this: that if it were true that  
 he saith (that without miracles nothing would sufficiently serve  
 in such case except that every necessary thing were written in  
 authentic scripture), yet since himself confesseth that *true*  
*miracles might* in such case sufficiently serve the true preacher  
 and confound the false and save the faith upright—and that he  
 cannot say but that God is able to do them whensoever he list,  
 and will never leave his church destitute of help and comfort  
 necessary, and therefore in such necessity will not fail to do them—  
 Tyndale must needs agree (be he never so loath to come to it) that  
 God hath no necessity, for avoiding of such peril, to provide that  
 his church should have every necessary thing delivered unto  
 them, and evermore kept with them, in authentic scripture...  
 while himself, by his promise, would ever dwell with them, and  
 had, for the proof of their faith against false prophets and their  
 false miracles, the mighty means of true miracles, and out  
 of measure greater, in his own hand. Which means of miracles for  
 the true proof of his word among mortal  
 men... is and hath been, and ever shall  
 be, the final, peremptory stop against  
 all contradiction.  
 This second answer is open and plain enough in itself. And  
 forasmuch as the first appeareth not, peradventure, so fully plain at  
 the first sight... I shall make it clearer. When Tyndale saith that

*A final stop against*  
*all contradiction*

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except all were written that we be bound to believe or to do, there were else nothing save miracles to confound false prophets that should come with false miracles—ye perceive well that he presupposeth that if every such thing *be* written in authentic scripture, then *without* miracles the matter is safe enough... and the true preachers able enough to confound the false by the Scripture alone. For but if he say so, he saith no more for the alleging of Scripture than for the alleging of the faith without Scripture.

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Now, Tyndale telling us thus... we must first wit of him which false prophets he meaneth: paynims, Turks, or heretics. If he mean paynims or Turks, then goeth he very far wide; for the true preachers cannot confound them with our authentic scripture... for it is not authentic among them, but they say that it is false. If he mean heretics, he goeth almost as far wide; for they will also, when they list, deny for Holy Scripture any part of Holy Scripture that proveth against their purpose—as they deny the Book of Maccabees because it proveth purgatory and prayers for them that are dead... and deny the Epistle of Saint James because it reproveth a bare faith without good works.

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Now, if they admit the Scripture for Scripture, yet are ye never the nearer... for they will deny the true sense thereof, and obstinately defend a false... so that the true preacher and that false prophet shall be still as far asunder as if they denied the very Scripture itself.

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Now, when he speaketh of confounding them—we must wit of him what he meaneth by “confounding” them. Whether he mean that the true preacher shall make the false prophet ashamed... or that he shall make the people perceive their doctrine for false. As for making the false prophets ashamed—ye see yourselves they be so shameless that it will not be, for ye see they wed nuns openly. And when they be not ashamed to look folk in the face after that shameful sacrilege and abominable bitchery, whereof will they be ashamed? Now, if he mean that the true preacher shall by the authentic writing make the people perceive the false prophet false: I say that shall he not do by Scripture anything more largely than he shall do the same by the word of God unwritten... which word

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Tyndale would have no man believe. For the perceiving whereof,  
suppose me now that the true preacher and the false prophet came  
together to dispute the truth, in a great audience of people, upon  
some such article as the false prophet would teach against the  
common faith of the Catholic Church. As, let me see, for example... 5  
whether friars may wed nuns. Tut, nay; that can serve for no  
example, it is too clear and too far undisputable for any false prophet  
to find any reasoning therein... as the thing which never since the  
world was peopled could have found any man to think it lawful,  
till now... nor yet now, neither, findeth any that so *thinketh*, as many 10  
wretches as so saith and so doth; nor it were not possible for the  
false prophet to find any color therein but such as all the world  
would wonder at—except such beasts as lust to see it so for hatred  
and despite of honesty. But let us take therefore for example some  
such heresy as hath been held and disputed of old. And what 15  
rather than one of the greatest?—that is to wit, that heresy that Arius  
*Arius' error* held, and his great company: that our Savior  
Christ was not one equal God with his  
Father.

Suppose me, therefore, I say, that some false prophet were so devilish 20  
as to preach that point again... and that he had by false  
preaching won unto him (as Arius had in his time) much  
people already, of every state and degree... and that he should then  
come in an open audience of a main multitude, to dispute with  
any true preacher that would offer himself to defend in that point 25  
the part and belief of the Catholic Church. Now, when the true  
preacher and the false prophet were come together, and fallen in  
dispicions in two pulpits on high, that all the people might hear  
them... and that the one alleged divers texts of Scripture for the  
truth, and the other as many for the false part, and each of them 30  
gloss against gloss; and when the true preacher would lay thereto the  
consent of all the old doctors, and of all the Catholic  
Church of Christ this fifteen hundred years: the false prophet would  
say again as the false prophet Luther saith himself—“I set not  
by Jerome, I set not by Augustine, I care not for a hundred 35  
Gregorys, I care not for a thousand Cyprians, *I* lay for *me* the

*plain word of God.* And for the ‘Catholic’ church that thou  
 callest the ‘church of Christ,’ it is but a multitude of mortal men,  
 whom if I should believe for the multitude, I must rather believe the  
 paynims or the Muhammadans, which be many more. And thy  
 ‘saints’ whom thou layest for thee be *dead*; but the *word of God*, that 5  
*I* lay for *me*, *liveth*, and shall live forever! And the church of  
 Christ is unknown to men, but it is well known to God... out of  
*Jb 10:7; Jn 10:28–30* whose hand no man can take them, as  
 our Savior saith, but though they sleep  
 now and rest in hope, as the Scripture saith, ‘My flesh shall rest in 10  
*Ps 16:9* hope,’ they shall yet in the day of the  
 Lord awake at the blast of the trumpet, and  
 ever after live with the Lord in his reign. And of these I doubt not  
 was that holy man Arius and many another holy man of his sect.”  
 Now, if against all this the true preacher fall in farther dispicions 15  
 again... as well about his first question as about the  
 Church, with divers others that incidentally fall in debate between  
 them... and then, for the final end and plainest proof, conclude and  
 rest upon the Scripture, and say that he hath proved his part  
 well thereby, and that his texts be clear, and the texts of the other 20  
 part are falsely wrested, and his own answers effectual, and the  
 others but sophistical; and then the false prophet for himself  
 again say that he joyeth much that their disputation is come to  
 so good a point... for he knoweth well that he hath alleged the scriptures  
 right, and construed them in their true sense, and that his 25  
 adversary is adversary of the plain, open truth, and preacheth and  
 teacheth against his own conscience, and thereby sinneth against  
*Mt 12:31–32; Nm 31:8, 16* the Holy Ghost, which shall never be forgiven  
 in this world nor in the world to  
 come... for whose irremissible sin himself is full sorry, and exhort 30  
 him to remember the false prophet Balaam and beware betimes  
 lest he come to like end... and then say that he is yet glad again,  
 on the other side, and highly thanketh the Lord, that hath by his true  
 teaching there opened the eyes of the people about them, that they now  
 clearly see the light of truth... which hath now put away the 35  
 darkness of their ignorance wherein the blind leaders, the false,  
 popish preachers, have led them wrong all this while before... the

error of whom he doubteth not but that God hath by him made them now so plainly to perceive that he well dare, and so doth, make them all his judges, whither of them both hath defended his part better... and therefore prayeth them to speak and show their minds

*1 Cor 14:29*

therein... for the Apostle saith, “While other speak, the congregation must judge”... and

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every man (saith Luther) for his own soul believeth or believeth not, upon his own peril... and therefore upon his own belief, what he should believe and what not, must needs be judge himself: now, good readers, when they thus have spoken both... think ye, by your troth, that the people unlearned of their audience shall be meet to discern and judge whither of them hath spoken better, and whither part is between them better proved by Scripture? Are not the people well likely with such doubtful dispicions to be rather led out of the truth than well confirmed in it? Namely since many of them shall be corrupted in corners and drawn into that false faith before, as the guise of heretics is!

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But, now, how much peril were there more if this false prophet should, as Tyndale putteth his case, come forth with false miracles too...

and in the end of his disputation and his holy exhortation thereupon, say farther to the people thus: “Dear brethren, in the love of

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the Lord the Father and his only-begotten Son, our Savior Christ, that came into this wretched world to show it example of meekness, and not to make himself as great a god as his Father, as the popish preachers preach unto you... which thereby make you believe that our

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master Christ passed in pride the proud angel Lucifer, that for the same pride was deprived of heaven and thrown into hell, where he reigneth as prince upon all the sons of pride: I am come, as ye see,

sent by the blessed Spirit of the Lord, that hath prayed for you

with sighs unspeakable, that ye might be delivered from this error that this false preacher here and I have disputed upon in your

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presence... where you see and, I am sure, perceive full well that I have with the word of God overcome him utterly, though he babble on still. But yet—because the truth standeth not in words, but in virtue

and power of deed—it pleaseth God that for the strengthening of weak consciences, I shall show you more proof of the glory of God. For since this evil man, misled with an evil spirit, would lead

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you still in a wrong way, and make you misunderstand the  
 Scripture... saying that I take it wrong and teach you false: whereas  
 I made yourselves judges of the matter, I shall now call *God* to judge it  
*himself*, in your sight, by some show of his special presence and  
 power!” And then, after this spoken... should call up unto him some 5  
 well-known blind man, and in the sight of all the people suddenly  
 make him see. What saith Tyndale to this? Here is his own case.  
 Were the authentic scripture in this case likely to stay the people?  
 Surely meseemeth nay. For though the Scripture be *true* in itself,  
     *Many great difficulties*            yet since it is not so *plain* but that many 10  
     *arise upon Scripture.*            great difficulties arise thereupon... in  
    which though he which upon the  
 study thereof hath bestowed many years may perceive the true  
 part from the false—yet unto the unlearned it shall be likely full oft  
 that in such dispicions the false part may seem truest. And 15  
 then how much more if he see in his own sight miracles set thereto!

But now say I that, on the other side, the word of God *unwritten*  
 may stay altogether. For I say that the truth of that article  
 taught and believed as the Church without any doubt or question  
 believeth... may be so surely engraved in man’s heart that though he 20  
 never have read, nor heard, neither, any scripture in that point—  
 yet presupposing it for an undoubted truth, he shall set at naught  
 all the false-wrested Scripture of the false prophet, and all his false  
 miracles too... and shall ever construe the Scripture by the known  
 article of the Catholic faith, which was taught and believed before 25  
     *The strength of the*            those texts of Scripture were written,  
     *word unwritten*            and hath yet the same truth now that it  
    had then, notwithstanding all the  
 texts that seem to say the contrary. And by this faith in the word  
 of God unwritten in their Books... and yet written in their souls, did 30  
 there many martyrs stand and shed their blood in witness of the  
 truth thereof, that never read nor heard the Scripture in their days—  
 and would, in the same word unwritten, with God’s grace have withstood  
 false miracles too; which had yet been undoubtedly the sorest  
 pinch, saving for the more, and more marvelous, miracles that themselves 35  
 saw or believed done on the other side for the truth.

But I say, therefore, as I have often said before, that as for miracles,

he hath so specially kept for the proof of the truth, that all the miracles which the paynims or other infidels have done except heretics... he hath ever made his true preachers to do greater miracles against them, and by the greater miracles to destroy them— as he did in Moses and in Elisha, and in his holy apostles, and other holy saints after them. But as for heretics, God hath never suffered them to do any miracles at all... because he would have by the mark

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*The true church is known* of miracles his very, true church known  
*by miracles.* from all the false churches of heretics.

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Nor never *shall* he suffer them to do any,

till the great archheretic Antichrist come himself... which, as help me God, I fear be very near his time, and that Luther is his very foregoer and his Baptist, to make ready his way in the desert of this wretched world... and Tyndale, Friar Huessgen, and Zwingli, his very false prophets to preach for him. But when he shall come himself and work wonders, to pervert (if it might be) the very chosen too— yet shall he not work miracles alone, but God shall for his Church in miracles far pass him... for anger whereof he shall kill them and trust all in strength of sword. And because he shall have so many ways to turn the people wrong, God shall not suffer the wretch

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2 *Thes* 2:7-8 long, but shall shorten his days... and, putting strength and miracle together,

shall kill him with the spirit or blast of his holy mouth. And thus, good readers, ye plainly now perceive that since the Scripture alone against heretics and miracles may not sufficiently serve to unlearned people otherwise than may the belief without the Scripture... and also that heretics shall do no miracles till Antichrist come... and yet then shall have also greater miracles wrought against him, and that his time shall be but short, and himself finally by miracle destroyed and killed: ye see proved plainly that Tyndale's second reason with which he would prove that the apostles left no necessary thing unwritten... hath in it no reason at all.

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#### Tyndale

Some man would ask, How did God continue his generation from Adam to Noah, and from Noah to Abraham, and so to Moses, without

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writing... but with teaching from mouth to mouth? I answer first that there was no Scripture in the world all the while—*that* shall they prove when our Lady hath a new son.

### More

Tyndale saith that “some” man would ask this question. But he knoweth well enough that *I* lay this against him, in my *Dialogue*, because *he* so precisely saith that nothing may be certainly known to be believed but by Scripture. And now he answereth me that our Lady shall have a new son ere I can prove that there was not Scripture from the beginning! He weigheth his words wisely when he saith that our Lady shall have a new son first (which he might as well say by every woman that is past this world), saving that “our Lady never had a new son besides our Savior Christ” is none article of his false faith, as himself plainly confesseth... because it is not plainly written in Scripture.

But is not this a proper answer now? Whereas against his false ground that there can be no true faith but if it be written in Scripture, I objected against him the faith of many good, faithful men... in whose days we cannot prove that their faith was written, and yet we doubt not but that they were good and faithful: he saith I cannot prove that they had no Scripture. If he will say (as he doth) that they *could* have no good and sure faith without Scripture... and will also confess (as he doth) that they *had* good and sure faith: he must himself prove that they *had* Scripture... and not tell me that our Lady shall have a new son ere I prove that they had no Scripture. For it is enough for me that our Lady shall have two new sons ere Tyndale prove that some of those faithful folk in the first or second generation had any writing at all; and that our Lady shall have five new sons ere Tyndale prove that the faithful people had before Moses’ days any scripture such as Tyndale must mean but if he go about to beguile us with sophistical equivocation. For our matter is not of “scripture” as it is taken for bare writing, such as every scrivener’s boy writeth in his master’s shop... but as it signifieth such holy writing as God causeth to be written and bindeth folk to believe upon the peril of their soul health. And then I say yet again that it is enough for me that our Lady shall have fifteen new sons ere Tyndale be able to prove me that some of those whom I allege and he confesseth for faithful folk had any such scripture at all.





greater necessity—as, peradventure, tillage of the ground. But as for writing, I ween, as long as he lived, was found yet long after Adam’s days. For though Adam had as great a wit as any man had since—yet he found not out everything that many a more mean wit hath found since... except Tyndale tell us that Adam printed books, and made glasses, and shot guns, too. 5

Tyndale

And that there was writing in the world long ere Abraham—yea, and ere Noah—do stories testify.

More

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*Jn 19:35*

Full well. But there is none of those stories anything sib to Saint John’s Gospel. He findeth not in *them* “Qui vidit testimonium perhibuit”... nor “verum est testimonium eius.”

There were stories which, as Saint Augustine saith, wrote of things done thousands of years before the world was made. And though it were proved (as it is not) that there were writing from the beginning—yet, as I said before, it would not prove that there was Holy Scripture that time... which is the only writing that must be proved or else all that he proveth is as good unproved. 15 20

Tyndale

Notwithstanding, though there had been no writing—the preachers were ever prophets glorious in doing of miracles, wherewith they confirmed their preaching.

More

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This is right well said and very largely... and lacketh nothing now but even to be as well and largely proved. Which when he shall so largely prove me by plain Scripture (without which, by Luther’s own rule, Luther’s own scholar may not look to be believed)—he shall have much ado, I trow. For he saith that by all this time which was the space of so many hundred years, the preachers were “ever prophets” and “glorious in doing of miracles, wherewith they confirmed their preaching.” Verily, Noah—we find that he confirmed his preaching with miracle, that was with the flood that drowned the whole world. 30 35

*Gn 6:5—7:23*

But else, in that age from Adam to his day... what miracles findeth Tyndale done by the preachers? Now, from Noah to Abraham, how many miracles findeth he done by the preachers? Nor from Abraham to Moses neither, he findeth not very many; so that it will, I ween, be very hard for him to prove that the preachers did always prove, all that while, their preaching by miracles. 5

But I am very glad to hear him say so... and am content to discharge him of the proof, and agree that he saith truth. And then say I that since himself agreeth that for the proof of the preachers' doctrine preaching all one thing down from generation to generation by the space of so many hundred years, holy preachers and miracles were so necessary that for the necessity thereof he presumeth that it was so: it is reason that he agree also that by this whole time of fifteen hundred years of *Christ's* church, holy preachers with miracles have been as necessary. And then since he must also grant that God hath as much cure of the church of his Son as he had of any church before: he must grant that of each thing necessary God hath as well provided for it as ever he did for any. Whereof it followeth that since holy preachers and miracles were always so necessary in the other that God always provided them so plenteously that they never lacked: he hath in like wise all this while provided that in his own church holy preachers and miracles have also continued and have never lacked. And then followeth further that since in all this while there hath never been in any church of heretics (as many as have been of them!) neither saint nor miracle... but both twain ever plenteously continued in this only church which is the common-known Catholic Church of Christ: thereupon followeth it, finally, that only it is the true church of God... and that all the others be false churches of the devil. 10 15 20 25

Now if Tyndale will say that it is now *not* like... for there is no cause neither of holy preachers nor miracles, because we have the *Lk 16:27-31* scriptures—as Abraham said unto the rich glutton that lay in hell and would have Lazarus sent into his father's house to give his brethren warning, “They have already Moses and the prophets; and if they believe not them, no more will they believe one that were come hence, neither”—this will not serve Tyndale. For they were not excusable which then had the scriptures, considering that the Scripture had been, and yet every age were, well testified with *miracles*, in that the 30 35

prophets and preachers thereof, and the places where it was preached  
 and occupied in God's service, were by God illustrated and set out  
 with miracles... insomuch that he did not only send into the  
 world his prophets and true preachers with miracles, but also  
     *2 Kgs 13:21*                      by the bones of *them* raised and sent into                      5  
    the world dead men also, to give the  
 world warning too—though he listed not to do so much at that  
 wretch's request. And finally, when all was too little, and that they fell  
 to false construing of the Scripture, and so began to multiply  
 their false doctrine that they made the better-believing folk the                      10  
 fewer and the false part the greater—he tarried not long, but came himself  
 to reform it and begin his own special church with his  
 own preaching and his holy apostles'... not with bare dispicions,  
 and bearing men in hand the words of the Scripture were plain  
 enough... but with plenteous miracles to reprove the false doctrine                      15  
 of the false Pharisees that had begun to teach contrary to their old  
 holy fathers before. And thus hath God ever since sent holy saints  
 into his church, as the reason of his goodness required that he should.  
 And where these new Pharisees, these manifold sects of heretics,  
 both now do and from the beginning have done, misconstrue the                      20  
 Scripture of God against the mind of Christ and his apostles: our  
 Lord sendeth and ever hath sent not only good, virtuous preachers  
 against them, but also reproveth and ever hath reproveth their  
 most common heresies, against saints and sacraments, with daily  
 marvelous miracles... and neither suffereth nor never suffered any one                      25  
 to be wrought among all them, but such as he worketh sometimes  
 where he maketh an image to speak, or the Blessed Sacrament to  
 bleed, to detect their despiteful dealing, and make them be  
 burned therefor... whereas they shall never find in Scripture that  
 ever God suffered false miracle either by man or devil to be done to                      30  
 the confusion of his true prophet. And therefore it is plain yet  
 again that the Catholic Church is the true church, and all these  
 heretics' "congregations" false.

Tyndale

And beyond that, God wrote his testament unto them always, both                      35  
 what to do and what to believe, even in sacraments. For the sacrifices

which God gave Adam's sons were no dumb popetry or superstitious muhammatry, but signs of the testament of God; and in them they read the word of God as we do in Books.

More

Tyndale telleth us here another fair tale. But in this I say as I  
said before in the other: that his tale lacketh but all that it  
should have—that is to wit, the proof. For ye shall hear now how he  
would seem to prove it. 5

Tyndale

The testament which God made with Noah, that he would no more  
drown the world with water... he wrote in the sacrament of the  
rainbow. And the appointment made between him and Abraham...  
he wrote in the sacrament of circumcision. And therefore said  
Stephen (Acts 7), "He gave them the testament of circumcision"; not  
that the outward circumcision was the whole testament... but the  
sacrament or sign thereof. For circumcision preached God's word  
unto them, as I have in other places declared. 10 15

More

Is not this well proved, now! He showeth us of sacrifices, of circumcision,  
and of the rainbow—which he coupleth with sacrifices  
and circumcision, and calleth it a "sacrament," like the others, because  
he would have us ween that no sacrament either then did or  
now doth any more profit the soul than doth the rainbow!  
Which rainbow whether God made new, to make men sure of his  
promise by the marvelous new sight thereof, or that, it being but  
an appearance natural by the reflection of the sun... I will not  
dispute because of other men's writing. But this I wot well:  
I see no man write thereof that ever saw it before. 20 25

Nor if it had never been seen yet... there would, I ween, for all the  
natural reasons that men make now therefor, never a man have  
missed it. But as I say, were it the one, were it the other... God 30

*Why God made the rainbow* either made it or appointed it but for a  
sign of bodily health, and the world to  
be preserved from universal flood; whereas sacrifices and circumcision,  
and much more the blessed sacraments of Christ's church,  
pertain to the soul health... not as bare signs, but as things well 35

helping thereunto—as prayer doth, and all reverent manner and devout fashion used by man therein. But this is all Tyndale’s purpose: to pull down the sacraments and have them taken for bare, simple signs. For surely to couple the sacrifice of Abel or the sacrament of circumcision with the sign of the rainbow... is almost as well likened as to liken the Matins that men sing at church, or the Blessed Sacrament at the Mass, to the sign of the Saracen’s head. 5

But now consider how well these things prove his ghostly purpose. He saith that from Adam to Moses, God taught them in sacraments always both what they should do and what they should believe; and he proveth it because God did so in three. And so this is his argument: God did so thrice, ergo he did so always; God did so in three, ergo he did so in all; God in sacraments taught them some things, ergo in sacraments he taught them all things. 10

Where findeth Tyndale that God taught Abraham what thing the circumcision should signify, or wherefore he should do it, other than that he would have him and all his do it? What moral virtue he should understand thereby—as the cutting off and casting away of all superfluous carnal things, or any such other thing—what did he teach him? Or where findeth he that to the people was any such thing preached thereby, when the circumcision was given and commanded? 15 20

In the sacrifice of Abel in killing and offering the beasts... where findeth Tyndale that there was taught unto Abel, or any man else, that it should signify the killing of fleshly lusts, or any such other things... saving that they should serve God in that manner?—which yet we rather gather by reason than find it written in Scripture. 25

Where findeth he that Abraham was taught that in offering up his son Isaac, and then the sheep in his stead... it should signify the offering of Christ upon the cross, or *anything* else but his thankful obedience and proof of his fast faith and hope in God? 30

And though it may appear in every sacrifice, and in every prayer unto God, that men should love God above all things—yet in what sacrifice were they learned to love their neighbor? 35

This is a vain tale of Tyndale which he shall never prove while he liveth. And yet the better he proveth it if he could prove it... the worse should he make his matter. For if sacraments *were* with *them*, in all that time, able to be profitable without Scripture: then so

may ours be now profitable without Scripture... except he find  
therefor a prohibition in Scripture, which neither he nor none of  
his fellows ever found yet, nor never shall find while they live.  
For whereas they lay for a prohibition the words of Moses (in the  
*Dt 13:1* Deuteronomy) commanding that no 5  
man shall add nor diminish—they that  
lay that text for a prohibition of our sacraments unwritten be,  
as I shall show you afterward, surely too mad to live.

Now seeth Tyndale this to be very truth himself: that if sacraments  
were without Scripture profitable unto them, and stood 10  
them in the stead of Scripture—it might be by the same reason  
in like wise profitable to us, and stand us in stead; which thing  
destroyeth all his whole purpose. And therefore, to answer that  
with... he saith that “[so it might indeed,] if that the wicked pope had  
not taken away the significations of our sacraments from us, as he hath robbed 15  
us”—saith Tyndale—“of the true sense of all the Scripture.”

Tyndale must here tell us *which* pope hath taken from us the  
signification of the sacraments, and robbed from us the true sense  
of the Scripture. If any pope this eight hundred years (by all which  
time Tyndale saith they have been *all* naught) have done anything 20  
therein contrary to the old popes that were by the space of seven hundred  
years next before that, which popes he denieth not for good nor cannot  
deny: let him tell which, and wherein, and whereby he can prove  
it. But that am I sure he shall never show while he liveth. For I  
wot well that the old holy works that have been made, as well by 25  
old holy popes (as Saint Gregory, Saint Leo, and others) as by the  
old holy doctors (as Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine, and others),  
concerning as well the significations of sacraments as the true  
sense of Scripture, do consent and agree together against Tyndale  
and Luther and Friar Huessgen and all their fond fellows. And if 30  
Tyndale say nay, let him show me which old holy popes were  
they that ever held that the Sacrament of the Altar is such a bare,  
simple sign, and set but only to signify the memorial of  
Christ’s Passion, and unity of him and us, with love and concord  
among ourselves... and that it were sin to think it were not bread 35  
still, as Luther saith, or to think it were anything else, as Tyndale  
and Friar Huessgen saith... and great sin to worship it, as

Luther, Huessgen, and Tyndale say. And as concerning the “true sense” of Scripture which he saith the “pope” hath robbed from us... and meaneth the popes of eight hundred years last past... which true sense Tyndale now bringeth again: let him show, then, which popes of the other seven hundred years before, or which holy doctors of all that long time before... did construe the Scripture so that any of them would say that a monk might wed a nun! And lo, thus ye see, good readers, in what worshipful wise Tyndale proveth all his purpose. But now will we go farther. 5

Tyndale 10

But in the time of Moses, when the congregation was increased, that they must have many preachers and also rulers temporal— then all was received in Scripture . . .

More 15

Here is his whole ground whereupon he will anon conclude that since all was then received in Scripture among the Jews... so must it follow that all was received by Scripture among Christian men. Which followeth not, as I will after show you, though he said true... in that he saith that in the time of Moses all was received in Scripture. 20

But since that thereupon is all his whole matter grounded, let him prove you that point first. For ye consider well that it is not enough to him that they then received Scripture; but he must prove that then they received *all* in Scripture... and that *everything* that they should do or believe was then delivered them in Scripture. And therefore, since that this is the point and the thing that he saith, and proveth not: let him prove you this well first, and then go further in God’s name. What proof he bringeth ye shall see... and how true it is ye shall soon judge. Thus he saith... 25

Tyndale 30

[All was then received in Scripture;] insomuch that Christ and his apostles might not have been believed without Scripture, for all their miracles.

More 35

Lo, this is all the whole proof that ever he bringeth forth for this point whereupon his whole purpose hangeth. And indeed it were



somewhat... if it were as true as it is false. For he neither hath any scripture to prove it... and all reason is quite against it. First, as for Scripture, though Christ showed to the Jews as the truth was, that the Scripture made mention of him—yet he never said unto them as Tyndale saith, that he might not be believed else; nor no scripture so saith. He saith no more of Scripture than of Saint John the Baptist. For he saith that the Scripture beareth witness of him, and so saith he of Saint John too.

But because Tyndale compareth the Scripture with miracles, and setteth so little by God's word unwritten: Christ said somewhat more by *miracles*, and by his own word at that time *unwritten*, than he said either by Saint John or by the Scripture either. For *Jn 15:22, 24* he said of *those* twain that if either of both had lacked... they had not been in the sin of infidelity. And he saith not so much of Saint John, nor of the Scripture neither.

Now, reason is clear against Tyndale in that he saith that Christ and his apostles could not be believed for all the miracles. For though God had never given warning by Moses that there should come another prophet—yet except God had expressly said that he would never send more (which he said not), what should let Christ to be believed coming with miracles... and though he would teach in the belief, not contrary articles to those that were before taught, but other revelations farther that were not taught before, and in works make what change that God list to command? God's word when it was brought unto the people by Moses—was it believed for God's sake, or for Moses'? If for God's sake: then though Christ had not been God (as he was), yet since God sent him with miracles as he sent Moses, what should let him to be believed as well as Moses though he had never been spoken of before? Now, if for Moses' sake: Christ was as good as Moses was, all had he not been God; and incomparably better since he *was* God. Why could he not, then, have been believed without the witness of Moses, coming with miracles more than ever Moses did or all the prophets besides—and namely doing so many in his own name?

And because that in the credence given unto Christ, Tyndale

giveth so great preeminence to the Scripture above the miracles of Christ—that is to say, to the word of God written, above wonderful works of God done—let Tyndale understand that the cause *why* the witness of Scripture helped unto the credence of Christ was by reason of miracle: that is to wit, because it *prophesied* of him. 5  
Which thing that shall come so long after... is a great miracle!

And, yet farther, they that would not believe in Christ for his miracles... would not believe in him for the Scripture neither.

And yet for the final confutation of Tyndale's folly in saying that Christ for all his miracles could not have been believed but for the Scripture: Every fool knoweth that all the world save the Jews, in their turning to Christ's belief, were not led by the Scripture, but by the *miracles*... and believed not Christ for the Scripture, but believed the Scripture for Christ, and Christ for the miracles. And the Jews, which people most believed the Scripture—of them, I say, fewest believed in Christ. 10 15

#### Tyndale

Wherefore, forasmuch as Christ's congregation is spread abroad into all the world, much broader than Moses'; and inasmuch as we have not the Old Testament only but also the New, wherein all things are opened so richly, and all fulfilled that before was promised; and insomuch that there is no promise behind, of aught to be showed more, save the resurrection; yea, and seeing that Christ and all the apostles, with all the angels of heaven, if they were here, could preach no more than is preached, of necessity to our souls: how, then, should we receive a new article of our faith without Scripture, as profitable unto my soul . . . as smoke for sore eyes? 20 25

#### More

Here Tyndale maketh his conclusion that since Moses, because the people "was increased," so fully received all things necessary to be believed in Scripture that Christ himself "might not have been believed without Scripture" (which thing is very false), therefore it followeth that "Christ's congregation" hath all things necessary to be believed written in Scripture; which thing is as false; and reason it is that it be false, when he concludeth it upon false. But Tyndale—perceiving well himself how false his foundation is, and how feeble his building is that he setteth thereupon—hath therefore, to make it 30 35

stand the surer, undershored and underpropped it with certain other strong posts made of rotten reeds.

One is that all things be now, besides the Old Testament, opened richly in the New Testament, that before were promised. This underpropper is not very proper for to bear up his building; for it is the selfsame thing that is in question. For *we* say that if he take the New Testament for the book of that scripture written, he must not only say but also *prove* that everything is opened therein that of necessity for our soul health is to be believed or done; and this is the thing itself that is in debate. And therefore while he doth but *tell* us, and prove it not... and so underproppeth his assertion with itself—he showeth himself as wise as one that, lest his rotten house should fall, would go about to take down the roof, and pull up the groundsel, to undershore the sides with the same.

Then setteth he to it another shorer: that allthing is in the New Testament fulfilled that was promised before... and also that “there is no promise behind, of aught to be showed more, save the resurrection.” Now, this shorer is so surely set that it is shortly blown down quite, if a man say no more but “What then?” For besides that as there lay more promises in the Old Testament than every man well understood, so may there yet, peradventure, lie more promises unperceived yet, either by Tyndale or me, both in the Old and in the New... but, I say, besides this... and besides this also—that Tyndale saith here untrue (for besides the resurrection, there are yet unfulfilled as well divers promises of tokens and things that shall come before the resurrection, and all those things, pardie, that are promised to come after, as the Judgment itself, and bliss or pain everlasting to the judged bodies)—but yet, I say, besides all this... what *if* all the promises be fulfilled saving the resurrection? Doth that prove that there could be nothing of necessity believed without Scripture? Is there nothing to be believed but promises? If God tell me a thing or bid me do a thing... am I not bound to believe the one nor to do the other because they be no promises? If Tyndale speak wisely in this, I must needs confess my folly; for in good faith, I can see no wit therein.

But finally he setteth to a mighty strong post, able to bear down all, when he saith that Christ, and all his apostles, and all the

angels of heaven, could preach no more than is preached, of necessity to our souls. And therefore, and for all the wise and well-framed reasons which I have reproved and proved unreasonable before, he saith that to receive a new article of faith without Scripture were as profitable for our souls “as smoke for sore eyes.” 5

This is a substantial shorer, lo, and very surely set, I assure you. For, first, I might agree all that he saith, and his purpose never the more proved. For where he saith that all is already preached that is necessary or can be necessary to the soul—if I would answer and say, “That is very true; all such things is already preached; but all such preaching is not written”... where were now Tyndale’s conclusion? 10  
But I will not be so mad to grant him that all is either written or preached, either, that can be of necessity to man’s soul. For who would be so mad to think that God knoweth not many things that we know not—and that he can if it please him reveal and show us any of those, and command us to believe them, whensoever he list? And when he so would do... then were they of necessity to our soul’s salvation to be believed. And he may when it please him command us to do some other things that he hath not commanded yet... and then should we be bound to do them. 20  
And he may command to leave undone some things that he hath before commanded to be done... and then should we be bound to leave them undone. And this is so plain and evident to every man that hath any spark of reason in his head... that I wonder where Tyndale had left his wit when he wrote this! 25

And this was also a wise temperance of the matter: that he saith for these wise causes that it were as wholesome for our souls as smoke for sore eyes if we received any new articles of faith without Scripture. If the eyes of his soul were not sore bleared or stark blind with the smoke of the smoky fire of hell, he would soon have seen with his two eyes his two follies in these few words. For he saith if we received a new article “without Scripture”... whereby he confesseth that if God will give us a new article *in* Scripture, as he gave Moses... it were not unwholesome. And what can he then say but if God give it *without* Scripture, he must be believed?—but if Tyndale dare say that the truth of God do depend upon his writing, and that his word be naught worth till it be written! Another folly is this: that he saith if we receive “a new article”... and then all the examples that he putteth be old. And we shall put him some others as old. 30 35

## Tyndale

What helped it me to believe that our Lady's body is in heaven?

## More

If this be a new-believed article... let Tyndale tell when this belief  
 began; and he shall find that it hath been thus believed even 5  
 from the time of her decease. And now the thing that almost fifteen hundred  
 years hath been believed... he calleth a new article. But, now, how like  
 is this belief, of this new article of fifteen hundred years old, unto his  
 example of smoke and sore eyes? For, first, if it helped him not... yet  
 at the least it hurt him not, as smoke doth sore eyes. But since it is 10  
*True it is that our Lady is in* true, and taught unto the Church by the  
*heaven both body and soul.* Spirit of God, which leadeth the Church  
*Ps 67:7 (Vulgate)* into every truth; and the Church grown  
 into the consent and agreement thereof by  
 the same Spirit of concord and agreement which "maketh all the 15  
 house of one mind"; and though the belief thereof *were* very new:  
 yet it helpeth him and doth him good to believe it... as it  
 helpeth him and doth him good if he believe other truths which  
 God hath revealed, and showed by writing before; except Tyndale  
 trust not God upon his word but if he give him his writing thereupon 20  
 and his letters patent under his great seal. For else why  
 should it not help him as much to believe that our Lady's body and  
 soul is in heaven, since God hath taught his church so to believe... as  
*Gn 5:24* it helpeth him to believe that Enoch or  
*2 Kgs 2:11* Elijah is body and soul in paradise, since 25  
 he may do the one that doth the other?  
 And he saith the one that saith the other... though he say them not  
 both in one manner, but the one by writing, the other by mouth.  
 For the inward inspiration of his Spirit... is his mouth unto his  
 reasonable creatures. 30  
 Howbeit, he saith and speaketh indeed the one thing and the  
 other both of one fashion. For if he speak... he but inspireth his  
 word into some creature that speaketh it out. And as he speaketh, he  
 writeth. And therefore whoso better believeth the word of God written  
 than the word of God unwritten—that is to wit, the Scripture than the 35  
 inspiration—he believeth better the creature that wrote it than God  
 himself that inspired it.

If Tyndale will avoid this and say, “Nay, but I believe better these men that wrote the one of Enoch and Elijah than I believe these men that tell me the other of our Lady”: then must Tyndale tell us *why* he better believeth those than these. Wherein what hath he to say but that those that wrote it in the Scripture were inspired of God, and so he believeth it as the word not of men but of God? Then answer we again that they that tell me the other of our Lady were inspired of God... and therefore it helpeth him to believe it as the word not of men but of God. If he ask how shall he know that God inspired the men that tell him the tale of our Lady: we must ask him again how knoweth he that God inspired them that wrote the tale of Enoch or Elijah. If he say that he knoweth it because it is Holy Scripture: we then shall ask him further how he knoweth that it is Holy Scripture. And then is he driven to the point that, when he hath all done... he must be fain to flee to the Church, and say that he knoweth it by “the church.” And when he shall show you by which church he knoweth it—he must needs show you some church which himself may know; for else, how should any such church tell it him as himself knoweth not? And when he showeth you any known church... he is doubly confounded. For both he destroyeth his heresy that no church should be believed but elects... and also shall be driven to confess that he knoweth the Scripture by our church—that is to wit, Christ’s Catholic Church, which he refuseth. And then shall we further tell him, for his third confusion, that by the same-self church doth he know that God hath inspired that other article, of our Lady. And yet for his fourth confusion, we shall tell him further that the selfsame scripture which himself, by the means of the Church’s teaching, believeth to be the word of God... teacheth him also to believe that this thing which it believeth of our Lady is either good to believe or at the leastwise not evil, nor like smoke to sore eyes... since our Savior himself, in *Jn 14:26; 16:13* the same scripture, saith that the Spirit of God shall teach them all truth, and lead them into every truth, and that forever... since himself there promiseth that he will not leave them, but be with them forever, unto the world’s end.

And thus, good Christian readers, ye see to what worshipful conclusion, with a fourfold confusion, Tyndale hath brought himself

with laying this article whereby he would diminish the worship of our most blessed Lady.

But likewise as he speaketh here of the Assumption of our Lady, the belief whereof he would should seem to serve of naught: the same saith he, in divers places, of the belief of the perpetual virginity of our Lady... saying that it is nothing pertaining to the salvation of our soul. But I say that the Catholic Church of Christ believeth that the belief thereof—being (as it is, and from the beginning hath been) taught by the Holy Ghost—so pertaineth to the salvation of our souls that the contrary belief pertaineth to the damnation of our souls if heresy be damnable. And that this is no new article well appeareth by that that the old holy doctor Saint Jerome so far forth reckoned it for heresy that he wrote a whole book against the old heretic Helvidius for the confutation of that heresy. In which virtuous book Saint Jerome neither proveth nor goeth about to prove her perpetual virginity by Scripture... but only proveth that the places of Scripture which Helvidius brought forth for the contrary were not effectual to prove his malicious purpose against the common-received faith of Christ's Catholic Church. Against which we may be very sure that the Scripture never speaketh indeed... how apparent soever a heretic make it seem.

For likewise as, though a sophist would with a fond argument prove unto a simple soul that two eggs were three, because that "there is one, and there be twain, and one and twain make three," that simple, unlearned man, though he lack learning to assoil his fond argument, hath yet wit enough to laugh thereat, and to eat the two eggs himself, and bid the sophister take and eat the third—so is every faithful man as sure in the sight of his soul, how apparently soever a heretic argue by Scripture to the contrary, that the common faith of Christ's Catholic Church is out of question true... and that the Scripture, understood right, is never thereto contrary... since he wotteth well, both by his faith and by the Scripture, that the Church is taught its faith by God and his Holy Spirit... according to Christ's *promise*, that can never be false; and wotteth well also that God never teacheth against the truth, nor writeth against his word, but that the contrariety that seemeth, ariseth of heretics' malicious subtlety, or, as holy Saint Augustine

saith, for lack of well understanding. Which misunderstanding may soon mislead that man which list to leave the faith of Christ's Catholic Church and lean to the doctrine of a false heretic or to the liking his own wit.

But for because Tyndale will, when we have all said, stick still at one point... and ask us what shall profit his soul to believe that our Lady is in heaven body and soul (of which he plainly believeth the contrary, both for her body and her soul; for he

*O fond opinion!* believeth with Luther that all souls sleep, and sleep shall till the Day of Doom), and

will ask us also what profiteth him to believe that our Lady was a perpetual virgin and never had child but Christ... since none of those both articles is proved by plain Scripture... and we might be saved well enough though our Lady's body came not in heaven till Doomsday... and also though she had more sons than one, and more husbands too: I will ask him then again what profiteth him to believe that our Savior himself died a virgin and never had wife nor child... since that article is not proved by very plain Scripture neither, and he might by his Passion have wrought our redemption although he had wedded, and begotten children too.

And in good faith, I ween we shall see those folk fall so frantic once... that they shall not let at last to say he *did* so, too... and bid us go prove the contrary by Scripture, or else they be at their angelical liberty to believe which way they list. But now come we to Tyndale's other example that he putteth, of purgatory.

Tyndale

What am I the better for the belief of purgatory?

More

In good faith, not the better of a halfpenny, while ye believe it no better than ye do. But surely if ye believed it well... ye might be both the better for purgatory and the farther from hell.

Tyndale

"To fear men with," thou wilt say.

More

He maketh men answer as it pleaseth himself. But we will *not* say so; for it were a foolish saying to say, "Tyndale is the better for



the belief of purgatory to fear men with.” What fool would say so but Tyndale? For Tyndale’s belief cannot fear folk, no more than other men’s belief feareth Tyndale; nor Tyndale is not the better though other men be afeard. And therefore that question, as he foolishly frameth it, so he foolishly answereth it.

5

*Why purgatory is ordained* But I say that purgatory is ordained for the punishment of such sins as were either venial in the beginning... or from mortal turned to venial by the forgiveness of the mortality.

*The belief of purgatory doth profit us two ways.* And I say that the belief thereof profiteth two manner of wise. One wise, in that it maketh a man to be preserved thence, or to be the less while there, by that it maketh him do penance and good works here (of which two things Tyndale abhorreth to hear).

10

15

Another way the belief thereof profiteth, in that as for so far forth it keepeth the believer from hell... into the fire whereof for the contrary belief and heresy held against it, he should else fall headlong down... believed he never so well, and lived he never so well also, beside. And therefore of the belief of purgatory there cometh these profits to *other* folk... though *Tyndale* be never the better for the belief thereof, which believeth it not.

20

#### Tyndale

Christ and his apostles thought hell enough. And yet—besides that the fleshly imaginations may not stand with God’s word— what great fear can there be of that terrible fire... which thou mayest quench almost for three halfpence?

25

#### More

Nay, surely that fire is not so lightly quenched that folk should upon the boldness of pardons stand out of the fear of purgatory. For likewise as, though the Sacrament of Penance be able to put away the eternality of the pain... yet hath the party, for all that, cause to fear both purgatory and hell too, lest some default upon his own part letted God in the sacrament to work such grace in him

30

*Pardons discharge us from purgatory.* as should serve therefor: so, though the pardon be able to discharge a man of purgatory... yet may there be such default

35

in the party to whom the pardon is granted, that though he give for three halfpence three hundred pounds, yet shall he receive no pardon at all. And therefore can he not be for three halfpence out of fear of purgatory, but ever hath cause to fear it. For no man, except revelation, can be sure whether he be partner of the pardon or not... 5  
though he may have, and ought to have, both in that and every good thing good hope.

And if the fear of purgatory *were* so clear gone because it might be quenched with the cost of three halfpence—then were the fear of hell gone too, by Tyndale’s teaching... since bare faith and slight repenting putteth out that fire clean, without the cost of a penny. 10

And where he saith that Christ and his apostles thought hell enough—I ask him how he proveth that. For we see well by experience that hell and purgatory too be scant enough, between them both, to refrain folk from sin. We see also that both Christ and his apostles have showed us that there *is* purgatory. And that have they showed us not only by mouth, which were sufficient to faithful folk... but by the Scripture too. And yet both twain be not enough to Tyndale. For his fellows and he will not understand those places of Scripture but after their own fashion. 15 20

And therefore, now, whereas he calleth as unprofitable to the soul as smoke to sore eyes all things that be not either written in Scripture or deduced thereupon... and put the examples of the Assumption of our Lady and purgatory: he must add unto them as many things more as himself putteth in the same case. And so thereby ye see that he saith now that a child to be confirmed, or to be christened either, if it be christened in Latin; or a man to shrive himself of his sins, or to do penance, or to do any good works toward heavenward, or to be aneled, or to pray to saints, or to believe in the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, the Blessed Body and Blood of Christ, or to do any honor unto it—all these things be, by Tyndale, as profitable for the soul as smoke is for sore eyes. But I pray God that the sore eyes of his sick soul may once look up better... lest he finally fall into the foul smoke of hell, where he shall never see after. 25 30 35

#### Tyndale

And that the apostles should teach aught by mouth that they would not write—I pray you for what purpose?

## More

Now have ye heard already by what high reasons Tyndale hath proved you the thing that he affirmeth—that is to wit, that the apostles wrote, and left in writing, everything that is of necessity for the soul, either to be done or to be believed. 5

But since he seeth himself that in his reasons for his own part there is so little pith... and that he can never prove, nor no man else, the things that Tyndale must prove or else prove himself a fool for falling from the faith of Christ's church; that is to say, that the apostles left all such necessary points of the faith in writing: he leaveth off now his part himself, and asketh us *why* they left aught unwritten—as though if I, that never was of counsel with them, cannot tell unto Tyndale plainly wherefore and why the apostles left aught unwritten, he might thereupon conclude that they wrote altogether. Is not this a wise and a worshipful reason? 10 15

This manner is much like as Tyndale would affirm that all the laws of England be written, and whatsoever were unwritten were no law; and when he had long wrestled therewith and could not prove it... would then ask me, "Hath the realm of England any laws that be not written? To what purpose, I pray you, should they be left unwritten?"—and then if I could not give him an answer thereto such as could content him, he might therefore with good reason take his part for proved... and well and worshipfully conclude that all that ever are unwritten are no laws! But now in my name he answereth his question... and then confuteth that answer. 20 25

## Tyndale

"Because they should not come to the hands of the heathen, for mocking," saith Master More. I pray you, what thing more to be mocked of the heathen... could they teach than the Resurrection, and that Christ was God and man and died between two thieves, and for his death's sake all that repent and believe therein should have their sins forgiven them? Yea, and if the apostles understood thereby as we do... what madder thing unto heathen people could they have taught than that bread is Christ's body and wine his blood? And yet all these things they wrote. And again purgatory, confession in the ear, penance and satisfaction for sin to Godward with holy deeds, and praying to saints, with such like... as dumb 30 35

sacraments and ceremonies, are marvelously agreeable unto the superstition of the heathen people; so that they needed not to abstain from writing of them for fear lest the heathen should have mocked them.

More

5

This was a happy hap for Master Tyndale—that it happed Master More, with the laying of such a slender cause, to minister Master Tyndale so much pleasant matter of replication. For if I had not happed to have said that the apostles forbore the writing of some things for eschewing of infidels' mocking, Tyndale had had now no more to say, but had left off with shame enough... 10  
whereas now, by this point, he hath occasion of much matter and winneth much worship therewith.

But, now, if I would be content to say that I was overseen in so saying... and that I cannot defend my words that they forbore to write any manner thing for any such cause; and that also I cannot tell why, nor for what cause, the apostles wrote some necessary things and left some necessary things unwritten... no more than I can tell why that every evangelist writeth many things that his fellows have, and yet leaveth out some as great and as necessary as some that he writeth in—if I would for Tyndale's pleasure say this (which if I did, I needed not much to force for any great harm that my part could take thereby; for the thing were in itself nevertheless true—that the apostles so did indeed—though I could not tell why)—then had I taken away quite all Tyndale's pleasure in his present babbling, and left him only to those reasons that he hath laid before; in all which he is, as ye see, too shamefully confounded. 25

But yet if it like you, good readers, to read mine own words as I wrote them, which ye shall find in the First Book of my *Dialogue*, the twenty-fifth chapter: there shall ye perceive it... that it is not fully so far from all reason as Tyndale would have it seem. For I show there that the apostles *did* more plainly speak, and more openly declared, many things by mouth among the Christian folk, because their audience was more meet while they were only among themselves... than they did by their writing, which might percase come into the hands of heathen men that would laugh some such things to scorn. Now cometh Tyndale and showeth that this is fondly said, 35

since the apostles letted not to write the thing that the heathen would  
 most mock of all... and that purgatory and the sacraments were  
 least likely to be mocked among them, for that they were most  
 agreeable unto their own superstition. But, now, lest he should have  
 encumbered himself somewhat with the answer, and have defaced  
 therewith the beauty of his own tale—he leaveth out here all such  
 things as I laid in that place for the proof. Howbeit, those things  
 will yet, I trust, serve me sufficiently against all Tyndale's scoffs.  
 Among which yet where he weeneth that he speaketh wisest... he  
 helpeth me somewhat himself even here, unawares. For first, though  
 I could not tell why they wrote somewhat that the heathen men will  
 mock, and yet leave out somewhat lest they should mock—though I  
 could not, I say, tell *why* they did this—yet is it enough if I prove  
*that* they so did indeed. For the proof whereof I may lay, and so did  
 in my *Dialogue* (which Tyndale here leaveth out), that not only Saint  
 Peter so did, in the second chapter of the Acts, where he forbore  
*Acts 2:22–36; Jn 10:33–38* to call Christ God lest it should have  
 hindered the faith in that audience... but  
 that our Savior did the same himself in the manifest preaching  
 of his Godhood, as appeareth in the tenth chapter of Saint John. Now,  
 since ye see that thus they did indeed... what needeth me to care for all  
 Tyndale's whys? Why they forbore this where was less cause to fear,  
 and why they wrote this where was more cause to fear—since he cannot  
 say nay but that they so *did*, am I bound to give the  
 reckoning why and wherefore they so did? This dare I be bold to  
 say: that they never taught thing of difficulty by writing but that  
 they taught it more plainly by mouth; by which explanations by  
 mouth, the people came into the undoubted truth and faith of the  
 matter, were the writing never so full of doubt.  
 For the proof whereof... Tyndale hath here, as I said before, by  
 reason of his heresy with false understanding of Saint Paul...  
 brought forth a right good example. For thus he saith...

#### Tyndale

Yea, and if the apostles understood thereby as we do... what madder  
 thing unto the heathen people could they have taught than that  
 bread is Christ's body and wine his blood? And yet all these things  
 they wrote.

## More

Lo, here ye see that Tyndale himself doubteth upon Saint Paul's words, whether he meant as *we* do... which yet mean not as Tyndale doth—that bread *is* Christ's body, and wine his blood, so that the bread and wine still remain, as Tyndale saith that the apostles write—but that the bread and wine is converted and changed *into* Christ's body and blood; and that by what words soever the apostles write it, yet that is the thing that they mean; and that albeit that they have written it plainly enough in Scripture, yet both Christ and they with many words so clearly did declare it by mouth that in that article neither then nor never after was there any doubt arose, till that these heretics here now, of late years, make doubts upon the writing... contrary to the declaration made by Christ and his apostles, and well and surely written in men's hearts, fourteen hundred years before. Such peril is it, lo, to fall from the undoubted faith unto the dispicions of the Scripture, which *by* the faith is understood as the Scripture itself. For likewise as it saith

*Jn 5:39; Is 7:9*                      plainly, “Scrutamini scripturas” (“Search ye in Scripture”), so saith it as plainly, “Nisi credideritis non intelligetis” (“But if ye believe, ye shall not understand”).

And here ye see that though Tyndale will not confess that the apostles left anything unwritten, nor that they wrote anything the more covertly for the mocking of the heathen... yet he saith himself that the apostles wrote so that men might doubt what they meant. And that I dare well say that in the Christian flock they presently so far forth declared it... that they left no such doubt therein. And also dare I say that they taught things by mouth which they wrote not—partly for the cause aforesaid, partly for that it needed not—and this I say boldly. For though Tyndale say nay—yet Saint Paul said yes himself, when he wrote unto the Corinthians, “Caetera quum venero ipse disponam” (“The other things I will dispose,” or “order,” “when I come myself”).

But the sacraments so sore aggrieve Tyndale's sore eyes that he may not abide the sight of them; and therefore he goeth on against them still...

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## Tyndale

Moreover, what is it that the apostles taught by mouth and durst not write? The sacraments? As for Baptism and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, they *wrote*; and it is expressed what is signified by them. And also, all the ceremonies and sacraments that were from Adam to Christ had significations... and all that are made mention of in the New Testament. Wherefore, inasmuch as the sacraments of the Old Testament have significations... and inasmuch as the sacraments of the New Testament (of which mention is made that they were delivered unto us by the very apostles at Christ's commandment) have also significations; and inasmuch as the office of an apostle is to edify in Christ... and inasmuch as divine ceremony edifieth not, but hurteth altogether (for if it preach not unto me, then I cannot but put confidence therein that the deed itself justifieth me—which is the denying of Christ's blood!); and inasmuch as no mention is made of them as well as of others... nor is known what is meant by them: therefore it appeareth that the apostles taught them not, but that they be the false merchandise of wily hypocrites.

## More

If a man read over these words and examine them not... he may be soon abused. But whoso well weigh them, and consider every part... shall soon perceive that this process is filled up with malice, falsehood, and folly. First, he would that because the apostles have written the two sacraments, that is to wit, Baptism and the Sacrament of the Altar, and the significations of them... and of the other five (as he saith) have not written—he would, I say, therefore that we should take it as proved that the other five were no divine sacraments, nor delivered to the Church by Christ nor his apostles. Now is this argument, though his antecedent were true... yet as wisely concluded as this is of the laws of England: Men have written some; ergo, they have written all.

By the title of his chapter, he taketh in hand to prove that the apostles have left no necessary thing unwritten. And now he proveth it by that that they have written some. For of his reason—yea, and of all his reasons—in conclusion this is the whole sum. Which sum what effect it hath every fool may see... but if Tyndale prove

me farther that the apostles promised that they would write all;

*Jn 21:25; 2 Thes 2:15* whereof Saint John professeth plain the  
contrary, and so doth Saint Paul too.

Now, yet in this reason of his, as faint and as feeble as it is, he is  
fain to presuppose false. For he presupposeth that of any of the 5  
remnant... the apostles have not written. Which is so plain false

*Acts 8:14–18* that if there were any shame in him, he  
*Heb 6:12* might not for shame say it. Of Confirmation

*Eph 5:12–32* writeth Saint Luke in the Acts  
*1 Tm 4:14* plainly... and Saint Paul to the Hebrews 10

*Jas 5:14–15* as plainly. Of Matrimony and Priesthood,  
*Mk 6:13* Saint Paul manifestly; the one to the

Ephesians, the other to Timothy. Aneling,  
Saint James—and Saint Mark in the Gospel, also. And of Penance,

and the parts thereof—every man, almost, in every part of Scripture. 15  
And this thing Tyndale so well knoweth... and that it hath been so

often so plainly proved unto them that they could never yet, nor  
never shall while they live, be able to withstand it, neither with  
Scripture nor with reason, but with railing and babbling—and  
therefore, as I say, this knoweth Tyndale so well—that it is more than 20  
shame for him now so to write as though the apostles had never

written of them. Which if they never had done indeed... yet were  
the sacraments sure enough, which hang upon God's word as  
sure as all their writing... and of which unwritten word we be 25  
certain and sure by the selfsame means by which we know their

books for holy writing: that is to wit, by the relation of the Catholic  
Church of Christ, and by the Spirit of God that leadeth the  
Church into the belief of the truth... and leadeth every well-willing

person apart... into the believing of the Catholic Church, and by the  
believing of the Church, into the right belief of every necessary 30  
truth... and by the grounds thereof first had, into the right understanding

of Holy Scripture... whereby the faith, before had, is more  
and more fastly confirmed... and without which faith before had,  
the wit of man might abuse the Scripture to the occasion of infidelity  
and unfaithfulness. 35

But yet, because I would be loath that Tyndale might say that I  
mistake him in anything and then ground my reason against



him upon my own mistaking of his words: I will yet a little  
examine his words better... when he saith that the remnant of the  
sacraments besides Baptism and the Sacrament of the Altar be no  
profitable sacraments, nor have no promise of grace, because the  
apostles wrote not of any of them “as” they did of the other twain. 5  
I would wit of Tyndale whether he mean that of any of the other  
five the apostles wrote nothing at all; or else that they wrote not  
of any grace promised unto any of them; or else that of none of them  
the apostles wrote any proper significations of their outward  
Col 2:12; 1 Cor 10:16–17 signs... as Saint Paul did of Baptism 10  
when he resembled it unto Christ’s  
burying and resurrection, and of the Sacrament of the Altar when  
he teacheth the Corinthians that one loaf is made of many grains  
of corn, and the wine of many grapes, and that Christian men should  
in like wise, being many in person, be made one in love and concord, 15  
and, as it were, made all one body in and with our Savior  
Christ himself. If he mean the first way—that is to wit, that of  
any of the said five sacraments the apostles wrote nothing at all—  
then shall he show himself too shameless. For the words be clear,  
both of Confirmation, Priesthood, Aneling, and both the other 20  
twain. If he mean of the second manner... his saying shall be as  
shameless as in the first. For it is evident in all the three foreremembered  
that the apostles write of grace given with the putting  
upon of the hands. And therein when Tyndale seeketh an evasion  
in his book of *Obedience*, saying that the putting of the hands was 25  
but a manner of men in that country, as it was to stretch out the  
arm in preaching, or to lay a hand upon a boy’s head and call  
him “Good son”—this evasion is none evasion. For in the sixth  
chapter of Saint Paul unto the Hebrews... Saint Paul would not  
have made so serious and earnest remembrance of the putting-upon 30  
of the hands (which he rehearseth as earnestly as Baptism) if it  
were but such customable manner that men may do and leave undone  
as they list. Nor if it were but such a thing... he would not so  
expressly say to Timothy that he had grace given unto him *by* the  
1 Tm 4:14 putting of his hands upon him. These 35  
places of Scripture—and many more, too—be

for this matter so plain against Tyndale, and so evident...  
 that when he wrestleth with them and would fain escape away with  
 some gay gloss of his own device, he fareth like a butterfly fallen  
 on a lime twig, which the more it striveth and fluttereth, ever the  
 faster it hangeth.

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Now, if he mean in the third fashion... that is to wit, that the  
 apostles of those five sacraments do not besides the common signification  
 of grace write any special and proper significations of the  
 outward tokens, to which significations the same outward tokens  
 had such resemblance and likeness that they were therefore  
 appropored unto them... as water in Baptism hath by the washing of  
 the body a resemblance unto the cleansing of the soul; if Tyndale  
 mean in this manner—as it seemeth that he doth. For when Luther  
 and he, and all the sort of them, had long labored against the  
 blessed sacraments, and had first assayed to say that five of  
 them were not in Scripture spoken of at all... and when that would  
 not be bidden by, then that there was at the leastwise no grace  
 promised with them; when they see themselves shamefully convicted  
 and reprov'd in that point too: then fell they finally to the third  
 point... and would, notwithstanding that the Scripture make mention  
 of them... and of grace also granted with them... yet would the  
 wise men make us so mad as to take them all for naught but if we  
 find in Scripture what *other, special* signification *every* outward  
 token hath... and preach that signification to the people as the  
 special thing and the whole effect of the sacrament, letting the  
 grace go by... which these men would were clean forgotten, and in no  
 wise believed, but—whereas in all their writings they rail upon  
 allegories, and cry out upon such holy doctors as preach them—  
 yet the holy sacraments themselves they would should serve for allegories  
 only, and for nothing else.

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Now, then, I say, *since* Tyndale meaneth thiswise, and therefore  
 saith in his words foreremembered that otherwise preached they  
 do no good, but hurt altogether (for it maketh, he saith, the  
 audience to put confidence therein that the deed itself justifieth  
 a man, which “is the denying of Christ’s blood”)—since Tyndale, I  
 say, saith thus—I would wit of Tyndale whether the sacraments

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and the ceremonies of the Old Law were by God provided to be well  
and with their profit delivered and taught by Moses unto the Jews.  
I think that Tyndale will not be so mad to say that God did  
by Moses teach them to serve him with those sacraments, sacrifices,  
and ceremonies, displeasing to himself, thankless toward 5  
themselves, and also to their hurt. Wherefore, if he have either wit  
or grace... he must needs grant and agree that they were by Moses  
taught unto the Jews very well and agreeable to God's pleasure and  
their wealth. But then say I that those special and proper significations  
of every sacrament, sacrifice, and ceremony were not 10  
taught them... nor they understood them not: wherefore it followeth  
that Tyndale saith false... in that he saith that the knowledge of  
them was so necessary for the soul health that without that knowledge  
the use of them must needs be noyful and not lawful unto  
them. For but if Tyndale teach false in this... God had taught his 15  
people in the beginning to serve him with damnable ceremonies  
himself.

Now, if Tyndale will at this clap turn his cheek aside... and  
say that because that *else* all their service to God done with those  
sacraments and ceremonies *had* been damnable... therefore it 20  
appeareth well that all the significations of them *were* taught them...  
and so the minor of mine argument false: yet in turning the one  
cheek from me, he turneth the other very fair to me; so that he  
will have a clap on the one cheek or the other, make what skift he  
can. 25

For then say I this unto him: that if the knowledge of all these  
significations *was* so necessary to them that without that knowledge,  
the doing of those things which without sin they might not  
leave undone were sin as oft as they did them; and that therefore,  
lest we should be so wretched to ween God had on every side so bewrapped 30  
his people in sin himself, by own special  
provision, that they could not by no means escape, we must needs  
perceive that God caused them to be by Moses taught all those  
significations—then say I that since they were *not* written unto  
them in the Scripture, they were, if Tyndale told us true, taught 35  
them but only by mouth... and so, from mouth to mouth, taught and

continued among them, till men by their folly and sloth fell to forget them or little to force of them, and then to not believe them; as these heretics fare by the right faith at this day.

And then say I that thereupon it very well followeth further that Tyndale, saying that Moses received all necessary things in writing, said very false and like a very fool; for the knowledge and understanding of those significations of all their sacrifices and ceremonies, he confesseth to be necessary upon peril of their souls, and yet he confesseth that they were not written in the Scripture. 5 10

And if Tyndale ween to wry aside and escape by that he saith that those sacraments and ceremonies *served* them for Books... and that they read all the significations in them *as* in Books: I ask him whether the ceremonies were tokens so like the significations that they were able to teach the significations, and keep them, by the beholding of the ceremonies, or not. If they were... they had not been forgotten. If they were not, and yet the significations so necessary... then yet again was not everything necessary delivered Moses in writing. 15

But letting Tyndale with his folly pass, the truth is that the Jews *had* necessary things taught them *beside* the writing... and had an expectation of Christ, and of redemption by him, before the Law written... and in that time, and after, and the Jews look for it yet... and they know that without him all their sacraments could not for their final salvation serve them. But when they began little and little to fall from that faith... and began to trust in the Law and the works of the Law alone... leaving off this point of *faith* which was of the Law, sacraments, and ceremonies, and all their bodily works of the soul—then went they wrong. And that is the thing which Saint Paul so sore reproveth in their trust and confidence to be saved by the works of the Law; whereas if they had not left off the force and strength of faith... both works of the Law and the ceremonies, too, had stood them in stead of heaven. And therefore this nothing toucheth the church of Christ when they put trust in the sacraments; for they do it not without the faith that all the force and strength of them cometh of Christ's Passion; for this they believe, and this they teach. 20 25 30 35

*Note*

And it is no doubt but that the Jews never  
 knew the special significations of *all*  
 their sacraments, sacrifices, and ceremonies, other than grace and  
 remission of sins, or peradventure that they were figures and tokens  
 of things that should fall, not yet perceived by them; as we know our  
 sacraments be effectual signs of grace. And it is undoubted that both  
 they and we which in faith, hope, and charity do any such thing as  
 God commandeth, and serve him in such fashion as he biddeth us...  
 although we know not *why* he will be served in such wise,  
 no more than Abraham knew why God bade him to serve him with  
 the sacrificing of his own son: yet is that doing of that deed,  
 done in that wise, pleasant and acceptable to God, and profit to  
 man's soul... whatsoever Tyndale tell us, and his master Martin  
 too, and Friar Huessgen also, and take their wise wives with them. And  
 therefore all this tale of Tyndale against the sacrament... is not worth  
 the least feather of a wild goose's wing.

But yet consider one thing, by the way, that ye mistake him not,  
 nor be not by a fair word led out of your way. He calleth the  
 Sacrament of the Altar the "sacrament of the body and blood of Christ"...  
 in which words he calleth it well, but yet meaneth he not so well  
 thereby as good Christian men do, nor as himself would seem to do.  
 For he meaneth not that there is the very body and blood of Christ indeed,  
 though he say there is the "sacrament" thereof. For by that  
 meaneth he nothing else but only a bare sign, and token, and  
 a memorial, thereof.

For the great heretic Thorpe, in his examination, calleth the  
 sacrament aright, and by the same name that Tyndale now doth... so  
 that a man would at the first hearing find no fault therein, but mistake  
 him for a good Christian man. But afterward he declareth himself  
 well and clearly that he meaneth like a naughty heretic... as  
 Tyndale doth also in sundry places of his book. For he saith that "sacrament,"  
 "sign," and "token" be but three names of one thing... and that  
 the Sacrament of the Altar is very bread still. And he mocketh at  
 them that teach it to be the very body of our Savior himself—  
 and he is wood with them that do it any honor.

And so, in this point concerning the Blessed Sacrament of the  
 Altar, Tyndale is yet a much more heretic than Luther is himself  
 in his writing... although, indeed, it appeareth well that *he* meant as

much in the beginning, till he withdrew himself for envy of others that hastened forward and set forth that heresy before him.

And of truth, I am right credibly informed (by a very virtuous man whom God hath of his goodness illumined and called home again out of the dark Egypt of their blind heresies) that at such 5

*Friar Barnes* time as Friar Barnes and Tyndale first met and talked together beyond the sea

(after that he fled out of the friars where he was enjoined to tarry for his penance after he had borne his faggot), Tyndale and he were of sundry sects. For Friar Barnes was of Zwingli's sect 10

against the Sacrament of the Altar, believing that it is nothing but bare bread. But Tyndale was yet at that time not fully fallen so far in that point... but, though he were bad enough beside, was yet not content with Friar Barnes for the holding of that heresy. 15

But within a while after (as he that is falling is soon put over), the friar made the fool mad outright, and brought him blindfolded down into the deepest dungeon of that devilish heresy; wherein he sitteth now as fast bound in the chair of pestilence, with the chain of pertinacity, as any of his unhappy fellows. And this I give you knowledge of... because I would not in any wise that ye were deceived with him, where he speaketh well and yet meaneth naught. But now let us yet farther consider well his words. Thus he saith... 20

Tyndale

All the ceremonies and sacraments that were from Adam to Christ had significations... and all that are made mention of in the New Testament. 25

More

Upon this he concludeth after, that except Baptism and the Sacrament of the Altar... all the remnant be no true sacraments, for lack of significations. But ere he can so conclude... he must first 30

prove not only that all the sacraments and ceremonies from Adam to Christ had significations... but also that all those significations were then to the people known and understood. For else, though God did set things to signify and to be done, yet if he commanded them to do it and *told* them not the significations, 35

but would leave them to be showed and disclosed at such time afterward  
as it should like himself—it was no *sin* for them in the

<p><i>Note</i></p>	<p>meanwhile to do the things that God bade them do... but great <i>merit</i> to them, though they understood not what the things signified that they did; no more than my servant that can no more but write is worthy rebuke and blame in the writing of a Latin book at my bidding, whereof he wotteth not what any one word meaneth. Now, that <i>all</i> the significations of <i>all</i> the sacraments and ceremonies from Adam to Christ were understood of the people: that shall not Tyndale prove me though he should live as many years as were between the creation of Adam and the birth of Christ. And therefore as many years must he needs have also, ere ever he make his conclusion follow and his argument good. For if God gave them ceremonies and sacraments whereof he gave them not the significations— then so might he likewise give us if it so please him to do. And farther, if they, by the doing of those not-understood ceremonies and sacraments in obedience of his bidding, did not sin, but deserved thank (all such, I say, as did them in due faith of salvation by Christ that was to come), then may we also by the observing of sacraments and ceremonies having some significations farther than we perceive (for one general signification of them all we know... that they be all good tokens and significations of grace... in that they be taught by God and his Spirit that in such things doth instruct his church)—we may likewise, I say, observe them without sin, and not without thank of God. And so Tyndale's argument goeth to ground quite—although our sacraments and ceremonies were not good indeed. For they <i>may</i> be good, for any reason that he maketh to the contrary.</p>	<p>5 10 15 20 25 30</p>
<p>But, now, that they be good indeed, and delivered unto Christ's Catholic Church by himself and his Holy Spirit sent by himself to dwell therein, to teach it all necessary truth, and thereby necessarily to preserve it from all damnable untruth, false belief, and idolatry (as the sacraments and the ceremonies were if they were false): this have I proved to Tyndale offer, I trow, than fifteen times; to which in fifteen hundred years he shall, I am sure, never make one good answer.</p>	<p>35</p>	

## Tyndale

Wherefore, inasmuch as the sacraments of the Old Testament have significations... and inasmuch as the sacraments of the New Testament (of which mention is made that they were delivered unto us by the very apostles at Christ's commandment) have also significations; and inasmuch as the office of an apostle is to edify in Christ... and inasmuch as a dumb ceremony edifieth not, but hurteth altogether (for if it preach not unto me, then I cannot but put confidence therein that the deed itself justifieth me—which is the denying of Christ's blood!); and inasmuch as no mention is made of them as well as of others, nor is known what is meant of them: therefore it appeareth that the apostles taught them not... but that they be the false merchandise of wily hypocrites.

## More

He repeateth here and heapeth up all his proofs together, which proofs I have reproved piecemeal altogether... and so his conclusion which he deduceth upon them is already reproved altogether. But yet for his double confusion can I not forbear to touch one piece again which in his repetition here he seemeth to set out more open and more clearly to declare.

This piece is where he saith that all the sacraments of the New Testament have significations also... and then expoundeth which "all" he meaneth, saying all "of which mention is made that they were delivered unto us by the very apostles at Christ's commandment." It is to me more than wonder what this man meaneth. First, it must needs be that he accounteth among such as he saith there is no mention made of their delivery by the very apostles, all those five which he so often and so fully refuseth to take for sacraments: that is to wit, Confirmation, Penance, Wedlock, Holy Order, and Aneling. For he saith always that the other two, that is, Baptism and the Sacrament of the Altar, have significations, and that these have none; and by this reason he would now conclude that only those two be very sacraments, and none of all these five.

But, now, his words will rather prove that these five have significations too. For he saith that all have significations whereof "mention is made that they were delivered unto us by the very apostles." Wherefore, Tyndale doth here either confess that these five



have significations also... and then confesseth his words false by which he so often saith they be no sacraments because they have no significations (for lack whereof he calleth them “dumb ceremonies”); or else he saith here that there is no mention made that any of these five were delivered us by the very apostles... and then is he therein too plainly proved false. For every man seeth that there is none of all these five but that, as I have often showed, mention *is* made of them by the evangelists and the others of the apostles... if they be the “very apostles” whom he and we both call the apostles: Saint Peter, Saint Paul, Saint James, and their fellows. So that I wonder what the mad man meaneth, to speak in this matter so solemnly and handle it so madly. For when *they make* mention of them—the wise man may well wit that they did not begin by any wily fox after... but by Christ himself, that taught those things to them, and they forth to his church.

#### Tyndale

And thereto, priesthood was in the time of the apostles an office—which if they would do truly, it would more profit than all the sacraments of the world.

#### More

Is not here another mad reason? His purpose is to prove that the apostles left no necessary thing unwritten... and Tyndale proveth it thus: “In the apostles’ time, priesthood was an office—which, if the priests would do it truly, would more profit than all the sacraments in the world.” Now, ye wot well his conclusion must needs be this: “And therefore it followeth that the apostles left no necessary thing unwritten.” Is not this a madly concluded argument? And yet are there in his words more follies than one besides. For, granted that priesthood was an office... yet might that officer be consecrated with a sacrament, and so was indeed. And a part of his office was also to administer the sacraments to the people. Now, if that office well occupied *were* more profitable than all the sacraments besides—what letteth the other sacraments to be

good and necessary to salvation? Were this a wise argument—  
 “Better is it to forbear sin than to do penance for sin; ergo, to  
 do penance for sin is not necessary”? Now, after this goodly argument  
 goeth he to another as gay, and saith...

#### Tyndale

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And again, God’s holinesses strive not one against another,  
 nor defile one another. Their sacraments defile one another. For  
 wedlock defileth priesthood, more than whoredom, theft, murder,  
 or any sin against nature.

#### More

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Here is but one argument, and that but short; but here be two  
 lies long and loud enough. For first, where he groundeth himself  
 upon this—that “God’s holinesses strive not one against another,  
 nor defile one another”—he saith plain false and against Holy  
 Scripture quite. For the burying of dead men ever was and is a  
 holy deed and well allowed with God... and yet would he not suffer the  
 bishop to bury any man, and though it were his father. And also,  
 if Tyndale will abide by this, either he must say that perpetual  
 virginity is naught and not holy... contrary to Saint Paul and our  
*1 Cor 7:7–8, 32–35; Mt 19:12* Savior himself, who take it and teach  
*Mk 10:29–30; Gn 1:27–28* it for holy and prefer it before wedlock  
 with its work; or else he must say that wedlock with its  
 work is naught and not holy, which God himself both blessed  
 and commanded in Paradise... and which Holy Scripture commendeth  
*Heb 13:4* where it saith that wedlock is  
 honorable where the bed is undefiled  
 with adultery. And then must he confess also that his own master  
 Martin Luther (if the work of wedlock be foul and sinful) hath  
 sinfully double-defiled himself with wedding of his nun. Or  
 else, finally, must he confess himself for a fool in saying that  
 God’s holinesses strive not one against another... but if he save himself  
 and say that perpetual virginity and the work of wedlock  
 be not repugnant, the one to the other; and then he shall not need  
 to confess himself a fool, for the whole world will confess it for  
 him.

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Now maketh he another lie... where he saith that “wedlock defileth  
 priesthood, more than whoredom, theft, murder, or any sin against

nature.” For if he say this as of himself... it is a foolish lie. But if he say it, as he doth, in the person of the Catholic Church, to make men believe that the Church teacheth so: then is it a very malicious lie. For it is not true, nor the Church teacheth not so. For the Church plainly teacheth that whoredom, theft, murder, and sin against nature could *never* be lawful, neither to priest nor layman. But the Church both knoweth and confesseth that wedlock and priesthood be not repugnant but compatible of their nature... and that wedded men have been made priests and kept still their wives. But since perpetual chastity and the forbearing of the work of wedlock is *more* acceptable to God than the work of wedlock in Matrimony: therefore the Church taketh none to be priests but such as promise

*Priests profess perpetual chastity.* and profess never to be married, but keep perpetual chastity. And then doth marriage after the promise made—not by reason

of the *priesthood* taken upon them, but by reason of the *promise* made unto God and broken—defile the priest, I will not dispute whether as much as theft, murder, or the sin against nature... but I am sure as much as whoredom doth. For since the marriage is no marriage... it is but whoredom itself. And I am sure also that it defileth the priest more than double and treble whoredom... since that his marriage, being, as it is, unlawful, and thereby none other but whoredom, doth openly rebuke and shame two sacraments there at once—that is, both Priesthood and Matrimony—and besides that, not only *committeth* whoredom, but also saith openly that *he will* commit whoredom... and, as a bold beast and a shameless whoremaster, plainly professeth before the face of God and all Christian people that instead and despite of his professed chastity, he cometh there to *bind* himself to shameless perpetual whoredom. And thus, good Christian readers, ye see how well this wise argument serveth him.

And now putteth he after it his great, solemn question where he findeth in Scripture that women may christen children; which joineth to his words before, near enough in the book, but in reason as far off as the scripture that he layeth therefor is far off from the matter; as I have touched before.

And surely through all his book and almost everything that he maketh, sometimes the chapters, sometimes the paragraphs and

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reasonings within the chapter, have so evil dependence one  
 toward another... that it seemeth the matter to be gathered by diverse  
 folk... and as they come to him in diverse papers, so he without  
 order and at adventure patcheth in his pieces nothing like together,  
 with great sack seams, and some seem rent between. And in like 5  
 wise joineth he now the final clause of this chapter unto the  
 remnant... so that whoso consider what and how many things  
 go between it and the thing whereupon he concludeth it... shall  
 surely ween it were a poisoned, stinking tail of some stinking  
 serpent, that were quite cut off and after laid aside, far from the 10  
 poisoned body. For this is his final clause and his whole conclusion...

#### Tyndale

And finally, though we were sure that God himself had given us  
 a sacrament, whatsoever it were: yet if the signification were once  
 lost... we must of necessity either seek up the signification or 15  
 put some other signification of God's word thereto, what we ought  
 to do or believe thereby, or else put it down. For it is impossible to  
 observe a sacrament without signification, but to our damnation.  
 If we keep the faith purely, and the law of love undefiled—which  
 are the significations of all ceremonies—there is no jeopardy to 20  
 alter or change the fashion of the ceremony, or to put it down  
 if need be.

#### More

Lo, good readers, here ye see finally how well and how wisely, and  
 thereto how virtuously, Tyndale finisheth this chapter. For the 25  
 whole effect of all these words is in this world nothing else...  
 but that if God bid you do a thing and he tell you not what he  
 meaneth thereby, and for what cause he will have you do it: ye  
 must needs leave it undone and bid him do it himself. Would  
 Tyndale, ween you, be well content with his own servant that 30  
 would serve him of the same fashion? Not do what he biddeth him  
 till he tell him why he biddeth him? Would it not have become  
 Adam well, when God forbade him the Tree of Knowledge, to have asked  
 God again why he did so... and say, "Tell me, good Lord, wherefore, and  
 what thou meanest thereby, and why should I more die for eating 35  
 thereof than of another tree; tell me this, good Lord, ere thou go,

for else, be thy back turned once, I will eat thereof whether thou wilt or no!”

When God taught Moses the making of the tabernacle, the temple, and all things belonging thereunto—would it not have done well in Moses’ mouth to have said unto God, “Tell me what it *meaneth* that thou wilt have the tabernacle made of this manner, or else it shall lie unmade for me!” 5

*Mk 16:15–18*

*Mk 6:13*

When our Savior himself sent out his disciples, and bade them, in the confirmation of their doctrine, lay their 10

hands upon sick folk and they should be whole, and that they should anoint some with oil—would it not, ween ye, have done very well that they should have said nay but if he would tell them why lay their hands more than speak their bare word, and why anoint them with oil rather than smear them with butter? Surely the devil hath made this man mad; he would else never say as he saith. 15

For if it were impossible to use a ceremony but unto damnation, and that obedience to God’s bidding be evermore deadly sin, but if the signification be known: then lived the Chosen People of God in the Old Law in a strange perplexity. Which, whatsoever Tyndale say, shall never be proved to have understood the 20

significations of *all* the ceremonies which God *expressly* commanded them to fulfill and observe—though he would not that they should ween that the observing of them without faith and other good works should suffice them as Tyndale and Luther say... that faith alone shall save us without good works, as they said of old, and 25

as he saith now, without sacraments too. For this is his final conclusion of all: that if we “keep the faith and the law of love undefiled,” there is no peril at all to alter and change the fashion of the ceremonies, and to put them down, too; meaning, as it seemeth, that if we keep the faith and believe with Luther that there needeth no more but faith... and then, therewith, keep the law of love after Luther’s loving manner, in lodging lovers—friars and nuns—lovingly together, then we shall never need to care whether we change or put down ceremonies and sacraments and all. 30 35

And surely very sooth he saith. For when we fall once to be content with that—there will, but if we change that mind and amend, neither any ceremony nor any sacrament serve us.

And yet if faith and love be, as Tyndale here saith, the significations of all the sacraments, what peril is there to keep all the ceremonies with them twain, without any other significations? And thus by Tyndale's own tale we shall neither need to put them down, alter, nor change them... whereas he saith before we must seek the significations again or put down the ceremonies, upon pain of damnation.

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And here have ye now seen all that ever he saith for the proof of the thing that he hath in this chapter taken in hand to prove: that is to wit, that the apostles have left written in Scripture all things that of necessity pertain to the soul health, both in things to be done and things to be believed. And now perceive ye perfectly also... that all that ever he saith, there is not any one thing that to the proof of his purpose serveth him worth a rush.

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Here might I now well leave, ye see well, as for this matter... since I have sufficiently confuted and avoided clearly all that Tyndale hath alleged for his part in this chapter... in which he would prove that the apostles have left *written*, in Holy Scripture, everything necessary to be believed or done for the salvation of our souls... and that so *fully* that whatsoever is not written in Scripture nor "deduced" thereupon (by which "deducing" what he meaneth, I have by his own example showed you!), that thing is not (as he saith) to be believed nor to be done of necessity... but men be at their liberty in all such manner thing to do it or do it not, believe it or believe it not—or, rather, in sin to believe it or do it—though all the Catholic Church of Christ both do believe and many hundred years have believed that the thing is of necessity to be done or believed. In which matter, as I say, since Tyndale hath failed of his proof, I might here make an end... saving that I have thought it convenient, for his more utter confusion, to bring in by and by such things as I find written by him for his part in this matter besides... that ye may see, without farther seeking for it, all that he can say, at once. I shall therefore show you his answers to such things as I in the twenty-fifth chapter of the First Book of my *Dialogue* alleged for the proof that *all* necessary things were not written in Scripture, but some such only taught and delivered unto the Church by mouth. And when ye shall here have heard Tyndale's answers unto those things—ye shall then the more clearly perceive how foul a fall he hath in this matter upon which the great part

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of all his heresies dependeth; and over that, ye shall right easily judge what pith and substance is in his book of answers wherewith he would fain seem clearly to confute my *Dialogue*.

I showed there in my *Dialogue* by the authority of Saint John the Evangelist in the last chapter of his Gospel... that allthing was

*Jn 20:30–31; 21:25* not written. For there he saith himself,

“Many things did Jesus... which if they were all written, the world would not receive the books.” To this answereth Tyndale thus...

Tyndale

[He juggleth. For] John meaneth of the *miracles* which Jesus did—  
and not of the necessary points of the *faith*.

More

Ye see well now that Tyndale well feeleth that since the evangelists did not go together by appointment to write their gospels... nor, when they had written them, conferred their books together, to see whether every necessary point were written in among them all... or else at that collation to put it in some one (as we find that

*Gal 2:6–21*

Saint Paul had conference with Peter  
and others of the apostles, to come and

*speak* of the faith among them, but not to write it all out in books); but every evangelist, of occasion offered unto himself, as God put in his mind and remembrance, wrote his own gospel severally, by himself, and their epistles in like wise... and peradventure one of them in all their lives never read the gospel that the other wrote; this, I say, being thus: except that God beside their purpose provided that among them all every necessary point should be written (which thing Tyndale neither doth nor can by reason or Scripture prove), else if *any* of them left unwritten *any* point necessary to be believed, Tyndale cannot say but that every of the other apostles might do the same; and then hath Tyndale no surety that every such thing was written.

And therefore Tyndale feeleth full well how near this place of Saint John pricketh him... if in those words of Saint John might be understood that *he* had not written every necessary point of our belief.

And therefore, to avoid this pinch... Tyndale saith that I juggle. For Saint John, he saith, meant only of Christ's *miracles*, and not of any necessary point of the faith.

I juggle not. For I say not nay but that Saint John meant of miracles. And in the one place of the twain, he speaketh of miracles by name, saying, “Jesus wrought many other miracles in the presence of his disciples, that be not written in this book.” In the other place, in the very end, he saith that Christ “did many other things... which if they should be all written, all the world could not receive the books that should be written.” In which words I deny not but that Saint John meant of Christ’s miracles *too*; and therefore I juggle not. But Tyndale, that in that second place, *where* Saint John meaneth no miracles, there excludeth his doctrine... and would make us ween that Saint John left not unwritten any necessary point of faith—he juggleth, and goeth about to beguile us. 5

I think he taketh not so great hold upon this word “did”... in that Saint John saith Christ “*did* many other things,” and saith not Christ “*taught* many other things.” For this word “doing” *includeth* teaching, talking, speaking, and all. As if a man would say, “Christ prayed, preached, and taught; this did he day and night.” And therefore, since Saint John’s whole book was made not only of Christ’s miracles, but also of his doctrine, and as well word as deed... and then he saith, in the very end of his book, that Christ “did many things more, whereof if all were written the world could not receive the books”—why may not this be understood of words and deeds and all... but if Tyndale ween that the books would be the fewer if the doctrine were in them too! 10

But now let us see whither of us two play the false juggler: I, that tell you that every necessary point of belief is not written in Saint John’s Gospel; or Tyndale, that would make you ween that whatsoever ye find not written there, ye were not bound to take it for any necessary point of faith. For *else* if Tyndale would grant that Saint John had not written indeed every necessary point of faith—then is it as good for Tyndale that Saint John say so as that indeed it be so. Let us, therefore, leave disputing upon the word, and look upon the deed, and see whether it be so or not. If a man seek among the other evangelists, he shall find more necessary things than one left out in Saint John... and in each of them somewhat that some other hath. And if a man look further in the book of faith written in the hearts of Christ’s whole Catholic Church, he shall 15

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find some things that none of them all hath written, and yet necessary points of faith; as I have showed you examples and shall.

But now, because of Tyndale... let us take some one. And what thing rather than the Last Supper of Christ, his Maundy with his apostles... in which he instituted the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, his own Blessed Body and Blood? Is *this* no necessary point of faith? Tyndale cannot deny it for a necessary point of faith... and though it were but of his own false faith agreeing with Luther, Huessgen, or Zwingli. And he cannot say that Saint John speaketh anything thereof—especially not of the institution. Nor he cannot say that Saint John speaketh anything of the *sacrament* at all, since that his sect expressly denieth that Saint John meant the sacrament in his words where he speaketh expressly thereof, in the sixth chapter of his Gospel. 5 10

And thus ye see how wisely Tyndale sticketh with me in the sentence of Saint John's *words*... when the thing that I intend thereby is proved by his *deed*. 15

And yet, because Tyndale will nothing allow but the word... if he pull from me that word of Saint John—I shall prove him the same purpose by the word of Saint John's master, our Savior Christ himself; and Saint John shall bear me record that it was Christ that said it. For our Savior, lo, as witnesseth Saint John in the sixteenth chapter, said unto his disciples himself, "I have yet *Jn 16:12-13* many things to say to you, but ye cannot bear them now; but when that the Spirit of truth is come, he shall teach you all truth." 20 25

Lo, here ye hear our Savior say himself that he left and would leave some things—and that great things, and therefore of likelihood necessary—that they should not hear till after his Passion, that the Holy Ghost should come and teach them; and, well ye wot, *that* Saint John endeth his book before. And therefore, as for this authority of Saint John that I laid in my *Dialogue*—Tyndale's answer, wherein he calleth me a juggler, hath not yet juggled away the force... but hath, by his false cast of juggling, featly conveyed himself out of the frying pan, fair into the fire. 30 35

Whereas I show in my *Dialogue* that it is not written in Scripture

that our Lady was a perpetual virgin, and yet it is a necessary point to be believed: this is his answer thereto...

### Tyndale

And how bringeth he in the perpetual virginity of our Lady; which, though it be never so true, is yet none article of our faith to be saved by... but we believe it with a story faith, because we see no cause reasonable to think the contrary.

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### More

By this answer it appeareth well that, God be thanked, he findeth not yet the people's devotion so far fallen from our Lady... that he dare be bold to say all that he thinketh. For else he would say more than he doth. And like as he forbiddeth folk to pray to her (and especially misliketh her devout anthem *Salve Regina*), so would he not fail, if he saw the people frame all after his fantasy, to blaspheme her in this matter of another fashion... as others of his fellows have done before his days.

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But now, for the meanwhile, he is content that men may think themselves at liberty to believe it or not believe it as they list, as a thing of no necessity to be believed upon salvation of our souls. And full well he wotteth that, though he say now that he can see no reason why "to think the contrary," yet if he could bring us once in the mind that there is no peril therein, he might afterward well enough tell us, when he would, the contrary... and say that with better looking thereon, he hath now found that Helvidius and other elder heretics of the same sect said therein very well, and that reason and Scripture is with them... and that Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome and all the remnant say wrong, because their part is not written in Scripture.

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This will not Tyndale hereafter let to say when he list... if he may make us ween in the meanwhile that we may choose whether we will believe this point or not.

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But I say that in that point Tyndale saith wrong. For in any such thing as we be bound to believe... if I believe it indeed, and yet believe therewith that I may lawfully choose whether I will believe it or not: I say that in so believing I believe naught, nor my belief shall not serve me.

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Then say I farther that this article *is* such that we be bound  
to believe it. For he that believeth it not is a heretic—as it  
plainly appeareth both by Saint Augustine, in his book to Quodvultdeus,  
and by Saint Jerome, in his book against Helvidius; and by the  
other holy saints and martyrs who, as Saint Jerome and Saint  
Augustine rehearse, did write against heretics before... and called  
*Antidicomarianites* them “Antidicomarianites,” that is to say,  
Mary’s adversaries. 5

Then say I finally that forasmuch as it well and plain appeareth  
that all those holy cunning men and blessed saints, and therewith  
all the whole Catholic Church beside, have ever hitherto taken the  
perpetual virginity of our Blessed Lady for so sure a point of Christian  
faith and belief that they have ever condemned the contrary for a  
heresy; and then since that article is not in Holy Scripture written, but  
that the words of Scripture, not well understood, seem to say the  
contrary: I may and do against Tyndale and his fellows well and fully  
conclude that there *is* something necessary to be believed and yet  
is not written in Scripture. And so to my second argument, ye find  
his answer fond. For as for his “story faith,” with only which he  
saith we believe this point, I shall touch it, I trust, in such wise—and  
his “feeling faith” therewith when I come thereto—that every man shall  
feel with his fingers’ ends that Tyndale feeleth neither faith,  
learning, reason, wit, nor grace. I alleged in my *Dialogue* the words  
of Saint Paul to the Corinthians where he writeth unto them of the  
*1 Cor 11:23–34* holy housel, “As our Lord hath delivered  
it to me, so have I delivered it to you.” 25

To this doth Tyndale answer thus...

#### Tyndale

And when he allegeth Paul to the Corinthians: I say that Paul  
never knew of this word “Mass”; neither can any man gather thereof  
any strange holy gestures, but the plain contrary... and that there  
was no other use there than to break the bread among them at supper,  
as Christ did. And therefore he calleth it Christ’s “supper,” and not “Mass.” 30

#### More

Here goeth Tyndale about to juggle; but his galls be too  
great. I laid those words for none other cause but to prove that 35

the Apostle before his writing taught them that great mystery by mouth... and showed them the manner himself before his epistle written... which he would not have written unto them at all if he might then conveniently have been present with them. And now, whereas I said that it was well likely that of Saint Paul by his *present tradition* was received holy gestures as the Church useth in the Consecration—he answereth me that there is no such thing there spoken of in the *epistle*. Which I said not there was; but I say that he findeth no word in the epistle that proveth that Saint Paul therein wrote everything that he presently spoke or did. But it appeareth well that Saint Paul speaketh of that thing in that chapter, not to put in writing allthing that he had before told them by mouth... but only to put them in remembrance that the thing which they there received in the form of bread, though it were called “bread,” was yet indeed the very Blessed Body of Christ. And for the more clear proof thereof: he put them in *remembrance* that as he had *before* showed them, our Savior himself told him so. And this he remembered them of by writing, to make them use themselves thereafter the more reverently. For lack whereof he writeth to them that sickness and death by the vengeance of God fell among them—because they did not use such reverence and honor as they should do to the Precious Body and Blessed Blood of Christ. And in that chapter Saint Paul speaketh but of certain unreverent points in special... and concludeth saying, “Caetera autem quum venero disponam” (“The remnant,” or “all the other things,” “I will myself order at my coming”). Here may we see, whatsoever Tyndale say, that Saint Paul, besides this that he *wrote* of the Sacrament, gave the people other traditions thereof by *mouth* (as I said in my *Dialogue*), pertaining to the reverence and honor thereof; and Tyndale saith here the contrary. But now let the Book be judge... and by that chapter judge also the false faith of Tyndale, that saith it is sin to do any honor to it.

And where Tyndale saith that Saint Paul never knew this word “Mass”—I believe that well enough... for I never heard that he spoke any word of English. But that he knew not the thing that Englishmen call “the Mass”... Tyndale hath not proved yet, nor will not do this week. For he must prove it better than by that Saint

Paul spoke of God's "supper." For we call the houseling of the people "God's board" and "Christ's table"... and yet we know "the Mass" too, for all that, besides. And the apostles themselves, I doubt not, said Mass many a time and oft before any Gospel written. And holy Saint Chrysostom saith that the apostles in the Mass prayed for all Christian souls. 35

Whereas I said that of the apostles' tradition was learned the manner of Consecration: that answereth Tyndale in this wise...

Tyndale

A great doubt! As though we could not gather of the Scripture how to do it! 10

More

Surely men setting no more thereby than Tyndale and his fellows do... may gather out of the Gospel, or the Epistle either, or out of what they will, the manner of the Consecration, and saying of the Mass, that shall serve themselves... while they say it they care not how, and believe they care not what; while they believe it to be none oblation, host, nor sacrifice... nor the Body nor Blood of Christ to be in the sacrament... nor that the Mass doth any man good at all, save only to the priest himself. For what care *they* how they say Mass... 15

which the more sinful they be, and the more encumbered conscience that they have... the more encumbered—and the more boldly, as Luther biddeth in *Babylonica*—presume they to God's board! But undoubtedly whoso have a reverent care thereof, and right faith of the sacrament... well perceiveth that how to say Mass hath been taught the apostles by the Spirit of God, and by the apostles forth. And if Luther, Friar Huessgen, Zwingli, Tyndale, and Lambert had never known it before... but should have taken the Scripture in their hands, and each of them devise a manner of saying Mass by himself—I dare well say, for all Tyndale's boast, each of them should have devised a sundry fashion, and yet never one of the right. For proof whereof: Luther himself—casting away the holy Canon of the Mass—frameth after his fond fashion a manner of consecration, and saying of the Mass, in his book of *Babylonica*. Which foolish invention of his, Rosseus impugneth, and plainly proveth that saving for the tradition of the Church, Luther could never tell how or in what wise to consecrate or say Mass... and that 20 25 30 35

the way that Luther deviseth is insufficient and uncertain by Luther's own rule. And I doubt not but that Tyndale hath read both Rosseus and Luther in those places; and therefore I marvel so much the more that he dare be so bold to say it... when, being himself but Luther's scholar, he seeth his master made a fool therein already. 5

Whereas I in my *Dialogue* allege that the priest in the Consecration putteth water into the wine, whereas the Scripture speaketh but of wine: thereto answereth Tyndale thus...

Tyndale 10

A great doubt also and a perilous case if it were left out! For either it was done to slake the heat of the wine... or put to after a ceremony, to signify that as the water is changed into wine, so are we changed (through faith), as it were, into Christ, and are one with him. Howbeit, all is to their own shame, that aught should be done or used among us Christians whereof no man wist the meaning. For if I understood not the meaning... it helpeth me not one corn (1 Cor 14, and as experience teacheth). But if our shepherds had been as willing to feed as to shear, we had needed no such dispicience, nor they to have burned so many as they have. 15 20

More

Whereas Tyndale saith in scorn (as he gladly scorneth always when he speaketh of the Sacrament!) that it were a "great doubt" and a "perilous case" to leave the water out, I am very sure that if there had been no doubt nor peril to leave it out... there was never good Christian man that any reverence had to Christ, but he would have put great doubt, and have thought it great peril, to put any water in. For what beast would be so bold, when he findeth not that Christ, in the consecration and change of the wine into his own blood, used any other thing than wine... and spoke also himself of the only liquor of the grape—who durst, I say, have put thereto anything else... and to have consecrated his blood of wine and water? But one thing is there that maketh Tyndale in this point so bold: that is to wit, his own spiritual rule, that he so much boasteth of, in searching out the cause, and then ruling allthing by some cause of his own making. As here, he guesseth here two causes why the water is put 25 30 35

in. And though he wot ne'er whither of the twain is the truth... yet he maketh himself sure that it must needs be the one. And then reckoneth he the causes, both twain, so substantial... that it maketh in his mind no matter whether the thing be done or undone.

Luther was himself also so enmeshed in this matter, when the King's Highness laid against him the putting of the water into the wine, that in his frantic answer he fared as Tyndale doth here... and not witting what to say thereto, began to guess at the cause wherefore it was put in; wherein he sought so far... that at last he found that whether it were in or out made no matter, because, he said, it was a thing impertinent to the matter... so that by him, a man might put into the wine what he would beside. Yet then found he further that it is evil done to put it in. For he said it had an evil signification... and signified that the sincerity of Scripture was watered with men's traditions. Lo, so was he bewrapped therein that he could not in this world wit what to say thereto... but, faring like a frantic fool and answering this and that, he wist ne'er what, nor at what point to hold him, finally fell to blasphemy. And now his good scholar Tyndale will be nothing acknown of his master's folly, but divineth and deviseth two new causes of his own brain... and affirmeth that some one of those twain must needs be the very cause—as though God himself could find no further cause than Tyndale hath searched out!—and then he thereupon concludeth that the water may be as well left out as put in.

But whatsoever Tyndale say, there was never good man yet this fifteen hundred years that durst leave it out... nor otherwise use it than God hath taught his apostles with his own word unwritten any otherwise than in Christian hearts.

Holy saints also have thought upon other causes. For some have thought that God ordained the water to be mingled with the wine as the water welled out with the blood out of his blessed heart upon the cross. And holy Saint Cyprian, that cunning doctor and

*The saying of Saint Cyprian* blessed martyr, thereupon saith that our Savior himself, at the time of the institution of that blessed sacrament, did put water into wine; though there was no mention made thereof in the writing... no more than

there was of divers other things that our Savior did (as Saint John saith), and that he would have to be done in his church ever after. Of which things this infusion of water is one taught undoubtedly by God to his apostles, and by them forth... and so this fifteen hundred years continued in Christ's church, without any mention thereof made in Scripture, and yet men of necessity bound to observe it; nor no man ever thought or durst think the contrary, till now Luther and Tyndale and such others of their sort which set so little by that blessed sacrament that they would have all honor and reverence taken from it, and reckoned for a bare sign set but only to signify, without any giving of grace... and therefore they would have it homely handled howsoever men list. Devise once some signification... and then would those heretics, by their wills, that instead of wine and water, men would consecrate new ale in corns. 5 10 15

Now, where he saith that it is the shame of the clergy if aught be used among Christian men whereof "no man wist the meaning"—why more than for Moses to deliver and leave to the people many ceremonies commanded by God, whereof the people, whatsoever Tyndale say, never understood the meaning? Would the wise man that if God bid a man do a thing... he shall say him nay but if he tell him why? 20

Then finisheth he this matter with a proper taunt: that "if our shepherds were as willing to feed as to shear, we had needed no such dispicions, nor they to have burned so many as they have." 25

Lo the great fault that Tyndale findeth in that the prelates do not as he doth—devise causes at adventure and warrant them for true—nor leave out the water boldly upon his ghostly counsel now, against the faith of all faithful folk this fifteen hundred years before! 30

And where he layeth that the slackness of feeding hath caused so many to be burned—I will not say nay but that it might have been better with some if there had been used more diligence in preaching. But as for many such as have been burned... all the preaching in the world would not have helped their obstinacy. But surely if the prelates had taken as good heed in time as they should have done, there should peradventure at length fewer have been burned, thereby. But there should have been more burned, by a great many, than there have been, within this seven years last past. The lack whereof I fear me will 35



make more burned within this seven years next coming... than else should have needed to have been burned in sevenscore.

Where I alleged the change of the Sabbath day into the Sunday without Scripture: thereto he answereth thus...

Tyndale

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As for the Sabbath—a great matter! We be lords over the Sabbath day, and may yet change it into the Monday, or any other day, as we see need... or may make every tenth day holy day, only if we see a cause why. We may make two every week if it were expedient, and one not enough to teach the people. Neither was there any cause to change it from the Saturday, than to put difference between us and the Jews... and lest we should become servants unto the day, after their superstition. Neither needed we any holy day at all, if the people might be taught without it.

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More

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Tyndale maketh the change of the Sabbath day a very slight

*Mk 2:28*

matter. And because that our *Savior* said of *himself* that “the Son of Man,”

that is to wit, he himself, was “lord of the Sabbath day”: therefore, as though every man were God Almighty’s fellow, *Tyndale* saith that *we* be lords of the Sabbath day, so that we may change the Sunday into Monday.

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He saith that there was never cause to change it from Saturday but only to put a “difference between us and the Jews,” and “lest we should become servants unto the day, after their superstition.”

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But I think there was besides this another cause more principal than any of both those. For the Jews and the Christians had other differences and distinctions between them—as Baptism and circumcision. Nor it had not been so great inconvenience that they should both have served God on one day, that for the avoiding thereof we should have left the day that God himself appointed in the beginning. And also, Christian men both might have kept the same day that the Jews kept and yet have left the superstition thereof that the Jews use. And may now also (as haply some do) keep the Sunday with like superstition as the Jews do the Saturday. And

30

35

therefore these causes be but divined and guessed at, and seem but  
*The cause why the Sabbath* very secondary. But the very cause of the  
*day was changed into* change is... that *men* were *not* the lords of  
*the Sunday* the Sabbath day; nor men were not the principal  
authors and makers of the change; 5

but *the Son of Man*, our Savior Christ himself, being (as he  
said himself) lord even over the Sabbath day too... and which, as  
God, had made and ordained the Sabbath day for man, and not man  
for the Sabbath day, and yet nevertheless subdued man unto certain  
order of serving, not the Sabbath day, but God upon the Sabbath day— 10  
*he*, I say, *himself*, when he delivered the people from the observance  
of the Old Law, did, as lord of the Sabbath day, discharge them  
of the Sabbath day.

And yet—because they should *not* have such a lordly mind as  
Tyndale here teacheth us to have... as to think they might at their 15  
pleasure take what day they would, and make and break as they list—  
*he* appointed them (himself and his own Holy Spirit) the day of  
his own resurrection. Which glorious rising of his blessed body  
not only to rest, but also to eternal glory, it pleased him to have  
weekly celebrated with the resting day drawn from worldly 20  
business to the desire of heaven and acceptable service of God. And for  
*Our Lord's day* this is it, and ever hath been, specially  
called “our Lord’s day.” Whereof to say that  
*we* be now the lords, and able to change it to Friday for our  
pleasure, or turn it to every tenth day when we list—I ween that 25  
none will say so but lurdans that longed to make gauds of God’s  
Passion, or make him honored selder than he should. For as for need...  
fell there never none such yet, to change this day that Christ hath  
ordained himself. And he is as able to keep it from such need of  
change forever hereafter... as he hath kept it this fifteen hundred 30  
years before.

If Tyndale stick still in this point... and say the Church made it,  
and the Church may break it: I say that the Church, *as* it made it, so  
it may break it. That is to wit, that as it made it by the Spirit  
of God, so it may break it by the same Spirit. That is to say that as 35  
*God* made it, so *himself* may break it, if it so shall please him.  
For in such things, though the Church have ordained it—yet hath

the *Church* not *done* it, but the Spirit of God; as holy Saint Augustine saith in the receiving of our housel, where he saith that

*A saying of Saint Augustine* it hath pleased the Holy Ghost that whereas  
in the beginning it was received after  
other meats, it should be now received of folk while they be fasting. 5

And in like wise the apostles—to give us knowledge that though the Church make the ordinance, yet the Spirit of God is the worker thereof—wrote, as is remembered in the fifteenth of the Acts, “It hath pleased the Holy Ghost and us,” and so forth showed what laws they had made... 10  
declaring thereby that though themselves made them, yet made they them not without the motion of God’s Holy Spirit. And never shall the whole Catholic Church neither make without God nor break again without him; but he shall, with his presence and his Holy Spirit, so guide and govern his church in such manner of things... that they shall not change the Sunday neither of 15  
lordly mind, pleasure, nor necessity. Nor, I think, he shall never suffer the Church to change it, but it is a change once so made and established by our Savior himself that, as the Saturday was ordained by God himself to stand unchanged till Christ came... so 20  
is Christ’s day so ordained by himself that it shall stand unchanged till himself come again, and change all the week and all the year, too, into one eternal day without either week or year. And this change hath he made, I say, from Saturday to Sunday, himself without Scripture... which we be bound without Scripture 25  
obediently to keep and observe, whatsoever Tyndale babble and scoff against it.

For where Tyndale saith that “we” be such lords over it that “we” may change and make our Sabbath day as well upon any other day as upon the Sunday—I would wit of him, which “we”? Whether 30  
the whole Catholic Church, or every particular province... and if so, then every diocese... and by the same reason, every parish by itself... and then any household... and finally, any one man is by himself at the same liberty to keep for his own Sabbath day which day he list himself, and need not to come to church 35  
with others but when there is a sermon? And then, ye wot well, this way would do well. Now, if he mean by “we” all we the whole church

of Christ by a common consent—then must he tell us which is it, and then must he needs assign a known church. Where is then become his heresy of their secret, unknown church of elects and penitents without penance?

And where he saith we need none holy day at all “if the people might be taught without it”—this is one draught of his poison put forth under the sweet pretext of preaching. Whereby, since preaching is necessary... he would make men believe that coming to church on the holy day—or there to honor God with divine service and prayer—were but a thing of naught; whereas the apostles came themselves into the temples in the holy days to pray.

*Is 56:7; Mt 21:13*

And our Savior allegeth himself the words of Isaiah, “My house shall be called the house of prayer.”

Now, whereas I alleged in my *Dialogue* the words of Saint Paul unto the Thessalonians, to whom he writeth in this wise: “Keep you my traditions which I have taken you either by word or letter”—to this doth Tyndale answer nothing to me but this...

Tyndale

I have [to that] answered Rochester in the *Obedience*... that his “traditions” were the Gospel that he preached.

More

In very deed, Tyndale in his book of *Obedience* laboreth sore to wade out of those words of Saint Paul... in which, as my Lord of Rochester said, it appeareth plainly that Saint Paul saith himself that he taught things by mouth which he wrote not. And what saith Tyndale to it there? He saith nothing else in this world but as he saith here: that the things which Saint Paul taught by mouth were the selfsame things that he wrote. And then goeth he forth with a long babblery, part to no purpose and part plain heresy... and fareth as though himself had stood by all the while that Saint Paul taught anything by mouth. Now, whether his words be to purpose or not... I pray you consider yourself.

We say that these sacraments and many holy ceremonies used in the church in the Mass and in other parts of divine service... were taught by the Spirit of God and delivered by his blessed

apostles. “Nay,” saith Tyndale, “that could not be; for all necessary things that they taught, they wrote.” “Prove that,” say we, “and take all.” But we will prove, by Saint Paul’s own words, that he taught things that he wrote not; for he biddeth the Thessalonians keep and observe well all that he had taught them “either by mouth or letters.” And then that none of them were any necessary points, that point we bid Tyndale prove. His proof therein, ye have heard before... that if the apostles wrote not *all* such things, what could it avail that they wrote any things at all? And that reason ye remember that we have answered before... and proved it a great folly to reckon that in our own realm no law bindeth that is unwritten, because there be many written; or that their writing were unprofitable that wrote us part, because they wrote us not all. But, now, in that place of the *Obedience* where the rude ribald raileth against the Reverend Father my Lord Bishop of Rochester, he saith stiffly that none of those things which we speak of, and especially sacraments or ceremonies, were any of those things that Saint Paul taught by mouth. Then ask we him, “Whereby know you that?” “Marry,” saith he, “for I shall tell you what he taught. He taught the same that he wrote; and his ‘traditions’ were the Gospel that he preached... and good manners and virtues, and some good customs, too, that be since for abuses changed, as kissing each other. And some he taught as precepts, and some as good counsels... as virginity, and widowly chastity, not to win heaven thereby (‘For neither circumcision nor uncircumcision is anything at all, but the keeping of the commandments is altogether’), but that they might be without trouble, and the better wait on God’s words, and the freelier serve their brethren.”

Here I pass by his heresies that in these words appear both against virginity and widowly chastity... which he meaneth to be nothing worth as touching any reward to be given for them in heaven. For though he say no further here but that they *win* not heaven—which every man agreeth—yet meaneth he further, as he declareth in many other places... and as it here appeareth by his example of circumcision. I let pass also his heresy concerning the circumcision, which, with his false understanding of Saint Paul, he would have taken to have stood in no stead at all toward heaven; and by the same reason no more he would that Baptism neither, as he hath oftentimes declared.

*1 Cor 7:19*

I let pass also... that by those words of  
 Saint Paul which himself now bringeth  
 in, that “the keeping of the commandments is altogether,” his  
 own heresies be overthrown. For if the keeping of the commandments  
 be altogether... then faith alone is not altogether; 5  
 but rather, as he maketh circumcision nothing because the commandments  
 be all, so might he make faith nothing because the  
 commandments be altogether. But he maketh Saint Paul’s  
 words to serve him for his juggling stick. For Saint Paul  
 meaneth of circumcision alone in the Old Law, with faith and 10  
 good works... as Saint James speaketh of faith. And in the New Law,  
 now, it is nothing at all indeed.

These words also, of Saint Paul, destroy Tyndale’s heresy that  
 men’s good works be not rewarded in heaven... and that it is  
 idolatry to serve God with any bodily works, or to do any of them 15  
 to come the rather to heaven. For if the keeping of the commandments  
 be altogether... and some of them be bodily works: a man  
 may lawfully do them for God’s sake, and to his worship too, and  
 have his reward in heaven too.

But now letting these points pass, as I say—I would ask Tyndale 20  
 whether among those points that Saint Paul taught by mouth  
 and which he wrote not... were any things necessary to be believed  
 or done upon peril of our souls’ health. If he say yea: then destroyeth  
 he his whole reason that he made before for the contrary... where he  
 said that if the apostles taught any such things and wrote them 25  
 not, what availeth all those things that they wrote? If he say nay...  
 but that all the things that he taught by mouth were things of  
 little weight, and not worth the writing; and that therefore he wrote  
 unto the Corinthians that all the “other things” he would dispose and  
 ordain himself at his coming, because he reckoned them not 30  
 worthy to occupy place in his epistle: if Tyndale tell us this, we will  
 ask him who told him so... and whereby he knoweth that Saint  
 Paul taught the people by mouth no more things, nor of none other  
 kind, than Tyndale saith he did. Was himself at that time companion  
 to Saint Paul... and that so continual and inseparable that 35  
 day nor night he never departed from him... but ever watched him

so surely that he could never say nothing but Tyndale stood by and heard him?

Tyndale in this point well perceiveth himself how hard a part he hath to prove. And therefore, seeing that he hath entered a matter that he cannot end... and hath said that he can never make good, at last he waxeth angry. And because he cannot tell allthing that Saint Paul taught (as he began to take upon him)—he concludeth nothing but that Saint Paul taught none of the sacraments nor ceremonies that Luther and he reprove. And thus he saith... 5 10

#### Tyndale

But that the apostles gave us any blind ceremonies, whereof we could not know the reason: that I deny and also defy.

#### More

Forsooth, save for the rhyme, I would not give a rush neither for his denying nor for his defying, nor for any reason that he layeth forth therefor. 15

For whereas he saith that it is “contrary to the learning of Saint Paul everywhere,” I say that therein Tyndale saith not true. For Saint Paul reproveth but the superstitious trust that the Jews had as well in their ceremonies and sacraments as in the works of their law, without faith and justice and deeds of charity; and the superstition of them also that thought themselves bound of necessity to keep them still after the New Law promulgated and spread about—when the time of those old ceremonies, sacraments, judicials, and all was gone... saving for as far forth as the church of Christ by the Spirit of God hath taken up any again. But let Tyndale bring of Saint Paul all the places that he possibly can... and he shall never find one while he liveth, among them all, in which Saint Paul reproveth any sacrament or ceremony taken up and accounted for good through Christ’s whole Catholic Church—nor yet the Jews for using the ceremonies given by God to Moses, and by Moses to them, for the time while they served, though they knew not the significations... except it were for lack of some other virtue, which they left off and rought not for... and thereby lost the fruit of their ceremonies and all. 20 25 30 35

One other thing he saith which he taketh for a high point to prove that Saint Paul taught no ceremonies or sacraments but such as he taught also their significations. And that he proveth thus...

#### Tyndale

5

Paul commandeth that no man once speak in the church, that is, in the congregation, but in a tongue that all men understand... except that there be an interpreter by.

#### More

And what then? At such time as the Law was given first to the children of Israel... it was indeed written in a tongue that the people understood. But yet the ceremonies, though they were written in the same tongue, yet were there many of them that the people never understood what they meant—nor, peradventure, Moses neither—and yet were they bound of obedience to observe them; and their obedience was fruitful, too, but if that some other fault made it lose the fruit. 10

And therefore, where Tyndale telleth a long tale that Saint Paul “commandeth” them to “labor for knowledge, understanding, feeling,” and “beware” of “hypocrisy,” “ceremonies,” and “all manner of disguising,” and many such words more, some of Saint Paul and some of his own planted in among them: his tale seemeth somewhat solemn, but it is nothing substantial. For the sacraments and ceremonies given by God unto his church be neither hypocrisy nor judicial ceremonies, nor “disguisings,” neither... which 20

word Tyndale setteth in himself, in scorn, as it seemeth, of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar. Nor Saint Paul, though he would have them “labor for knowledge,” meaneth not yet they shall leave the sacraments unserved which God hath taught, till he teach them the knowledge *why* he taught them, and what special signification every sacrament and ceremony had. 25 30

For whereas Tyndale rhymeth it out and saith that he both denieth and also defieth that the apostles taught any ceremony whereof the reason could not be known: for all his denying and also defying, a better man than the apostles did—our Savior Christ himself, when he sent his disciples forth to baptize and to preach— 35



he taught them how they should go and what they should do; but the reason and cause of every ceremony, *that* find we not that ever he taught them... but at some of them he suffered both them then, and us ever since, to guess and to divine.

*Lk 9:3; 10:4*

For that he would have them neither  
 bear wallet nor satchel, nor shoes upon  
 their feet, nor stick in their hand, nor salute any man by the way,  
 nor why he chose water and Baptism instead of circumcision, nor  
 why he would they should lay their hands upon some sick folk  
 whom they should heal, nor why they should anoint sick folk with  
 oil and heal them by that means: the causes, I say, and the proper  
 significations of all these ceremonies and many others, we find not  
 that our Savior, when he sent them, showed them; and yet he bade  
 them do it, and they were bound to obey, and merited and  
 deserved by their obedience. Much more than he should have done,  
 whoso would have said, "Tell me first, good Lord, why may I not  
 put on my shoes? Why may I not take a stick in mine hand?  
 What art thou the better though I go barefoot? What shall it hurt  
 the matter though I bear a stick? Why were it not as good to smear  
 a sick man with butter as anoint him with oil? Tell me the causes  
 of all those things, and the proper signification, ere I go. For else,  
 to say that I will be sent out with such dumb ceremonies whereof  
 I know not the causes—that I deny and also defy." He that thus should  
 have said like Tyndale... should have gotten little thank.

And as I have before somewhat said... Almighty God taught  
 many ceremonies to Moses, and he forth to the people... and neither  
 can Tyndale nor any man else prove me by Scripture that the  
 people understood all their significations; no, nor Moses neither.  
 And where is then Tyndale's worshipful rhyme, that I deny and  
 also defy?

I let pass all the ceremonies taught about the Ark, the Temple,  
 the sacrifices, and many other things... and will wit but how  
 Tyndale can prove me that the children of Israel, or, as I say,  
 Moses either, understood all the ceremonies commanded by God

*Divers ceremonies*

about their departing out of Egypt.  
 Why a lamb? Why a kid? Why of one

year? Why without spot? Why taken the tenth day? Why offered the  
fourteenth? Why the vengeance of God put from the house at the token of the  
blood put upon the posts? Why eaten by night? Why none left till  
the morrow, but rather the remnant burned? Why unleavened bread?  
Why wild lettuce? I know well *God* wist why he commanded all 5  
those ceremonies; but I say Tyndale cannot prove that the *people*  
understood them all, nor, peradventure, that Moses neither...

If Tyndale yet say that the people understood all those ceremonies:  
I will first bid him prove me that point by Scripture. And then 10  
for some likelihood toward a proof of the contrary... I will lay forth,  
for authority against William Tyndale, the words of one man whom  
Tyndale would were most believed of all men: that is to wit, the  
words of William Tyndale himself. For himself saith in his  
book against me...

Tyndale 15

Christ asked the apostles (Mt 16) whom they took him for. And  
Peter answered for them all... saying, "I say that thou art Christ, the  
Son of the Living God, that art come into this world." That is, "We  
believe that thou art he that was promised unto Abraham should  
come and bless us and deliver us." Howbeit, Peter yet wist not by 20  
what means. But now it is opened throughout all the world: that  
through the offering of his body and blood. . . .

More

Now, since, as Tyndale saith himself, Saint Peter at that time did  
not know by what means Christ should redeem us; and it is very 25  
likely that Saint Peter, albeit he was not yet fully learned, did yet  
at that time, going to school with Christ, understand as much at the  
leastwise as the common people did even in Moses' days: I think,  
therefore, that Tyndale should himself agree, contrary to that himself  
hath said before, that the people understood not all the ceremonies. 30  
And yet I think he will not say that they might at  
that time leave all such undone... and say as Tyndale saith—"All that,  
utterly we deny and also defy."

I would fain wit wherefore Tyndale should take it for so strange  
that God or his apostles should give unto Christ's church any 35  
ceremonies whereof they should not understand the reason... when

he seeth well that God hath spoken to his people many words by his prophets, and his own Son, and his Son's apostles too, and caused them to be written also in Holy Scripture... in which texts men be no more sure of the very sentence than of the very signification of

*Why God hath left many things* those ceremonies. But God hath not without 5  
*unknown to us* our fruit left such things unknown  
 unto us—to quicken and exercise, as

Saint Augustine saith, some men's minds in the study and devising thereupon... which if all were open and plain, would wax negligent and dull... and now, in the devising thereupon, 10  
 find out good and fruitful things (allegories and others), not affirming those to be the very things there intended, but things that devoutly and fruitfully may be thereon taken and turn men to devotion, and this as well in the ceremonies as in those hard and not intelligible texts. And if Tyndale deny this... because he 15  
 would seem sure of allthing, and that there were no place in Scripture to him not understood: he shall, while he would seem so wise, prove himself a fool in the judgment of all men that anything labor in Scripture. And thus ye see now in what substantial 20  
 wise that Tyndale hath answered my Lord of Rochester, unto the plain words of Saint Paul written unto the Thessalonians... by which words he showeth plainly himself that he wrote not all that he taught. And then that these things which Tyndale impugneth, why that they might not be among those things that 25  
 Saint Paul taught by mouth... ye have heard, I say, how worshipfully Tyndale hath proved.

I were loath to leave untouched anything that Tyndale anywhere saith against my purpose in this matter. And therefore, since I find in his *Answer* to my *Dialogue* yet another patch wherein I perceive he taketh great pleasure... and weeneth—or would, at the least, that other 30  
 men should ween—that he had therewith utterly proved his part and clearly reprov'd mine: I will withdraw none of his glory, and therefore ye shall hear that too. In his answer to the twenty-ninth chapter of my First Book, these are his words...

Tyndale 35

In the twenty-ninth [chapter, M. More] allegeth that Christ said not “the Holy Ghost shall *write*,” but “. . . shall *teach*.” It is not the use to say “the Holy Ghost writeth,” but “. . . inspireth the writer.”

## More

Properly answered, if I would hold my peace. But I must put Tyndale again in remembrance, because he believeth nothing but Scripture, and then draweth all the Scripture into God's promises—I must, therefore, I say, put him in remembrance that I brought in that authority to show him that God made no *promise* that he would *write* all his new testament, nor cause it to be made all in Books... but that he would send his Holy Ghost to “teach” his church, and to “lead” them “into every truth.” And whereas Tyndale saith it is not the use to say “the Holy Ghost writeth,” but “. . . inspireth the writer”: I say again that the Scripture letteth not to speak of God's *writing*, and to tell how he will “write” his new testament, when he saith by the mouth of the prophet Jeremiah, “I shall give my law in their bowels... and I shall write it in their hearts.”

Lo, here he telleth what manner of writing he will use in writing of his New Law... because we shall *not* excuse ourselves and say that we will not believe no more thereof than we shall find written in Books. He maketh us no promise that he will cause it to be written in Books; but, pursuing these words of the prophet, he said himself—his own mouth—that he would send the Holy Ghost to come “teach” his church and “lead” them “into every truth.” To this will Tyndale haply say, “In that word he meant, and so did the prophet also, that he would write it in the hearts of the evangelists and apostles, and teach *them* and lead *them* into every truth... which should put all the necessary truth in writing.” Let Tyndale prove this meaning by some one text of Scripture, or some one necessary reason; of which neither himself nor any other of his fellows have found any one yet. And the words as well of the prophet as of our Savior himself declare themselves to the contrary. For the prophet *and* the evangelist saith that “they shall be all” God's own scholars; which signifieth that the congregation and company shall be taught by God and his Spirit, that shall write the New Law—the right faith—in the hearts of his church. And our Savior said, “I shall send the Holy Ghost, that shall teach you allthing, and lead you into every truth.”

He said not, "The Holy Ghost shall teach some of you, that shall write it out unto the remnant." And therefore Tyndale's comely gloss will not so substantially serve him as he would have it seem. For as that Holy Spirit inspired more than them that wrote... so inspired he the writers in more things than they wrote; which things they taught by mouth, and left it with the people by Tradition, as God left it with them; which thing doth by their  
*Jn 21:25; 2 Thes 2:15; own words well appear: Iohannis 21; ad 1 Cor 11:2, 23-24 Thessalonicenses; ad Corinthios* 11. And if these plain texts seem not yet sufficient for our part... let him and all his fellows bring forth some half text half so sufficient for their part, proving that all is written, and take altogether.  
 But yet goeth he farther and would seem of his courtesy to help me somewhat forth, and say more than I could for mine own part... and yet avoid it, too. For thus he saith...

#### Tyndale

I marvel that he had not brought, as many of his brethren do, Matthew in the last—where Christ commanded the apostles to go and "teach" all nations, and said not "write."

#### More

Indeed, this would have been well brought in there; and many of my brethren have, as he saith, brought it in, and myself also somewhere else (in places more than one)—which I now boast of because ye shall see that Tyndale hath not yet so gaily answered it as to make me ashamed to lay it forth again. For if he could bring out one text so good for him as that is for us—that is to say, that like as my brethren find out that text by which Christ biddeth all his apostles go preach and teach his Gospel, so if Tyndale or any of his brethren could find out any text in which Christ had bidden any of them go write his Gospel—Lord God, how solemnly Tyndale would set it out to the show! And whereas he now maketh little ado of Christ's word bidding them go preach—he would make much ado of his word bidding them go write. But now ye shall see what answer he maketh, and what he bringeth for the sheet anchor of all his shift... to prove that they wrote every necessary point.

## Tyndale

I answer that this precept "Love thy neighbor as thyself, and God above allthing" went with the apostles and compelled them to seek God's honor in us, and to seek all means to continue the faith unto the world's end. Now, the apostles knew before that heresies should come... and therefore wrote that it might be a remedy against heresies; as it well appeareth, John 20, where he saith, "These are written that ye believe, and through belief have life." And in the second of his first epistle he saith, "These I write because of them that deceive you." And Peter and Paul thereto warn us in many places. Wherefore it is manifest that the same love compelled them to leave nothing unwritten that should be necessarily required... and that if it were left out should hurt the soul.

## More

Lo, now have ye heard his uttermost whereby he proveth us that they wrote altogether that is of necessity to be known. Which he proveth not, as ye see, by any scripture proper for the point—as that any of them had any special commandment to write—but that their charity drove them to it. Which he proveth by a deduction upon this commandment "Love God above allthing, and thy neighbor as thyself." For thereupon as he deduced before that women may sing Mass, and must in time of need: so he deduceth now that the apostles were by the same charity driven by their writing to provide against heresies which they saw should come; and that could they not sufficiently do but if they provided alike against all heresies; ergo, they wrote every necessary truth. This argument is, God wot, full poor, sick, and sore... and might sit at Saint Savior's a-begging with a dish and a clapper, for anything that it can help itself... it is so blind and lame, and lacketh so many limbs—and yet hath it one the more for me that Tyndale forgot to set in. But yet lacketh he both his legs, for all that, and his eyes, and his hands, and his brain too. For he must set in that they which wrote... knew well every heresy that ever should spring after their days; and this must he prove by Scripture.

He must also set in that no more of the apostles knew that point but only those that wrote; or else that the others could not

write, nor God could not teach them; or, finally, that each of them read others' writing, and so saw that all was written by their fellows—and then carried all their fellows' writing with them into the countries where themselves preached, and left it there. And this must he prove me by Scripture; for else he saveth not upright the charity of Saint Andrew nor Saint Bartholomew, that wrote nothing at all; nor of Saint Peter in writing less than Saint Paul; nor of Saint John for leaving out the Consecration at Christ's Maundy. 5

He must also put in that they saw that without writing, God could not keep the points of faith among the people; for else the charity strained them not of necessity so sore to put altogether in writing. 10

He must also put in that all their writing is kept and reserved safe, and ever shall till the Day of Doom; for else, he seeth what followeth. And then knoweth he well that besides corruption of Books, much thereof is lost... but if he will say that in that scripture was nothing necessary but that it is in this that remaineth. And then must he prove me *that* by Scripture, ere I believe him. And over this must he put in that they have written allthing as clear as they might have done to answer all heretics with; for that thing belonged to charity too, if of charity their purpose was to write against all heresies. 15 20

And yet, which I had almost forgotten, he must put in, too, this argument also: that they have given us *warning* that they have written altogether that either then needed, or at any time after should need, to be believed or done upon pain of deadly sin. For this is one of the very chief points of all; and therefore this must he prove by Scripture. For else they left us in danger to believe some other things more than they write—namely since that some wrote not so much as their fellows, some confess that they taught by mouth more than they wrote... and some wrote nothing at all; and of that the others wrote, good part lost; and of that writing that remaineth, some corrupted by writers, some by printers, and much so hard that no man understandeth. 25 30

And finally must he put in, too, this argument also: that after their days Christ would never show nor reveal anything to his Church more... nor bid any of them any other thing believe or do 35

than was put in writing already by his apostles; or else that though he would bid them any further thing at any time after either believe or do—yet would he never be angry with them though they would neither believe that he told them nor do that he bade them... but tell him well and plainly to his teeth that if he would be believed or obeyed, he should have made his apostles write it! This point specially must Tyndale among others prove me by plain and evident Scripture. For else were it, ye wot well, a great peril for any man to say nay to God's special bidding... though that special bidding were not specified in Scripture... but if God have plainly spoken in Scripture that he will never while he liveth either tell or bid any other thing than he hath already revealed or commanded in Scripture. 5

Now see you, good readers, how sick, how sore, and how feeble his argument is... by which he would prove us that the charity of the apostles drove them to put all necessary things in writing. But yet had there, almost, one reason of his passed me unawares... which if I had left untouched, Tyndale would have said I had dissembled, and left unanswered his chief reason of all. For whereas his feeble argument before-touched was but the cause that drove the *apostles* to leave nothing unwritten—he hath yet one that sheweth the cause why and wherefore *God* would, himself, have every necessary thing written; and that, ye wot well, must needs be strong; and therefore what strength is in it ye shall hear. Thus he saith... 10 15 20 25

#### Tyndale

Now, sir, God hath made his last and everlasting testament, . . . and no more behind than the appearing of Christ again. And because he will not stir up every day a new prophet with a new miracle, to confirm new doctrine, or to call again the old that was forgotten: therefore were all things necessary to salvation comprehended in scripture ever to endure. 30

#### More

If Tyndale's bare word be worthy to be taken for so great authority that whatsoever he say, men must believe it only because Tyndale saith it: then is this argument very sure and strong—but then it is superfluous and a great deal too long. For then it should 35



suffice him to say “The apostles have left allthing in writing,”  
 and let all his reasons alone. But surely if Tyndale be no better than  
 other men—so that, as he will believe no man without plain Scripture,  
 no man without plain Scripture is bound to believe him—  
 then is this argument more feeble yet than the other. For he shall  
 never make it strong, neither by plain Scripture nor good  
 deduction, nor necessary consequence, nor any probable reason. 5

For first, how proveth he that allthing is open? How proveth  
 he that he understandeth every place in Scripture? Every place in  
 Genesis, every place in the prophets, every place in the Psalter,  
 every place in Saint John’s Gospel, every place in Saint Paul’s  
 epistles, every place in the Apocalypse—be all these things open to  
 Tyndale? Is any man so mad to believe him therein upon his  
 word, because he boldly saith, in many places of his ungracious  
 books, that the Scripture is easy to understand? Which thing he  
 saith of an ungracious mind—to make every simple person bold  
 to take himself for an interpreter! 10 15

But I dare be as bold to say that the Scripture, albeit many  
 places be plain, and in the hardest place good folk may take fruit if  
 they play not as Tyndale doth—be bold upon it like Blind Bayard,  
 and think it plain and open—yet is it not so open but that there is many 20

*There are many hard and dark* a place, in every part thereof, so dark and  
*places in Scripture.* of such difficulty... that there neither is nor,  
 I ween, never was since the apostles’ days  
 (nor, peradventure, every man among *them*, neither) that durst have  
 been so bold to say that allthing was so open to him... but that there may  
 lie yet therein, for all the understanding that men have thereof, many a  
 great mystery hidden that never shall be clearly understood... till such  
 time as God, upon the thing done and showed, shall, by his Spirit  
 promised, sent, and assistant unto his church, in the times convenient  
 and by God appointed thereunto, reveal it; which things  
 shall then be necessary points to be believed, and now neither  
 necessary to believe nor possible to be thought upon. 25 30

But when it shall please God any such things to do, show, and  
 reveal—he shall then send no Luthers, nor no Tyndales, nor none  
 Huessgens, nor no friar out of a nun’s bed to preach it... but he 35

shall send such holy messengers as he hath been ever wont about  
such business to send, that shall not come with a false faith and  
evil works (and be accursed out of Christ's church!), but with the  
true Catholic faith, and holy living, and reverent handling  
of Holy Scripture, and some of them with many great miracles confounding 5  
the false wonders of Antichrist... as the miracles that  
*Ex 7:8–12; 8:1–10* Moses wrought confounded the marvels  
that were wrought by the witchcraft  
of the Egyptian jugglers. And he shall not send such fond  
fellows as would be so shameless without any miracle showed to 10  
bid all the world believe them—upon their bare word—in the  
understanding of Holy Scripture, against all holy saints and  
cunning doctors of fifteen hundred years past... and bear men in  
hand that all is open and plain, and prove it by nothing else  
but by that there is no place of Holy Scripture so hard but that themselves 15  
can expound it in such wise that it shall serve them  
shameful for jesting and railing against God and all good men,  
against all good works, against all religion, fasting, prayer,  
devotion, saints, ceremonies, and sacraments... and to set forth  
vice in boldness of faith, and to praise lechery between friars and 20  
nuns and call it matrimony, and thus make mocks of Holy  
Scripture solemnly, with such open, shameless, abominable blasphemy  
that if the zeal of God were among men that should be, such  
railing ribalds that so mock with Holy Scripture should at every  
such exposition have a hot iron thrust through their blasphemous 25  
tongues!

Such false prophets shall God, as I say, send none of his errand!  
But Tyndale cannot prove it true that he saith, that allthing is  
yet so fully finished but that the time may come when God may yet  
show things whereof we yet nothing think, and yet, peradventure, 30  
written of in the Scripture... and may, if he list, do and show also  
more things yet, whereof nothing is written, for any word that is  
written to the contrary. And that besides Christ's own appearing  
at the Doom there yet resteth some reckonings to come... well and  
plainly appeareth by Scripture, both concerning Tyndale's great 35  
master Antichrist (though Tyndale and Luther list lewdly to rail

with those holy places of Scripture), and also concerning Enoch and Elijah. And therefore where Tyndale saith...

#### Tyndale

[Because all is done save the Doom,] and because God will not stir up every day a new prophet with a new miracle, to confirm new doctrine or to call again the old that was forgotten: therefore were all things necessary to salvation comprehended in scripture ever to endure . . .

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#### More

. . . lo, now have we heard him say it; and now lack we no more but even to hear him prove it. For when Tyndale proveth not that the thing is so done indeed... but layeth us only the causes for which he saith God caused it to be done: in this doth he nothing else but tell us what God should have done if he had taken him to counsel.

10

Tyndale proveth not that God hath showed him that all is done save only the Day of Doom; which he must prove or else we will deny it him. Nor he proveth not that God hath showed him that he would not stir up, if need were, every day a new prophet, and that with new miracles, too, rather than bind himself that he should never teach anything more, or have his old doctrine forgotten, either. Which thing he must prove, or else will we deny it him... since God hath taken more labor and greater pain for his Church than that. For he hath shed his blood for it, and might do all that with the least word of his mouth.

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And we say also that God hath daily stirred up, and daily doth stir up, new prophets in sundry parts of his Catholic Church—holy doctors, and preachers, and faithful men, and good livers... for whom both quick and dead he doth show miracles in his Catholic Church, and thereby approveth the faith and works that they lived and died in, as he stirred up prophets among the Jews in sundry ages, for all the miracles done by Moses—and doth not so for no church of heretics.

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Nor he proveth not that the points of faith must needs have fallen away but if they had been written. Which thing he must prove us; for else will we boldly deny it, and go nearer to prove the contrary. For we see that the Church hath kept divers things

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without Scripture this thirteen hundred years, and, as it is thought, two hundred years before; and is yet as likely to keep it as many more, and twice as many more, if the world last so long.

Now have they been kept so long either by man, or by the devil, or else by God. And if Tyndale say that either man or devil have kept them all this while: we may be bold to tell him that then was God as able to keep them as was any of those both... and needed no more Scripture thereto than needed either man or devil. 5

Tyndale proveth us not, neither, that when the things were written they were thereby sure, as he saith, to endure forever. For he proveth not by Scripture that the Scripture shall endure forever. For though the Scripture say that the word of God shall last forever, and that 10

*Mt 24:35; Lk 16:17* there shall not thereof the least letter be lost—yet is that meant of the Son of God, and of the matter, and of the word unwritten, and not of the words written in Scripture... except none of Saint Paul's epistles be lost, 15 or such as be lost was no Scripture, or that in those epistles were no letters.

Nor Tyndale hath not proved that the Scripture is so clearly written but that God needeth as well to stir up prophets with miracles for the declaration of the truth thereof, while the false expositors be so contentious... as he should have needed for the teaching, keeping, and confirmation of the points of faith unwritten. And, as I before said, even so he doth. And thus ye see that these words are to Tyndale very little worth. But then saith he farther... 20 25

#### Tyndale

By the *Scripture* the councils general, and not by open miracle, have concluded such things as were in them determined—as stories make mention. 30

#### More

Let Tyndale bring forth one story that saith as he saith, and then let him tell us the tale again. I make myself very sure that he shall find no story that shall say that the general councils, in their conclusions, regarded no miracles but only Scripture. For he shall find in the stories that the good holy fathers that were in 35

divers of the general councils (of whom there be many that all Christian people honor and worship for saints) had many things to move them to determine and conclude against heretics; of which things the Scripture was one, and was not all.

For when the Arians and the Catholics were in debate upon the understanding of the scriptures (as the Catholics be with these heretics now), the Catholics did not only see then that the heretics wrested and misconstrued the Scripture (as we see that these heretics much more miswrest it now), but they saw also that the common faith of the Catholic Church was received and believed before that heresy begun; and being very sure, by the promise of God, that if that faith had been false, the Spirit that God sent unto his Church would never have suffered the Catholic Church, the corps of Christian people, the Mystical Body of Christ, to fall into that belief: they were *thereby*—with that faith written by the finger of God in their Christian hearts—very sure that the Arians were heretics; and so should they have been though never word of Scripture had been written... and should have concluded against the Arians in like wise as they did.

They saw also that God did miracles in his Catholic Church, and suffered none among the Arians... saving in the taking of *Arius' death* vengeance upon them to their pain and shame, as when Arius' guts fell out of his belly into the draught. (As we daily see that he doth, and ever shall see that he shall do, in his Catholic Church, and suffereth none to be done among all the skulks of heretics, nor never shall suffer till the Doom near approach, but only in detecting their wickedness and bringing them to the fire... as our Lady by miracle brought Berquin of late, at Paris.) This thing undoubtedly not a little confirmed the faith, and made the Church boldly conclude against the Arians.

And this thing appeareth well in stories very old and authentic. And Tyndale shall, I am sure, never bring us forth his stories saying that the general councils had no regard to miracles. And if he will say that the stories tell that there was none open miracles done at the general councils—yet, I ween, shall he find none such stories neither. And if he will say that the stories do not tell of any

open miracles done at the general councils... then shall he tell us a tale to little purpose. For surely, so many as were showed beside, it was a thing that needed not. But then goeth he farther and saith...

Tyndale

And by the same scriptures we know which councils were true and which false.

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This is a pretty point, lo! For now may ye see for what cause he saith that the general councils made their determinations by Scripture and not by miracle: because he would have it seem that there were nothing of God's Spirit working with the general councils, but only the wit and affections of men; so that he would, as appeareth plainly by this word, have them serve all of naught, but every heretic left at liberty to say nay to them all.

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For he saith that by the Scripture we know which of those councils were true and which false. But where he saith "we" know, I would wit of him which "we" he meaneth; which of his hundred new sects he calleth his "we." For they agree so evil together that the thing which the one saith that by the Scripture he knoweth for true, the other saith that by the Scripture he knoweth for false.

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Tyndale's master Martin Luther and all the sects in Almaine call for a general council. Now would I wit to what purpose, if all that were concluded therein should be never the surer... but that every froward fool may as well after as he might before, say that he knoweth by Scripture that the council was false, and all that was determined therein was naught. Thus might an Arian and arrant heretic say now that he knoweth by Scripture that all was false that was determined in the councils against the Arians

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*1 Cor 14:29*

of old. Saint Paul will that when one speaketh, the "remnant"—that is, the whole congregation—shall judge. As yet at this day, if a preacher preach heresy, God hath, by the faith written in Christian men's hearts, made the people able to know him for naught—except it be a false preacher with a false company, willingly drawn together, and fallen from the Church; which false preacher and his company is ever able to be judged by the whole church remaining still in the

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former faith. And now will Father Tyndale that every obstinate heretic, every prattling fool, every smatterer in Scripture... shall be judge over all the general councils, and over all the whole corps of Christendom, to tell them all that himself understandeth the Scripture better than they all. Is not this, ween ye, a godly, wise way? 5  
Then goeth he further yet, and saith...

#### Tyndale

And by the same Scripture shall we, if any new question arise, determine it also. For Abraham answered the rich man, "They have Moses and the prophets—let them hear them"; and said not, "They have the scribes and the Pharisees," whom they should hear preaching out of the seat of their own doctrine, without Scripture. 10

#### More

I had little went that Tyndale would have brought in this point of Abraham, Lazarus, and the rich glutton in hell. For Tyndale seeth well enough that though that same Lazarus was not raised by Abraham and sent unto those folk at his request—yet was another Lazarus raised afterward by Christ, and sent among men again, at good folks' request; where though he came for the glory of God and for the show of the Godhood of his only Son... yet is it no doubt but though his words be not written, he did in that point also, much good unto men of the mean sort... though some such as were obdurate in malice, as were some Pharisees, or drowned in the credence of their false sect, as were some Sadducees, believed no more him than Moses... but in that point misconstrued the one and mocked or hated the other. 15 20 25

And Tyndale seeth also full well that those words of Abraham nothing touch the New Testament, nor nothing that this question hangeth upon. For those words were spoken by Abraham peradventure long before Christ's coming, and at the least before any word of the New Testament written. And therefore, though they might be drawn to touch the traditions which the false Pharisees gave unto the Jews—yet could they not be drawn to touch the traditions which the true Spirit of God, by Christ's promise, hath given unto his Church. And that *all* those be written... 30 35  
Tyndale seeth full well those words of Abraham prove nothing at

all. And therefore it is to me more than marvel that he is not ashamed to lay those words for this purpose.

For where he saith that every new question that may arise, we shall determine by Scripture—ye see yourselves very well he speaketh of an ungracious purpose... willing to bring in his poisoned heresies under that pretext, since that he knoweth that the Scripture proveth not the perpetual virginity of our Lady, which he would have no man bound to believe; and also concerning the sacrament himself saith is but bread, and that there ought none honor to be done thereto; and falsely defendeth the one by the words of evil-construed Scripture, and the other because it is not *commanded* in Scripture. 5 10

And yet see ye farther that he speaketh as though he heard not his own voice. For he said before that by the Scripture we judge the councils. And then how can anything be determined by Scripture... when of the right understanding thereof there can never any determinate end be made, though all Christendom should come together and agree thereon, but that every foolish heretic may say that all they understood it wrong, and himself only right? This is a substantial reason of Tyndale, be ye sure! But because he will that with Scripture the general councils must be judged: what scripture alleged the apostles for their determination (in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts) where they in their council said, and by their epistle wrote, “The Holy Ghost and we have seen it good to put no more burden upon you than these necessary things... that is to wit, that you abstain from things offered to idols, and from blood, and allthing that is strangled, and from fornication... from which things if ye keep yourselves, ye shall do well”? 15 20 25

What scripture laid they for this general council of theirs? For though there were scripture, in the Old Testament, that forbade *Acts 15:19–29*; these things and others too—yet was *Leviticus 17–19* there no scripture whereby they concluded those things to be kept and observed partly forever, partly for a time, rather than the other commandments of the Law. Was not the authority thereof by the reason of Christ’s word, “He that heareth 30 35



*Lk 10:16*                      you heareth me”? Which word had as  
great strength before it was written as  
ever it had since!

Now, this same authority hath Christ’s church, assembled in the  
general councils; and the same Spirit inspireth them, and the                      5  
same words of Christ bindeth his flock to obey them, that bound  
them to obey his apostles.

Tyndale

“Nay,” saith Tyndale, “not so.” When [M. More] alleged, “He that heareth  
you heareth me,” and [also this,] “If any man hear not the church, take                      10  
him for a heathen,” concluding that we must believe whatsoever  
is shaven in all that he affirmeth without Scripture or miracle:  
I would fain wit in what figure *that* syllogism is made!

More

I would fain wit of Tyndale in what place of my book he findeth                      15  
that I make that conclusion... with which it pleaseth him to belie  
me to sweeten his own answer with! For I never concluded nor said  
that we were bound to believe all that is “shaven” in all that ever he  
saith. But I then said, and yet I say, that these words of our Savior  
Christ, “Whoso heareth you heareth me,” were no more proper commandment                      20  
to bind any man to believe the apostles than to believe  
the whole Catholic Church, and general councils that represent  
that whole body of the Catholic Church; and that they were not  
spoken to the apostles only, no more than the Holy Ghost was promised  
by Christ to be sent unto the apostles only. And Christ no                      25  
more promised to send the Holy Ghost unto the apostles only... than  
he promised to *be* with the apostles only, all the days unto the end  
of the world.

*Mt 18:17*

Now, these words of Christ, “If any man  
hear not the church, take him for a heathen”—                      30  
every man well wotteth that this is manifestly spoken not of the  
apostles only, for their time, but of the Church as long as the world  
shall last. For so long *shall* the Church endure, do these heretics  
whatsoever they can to the contrary. And as it is true of every

particular church, and the governors thereof, as long as it swerveth not from the whole body of the Church universal: so is it much more properly meant of the whole universal Church itself, and of the councils general representing that whole Church, whereof every particular church is but a member.

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And therefore, whereas Tyndale saith he would fain find in what figure the syllogism is made which he saith I conclude: he must go light a candle and seek up that himself; for it is his own syllogism and not mine, for himself maketh that conclusion and not I.

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*A true syllogism* But my syllogism is this: Every Christian man refusing to hear, believe, and obey the Church... is to be taken as a heretic and a heathen; but so it is that Tyndale—being a Christian man, and taking upon him, in the understanding of Scripture, to control and condemn the Church—refuseth to hear, believe, and obey the Church; ergo, Tyndale is to be taken as a heathen man and a heretic.

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This syllogism is mine. And this syllogism, if Tyndale would fain wit in what figure it is made—he shall find it in the first figure, and the third mode... saving that the minor carrieth its proof with it, which would else, in the same figure and the same mode, have made another syllogism.

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Now knitteth he up all this gear with another syllogism of his own making. And in what figure he maketh that, let him tell that can; for surely that can I not. These are his words...

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Tyndale

Christ's disciples taught Christ's doctrine confirming it with miracles... that it might be known for God's and not theirs. And even so must the church that I will believe... show a miracle, or bring authentic scripture, that is come from the apostles, that confirmed it with miracles.

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More

Now may I be bold to make the conclusion of his argument for him. For since he goeth about in his book to teach not himself, but others that shall read his book, his conclusion can be no other

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but that *no* man *should* believe any church without miracle or authentic scripture. Whereof the cause is because *he will* not otherwise believe any. Let him put *that* in figure when he can—and set thereto the cause that moveth him thereto, to believe no church without Scripture or miracle—and yet will altogether, with sixteen syllogisms, bring him short home. 5

For when he saith that Christ's disciples taught his doctrine “confirming it with miracles,” and “so must the church” that he will believe, or else “bring authentic scripture”: I say that he must prove the thing that he so often saith, and never proveth, nor never can—that is, that the apostles proved every point by a special miracle. Which point I have reprov'd before; and yet I ask him now again, what miracle wrought the apostles for every point of their doctrine in their letter that I spoke of, mentioned in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts? Or where is it written that they wrought any one for them all? I say also that the Catholic Church *bringeth* miracles for their doctrine as the apostles did for theirs, in that that God ceaseth no year to work miracles in his Catholic Church many and wonderful, both for his holy men, quick and dead, and for the doctrine that these heretics impugn—as images, relics, and pilgrimages, and the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar. And these so many, and in so many places, that these heretics themselves cannot deny it, but are shamefully driven to say, like the Jews, that it is the devil that doth them. 10 15 20

I say, therefore, farther, that Tyndale doth but mock and trifle when he saith he will believe no church without miracle or authentic scripture. For he refuseth to believe the Church though it bring both twain. For if we bring authentic scripture, he will not let to say that it is not authentic—as he playeth by the Maccabees, and his master by Saint James' epistle. If he deny not, then will he say that the Church understandeth it wrong; so that the Church hath need to bring miracles to prove him that the Scripture is the Scripture, and that they all together understand it better than he alone, as well as that the Church is *the* church. And yet when the Catholic Church bringeth miracles wrought by God in it, and for it, and that plenteously... and no church any one but it: then saith Tyndale that they be all wrought by the devil. And thus ye may see when he hath 25 30 35

all said... he neither regardeth miracle nor Scripture neither, but mocketh both twain.

Now have ye heard all that I find Tyndale answer against such things as I laid before (in my *Dialogue*) to prove that allthing necessary is not written in Scripture. And then what proof he can make for his own part, to prove that all *is* written, ye have heard already; wherein how little pith there is, every child may perceive. 5

And then may ye surely reckon that since this is his last book—and the place in which he maketh a special title for the matter—he bringeth in all the best that he can find. And if he find anything elsewhere written (by his master, or himself, or any other of his fellows) for that purpose, which he leaveth out here... ye may be fast and sure he seeth well he should have but shame to bring it in. As the words of Christ “Scrutamini scripturas, quoniam 10

*Jn 5:39* ipsae testimonium perhibent de me” (“Look you in the scriptures, for they bear witness of me”). Which thing no man denieth; but we deny them that nothing witnesseth Christ *else* but the Scripture alone. For our Savior 15

*Jn 5:32–39* himself, which said those words, said that Saint John also bore witness of him beside the Scripture... and that his Father bore witness of him beside the Scripture... and that his own works bore witness of him beside the Scripture... and that the Holy Ghost at his coming 20

*Acts 1:8; 5:32* bore witness of him beside the Scripture; and his apostles (as himself said they should) bore witness of him beside the Scripture. And now, that 25

all that ever they all witnessed of Christ’s will to be necessarily believed or done is, since those words of Christ spoken by his apostles, written in the Scripture—this seeth Tyndale well that he must prove us by Scripture... and not bind us only to the Scripture by those words of Christ “Search you the Scripture”... which were spoken of Christ before all the new Scripture, and should serve to strain us to prove allthing by the old Scripture, and to believe nothing farther than we find written in the Old Testament. And therefore Tyndale had yet some wit when he left those words out. 30 35

And likewise he saw that it had not been to purpose to bring in those words which some of that sect bring forth full solemnly:

that is to wit, the words of Saint John in the Apocalypse, where he  
*Rv 22:18-19* saith, “If any man anything set to these  
things... God shall put upon him the  
plagues written in this book. And also, if any man anything diminish  
of the words of the books of this prophecy... God shall take from him 5  
his part of the Book of Life, and of the Holy City, and of those  
things that are written in this book.”

By which words he meaneth not that no man shall never after  
be so hardy to write any prophecy, if ever it please God any other  
thing to reveal. And much less he meaneth to put God to silence, 10  
that he shall never any other thing reveal if him list; nor saith  
not that God hath showed him that he never will. But he giveth a  
charge that men use diligence and truth in the writing out of  
his *own*. And much like charge (albeit not of like authority)  
have other writers given for their own books, as it is to see in the 15  
end of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, translated, I trow, by Saint Jerome;  
and in Saint Irenaeus’ works the same charge given in like wise,  
with much like adjuration joined thereunto.

And therefore, as solemnly as some of his brethren bring forth  
these words of Saint John—Tyndale saw yet that they would not 20  
serve, and therefore he left them out.

Now lay some folk for this purpose the words of Moses in  
the twelfth of the Deuteronomy, where he saith, “The thing that I  
command thee, that thing only shalt thou do to God... and thou  
shalt neither anything add nor diminish.” Which words be yet 25  
in this matter less to the purpose than the words before-rehearsed, of  
the Apocalypse. For whoso look in the place, and read over the chapter...  
he shall see that Moses said those words only for fear that he  
had... lest, since he had on God’s behalf commanded them some  
certain sacrifices unto God, the people prone to idolatry would 30  
add, of their own minds, either some sacrifice unto idols... or  
unto God some kind of such abominable sacrifice as the Gentiles  
offered unto their idols. And for fear *thereof* he said unto them,  
“Thou shalt do unto God that thing only that I command thee,”  
and “thou shalt neither anything add nor diminish.” But he told 35  
the cause before, and said, “When the Lord thy God shall have destroyed  
before thy face the Gentiles upon whom thou shalt enter to take

them in thy possession; and when thou shalt have them in thy possession, and shalt dwell in the land that belonged unto them: beware that thou follow not them, after that they shall be, by thy coming in, overturned; beware, I say, that thou seek not after their ceremonies and say, ‘As these people were wont to worship *their* gods, even so will I worship too.’ Thou shalt *not* do likewise to the Lord thy God. For they have done unto their gods all the abominations that *our* Lord *hateth*—offering their own sons and daughters, and burning them up in fire.” And then setteth Moses thereunto the words before-rehearsed, willing them that they shall neither leave undone any of those ceremonies and sacrifices that he had commanded nor add any new kind of their own mind... lest they might hap to fall to those kinds of sacrifice of the paynims that were abominable before the face of God. 5 10 15

Now, what serve these words of Moses to our present purpose? For first, if Moses had *not* meant as I say (and as the circumstance of the text showeth), but had utterly meant to command them that they should nothing add at all, in no manner thing, unto those things that he commanded them himself (as the words sound): then had he forbidden them to believe or obey any prophet that ever should come after him... except only the prophet of whom he prophesied and bade they should hear him. And yet might they think *that* prophet restrained by those words, in such things as should pertain to the service of God. 20 25

Also, if that Moses had not meant as I say, but precisely forbidden them to add anything at all unto his institutions—they might never have added any new festival of holy days unto those that God had by Moses appointed them already. And then how might the festival called *Festum encaeniorum* have been instituted afterward, which was long after Moses’ days instituted, and very solemnly observed... and God therewith so well content that our Savior 30

*1 Mc 4:52–59; 2 Mc 10:5–8* honored it with his own blessed presence  
*Jn 10:22–23* himself!

But now suppose that Moses had himself meant as straitly as their unreasonable construction would strain his words to: what 35

would all that serve unto their purpose in our matter? May Christian men do nothing but that that Moses bade... because the *Jews* might do nothing but that that Moses bade? Where were then become the Sacrament of Baptism, and the Sacrament of the Altar? “Yea,” say they, “but this proveth that the *church* should add nothing of *their* own mind unto God’s word”—for such a note in the Bible some have set solemnly in the margin upon those words. But I dare be bold to tell them again that they may better scrape that note out again than use it unto this purpose. For first, those words proveth no such thing at all, but if Moses had meant as straitly as they strain him; in which I have proved that they take him wrong. 5 10

Secondly, I say that if Moses *had* meant as precisely as they mistake him, yet had it touched but the Jews... and us Christian men nothing at all.

Thirdly, I say that in the things which Tyndale reproveth the sacraments of the Church... the Church hath added nothing unto the word of God. For we say that they *be* the word of God, well written in Holy Scripture, as hath been plainly proved them; and that himself well knoweth, but that he listeth to play his part and say nay still, be the proof never so clear. 15 20

Fourthly, we say that any such thing as the Church useth or believeth as necessary—though it be not written, yet add they thereby nothing unto God’s words. For we say that it *is* God’s word

<i>The authority of the word unwritten</i>	<i>unwritten</i> , and of as great authority as is his word written... as the things that partly were delivered to the Church by the apostles, and partly taught unto the Church by that Holy Spirit of God that was by Christ’s promise sent unto the Church to be with it forever, to teach it and lead it into every truth.	25
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Finally, for conclusion, to prove you the folly of that allegation—ye know well all our question is no more but whether the apostles left every necessary thing in writing, as Tyndale affirmeth. And now consider you whether this be a good proof or not... though Moses’ words were taken as strait as these men mistake them. Were not this, ween ye, well argued: “Moses forbade the Jews to add or diminish to or from anything that he commanded; ergo, the apostles have left no necessary thing unwritten”! 30 35

Besides that this argument is very foolish in itself—yet have I before, at large, opened you the lacks thereof, where I answered Tyndale concerning his high reason of the apostles' charity compelling them to leave nothing unwritten. And besides that, one plain difference is there: that Moses was commanded to write, and the apostles were not commanded at all; though God allowed, assisted, and aspired them his grace therein, as he doth many good men in many good works beside any commandment.

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And Moses also, commanded to write as he was... was not commanded, yet, to put altogether in writing that the people should be bound to do or believe, by any text that Tyndale hath showed us yet, or ever shall show, I suppose.

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Howbeit, as for this allegation—though some others have thought it gay, Tyndale yet perceived it for such as he saw well would not serve him; and therefore he left it out.

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Yet are there some, and among them Friar Barnes... that layeth for that purpose the words of our Savior written in the twenty-third of Matthew, where he saith, "Upon the chair of Moses are now set the scribes and the Pharisees. All things that ever they say unto you, observe them and do them; but the things that they do, do not you. For they bind unportable burdens and lay them upon other men's shoulders, and will not so much as with a finger of their own once stir them." By these words would Friar Barnes that there should nothing be taught but only Scripture. And over that, he would by these words that a man might break all the laws that the whole Church maketh, beside the express precepts of God contained in the Scripture, without any scruple of conscience... so that he do it secretly, where there were no weak conscience of feeble-faithed folk offended. Whereas undoubtedly those words neither prove his purpose in the first, and prove clean against his purpose in the second. For, beginning with the second... those words plainly declare that, because our Savior both then intended to show, and often before had showed, that the scribes and Pharisees were naught—yet lest the people might hap to think that he would therefore they should be set at naught and not obeyed... he gave them not warning only, but also plain *commandment*, that since they were in the authority and occupied the place of Moses (that gave the Law), and were the rulers and governors of the people,

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they should *obey* them and fulfill that they commanded them. And lest the people should take him as Friar Barnes doth, and ween because he spoke of Moses' chair, that therefore they should obey him in nothing else but as far as they should read in Moses' books... and upon *everything* that they should be bidden, should say, "Show me that written in Moses' books"—Christ therefore commanded them that they should observe and fulfill *all* their commandments. Not meaning by that generality that they should obey any commandment that by God were forbidden—nor to set God's law aside for

*Note how superiors' men's traditions, as himself said in* 10  
*commandments ought the fifteenth of Matthew—but forbidding them*  
*to be obeyed.* to refuse to fulfill the commandment of their rulers whereof there were no mention

made in Scripture, where the commandment tended to virtue, good manners, or God's honor. Now, the words of Saint Augustine which Friar Barnes bringeth in do nothing prove the point that Barnes would prove by them. For he would have it seem that Saint Augustine taketh those words of Christ as himself doth. But Saint Augustine there, by the allegory of "the chair of Moses" occupied by "the scribes and Pharisees," expoundeth those words of a preacher that is not the very, true shepherd that in his preaching seeketh nothing but the profit of the sheep and the glory of Christ... but that is a mercenary preacher and a hired, which seeketh his own temporal advantage and commodity. Of whom Saint Augustine giveth warning that yet even such preachers, naught as they be... yet, for the while that they be suffered to preach, in all that they say well and according to the law of God, we should hear them and allow them therein, and learn to live thereafter. But on the other side, if they would, when they have begun with good things for a countenance to get them in credence... then leave off such things and preach of that they seek for—that is to wit, fantasies of their own invention, and for themselves and their own commodity—therein be they not to be heard or believed. And this is the mind of Saint Augustine, as every man that will consider his words in the place where they be written (the forty-sixth treatise upon Saint John) shall very plainly perceive. And thereby shall he that there readeth them as plainly perceive that those words of Saint Augustine brought forth by Barnes do nothing prove Barnes' purpose; that is to

wit, that those words of Christ do discharge every man's conscience of obedience unto any precepts, laws, or traditions of men, other than be written in Scripture.

For the thing that Saint Augustine there saith—divers holy men, treating the same words in the like allegory of doctrine and preaching, do say and confirm in like wise; and never wise man would say otherwise. But the thing that Barnes saith—never was there yet either good man or wise man that would agree. For those words of Christ, saving by way of the allegory, seem not so properly to pertain to *teaching* of the scribes and Pharisees, as to their *commandments*, and biddings; as well appeareth by the words following, where he biddeth that they should “observe” and “do” all the things that they say to them. And that he should mean not only the precepts written in the Law, but also their other commandments besides (such as were not superstitious or unlawful to be kept), is clearly declared by the words of Christ following, where he saith in this wise: “For they bind importable burdens and lay them on other folk's shoulders, but themselves will not put a finger of their own thereto.” As though he would say, “Since they sit upon Moses' chair, and occupy his place, and be your governors, do ye all that they *command* you, although the burdens that they bind and lay on your shoulder be so great and heavy that they seem, in a manner, importable; but do not as they *do*. For they will themselves leave them all undone, and not set once a finger to the doing of them. But I warn you, do not *you* so.”

I know right well that those words may be well expounded on the other fashion foreremembered, understanding, in the allegory, by the “chair of Moses” the doctrine and law of Moses. And then may those grievous, importable burdens be called the burdens of the Old Law... with which Saint Peter and the apostles were not content that some others would lade the Christian people coming unto

*Acts 15:10*

Christ; saying that neither themselves nor their fathers could bear them. Thus I know well men may expound those words, and good men, holy men, and cunning men so have done; and others, in like wise, after the manner that I now do; and both twain have therein done very well. For one text may be diversely, in diverse senses, expounded... though

Luther and Tyndale will have now but one, till another may better  
 make for their own purpose; for then they will not let to make  
 fifteen. But, though those words may be so expounded—yet, as I said,  
 it appeareth well that the very, proper sense is of their own *traditions*  
*beside* Moses' law... in that Christ said that the scribes and 5  
 Pharisees did *bind* grievous burdens and importable, and *lay*  
 them on other men's shoulders. For every man well wotteth that  
 neither the scribes nor the Pharisees did bind and lay on men's  
 shoulders the burdens of the Law, but our Lord himself. And  
 which, at that time while he would yet have them kept, he would 10  
 not have dispraised with calling them grievous and importable...  
 though the apostles did afterward, when time came to cast them off.  
 And therefore, as I have said, those words of Christ's were  
 properly meant of the traditions and commandments of the scribes  
 and Pharisees themselves, beside the Law; which things our Savior 15  
 there commanded to be kept and observed (wheresoever they were  
 not superstitious, nor contraried not the laws and commandments  
 of God, but were tending to his honor, or to virtue,  
 or to the common weal), for the place and office that the scribes  
 and Pharisees kept, though themselves were naught. And their good 20  
 traditions did never Christ dispraise—though he sometimes dispensed  
 with his disciples concerning them and the Law too.  
 Now, there is no man, I think, so mad—when he doubteth not but  
 the servants in a man's household are so bound to fulfill and 25  
 obey their master's lawful commandments that if they would  
 refuse at his bidding to kneel down and say certain prayers with  
 him to bedward (all the whole house together) till he should show  
 them “some such commandment in Scripture,” they were well  
 worthy to go to the devil for their proud disobedience in the  
 defense of their false “evangelical” freedom—he that doubteth not, I 30  
 say, of this (of which I think no good man doubteth) cannot be so  
 mad to think that neither bishop nor pope, nor whole  
 general council, nor all Christian people together, though they  
 were all assembled upon a plain, were able so to command so  
 much as a general procession upon any certain day... but that 35  
 any lewd, lither losel that list not to rise may lie still in his

bed, and say he is not bound to obey “men’s traditions,” nor nothing but Scripture, except for avoiding of slander... and then there shall be so many at the procession that he shall not be missed, and if he be, some man may say he is sick.

Upon these words, concerning their traditions, would I not have been so long, saving that both Friar Barnes royally triumphed with them against the laws of the Church, and also that Tyndale, in his answer to the eighteenth chapter of my *Dialogue*, bringeth in the same for the like intent. Which intent how properly they prove between them both, now ye may partly see... and yet farther shall, by God’s grace, when I shall hereafter, God willing, come to touch the place in Tyndale’s answer to me. 5 10

But now that I have proved that those words of Christ make not only nothing for their purpose against the laws of Christ’s church... but also make plainly *for* the laws, *against* their purpose: I shall not need long to tarry you for the other point—that is to wit, to prove you that those words of Christ nothing make against our principal purpose. For they nothing prove that every necessary thing is written... though we construe Christ’s words not of the traditions (of which they be properly spoken indeed), but of the law of Moses... and set thereunto the words of Saint Augustine also, with which Barnes would seem so well to furnish his matter. For first, as for Christ’s words, if they had been plainly and expressly these—“Whatsoever the scribes and Pharisees bid you do that is written in the law of Moses, I warn you, see that you do it”—yet while he said not farther, “And I warn you, believe them not in anything else,” these words were no proof that altogether was written wherein the people should believe them, no more than that allthing wherein they should believe them was written in Moses’ books. Which if it were taken so... then were all that they might teach the people written in Isaiah, Jeremiah, or Ezekiel, by Christ’s word wiped out of credence. 15 20 25 30

Therefore, by those words—expounding them of the doctrine of Moses, and not of the traditions of the scribes and Pharisees—yet is there nothing proved that they were not to be believed in anything that they should teach beside Moses, nor beside *all* the Scripture, neither. Nor those words of Christ be not contrary but 35

that there might be yet at those days truths kept among the people by Tradition from the beginning, which the scribes and Pharisees both might preach and remember to the people as they might the Scripture, and be therein believed. And therefore our Savior said not, “Believe them in nothing but the books of Moses or other books of Scripture,” but he said, “Do not as they do”... not forbidding them to *believe* them in many other things, but forbidding them to follow them in their vices. 5

Now, if Christ had said farther to the Jews, “All things necessary be written, and therefore believe the scribes and Pharisees no farther than ye find written in Moses and in the prophets”—had this proved that allthing that Christian men must believe is written in the apostles and the evangelists? Now, the words of Saint Augustine which Friar Barnes addeth thereunto... do for this purpose nothing advance the matter. For when Saint Augustine applieth those words of Christ to a preacher that is not a very, true shepherd, seeking only the weal of the flock and the pleasure of Christ... but mercenary and a hired man, that preacheth for lucre or other worldly affections of his own; and then saith that in the “chair of Moses” is understood the learning of the law of God, and saith that therefore God doth teach us by them, that is to wit, by those mercenary preachers, too; and therefore when they teach the law of God, hear them and do thereafter; but and if they will teach their own doctrine, hear it not, do it not... for such men seek “that is theirs and not Christ’s,” that is to wit, their own commodity and not the pleasure of God: “lo,” saith Barnes, “these words of Saint Augustine be plain against all them that preach anything but the law of God only.” And forthwith, well and wisely, instead of preaching he putteth example of statutes-making—as though it were both one thing, one man to preach, and all the Church to make a statute. 10 15 20 25 30

And because ye should see yet his plainness and sincerity therein... he feigneth that the Church maketh some “openly and directly against the word of God, and to the destruction of the faith”—as is “that statute,” saith he, “whereby they have condemned the New Testament, and also forbidden certain men to preach the word of God... having no cause against them, but all only their own malicious suspicion.” 35

Now, of truth, there is no such statute made, nor no such thing done, neither concerning the one point nor the other. For as for the “New Testament”—if he mean the testament of Christ, it is not condemned, nor forbidden, neither, no more than was the holy Ark, though every man might not be so bold to touch it. But of truth, there is a false English *translation* of the New Testament, newly forged by Tyndale, so altered and changed in matters of great weight, maliciously to set forth against Christ’s true doctrine Tyndale’s anti-Christian heresies... that it was not worthy to be called Christ’s testament, but either Tyndale’s own testament or the testament of his master, Antichrist. And therefore *that book is* condemned, as it is well worthy; and the condemnation thereof is neither openly nor privily, directly nor indirectly, against the word of God, nor tendeth not to the destruction of the faith, but very consonant with *1 Cor 5:13* the word of God “Auferte malum ex vobismet ipsis”... and greatly tending to the maintenance of the faith.

And concerning that “testament,” I have, both in my *Dialogue* and in the Second Book of this work, well proved this point; whereunto when Tyndale weeneth to find any farther defense, let him lay it forth!

There is also no statute made by the Church to forbid any man to preach the word of God having no cause against him but their own malicious suspicion. Nor God, I doubt not, will never suffer his Church to fall so mad as to make such a law. If Friar Barnes find any law made of such matter, let him rehearse it... and I warrant you he shall find no such words in it. There is indeed a law made, both by the Church and, in this realm, by the Parliament too, that no man shall be suffered to preach in any diocese against the bishop’s will. And I ween that law be not against God’s law, nor against reason neither... except either God’s law or good reason should suffer that one man should meddle with another man’s charge, maugre his teeth to whom the charge belongeth... or else should be suffered to sow shrewd seed of heresies, schisms, and seditions among the people first, and then be burned up after, at leisure. Such folk, I suppose, were better prohibited betimes, ere they be suffered long to go forward, to the peril of other men’s souls and their own

too. Such have we had some prohibited here of late... of which one was yet so sore set upon evil preaching that after the prohibition and abjuration too, yet would he preach heresies still... until at the last, God caused him to be taken, and Tyndale's books with him too, and both two burned together—with more profit unto his soul than had been, haply, to have lived longer and after died in his bed. For in what mind he should then have died, our Lord knoweth; whereas now we know well he died a good Christian man. And when he wist well his revocation could not save his body, yet revoked he his heresies

*But so did not Cranmer!* and abhorred Tyndale's books for to save his soul.

Now *here* serve well the words of Saint Augustine *against* Barnes, which words Barnes bringeth for him. For when we hear such a mercenary preacher as these heretics be—for the time that we hear them, if they say aught well, and according to the Catholic faith, as they cannot for shame say all naught at once: then take it. But when we hear them preach their own heresies for the reward of worldly praise, or delight of their own singular pride, and so seek their own and not Christ's: then hear them not, but put them to silence and prohibit them to preach anymore.

This allegory will agree with the said words of Saint Augustine, and of Christ's words, too. And yet so much the better in that these heretics may properly be called, not only "mercenaries," of whom Saint Augustine speaketh... but also very scribes and Pharisees, of worse kind than were those of whom Christ in that Gospel speaketh. For *these* be *false* scribes; that is to wit, writers not writing any true books of Scripture, but false glosses and contrary comments upon Scripture, and erroneous books of devilish heresies devised of their own frantic brains... to the color whereof they *abuse* the Scripture, and when they list they also *deny* the Scripture. These be also the worst kind of Pharisees. For these have divided themselves not from the other people by any profession of a more honest and more virtuous living... but have divided themselves from the Catholic Church of Christ by abominable heresies, and from all honest people by the contempt of all good works, and by the beastly profession of friars and nuns living together in lechery and preaching their whoredom for honest matrimony.

These be the things which we should not vouchsafe to hear  
 these scribes and these false Pharisees preach. For these be the  
 devil's devices and their own. For as for all that is preached consonant  
 to the Catholic faith, is very God's law, whether it be  
 written or not. Nor Saint Augustine saith not, "Hear them in preaching 5  
*What God's law doth*                      *only the Scripture,*" but "*. . . God's law,*" he  
*comprehend*                                saith, wherein is comprehended all that  
    ever we be bound to do or believe.

Whereof Saint Augustine doth himself confess that divers things  
 are unwritten—as, for example, the perpetual virginity of our Blessed 10  
 Lady, which whoso believeth not because it is not written, Saint  
 Augustine calleth a false heretic, in his book written unto Quodvultdeus.  
 And so doth Saint Jerome too, in his book against Helvidius.  
 And all such things be therefore parts of the plants which the  
 Father of heaven planteth by himself, his apostles, his Holy Spirit, 15  
 and his own Son abiding in his Church—whether they be  
 written or not.

And thus ye see, good readers, that neither those words of Christ  
 nor of Saint Augustine, neither, do prove that the apostles have left  
 all necessary things in writing. And therefore, though Barnes was 20  
 so fond to bring in that text for this purpose—yet Tyndale perceived  
 well that it would not serve, and therefore left it out.

Yet layeth Friar Barnes another text for this purpose: the words  
 of Saint Paul written unto Timothy, the third chapter of the second  
 epistle, where Saint Paul writeth unto him in this wise: "Abide 25  
 thou in those things that thou hast learned, and that are betaken to thee...  
 knowing of whom thou hast learned them, and that from thine  
 infancy thou hast known Holy Scripture, which may instruct  
 thee to health by the faith that is in Christ Jesus. All scripture inspired of  
 God is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to teach men in 30  
 justice, that the man of God may be perfectly instructed to every  
 good work."

I have rehearsed you Saint Paul's words more fully than doth Friar  
 Barnes... because ye may have some guess why he left the remnant  
 out. For he rehearseth no more but that the Church must neither 35  
 make law nor statute, nor nothing do but only "preach and minister



the word of God”—and that “nothing adding” nor diminishing, but “as Paul saith” to Timothy, “abide in those things that they have learned and that be committed unto them.”

Now see ye well that Saint Paul speaketh nothing to Timothy against adding of any good order or statute in his church... but biddeth him abide fast by those things that he hath learned of him, and that he hath learned in Scripture—joining to the Scripture always the right faith of Christ, which he had learned of Saint Paul. And therefore against making of any law, this text serveth Friar Barnes a straw. 5 10

Moreover, it is to be considered that Saint Paul saith not to Timothy, “Abide in those things that I have written,” but “Abide in those things that thou hast learned either in Scripture or else otherwise of me without Scripture”—as he wrote unto the Thessalonians,

2 Thes 2:15 “Observe ye my precepts which I have given you either by word or writing.” 15  
2 Tm 1:13; 3:14

And as he writeth unto Timothy before, in the same epistle: “Have thou the form and fashion of the wholesome words which thou hast heard of me, in faith and love in Christ Jesus.” He saith not “. . . the words that I have written unto thee, and that thou hast read of mine,” but “. . . the words that thou hast heard of me.” 20

But yet is there for this purpose, in that text of Saint Paul that Barnes bringeth forth, another thing to be considered: that where Saint Paul telleth Timothy that, albeit he have been learned in Scripture from his childhood, yet he must *join* therewith the articles of the faith of Christ. And that it may well appear that he giveth Timothy this warning to arm him with against heretics which would labor by some color of apparent scriptures to destroy the faith that Timothy had learned, as these heretics do now—it is, I say, therefore to be noted that Saint Paul gave Timothy that warning that he should stand fast in those things that *he* had taught him... remembering “of whom” he had learned them; of a true apostle, and not of such as they were that would tell him contrary: false heretics. And so must we against these heretics that would draw us from the true faith that we have learned... stand fast and remember of whom we have learned it—of Christ and his apostles, and, continually from them, of his perpetual apostle the 25 30 35

Catholic Church of Christ, animated and instructed, according to his promise, with his own Spirit this fifteen hundred years—and not by such as these be that now babble against it: false heretics... whose snakish and serpentine generations have evermore hitherto, when they have crept out as adders and snakes in summer, had their heads trodden down by God and all good men. 5

2 Tm 3:10–17

Saint Paul told Timothy too... that the Scripture was good and profitable to teach the faithful folk, and to reprove heretics, *if* he joined therewith always the faith of Christ; without which it would do him no service, for all that he had been learned therein from his childhood. And in that warning given to Timothy, Saint Paul hath taught us also that if we have sure in heart the articles of Christ's faith, which be surely kept by Christ in his Catholic Church—then shall we be able well to understand the Scripture, so much as shall suffice and be necessary. And but if we have that belief... we shall have no right understanding. But that right belief, and thereby that understanding, had: the Scripture, though all things be not written therein, will yet be profitable and stand us in good stead, not only for our instruction toward the perfection of virtuous living, but also in disputation against heretics... both in the proof of many articles of the right belief, and to prove them clearly that the common consent of Christ's Catholic Church cannot in Christ's very, true faith err and be damnably deceived, whether the things believed be written in Scripture or not... and also that his *catholic* church *is* this common-known church of all Christian nations save such as be by false heresies separated therefrom. And on the other side, without the catholic faith of Christ's church fastened in our hearts... the Scripture, as it could not have served Timothy without the true faith had in his heart, so can it not serve us, neither to the confusion of heretics nor to the spiritual profit of ourselves. 10 15 20 25 30

And thus ye see that Friar Barnes hath very poor help of this text of Saint Paul; which thing Tyndale well perceived, and therefore he left it out. And Barnes himself, perceiving that the most part would make so much against him... took in a little and left the remnant out. 35

Yet bringeth in Barnes another text of Saint Paul: where he writeth unto the Romans, in the fifteenth chapter, “I dare not speak any other thing than those that God hath wrought by me.” Which words, first, be so hard, as they stand in the place, that the old interpreters stood in great doubt what Saint Paul meant by them; so far forth that by exposition of Saint Ambrose, Saint Paul meant that there was nothing that pertained to the glory of preaching the word of God but that God had fulfilled it in him—as though he would say that all that was to be taught, God had taught the Gentiles by him. Origen expoundeth them in another manner: that Saint Paul in those words meant that he would not take unto himself the praise of other men’s deeds, but would only speak of such things as God had wrought by himself. Theophylact alloweth Origen’s exposition, and yet addeth a third thereto, saying, in the person of Saint Paul, “I boast you not the things that I have not done... but only show you the thing I have done myself. Howbeit, that that I have done... it is not I that have done it, but Christ hath done it by me.”

I show you this, good readers, because ye should somewhat perceive the manner of these men... which use in many things to prove their matters by those texts that are of most difficulty, and such as are least understood. And therefore in the matter of the liberty of man’s will and predestination, and the matter of faith and good works, they pass over the plain texts of the other evangelists with some sleight gloss of their own device... and then for the proof of their own part they run to the hard places of the Gospel of Saint John, or to the Apocalypse, or to the epistles of Saint Paul... in such places as are almost as hard as the Apocalypse. All which when they expound as it please them... then they call them plain, and say that every man and woman may understand them easily; notwithstanding that Saint Peter, being long at school with Christ, and the chief of his apostles, protesteth openly to all the world, by

*2 Pt 3:15–16* writing, that Saint Paul’s epistles have things hard and difficult. And he saith farther, of such as Barnes is, and Tyndale, and such other heretics their fellows: “Those hard things,” saith Saint Peter, “that are written

by Saint Paul, men unlearned and unstable do deprave and misconstrue,  
as they do all the remnant of the Scripture, unto their own

*Rom 3:8*

perdition.” And Saint Paul saith himself,  
also, that in the matter of good works

those false heretics misconstrue him; and saith therefore that  
their damnation is just and righteous.

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And thus, as I say, these heretics lay forth for their part hard  
texts and doubtful, as Barnes doth here... which text, in the place  
where it standeth, the best-learned men are in doubt how to construe  
it. Howbeit, let Barnes construe it which way he list, that may have  
any hold of the words... and it shall never serve for his purpose,  
neither concerning any forbidding of laws to be made by the  
Church nor to prove that everything necessary to salvation is  
written in Scripture... but rather, plain the contrary. For every man  
well wotteth that every necessary thing is not written by Saint  
Paul, nor he hath not written everything that he taught, nor  
everything is not now had that he did write. And therefore this  
text of Saint Paul brought in by Barnes nothing helpeth his purpose,  
but rather, greatly hindereth it; which thing Tyndale well  
perceived, and therefore he left it out.

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Tyndale saw well also that anything that his master Martin  
Luther laid and lashed out against the King’s Highness concerning  
this purpose, or speaking against the “traditions of men,”  
serve to no purpose in this matter against the sacraments, or any  
point of the Catholic faith which we say be the traditions of  
God. Whereof—as Tyndale well knoweth—nothing that Luther laid  
anything prove the contrary, nor anything touch the purpose  
to prove that all the necessary points of the Christian faith were by  
Christ’s apostles put in writing. And therefore Tyndale, seeing  
his master Martin Luther in that point by Rosseus so shamefully  
soused in the mire before, thought he would beware of that puddle  
and come no more near it... and therefore left out all that his master  
had brought in for the matter.

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Then was there yet one text remained, whereof many of them were  
wont to bear them high. And that was the saying of Saint Paul...  
which text Tyndale hath also brought forth ere this, to prove that  
we must believe nothing but only Scripture. And that is where he

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writeth to the Galatians, in the first chapter, that if an angel of heaven would come down and preach any other gospel than himself had done, accursed were he. This text hath now Friar Barnes brought in afresh, for the same purpose, in his new frantic book, and magnifieth much himself therewith, when Tyndale hath left it off for shame. For Tyndale at last, after long looking on it... espied well that it would nothing serve for his matter. For he saw well that Saint Paul meant none other but that an angel were not to be believed if he taught a contrary gospel... and meant not that none angel were to be believed if God sent him both to confirm that and also show somewhat that God would have done farther. 5 10

Tyndale saw also that that text saith not that Saint Paul hath written all his own gospel, nor that all his fellows had written it among them all... which he wist well was the point that must be proved. And therefore, as Friar Barnes foolishly bringeth it in... so doth Tyndale wisely leave it out. And surely, as I have said, his wit served him well in leaving out all these. But his wit failed him in one thing: that he had not left out also all that ever he hath himself brought in. All which, as yourselves see well, I have now proved him as little to prove his purpose as himself seeth well that all the others did which for that cause he was ashamed to speak of. 15 20

Now have ye heard, as far as I can find, all that ever Tyndale either hath said or can say in this matter—either himself or any man else—for the proof of his own part, or for the disproof of ours. And thereby see ye well that he neither hath proved nor never shall he prove while he liveth, neither himself nor no man else, the thing that he so boldly saith: that allthing necessary for salvation is written in Scripture; nor able is he not, nor no man else, nor never shall hereafter be able, to avoid it... but that God taught, and is not yet so bound but that he may teach, what he will and when he will, with Scripture or without... and may command it to be believed not being contrary to that he hath taught already, and may command some things to be done though they were contrary to some things that he had himself, by Scripture, commanded before. 25 30 35

And I think it not to be doubted but, notwithstanding that  
 Moses received the laws and ceremonies in writing, yet received  
 he not (as Tyndale saith he did) allthing so fully in writing but  
 that there remained in the people's minds, beside the writing,  
 divers things necessary and of great weight that they had 5  
 received before, and kept peradventure from Adam's own days,  
 concerning the coming of Christ, and the redemption by him,  
 and the state of souls both in heaven, hell, purgatory, paradise, and  
*limbus patrum*.

And it will, whoso list to look therefor, well be perceived in them 10  
 that wrote after Moses' days... that the Jews had much open light  
 and knowledge in some such things besides all that that appeareth  
 written... in the five books of Moses; whereby it will well appear that  
 Tyndale saith not true where he saith that Moses did put all in  
 writing. 15

Ye shall well find also that, notwithstanding all that ever hath  
 been written since, either by the prophets, evangelists, or any  
 other apostle, yet will it never appear that *all* is written that was  
 taught by mouth; but that the church of Christ hath had taught unto  
 them by the Spirit of God divers truths which no good man 20  
 can doubt in, whereof the Scripture nothing determineth... and  
 which things, therefore, false heretics bring in question, and  
 let not to say the contrary, as in the common-known examples of  
 our Lady's perpetual virginity, of the assumption of her blessed  
 body—which God would else have had found in earth, and honored 25  
 as well as the bodies of any other saints... of whom himself hath  
 caused by special revelation divers to be sought out and found,  
 to be worshipped here in earth for his sake, and confirmed it by many  
 manifest miracles, as we find in authentic stories.

*Saints pray for us.* By these traditions have we also the 30  
*2 Mc 15:11–16* praying to saints, and the knowledge that  
 they pray for us... albeit in the Book of

Maccabees, yet, that thing well appeareth.

By these traditions have we the holy Lenten fast... which these 35  
 brothels so boldly take upon them to break, and as Lollards to  
 eat flesh; and which holy fast these fools in their writing call  
 the "foolish fast."

By these have we also the Saturday changed into the Sunday,  
which they care not to turn into Friday now.

By these have we the hallowing of chalices, vestments, paschal  
taper, and holy water, with divers other things.

By these traditions of that Holy Spirit... hath the Church also the  
knowledge how to consecrate, how to say Mass, and what thing  
to pray for and to desire therein. 5

By this have we also the knowledge to do reverence to the images  
of holy saints, and of our Savior... and to creep to his cross... and  
to do divine honor unto the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar—to 10

*The Sacrament ought to be* which yet, to say the truth, never Tradition  
*honored with divine honor.* needed. For since the Scripture is  
plain that it is Christ's own precious

Body, which is not dead but quick, with that blessed Soul and  
with them the Godhead inseparably joined—what frantic fool  
could doubt but it should be with divine honor worshipped, 15  
though neither God nor man beside that knowledge had given  
us warning thereof?

But yet is Tyndale so far beside himself... that he believeth not  
the Scripture of God, nor the word spoken by God's own mouth, 20  
when he said that it is his own body... and is so blasphemous  
against God that he calleth it great sin to do to that Blessed Body  
of Christ in the Sacrament any honor at all, because it is not  
commanded, he saith, in Scripture.

But thus may ye, good Christian readers, see to what point at last  
this heresy bringeth these folk. For when they first fall to that  
point that they regard not God's word but if he give it them in  
writing, within a while after fall they down so far that they  
neither regard his word nor his writing, nor yet himself 25  
neither. 30

But now is it a world to see what shift these folk be fain to  
seek. Sometimes they come forth shameless, and boldly tell on their  
tale. And yet when they perceive, in the midst thereof, that all that  
hear them wonder on them—then they cast on their hoods and  
cover their faces for shame. 35

For sometimes they say they care but for Scripture alone, and  
set naught by all those that ever wrote since the apostles' days.

Then see they again that to abide by that word were too shameless...  
 and then they restrain it unto this eight hundred years last past,  
 in which they say all is corrupted. And then they grant that  
 before, there were good men that taught the truth... and then they  
 say that we will not believe them, as though themselves would. 5

And when we ask them then... which of those old men before  
 eight hundred years last past, ever said that religious men might run  
 out and wed nuns: to that they say nothing, but fare as though  
 they heard it not.

But when that my Lord of Rochester in the selfsame matter that 10  
 we have now in hand—to prove that divers things which the  
 Church useth and believeth, and which were never made by any law  
 written, and yet observed through the Catholic Church... were of  
 such antiquity that every man might well perceive that they  
 came from the very apostles themselves—he laid forth the great 15  
 cleric and old, ancient father Origen; wherewith, as I have showed  
 you before, Tyndale was very angry, and allto berated Origen and called  
 him stark heretic.

But yet shall not Tyndale so fear me therewith... but that—to  
 the intent that he shall not blind you and make you ween that all the 20  
 old fathers were in this matter of his mind... but that ye shall well  
 see that the things which he reproveth and would have you ween  
 were naught worth, because, he saith, they be not in Scripture, be  
*not* things devised, as Tyndale saith, by popes and popish within  
 this eight hundred years—I shall, as I promised before (in the Second Book), 25  
 rehearse you both the words of Origen... and, besides some undoubted  
 holy men since, I shall rehearse you divers others above eight hundred years,  
 and above nine hundred years, and above a thousand, too, of whom my Lord  
 of Rochester hath gathered divers together, and rehearsed in the  
 same matter in his book against Luther; all which, save Origen 30  
 only, Tyndale dissembleth, because he may not call them heretics,  
 as he called Origen... for whom I have in that point answered  
 Tyndale (in my said Second Book) before.

Origen, in the fifth homily upon the Book of Numbers, writeth in  
 this wise: “In the observances of the Church, some things there 35  
 are which must of necessity be observed and kept... and yet the  
 cause why appeareth not to every man. As, for example, that  
 we kneel when we pray; and that of all parts of the heaven, we most



specially turn us toward the east. I suppose that no man lightly  
 knoweth the cause why. Moreover, of the Sacrament of the Altar, either  
 the manner in the receiving, or the guise and fashion of the Consecration;  
 or of the formal words and ceremonies used in Baptism,  
 and of the questions and answers used in the same: who may well 5  
 open and declare the reason? And yet all these things though they  
 be covered and hidden... we bear upon our shoulders what time we in  
 such wise accomplish and fulfill them... as we have received them of  
 the great bishop Christ and his children, delivered and commended  
 unto us.” 10

Damascene, in the Fourth Book, in the thirteenth chapter, of *The Praying*  
*toward the Orient*, writeth thus: “This tradition of the apostles is  
 not written; for many things are delivered unto us without  
 writing.” And farther, in the seventeenth chapter, where it is written of the  
 worshipping of the images of saints, he saith that many things 15  
 the holy apostles have delivered unto us without writing. Saint

2 *Thes* 2:15; 1 *Cor* 11:2 Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, writeth in  
 this wise: “Stand fast and observe our  
 traditions which ye be taught, be it by our word *or* by writing.”  
 And unto the Corinthians thus: “I commend ye, my brethren... because 20  
 in everything ye have remembered me, and kept the *traditions*  
 as *I delivered* ye them.”

Dionysius, the first chapter of *Ecclesiasticae hierarchiae*, of the leaders  
 and masters of the Christian faith, saith that they delivered us many  
 things to be kept, partly by writing and partly by their 25  
 institutions unwritten.

Saint Cyprian, in his sermon of the Washing of the Feet: “The  
 High Priest himself is the ordainer and author of his own sacrament.  
 In all the residue, men were taught by the Holy Ghost. And  
 likewise as in Christ and in the Holy Ghost is like and equal Godhood: 30  
 so is there in their institutions and ordinances like power and

Note equal authority. And no less is it ratified  
 of God, the thing that the apostles by the  
 inspiration of the Holy Ghost did institute, than the thing that  
 himself hath ordained... and hath in remembrance of himself 35  
 willed and commanded to be done. Each of them hath their own

proper dignity... and each of them hath, in their own kind, equal authority. Nothing may there either be added or withdrawn, nothing neither reformed nor changed.”

Saint Hilary, in the Sixth Book of *The Trinity*, when he had made mention of the apostles, writeth in this wise: “Of these apostles am I taught these things that I observe. In them am I so seasoned that the taste can never be gotten out.” 5

Theophylact, upon these words of Saint Paul, “My brethren, stand fast and keep the traditions that ye have learned, be it by my word or by my letters”: “Of this truly it is evident that Saint Paul delivered unto them many things to be kept without writing, and by word of mouth only; that is to say, with lively voice, not by letters all only. For as well be those things to be 10

*Note* believed as these. And therefore let us esteem the observances of the Church worthy to be believed... so that if anything be delivered to us by the Church, never ask farther question.” 15

Saint Jerome, interpreting the eleventh chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, saith in this wise: “Saint Paul prevented them, to the intent none of them should say, ‘Where is this written?’ nor should with any other arguments strive against this reason. And therefore he said, ‘We have no such custom, to strive and contend; neither we nor yet the church of God, which is rather given to mildness than to contention and strife.’” 20

Theophylact expoundeth the same place likewise and saith: “Forasmuch as the Corinthians would, perchance, color this matter by certain subtleties, and went about it by syllogisms and sophistications... alleging that these things were neither good nor bad, but of their nature indifferent: therefore Saint Paul said, ‘We have no such custom—either to be contentious, or a man to let his hair grow in length, or a woman to go bareheaded’; ‘neither have we,’ said Saint Paul, ‘this custom... nor the *church of God*’—that is, nor the other Christian people neither. “‘And therefore by such froward arguments... ye seem to resist and withstand not only me, but also the Church itself.’” 25 30 35

These words, therefore, of Saint Paul... may make the hearers ashamed to do anything contrary to the custom received by the Church.

Saint Leo (also a holy man and a cunning), in a sermon that

he maketh in the fast at Whitsuntide, saith in this wise:

“There is no doubt, my well-beloved brethren, but that every Christian observance is of Christ’s teaching... and whatsoever is received of the Church into a custom of devotion cometh of the apostles’ tradition and of the doctrine of the Holy Ghost. Which Holy Spirit even now also doth rule all faithful hearts with his own instruction, to make them keep them obediently and understand them wisely.”

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Saint Augustine, in the book *Of the Baptism of Young Children, Against the Pelagians*, writeth in this wise: “Children which be baptized be taken in the number of faithful people... and that only by an old, canonical, and sure-grounded custom of the Church.” And in another place again, “Now,” saith he, “we have showed you before that the little child believeth, and that he is accounted amongst men that be baptized. This holdeth the authority of our mother Holy Church; and *this* holdeth the rule of the sure-grounded faith. Whoso runneth against this fortress—this inexpugnable wall—shall allto frush himself.”

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Cassian, in the eleventh Collation (the twelfth chapter): “The authority of the old fathers, and the custom of our elders continued by the space of so many years unto this day... although the cause of them be not perceived by us, must we firmly believe. And that custom must we with perpetual observance reverently fulfill, in such wise as it was delivered of old.”

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Saint Augustine in the 118<sup>th</sup> epistle, to Januarius, saith thus: “Those things which are not written and yet we by tradition observe them—such, I mean, as are through Christendom kept—we may well understand that they be kept as things ordained and commanded unto us either by the apostles themselves or else by general councils... the authority whereof is in the Church most necessary. As, for example, that the Passion of Christ, and his resurrection, and his ascension into heaven, and the coming of the Holy Ghost from heaven, are yearly celebrated with a solemn feast; and whatsoever thing we find that is observed among all people where the church of Christ is spread.”

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Many things be not found in the writings of the apostles, nor in the councils of those that came after them... which yet, because they be kept of all the whole Church, we believe them to have had

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no other beginning but by the tradition and commendation  
of the apostles unto us by themselves.

Saint Augustine in the Fourth Book of *Baptism, against the Donatists*:

“The thing that the whole Church holdeth, and is not instituted  
and ordained by councils, and that notwithstanding, hath been 5  
ever observed—we very well believe that it never began but by  
the authority of the apostles’ tradition.”

Saint Augustine in the Fifth Book of *Baptism, against the*

*Donatists*, saith: “Many things are there which the universal  
Church holdeth... and therefore be well believed that the apostles 10  
have commanded them, though they be not found in writing.”

Saint Augustine in the eleventh chapter of the Ninth Book of his *Confessions*,

writing of the departing of that holy, blessed woman his  
mother, Monica, sheweth that albeit beforetime she had been very  
studious of the place where she would be buried—longed specially to 15  
be laid by her husband—yet at the time that she lay dying,  
being then far from the place where her husband lay... showed  
unto Saint Augustine, then present with her, that she cared not in  
what church they buried her body... but she prayed him very  
effectually to remember her in his Mass. Which thing I write that 20

*To pray for souls in the Mass* ye may see that the Mass, and praying  
*is no new thing.* for souls therein, is not so new a thing as  
Tyndale would have it seem.

And in the next chapter after, Saint Augustine saith these  
words (spoken unto God): “Her body was carried forth, we followed, and 25  
came again without tears. And over that, in those prayers which we  
made unto thee when the Sacrifice of our Redemption was offered for  
her—the corpse being set by the grave, as the manner is there—I wept not  
in those prayers, neither; but all that day was I in a grievous secret  
sorrow.” 30

And afterward, in the last chapter of the same book, Saint  
Augustine prayeth for his mother unto our Lord, among many other  
words in this wise: “I, good Lord that art my praise and my life, the  
God of my heart, setting aside for the while my mother’s virtues  
and goodness (for which I joyfully give thee thanks), will now 35  
beseech thee for her sins. Hear me graciously, good Lord... for that  
Medicine of our wounds which hung upon the cross, and now,

sitting at thy right hand, doth call upon thee for us. I know, good  
 Lord, that she did works of mercy, and that she heartily did forgive  
 the debts unto her debtors. Forgive thou, good Lord, her debts to  
 her, such also as she hath fallen in by so many years after the  
 Water of Health. Forgive her, good Lord, forgive her, I beseech thee, 5  
 and enter not with her into judgment." And afterward he saith,  
 "And I believe, good Lord, that thou hast done already the thing that  
 I pray for. For she, when the day approached of her departing, nothing  
 bethought her how she might have her body costly covered  
 or dressed with spices, nor longed for a sumptuous sepulchre, nor 10  
 cared not to be buried in her own country. These were not the  
 things that she anything required us... but only desired us to  
 have her in remembrance at thine altar, to which she had been  
 accustomed, no day missing, to do service... from which she well  
 knew that Holy Sacrifice to be dispensed by which the obligation 15  
 that made against us was canceled, and by which was  
 led as a captive in triumph that enemy of ours that keepeth a reckoning  
 of our sins... and, seeking what he might object, could in  
 him nothing find in whom we have had the victory. Who can  
 shed him again an innocent blood for his? Who can restore him 20  
 again the ransom that he redeemed us with? To the sacrament of  
 which ransom of ours, thine handmaid hath bound her soul  
 with the bond of faith. Let no man pull her from thy protection.  
 Let neither the lion nor the dragon, neither by force nor by false  
 sleight, step in between her and thee. She shall not answer that she 25  
 oweth thee naught, lest she be therein convinced and cast, and that  
 thereby her subtle accuser get her. But she shall answer that her debts  
 be *forgiven* her, whom no man is able to pay that he paid for us,  
 when he owed naught for himself. In peace mote she be, therefore,  
 and her husband too... before whom and after whom she never married 30  
 none; whom she like a servant obeyed, bringing fruit to thee  
 through her patient sufferance, that she might thereby win him  
 to thee too. Inspire, good Lord my God, inspire thy servants my  
 brethren, thy children my lords, whom both with word and heart  
 and writing I serve... that as many as read this may remember at 35  
 thine altar thy servant Monica, with Patricius, sometime her

husband, by whose flesh thou hast brought me into this life, I cannot tell how. Make them remember with a devout affection them that were in this transitory life my father and mother, and under thee, my Father, and my mother the Catholic Church, were my sister and brother, and in the eternal Jerusalem shall be my neighbors and citizens; which Jerusalem thy people, from their going forth till their coming home, in all their pilgrimage longeth for and sigheth. Good Lord, grant this: that the thing which was the last that ever she desired of me, she may the more plenteously obtain by the prayers of many more.” 5 10

The old holy doctor Saint Chrysostom, in his homily wherein he showeth that almsdeed, Masses, and Dirges greatly profit them that are dead, among many other things writeth in this wise:

“It was not for naught ordained by the apostles that in the dreadful mysteries of the Mass should commemoration be made for them 15

*Note* that be dead. For the apostles knew that thereby cometh to the souls great advantage and profit. For when all the people standeth together, holding up their hands, and the priest fulfilleth his observance, and that dreadful Sacrifice set forth: how can it be but that then praying for the souls, we shall obtain?” 20

Now see you very plainly, good Christian readers, that of the eldest and the very best that ever have written upon the Scripture of God in Christ’s church, and which be holy saints in heaven—and such as suffered persecution for God’s sake—do testify for our part: that the things which the Catholic Church universally believeth and useth are nothing to be doubted of... but to be believed and used whether they be found in Scripture or not. And ye see that they say that the apostles taught and delivered to the Church divers things by mouth, beside all that they wrote; which thing Saint Paul saith also himself; and yet besides that, we see that of his writing there is part lost. 25 30

Ye see also that some such things as Tyndale saith that the popes have of late feigned themselves for their lucre—as the Mass and the pains of purgatory—both Saint Augustine and Saint Chrysostom, and other holy saints, say that the things were believed, used, and taught by the apostles themselves. 35

And thus, as for the old holy doctors, ye see how far they go from Tyndale; and therefore of Tyndale or them believe whom ye like best for me... and consider well with yourself with whither of those two were surer to send your souls.

Yet is there, as old as any that I have rehearsed yet, Saint Polycarp—the disciple of Saint John!—which wrote a book of the traditions given unto the Church by the apostles... which would plainly have proved Tyndale a fool and a liar both, if the book had not been lost. And undoubtedly God would never have suffered it to be lost if he could not have kept his traditions without writing. 5 10

Howbeit, what need we better or elder than, as I before have said, the authority of Saint John himself in his last chapter of the Gospel, “Many things were done that are not written in this book”? Or of Saint Paul writing himself to the Corinthians, “All *Jn 20:30; 1 Cor 11:34* other things I will ordain when I come myself”; and to the Thessalonians, *2 Thes 2:15; 1 Cor 5:9–11* “Keep you my precepts” (or “institutions”) “which I have given you either by word or by my epistle”? By which words it appeareth well that he had written unto them before, that then was Holy Scripture, and yet had been if it had been kept and preserved, and was not without good things therein and necessary... whereof part may be such things as the heretics now do bark at, because the epistle is lost. But God is not lost, that preserveth still the matter though he let go the letter. 15 20

Saint Paul also to Timothy writeth of such unwritten traditions *2 Tm 2:1–2* well and plainly, in his second epistle, in these words: “Thou, therefore, my son Timothy, be comforted in the grace that is Christ Jesus... and those things that thou hast heard of me by many witnesses, commit them unto faithful men, such as shall be meet to teach them forth to other men.” Those words of Saint Paul do very plainly show that some things there were which Saint Paul taught Timothy, and that in presence of certain good, virtuous witnesses... and which things were, as Saint Ambrose saith, secret mysteries. Which things he there commanded Timothy to commit also to other faithful men, such as should be able and meet to teach, to the intent that they might teach the same things farther; and which be 25 30 35

some of such things as these heretics now bark at, that are come from mouth to mouth, and from hand to hand, from the apostles' days unto our own.

It is a much less thing, also, to believe ourselves to be bound to do a thing, of necessity, without authority of Scripture... than to think ourselves without Scripture unbound, and in no necessity, to do the thing which we find commanded in Scripture. But we find commanded in Scripture—first by the law of nature, and after in the law written (the Old Law, with a cause annexed for violating of nature; and after again by the apostles, as I have rehearsed, in the New Law, the fifteenth of the Acts)—that men should abstain from strangled, and from blood; of which commandment in Scripture we see no discharge but the custom of the Catholic Church... and yet hath Tyndale no scruple to eat a pudding though he see it prohibited by all the laws, and by the apostles themselves, and by the Holy Ghost too, with like words as they forbade fornication. And discharge, as I say, seeth he none but the tradition of the Church; which when he dare believe in leaving a thing undone that the Scripture so often commandeth, why dare he not believe the tradition of the Church where it commandeth a thing to be done that the Scripture doth not forbid, but only speaketh not of it?

I would in like wise fain wit of Tyndale whether he think any party of Christian people bound at this day, of necessity, to the  
*Jn 13:1–17*                      Washing of the Feet, whereof Christ at his Maundy gave example and commandment  
 also—not without a great threatening unto Saint Peter of loss of heaven but if he suffered him to wash his feet. I doubt not but Tyndale thinketh himself discharged of that bond; and yet are the words of Christ's commandment in that observance as plain as in the commandment of the Sacrament of the Altar... and long was it used after in such wise... and Saint Cyprian did in his days reckon it for a thing necessary. Now let Tyndale tell me whereby he knoweth himself discharged of that washing, but by the Spirit of God abiding in his church. And let him then tell me *which* church but his Catholic Church. For an unknown



church can tell him nothing, and all other known churches besides the Catholic be all known for heretics. Or else let Tyndale tell which of all *them* is the true church... and why rather that than any of all the remnant.

If the Spirit of God governing the Church, and leading it into all truth, put us not in surety and certainty *of* the truth—how could he be to us, as he is named, *Paracletus*, that is, a comforter, if we were left so comfortless that we were uncertain whether the whole Church were in damnable error instead of the right faith? 5

Take away that Spirit from the Church... and how can Tyndale 10  
*Acts 8:16; Mt 28:19* excuse the apostles of their baptizing in the name of Christ only, when Christ had himself commanded them to baptize in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost? How will he excuse Saint Paul for taking away the circumcision, which God had before 15  
 commanded, and said that it should be his everlasting token and covenant; and Christ kept it himself; and Saint Paul circumcised

*Gal 5:2, 6; Gn 17:11–13* Timothy himself, and yet afterward  
*Lk 2:21* forbade it? How knew he when he  
*Acts 16:1–3* should do the one and when the other? 20  
 By bare imaginations of his own mind? Nay; by that *Spirit* they knew it... which as it ruled them, so ruleth it the Church in the necessary points of faith, and ever shall unto the world's end.

“God proved,” will Tyndale say, “their doctrine with miracles.” So 25  
 doth he, say I, the doctrine of his whole Church continually. For therein he worketh miracles continually—and in all the churches of heretics is there wrought never one. Weeneth Tyndale that our Lord had the cure of his apostles whom he ordained for his church... and that he hath no cure of his church for whom he 30  
 made his apostles?

And if Tyndale list so precisely to lean to “Scripture only” that he will not take the common Catholic faith for an interpreter, he shall find it very hard to defend some such points as be not only true, but be also such as if the Church would say contrary, 35  
 yet would *he* say they were true.

For Tyndale setteth not so much by Baptism but that he will agree that faith justifieth without Baptism. And yet take away the credence of the Catholic Church... and he shall never be able, while he liveth, so well to prove by Scripture that a martyr may be saved and brought to heaven without Baptism but that these words of our Savior shall always stand still in his light: 5

*Jn 3:5*

“Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto non potest introire in regnum Dei” (“Whoso

be not born again of the water and the Spirit cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven”). 10

Now, whereas Tyndale teacheth, after his master Martin Luther, that as often as a man only repent, though he be never in mind to do penance nor be confessed neither... his only faith shall save him, and getteth him forthwith full remission both of sin and pain: if he will give credence to the Church, he shall find that faith of his full false. And if he will not give credence to the Church, but precisely stand to the Scripture: then shall he find yet that faith more false, if he will be bound as precisely to the words himself as he would bind other men. For he shall never be then so well able to prove that any man falling to deadly sin after Christendom once had, shall be by *any* repentance restored again... but that there will stand still in his light the words of the Apostle 15

*Heb 10:26–27*

saying, “When we willfully sin after the knowledge of the truth had, there is

not now left us any sacrifice for sins, but a terrible expectation and looking for of judgment, and of fierce and raging fire, which shall consume the adversaries.” There will also stand in his 25

*Heb 6:4–6*

light these words of the Apostle: “It is impossible that they which have been once

illumined and have tasted that heavenly gift, and have been made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted also the good word of God, and the virtues of the world to come, and are fallen down, should be renewed again to penance... crucifying again for their own part the Son of God, and having him as in derision.” 30

If Tyndale say that he can so construe these texts as they shall not hurt his heresies—I deny not that he so may do; and I can, too, so construe 35

them that they shall not hurt the truth, that is to wit, the  
 Catholic faith. But yet this I say: that when he and I have both  
 done what we can... yet whoso list to hold that heresy against  
 his “repentance” and the Church’s penance too... shall not lack words  
 wherewith he may seem, to such as will set the Church at naught, 5  
 to maintain his part as well as we both maintain ours. And  
 therefore, I say, taking away the credence from the Catholic  
 known church (for no church unknown can be believed, since it  
 cannot be heard; and all other known churches be false, or else  
 let Tyndale, as I have often said, tell me which of them all is the 10  
 true, and why we should therein believe him)—the credence, therefore,  
 as I say, taken from the Catholic known church... there can be  
     *Note*                      *nothing* sure, but *allthing* uncertain:  
                                  both traditions of the apostles, expositions  
 of Scripture, and the very Scripture itself, too. 15  
 And unto the other side, if the credence of the known, Catholic  
 church abide—as it needs must abide if the scripture abide by  
 which it is promised by Christ that himself and his own Holy  
 Spirit shall dwell therewith all days unto the world’s end—then  
 be we sure not only which are the holy scriptures and the sure, 20  
 wholesome expositions thereof, but also which are the traditions  
 delivered unto the Church by God... of which some were delivered  
 by the apostles themselves, and some by his Holy Spirit since. And  
 whatsoever Tyndale babble to the contrary... God is yet at as much  
 liberty to teach his Church further what truth he will hereafter, 25  
 and to deliver it what tradition he will hereafter, and to command  
 his whole Church to believe and obey him therein—as well, I  
 say, hereafter as ever he was before.  
 For I would fain wit of Tyndale, if the whole Church shall never  
 believe nor do nothing as of necessity but that is already written 30  
 in Scripture... why shall any one man be bound to believe or do anything  
 as of necessity, though God bid him by mouth... if it be not  
 written in Scripture? And if he will say, “No more *may* any one  
 man be bound, neither!”—then putteth he away, quite, all revelations...  
 which I never heard any man hitherto deny but that God 35  
 may reveal and man be bound to believe and obey. And surely  
 if he grant that any one man may be bound thereto—so may,

then, for aught that I can see or aught that he can say, the whole Church in like wise.

Finally, there is no doubt but that ere the New Testament was written... men *were* bound to believe things without Scripture. And then—since Tyndale will nothing believe us without Scripture, and he may not look of reason that we should any more believe him without Scripture than he us—let Tyndale now tell me, therefore, by which text of Scripture, in all that is written, is *that* bond released and discharged, and where are we either commanded or licensed nothing to believe but if it be contained in that scripture that is now written? Which thing if he cannot show (as he cannot indeed), then abideth that bond still, to believe the things that the Catholic Church teacheth us as the word of God to be believed, and yet unwritten... as the same bond stood and bound us before, to believe those necessary things that now be written.

Now, if Tyndale answer this argument and say that he needeth not to lay forth any text of Scripture discharging us of that bond... but that it is enough for him to prove that allthing that is of necessity is by the apostles written... and that no such thing as we be bound to believe or do is by themselves unwritten—if Tyndale answer us thus, then is he but where he was. For then shall we yet again bid him do as he needs must and never may: bring in one text of Scripture by which he may prove that all such things be written.

Which thing when he cannot do... if he will then be plain and confess the truth that he cannot prove his own part; but will then bid *us* prove *our* own part, and will tell us that, like as he saith that the apostles did put all in writing, whereof he faileth his proof, so we say that they did leave divers things unwritten... and that of those be some of such things as the Church now believeth and observeth that are not written in Scripture; and will bid us go prove him *that* for *our* part, and will say that else he is no more bound to believe us than we be to believe him—if Tyndale will, as I say, confess the truth that he cannot prove his own part, and therefore will bid us go prove ours—then shall we tell him that we prove ours by the manifold plain texts of Holy Scripture

foreremembered (both of Saint John and of Saint Paul)... and might

*Rosseus*

yet add divers others with which

Rosseus, an Englishman, hath long ago proved that point unto Luther... and that so clearly that, as Tyndale knoweth, Luther was never able to answer one word again. And

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I say further that we prove our part—that is to wit, that the apostles gave things unto the Church without writing, which have in the Church continued beside the Scripture—this, I say, we prove to Tyndale by the selfsame means by which Tyndale

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proveth us that he knoweth the Scripture to be the Scripture. For if he will say, as he saith in his book against me, that he knoweth the Scripture by the same means that the eagle knoweth her birds... meaning that, as she knoweth them by a secret, inward instinct of nature, so he knoweth the Scripture by a secret, inward instinct of the Spirit of God—I say that we know the traditions taught by God and his apostles by the same secret, inward instinct of the same Spirit. But then say we farther that the same Spirit did

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teach the *Church* to know which was the very Scripture, before *it* did teach it Tyndale. And Tyndale had not believed that the Scripture was the Scripture if the Church had not told him so. Nor

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the Holy Spirit had not wrought with Tyndale toward the belief thereof... if Tyndale, when the Church told him so, had done as he doth—set the Church at naught. For since that he so hath done... he not only believeth not the traditions of God given to his church by his apostles and his word unwritten, but also believeth less of the *Scripture* than he did before. And I say that God by his

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word *unwritten* did teach his church to know his words *written*, and his traditions also which he taught the Church by his apostles; and made the Church agree therein by his Spirit which maketh men of one mind and one custom in the Church, and which

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Spirit keepeth both the words written and the words unwritten in perpetual knowledge and observance in his church... according as the very Word of God unwritten—that is, his *natural* Word, of himself begotten—seeth necessary, abiding with his church forever

according to his own promise. And now if Tyndale ask with

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*which* church—I say with his *Catholic* church; with his church in which only church he worketh miracles; with his church which he commandeth men to hear and obey; and, finally, with the same church by which church Tyndale learned to

know which is the Scripture. Which church let Tyndale tell me why he should not as well believe when it telleth him, “These things the apostles did teach and deliver without writing,” as he believeth it when it telleth him, “These books the apostles did write.”

If nothing had been written... Tyndale must have believed the Church in altogether. And why should he now, for the writing of part (for that *all* is written, ye see well he cannot prove), believe the Church the less in the remnant that remaineth yet unwritten; or for that that was written at one time, believe the Church the less in all that it teacheth after unwritten? Which thing Tyndale doth, and that so far forth... that whereas God worketh miracles in his church to make the Church and the doctrine thereof known for true... Tyndale then, under the false pretext of favor to God’s writing, blasphemeth all his unwritten words and himself too, with calling God’s miracles nothing but devils’ wonders! 5 10 15

And this doth Tyndale... because he would not in any wise that the Church had any credence farther than it can prove by the written words of some apostle... whereas he wotteth well that the apostles wrote not all that they taught, and also that God ordained his apostles for his church, and not his church for his apostles... and doth therefore more esteem and more set by his church than by any of his apostles, or all the whole twelve together. And yet will not Tyndale believe for God’s word anything that the Church teacheth for his word, but if he find it written in Holy Scripture; whereas if he believe not the Church, he can never tell of any part of Scripture whether it *be* Holy Scripture or not. 20 25

But his dealing well declareth wherefore he would have nothing believed without Scripture. The cause is none other but because he would have nothing believed of no man but what he list himself. For he will not stick to deny some part of Holy Scripture for Holy Scripture... and expound all the remnant in such false, foolish fashion that, among his other hundred heresies, he would make us so mad to believe that friars may wed nuns, and that no man should worship the Precious Body and Holy Blood of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar. 30 35

And, finally, thus ye see that Tyndale and such others as would have us reject and refuse all that God hath taught his church but if it

be proved by Scripture... be not only unable to prove or defend that heresy... but also do handle the Scripture itself in such a shameful wise that if other men, whom they reprove, did not handle it better, it had been better to have left altogether unwritten and never had Scripture at all. And we must needs perceive that without the belief and credence given unto the Catholic Church of Christ, we could be sure of nothing; but that, as Saint Paul saith, the Church is the pillar and strength of the truth. 5

And thus end I my Third Book containing the answer of his two special chapters—the one, “Whether the Word Were before the Church, or the Church before the Word”; and the other, “Whether the Apostles Left Anything Unwritten, Necessary to Soul Health.” In which two points as gloriously as he glittered in his own eye—every man seeth now how foul a fall he hath... whereby more than half of his heresies are utterly drowned in dirt. 10 15

And now shall I (God willing) in my Fourth Book... as soon as my time shall serve me... so confute his false faith, and so show which is *the* church, that I shall leave Tyndale never a church for *his* flock... but the church whereof the prophet speaketh, “Odivi ecclesiam malignantium” (“I have hated the church of malicious folk”)—which church is very proper for him. For all that ever Tyndale writeth, when it is well considered, is powdered with malice toward all good men, both religious that live here in earth and saints that are living in heaven. 20 25

Thus endeth the Third Book.





**The Second Part  
of the Confutation  
of Tyndale's  
Answer**

*In which is also confuted the  
church that Tyndale  
deviseth.*

*And the church also that Friar  
Barnes deviseth.*

*Made by Sir Thomas More, Knight.*

Printed at London  
by William Rastell.

1533  
*CUM PRIVILEGIO*



## The Fourth Book

### *Whether “the Church” Can Err*

Tyndale

There is another question: whether the church may err. Which if ye understand of the pope and his generation... is verily as hard a question as to ask whether he that hath both his eyes out be blind or no, or whether it be possible for him that hath one leg shorter than another to halt.

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More

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Who would not now ween that this man had a plain, clear, open cause and easy to defend, when that even in the beginning, in so few words, he concludeth all the matter at once... and that with examples so plain and evident that every man must needs agree them to be true? But when ye shall again see that his examples are no more lightsome than unlike the matter that he resembleth them unto... and that he either of wiliness will not, or for lack of wit cannot, perceive and see the point that he should touch: then shall every wise man well perceive and see that his solemn show of such confidence in his evil cause is nothing but a plain proclamation, made by his own mouth, of his own rebuke and shame.

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For here would I wit what thing Tyndale meaneth by the “pope” and pope’s “generation.” If he mean his carnal kindred, or the pope and his cardinals, either: he then winketh of wiliness, and will not see the mark. For he knoweth very well that neither of these is the thing that we call “the Church” when we speak of the Catholic Church of Christ that cannot err.

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If he mean by “the pope and his generation” all the Christian nations not being cut off nor cast out for their obstinate malice, nor of willfulness departing out by seditious schisms: then seeth he the mark, at the leastwise. But then while he saith that all these nations may and hath all this eight hundred years so entirely fallen into heresies and damnable errors that by all this eight hundred

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years last past unto Luther's days, nor yet unto this day neither,  
there hath been no one known congregation anywhere, wherein the  
professing of the very, right, catholic faith of Christ hath been so  
surely kept that it might there be surely learned and known: then  
I say *Tyndale* is as blind as he that lacketh both his eyes... in that 5  
he seeth not that by this way he maketh our Savior Christ, that  
is very Truth, to say very false where he saith, "I am with you to the  
*Mt 28:20* end of the world," and would make him  
*Mt 18:17* far overseen where he commanded  
that whoso would not hear "the church" 10  
should be reputed and taken as paynims and publicans—and in  
many a plain text of Scripture more, as I have before showed (as well  
in my *Dialogue* as mine other three, former books of this present work)  
and yet hereafter shall further.

Moreover, if *Tyndale* say that all this known corps of Christendom 15  
have all these eight hundred years been in a wrong belief...  
where hath been all this while the right congregation of *Tyndale's*  
church, that hath had the true belief? And let him tell us, then,  
which congregation it was, or where any such is yet, of whom we  
may surely learn the true faith and true virtues. 20

If he say that it hath been *among* these, and was *in* this church,  
but not *of* this church... but they have lurked there, a few faithful  
folk, among the great many multitude of the faithless, and have  
ever been to the world and outward sight of man unknown... not  
so much known as one of them to another, but yet very well known 25  
to God: to this—besides that if they have lain all this while lurking  
therein, they have been, then, idolaters by their own judgment, in  
*As all heretics do!* image service and praying to saints  
(if *Tyndale's* doctrine be the true faith),  
and stark hypocrites in being of one belief in their hearts and 30  
pretending another both in their words and deeds; and besides  
divers other invincible reasons with which I have already reprov'd  
that fond opinion in the Second Book of my *Dialogue*, whereunto  
*Tyndale* hath made so bare answer that it had been more  
wisdom for him to have let it all alone and meddle nothing 35  
therewith, as every child, almost, may well perceive, that list to  
look on them both and advisedly compare them together, as I shall

myself set it forth unto them when God shall, after other things done, give me time to come thereto; and besides divers other arguments, evident and plain, which I partly have, partly shall, allege and bring forth in this present work—this one can he never avoid while he liveth: that God had then left every man perplexed, in doubt, and out of certainty, what way he might surely take and cleave unto, either in the doctrine of faith or knowledge of virtuous living.

For if he say that we need no known company, but every man may read the Scripture himself: every man, he wotteth well, cannot read, nor every man understand it though he have it in his own tongue... but by the reading without a reader, may soon fall into the damnable error of Arius, Helvidius, and many another heretic more... which of the Scripture, through their own pride, took occasion of their heresies.

If he then say that of that unknown congregation, we may have a true reader: where shall I seek him, and whereby shall I know him? If I happen on him, how shall I be sure? For in this great *known* congregation, we be safe against all such peril. For we be all agreed upon the necessary articles of the faith. And if any would preach and teach the contrary—as he that would, percase, teach that confession is not necessary, and that penance needeth not, and that of the seven sacraments, five serve of naught, and the sixth of almost as little... and that of the seventh all Christian nations be, and all this fifteen hundred years have been, in a very damnable error—he that thus would preach and teach such abominable heresies as now Tyndale doth, he may be soon controlled, accused, and corrected... except he run away as Tyndale doth.

And whereby can we be sure that his teaching which is accused is false, and theirs true that correct him... but by that we be sure that the common faith of the Catholic Church is true... and that the

*The Catholic, known church cannot err.*

Catholic, known church cannot err in that faith which from hand to hand hath been taken and kept from Christ's days and his apostles' hitherto? Which faith must needs be true by Christ's promise made unto his apostles, as teachers of his

church, and not for themselves but for his church: that is to wit,  
*Mt 16:16–18* the faith that Saint Peter professed  
*Mt 28:20; Jn 14:16–17* should not fail, and that God would be  
 with them all days unto the end of the  
 world. And that the faith of the known, Catholic church that 5  
 correcteth the false faith of the false preachers and heretics... *is* the  
 same faith which the holy doctors of Christ's church in every age  
 have believed and taught... Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine, Saint  
 Ambrose, Saint Chrysostom, Saint Gregory, and Saint Cyprian  
 do well and clearly testify by their books. For which holy doctors 10  
 our Lord hath showed many a wonderful miracle.

*A false preacher* These things and many others maketh  
 us sure that the preacher which preacheth  
 against the faith of *this* congregation is a false preacher, and a  
 false writher and wrester of Holy Scripture... how solemnly soever 15  
 he paint it.

And if we were not sure by these means that the faith of this  
*known, Catholic* congregation is true... how should I be sure of  
 the preacher of that *unknown* congregation which Tyndale  
 calleth "the church"? How should I know, I say, whether that preacher 20  
 say true or not? For he hath no known congregation to reprove  
 him or allow him the surety whereof might make me sure that he  
 saith true or false.

But then must I, saith Tyndale, try him by the truth of Scripture.  
 What if I be unlearned? What if I can read, and have it in my 25  
 language, and yet understand it but slenderly? What if I be well  
 learned, and the false preacher as well learned as I? Though he were  
 no better—yet he shall have text against text, and gloss against  
 gloss... and when shall we then agree? Or if I give place to him, or  
 he to me... how shall yet the number of unlearned hearers be satisfied 30  
 with our doubtful disputations, if they were not sure, by the common  
 faith of the known, Catholic church, which of us lied, ere ever we  
 came together? By which they that never read *any* Scripture be  
 now, by the Holy Ghost that hath planted the true faith in his  
 Catholic Church (the holy doctors whereof have in every age been 35  
 approved by miracles), so inwardly sure of the truth that a poor,

simple woman, if Tyndale and I brought the truth in debate and question, and that I were waxen so mad to grant him that his false heresies were true... she would not let to believe, and say so too, that we were two mad fools and false heretics both.

And that this is true shall much the better appear when we well examine and consider what congregation Tyndale calleth the catholic church. 5

#### Tyndale

I say that Christ's elect church is the whole multitude of all repenting sinners that believe in Christ, and put all their trust and confidence in the mercy of God... feeling in their hearts that God for Christ's sake loveth them and will be—or, rather, is—merciful unto them, and forgiveth them their sins of which they repent... and that he forgiveth them also all the motions unto sin of the which they fear lest they should thereby be drawn into sin again. And this faith they have without all respect of their own deservings; yea, and for none other cause than that the merciful truth of God the Father, which cannot lie, hath so promised and so sworn. 10 15

#### More

Now hath Tyndale here defined and described us what he called “the church.” And forasmuch as his title is, of his chapter, the question “Whether the Church Can Err”... and that he now, for the clearing of the question, declareth that there be two churches—the one which he saith that *we* take for “the church,” which he calleth “the pope and his generation,” and saith that there is no doubt but *that* church both may err and indeed so doth... and the other church, which himself calleth the very church, is this that he now defineth—it would seem that he would affirm that this church which himself describeth were the church that cannot err. Wherein what his final and resolute sentence is, ye shall, in his other chapters hereafter following, at a long length very scanty perceive... except his words be somewhat opened and a little more clearly declared than, as it appeareth by his writing, himself would they should be. And nevertheless, I trust they shall be. 20 25 30

Wherefore—to the end ye may the better understand whereabout he goeth... and that he longeth to lead us in darkness, and feed us 35

forth with his high, solemn follies that he would were not understood—  
let us a little examine the parts of his definition and  
description of “the church.”

Where he saith that “Christ’s elect church” is the “whole multitude”  
of all repentant sinners that have the conditions further expressed 5  
in his description—we must first ask him how taketh he  
there this word “elect.” It had been good reason that he should  
have declared whether he mean elect and chosen as our Savior  
Christ did elect and choose his church and congregation out of  
the Jews and the Gentiles, to be dedicated unto his service—after 10  
which manner he first elected and chose his twelve apostles, though  
*Jn 15:16* they were not all finally good, of whose  
*Jn 6:71* election he said, “Ye have not elected me,  
but I have elected you,” and also said  
unto them, “Have I not elected and chosen you twelve, and one of 15  
you is a devil?”—or else that he mean by the “elect” church the  
church of the final elects and predestinates to glory, being thereunto  
predestinate in the prescience and purpose of God before the  
creation of the world.

This point—whether he mean that his “whole multitude” of “repenting 20  
sinners” be the one elect church or the other—hath he not  
expressed, but hath left us at large to guess and aread (upon his  
dark riddles after following) which of these two elections he  
meaneth. Howbeit, for aught that I can see, his description agreeth  
with neither of them both. 25

For as for the first kind of election, after which Christ hath  
chosen his *catholic* church out of the Jews and Gentiles, to be his  
church here in earth: in this kind are there penitents and impenitents  
*In the true church are both* both. For penitents are  
*good and bad.* accounted among the good; and in this 30  
church be there both  
good and bad—as our Savior sheweth himself in the parables  
*Mt 13:24–30* both of the field with good corn and  
*Mt 13:47–50* cockle, and also the net with fishes  
*Gn 7:2* good and bad... and the Scripture 35  
showeth by the ark of Noah with beasts  
clean and unclean... and Christ with his aforesaid words to his



*Jn 6:71*

apostles, “Have I not chosen you twelve,  
and one of you is a devil?”

Now, as for the elect church of predestinates: if he speak thereof as  
it may be verified in every time since it began (as he must if he speak  
to the purpose), then are there therein accounted not only repenting  
sinners, but sinners also some that *yet* repent them not; and some also  
that never did the thing whereof they should repent—as was our Blessed  
Lady while she lived here, and our Savior himself also, for any  
sin of himself. For he was never penitent sinner... but, being sinless  
himself, painfully paid for ours. So is *not* the elect church  
“all repenting sinners” *only*, except that either Christ were no man or  
were also a sinner, or else his manhood not part of this church, but  
the church of predestinates headless. And in this I speak of that  
elect church of predestinates, concerning only the congregation  
of such as shall be saved in the kind of man. For as for to consider  
angels therein, is very far from this matter.

Yet are there also in this church of elects many that never came  
to the faith, but are yet enemies thereunto—as Jews, Saracens, or  
Turks, not yet converted unto the faith. And therefore *this* elect  
church will in no wise agree with the definition or description  
of Tyndale. I would that he therefore, to give his matter more light,  
had showed us, as I say, which kind of election he meaneth.

Howbeit, we shall guess at his mind as near as we can and make  
the best of his matter... and then see whether the best be able to  
stand. He may seem to mean by “Christ’s elect church,” of his  
description, a *part* of the elect church of the second manner:  
that is to wit, as many thereof as be repentant sinners with those  
other conditions that are expressed in his description. For other  
than this, I cannot divine what he should mean. But then, as those  
repentant sinners be a part of the church predestinate... so be  
they a part of this Catholic church here militant, after the first  
kind of election, in which are both good and bad... of which whole  
number the good are the one part.

Yet leaveth he us, after this way, in another doubt: whether the  
repenting sinners may afterward fall to sin again, and from  
repentance and so to repentance again, and yet again therefrom.

He leaveth us also in doubt whether this “elect church” of his description may be deceived and err, or not. For in these two points he wrappeth us up with riddles that he giveth us to read in other chapters—how they may sin and yet sin not, err and yet err not—  
 and readeth his riddles himself, also, so fondly that an old wife  
 would be ashamed to read such riddles so foolishly by the fireside  
 among young children. And yet in this one point, whether “the  
 church” may err or not, is in effect all the whole matter and purpose  
 of his book.

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And finally, for all that ever he saith, he leaveth it in doubt  
 whether his repentant sinners, since he granteth that though they  
 may not sin yet they may sin, and that in like wise though they  
 cannot err yet they can err, be of this “elect church” of his  
 description in these times only in which they sin not nor err  
 not... or else in all those times, too, in which they both sin and  
 err. And here speak I of such sin as is of its nature deadly,  
 though the soul die not by eternal damnation therefor... because  
 he repenteth that sin again ere he die. And I speak of that  
*error*, also, which is of its nature sinful and damnable though the  
 soul suffer not eternal damnation therefor... because he repenteth  
 that error afterward, and returneth again to the truth ere  
 ever his body die.

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Of all these doubts the more part he never moveth; and such as  
 he moveth in other chapters after, he so fondly assoileth that all the  
 world may see that he nothing seeketh but corners to creep in,  
 where he may lusk and lurk in the dark; out of which we shall,  
 I trust, so bring him into the light that his eyes shall daze to look  
 thereon.

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But in the meanwhile this ye see: that howsoever he mean by  
 the “elect church” of his repentant sinners, with all the “feeling  
 faith” that he can frame thereto—yet since men can never know which  
*be* they, there can no man have any surety by that church of the  
 true doctrine of God... no more than a man could by that unknown  
 church know which is the true Scripture of God. And therefore is  
 this “elect church” of Tyndale’s description devised only to  
 juggle with, and to deceive our sight, and not to serve in this  
 matter to any substantial purpose.

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But yet that it can not only do no good, but is also dreamed out by him to do much harm... ye shall plainly perceive if ye consider what “repentance” and what “faith” he meaneth. For these words will sound very well in the ears of such simple souls as do not, while they read them, consider what manner things Tyndale meaneth by them, and what thing he calleth “repentance” and believing in Christ with a “feeling faith.” But on the other side, he that considereth that Tyndale would have us so to believe in Christ that we should set his *Tyndale’s “feeling faith”* holy sacraments at naught, and that we should believe that all Christian people have hitherto believed wrong, that have believed that men ought to be shriven, or receive any penance at the priest’s hand, or that have believed that there is any purgatory after this present life, or that put any faith in the Sacrament of the Altar, or any other thing believe thereof than that it is only a sign, memorial, and token of Christ’s death and Passion, and that every man is in a false belief that will any other honor do thereto than only this bare belief... whereof plainly followeth that once to kneel or pray thereto were open and plain idolatry; and that he would have us also believe that to say the Mass with the holy Canon therein, as all Christian realms do, and so many hundred years have done, were heinous, deadly sin... and that it were sin also to believe that man, by good works wrought in faith, any reward meriteth toward God... or, finally, that any of the old holy doctors of Christ’s church, since Christ’s days and his apostles’ hitherto, were in the right belief before holy Luther’s days and his own (for sure am I that there was never none of all them that in belief did agree with these twain, nor these twain between themselves)—he that this “feeling faith” considereth in Tyndale’s teaching... shall soon feel that all his holy, solemn tale of all his “feeling faith” is not worth a fly, but very faithless heresy.

And also, when he heareth him so saintly speak of “repenting”... and then considereth that he would have us repent that ever we were shriven (for shrift he calleth the false invention of Satan) and would have us also to be such as repent that ever they were of the right belief, and such as would have friars and nuns repent their religion and run out and wed together—he that considereth this shall, I say, see that Tyndale’s elect and chosen church

is a church of chosen heretics, of contrary belief to the church of which Saint Jerome was a doctor, and Saint Augustine, and Saint Gregory, and Saint Ambrose, and all the other old holy fathers from the apostles' days hitherto... or else must Tyndale tell us, once again, some one of all them that believed it lawful for a monk or a friar professed unto perpetual chastity to run out of religion and go wed a nun. 5

Now am I glad, yet, that he cometh forth with *repentance*, at the leastwise one way or other. For “faith alone” was wont to do all, through all a man’s life. And when it was proved them by plain and evident Scripture that faith could not avail without charity... then fell they to gloss it and say that faith could never be without 10

*1 Cor 13:2* it. And then being therein reproved  
*Jas 2:14–18* plainly by Saint Paul and Saint James  
 both... yet stand they still by their 15

word, and defend their words only by words against all reason, and against the plain words of God—not unwritten, which they set not by, but the very *written* words in *plain and evident scriptures*—for all that they say they believe nothing else. And in that point I believe them well, and in more, too. For where they say that they believe nothing but Scripture, I think they say true... for they believe nothing beside the Scripture, nor yet the Scripture neither, as their own writings do full clearly declare. 20

But, now—since they say still that faith alone sufficeth, and yet say that there must be charity too... and now say there must be repentance too—they say none other thing, in effect, but that it is enough to have faith alone if a man have other virtues too... and that it sufficeth to have faith alone, so that faith be not alone; for and it be alone, then is it no faith at all. Is not this another goodly riddle whereby Tyndale teacheth allthing plainly? 25 30

Nor this point will never be well patched with his “feeling” faith and “historical,” as ye shall hereafter hear, when we come to the chapter.

But yet again, in the meanwhile, because he speaketh of “repentant” sinners that they make the elect church of Christ: I would wit of him whether one part of repenting must not be to repent heresies. If not... then Christ’s elect church may keep them 35

still, and be a church of heretics. And on the other side, if a man must repent his heresies, then ask I Tyndale again, how shall an unlearned man know which they be? “The preacher shall tell them,” saith Tyndale. So say we too. But what if the preachers do not agree therein? How shall he know the true preachers from the false? 5  
 “Let him look on the Scripture,” saith Tyndale, “and thereby shall he judge them—by the right rule of the word of God.” But thereto I say that allthing that we be bound to believe and observe is not written in Scripture, as I have in the Third Book more than plainly by the plain Scripture proved. And besides that, unlearned men are 10  
*Note* not able, nor every learned man neither, surely to discern and judge the true sense of the Scripture in a great thing grown in debate and controversy, where plain texts of Scripture seem to speak for both the sides. And therefore it must needs be that there is by God 15  
 provided and left some such surety as may bring us out of all such perplexity. And that is, as I have said, his Holy Spirit sent and left perpetually with his church, to lead it so, by his own  
*Jn 14:16–17; 16:13* promise, ever into all necessary truth, that whoso hear and believe his church 20  
 may be sure that he cannot be deceived; but that if a false teacher would lead men out of the right faith, the church of Christ shall  
*1 Tm 3:15* reprove him and condemn him, and put the people in certainty. For which cause Saint Paul saith that “the church” is the “firm establishment 25  
 and the pillar of truth” for the inviolable surety of doctrine. And therefore that can never be no church but a known church.  
 But then saith Tyndale that it is true that there is all surety in the church of Christ. But he saith that the church of Christ is only the number of “repenting sinners” that have the “feeling faith” 30  
 which himself describeth. Then we ask him, “Whereby shall a man *know* them, and be sure of them... so that he may use them for his sure and undoubtable judges between the two contrary preachers of which the one is true, the other false?”  
 “It maketh no matter,” saith he, “though ye know them not.” How 35  
 shall I then be put in surety by them, but if I know that *they be* the church with whom God promised to leave his Holy

Spirit... and whom he willed every man to hear and to obey? “Ye shall perceive it,” saith he, “by that ye see they be good men, and show the fruits of faith in their living.” I *cannot* be thereby sure... since a hypocrite may feign them. And also himself granteth, after in his chapter, that they “sin and yet sin not”... so that though they *sin* not (because of their “feeling faith,” and their repentance following), yet they may right often *do* sin, in such wise that they *may* do, and indeed *do*, many such abominable deeds as men be hanged for, and worthy, for much less; and such that themselves should for the same, saving for their “feeling faith,” be damned in hell perpetually... from which none “historical faith” could keep them, as Tyndale saith.

Now, then, if he say true... it is impossible for me to know the elect church of feeling-faithful, repentant sinners, to take the sure judgment by.

Then if he walk, as it were, in a maze, and come to the first point again and say, “It forceth not, for they shall be discerned by the Scripture itself”—that gap have I so stopped already that he shall stick still at a stake and rest his bones in the bushes ere ever he get out there. Wherefore when he shall see himself unable to defend his own chosen, unknown church in the point in which it should specially serve—that is, for the sure teaching of the true faith—he shall then find none other shift but to look whether he might make the Catholic, known church to fall in the like default... and shall ask us how *we* do know the true church of Christ, by whose doctrine we may be sure of the right belief. Whereunto we shall answer that therein can no man be deceived. For it is the common-known

*No man in the Catholic Church* church of all Christian people not  
*can be deceived.* gone out nor cast out. This whole body  
both of good and bad is the Catholic  
Church of Christ, which is in this world very sickly, and hath many  
sore members... as hath sometimes the natural body of a man...  
and some sore astonied, and for a time cold and dead... which yet  
catcheth heat and life again, if it be not precided and cut off from  
the body.

This Catholic, known church is that mystical body, be it never so sick, whereof the principal head is Christ. Of which body whether

the successor of Saint Peter be his vicar general and head under him, as all Christian nations have now long taken him... is no part of this question. For to this matter it is enough that this Body Mystical of Christ, this Catholic Church, is that body that is animated,

*Ps 67:7 (Vulgate)*      hath life spiritual, and is inspired with      5  
the Holy Spirit of God that “maketh them of

one faith in the house of God” by leading them into the consent of every necessary truth of revealed faith, be they in conditions and manners never so sick, as long as they be conformable and content in unity of faith to cleave unto the body.      10

Of this church can we not be deceived, nor of the right faith can we not be deceived while we cleave to this church... since this church is it into which God hath given his Spirit of faith, and in this church both good and bad profess one faith. For if any profess the contrary faith—be it any one man or any one country—they be controlled, noted, and reprov'd by the whole body, and soon known *from* the body. Now, if it happen any privy heretics to lurk in this body, yet all the while they agree with the body in open profession of faith, and teach nothing contrary... they cannot beguile us, though they may by secret heresies of their hearts sinfully deceive themselves. And when they *teach* the contrary—then are they, as I say, reprov'd openly by the body... and either reformed and cured, or else cut off from the body and cast out thereof. So that this church is known well enough... and therefore may be well used as a sure judge for to discern between the true doctrine and the false, and the true preacher and false, concerning the right faith and the discerning of the true word of God, written or unwritten, from the counterfeit word of man... and in the discerning of the right understanding of the Scripture of God, as far forth as of necessity pertaineth unto salvation.      15  
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*How Tyndale's chosen church*      And this advantage that I speak of have      30  
*may be known*      we by that *this* church is *known*—

whereas Tyndale's chosen church of “repenting sinners,” we can never know them but if we see them walk in our church in procession with a candle before the cross, or stand before the pulpit with a faggot in their necks. And yet can we not know them so, neither... for they may seem repentant openly and yet think in their hearts full shrewdly, as they commonly do. Now,      35

whereby we shall be sure that this known, Catholic church is the very, true church that is to be believed... and that no man may be surely believed that agreeth not with the faith of this church—albeit I have, both in my <i>Dialogue</i> and in sundry places of my three former books of this present work, well and plainly proved you—yet shall I	5
finally, before I finish this work, by such clear, open marks and tokens show you, with evident reason and plain Scripture furnished, that no child shall after need anything to doubt thereof.	
But now consider, in the meanwhile, that Tyndale's definition or description of "the church"... by which he calleth it the number of "all repenting sinners" with all his other conditions adjoined thereunto...	10
is first full of darkness; and when it is opened, it agreed neither with one church nor other. And yet is it by another point of his own false doctrine utterly destroyed. For he teacheth plainly	
<i>O what a saying is this!</i> that whosoever do after Baptism sin	15
once of purpose (willingly, and not only of weakness and infirmity), <i>he</i> shall <i>never</i> be saved, but all <i>his</i> repentance after, though he trust never so much in God, and have after never so sure faith in him, shall never serve him to salvation,	
but he shall be finally damned; as I shall show you further after. And	20
then ye see plainly that his definition of his "elect" church is by his own doctrine destroyed. For the elect church cannot be the number of <i>all</i> repenting sinners that trust to be saved in Christ's Passion, if <i>some</i> such repenting sinners shall never be saved by his Passion, as Tyndale plainly lieth. And therefore since he hath	25
failed of his definition of "the church," and thereby lost and spilled all his purpose—let us now consider whether he handle any more wisely the remnant of his goodly matter.	
 Tyndale	
This faith have they without all respect of their own deservings; yea, and for none other cause than that the merciful truth of God the Father, which cannot lie, hath so promised and so sworn.	30
 More	
I doubt not, good readers, but ye remember well that all the doctrine of Christ's church is full of warning that no man should put	35



a proud trust and confidence in his own works, nor once think that he can of himself alone, without God's gracious help, do	
<i>The true doctrine of</i>	any good work at all... and great cause
<i>Christ's church</i>	hath to fear and mistrust <i>all</i> his own
	works, for imperfect circumstances
seldom perceived by himself. And also that in all that a man may do, he doth but his only duty; and that the best work were naught worth to heavenward of the nature of the work itself—not were it for the liberal goodness of God, that listeth so highly to reward it... and yet would not reward it so, saving for the Passion of his own Son. All these things, and many such others more, be so daily taught and preached in the Church... that I trust, in good faith, that almost every good old wife can tell them.	5
And therefore it appeareth well that Tyndale varieth not with us for so far... but that he meaneth a far further thing where he saith that the “elect church” trusteth so utterly to be forgiven all sin, and “motions unto sin,” without any “respect of their own deserving”—and plainly meaneth therein (as in other places also he plainly declareth himself, which I have in my former books proved and reproved) not only that men should not need, but also that it were sin, to go about any good work wrought with grace in faith, to deserve anything toward the getting of full and perfect forgiveness.	10
To this point cometh Tyndale's holy “feeling faith,” that feeleth always full forgiveness, without any regard or respect of man's own endeavor to deserve it. This false-feeling faith hath Tyndale taken of Luther... when he and all the rabble of their sect say that faith of necessity bringeth forth good works, as the fruit of the tree of faith. And yet they say that good works be naught worth, and thereby make they the tree of faith little better. For what good tree can it be, whereof the good fruit is naught worth?	15
But Tyndale and Luther both lie loud in both the points. For both may a man have the right faith idle and workless, and therefore dead and fruitless—dead, I say, not in the nature and substance of belief and faith... but dead as to the attaining of	20
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<i>Good works purchase heaven.</i>	salvation—and also, good works wrought	
<i>Sir 3:29</i>	in faith, hope, and charity be very profitable	
	toward obtaining of forgiveness	
and getting reward in heaven... except the Scripture of God be false,		5
when it saith that as the water quencheth the fire, so doth almsdeed		
void sin; and except our Savior himself say false, where he		
saith, “Give your superfluous substance in alms, and then, lo,		
<i>Lk 11:41</i>	are ye all clean.” And in like wise where	
<i>Mt 10:40–42</i>	he promiseth reward in heaven, in sundry	10
<i>Lk 16:19–31</i>	plain places of Scripture, for good works	
	done here in earth.	
Now, if Tyndale answer that the good works be nothing worth		
of themselves, nor without faith, as he answereth me in his answer		
to the Third Book of my <i>Dialogue</i> : then may every child see that		15
he is driven to the hard wall, and fain to seek a shameful shift. For		
what thing <i>is</i> aught worth of itself to heavenward, without God’s		
grace and the great goodness of God? No fiery charity, though men		
would burn for God’s sake, could deserve heaven of itself, without		
<i>Rom 8:18</i>	the liberal goodness of God. For as Saint	20
	Paul saith, the passions of this world “be	
not worthy to win the glory to come, that shall be showed upon us.”		
And if he say that good works be naught worth because they		
be naught worth without faith... so might he as well say that faith		
were naught worth because it is naught worth without charity. So		25
that ye may plainly see that he seeketh nothing but shifts... which		
will yet serve of naught when he hath altogether done.		
<i>Good works are to be feared.</i>	For ye may finally perceive that,	
	though every man may well fear that the	
works which himself hath done, seemed they never so good, were		30
yet, for some lack upon his part in the doing, so imperfect in the		
deep, secret sight of God that they were unworthy to serve him or be		
anything rewarded—and also that, were they never so pure and		
perfect, they were not yet worthy such reward but of God’s liberal		
goodness—yet is it a very false faith and a pestilent heresy to		
believe as Tyndale here teacheth us: that God will save such as may		35

work without any respect or regard unto their deserving; as though he rought not whether they did good or ill, but will save all such as him list, do they what they list, only because him list... and that himself so listeth for none other cause but only because he hath so promised and sworn. 5

For surely, neither is the promise the cause (as I have in mine other book showed), but the goodness of God which caused him so to promise; nor, also, he hath not so sworn, nor so promised, neither,

*Ps 101:3* that he will save man without any  
*Mt 25:31–46* regard of good works... but hath both 10

*Note* promised and sworn the clean contrary:  
 that but if we work well if we may, or  
 repent that we did not and be in purpose to do... else shall our faith  
 stand us in little stead, but greatly aggrieve and increase the pain  
 of our damnation. And now that his faith is proved very plainly 15  
 false and faithless... it is a world to see how royally he runneth forth  
 in the praise, as though it were proved true.

#### Tyndale

And this faith and knowledge is everlasting life; and by this we be born anew, and made the sons of God, and obtain forgiveness of sins, and are translated from death to life, and from the wrath of God unto his love and favor. And this faith is the mother of all truth, and bringeth with her the Spirit of all truth—which Spirit purgeth us, as from all sin, even so from all lies and error noisome and hurtful. And this faith is the foundation laid of the apostles and prophets, whereupon Paul saith (Eph 2) that we are built, and thereby of the household of God. And this faith is the rock whereon Christ built his congregation. 20 25

#### More

Lo what a praise he hath made you of this faith that feeleth that folk should need to do no good works; how he calleth it “everlasting life” to come to the bare knowledge of that faith that shall take away from us all respect and regard of deserving any reward, or thank, the rather for any good works. For if men might have any such respect... then were it great peril lest men would fall the more to do them! For other great peril I see none, 30 35

considering that we be well taught to put no proud confidence in  
*Put no proud confidence* them, but refer all the thank of them  
*in works.* to God, by whose help and grace we do  
 them.

Now wot ye well that no good man can deny but that for *lack* 5  
*Mt 25:41–46* of such works, men shall be *damned*, as  
 Christ saith himself in the Gospel. And  
 hard it were that, the good nature of God being more ready to  
 reward than to punish—would punish us for the lacking, and  
 not reward us for the having; namely since himself saith, in the 10  
*Mt 25:34–40* same Gospel, that he shall give men heaven  
 for their almsdeed.

But Tyndale, as he denieth the one, so denieth he the other too,  
 and with some fond gloss will void the Gospel and all... and then  
 go boldly forth with his “faith” and boast it, and say, “This faith and 15  
 knowledge is everlasting life.” But all *faithful* folk will say  
 again, “This faith and knowledge is everlasting *death*.” For this faith  
 hath Luther and Friar Huessgen both, and yet be far from everlasting  
 life. For besides that abominable heresy itself (against  
 all regard of good works), they be not agreed in belief concerning 20  
 the Sacrament of the Altar—the one believing it to be very  
 bread, the other nothing else *but* bread, and false both  
 twain. And Tyndale followeth the falser of them both. And so this  
 faith delivereth them *not* from lies—besides that they both, and Tyndale  
 with them, do believe, if they lie not, that it is lawful for monks and 25  
 friars to break their vowed chastity and run out and wed  
 nuns. Which point of false faith is no part of the foundation  
 that the apostles built upon... but Saint Paul preached the contrary,  
*1 Tm 5:11–12* saying that vowed widows willing  
 to wed should have “damnation” 30  
 because they had frustrated and broken their “former faith,” that is to  
 wit, their faith given to God in their vow of abstinence from all  
 carnal knowledge of man... against which faith they would now  
 wed, and give a second faith unto man in marriage. But now  
 goeth Tyndale forth with his tale, and would seem to prove it true by 35  
 Scripture.

### Tyndale

Christ asked his apostles (Mt 16) whom they took him for. And Peter answered for them all, saying, "I say that thou art Christ, the Son of the Living God, that art come into this world." That is, "We believe that thou art he that was promised unto Abraham should come and bless us and deliver us." Howbeit, Peter yet wist not by what means. But now it is opened throughout all the world: that through the offering of his body and blood. . . .

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### More

Here it is necessary that every wise reader mark well and consider the cause and purpose of Tyndale in bringing in this confession of Saint Peter's faith... where he said, "Thou art Christ, the Son of the Living God, that art come into this world."

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Ye shall understand that Tyndale and his master Martin and his fellows, forasmuch as they be fallen from the right belief in many great articles of our faith... and considering that with such slender proofs as Tyndale bringeth for his part, and thereto so plainly reproveth, every good Christian man that any care hath of his own soul will be sore afraid to put it in jeopardy of damnation by falling in any point from the faith of Christ's whole Catholic Church for the word of a fond wedded friar or any fond fellow of his—he deviseth here to take away that fear, and to make men believe at the leastwise that so a man believe the thing that Peter then confessed... it sufficeth enough for salvation, though he believe no further articles besides. And thus far sufficeth for him to make folk the less afeard to draw toward him. But bringing us once so far forward... then will he further for his purpose say that not only no man is bound upon damnation to believe any more, but that, further, it is damnable in some things to believe more... and that in some things it neither availeth nor hurteth to believe any more. And therefore it is wisdom to stay well ourselves in the beginning. For Tyndale saith, as I have in my First Book showed you, many things against divers of the sacraments, which he saith is deadly sin to believe. And here he putteth for faith enough, the faith that Saint Peter confessed. And in his chapter answered in my third book of this work—"Whether the Apostles Left

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Anything Unwritten That Were Necessary to Salvation”—there saith he that to believe or not believe the Assumption of our Lady, or her

*Whose opinion is most  
erroneous!* perpetual virginity, and many such others  
more, is but a belief of a history and  
nothing doth pertain unto salvation.

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And hereafter, in his other chapter, “How a Christian Man Cannot Err, and How He May Yet Err”—in that chapter he saith that the very Christian man cannot err in anything that should be against the promises which are in Christ... and in other things their errors be not unto damnation, though they be never so great.

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Whereof he by and by putteth example of the perpetual virginity of our Lady—in the not-belief whereof he saith that a man being led of ignorance, by the words of the Gospel, to believe that she were not a perpetual virgin... might in case, for lack of the contrary teaching, die in that misbelief and yet take none harm thereby, “because it hurteth not the redemption that is in Christ’s blood. For though she had none but Christ, I am,” saith Tyndale, “therefore never the more saved; neither yet the less though she had had. And in suchlike a hundred, that plucketh not a man’s faith from Christ, they might err and yet be never the less saved, though the contrary were written in the Gospel.”

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Lo, here have I, well-beloved readers, nothing letted, partly to repeat again his words written in his other chapter before, partly to anticipate his words written in his other chapter after. Which words of his I have out of both places taken into this... to the intent that, albeit I partly have and partly shall touch them in their own proper places, yet ye should see the whole sum and effect of this tale concerning the faith before your face laid together... which he draweth in pieces and pulleth into sundry parts because he would by his will fain steal away from us in the dark, and leave us without any plain perceiving of his ungracious mind.

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But now that I have laid, in effect, all his whole opinion together as touching the faith (saving his only difference and division of “historical faith” and “feeling faith,” which I shall reserve unto its proper place), I shall a little examine this faith of his, that ye may look thereon in the light, and see whether it be sufficient for your salvation or not.

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First, in this faith that Saint Peter confessed is never a word of purgatory.

Now doubt I not but that Tyndale, when he readeth *this* word, will well and merrily laugh thereat and say, “No more there needeth!” For that faith, will he say, will put out and quench the fire of purgatory clean. 5

Then will we ask him how will he laugh at the fire of hell; for of that fire is there nothing spoken in that confession neither, but that he might, for all that confession, ween well enough that there were none hell. If Tyndale will say nay... “for he must needs believe that the thing from which Christ, the Son of the Living God, was come into the world to redeem mankind must needs be hell”... and that therefore Peter’s confession includeth of necessity the belief of hell: I answer Tyndale again that therein was no necessity. For Peter might believe at that time, for any word that was in his confession, that Christ’s coming was only to redeem us, not from hell, but from the loss of heaven; from which he might think, peradventure, that all mankind were banished unto such a place as was *limbus patrum*—though out of pain, yet suspiring and sighing after the sight of God and joy of heaven—and into such estate as children live in that die unbaptized. Which though they enter not heaven, because they die the children of wrath unreconciled—yet the merciful anger of God driveth them not down into sensible pain and to the feeling of the infernal fire. 10 15 20 25

This faith might, peradventure, Saint Peter have, for anything spoken of in his confessed faith; yea, and might have therewith also a belief that for actual sins, men were punished after this life, some less while some longer, and yet none everlastingly... but every man at length brought unto peace and rest, though never no man to the bliss of heaven but only by Christ’s coming. And thus might Saint Peter have rather a belief of purgatory than of hell, for any word mentioned in his confession, wherein he confesseth not the belief of either other. Saint Peter also nothing there confessed of Christ’s Passion, descension into hell, resurrection, nor of his ascension... which things be not only principal points of our faith, but also some such as God’s *promise* specially dependeth upon. 30 35

Unto which promises Tyndale restraineth all our necessary

faith. Howbeit, of truth, Tyndale restraineth it therein too sore. For then we be not bound to believe that the Holy Ghost were equal with the Father and the Son, for that was no *promise* made unto us. And yet are we bound to believe that *truth*, whereof is also nothing spoken in Peter's confessed faith.

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Therefore it will be very hard (if impossible be hard) for Tyndale to sustain that the faith which Saint Peter confessed then, were sufficient to serve every Christian man now. And therefore let no man take any boldness upon Tyndale's tale to think as he would have him: that only the thing that Peter there confessed were enough now to believe... and that in all other things that the Church believeth, which Christ and his Holy Spirit have taught his Church since, were but things indifferent, and nothing forced whether they were believed or not.

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Tyndale shall be constrained to come to this even by his own words, albeit that he affirmeth for fast and sure somewhat more than he may make good. For he saith that Peter meant by his words, "We believe that thou art he that was promised unto Abraham should come and bless us and deliver us." And yet, he saith, Peter wist not by what means Christ should deliver us. "But now it is open," he saith, "throughout all the world: that through the offering of his body and blood. . . ."

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Now, if Peter at that time knew not the thing that must now needs be believed upon pain of damnation—ye may thereby see that the faith which Peter confessed then is *not* enough now for every man to be saved by... but we be bound to the belief also of such things as God hath revealed and made open to be believed unto his church any time since. Or else must Tyndale tell us at what time God bade whoa and gave us leave to believe him no further, whatsoever he would further say to us.

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Consider yet also that Tyndale agreeth that the very, true Christians of his elect, unknown church... do believe the article of the perpetual virginity of our Lady as soon as they be taught it, and acknowledge their former error; whereby he granteth that he which doth not so is none of the elects. Then say I that thereupon it followeth, by his own words, that the article of the perpetual virginity of our Lady *is* a necessary article of our faith.

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And thus always must Tyndale, upon his own words, confess that *all* the articles revealed further by Christ unto his church must



be believed as firmly as the faith that was by Peter confessed... or else we be not only discharged of the belief of our Lady's perpetual virginity, which Tyndale is now yet brought unawares to grant for an article necessary, since it is now taught and known... but also of the belief of Christ's death, descension, resurrection, ascension, and of the Godhood of the Holy Ghost, with divers other necessary points more.	5
But here it is to be considered that Saint Peter in confessing Christ to be the Son of the Living God... did confess the very point whereupon all the whole faith hangeth. For in that point alone he confesseth that <i>all</i> his doctrine must needs be believed for true, and <i>all</i> his commandments fulfilled. And thereupon it followeth further that, since Tyndale will believe no more of his	10
<i>Jn 20:30; 21:25</i> doctrine than he can find written in the Scripture (whereas the Scripture itself	15
saith that all was never written); nor will not also believe and obey	
<i>Mt 16:19; 18:17-18</i> Christ's church, according to Christ's commandment—	
<i>Lk 10:16</i> nor will not so much as	
<i>know</i> it, but fondly frameth an unknown,	
whom he for lack of knowledge can neither believe nor obey—it followeth, I say, that Tyndale believeth no piece of the faith that Saint Peter confessed! And so he doth but prattle and prate of “feeling faith,” without the feeling of any faith at all, or any true belief, historical or other.	20
And yet goeth he forth in the boast of that article of the faith which, as himself confesseth, was out of Peter's confession. For he saith that Saint Peter was not aware of Christ's Passion when he made that confession.	25
Tyndale	
That offering [of Christ's body and blood] is a satisfaction for the sin of all that repent, and a purchasing of whatsoever they can ask to keep them in favor, and that they sin no more.	30
More	
<i>How Christ's offering up of himself is a satisfaction for all that repent</i>	
Truth is it that the Passion of Christ and offering up of himself unto his Father upon the cross <i>is</i> a satisfaction for the sin of all that repent—so that	35

we repent aright and effectually, by confession, contrition, and by penitential deeds; revenging our sins upon ourselves with good works of charity, the more largely increased, toward our neighbors; doing fruitful penance, bringing forth the fruits	
<i>Mt 3:8; Acts 26:20</i> of penance... and, according to the counsel	5
<i>Col 1:24; 1 Pt 4:8</i> of Saint John the Baptist, not slight fruits, simple and single, but fruits good, great, and worthy... and yet not of themselves worthy, but such as the satisfaction of Christ maketh worthy, without which we could nothing satisfy... but with which we may, since his pleasure is that we so should, and not so take his death for so full satisfaction of altogether, that we should therefore be careless and slothful to do any penance ourselves for our own sin.	10
Tyndale will say to this that he can be content that we should do good deeds... but not by way of penance for our sin; and that we should sometimes fast, and otherwise afflict our flesh, to the intent to tame our flesh against the sin to come... but nothing to punish it the more for any sin that is past.	15
Now is this teaching of Tyndale much like as though he would advise us, “Be never the better because thou hast been naught; do never the better because thou hast done evil; run never the faster forth in virtue because thou hast long sat still in sin.”	20
But Saint Paul, against Tyndale’s doctrine, ran forth the faster because he began later, and took the more pain for the faith because he had been a persecutor of the faith. And though he never thought thus... “If I had been sooner converted, I would have done less good”... yet had he this mind: that because he began so late, he would do the more... and because he had been bad, he would be the better...	25
<i>Rom 6:19</i> as himself counseleth others—“As ye have exhibited and given your members to serve uncleanness and iniquity, from iniquity to iniquity... so now again exhibit and give your members to serve righteousness, that ye may be sanctified.”	30
Tyndale	
And Christ answered, “Upon this rock I will build my congregation”— that is, “Upon this <i>faith</i> ”—“and against the rock of this	35

faith can no sin, no hell, no devil, no lies, none error prevail.”  
 For whatsoever any man hath committed... if he repent and come  
 to this rock he is safe. And that this faith is the *only* way by the  
 which the church goeth unto God, and unto the inheritance of  
 all his riches... testify all the apostles and prophets, and all the  
 Scripture, with signs and miracles, and all the blood of martyrs.  
 And whosoever go to God, and to forgiveness of sins, or salvation,  
 by any other way than this... the same is a heretic—out of the right  
 way, and not of Christ’s church.

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### More

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Lo, these words of Tyndale seem very gay and glorious. But  
 when ye shall well examine them... as gay as the head glittereth with  
 the pretext of Christ’s own holy words, yet shall ye find the tail  
 of his tale as poisoned as any serpent. For where he boasteth and saith,  
 “Against the rock of this faith can no sin, no hell, no devil, no lies, nor  
 none error prevail; for whatsoever sin any man hath committed, if he  
 repent and come to this rock he is safe,” ye may not forget that he meaneth  
 always that he which repenteth and cometh to the rock of this  
 faith is safe, for all his sins, without confession or any endeavor  
 through good works toward satisfaction; and so his whole tale is a  
 false heresy.

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Ye shall also consider that his tale hangeth evil together... and  
 the words by which he proveth that “against the rock of this  
 faith there can no sin, nor no devil, nor none error prevail”  
 do not prove that point nothing at all. For though it were true  
 that he saith, that “whatsoever sin a man have committed, if he  
 repent and come to the rock of this faith he is safe”—yet *might* the  
 devil prevail against the rock of that faith... since it might be that  
 the devil might bring a man having that faith into a deadly  
 sin that he should haply never repent. And therefore, if Tyndale  
 will boast that the devil cannot in any person prevail against  
 the rock of that faith, but that the rock of that faith shall save any  
 man that once getteth up thereon, he may not set “if” nor “and” thereunto...  
 but he must tell us then that either whoso stand upon that rock  
 shall not sin at all, or else that he shall be sure to repent his  
 sin, or, finally, that sin he never so fast, he shall be safe enough  
 whether he repent or not. For else *may* the devil prevail against

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the rock of that faith, by bringing a man that standeth on it into mortal sin which he shall never repent.

In like wise, where he saith that none error can prevail against the rock of this faith that Saint Peter there confessed, I would fain wit whether he mean that whosoever once believe it can never fall from that belief, nor by any error believe the contrary; or else that a man may fall from it by error... but then if he repent and return again thereto, he shall be safe. If he mean in the first manner, he must then put away his “if”... and not say, “If he repent his error and return again to the rock of that faith, then he shall be safe”... forasmuch as by that meaning, he shall never fall in error, and therefore shall never need to repent. But then must he prove us by Scripture that privilege given of God to every man that hath once gotten that faith; which point he shall never prove while he liveth, but that a man that hath it may by his own default, malice, or negligence, either at the instigation of the devil or of such heretics as are worse than the devil, fall again therefrom... as many hath done ere this, that once believed full right, till the spirit of pride, envy, and malice, blown into their hearts by the devil or the devil’s instruments, have brought them into the wrong.

Now, if he mean in the second manner—that is to say, that a man which hath that faith may fall therefrom... but for all that, the gates of hell cannot prevail against any man that once hath it, because he that falleth from it shall be safe if he repent his error and return again to it—if he mean thus, he saith nothing to purpose, except he say (which he shall never prove) that whoso have it and fall from it shall be sure that he shall repent and return again; for else the gates of hell may prevail against him for lack of repenting and returning.

And then, yet further, if he say (which he shall never prove) that whosoever once have that faith, if he fall from it shall be sure to repent and return again and so shall be safe by repenting—he must then, as I said before, put away his “if”... and not say “*if* he repent,” but he must say boldly that he surely *shall* repent and return, and so by repenting and faith be saved.

And thus, good readers, ye see that this man fareth as one that walked barefoot upon a field full of thorns, that wotteth not where to tread.

I would be very loath to mistake him, or willingly to let pass  
and dissemble any sense that he might mean in his own words,  
by which his saying might be saved and be borne. But in good  
faith, I see no further thing that he might possibly mean in his  
words, that “hell gates shall not prevail against the rock of that  
faith,” but this that I have already showed you... since he meaneth it of  
*every* man, that hell gates shall not prevail against the rock of that  
faith in *any* man—except he would mean that a man may fall from  
that faith, and never after repent nor turn again... but yet the  
gates of hell cannot prevail against the rock of that *faith*, because  
a man cannot sin all the while he keepeth that faith. And if  
he mean so... yet saith he then as false as anything can be false.  
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*1 Cor 13:2* For Saint Paul saith plainly that he  
may keep faith and yet fall from charity.  
10

Which thing if Tyndale gloss and say that then his faith is dead,  
and a dead faith is no faith... and that therefore while he *keepeth* faith  
15

*Dead faith waxeth not dead in the nature of belief.* he cannot sin, because that when he  
sinneth he *killeth* his faith: I answer  
*1 Tm 5:6* that though faith by sin wax dead, it  
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waxeth not dead in the nature of faith or belief... no more than the  
soul that dieth by deadly sin waxeth dead in the nature of the  
soul, but is a quick soul still as he was before, though he be out  
of grace... as the dead faith is out of the lively works of charity, and  
is as Saint Paul said of wanton widows, that the widow “which  
liveth in delices is dead even while she liveth.”  
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But, now, if he mean but so—that faith is so strong of itself for  
our salvation that sin nor error cannot prevail against it,  
because faith will always prevail against them till some of them  
enter in and kill it—this were a goodly boast of him to say; that “the  
church be none but elects, and all that be elects have the right  
belief which Saint Peter confessed... and they may be bold  
and sure that they which have that faith be God’s elects, and in  
his favor, and ever shall be by reason of that faith; for Christ said  
that upon the ‘rock’ (that is to wit, upon that faith) he would build  
his church, and that against the ‘rock’ of this faith ‘the gates of hell  
shall not prevail’ (that is to say, against this faith can no sin, no  
hell, no devil, no lies, no error prevail), for there shall no sin  
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nor no error prevail against this faith but if it kill this faith.”

Tyndale to put a man in surety of heaven by the strength of faith in this fashion—that none error shall prevail against faith, as long as the faith prevaieth against it, nor till the faith be the feeblor and be overcome and killed—doth much like as though he would say to you, “Be bold, I warrant you, and fear no death, for you have life in you, and as long as your life lasteth you can never be dead; and likewise, as long as ye keep the true faith ye can never be false heretics... nor as long as ye stand still in the state of salvation ye can never be damned.” 5 10

Here were a goodly tale, were it not? And since that neither this may serve him, nor any that I have touched before... and utterly I cannot divine what he might mean else, taking the way that he taketh, in swerving from the known, Catholic church unto his unknown church of elects, whom he calleth all repentant sinners that believe the faith that Saint Peter confessed: I cannot perceive, nor, I trow, no man else, but that his words will evil stand together. 15

And yet, when he hath thus wisely handled it... then, as though the matter were well and sufficiently proved, goeth he forth with the boast and saith... 20

#### Tyndale

That this faith is the *only* way by the which the church of Christ goeth unto God, and unto the inheritance of all riches... testify all the apostles, and prophets, and all the Scripture, with signs and miracles, and all the blood of martyrs. And whosoever goeth unto God, and forgiveness of sins, or salvation, by any other way than this... the same is a heretic—out of the right way, and not of Christ’s church. 25

#### More

Lo, here be lusty, high words either false or else of little effect. 30  
For if he mean that no man may go to salvation by any other thing *without* this faith that Saint Peter professed—then be they true. But then are they to no purpose spoken, nor have no place in this matter, in which he reproveth the known church in that they go by confession, contrition, works of penance, and works of mercy, toward the remission of the debt of their pain and satisfaction. For himself cannot say nay but that we do 35

*Note* all agree that with all that ever we can do,  
 we cannot get forth one inch to heavenward,  
 without the faith that Saint Peter confessed.

Now, if he mean not that way, but that we be plain heretics  
 and out of Christ's church if, having that faith that Saint Peter  
 confessed, we go to heavenward with any other thing besides that 5  
 testify all the apostles and prophets, and all the Scripture and  
 signs and miracles, and all the blood of martyrs—then *Tyndale* is a  
*stark* heretic, in so saying. For all these will testify that we  
 must believe many things more than Saint Peter did there confess— 10  
 or else we shall not only be discharged of believing the  
 sacraments of Penance, Confirmation, Extreme Unction, Order,  
 and Matrimony... but Baptism also, and the Sacrament of the Altar  
 too. For of none of all these did Saint Peter make any mention in his  
 confession there; nor so much as of Christ's death neither, whereof, as 15  
*Tyndale* saith, he had at that time no knowledge. So that in *Tyndale's*  
 affirming that the only faith there by Peter confessed is  
 sufficient and the only way to heaven, we shall have *Tyndale* himself  
 to testify that *Tyndale* himself saith untrue.

Yet would I fain, in good faith, find and bring it forth, if I 20  
 could anything imagine, that he might seem to mean right; nor  
 never will I wittingly for the preferment of my part construe mine  
 adversary's words wrong. And therefore, what if we might understand  
*Tyndale* thus: as though he meant that the faith there confessed  
 by Peter is for every man sufficient... because that whoso 25  
 believe that Christ is the Son of the Living God, it cannot be but  
 that he shall believe also that he is true in all his words; and therefore  
 he that so believeth cannot fail to believe therewith... all that  
 ever Christ shall teach him.

Albeit that this will not very fully serve him, and also himself 30  
 speaketh nothing of it—yet is this, as help me God, the best gloss that  
 I can devise for him. But now doth himself cast away this  
 defense... when he saith, in the second chapter following, that there  
 is none error noisome but if it be against the *promises*; so that in  
 all other things he granteth and affirmeth plainly, by express 35  
 words, that a man may err without peril, even though that the

truth contrary to his error be written in Holy Scripture; which is  
 a marvelous word in mine ear. For by this ye may see that he  
 agreeth that a man *may* believe that Christ is God's Son and yet  
 believe the contrary of some things that Christ shall tell him,  
 though he tell it him in Scripture. And therefore he will, ye see well, 5  
 none of my gloss, because he will not stand in my danger for it.

And indeed, albeit himself shall for himself never find a  
 better... yet mine will not sufficiently serve him neither. For a man  
 might believe that Christ were God's Son, and thereby believe also  
 all that Christ would teach him—but yet might it be that he would 10  
 believe no more than those things only that Christ would teach  
 him personally present with him, by his own mouth. For though he  
 believed that Christ were God's Son, and would believe therefore  
 all that *he* would tell him, yet might he, for all that, mistrust and  
 not believe all other men that would, either in word or writing, tell 15  
 him a tale as told to them by Christ's own mouth. Yea, and this  
 might he do although they proved it with miracles... if he were

*Mt 12:24* of Tyndale's stomach, that can, as the Jews  
 could, ascribe God's miracles to Beelzebul,  
 and call God's high, marvelous works illusions and wonders 20  
 of the devil—as he calleth all the miracles wrought by God in his  
 church since the apostles' days.

This might one do that believed Christ to be God's Son, and  
 to have redeemed us, also, by his blood. And this doth indeed both  
 Tyndale and Martin his master, which believe of Christ's words no 25  
 more than is written... nor of the written words no more than they  
 list... and the remnant but *as* they list, since they draw them to  
 what sense they list, against all the old holy doctors, and all the  
 church of Christ. And thus it appeareth that neither my gloss nor any  
 gloss else can save Tyndale's tale from plain pestilent heresy... 30  
 both in that he saith there needeth no more to be believed, and also  
 in that he saith that the belief alone is sufficient for salvation...  
 and that it is heresy to say that besides the belief, any man  
 unto salvation should need anything else. For though he put in, for  
 shame, repentance thereunto, with ifs, as ye see—yet shall ye perceive, 35  
 as well in his chapters following as in this same chapter  
 after, that he putteth faith alone for sufficient, and repentance as



a shadow that never can but follow it. And yet all his things ever so darkly that he would fain leave himself some starting hole.

But surely it is hard for him to start out from these plain words of his own, “Whosoever go to God by any other way than this faith that Saint Peter confessed... the same is a heretic—out of the right way, and not of Christ’s church.” For this is no more to say but whosoever besides the bare belief, with as bare repenting, add confession, or for sin punish himself by penance, or doth the better after because he hath done evil before, and hopeth that God shall either reward him the more or have the more mercy on him or in purgatory punish him the less—he is a stark heretic. And of truth, so he is indeed, if this false tale be true... and all true men, and all holy saints, and all Holy Scripture, false. 5 10

But now goeth he forth, not in the proof but in the praise, and saith... 15

#### Tyndale

For this knowledge maketh me a man of the church.

#### More

Which knowledge? The knowledge that a man needeth no more articles in his faith now than Saint Peter confesseth then? And that he may not, besides repentance and belief, use any other way to heaven; that is to wit, he may not therewith use as a way to heaven or to remission any sacramental shrift, or penitential works, or deeds of charity toward satisfaction? The knowledge of this faith maketh Tyndale a man of the church, as he saith. But of *which* church, trow ye? Truly not of the church of *Christ*, which besides *that* faith hath instituted the faith in his blessed sacraments and divers other articles besides... and which hath plainly declared that albeit the knowledge of him and his pleasure by faith be such a way toward heaven that *without* it we cannot come thither, yet if we join not to that knowledge good deeds or purpose of good works, neither can that knowledge nor repentance, neither, serve us for a *sufficient* way to heaven. And therefore Tyndale is not by this knowledge made a man of Christ’s true church; but since he is content with the bare knowledge and setteth all good works at so short, he is made thereby a man of the false church of the devil, that is a liar himself and father of all such liars. 20 25 30 35

## Tyndale

The church is Christ's body (Col 1); and every person of the church is a member of Christ (Eph 5). Now, it is no member of Christ that hath not Christ's Spirit in it; as it is no part of me, nor member of my body, wherein my soul is not present and quickeneth it. And then if a man be none of Christ's, he is not of the church.

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## More

Here Tyndale runneth in juggling, by equivocation of this word "church." For—whereas himself hath before this time confessed in writing, in this same book to which I answer now, that "the church," in many places of Holy Scripture, is the whole multitude that profess the faith of Christ, whether they be good or bad—*here* he fareth as though there were no man of "the church" but only good folk alone in whom is the Spirit of Christ... with an example put of the body having some dead part hanging thereon, wherein were not the soul to quicken it and give it life, which therefore, he saith, is no part of the body. But he forgetteth that sometimes there is some member astonied and lacketh both life and feeling... which yet, by the reason that it is not clean cut off and cast away, receiveth after life and feeling again... as many a deadly sinner doth in the body of Christ's church take life again, that hath in sin lain full long dead.

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But now is he yet of this mind, that the faith which himself hath described is the thing that, it once gotten and had of any man, keepeth in the Spirit of God so fast in his heart that he is surely a quick member of the church that is Christ's body... and that he cannot lose that faith nor that Spirit at any time after that he hath once gotten it... so that he have it, as he saith in another chapter after, feelingly and not only historically.

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And whosoever have not the faith that he describeth him, he reckoneth for a heretic; and only *his* faith for the true, and the believers thereof for the true church.

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Now, *his* faith have ye heard often enough: that only faith sufficeth, or at the leastwise with repenting; and that shrift, or penance toward heaven, or remission of sins, is heresy; and that to worship the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar is dishonor to God; and that there is no purgatory; and that friars may well and

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lawfully wed nuns; and a great rabble of such devilish  
heresies more, of such manner suit and sort that, as our Savior said  
*Mt 16:17* unto Saint Peter at the confession of his  
faith, “Thou art blessed, Simon the son  
of Jonah; for flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but 5  
my Father that is in heaven,” so will he say to Tyndale, for confessing  
of this false faith of his, “Thou art accursed, Tyndale, the son of the  
devil; for neither flesh nor blood hath taught thee these heresies...  
but thine own father, the devil that is in hell.” And thus well hath he  
acquitted him in this chapter. 10

Here endeth the confutation of this chapter of Tyndale,  
“Whether the Church Can Err.”

Here followeth the next chapter of Tyndale, in which he  
saith that a true member of Christ’s church  
sinneth not, and that he is yet a sinner. 15

Tyndale

How a true member of Christ’s church sinneth not, and how he is  
yet a sinner.

More

Now come we to the special point wherein Tyndale giveth us 20  
a glorious demonstration of his excellent, high wit and learning,  
far surmounting the capacity of poor popish men to perceive:  
how it might be possible that any man sinneth not and yet, for all  
that, sinneth always still. But to the intent that Tyndale shall have  
no cause to say that I deface his gay, goodly tale by mangling of his 25  
matter and rehearsing him by patches and pieces, ye shall first, concerning  
this point, hear all his whole chapter together, without  
any word of his either omitted or changed; and after shall we  
consider and examine the parts. These are, therefore, his words...

Tyndale

Furthermore, he that hath this faith cannot sin; and therefore 30  
he cannot be deceived with damnable errors. For by this faith  
we be, as I said, born of God. Now, he that is born of God cannot

sin, for “his seed dwelleth in him; and he cannot, therefore, sin, because he is born of God” (1 Jn 3). Which seed is the Holy Ghost, that keepeth a man’s heart from consenting unto sin. And therefore it is a false conclusion that Master More holdeth, how that a man may have a right faith joined with all kinds of abomination and sin. And yet every member of Christ’s congregation *is* a sinner, and sinneth daily, some more and some less. For it is written (1 Jn 1), “If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. And again, if we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar and his word is not in us.” And Paul (Rom 7) saith, “That good which I would, that do I not; but that evil which I would not, that do I. So it is not I that do it,” saith he, “but sin that dwelleth in me.” Thus are we sinners *and* no sinners. No sinners if thou look unto the profession of our hearts toward the law of God, on our repentance and sorrow that we have, both because we have sinned and also because we be yet full of sin still, and unto the promises of mercy in our Savior Christ, and unto faith. Sinners are we if thou look unto the frailty of our flesh, which is as the weakness of one that is newly recovered out of a great disease... by the reason whereof our deeds are imperfect, and by the reason whereof also, when occasions be great, we fall into horrible deeds... and the fruit of the sin which remaineth in our members breaketh out. Notwithstanding, yet the Spirit leaveth us not, but rebuketh us and bringeth us home again unto our profession... so that we never cast off the yoke of God from our necks, neither yield up ourselves unto sin for to serve it, but fight afresh and begin a new battle.

#### More

Lo, now ye have heard his whole holy sermon together, by which he teacheth us that a true member of Christ’s church doth both ever sin and never sin. But as for the one part, that the true members of Christ *do* sin... we shall not much trouble him with the proof; albeit in that he saith that every true member sinneth and *ever* sinneth (as he saith in more places than one), if he take “sin” for actual sin (as he must here take it, or else he speaketh little to the purpose), men might peradventure lay a block or twain in his way, that would break his shins ere he leapt over it. But letting that part pass, let us see how he proveth the other: that a true member of Christ’s church sinneth *not*. Lo, thus he proveth it...

Tyndale

Furthermore, he that hath this faith cannot sin, and therefore cannot be deceived with damnable errors.

More

Here he telleth us that no member of the elect church of his faith can be deceived with any damnable error—and proveth it by that none of them can sin. And indeed it followeth: He cannot sin; ergo, he cannot be damnably deceived, since every damnable error is sin. But now let us see how he proveth his antecedent, that no man having that faith can sin. He proveth it thus... 5 10

Tyndale

For by this faith we be born of God. Now, he that is born of God cannot sin, “for his seed dwelleth in him; and he cannot, therefore, sin, because he is born of God” [the third chapter of the First Epistle of John]. Which seed is the Holy Ghost, that keeps a man’s heart from consenting to sin. And therefore it is a false conclusion that M. More holdeth, that a man may have a right faith joined with all kinds of abomination and sin. 15

More

Consider now, good reader, that Tyndale telleth us here three things, to prove thereby that whoso get once the faith that Saint Peter confessed can never sin after. 20

The first is that by that faith we be born of God. The second is that whoso is born of God hath the seed of God in him.

The third is that whoso have the seed of God in him cannot sin. 25

Upon these three he concludeth that whoso get once that faith can never sin after.

Let us now consider the first, where he saith that by faith we be born of God. And therein dare we be bold to tell him that though it be true that by faith we be born of God, as he now saith, yet is it 30

*We are not born of God* false that by *only* faith we be born of  
*by only faith!* God—as he falsely meaneth, and in many  
places as falsely for truth affirmeth,

where he would make us ween that because we be born of God and 35

become his children by faith, we were therefore born of God by *only* faith. As wisely as if he would say that because he was begotten by his father, he was therefore begotten of his father only, without any mother.

And this his folly himself so well perceiveth that in many places he laboreth to cover it with sophistication, in using this word “faith” for faith and hope together; yea, and sometimes for charity therewith also... and then would make us ween, with such wise juggling, that “faith alone” were faith, hope, and charity, all three together, because that else the faith were but dead. And therein useth himself as wisely as if he would say that “the body alone” eateth, drinketh, walketh, believeth, loveth, and altogether; and when his folly were reprov’d, would then say that he called “the body alone” the body with the soul therein, because the body without the soul were but a dead body that could nothing do.

And thus ye see that ye shall not need to be deceived by his first point: that we be born of God by faith.

His second point is that every man being born of God hath the “seed of God” dwelling in him. I will not here contend with him whether the “seed of God” that dwelleth in the children of God be the Holy Ghost, or the faith, or the grace of God... nor in what wise God and his Holy Spirit dwell in good folk. But letting such disputations pass, this will I say: that if the seed of *faith* being *only* faith abide in him, it is not a thing that shall so surely keep him from sin but that he may sin deadly, and the seed of such faith stand still with his sin; and the man, for all the seed of such faith dwelling in him, may be by sin the child of the devil, and so may die and go to the devil.

<i>Belief alone is a great occasion of returning to God.</i>	But yet is the seed of faith alone, that is to say, the belief alone, a very great occasion of returning to God at his calling again by the offer of his grace,	30
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and thereby to get again both wholesome hope and charity. But not so great an occasion thereof but that the man may keep still his faith and his belief alone and, without hope or charity either, by malice or negligence first fall to sin, and after continue still in sin, and refuse the grace of God, if he will... as well as the devil did in the	35
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beginning, and so doth ever still, and will do still in hell as long  
as God dwelleth in heaven.

Now, if the “seed” of God in the Christian man be meant his grace by  
which men come to faith, hope, and charity, and do good works  
with, not without the consent and applying of their own free  
wills thereto—such folk as have use of reason working with God  
for their poor part toward their own salvation, with the  
instrument that God of his only goodness hath made and given them  
thereunto—if he mean that this seed of God’s grace dwelleth still  
in man, to keep him from falling to sin: I say that it is very true,  
as long as man will cleave thereunto and let his own will work therewith.  
But whensoever he will withdraw his own will therefrom, to  
follow the world, the flesh, or the devil: then, like as his will  
departeth from grace, so doth ordinarily the seed of grace depart out  
of him.

Now, if he mean by the “seed” of God that the Spirit of God dwelleth  
in the Christian man by any other special manner of dwelling,  
above such dwelling as he dwelleth in other men by his power and  
presence of his Godhead, than only by his favor and grace—which  
other special manner, if Tyndale mean any such, I cannot conceive,  
since I make myself sure that he meaneth no such dwelling in  
unity of person as the Second Person of the Godhead dwelleth with  
the manhood of Christ—yet if he devise and mean any other manner  
of dwelling by which the Spirit of God dwelleth with the faithful  
man, I say that the Spirit dwelleth in him and helpeth him to  
continue such as long as the man will by the applying of his  
own will continue with the Spirit. But I say that the man *may*  
by the frowardness of his free will (at the motion of the flesh, or  
instigation of the devil, or enticement of the world)—his faith  
remaining—fall from charity, and put the Spirit from him. As

*Mk 5:1–17* did the people of Gerasa which, seeing  
Christ’s miracle wrought upon the mad  
man (out of whom he did cast the devil!), because he drove the  
devil into their hogs and thereby drove their hogs into the sea...  
though well they perceived what a mighty lord he was, and of what  
goodness too, in that they saw him deliver the man from the legion of  
devils, and therefore loved him somewhat, of likelihood, and would

have been glad to have had him dwell still with them... yet fearing that by the casting out of more devils they might afterward haply lose more of their hogs, they prayed him courteously to get him quickly thence.

Yet God, when man hath put him out of his dwelling... doth of his great goodness not always utterly leave him for his unkindness... but though if the man die ere God come in again, God shall of justice for his unkindness condemn him, yet he hovereth still about the door of his heart, always knocking upon him to be by the free will of man let in with his grace into the house of man's heart again... according to the words of our Savior in the Apocalypse, *Rv 3:20* where he saith, "I stand at the door, knocking." Howbeit, a man may be so froward and obstinate in sin, and when he hath expelled God out of his heart, may drive him, with sin upon sin and spiteful circumstances, so far off from the door (as some of these heretics do, which in despite of virtuous vows of chastity, run out and wed nuns and live in lechery... and in despite of the Lenten fast, eat flesh upon Good Friday... and in despite of the Blessed Sacraments of the Altar, cast the Precious Body of Christ out of the pyx) that God shall justly, for the hugeness of their abomination, withdraw himself so far that he shall peradventure never approach near unto them again, nor never after offer them his grace. And then must they needs never cease falling till they come down to the devil. Thus, finally, concerning his second point... "faith alone" *may* dwell in a man, *and* deadly sin, together. But *lively* faith—that is to wit, faith not alone, but coupled with hope and charity and will of good works—*cannot* dwell with deadly sin... neither with manslaughter, adultery, nor any suchlike... but as the one cometh in, the other goeth out, whether the sin be committed of malice, weakness, or frailty; whereof Tyndale very stiffly teacheth us untruly the contrary. *All sins be not of one weight.* And yet I say not that all sins be of one weight... concerning the difficulty of returning to repentance, or the degrees of pain in hell, after the final impenitence, or punishment in purgatory for lack of penance



here... but for that if they die before they return by grace and good will unto penance, they be all perpetually damned in hell, the one as well as the other (though the one not so much as the other), contrary to Tyndale's aforesaid false conclusion; whose proof in that point specially dependeth upon his third article, whereof the words be true and his understanding false. For his third point, ye wot well, is this: that whosoever have the seed of God dwelling in him cannot sin. 5

This point, ye remember, he proveth by the words of Saint John in the third chapter of his first epistle. Which epistle is undoubtedly one of the most hard and dark places of all the New Testament... and whereof sundry great heresies have risen, and sundry more there may, through such malicious minds as read the Scripture to none other intent but to wrest every word unto the worse part... and of the plainness and simplicity that the apostles used in the manner of their words, take occasion to turn their earnest, godly sentence into frivolous cavillations and sophisms; as not only divers heretics have done of old, but also Tyndale hath now of new—both renewed their old and added some of his own, more pestilent and more foolish, also, than all the old heretics durst for very shame have spoken of. And whereas all the old holy doctors used always to make open and expound the hard and dark places of Scripture by such others as were plain, clear, and evident: 10

*The use and custom of heretics*                      these heretics always, for the proof of their heresies, seek out the hardest places that can be found in Scripture; and all 15

the plain, open words in which can be no doubt nor question, they come and expound by those places that be dark, obscure, and hard to understand; much like a blind guide that would, when men were walking in a dark night, put out the candle and show them the way by the lantern. 20

This way useth Tyndale universally, as well in every other thing that he taketh in hand to prove as in this point specially... that he which hath once the faith can never sin, because he hath the seed of God dwelling in him. For whereas it is evident and plain by clear and open texts of Scripture, full and plenteous in every part thereof, that there is no man here (except some special revelation thereof) so 25 30 35

*Temper God's mercy with the  
dread of his justice.*

sure of his own final salvation, nor of  
his own present estate neither, but that  
he hath good cause to fear and temper his

hope of God's mercy with the dread of his justice, lest his overbold  
hope may hap to stretch into presumption and occasion of  
slight regarding sin: Tyndale would expound them all against  
them all, by one dark text or twain taken in this epistle of Saint  
John... by which he would make us believe that Saint John teacheth  
divers of the most pestilent heresies and most repugnant unto God,  
and that in his justice and his mercy both, with the most occasion  
given unto the world unto the two most heinous sins and most  
contrarious in themselves, that is to wit, presumption and despair,  
that ever any heretic devised.

For he gathereth and affirmeth upon Saint John's epistle—in his false exposition, and also in his aforesaid beginning of this chapter—that Saint John teacheth them all these false heresies following...

First, that whosoever have once the true faith can never after sin of malice or purpose, but that all the sins that he can after fall unto shall be but of weakness and frailty—be they murder, adultery, perjury, sacrilege, incest, or treason, or any other abominable deed, be it never so detestable sin.

Secondly, that of all such sins, he that hath once at any time gotten the faith shall have ever after the grace to repent.

And thirdly, that at the bare repenting, without shrift or penance,  
he shall have forthwith forgiveness of all sin and pain—  
so that any satisfaction shall not only nothing need, but is also (as  
he saith) a damnable thing to do it for hope or desire toward any  
remission either of sin or pain, and a damnable error to  
believe that God hath ordained any punishment or pain, either  
in purgatory after this world or by any affliction in this world,  
for any sin that any man once having the faith committeth and  
repenteth him of, were it never so abominable.

For in his exposition of the First Epistle of Saint John, he is come so much further than ever he came before (as far as I remember) that there like (as I have showed you before) in the preface he denieth not only purgatory but also *all* punishment—here he teacheth also that

whoso get once the true faith, which he calleth the “feeling” faith, hath a sure, undoubted knowledge that he is in the state of grace, and an elect that can never be damned.

Now, of these abominable heresies what bold occasion of sin men may catch, and how they repugn against the justice of God—  
I refer it unto the wisdom of every good Christian reader. Then

*The “story” faith* teacheth he, on the other side, that whosoever, after his Baptism had, and the “story” faith (that is, he saith, the faith with which we believe the articles of the faith as men believe a story or a chronicle), do any deadly sin of purpose—that is to wit (as he saith), not of weakness or frailty, but of malice or willingly with a consenting to the sin—that man shall never after be forgiven, in this world nor in none other. For every such sin, saith he, is the sin against the Holy Ghost... which shall, saith he, never be forgiven, notwithstanding any repentance and penance taken and done therefor.

And to the proof of this pestilent heresy, he draweth the covert and obscure words of our Savior Christ in the Gospel of Saint  
*Mt 12:31–32; Heb 6:4–6* Matthew, the twelfth chapter; and also the dark and hard words of Saint Paul.

Which places of themselves all old holy doctors confess for diffuse and almost inexplicable... saving that they all expound them contrary to Tyndale’s heresy, by the articles of the known faith of Christ’s Catholic Church, and by many plain, open texts of Holy Scripture. Of which two things Tyndale the one dissembleth, and the other despiseth... and believeth the old heretic Novatian, the first author of that abominable heresy, better than Saint Cyprian, Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine, Saint Ambrose, Saint Gregory, and all the old holy saints that have written against it... and better than the whole Catholic Church of Christ of this fifteen hundred years, that ever hath taught the contrary, and ever since the first invention of that heresy have continually detested and condemned it as one of the most execrable heresies that ever the devil devised.

For as Tyndale’s other heresy fighteth against God’s justice... so doth this directly fight against his mercy... and putteth almost

all Christian people in utter despair of heaven, if men were so mad to believe one heretic or twain better than all the old holy saints, and all the whole church of Christ.

This heresy, as I began to tell you, Tyndale—among his others foreremembered—laboreth to establish... not only by the dark and hard places of Scripture foreremembered, but also by certain words in this First Epistle of Saint John... where is no more color to speak thereof than of the man in the moon, as every man may soon perceive that readeth him. 5

But now, for our present purpose, to touch his heresies of this chapter of his, of sinning without sin... I shall touch you the place in that epistle of Saint John whereby Tyndale would prove you that whoso get once the faith which he calleth the “true” faith and the “feeling” faith can never sin deadly after. By which ye shall plainly see how plainly he misconstrueth the Scripture to the mischief of men’s souls. The words of Saint John be these: 10 15

Every man that is born of God doth not sin, for the seed of him abideth in him; and he cannot sin, because he is born of God.

In the understanding of these words vary Tyndale and we. And whether he or we misunderstand it, that let us now examine. First, we shall, I suppose, agree together both that to be “born of God” is in the Scripture nothing else but to be the child of God... and to be “born of the devil” is to be the devil’s child. 20

We shall, I think, also agree together in this: that to be “born” of God, or to be the “children” of God, is not meant to be his natural children, as our Savior Christ is by reason of his Godhood... but, by faith, hope, and charity, and the sacraments, and the following of Christ in good works, and keeping of God’s commandments, to be members of his mystical body of his elect church. 25 30

But herein, peradventure, shall Tyndale and we begin to vary, not only for that I say “by the sacraments and good works,” of which Tyndale will not hear; but also for the “elect church” that is Christ’s “mystical body” whereof God’s children be members here in earth. For albeit that he is so wavering in his words that he wotteth not 35

where to hold him, and therefore speaketh so darkly that he would be loath to be understood—yet he will call, as it seemeth, no man a member of Christ’s “elect church” but him that is elected finally to bliss and salvation. And *I* call here the “elect church in this world”

<i>The elect church</i>	neither all that are chosen into Christendom and the profession of the Catholic	5
faith, nor only those that shall be finally saved, but all such as for the present time so stand in the state of grace that if they die before they fall therefrom, they shall be saved. Of which folk many fall after from it, and so be damned indeed... which folk <i>before</i> their		
	fall <i>be</i> the children of God, say I. And when they be fallen into deadly sin, then cease they to be the children of God, and be become the children of the devil, till they be born of God again by grace through penance, and become the children of God again. And in whichsoever of these two states a man finally dieth in—	10
	in that he perpetually dwelleth, and is thereby forever either the child of God in his church of the final elects in heaven, or else the child of the devil in the church of the final reprobates in hell... according to the word of Holy Writ that “if a tree fall south or north, in	15
<i>Ecccl 11:3</i>	what place soever it fall, there shall it remain.”	20

But here saith Tyndale that whosoever have *once* the faith which he calleth after the “feeling” faith, he *hath* the seed of God, the Spirit of God, in him. And because he hath the Spirit of God in him... therefore, he saith by the authority of the aforesaid words of Saint John, *that* man can never sin deadly. So that by that reason, whosoever have once the faith *is* one of the final elects. 25

Now see you in what manner Tyndale taketh these words. But against his taking stand all the old holy doctors of Christ’s church from the days of himself and his apostles hitherto. Of all whom let Tyndale tell me the name of any one that ever did understand these words of Saint John in such wise as Tyndale doth: that whosoever get once the right faith of Christ—and put therewith as great a feeling thereof, with hope and charity thereto, as ever holy Tyndale himself felt in his days—could never after fall into deadly sin, or not so deep into it that he might after be perpetually damned in hell. Let Tyndale, I say, tell me any one of 30 35

the old holy saints that in this exposition ever took his part—  
and let him take all my teeth, and my tongue too.

Now, if never any good man understood Saint John so before,  
but all holy men clean the contrary—by what reason looketh Tyndale  
now that we should now begin to believe him alone, in the understanding 5  
of these words of Saint John, better than all good cunning  
men this fifteen hundred years before him?

Now is his exposition, besides this, not only against the Catholic  
faith of all Christian people, and the plain determination of  
Christ's church... but also against many plain, open places of Holy 10  
Scripture besides... which were in so plain and clear a matter  
almost a lost labor to rehearse. And yet, lest an unlearned reader  
might hap anything to doubt, I shall rehearse you some.

*Rv 2:1–5*                      What say we by the words of the  
Spirit revealed unto Saint John against 15  
the bishop of the church of Ephesus... whom whereas God praised  
for many great virtues in such wise that it appeared that he was at  
that time in grace and God's right special favor, yet said he  
unto him, "I have, for all this, a few things against thee, because thou  
hast left off thy first charity. And therefore remember from whence 20  
thou art fallen, and amend and do the good works which thou  
were wont to do. For else will I come shortly to thee, and I will  
remove thy candlestick out of its place, except thou repent and  
do penance."

Doth it not here plainly appear that he which hath gotten so 25  
the faith—and that the *living* faith, too—that he worketh so well  
therewith that the light of his faithful, lively works shine bright  
before the face of God... may yet by declining from that fervor  
of devout works into some slothful slackness, though much of  
his virtue tarry, fall yet so low at last that God shall reject him and 30  
cast his candlestick, whereof the light shall be worn out, quite  
out of its place? If this might not be... God would not tell him it  
both *might* and, except he amended, *should*.

*1 Cor 10:12*                      Doth not Saint Paul say, "He that  
thinketh that he standeth, let him beware 35  
he fall not"?

- It appeareth there plainly, by the circumstances of the place, that he speaketh there to them whom he reckoned for good men and faithful. For to those that *stand* he giveth the counsel to beware they fall not. Which by Tyndale, if they once in faith feel themselves stand, they need not, for they cannot fall deadly. But Saint Paul there meant deadly falls, as both by his words before and after appeareth. 5
- Rom 11:17–24* He saith also to the Romans, in the tenth chapter, “They” (that is, the Jews) “are broken off for their lack of belief. But thou standest by faith; be not proud thereof, but fear.” 10
- There showeth Saint Paul effectually, by a long process, that likewise as he which lacketh faith may by grace come to it... so he that hath it and standeth in it hath cause to fear, because he may by his own default fall from it.
- 1 Tm 6:10* Saith he not also, “The root of all evils is covetousness; which while [some folk coveted], they walked out of the way from the faith”? 15
- 2 Tm 2:17–18* He saith also, “Hymenaeus and Philetus are fallen from the truth... saying that the resurrection is past already; and they have perverted the faith of some persons.” 20
- Here showeth Saint Paul plainly that men *may* have the faith and lose it; and that can they not, I suppose, without deadly sin.
- Peradventure Tyndale will say that *he* speaketh only of *elects*— and that I cannot prove these texts to be spoken of elects. Thereto say I that he calleth every man an elect that is only born again of God by faith, and that believeth to be saved by the mean of Christ; and of such speak these texts; and therefore they speak of his elects. 25
- Then will he peradventure say that he meaneth of a “feeling” faith only. I know not what he meaneth by his “feeling” faith... but I wot well these texts speak of *good* faith, and *lively* faith, that worketh with love. If he find any other feeling, let him tell us. 30
- And yet, if there be any other feeling of faith than believing, loving, and working... the selfsame, too, seemeth by Saint Paul that it may be left off again and lost, as appeareth by the same words of 35

<i>Heb 6:4-6</i>	his, in the sixth chapter unto the Hebrews, of which words Tyndale taketh	
his chief hold of the other part of his heresies—that is to wit, that whoso sin once deadly after his baptism, shall never after be forgiven. Saint Paul’s words are these: “It is impossible		5
that they which have once been illumined, and have tasted the heavenly gift, and have been made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God and the powers of the world to come, and be after all this fallen down... should be renewed again by penance, forasmuch as they, as much as in them lieth, crucify		10
again the Son of God, and have him in derision.”		
Lo, sirs, whereas Tyndale speaketh of “feeling” faith... Saint Paul speaketh here of them that have felt the “taste” thereof. And whereas Tyndale speaketh much of the “word of God”... Saint Paul here speaketh of them that have felt the taste of the “good word of God.” And whereas		15
Tyndale speaketh much of being “born again of the Spirit”... Saint Paul here in like wise speaketh of them that have received the Spirit. And yet, for all that they have been “illumined,” and have felt the taste of the celestial gift, and been “partakers of the Holy Ghost,” and have felt the sweet taste of the “good word of God,” and of the “powers		20
of the world to come”—yet saith he, contrary to Tyndale’s teaching, that they may, for all this, fall down so far into deadly sin that it is impossible for them to be renewed again by penance.		
What hath Tyndale here to say to Saint Paul? Surely for the defense of this foolish heresy, nothing hath he to say at all, that any good color hath.		25
But when he shall be fain to give over this... then will he comfort himself with that that Saint Paul here seemeth to further his other heresy: that every deadly sin after baptism should be irremissible.		30
<i>Scripture doth not vary in sentence.</i>	But out of that comfort shall I drive him shortly. For I am sure the places of Holy Scripture, written all by one Holy Spirit, varieth not in sentence. And whereas these words, as well appeareth by the old holy writers, be full of hardness and difficulty, yet that the sentence cannot be such as may serve Tyndale’s	35



heresy—that shall we, leaving all their expositions (which are all clean against him), make him open and evident by the plain and clear words of the holy prophet Ezekiel, whose words, lo, be these, in the eighteenth chapter...

*Ez 18:21–24*

“If a sinner repent him of all the sins  
that he hath done, and keep all my commandments,  
and deal justly and righteously: he shall live, and shall  
not die. Of all the iniquities that he hath wrought I will none remember;  
in the righteousness which he hath done shall he live. Is it my  
will, saith the Lord God, that the wicked man should die, and not rather  
that he should be converted from his ways and live? But truly, if the  
righteous man turn himself away from his righteousness, and  
work wickedness in any of all those abominations which the wicked  
man is wont to work, shall he live? Of all the righteousness that he hath  
done shall none be remembered; but for the offense which he hath  
committed, and in the sin that he hath done... for those shall he die.”

Lo, sirs, here is more than I promised. For here be both his heresies destroyed at once. For God here, by the mouth of this holy man, *promiseth*, without any manner exception, that whensoever the wicked man will turn, he shall be taken to grace. And in like wise, whensoever the righteous man sin, his former righteousness shall not save him from damnation. And this sentence our Lord hath set so sure

*Ez 33:12*

that he repeateth it again in the thirty-third chapter, in this wise: “The righteousness of the righteous man shall not save him in what day soever he sin. Also, whensoever the wicked man turn from his wickedness... it shall not hurt him. And the righteous man cannot live through his righteousness, in what day soever he sin.”

Here have ye, good readers, heard this sentence by the word of God, in this one holy prophet, doubly confirmed, and thereby Tyndale’s double heresy doubly also condemned.

And yet lest Tyndale might say, “Why should you not as well expound and gloss Ezekiel by Saint Paul, as Saint Paul by Ezekiel? Namely since Saint Paul came after, and therefore of God’s mind may tell us further!”—it appeareth, I say, that our Lord will not that these words of Ezekiel be glossed by *any* other words, though they be spoken by God himself... but that his other words, if they

seem contrary, shall be, rather, expounded by these. And thereof he giveth us open warning in his words following, and saith...

*Ez 33:13–16*

“Yea, and though I would say to a righteous man that he shall live, and he then, trusting in his righteousness, commit and do wickedness—all his righteousness shall be forgotten; and for the iniquity which he hath wrought, for that he shall die. But if I say to a sinner, ‘Thou shalt die’... and he then repenteth him of his sin, and doth judgment and justice, and that the same wicked man restore the pledge that he hath of another man, and also make restitution of stolen goods, and walk in the commandments of life, and do nothing that is unright: he shall live, and shall not die but be saved, and none of all the sins which he hath committed shall be laid to his charge. Judgment and justice hath he done, and therefore shall he live and not die.”

Lo, good Christian readers, here see we very plain that we were far unwise if we would follow the folly of Tyndale, either in bold, presumptuous hope or foolish, fearful despair... either weening that after any “feeling faith” once had, any deed that we could after do could be no deadly sin... or that for any deed done after our baptism, we could by penance never be saved after. We may be very sure that, as Saint Paul plainly reproveth the one, and is hard to perceive what he meaneth in the other: so, that he meaneth not as Tyndale telleth us, we may well know... not only by all the old holy doctors and saints that expound Saint Paul, in that he saith it is “impossible to be *renewed* by penance,” that it is impossible to be by penance renewed unto the state of baptism—and by that

*Note this declaration.*

exposition they destroy yet a third heresy of Tyndale, concerning his full remission, of sin and pain and all, forthwith, as soon as he repenteth—but also be we well learned here, by the prophet Ezekiel, that although it may peradventure be that a man may go forth in sin so far that he shall never have grace of repentance after offered unto him, and for that cause ought every man stand in

*Fear to sin.*

great fear to sin, how great faith soever he feel... yet if we begin once to repent, we may be sure that God offereth grace and will perfect our penance with increase of his grace, and will pardon the death due for our deadly sin, but if we fail on our part to go forward with his grace, and that we foolishly fall therefrom.

- Now, against all these evident places of Scripture plainly contrary to Tyndale's exposition... what thing hath Tyndale to defend his exposition with? If he name any men... he shall name you none but a few known, condemned heretics, against all holy doctors and saints and the Catholic faith of all Christian people. If he pretend any places of Scripture... he shall allege a few dark, hard, and obscure, or nothing pertaining to the matter, against a great many manifest, plain, and evident, and clearly proving his exposition false. 5
- Finally, ye shall find that the whole purpose of Saint John in that epistle nothing maketh in this world for Tyndale's intent, but, rather, clearly the contrary. 10
- For Saint John intended there, not to show them that whoso is once good can never after be bad, as Tyndale saith he meant; but utterly to give all the world warning that, be men at one time never so good, yet whensoever after they do naught, they *be* naught, and by their evildoing lose their goodness. And likewise as before, while they believe well and work well, they be all that while born of God, and be God's children, and have his seed in them: so whensoever they fall from faith to heresies, or from good works to deadly sin, then lose they the seed of God and be born of the devil and become his children. 15 20
- And that Saint John in this point meant none other than thus... the whole process of his epistle, one part compared with another, doth more than plainly declare. For he sheweth that the devil is the father of evil folk, and they his children by following him in their sinful works; as our Savior said to the Jews, "Ye be of your father the devil, and his desires will ye do." "And the Son of God," saith Saint John, "came into this world, and here appeared, to dissolve and break the works of the devil. And every man that is born of God" (that is to say, "that is God's child") "doth not sin, because the seed of God abideth in him; and he cannot sin, because he is born of God and is God's child"; as though he would say, "... for if he fall to sin, then ceaseth he to be born of God and to be God's child, and beginneth to be born of the devil and to be *his* child." 25 30 35
- And therefore it followeth forthwith in the text, "By this be the children of God and the children of the devil open" (that is to say, "By this may ye see who be the children of God and who the children of the devil"). "For he that is not righteous is not the child of God; 40

nor he that loveth not his brother.” And after he saith, “Every man that hateth his brother is a manqueller; and ye know that no manqueller hath everlasting life abiding in him.”

Lo, good reader, whereas he said before that the child of God cannot sin, because he hath the “seed of God” abiding in him: here he saith, for all that, whosoever hate his brother is a homicide, and therefore hath not “everlasting life” abiding in him. Which is the thing that he before called the “seed of God,” whether he meant thereby lively faith, grace, or the Spirit of God. Of which three the first two be the beginning and the entry into everlasting life, which shall be perfected by glory... and the third is *himself* everlasting life, of his own omnipotent nature. 5 10

And thus, have he the seed of life never so strong and sure at one time, while he is the child of God: yet whensoever he falleth after to the hatred of his brother, he loseth that life by the committing of deadly sin, and becometh the child of the devil. 15

To this will Tyndale peradventure say that I pass over and dissemble the weight of Saint John’s words that he allegeth, and that I wink and will not perceive how plainly they prove his purpose. “For though it be true that whensoever a man hateth his brother, he is a homicide and sinneth deadly, and hath not everlasting life nor the seed of God abiding in him: yet followeth it not,” will Tyndale say, “that he that hath once the feeling faith, and thereby is born of God, and thereby hath the seed of God in him, may sin deadly and lose the seed of God. For he cannot lose it *but* by sin. And the seed of God once being in him... he *cannot*—because of that seed!—be suffered to hate his brother of purpose, and so to do deadly sin and lose the seed of life; but *ever* is he, by the strength and virtue of that seed of everlasting life, preserved from all falling into deadly sin. And that I prove,” will Tyndale say, “by the plain and open words of Saint John before alleged... where he saith that he that is born of God ‘cannot sin, *because* he hath the seed of God abiding in him.’ He saith not, ‘... *as long as* he hath it’; but he saith he ‘cannot sin, *because* he hath it.’ Signifying plainly that he can never sin, because he hath the thing in him that will never suffer any deadly sin to enter. And the reason that is made against me upon other words of the same epistle... avoideth,” will Tyndale say, “mine exposition nothing at all. For likewise as it 20 25 30 35

is made against a man once born of God, to prove that he may be  
 after born of the devil: it may as well be made of any angel in  
 heaven. For if any angel in heaven would fall from the love of God into  
 malice... he should be turned from an angel into a devil. But likewise  
 as that case can never fall, because the seed of God is in that 5  
 angel... which so keepeth him, and ever shall, that he *cannot* have that  
 evil will so to do: so doth the seed of God once entered with the  
 feeling faith into a soul... so preserve it and keep it, by the mighty  
 power of that seed, that that soul *cannot* fall into that malicious  
 will that may make any deed of his to be deadly sin. And that this 10  
 is so, I say yet again that the words of Saint John which I have  
 before alleged do very plainly prove... in that he saith that whoso  
 is born of God '*cannot* sin,' '*because* he is born of God,' and '*because*  
 he hath the seed of God abiding in him.' And he saith after, in  
 another place of the same epistle, that he which is born of God, 15  
 'his generation'—that is to wit, his being born of God by the seed  
 of God, whereby he is begotten and born of  
*1 Jn 5:18* God—'doth preserve and keep him.'"

In this wise will Tyndale peradventure answer me. And surely  
 I can myself devise no more effectual words that he might speak 20  
 for his part; for in good faith, if I could I would. For never will I  
 purposely leave his part any more faintly defended than mine  
 own, as far as myself can see anything that himself might  
 say.

But, now, to this answer we shall tell him again that between 25  
 man and angel is there almost as great difference in this matter as  
 there is between them in their substance and nature. For the blessed  
 angels, that stood still with God in the devils' fall, were forthwith  
 so surely confirmed in grace that they can never fall into  
 sin after, nor do anything whereof God will command them the 30  
 contrary. And of this in them be *we* sure in *faith*, by the word of  
 God taught unto his church; and *they* sure in *knowledge*, by his  
 promise made unto them with his word which he, by a means to  
 us not imaginable, continually speaketh unto them in the contemplation  
 and beholding of his Almighty Godhead. But as for man... 35  
 we find no such promise made unto him, that when he is once  
 good, he can never after wax naught; but we find in Scripture the  
 contrary, as I have by plain Scripture proved already before.

We see also that the catholic faith of all Christian people is to the contrary. For all Christian people, except a few heretics, both now believe, and all this fifteen hundred years before ever have believed, that good men and children of God *may* fall into deadly sin, and become

*Ez 18:21–24; 33:12* children of the devil... and yet 5

*Rom 11:20–24* arise by grace through penance, and be

*1 Cor 10:12; 16:13* made the children of God again. Many

*Ps 33:18–19; 34:15* texts also of Holy Scripture plainly prove that good folk may fall and

perish. And the Scripture is full of good counsel... advising all good men to stand fast always and ever live in fear of falling... but if any special revelation be given to some certain man beside the common, ordinary course. 10

We find also plain examples, both in Scripture and at our own eyes, of many virtuous children of God that *have* fallen from that estate and become by sin the children of the devil. 15

For letting pass over Judas, that from the child of God and from a holy apostle turned into the traitor of God and child of the devil of hell, we have seen over many in our own days in whom we have had experience of the like. As of Friar Luther, Friar Huesgen, Otho the monk, Pomerane the priest, and Friar Lambert. For as for Zwingli, I never heard of any good virtue in him. But all these others were the good children of God once, at such time as grace and devotion brought them into religion. And yet can now no good man doubt but by the breach of their holy vows and promise made to God, and running out in apostasy, and living in lechery under pretense of matrimony—and for their more courage and boldness in such bitchery, to bear it to better, out shameless with ungracious company, making a shameful sect thereof and an abominable heresy—they be now fallen from Christ, and have expelled the seed of God out of their hearts by sin very devilish-deadly. And yet dare I not despair of any of all these, nor of Tyndale himself, neither. 20

For all his own rule whereby he teacheth that they which willingly sin, and of purpose maliciously impugn the known truth, as they and he do, shall never come to grace of amendment nor ought not to be prayed for—yet dare I neither, I say, despair of any of them nor of himself neither... but hope yet and pray, both, that 25 30 35

God may amend them all, if none of them be dead in their sin  
and gone to the devil already. For then is there in them *peccatum*

*1 Jn 5:16*                      *ad mortem*, that Saint John speaketh of; and  
vain were it then, and sin also, any more  
to pray for them than for the devil. *Quia in inferno nulla est redemptio...* 5  
and the wretches lie there now blaspheming God, and are his unchangeable  
enemies, as is the devil.

But these reasons and these examples, I say with the consent of  
all the old holy expositors of Saint John's epistle before, make  
us to perceive surely that Saint John did never mean by these 10  
words after such manner as Tyndale expoundeth him now: that because  
the seed of God is once in him, therefore there can never any  
deadly sin enter after. For Saint John himself, in the same

*1 Jn 5:21*                      epistle, counseleth every good man to  
stand still in his goodness, and beware that 15  
he fall not into idolatry. Which he might have bidden all God's  
children care never for, if they were, as Tyndale saith, sure by their  
feeling faith that they could never fall thereto, because the seed of God  
was once within them.

But as I said before, Tyndale in these words of Saint John 20  
taketh occasion of the simplicity used in the manner of speech in  
Holy Scripture, to make cavillations and seek out sophisms upon  
every word. And whereas Saint John saith that the child of  
God "cannot" sin, meaning not precisely that he cannot sin  
deadly by any manner means, but that it is a great occasion to keep 25  
him from sin, and that he that doth deadly sin is not God's  
child but the devil's—Tyndale affirmeth him plainly to mean that  
he which is once God's child can never sin deadly after. As  
though every man that would say, "An honorable man's child,  
and virtuously brought up, cannot fall to shameful, vicious 30  
living, for his good education shall bridle him, and dread of  
shaming himself and his friends must needs refrain him,"  
might not mean by these words that the young man should have  
a great *occasion* to continue good, but must needs mean that it  
were impossible for him to be other than good... and that he never 35  
could after forget his bringing up, and shake off shame and fall to  
naught.

Or if one would say, “A man that taketh his wife for very love, can never fall to adultery, the love that he hath to her must needs keep him to her; nor she cannot for very shame beguile him, for the love that he beareth to her”—do not folk speak in such fashion? And yet, though they mean that these things be great occasions to contain the parties in faithful matrimony, they mean not that it can never happen otherwise.

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In such manner of wise meant Saint John in those words when he said, “He that is born of God sinneth not, for he hath the seed of God in him; and therefore he cannot sin, because he is born of God”—he meant, I say, not that it is *impossible* for him to sin deadly, but that it is a great help and occasion to keep him from deadly sin.

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Yet will not Tyndale let to stick still in his error, and say that Saint John plainly meant “that it is *impossible* for him to sin that hath the seed of God in him; for he saith that he which once hath the seed in him *cannot* sin after deadly, by no manner means, because he hath the seed of God in him once.”

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To this I say that in the example that I before did put, neither the man nor the wife that come together for great love can fall to adultery, because the love which is in each of them toward the other cannot suffer it. And truth it is as long as it lasteth and endureth in them. But either of them both yet may so far fall in love with some other that the hot love which they had between themselves may cool and clean be quenched—as is the fire with casting on water enough.

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Saint John, therefore, writing those words, and understanding, as indeed he doth, not after a sophistical fashion, that it were utterly impossible for him at any time after to sin deadly that hath once the “seed of God” in him, but well and reasonably meaning after the common manner of speaking, that it shall be a great occasion for him to abide good still, and that as long as the man keepeth that “seed of God” (whether Saint John took it for lively faith, grace, or the Spirit of God) and cleaveth thereunto, so long he cannot sin deadly—Saint John, I say, so saying and so meaning, spoke as became the right evangelist of Christ. But Tyndale—telling Saint John’s tale and meaning thereby as he would make us ween that Saint John meant,

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that is to wit, that whosoever is once born of God neither shall sin after deadly nor never can, because the seed of God is in him able to preserve the man and to keep out sin—speaketh as wisely as if he would first make me this argument: “He that turneth the spit sitteth by the fire; but he that sitteth by the fire cannot be cold, because he hath a good fire by him: ergo, he that turneth the spit cannot be cold”; and when he had made us once this argument, would then ween he had plainly proved that whosoever had once turned the spit could never be cold after in his life. For surely after Tyndale’s understanding of Saint John’s words, the reason is much like. For likewise as while a man sitteth by the fire, he cannot be cold, because the fire is by him that keepeth him warm: so while the seed of God is in the man, he cannot sin, because the seed of God being in him doth keep and preserve him from sin. But likewise as the broach-turner that sitteth warm by the fire may let the spit stand, and suffer the meat to burn, and walk himself out in the snow till his teeth chatter in his head for cold, and never catch heat again but fall stark dead on the ground: so he that is once God’s child, and hath the seed of God in him, and therefore cannot sin deadly as long as he keepeth it and cleaveth fast unto it, may by the folly and frowardness of his own free will expel the seed of God, and reject his grace, and neglect his Holy Spirit, and fall to deadly sin, and continue therein, and die therein, and go to the devil therein too.

And so, as it is true to say that “he which hath a good fire by him cannot be cold,” meaning thereby, as long as he keepeth him by it: so is it true to say that “whoso have the seed of God in him cannot sin deadly,” meaning thereby, as long as he keepeth it. And thus meant Saint John.

And as he that would say, “Whoso sitteth by the fire can never be cold,” meaning thereby that he could never go from the fire and so catch cold after, were a very stark fool: so he that would say that “whoso have the seed of God in him cannot sin,” meaning thereby that he could never after lose that seed, by the folly or frowardness of his own will, and thereby sin deadly and be damned too, were much more than mad. And, sirs, thus meaneth Tyndale... and would make us all so wise as to ween that Saint John meant so too; whereof we see plain the contrary, not only by many other plain

places of Scripture, but also by many other places of Saint John in the selfsame epistle, with all the old holy saints that ever expounded that epistle of Saint John.

And since Tyndale so stiffly sticketh in this point—that the seed of God once had in a man’s heart doth keep him forever after from every deadly sin—let him tell us wherefore it keepeth him not forever from every deadly sinful *deed*. For Tyndale saith himself that though the seed shall keep him from all deadly sin... yet it shall not keep him from adultery, nor manslaughter, nor such other “horrible deeds” as poor unlearned people in some countries be wont to call deadly sins. 5 10

And therefore, good Christian readers, I shall in this point end with the good, wholesome counsel of Saint John by which in the selfsame epistle, against Tyndale, expressly he biddeth us all beware of all such heretics as would make us ween that some were God’s wanton cockneys in such a special wise that whatsoever they do, nothing could displease him... and some others so little set by, and so far out of his favor, that no repentance, no penance, no faith, none hope, no love of God and their neighbor, could bring them in his favor. Against which fond and frantic imagination... Saint John, though he say, “Whosoever confess that Jesus is the Son of God dwelleth in him and he in him,” yet he warneth us well and plainly that he would no man should beguile us and make us ween that with that confession and that belief alone he were a good man... but saith, “By this shall ye see who be children of God, and who children of the devil; for he that is not righteous is not of God.” And saith also, “Little children, let no man beguile you. He that doth righteousness is righteous, and he that doth sin is of the devil.” 15 20 25

Now may we clearly perceive that these only words of Saint John utterly destroy Tyndale’s heresy grounded upon his false exposition of Saint John’s other words. For when Saint John saith here himself that the children of God and the children of the devil be manifest and open by their *outward works*—how can that stand with Tyndale’s exposition and his heresy depending thereupon, by which he saith that the true members of the elect church may fall into the doing of “horrible deeds,” through the fruit of the sin remaining in their members, and upon great occasions breaking out of their members... and yet, for all those horrible deeds done by them, they be the children of God still, and never become the 30 35

children of the devil, for all the doing of their horrible deeds, because they do them not of malice nor of purpose, but of frailty only and weakness?

Ye see, good readers, openly, that if Tyndale in this his heresy and false exposition of Saint John said true... then should Saint John 5  
*1 Jn 3:10* himself say untrue where he saith that by the outward deeds the children of God and the children of the devil be made manifest and open. For they were *not* open by the deed if, notwithstanding the most horrible deeds that could be devised, yet their secret, unknown faith and 10 frailty did ever keep it secret, hidden, and unknown whether they were, at the deed-doing, the children of God or the devil. And therefore—whereas Tyndale would make us ween that himself and his holy fellows had by their “feeling faith” the Spirit of God in such a special manner entered into their holy breasts that none of their 15 abominable deeds could be any deadly sin, because that the Spirit, saith he, dwelleth still within them—*Saint John* saith, in the very end of that third chapter, “Whoso keepeth God’s commandments, in him God dwelleth. And by that mark we know,” saith Saint John, “that there is dwelling in us of the Spirit that he hath 20 given us.” By which words he declareth clearly that when these holy heretics break his commandments by those horrible deeds which Tyndale himself confesseth that they do, and as all the world seeth Friar Luther do, in wedding of the nun, with the breach of their *Ps 76:12* both vows against the commandment 25 of God, which hath in Holy Scripture expressly commanded them to keep and fulfill their vows—Saint John, I say, declareth against Tyndale’s doctrine, clearly, that when we see such deeds in them, we may well perceive by them that there is at that time never a whit of God’s good Spirit in them. 30

But, now, no man doubteth whither of the two better understood Saint John—whether Tyndale, or Saint John himself. And therefore, good Christian readers, while ye see that these holy fathers and authors of these heresies, preaching so saintly of their “feeling faith,” boast themselves and their fellows for the sure children of God, 35 that, because of the Spirit, can never sin of purpose, and therefore never sin deadly, but be certain and sure of grace and salvation; and yet ye see, for all this, that, being professed monks and friars, they fall to the fleshly feeling of nuns, of long purpose, and still

persevere therein, and, finally, divers die therein, too: ye may believe here Saint John—that, say they what they will, they be the devil’s children indeed, and all their holy doctrine is utterly nothing else but very frantic blasphemy.

And therefore, finally, whereas Tyndale knitteth up all his matter with a quip against me, and saith that because every man that once hath the right faith is born of God, and thereby hath the seed of God in him, which preserveth him so that he can never sin... “therefore it is,” saith he, “a false conclusion that M. More holdeth, how a man may have a right faith joined with all kinds of abomination and sin”: ye see now that his own conclusion is so clearly proved false that it letteth my conclusion nothing at all. And yet shall I further touch his quip where it shall have better place, after that we shall come to the chapters in which he shall open and declare his uttermost what he calleth “faith.” But first will I consider a little his further progress in this chapter, in which he goeth forth in this wise...

#### Tyndale

And yet every member of Christ’s congregation *is* a sinner, and sinneth daily, some more and some less. For it is written (1 Jn 1), “If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. And again, if we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us.” And Paul (Rom 7) saith, “That good which I would, that I do not; but that evil which I would not, that do I. So it is not I that do it,” saith he, “but sin that dwelleth in me.”

#### More

Lo, now ye hear his worshipful riddle... in the first part whereof he hath already showed us that a true member of Christ’s church sinneth not, because it hath the right faith... and so is born again of God and hath his Spirit, and because of that can never sin. And now he showeth us, in the other part of his riddle, that every true member of Christ’s church, for all that he never sinneth, yet he sinneth daily. And as he proved the first part by the words of Saint John falsely taken and understood—so doth he now prove us the second part by the words of Saint Paul, understood and construed as falsely as ever he construed Saint John.

*The relics of original sin* For whereas Saint Paul, in his Epistle  
*Rom 7:19–20* to the Romans, speaketh of the pronity  
 and motions in the flesh remaining, as the relics, of original  
 sin, whereby we be tickled toward great actual deadly sins, and  
 daily fall into venial: Tyndale, as appeareth by his words next 5  
 after following, would we should ween that Saint Paul meaneth that  
 every true member may daily fall into great “horrible deeds,” as  
 perjury, manslaughter, and adultery, of weakness and frailty... and  
 that all those abominable deeds be no deadly sins, yet, but venial  
 every one, because it is not the man that doth it, but the sin that 10  
 dwelleth in him. And while Saint Paul saith the words of himself...  
 Tyndale so layeth them forth that he would we should take it  
 that Saint Paul himself, or at the leastwise, if not himself, yet the  
 sin that dwelled in him, committed in very deed many such  
 “horrible deeds” as the devil and the flesh did move and stir him 15  
 to. And then was it well likely that he did enough. For well ye wot,  
 the devil would not fear to set his flesh on fire, and tempt him to  
 lechery and manslaughter both... while he feared not to tempt our  
 Savior himself to gluttony, covetousness, and pride, devil-worship,  
*Mt 4:1–11* and self-slaughter too. And Saint Paul 20  
*2 Cor 12:7* himself confesseth that for a medicine  
 preservative against pride, there was  
 given him the “angel of Satan,” the “prick of the flesh,” to dab him  
 in the neck, and make him stoop, and beat him.  
 And it appeareth plainly that Tyndale taketh Saint Paul’s 25  
 words spoken of himself, to signify not only stirring and  
 incitations toward deadly sinful deeds... but also the very deeds  
 committed and done, as he calleth it, of “frailty,” by the violence of  
 those motions. For if he mean not so, he laid those words  
 nothing to his purpose, as it appeareth openly by those his own 30  
 words following...

#### Tyndale

Thus are we sinners *and* no sinners. No sinners if thou look unto  
 the profession of our hearts toward the law of God, on our  
 repentance and sorrow that we have, both because we have sinned 35  
 and also because we be yet full of sin still, and unto the promises  
 of mercy in our Savior Christ, and unto our faith. Sinners are we,  
 if thou look unto the frailty of our flesh, which is as the  
 weakness of one that is newly recovered out of a great disease... by

the reason whereof our deeds are imperfect, and by the reason whereof also, when occasions be great, we fall into horrible deeds, and the fruit of the sin which remaineth in our members breaketh out. Notwithstanding, yet the Spirit leaveth us not, but rebuketh us and bringeth us home again unto our profession... so that we never cast off the yoke of God from our necks, neither yield up ourselves unto sin for to serve it, but fight afresh and begin a new battle.

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### More

Lo, good Christian readers, here have ye heard a full un-Christian tale of an evil Christian man. For now see ye clearly that by plain, express words, Tyndale telleth us that a true member of Christ's church breaketh out into "horrible deeds" when the "occasions be great"... and yet he saith that, for all that, he sinneth not deadly. And this is the thing for the proof whereof he bringeth forth his before-rehearsed words of Saint Paul... by which he would make it seem that Saint Paul did himself so too.

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And yet keepeth he his accustomed guise, as far as he can, in covering himself and coloring his matter from knowledge. And therefore he cometh in with "sinning and yet not sinning." And for the reading of that riddle, he saith that the true members of Christ's church are "sinners and yet no sinners." And among them he setteth himself... saying of himself and his fellows:

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[We be] no sinners if thou look upon the profession of our hearts toward the law of God, and on our repentance and sorrow that . . . we have sinned and also because we be yet full of sin still, and on to the promises of mercy that is in our Savior Christ, and unto our faith. And sinners are we, if thou look to the frailty of our flesh, . . . [by which] we fall into horrible deeds and the fruit of sin which remaineth in our members breaketh out.

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Here would I that Tyndale should somewhat more clearly tell us what he meaneth in this matter: whether he mean that a true member sinneth not deadly all the while that he resisteth, and doth not, the sinful horrible deed, as, for example, manslaughter or adultery; and that then again he sinneth not when that after the deed done, he repenteth and is sorry for his evil deed, and is forgiven of God through the promises of mercy in our Savior

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Christ, for the repentance and sorrow, and for the faith—let Tyndale, I say, tell us whether he mean thus... or else that himself and his other fellows, the true members of Christ's church, do not sin deadly *in* the very time, neither, in which they consent to do those horrible sinful deeds; or, rather, in the time while they be in the doing... for *consent* to the sin, he saith they never do. 5

By these words of his, "[We be] no sinners if thou look to the profession of our hearts to the law of God, and unto our repentance and sorrow that . . . we have sinned," it may seem that he meaneth the first way; that is to wit, that they sin not all the while that they resist the motion to the deed, and that they sin not, also, when that after the deed they take repentance and sorrow therefor. 10

Now, if he mean to read his riddle on this fashion, then he assoileth his strange riddle as bluntly as an old wife of Culham did once among scholars of Oxford that sojourned with her for death. 15

Which while they were on a time, for their sport, proposing riddles among them, she began to put forth one of hers too, and said, *The old wife of Culham's riddle* "Read my riddle, what is that I knew one that shot at a hart and killed a haddock." 20

And when we had, everybody, much mused how that might be, and then prayed her to declare her riddle herself... after long request, she said at the last that there was once a fisher that came aland in a place where he saw a hart, and shot thereat, but he hit it not... and afterward he went again to the sea and caught a haddock and killed it. And surely Tyndale readeth his riddle much like, if he understand by his riddle "they sin and yet sin not" that they sin not while they resist the motions, nor when they repent the deed... and that they sin while they be in doing. For that is no more to say but in one time they sin, and in another they sin not; and when they sin, then they sin, and when they sin not, then they sin not. Were not here a wise riddle, ween ye, and well declared, if he mean it thus? And that he so meaneth, I say it seemeth by his words before-rehearsed... and also by these that he saith: "the Spirit [calleth] us home again." Whereby it seemeth that he meaneth we were once *gone* from home and afterward be brought again. 25

Howbeit, on the other side, he may peradventure mean by these words "[we be] no sinners if thou look to the profession of 30  
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our hearts toward the law of God” that even still in the very time  
 in which they go about to bring their “horrible deeds” to pass,  
 and in which they do them, too... yet profess they the law of God  
 still with their heart. And so may he seem to mean as well by other  
 words, in the chapters following, as by these words, in this present 5  
 chapter, where he saith, “we cast never off the yoke of God from our necks,  
 neither yield ourselves unto sin for to serve it, but fight afresh and begin  
 a new battle.” By these words it seemeth, and of truth so, I trow,  
 he fully meaneth (as appeareth by sundry other chapters of this book,  
 and yet most especially by his *Exposition upon the First Epistle of* 10  
*Saint John*), that though they sin in that they have the motions of  
 sin, the relics of original sin, remaining in the flesh, yet  
 because they be born of God by the right faith (that is, as Tyndale  
 expoundeth it, by the belief of the faith confessed by Saint Peter,  
 that Jesus is Christ, the Son of God and our Redeemer), and because they 15  
 have that belief not only through the words of men preached unto  
 them (which faith is, as he saith hereafter, but “historical,” faint,  
 and soon gone), but have it engraved in their hearts by God... which  
 he calleth hereafter the “feeling” faith... by which faith he saith that  
 they feel themselves to believe in God, and put their whole hope and 20  
 trust of salvation in God by the Passion of Christ, without any  
 respect of any good works; and feel and be sure that God loveth  
 them, and that they be in his favor, and be true chosen members of  
 his elect church, and shall never be damned; and by this feeling  
 faith be born of God, and that therefore they have the Spirit of God 25  
 in them, by reason whereof, they can never sin deadly... for the  
 Spirit (saith he) shall never suffer them to sin of purpose, but  
 all the horrible deeds that they shall do shall be only of weakness and  
 frailty of the flesh upon great occasions, when the fruit of  
 sin that remaineth in their members breaketh out: for this 30  
 cause he saith that though the motion of the flesh toward horrible  
 deeds be sin, and therefore they sin—yet because of their feeling  
 faith, they keep still in their hearts their profession toward the  
 law of God. And when they have done the deeds and taken a fall... yet  
 cast they never off the yoke of God off their necks... nor yield themselves 35  
 unto sin to serve it, but when the rage is once past, then  
 rise up like lusty galliards again, and fight afresh, and cry a new field  
 anew, and begin a new battle; and then is (saith he) all forgiven  
 them quite, and they clean assoiled of God, both from sin and pain...



and no pain shall suffer any time after for the sin passed before,  
 neither in purgatory nor in this world neither. And therefore neither  
 in going about their “horrible deeds” nor in the committing of  
 them, he saith they never sin deadly nor never can, be the deed  
 never so abominable... and such as far less were deadly and 5  
 damnable in another man, that were not so born of God by such  
 a feeling faith as they be, nor had received the seed of God in  
 him as they have; which seed once had can never suffer them to  
 sin of purpose, and therefore never deadly, after.

Albeit that, as I have often told you, Tyndale, partly for the 10  
 uncertainty of himself in his opinions, after which he grasped  
 and long felt about, here and there, in the dark, ere ever he well  
 wist where he would rest and settle himself; and partly because  
 he perceived in his own conscience his heresies not only so  
 naughty, but also so sottish, that he was ashamed of them... and 15  
 therefore ever so labored to set his words in such obscure and doubtful  
 fashion that he might have always some refuge at some starting  
 hole—yet of very truth, in conclusion, when he saw the world  
 wax in some parts of Almaine so surely fixed and confirmed in all  
 kind of heresies that there could none error so foolish nor so 20  
 frantic be devised but a man might be bold to set it forth, and  
 should not fail to find fond fellows enough to follow it; hoping then  
 that he should, little and little, at length bring the people of this realm  
 unto the same point: he hath finally so set forth the matter, in this  
 book of his *Answer unto my Dialogue*, and yet much more openly in 25  
 his *Exposition upon the First Epistle of Saint John*, that any learned  
 man which advisedly readeth those twain shall never after doubt  
 but that his riddle of the true member of their elect church “sinning  
 ever and yet sinning never,” he meaneth very plainly and expressly in such  
 manner as I have now last declared you. And therefore let us now consider 30  
 how he may maintain his meaning, and what good fruit will  
 follow thereupon in the feeling of such holy members.

Since Tyndale agreeth that both Luther and himself, and all  
 other the true members of the “elect church,” may do great  
 “horrible” deeds such as he denieth not to be in other men deadly and 35  
 damnable, we must ensearch with him and ask of him what is the  
 thing that maketh the same horrible deeds which should be

deadly in another, to be not deadly in Luther or him, or any such other true member of their “elect church.”

He will peradventure answer us and say it is no deadly sin in them because that God doth afterward, upon their repentance and sorrow taken for their sin, forgive them the death and all manner of pain due to that horrible deed by them before committed... and that therefore it is not deadly to them, because by God’s remission and pardon it is provided that they shall not die. This answer of Tyndale is very slender... for it implieth the contrary of that it should prove. For it declareth that the deed *is* deadly—and that he *sinneth* deadly. For else God did not pardon him the death upon his *repentance*, if death were not due to his deed. 5 10

And I do not now lay to them the time before their consent unto the deed, nor the time of their repentance after their evil deed, but the time in which their will consented and agreed to do it, and the time in which they did it indeed; in this meantime, say I, they sin deadly indeed. 15

“Nay,” saith Tyndale, “for afterward we repent, and by and by God forgiveth us the death, for his mercy in our Savior Christ, and for our faith, and for his promises.” 20

This wise answer is much like as though he would tell us that one which had robbed a church were a thief and yet not a thief. A thief because he had stolen away the chalice, and yet not a thief because the King had given him a pardon.

Tyndale will yet haply say that the thief was not sure before that he should have his pardon after... but Luther and he, and such other true members of their “elect church,” be sure, by God’s promises, that upon their repentance they shall have their pardon. 25

But then ask we him again, though he know by the promise that upon repentance he shall have pardon—how knoweth he, and what promise hath he, that when he hath committed horrible deeds, he shall have after the grace given him to take such repentance as the pardon shall follow? 30

Hereto shall Tyndale say that himself and his fellows do feel, by their feeling faith, that they be born of God, and that they have his seed within them... by which they be well assured that they shall never do any such deed as they shall spiritually die for... but 35

is very sure, and feeleth well, by his feeling faith, that the Spirit will call him home again after, be he never so far gone, and will cause him to repent, and so get him his pardon.

Of this opinion be they very surely... whereof, ye see well, followeth no little occasion of bold setting forward unto sin. For if a prince  
 5 would promise every man a pardon beforehand that would so surely trust upon his promise as, whatsoever he should do, he would not let to come and ask it... no man doubteth, I suppose, what plenty this promise would make of all kind of unthrifts. But as for God, though  
 10 he have made a true, faithful promise of pardon to all true repentants and penitents, what mind or purpose soever they had before (the truth of which promise Tyndale yet mistrusteth in them that sin willingly and of purpose, and plainly saith that *they* shall  
*Mark this bridle.*                      *never* have pardon), yet hath our Lord  
 15 of his goodness and wisdom left one bridle bound about men's heads to refrain them from boldness of sin: that is to wit, that they cannot after their sinful deeds repent again of themselves, without his special grace. Which though he doth of his goodness commonly offer—yet be they not put in surety before, that it shall be so offered unto them... but that if they so boldly make  
 20 themselves sure thereof before, that the courage thereof give them occasion to sin... it may be the cause that God shall clearly withdraw it from them and never offer it them after. And this uncertainty of grace to follow is the bridle that refraineth our boldness; whereas Tyndale and his holy fellows, the “true” members of Christ's church, feeling by their  
 25 “feeling faith” that after their “horrible deeds” done, they shall undoubtedly take repentance and so get their pardon... have this bridle of dread cast off their head, and therefore are ready, like unbridled colts, to run out at rovers in all horrible deeds, whithersoever the occasions of their wild affections, and the sin, as Tyndale saith, “breaking out in their members,” list to carry them. For when they be carried out upon  
 30 occasions by the devil and the flesh—then Tyndale calleth it but frailty and infirmity, and no *will*, in no wise, nor no malicious purpose. And therefore of this heresy, without which they cannot defend their others, ye see what good fruit must follow. And yet suppose that Tyndale's  
 35 false heresy were true, and that they *were* as certain and sure of repentance, and thereby of remission and pardon, as they say they be. This

would not yet maintain his matter. For though that a traitor were  
 so well acquainted with the condition of his king that he  
 verily knew that when he had all wrought that he could in his  
 traitorous purpose against him, he should yet after obtain his  
 pardon, and thereupon boldly so did, upon some occasion and hope 5  
 of some high promotion, and afterward were not deceived but  
 obtained his pardon indeed: yet had he been, for all that, a stark  
 traitor in the meanwhile, and had deadly trespassed, though  
 the death followed not, but the fault were fully forgiven. And so much  
 the *more* traitorous wretch, in how much the prince were of his 10  
 nature more benign and merciful. And thus ye see plainly that  
 Tyndale, to prove his riddle true that “though he sin he sinneth  
 never deadly,” must seek some better shift than this.

Tyndale will say that his fellows and he do *not* sin deadly in  
 the time of the doing of such horrible deeds, because, as they say, 15  
 they do them not of purpose nor willingly, nor do not consent unto  
 sin “to serve it”... but all the while that they go thereabout, and all  
 the while also in which they be in doing, they resist it in their  
 wills, and have still in their hearts their profession to the love of the  
 law, and be sorry that they shall break it... and, finally, do break it 20  
 against their will, by great occasions given which carry them  
 forth to the doing of those horrible deeds, in a rage of the sin  
 breaking out of their members. Which horrible deeds, after the  
 rage once past, they repent always, and forthwith be clean  
 forgiven. 25

Is not here, good reader, a goodly defense and a godly? And undoubtedly  
 this is their very defense in defending themselves from  
 deadly sin, as Tyndale’s own words, as well in this chapter as in  
 others following, do plainly and clearly show.

But now seeth every good Christian man well enough that they be 30  
*Ps 10:4, 11–13; 141:4–5* wickedly occupied in seeking, as holy  
 David saith, excuses for their sin. For  
 there is no man that doth any such deed against his will... but, albeit  
 that he resist the motion of the devil and the flesh at the first, and,  
 cleaving to the contrary stirring of God and his good angel, 35  
 repugneth and striveth against the sin, and is peradventure loath  
 to be brought thereto—which doing is very good, and thereby good

folk finally cast off and overcome all those temptations through the  
 grace of God working with them—yet such as in conclusion fall to  
 the doing of those horrible deeds which they be tempted to...  
 though they be not fully so evil as others that resist the devil  
 nothing at all, but rather run on apace toward hell themselves 5  
 than tarry till the devil come to carry them... yet do they undoubtedly  
 through their own fault fall from the grace, willingly, that helped  
 them while they resisted. And as it were a coward that had fought  
 a while would suddenly cast away both buckler and sword, and fall  
 down at his enemy's feet, and yield himself into his enemy's 10  
 hands: so do these folk which commit those horrible deeds after  
 a while resisting... by which, by God's help, they should have had  
 the victory if they would have persevered in the fight; they change  
 their mind by the fault of their own free will, through the delectation  
 of the sinful deed, and so consent unto the same, and then seek 15  
 themselves the way to come thereto, and the devil helpeth them to  
 find it... and so break they *willingly* God's commandment, and  
 fulfill the pleasure of the devil and the lust of the flesh. Which  
 willful falling from God and his grace, unto the devil and the  
 flesh... what good man doubteth to be damnable deadly sin? And 20  
 therefore when Tyndale telleth us that Luther and he and such other  
 true members of their church, when they commit any such  
 horrible deeds, do not commit them willingly, because they do  
 commit them upon great occasions, and be carried away, spite  
 of their teeth, with the rage of the sin that breaketh out of their 25  
 members—saving my charity, sir, I beshrew their knavish  
 members out of which their sin breaketh forth with such a rage!  
 Let them cast on cold water with sorrow, and *quench* that rage!  
*Good counsel* For without the fault of their own  
 free will, all the devils in hell can never 30  
 cast upon them such a heat that shall be able to bring them  
 into that violent, invincible rage, to compel them unwillingly to  
 do such horrible deeds. For God hath promised, as in plain Scripture  
 appeareth, that he will never so suffer them. "God is faithful,"  
 1 Cor 10:13 saith Saint Paul, "which shall not suffer 35  
 you to be tempted above that ye may bear...  
 but with the temptation shall also make you a way to get out, so that

ye may well wield it.” And when Saint Paul himself, lest the  
*2 Cor 12:7–9* greatness of his high revelations might  
have set him up in a high pride,  
had through God’s great, merciful goodness the “angel of Satan,” the 5  
“prick of the flesh,” given unto him to beat him, and that in such  
wise that he was fain thrice to cry to God to take it away—our Lord  
again showed him that it was not good for him to lack it so soon,  
nor to have it so suddenly taken away from him... but showed him that  
*The force of the grace of God* his grace was sufficient. Whose strength  
*working with the* in man’s feebleness so worketh with the free 10  
*free will of man* will of him that purposeth to continue  
good, that all the devils in hell shall never  
be able to put him in such a rage that may carry him toward  
horrible deeds one hairbreadth forward against his will. And thus  
ye see that Tyndale, as touching his royal riddle of “sinning and 15  
sinning not,” is now brought to that point that he cannot read his  
own riddle himself... except he will peradventure say that it is  
never deadly sin, though it be done willingly, but if a man  
“consent to the sin,” and then will understand thereby that he consenteth  
not “to the sin” that consenteth to the deed, but if he consent 20  
that the deed should *be* sin—and, so, that he which agreeth to do  
adultery doth not sin, because he doth not consent that adultery  
should be sin, but rather would it were none. Except Tyndale  
mean some such far-fetched wise invention... else can I not, in good 25  
faith, perceive how he can help Luther and himself and other  
holy heretics, the true members of their “elect church,” from  
consenting to sin... when they *do*, as he confesseth, “horrible deeds,”  
upon “great occasions,” through the “rage” of sin budding and  
bringing forth the fruit that breedeth out of their ungracious  
“members.” 30

For if he look for any help of these words where he saith that  
they yield not themselves unto sin “for to serve it”—as though *other*  
folk, when they do sin, do intend to serve sin... but *they*, for  
holiness of their “feeling faith,” in the doing of their sins do  
not intend to serve the sin, but to make the sin to serve them 35  
and do them pleasure at their own lust and liking—let him for

answer look how Saint Augustine mocketh in like case an old  
 philosopher... which, being asked why he was not ashamed to have  
 a harlot as other ribalds had, answered for his defense that there  
 was great difference between his deed and theirs. For as for them,  
 they had not the harlot but the harlot had them. But as for him, he 5  
*A proper answer, I tell you!* had the harlot, and not the harlot him. And  
 there was, by Saint Sim, a proper  
 reason and a trim! A fair boast for a philosopher, to have a harlot at  
 his will, that lay with every man beside at her will! Now, Tyndale  
 maketh here a like boast for to excuse him and his fellows, saying, 10  
 “We fall, when the occasions be great, into horrible deeds, and the fruit of the  
 sin which remaineth breaketh out, but yet we never yield ourselves  
 unto sin to serve it”... meaning, of likelihood, that the sin shall  
 serve them, as the harlot did the foolish philosopher. But our Savior  
*Jn 8:34* himself wipeth away clean all the worship 15  
 of Tyndale’s word, when he saith  
 plainly that whosoever *do* sin is *by the doing* become “the bond  
 thrall of sin.” And so, by the very true tale of Christ, Tyndale’s false  
 tale is avoided. For whensoever he yieldeth himself to do horrible  
 deeds—which he saith they *fall* in upon great occasions, when the 20  
 fruit of the sin remaining in their mischievous members  
 breaketh out at large—then forthwith, for all their feeling faith, by  
 their foul fleshly feeling in the doing their filthy devilish deed,  
 they yield themselves to serve the sin, and by the sin to serve  
 the devil... and the devil to serve them again, first here for a little 25  
 while with a little filthy pleasure, and after in hell forever with  
 blowing the fire about them.  
 For as touching Tyndale’s words following, where he saith they  
 will rise and “fight afresh and begin a new battle”—these words  
 make nothing to the purpose; for they were never able to rise 30  
 again alone. And if God lift them up, as many times he doth—yet  
 were they not sure that he so would, for he doth not ever so to every  
 man. And of which sort himself is, that can he never tell, whatsoever  
 he babble.  
 And also, if he *did* always so, and that they *were* also sure before, that 35  
 he would always so do after—yet can it not serve Tyndale in this point.

For we speak of the deadly sin *in* the time of his fall—and of the servitude and thralldom that he lieth in all the while that he lieth prostrate under the devil’s foot—and not that *after* that God hath gotten him up again; and therefore those words will not help.

Howbeit, of truth, Tyndale’s words written a little before, if they were true (as they be not), would make more for the proof of his purpose—where he saith that though they “fall into horrible deeds upon great occasions when the fruit of the sin remaining in their flesh breaketh out of their members,” yet they “never cast off the yoke of God from their necks.”

These words, if they were true, would make indeed somewhat for their purpose. For if it so were that, for all the doing of their horrible deeds, they did never cast off the yoke of God from their necks—then might it seem that in the time of the doing they did not yet sin deadly, since their necks were yet still bound within the yoke of obedience to the love of God, and that they had not shaken that yoke off.

But of truth, those words are untrue. For when they do those horrible deeds which God hath upon pain of eternal death precisely forbidden them... and which no temptation can cause them so to do against their will but that they might by God’s help leave it undone if they would, since God never useth to deny the help of his grace till man leave of his hold by sloth or frowardness of his

*God never denieth the help.* own free will—therefore, I say, when they do those horrible deeds through the fruit of their sin *breaking out* of their

beastly members, they *do* by the disobeying of his precept shake off the yoke of God for the while... as an evil-tached horse shakes off sometimes the bridle and runneth out at large. And then again if it happen that at God’s calling on, they repent and do penance, and purpose to amend and be better, then is the yoke put on again... as an unbridled horse sometimes when he is followed standeth still and stayeth at his master’s whistling, and suffereth his bridle to be put on again.

Now, if Tyndale say still that because of his “feeling faith,” which when he hath once gotten he saith he can never lose after... and that therefore he can never after do deadly sin, not even while he is in



the doing of such horrible deeds as he consenteth that he may fall in through the fruit of the sin that breaketh out of his members—I would ask him yet once again, what is the thing that, after the rage passed, he so sore should repent and sorrow? For as himself saith that through such repentance he may have remission—why should he be so sorry for the deed, to the intent to be by sorrowful repentance made partner of pardon and mercy and restored to life, if he committed in the doing no manner of deadly sin?

5

If he say for sorrow that he hath offended God, which grieveth him for the love and reverence that he beareth him, and not for any fear of hell... which fear is but servile and bond, and therefore not meet for such holy folk as Luther is and himself: I answer him if that he say true that he consented not, but all was done against his will... God was not angry with him nor offended by him, nor his sin no sin at all. For as Saint Augustine saith,

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*A saying of Saint Augustine* if it be done without the will, it is not sin.

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Finally, if he stick still in this point—that in the doing of those horrible deeds, their lively feeling faith (which cannot, as they say, but work well) standeth still in them, all the while that they be doing these horrible deeds that they fall in upon great occasions, through the fruit of the sin that *breaketh out* of their members... and that *they* therefore do not those horrible sinful deeds themselves, but the sin that remaineth in their members... and that they resist the deed all the while they be in doing, and do not consent nor agree thereunto, nor do it not with their heart, but only with their members—it will be then a wondrous case, in my mind, to consider what manner a meditation and what manner conflict have they in themselves between their heart and their “members,” when the “fruit of the sin that remaineth in their flesh” against the “profession of their heart to the law of God” breaketh out of their “members” into such horrible deeds as take their bodies, that were the members of God,

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*1 Cor 6:15–16* and make them, as Saint Paul saith, the members of a stinking harlot. First when the devil, upon some sight of a wanton woman, putteth that suggestion in their hearts—they make no cross, of likelihood, neither on

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35

their forehead nor on their breast, nor anywhere about their body. For  
 such blessing and crossing Tyndale calleth “wagging with fingers  
 in the air,” and “dumb ceremonies” and “image service.” But like holy  
 spiritual fathers born again of God and the Spirit, they resist  
 manfully first, and a great while. But when they resort unto her 5  
 and talk with her more and more—and all against their will, ye  
 wot well... for the devil driveth them thither, and he must needs  
 go whom the devil driveth—then, all the way they go, they say to God  
 and themselves, “Iwis, though I go thither with my feet, yet I will not  
 agree to go thither with mine heart, lo. Nor I would not come at her at 10  
 all, good Lord, saving that upon the great occasion that I had when  
 I saw her once... I then liked her so well that I am now carried  
 thither even in a rage. But yet, for all the rage, I will not cast off thy  
 yoke, good Lord, but I will carry thy yoke still about my neck to  
 bed with her, and put it about her neck too, and yoke us both together. 15  
 And yet after all this, lo, when all the rage is past that now  
 harrieth me forth in a heat through the fruit of sin which, remaining  
 in my flesh, breaketh out of my members... then will I repent  
 it, good Lord, and be sorry therefor, and return again from her to thee,  
 or else *bring* her yoked with me, too. And then will I pray thee of 20  
 pardon. And then thou must needs, good Lord, forthwith, at the first  
 word, give me full remission of sin and pain and all, by our Holy  
 Father the Pope’s leave, so that I shall never be punished therefor,  
 neither in hell, purgatory, nor in this world neither. And this good  
 mind, good Lord, will I keep still and never let it fall out of my 25  
 heart; so that all the while that I lie bassing with Bess, and I am  
 doing that horrible deed with my body... yet will I never agree thereto  
 with my heart. Or if I mishap, for weakness and frailty, to consent  
 unto the deed... yet will I never consent to the *sin* of the deed...  
 for it shall never *be* sin by my consent. Or if I do consent to the 30  
 sin... yet will I not consent of purpose and of malice, as the devil  
 doth, but of weakness and frailty, as other holy folk do. Nor, at the  
 furthest, I will consent no further to the sin but that the *sin*  
 shall serve *me*, and not I to serve the sin, in no wise; I will be well  
 ware of that. For, I thank thee, good Lord, the seed of thy Spirit that 35  
 through my feeling faith is in me can never suffer my heart to consent  
 to be servant to any sin, how horrible sins and how many soever

my members do. And therefore even while I am in doing... the  
 thank be thine, good Lord, I do never sin deadly, nor never shall,  
 nor can; nor never am by any sin out of thy favor, nor never  
 stand out of the state of grace for any sin that I do or can do, be  
 they never so many or never so horrible... and such as one of these 5  
 peevish, popish papists shall be damned to the devil if they do  
 but the fifteenth part of some such one, and all for fault of such a  
 feeling faith, and such good meditations, as I have.”

Is not here a godly meditation, trow ye? Forsooth, I suppose ye  
 shall not find such another in all the meditations of Saint 10  
 Bernard, as holy a man as he was. And I assure you, Tyndale and  
 his fellows, if their holy heresies be true... must needs in the doing  
 of every such horrible deed as Tyndale telleth us that they fall in  
 by the rageous occasions of the sin breaking out of their wretched  
 members—they must, I say, needs have some such manner of meditation 15  
 in their holy hearts, if they shall both do those horrible deeds  
 and yet in the time of the doing never consent unto the sin to  
 serve it, but continually keep still in their minds the profession and  
 purpose toward the law of God... and in all the time of their horrible  
 doing... never once shake off the yoke of their bond toward God... but 20  
 both abide bound still unto God and yet run loose at large after  
 the devil. These twain both at once without some such meditation  
 can never stand together.

Finally, for conclusion of this his worshipful chapter of “ever  
 sinning and never sinning,” whereas Tyndale, as though he had 25  
 clearly proved the thing whereof he proveth nothing, concludeth  
 against me in this wise—“And therefore it is a false conclusion that M. More  
 holdeth, how that a man may have a right faith joined with all kind of all  
 abomination and sin”—I conclude against Tyndale that he concludeth  
 clearly the same. And yet conclude I farther, for all that, that I concluded 30  
 true and that he concludeth false. And thus—because that in this chapter  
 Tyndale is, as it seemeth by his “ever sinning and never sinning,” set  
 upon reading of riddles for his recreation—I put him my riddle too: that  
 he and I be agreed, and yet we be not agreed; and that he saith as I say,

<i>A right faith may stand and</i>	and yet I say not as he saith. For whereas	35
<i>abide with an abomination.</i>	I said, and true I said, that a right faith	
	may stand and abide with all abomination...	

meaning thereby that the true, right belief of all the articles of the Catholic faith may be in a man, and yet he may (that belief still standing) fall into many deadly sins, without any wrong opinion taken against the right belief: now cometh Tyndale and agreeth unto that; so that he and I be therein agreed. But then would he fain save his worship with saying nay; and therefore he denieth that we be agreed. For he saith that the thing which *I* call the right faith is *not* the right faith. For though a man believe, saith he, never so right, without any wrong opinion in any article of the faith... yet but if he have true trust and full, undoubted hope in God, and charity therewith also, which, saith he, must needs ensue thereupon, else hath he no right faith. And so Tyndale avoideth me not with any proving that abomination and sin cannot stand with the thing that *is* indeed a right faith... but that abominable sin cannot stand with the thing which himself *calleth* the right faith... because it pleaseth not him to call a “right faith” that belief that is right enough and hath none article wrong therein for as far forth as pertaineth to the nature of only faith, but if it be both faith and hope, and charity too; wherein among all learned men that hear us both and see his subtle shift, he winneth so much worship thereby that he may surely be much ashamed thereof, as often as he thinketh thereof.

But mark well, good reader, that he cometh forth after and saith that himself and such others (his holy companions, the true members of their “elect church”) as have the “right” faith, and the “feeling” faith, too—that is to wit, after his own doctrine, full faith, full hope, and charity both—so surely that it can never fall from them... may yet, for all their right faith, fall into abominable sinful deeds, upon great occasions breaking out of the fruit of the sin that remaineth in their sinful members... and may for a space persevere in those horrible sinful deeds, and yet, all that while, their right faith doth continue, and their abominable sinful deeds, together. And so, by Tyndale himself, all abomination and sin *may* stand together with the right faith—that is, not only with the right belief alone, as I affirmed, but with the right belief and with good hope and charity too, as Tyndale saith; which I say is plainly false. For surely the thin subtlety thereof, my gross wit can in no wise perceive.

And thus, good Christian readers, for conclusion, ye now clearly see to what foolish conclusion he hath brought himself in conclusion... and all this chapter of his, with his royal riddle of “sinning and not sinning,” is royally run to right naught.

*How a Christian Man Cannot Err,  
And How He May Yet Err* 5

Tyndale

And as they sin not, so they err not. And on the other side, as they sin, so they err—but never unto death and damnation. For they never sin of purpose, nor hold any error maliciously (sinning against the Holy Ghost), but of weakness and infirmity—as good, obedient children, though they love their father’s commandments, yet break them oft by the reason of their weakness. And as they cannot yield themselves bond unto sin to serve it: even so, they cannot err in anything that should be against the promises which are in Christ. And in other things their errors be not unto damnation, though they be never so great, because they hold them not maliciously. 10  
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More

I shall, good Christian readers, make no long work about this chapter. For since the whole sum thereof is, as ye see, nothing else in effect but that the true members of Tyndale’s “elect church” do often err and yet never err, even in like manner as they often (or, rather, always) sin and yet never sin; which his manifold foolish heresies in “ever sinning and never sinning” I have many manner wise plainly refelled and confuted in the chapter next before: I may, therefore, and will, take a great deal the less labor and business in this. 20  
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I will, therefore, but put you in remembrance that all his matter standeth only in this: that his true members of his “elect church,” after that they have once gotten the true faith that Saint Peter confessed... understanding the same in such erroneous wise as Luther and Tyndale teach them, with many plain, pestilent heresies therein, as I have before openly and clearly declared you; and when that they have once attained that faith, not with a historical manner, 30  
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as a man may believe a story, but with a feeling fashion, as the child believeth that “the fire is hot” because he hath burned his finger, as Tyndale will tell you in another chapter after—whoso (saith he) hath once in such a fashion attained and gotten that faith (that is to wit, whosoever is once infected with those heresies in such a fast feeling fashion) can never after err damnably. And why? For two causes, saith Tyndale. One, because that like as they cannot sin of purpose, but of weakness and infirmity... so can he never err in anything at all that should be against the promises that are in Christ. 5 10

Another cause is because what other error soever such a true, faithful, elect member of his “elect church” happen to fall into, so that it be not against the “promises that are in Christ,” cannot be damnable, be it never so great—although the truth that is contrary to that error be written, saith Tyndale, even in the very Gospel itself. And why can it be no deadly sin? Because, saith Tyndale, that an elected member of his cannot hold it maliciously. 15

So that by this ye may clearly see that Tyndale affirmeth and teacheth for a truth that in all other things beside the promises... a true member of his “elect church” may sometimes err, but never maliciously—and that is to wit, never but of weakness and infirmity, as himself hath often already declared. And therefore they cannot in any such thing sin deadly nor damnably, be the thing never so great, and also written in the very Gospel, as he saith after too. 20 25

By this also ye may clearly see that concerning the “promises that are in Christ,” he saith that a true member cannot err at all, neither maliciously nor of frailty. For since he granteth error of infirmity in other things only, that touch not the promises... ye may clearly perceive that concerning the promises, he holdeth that a true member of his “elect church” cannot err at *all*, in *any* manner of wise—neither of malice nor purpose, nor frailty, nor weakness, nor infirmity. So that, as he putteth in all other points only malicious error to be deadly sin and damnable... so putteth he concerning the promises, every manner of error to be deadly sin and damnable... be it of purpose and malice, or of infirmity, frailty, or 30 35

weakness... and for that cause a true member of his “elect church” can never fall therein.

For if he meant not thus—he would not so divide these two kinds of error... one against the promises, and the other against other things, as ye see him do... but if it were to teach us that the one were deadly sin and damnable every way, and the other never damnable but if it were held of malice... and that therefore the true member of his “elect church” may err in the one kind, so it be not maliciously, because that else it is not damnable nor deadly sin. But in the other, concerning the promises, he can never err at all. And why, but because that every error therein *were* deadly sin and damnable... and that one of his heresies is, as ye have heard before, that a true member of the elected church can never sin deadly? And this ye see, therefore, is his plain doctrine; which what truth it hath we shall now plainly show you.

Let us first begin with errors against the promises in Christ. And therein let Tyndale tell us first wherefore a true member of his “elect church” cannot err in anything that is against the promises that be in Christ... in such wise as they may in other great articles of the faith that be no promises. What hath he other to say but because that every manner error, though it be not held maliciously, is yet deadly sin and damnable if it touch any promise; and that none other error is deadly sin or damnable, which toucheth no promise, but if it be held maliciously?

Then must we further ask him whereby he wotteth, and whereby he proveth, that every manner error in every article of any promise that is in Christ is deadly sin and damnable, though it come but of weakness and frailty; and none error in any other article, be it never so great, is damnable and deadly but if it be held of malice.

We must ask him whereby he knoweth that it is enough for his salvation to believe the promise of God in Christ that through Christ he shall be saved... and believe not that Christ and the Holy Ghost be one equal God with the Father, by which three-Persons-and-one-God he shall be saved. For that Christ is one God equal with the Father, it is no *promise* made unto us; nor that the Holy Ghost is so, neither; but it is a thing by God told unto us. And I marvel much by what means Tyndale can prove us that there is any less peril in not believing of God’s

other words than in the words of his promises... since he bindeth us to believe them both alike.

The cause of our salvation is not the belief of the promise, nor the trust therein neither, of any proper nature of that belief in the promise... no more than the nature of our good works is able of itself for our salvation... but the ordinance of God, that it pleaseth him to save us for our obedience of his commandment both in the belief and the work. For as he could, if it so pleased him, bring us all unto the bliss of heaven without any good work at all—so could he, if he list, bring us all thither without any faith at all. For he *could* bring us thither without any knowledge given  
*Wherein standeth the cause* us thereof till we came thither and had it.  
*of our salvation* So it appeareth clearly that the cause of the salvation standeth all in the obedience of God's commandment... whereby he biddeth us, and by his bidding bindeth us, to captivate our understanding into the obedience of faith and believe his promises.

Now, if this be thus, as of truth it is... what doubt is there but that we be, as upon like reward, so upon like peril and pain, bound to believe all other things that God telleth us, as well as the things which he promiseth us?

And therefore if Tyndale will to the contrary look to be believed of any man in this point... he must, according to his own rule, bring forth plain and open Scripture, by which God hath told us, by writing, that if we believe once his promises, "Care for no more." For as for all other things, that be no promises, he will that we be at liberty to believe as we list... so that there be no malice in us. And why at more liberty of believing God in his other words than in his promises? I cannot perceive what cause Tyndale can imagine... but if he be so mad to think that God will in all his other tales that him list to tell us—though they be written in the very Gospel, as Tyndale saith after—have us yet at liberty in believing him, because himself would be at liberty to tell us for his pleasure sometimes true tales, and sometimes such as Tyndale telleth, that is to wit, untruth and lies.

Surely this is a marvelous tale of Tyndale, in my mind... and a marvelous difference that he putteth between the belief of the promises and the belief of all the other articles of the faith. As though the belief of the promises only, were so far above the



belief of any other article... when every man that any wit hath  
may well and clearly see that the belief of the promises do so  
*depend* upon some *other* articles that the belief of those articles  
gone, the belief of the promises and altogether were gone. As  
whoso were (as many have been) so mad to believe that there were 5  
no God at all—with him were God's promises quite gone. And  
his sin were as great that erred in not believing there were any  
God, as his that believing there were a God, erred yet in that he  
believed not that ever he made any promise to man. And yet in  
*Mt 16:16; Jn 11:27* "God's promises" Tyndale meaneth only 10  
the promises of God made unto mankind;  
for so far go Saint Peter's words "qui in hunc mundum venisti," is Tyndale's  
exposition too. And therefore as for Tyndale, ye see well so that he  
believe that his "elect church" of mankind shall be saved... he may  
without any peril choose whether he will believe that ever any 15  
angel is eternally saved or not—notwithstanding that Christ said  
*Lk 7:28* of Saint John the Baptist that the least in  
heaven was greater than he. Yet because it  
was but a tale told by the mouth of Christ, and not a promise made—  
and especially since it was no promise of any gift given to man— 20  
Tyndale may distrust it and deny it if he list, if his wit have  
any such weakness, and so that he do it not of malice... for all that it is  
plainly written in the very Gospel, and there told by God's own  
mouth!

Concerning yet the promises made to man... let us consider 25  
which things be promises, and which things be not the very  
promises, but other articles besides. That we shall be saved through  
Christ and by Christ's Passion... is a promise. And yet that Christ  
himself was the same very person by whom that deed should be  
done... is more properly a tale than a promise. And it may be that a 30  
man believing the promise that mankind shall be saved through  
Christ... may yet err in not believing that Jesus, the son of Mary, was  
that Christ. And of truth, either in that error or very near to that  
error be all the whole sect of Jews. So that it is as great peril not  
*Mt 17:5* to believe God in his tale when he said 35  
*Gn 22:18* "This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I  
much delight," as not to believe him in his

promise made unto Abraham that of his seed should such a Savior come. For it is not all one to promise that of him should one come by whom the world should be saved, and to tell him, “This is the man that in my promise I spoke of.” For a promise and a tale be not both one thing. For though every promise be indeed a tale (since no man can make a promise but if he tell it), yet is not every tale a promise, 5  
*Every tale is not a promise.* as every child perceiveth. And therefore Saint Peter took a sure way when he said, “Thou art Christ, that art come into this world”... taking it for a principal point to believe God’s tale. For the *tale*, 10  
that this was he—which, as our Savior said, the Father in heaven had himself told unto Peter—that tale Peter confessed; that Jesus was Christ, which was then come into the world. But the *promise*, which was the saving of the world that should be wrought in him—that thing Saint Peter spoke not of there, as a thing believed 15  
and looked for before; nor of the means of the saving, that it should be by his Passion. That thing Saint Peter, as Tyndale saith, at that time knew not of; so that the tale and the promise were not all one.

But surely, concerning the belief of God’s promises... Tyndale seemeth to fare as the Jews do. For like as many of them believe that 20  
through Christ the world shall be saved, and yet they lose the fruit of that belief because they will not know who *is* Christ: even so,  
*Jn 14:16–17* Tyndale saith that he believeth Christ’s promise made unto his church here in earth, that his Holy Spirit shall be therewith unto the world’s end, and 25  
*Jn 16:13* teach it and lead it into every truth; but he loseth yet the fruit of that belief (if he believe it as he saith he doth) because that he will not know which *is* Christ’s church here in earth. But like as the Turks instead of the true Savior of the world worship the false deceiver Muhammad... 30  
so Tyndale instead of the true, Catholic church of Christ—of which church Christ would that every man should learn the truth which the Holy Ghost, by Christ’s promise, teacheth, and ever shall teach, unto it, and which church must for that cause needs be a congregation *known*—Tyndale taketh not only a secret, scattered 35  
company *unknown*, but also a rabble of false, malicious heretics

teaching to the doctrine of God's Spirit abiding, by Christ's promise, in his Catholic Church, even clean the contrary!

And also, whereas Christ when he turned the bread into his own precious Body, and the wine into his blessed Blood, and commanded  
*Lk 22:19–20* the same to be done forever in his church 5  
 after in remembrance of his Passion, and did in so commanding make a faithful *promise*—that himself would be forever with his church in that holy sacrament... and for a perpetual memory of his bitter Passion that he suffered for us, would give his own flesh that suffered passion, and his own blood 10  
 that was shed in his Passion, to abide perpetually with us, according to his own words spoken unto his church when he  
*Mt 28:20* said, “I am with you all days unto the end of the world”—Tyndale will not now believe *that* promise at *all*... but, as I have in my First Book by his 15  
 own words proved you, maketh mocks and mows at that blessed sacrament, and calleth it but cakebread, and reasoneth it rather for starch (full like a stark heretic, God wot!), and saith it is neither body nor blood at all.

And thus, whereas he so highly magnifieth the belief of God's 20  
 promises only, setting all other articles of the faith as things of a second sort—himself believeth, as ye see, the promises as little as the other.

But now let us go further in his words, and see for what cause he saith that none other error in anything save the promises can 25  
 be damnable, be they never so great. Lo, thus he saith...

#### Tyndale

In other things [that be not the promises], their errors be not unto damnation, though they be never so great, because they hold them not maliciously. As now, if some, when they read in the 30  
 New Testament of Christ's “brethren,” would think that they were our Lady's children after the birth of Christ, because they know not the use of the speaking of the Scripture, or of the Hebrews, how that nigh kinsmen be called “brethren,” or haply they might be Joseph's children by some first wife; neither can have any to 35  
 teach him, for tyranny that is so great—yet could it not hurt him, though he died therein, because it hurteth not the redemption that

is in Christ's blood. For though she had none but Christ... I am therefore never the more saved; neither yet the less though she had had. And in suchlike a hundred, that pluck not a man's faith from Christ, they might err and yet be never the less saved; no, though the contrary were written in the Gospel. For as in other sins, as soon as they be rebuked, they repent—even so here, as soon as they were better taught, they should immediately acknowledge their error and not resist.

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#### More

Here have ye, good readers, the reason and the cause wherefore the true members of Tyndale's church can never sin deadly though they err in any article that is no promise, be the article never so great. The cause is, saith he, because that likewise as in all other sins, as soon as they be rebuked they repent—even so, as soon as they be better taught, they repent their error and believe the truth, and resist not; and for that cause it is no deadly sin in the mean season, before they be rebuked and taught better, although they died in those errors, were the articles never so great, and the contrary truth written in the Gospel, so that they be none of the promises.

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This is the whole sum and effect of this whole chapter, though he trifle with other things between. And therefore will we first ask him by what scripture, or by what reason, he proveth that every person which is elected to be saved shall repent as soon as ever he is rebuked of any sin that he doth.

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He will show, peradventure, that David did so, and haply some others too. That will be a very bare argument. David was an elect person... and he did so, ergo every elected person doth so? This argument will be very like the form of arguing that young children use in grammar schools: "Asinus meus habet aures, et tu habes aures, ergo tu es asinus meus" ("Mine ass hath ears, and thou hast ears: ergo, thou art my ass").

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First, I suppose that Tyndale will himself agree, whatsoever he saith here, that such rebuking at which his elect person shall always so soon repent and return, had need to come after the rage passed, as himself saith that when the rage is past he shall repent. For if such a rebuker come while the rage is on him, while the man is forward upon his voyage and, as Tyndale saith, upon his

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“great occasions” carried forth with concupiscence “through the fruit of the sin that breaketh out of his members”—the rebuker may fortune at that time to speak twice ere he go back again with him.

Yea, and whatsoever Tyndale say, when the great rage is past, too... yet is there many a man in heaven that hath after baptism fallen full often to sin, and not repented always at the first rebuke... but, notwithstanding many rebukings and much calling upon, both by their friends and good ghostly fathers, have yet lain long therein... and for all that, have after amended and proved full virtuous men; and else God forbid. And this point is so open and evident... not only in Scripture, but also in every man’s eye... that I nothing fear but that every wise man will in this point take Tyndale’s tale for a very false invented folly. 5 10

And then since he maketh this point the ground of the other—that is to wit, that every elect person shall in like wise at the first teaching, as soon as he is better taught, repent every error that he holdeth—it shall well follow that the second is as false and as foolish as the first; and so is it in very deed. 15

For it may be, full well, that a right good man may be misled by such as Tyndale is... and through such folks’ false persuasions may fall in errors and heresies more than one, not only beside the promises, but also in the promises too... extending some too far and cutting some too short, as Luther, Huessgen, and Tyndale do. And their untrue doctrine may be so deeply entered and rooted in the good simple soul that when he is by better men better taught, he shall not repent his errors at the first nor at the second time neither, but defend them many a time and oft... and yet shall at length, with help of God’s grace, apply his will rather indifferently to perceive the truth than frowardly to stick still in heresy... and so shall fall into the right way again, and very clearly see that those blind heretics had led him in darkness before. 20 25 30

For else, if Tyndale said true, that every elect person would be reformed at the first... it must follow that whosoever did not, when he were better taught, return and be reformed at the first, were a final reprobate and should never be saved. And then were it vain to talk with him after than once, if he would not turn at the first, as soon as he were once well taught. For by Tyndale’s tale, he that is 35

elect shall by and by assent unto the truth, as soon as it is told him, and forthwith repent his error.

If the old holy doctors and saints had been of Tyndale's mind, they should have left in heresy many a man whom they could not convert at the first, and yet converted them after very well. And truly, if Saint Ambrose had taken it for an undoubted token of invincible malice in heresy whensoever himself was not at the first teaching believed and obeyed... it is very likely that he never should have converted Saint Augustine to the truth, from more errors than one.

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*Ti 3:10-11*

For though Saint Paul counsel Titus that the man which were a heretic, he should after one warning or twain eschew—yet meant he not to forbid him the oftener calling upon him after, with good and wholesome counsel.

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For as Saint Chrysostom saith, if the devil do not despair to turn a man at last from God unto himself, though he missed his purpose oftentimes before—and that so far forth that he letted not to assay Job again and again, for all the patience that he found in him, and all the praise also that God gave him himself—it were a great shame if a good man should despair to convert a sinner from the devil to God because he cannot bring it to pass at once. And yet by Tyndale's doctrine, if a sinner did not repent at the first rebuking, and he that were in error leave his error at the first true teaching... we must needs perceive thereby that he were none elect, and consequently that he were a plain reprobate, that finally should be damned whatsoever were said or done unto him... and that it were therefore in vain to go anymore about to turn him again to God, but leave him still to the devil. Were not this, ween you, good readers, a godly, wise way?

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I dare boldly say that Tyndale himself, if he should meet with a man of the true, Catholic faith, and should find him fast therein when he would teach him his heresies—though he could not at the first teaching, nor at the second neither, bring him from the truth, yet would he not leave him so by his will... but would assay him often, and press upon him still, not without hope to win him and beguile him at the last. Now say I, then, to Tyndale, that his hope of the man's change to his sect, either because himself

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shall, in the laboring of him to draw him to it, play the devil's part, and think that though an elect shall turn from evil to good always at the first motion, and that therefore if he turn not at the first, it is in vain to go anymore about him... yet a reprobate, though he turn not from his present good state unto sin at the first, shall turn after well enough... and therefore he will labor him still to his sect—and then, in thinking thus, Tyndale taketh the Catholic faith for good and his own sect for naught—or else, if he take the Catholic faith for false, from which he goeth about to get the man... and his own sect for good, to which he laboreth to bring him: then I say that since he will not leave off when his doctrine is resisted at the first, he condemneth plainly the whole tale that he telleth here. For if every person elect shall, as he saith here, repent his error always at the first, as soon as he is taught the truth... then this man that at the first, after the truth once taught him by Tyndale, did for all that resist it... made Tyndale surely to know that he was none of the elects, and that he therefore was a reprobate of God, that finally should be damned with the devil; and so should Tyndale lose no more labor about him.

And this were thus, after Tyndale, though the man's error were but in such articles as be no promises. For if it were in any of the *promises* that Tyndale should find a man after baptism believe as the Church believeth, against the heresies that he believeth—that is to wit, believing against Tyndale that God's promise of salvation in the blood of Christ doth *not* quite put away shrift and all penitential works toward satisfaction, and all punishment for any sin repented, to be sustained either in this world or purgatory... but that so to believe and trust *in* God's promise is a damnable error *against* God's promise—if Tyndale, I say, find such a man, he should by his own tale here perceive that man forthwith for a *desperate* heretic... because that, if himself say true that none elect person can after his baptism ever fall into any error concerning any of the promises, then should himself know that he whom he found in that error concerning God's promise were a final reprobate... and then should let him alone and lose no labor in turning of him. And saving my charity, I beshrew him heartily that he doth not so!

But thus, good Christian readers, ye may well perceive that there is no truth in Tyndale's tale. And that the proof of all his whole conclusion in this chapter—that none elect can fall into any error against the promises... and that in all other articles they repent their errors as soon as they be taught the truth, and that they repent all their other sins as soon as they be rebuked—hangeth all by the moonshine. And that neither of both his heresies toward the proof whereof he would make this conclusion serve—of which two the one is that none elect person can after his baptism  
*Two of Tyndale's heresies* sin of purpose nor willingly, and the other, that necessarily dependeth thereupon, that whosoever after baptism break any of God's commandments willingly and of purpose shall never after be saved—can take here none anchor-hold at all. But as they be, both twain, by the blast of the devil's mouth blown out abroad against the strong rocks of Christ's Catholic Church and the mighty majesty of God... so be they, both twain, there fallen to wrack and shattered all to fitters.

Yet for because that Tyndale in such things as be no promises—in all which things, he saith, be they never so great, the elect may err and die in that error, for lack of good teaching, and yet never be damned therefor, because they "hurt not the redemption that is in Christ's blood"—because Tyndale, I say, for his example of such kind of things as be no promises, putteth the perpetual virginity of our Lady... it is good to consider in what manner he handleth it.

#### Tyndale

If some [of them, that is to wit, the true members of the elect church], when they read in the New Testament of Christ's "brethren," would think that they were our Lady's children after the birth of Christ, because they know not the use of the speaking of the Scripture, or of the Hebrews, how that nigh kinsmen be called "brethren," or haply they might be Joseph's children by some first wife; neither can have any to teach him, for tyranny that is so great—yet could it not hurt him, though he died therein, because it hurteth not the redemption that is in Christ's blood.



## More

Consider, good reader, how many things here fall upon Tyndale's head at once, by his own fond handling of this example.

First, it is folly for him to put that for "tyranny" now, any man should lack teaching that those children were not born of our Lady's body... since that article is as well and commonly known as any of the promises... and as long hath been known, and as fully, and as commonly believed through Christendom, as any other article of the Christian faith. And none article is there, almost, in the Christian faith, which hath not had more heretics against it than this article of our Lady's perpetual virginity; so that it is now so well known, and that solution also, of nigh kindred called "brethren" among the Hebrews, that Tyndale never needed to encumber his book therewith. 5 10

Besides this, himself and his own doctrine destroyeth his own solution. For he saith that we be bound to believe none article but if it be proved by plain Scripture. Now, though he teach now the true members of his "elect church" the thing that every child can tell already—that among the Hebrews, the near kinsmen were called "brethren"—what hath he taught them thereby? Any other thing than that the Scripture doth not prove that our Lady had ever any more children than Christ? He doth not yet by the Scripture teach his true members to perceive that she had no more, but only that the Scripture saith not plain the contrary. But then doth he by his own rule, besides, teach them that they may believe at their liberty, if they list, that she had more children indeed. And furthermore, he teacheth them that they should in no wise take it for any sure article of their belief that she was a perpetual virgin and never had more children than Christ. This point he teacheth plainly, after his master Luther, as ye have heard already, throughout his whole title wherein he laboreth to prove that the apostles have left nothing unwritten the belief whereof were necessary to salvation. Which false assertion of his I have in divers places of my former books clearly confuted... and in the end of my Third Book have answered, and avoided, all his whole chapter thereof. But now, since in this present place Tyndale himself granteth that the cause why an elect person shall be saved though he happen to err and think that our Lady was not a perpetual virgin is because that he shall repent that error when he is taught the contrary: plain it is to any man that 15 20 25 30 35

*himself* therein confesseth now that it *is* a necessary article for salvation—that to every man, at the leastwise, to whom it is opened and taught—since the cause of his salvation which before believed the contrary... is, by Tyndale himself, the repenting of his former error.

Now, then, it is so that Tyndale doth in sundry places confess and agree that this point cannot be proved by plain and evident Scripture. Ergo, he confesseth here plainly the contrary of that he so fastly before hath affirmed, while he taught that there is nothing to be believed for a surety but if it be proved by plain and evident Scripture... and that the apostles have left nothing unwritten which men are bound to believe upon pain of damnation.

This doctrine of his master and his own hath he, as ye now see, by his own handling of this matter, here utterly destroyed and damned.

Now, if he will haply for shame labor to seek some shift, and say that he meaneth no more but to put this difference between the articles of the faith in the promises and all other articles: that none error in any of the others is damnable till the man that misbelieveth be better taught the truth... and that then he is bound to believe them, whether they be in Scripture or not; but in the belief of the promises, every error and ignorance also is damnable ere ever they be taught... for no man shall be saved but if he be taught them and have the faithful belief of them—thus must Tyndale needs say, for aught that I can see... or else must he confess that one piece of his doctrine plainly destroyeth another, concerning his difference between the promises and other articles.

But yet abideth still against him that since he confesseth the perpetual virginity of our Lady to be, now that it is taught, necessary to be believed, which is not written in Scripture—still, I say, standeth it stiffly against him that he hath destroyed all his principal ground, whereabout his master and himself have taken so great labor to make men ween that nothing was necessarily to be believed but if it were evidently written in Holy Scripture.

But now, concerning his difference between the necessity of the belief of the promises, and the belief of the other articles... we shall tell him that it will be peradventure hard for him to prove his saying true, especially taking the promises as himself taketh them.

*Acts 2:41*

For in the beginning, upon the first preaching of Saint Peter, when there were so many so suddenly christened thereupon... whereby can Tyndale prove that all they were fully taught the faith of the promises before they were baptized, or that none died ere ever they were taught any further; or that if they died forthwith upon their baptism, that then their christendom stood them not in stead, for lack of further instruction of the promises? Concerning which I dare be bold to say that they were *never* taught the doctrine that Tyndale calleth so necessary that he teacheth the lack of that faith in the promise to be damnable. For they were, I say, never taught that they must believe that the promise should save them and get them of all their sins at any time after their baptism committed, at their bare repentance, always full remission of sin and pain and all, in purgatory or in this world either, and without any regard of any good work at all, or of any purpose thereof, other than bare repentance and faith in the promises. I dare well say they died, all that were then baptized, ere ever they heard anything of this point of faith in the promises... which was never thought upon by Saint Peter nor any of his fellows then, nor yet no man else till it was devised by the devil and put forth by heretics when charity waxed cold many a winter after.

If Tyndale make us many questions of them that were so suddenly christened so many at once in the beginning—we will yet be bold to tell him that many children die now soon after that they come from christening, ere ever they be washed out of the chrism... of which I suppose that some were never taught fully the faith of the promises ere they died.

If he say to this that though they were not taught it actually, yet by the gift of God in the sacrament it is taught and infused into their souls habitually—then will we ask him whereby he proveth, then, his difference between the faith of the promises and of the other articles... but if he prove us that only the faith of the promises is infused, and of the other articles not. Which when he proveth you, believe him; and in the meanwhile, believe that his evasion is not worth a fly.

If he will say that the children baptized, and so, forthwith, departing, have no faith at all... but be saved only by the faith of

their friends, and by that our Lord hath received them to the Sacrament of Baptism, and by the Sacrament of Baptism hath received them to grace and glory, without any faith of their own: then giveth he to the sacrament, against all his other doctrine, a great efficacy of grace, and maketh it *not* only a sign. And yet granteth he then, besides, the thing that he denieth: that is to wit, that some may be saved being ignorant, not only of some of the promises, but also of them all. 5

Besides this, if we would grant him the thing that he can never prove—yet were he never the nearer. For though it were true that without belief of all the promises, no man might be saved; but that the bare ignorance of any of them were damnable, and that the ignorance of any other article were not damnable, nor the contrary belief, till they were opened and taught: yet since men were (as Tyndale hath here confessed) bound upon pain of damnation to believe the perpetual virginity of our Lady, and to repent their former error to the contrary, as soon as they be taught it, notwithstanding that it cannot be proved by plain and evident Scripture—then must Tyndale grant that it is likewise of every other like article; that is to say, of every article which is true and must be believed when it is taught, besides the promises, though it cannot be proved by Scripture, no more than the article of the perpetual virginity of our Lady. 10 15 20

Then ask we Tyndale how knoweth he those articles which be necessary articles of the faith, of which articles the contrary belief 25

*The articles of our faith* were damnable after the truth of those  
*unwritten are known only* articles taught, the same articles not  
*by the Church.* being written in Scripture. Doth Tyndale  
 know them by any other means than by  
*the church...* since they be not taught them by Scripture? For it were hard that he should in such a matter believe the authority of any one man, but if that either God bid him believe him, or that, for lack of Scripture, he prove the truth of his doctrine by miracle, or by miracle prove himself to be appointed by God to teach him... by reason whereof he might be believed though he prove not every particular point of his doctrine by a several miracle... except as great or greater miracles be done or have been done by some that 30 35

teacheth or hath taught the contrary. In which perplexity God will either never bring us or never leave us.

<i>Lk 10:16</i>	Therefore conclude I that Tyndale must	
<i>Mt 28:20</i>	needs grant that he knoweth not those	
<i>Jn 14:26; 16:13</i>	articles but by the church... which church	5
	hath proved itself by millions of	
	miracles, and which church God biddeth him believe, and saith he	
	will dwell therewith always, and send his Spirit to teach and inform	
	it, and lead it into every truth.	
	Of this church, therefore, must Tyndale learn those articles, or else	10
	cannot be bound to believe them, and to repent his former errors	
	to the contrary, but if he say that himself have them by special	
	revelation of God, privately showed unto himself. And then if he	
	say so, he must either believe them alone... or else, if he will be	15
	believed in them, and have other men believe them with him, then	
	must he prove us them by Scripture or miracle. And since I dare	
	answer for him that in such articles he lacketh those two... there	
	is no remedy for him but he must needs confess that he is taught	
	the surety of those articles, and learneth which they be, only by the	20
	church of Christ.	
	Then ask we Tyndale further, which is that church of Christ	
	by which he is taught to know those necessary articles from all	
	others... the belief whereof is not necessary to salvation. He cannot	
	say that he learned it of any unknown church, for no such company	25
	can he know for "the church"... but he must needs confess that	
	he learneth to know those articles by the known church. And then,	
	by which known church? Let him name any which he will,	
	except the known Catholic church which himself impugneth...	
	and he shall name a company of no credence in that point. For by	30
	his own agreement they must lack Scripture for those articles (for	
	of such articles we speak), and they have no miracles. Wherefore,	
	finally, when he hath all done... this article alone, of the perpetual	
	virginity of our Lady (the contrary error whereof, after the truth	
	taught, himself confesseth to be damnable), driveth him, of very	35
	fine force, to confess that the church by which he knoweth the	
	undoubted truth of this article, since he knoweth it not by plain and	
	evident Scripture, is not his own secret, unknown church of	

elects (which, as ye see, himself cannot yet well describe us), nor any known church of heretics, but the very common-known Catholic church which himself goeth all this while about to impugn and destroy. In which only church Christ hath promised to dwell and abide, to teach it every necessary truth, unto the end of the world... and unto the only faith of which church he hath promised and given the gift of working miracles. Which miracles since we clearly see persevere and continue in this church only... we may clearly thereby see that this church only is that church also to which only the other promise, of the Holy Ghost's perpetual residence and inspiration, was made.

To this point is Tyndale now, good Christian reader, driven of necessity... but if he will say that this *whole* multitude of the known Catholic church is not the very church, but only the good men and elects that be within the same.

Now, if he ween to escape out so... he shall be soon set in. For then at the leastwise he acknowledgeth that there are no good men *out* of this church... nor no man hath any true, sure faith but it be learned *of* this church, or of some members of the same. And then, since himself and his fellows be out of this church (both willfully first departed out, and after worthily cast out), themselves be none of them of whom the truth can be learned. Also, to say that he therein believeth only the *good* men of the known church—that thing hath himself made impossible to serve him. For they be, by him, the only elects, which may, by his own doctrine, though they can do no deadly sin, do “horrible deeds” yet, and so seem very naught. And in this common-known church, the common-known faith or belief is all one, both with the good and the bad, though the living be diverse. If Tyndale dare deny that... let him look in the works of Saint Augustine, Saint Jerome, Saint Cyprian, Saint Ambrose, Saint Basil, Saint Gregory, Saint Chrysostom, and all the other old holy doctors and saints, of every time this fifteen hundred years... and he shall not for very shame say nay but that, against Luther and him, those holy saints had the same faith that the common Catholic laypeople have yet unto this day; as, for example, that it is a horrible abomination that any monk or friar should wed a

nun. Wherein if Tyndale dare say that I lie... let Tyndale, as I have often said, bring forth of all the old holy saints some one that said the contrary; which I am very sure he cannot. So that finally, Tyndale is come again to the same point: that he must, in faith and belief of such articles, believe the common consent of the whole Church... and not take his doctrine of any one man, or any few, that would in faith vary, swerve, and fall from the common faith of the whole Catholic Church; not though there fell away, parcelmeal, so many that they left the Church for the fewer part. 5

*Two things whereby the true church may be known* For God shall, for the knowledge of his true church, evermore among many other things specially provide twain. 10

One, that they which depart out thereof shall never agree together in one belief. Another, that the light of miracles shall never shine among any of their churches, but only in his old, true, Catholic church remaining. And therein shall they still continue, without any wonders wrought in any of the false, counterfeited churches of heretics, until that Antichrist shall come himself... which, as help me God, I very greatly fear is now very near at hand. But 15

*2 Thes 2:7-9* when he is once come... our Lord be thanked, he shall not very long endure ere Christ shall himself, with the blast of his blessed mouth, blow that proud beast to naught. 20

Now, good Christian reader, since it is proved plainly upon Tyndale's own handling of this article of our Lady's perpetual virginity that Tyndale could not have learned the truth of that article of any man but if he learned it by credence given to the common-known church, which he will not know for the very church, but impugneth it; and since himself granteth also that the contrary error of that article is damnable after the truth taught, forasmuch as his own elected persons that so have erred before cannot be after saved but by repentance of that error: he must needs confess also that of all other like articles which come in question, and are not in the Scripture either spoken of at all, or not plain and evidently proved... the sure truth and certainty cannot be had by no man but it be first commonly learned of the same church, by credence given thereunto, for the trust of Christ's promise made thereto, that himself and his Holy Spirit would forever be resident therein, and teach it every necessary truth; that 25 30 35

*Mt 28:20; Jn 14:16–17* is to wit, every truth to the belief  
*Jn 14:26; 16:13* whereof he would have his people  
 bound.

Now followeth it further, good Christian reader, upon this, that  
 Tyndale is in this matter so caught in a net of his own making... 5  
 that he must either lie tumbling still therein like a fool—and the more  
 he striveth therewith, the more always mesh and entangle himself  
 faster and faster therein—or wisely give up his heresies and renounce  
 his former errors... and from henceforth utterly acknowledge and confess  
 that against his whole purpose he is upon his own words 10  
 clearly convinced and concluded, not only that the very church is  
 the common-known church which hitherto he hath denied and  
 stiffly striveth against, but also that in the sacraments, vows,  
*Lk 10:16* faith, and good works, and finally *everything*  
 wherein the Catholic, known 15  
 church and himself have been at variance... he must learn the  
 truth *of* the same church, and therein believe that church, and give  
 credence thereunto. Which if he do not endeavor himself to do,  
 but resist their doctrine... God, which hath commanded him to  
 believe and obey *the* church, shall never work with him toward the 20  
 belief.

And thus, good Christian readers, for the final conclusion of this  
 chapter... here ye may plainly see that I might well, if I would,  
 with this same chapter make an end of all the whole matter. For  
 ye will remember that all our matter in this book is, between Tyndale 25  
 and me, nothing else, in effect, but to find out which church  
 is the very church. For since he seeth himself plainly bound to  
 give credence to that church whichsoever be it... he therefore in all  
 his book bringeth it into darkness, and laboreth to make it unknown...  
 because he would not by the knowledge thereof have his heresies 30  
 known and reprovèd.

And now ye see that, as our Lady would, by his foolish handling  
 of the article of her perpetual virginity he is quite overthrown...  
 and hath it plainly proved unto him, upon his own words, that  
 the very church is none other but this that he denieth: that is to 35  
*The very and true church* wit, the common-known Catholic people—  
 clergy, layfolk, and all—which, whatsoever  
 their living be (among whom undoubtedly there are, of  
 both sorts, many right good and virtuous), do stand together



and agree in the confession of one, true, catholic faith, with all old holy doctors and saints, and good Christian people besides, that are already passed this fifteen hundred years before, against Arius, Otho, Lambert, Luther, and Wycliffe, Zwingli, Hutten, Hus, and Tyndale, and all the rabble of such erroneous heretics. 5

And therefore, as I say, saving that I will go further to show you somewhat of his further folly—else might I well even here both end this present chapter and also this whole work... wherein with a few of his own wise words, Tyndale hath confounded himself and destroyed all his whole matter. 10

For as touching his accustomed railing in the end of his chapter, with which he would seem to touch the Catholic Church... it is all so clean against himself, and so clearly describeth and depainteth himself and his own fellows, that if we would labor sore to find out what evil we might say by them, we could find no better thing to put us in remembrance of every point of their mischievous matters than Tyndale's own words that he writeth here himself. Lo, thus he saith... 15

#### Tyndale

But they which maliciously maintain opinions against the Scripture . . . Here should he say, “as, for example, they that maintain that friars may wed nuns.” . . . or that that cannot be proved by Scripture . . . One of these things is, as ye have heard, the perpetual virginity of our Lady; which himself hath confessed, in this same chapter, that the true members of his “elect church” must needs believe after that they be once taught it. And then, if themselves be bound to believe it, they be bound to stand thereby and maintain it. And so speaketh Tyndale clear against himself. . . . or such as maketh no matter unto the Scripture . . . He meaneth such things as were not of necessity requisite to be written in Scripture; and therefore he writeth like himself. 20 25 30

For there is not one article of the faith that of necessity needed to be written, but that God could both have taught them and kept them without writing. As he hath taught and kept some—as, for example, the perpetual virginity of our Lady, which Tyndale hath both denied and confessed, and denied again, and wotteth never where to hold him, the devil so troubleth his brains. . . . and to salvation that is in Christ, whether they be true or no . . . The Church hath none such as make no matter to salvation. For *everything* that God will have believed 35

pertaineth to salvation... since the contrary belief is disobedience to God, that so taught it his church because he would have it believed. And that the perpetual virginity of our Lady is of such sort, Tyndale hath himself openly and plainly agreed; and yet would he now secretly steal back again. Not wittingly, peradventure, but that the devil pulleth him back by his coatskirt unawares. 5

... and for the blind zeal of them make sects, breaking the unity of Christ's church, for whose sake they ought to suffer all things; and rise against their neighbors (whom they ought to love as themselves) to slay them: such men, I say, are fallen from Christ and make an idol of their opinions. For except they put trust in such opinions and thought them necessary unto salvation, or with a cankered conscience went about to deceive for some filthy purpose... they would never break the unity of faith or yet slay their brethren. 10

Now, good reader, consider who make sects, that is to say, sundry parties and divisions, and breaketh the unity of Christ's church: whether the Catholic Church, that was agreed all of our mind, believing purgatory, and the equal Godhood of Christ with his Father and the Holy Ghost, and the Blessed Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar, and all the other holy sacraments, and the perpetual virginity of our Lady, and prayed unto her and other holy saints, and did reverence to their relics, images, and kept holy days and fasting days, and believed all, very fast and firmly, that it was abominable sacrilege for a friar to wed a nun—in all these things, and many other good things more, were all good Christian people agreed in one, by the Spirit of God, without any variance (as appeareth plainly both by the old, continued books of service used in the churches through Christendom, and by the books of the old holy doctors and saints in every age of time) saving only when such heretics as Arius, Wycliffe, Luther, Lambert, Huessgen, Hus, and Tyndale, and such other like, here and there, some in one time, some in another, and the very worst in our time, have been by the devil stirred up to destroy the true faith and vary from the Catholic corps of Christendom, and make new, fond sects of their own foolish brains. And whereas he speaketh of killing and slaying "their brethren," himself can tell well enough that good Christian princes and other virtuous people did in the beginning greatly forbear such heretics... till that 15 20 25 30 35

they were finally fain, in avoiding of their seditious trouble, and  
 for the repressing of their inemendable malice, to follow the example  
*1 Tm 1:19–20* of Saint Paul... and, as he betook some of  
 them to the devil, to the punishment of  
 their bodies in help of their souls or ceasing of their sinful 5  
 blasphemy... so, by temporal laws and bodily punishment, to finish  
 the infinite malice and intolerable trouble of those heretics, for the  
 safeguard of good people in peace and tranquillity. Which common  
 peace and quiet if the heretics had not perturbed... they had been  
 themselves much more easily handled. But as Tyndale knoweth that 10  
 this is true... so knoweth he well again that the heretics have been  
 those that did in Christendom begin to fight, kill, and slay, before that  
 themselves were killed and slain, or anything fought with; and  
 that they began to be killed and fought with by their own importunate  
 malice, whereby the Catholic people were constrained and 15  
 compelled to kill them in the necessary defense of innocents. And  
 that this is true... Tyndale knoweth very well both by the stories, as  
 well of England as of other places, and also by the experience of his  
 own days in Almaine, through the cruel insurrection there of his  
 own fellows the heretics of his own sect. Which rose there and 20  
 robbed, burned, and killed, not one naughty knave or two in a town,  
 as good kings and princes do these horrible and incorrigible  
 heretics (and yet sometimes scant one in ten years, and in some good  
 town not once in tenscore years), but whole goodly monasteries they  
 burned up and destroyed; and somewhere—all the churches, 25  
 almost, through the whole country—robbed, despoiled, and bore away  
 all that ever they found; despited the saints' images, relics, the  
 crucifix, and the Blessed Sacrament; robbed, mayhemmed, and murdered  
 many good, virtuous people. And by God's good sufferance,  
 they ceased not at the clergy... but, feeling fruit, went further 30  
 and fell to their lords' lands. So that they that winked and cared not  
 for God's part were fain to wake within a while and care for their  
 own part. And then they fell upon the heretics again, and killed of  
 them above threescore thousand in divers places, all in one summer.  
 Since which time, in Switzerland, even this last year, Zwingli 35  
 set his heretics in a rage again, to pillage and despoil the true Catholics

of his own country. But God gave the victory to his faithful folk,  
 that were full loath to fight with them, saving that the very force drove  
*Zwingli's death* them to the field, where they bore over  
 their enemies. And Zwingli himself, 5  
 the archheretic of all... was there deadly wounded and taken, and after that  
 burned up. Such fair fortune had Tyndale's master there, of whom he  
 took his heresies against the Blessed Sacrament. And therefore, whereas  
 Tyndale speaketh of killing of heretics, whom he calleth his Christian  
 "brethren"... he knoweth it well himself that his own unhappy *fellows*, 10  
 the heretics, I say, themselves began first that guise. And as they began  
 it, even so they keep it still. And surely there is no doubt but that  
 Tyndale himself hath longed long, and yet ever looketh for, that as the  
 Lutherans and Zwinglians have begun to rise and ruffle in rebellion in  
 sundry parts of Almaine... so he might see his disciples assay some  
 feat here. But I trust in God's grace and in the King's goodness, their 15  
 hearts shall all faint ere they come thereto. And if the devil were so  
 strong with them as to stir them up... I would wish Tyndale among  
 them, and Friar Barnes too. For I little doubt if they did, but both  
 captains and company, as Zwingli and his ambushment came shortly  
 to mischief, if God sit where he sat, should have like luck. Now is 20  
 this a plain conclusion: that both they that trust in their own works . . . Lo,  
 what a peril here were, if a friar should put any trust in chastity and  
 keeping of his vow! But and if he trust in lechery, with wedding of a  
 nun, then is he safe enough... because that work is not his own  
 work, but the work of the devil, and of the sin that breaketh out 25  
 of his "members." . . . and they also that put trust in their own opinions...  
 be fallen from Christ, and err from the way of faith that is in Christ's  
 blood... and therefore are none of Christ's church, because they be not built  
 upon the rock of faith. This doth *himself*, and his fellows that are  
 heretics! For the articles that the whole Catholic Church put 30  
 trust in be not the opinion of any man, but the sure doctrine of God.  
 Whereof the certainty of the truth dependeth upon the promise of  
 our Savior himself, which hath promised that the Holy Ghost  
 shall teach his church all truth and lead it thereunto. And therefore  
 if it be true, as indeed it is, that they which trust in their own 35  
 works, and make idols of their own opinions, and break the union

of the Church, and make sundry sects, and kill their Christian  
 brethren, be fallen from Christ and from the way of faith that is in  
 Christ's blood... and therefore are none of Christ's church, because  
 they be not built upon the rock of faith: then must it needs follow 5  
 that Luther, Lambert, Zwingli, Huessgen, and Tyndale, and all others  
 of their sundry sects, be fallen from Christ and are from the way  
 of faith that is in Christ's blood... and therefore are none of Christ's  
 church, because they put trust in their own vain inventions and  
 make idols of their own false opinions. For which they break the  
 peace and unity... both of the Church and of the faith, by making 10  
 of sects and sowing sedition and dissension to stir up rebellion  
 and insurrection against their neighbors and their governors,  
 and thereby cause the robbery, pillage, despoil, and murder of their  
 good, Catholic, Christian brethren. And do put also their trust in  
*The works wherein heretics* their own works—not in fasting, praying, 15  
*put their trust* alms, or any good work; but in  
 destruction of monasteries, casting out  
 of religion, expulsion of chastity, with wedding of nuns and  
 living in lechery, profaning of churches, polluting of altars,  
 blaspheming of saints, rashing down their images, casting 20  
 out their relics, despiting our Lady, defiling the crucifix,  
 and, finally, mocking and mowing at the Blessed Sacrament. And  
 thus abusing themselves, they declare, lo, very clearly, that they be  
 not built upon the rock of faith... but with the breath of damned  
 spirits be blown down to the devil. I pray God amend them 25  
 and set them on that rock again. And here an end of this chapter...  
 in which ye see, lo, to what pleasant pass, first his royal riddles of  
 "sin and not sin," "err and not err"... and after, his royal  
 railing of "making sects," "breaking of unity," "killing of Christian  
 brethren," "trusting in their works," is by the perceiving of his 30  
 own words finally brought unto; and every mischief that he  
 layeth against the known, Catholic church, each after other, fall in  
 his own neck... where that faggot lieth so surely bound on his  
 shoulder that as long as he liveth, with all the shifts he can find,  
 he shall never well shake it off. 35

*Faith Is Ever Assaulted  
and Fought With.*

against—whether he speak of his own false faith and heresies, or of  
 the true, Catholic faith of Christ. For like as the true, Catholic  
 faith is and ever hath been oppugned and assaulted, by the devil and  
 all his disciples such heretics as Tyndale is, from the beginning  
 unto this present time: so hath ever his false faith and heresies 5  
 been impugned, assailed, and *condemned*, by God and all his  
 prophets, by Christ and all his apostles, and all his holy doctors  
 and saints, and by all the whole corps of Christendom, from the  
 beginning hitherto. And this conflict and battle shall  
 never cease till Christ shall finally reform the world and 10  
     *1 Cor 15:24–28*            finish it, and deliver the Kingdom to  
    the Father.  
 And as for every man’s faith privately—who knoweth not,  
 though Tyndale tell us not, that the devil daily laboreth to quench  
 it, as he laboreth to destroy hope and charity and all other virtues? 15  
 Nor *this* we need not to learn of Tyndale neither—that men by  
 temptations learn to find and feel that there is no goodness, nor  
 yet power to do good, but of God only—if Tyndale mean that as the  
 truth is: that all goodness cometh of God, and that man hath none,  
 nor none could have neither man nor angel, but by God’s gift... 20  
 nor could have yet any power to do good if God would withdraw  
 his grace. Howbeit, if he mean in this place as he saith with his  
 master Martin in many places—that man hath no power by the  
 freedom of his will to do any good, in working, himself, *with*  
     *Man’s free will worketh*    God’s grace, and in resisting of temptation, 25  
     *with God’s grace.*            too, and working with God in the  
    keeping of himself from sin... but  
 must needs in all such things sit still himself, astonied and  
 amazed in a reckless sloth, and let God work alone—then say I  
 that Tyndale’s holy sermon is very damnable heresy. 30  
 Now, where that in all the sins that he rehearseth, he saith that  
 “our faith perisheth not utterly, nor our love and consent unto the  
 law of God,” but that “they be weak, sick, and wounded, and not  
 clean dead”—I say that his tale is to little purpose. For if by “faith” he  
 mean the belief... then is it not of necessity lost at *all* in *no* deadly 35  
 sin, except heresy. For the right belief and other deadly  
 sins may stand together well enough. For a man may believe

truly and do falsely, believe right and live wrong, believe well and be naught.

And yet may he be an elect person and fall from the true faith, that is to say, the true belief, and lose it utterly, believing lies and heresies... and fall from grace for the time, and yet after that, with help of grace, find the faith and fall thereto again, and finally die therein. 5

And if Tyndale here by the name of “faith” understand hope and trust in God, as he juggleth continually with that word—for such equivocations and diverse understandings of one word serve him for his goblets, his galls, and his juggling stick in all the proper points of his whole conveyance and his legerdemain—but as I said, if by “faith” he mean hope: I grant that it dieth not always with the sin, nor goeth not therewith away. But it waxeth by Tyndale’s doctrine oftentimes over great. For by the dreadless trust of their teaching, the man falleth into boldness of sin. In which 10 15

*Note* when he hath fearless long continued... he waxeth forceless and careless, and setteth not by sin, till suddenly the devil out of his high heart and haughty courage striketh him into cowardous dread and utter desperation. For the outrageous increase of their hope is no very right hope, though it be a greater hope than it should be... no more than the heat of a fever is a right natural heat, though the body be more hot than it was in health. And therefore in such affections the soul sometimes falleth from one contrary quality into another... as the body in an ague changeth from cold to heat, and from heat sometimes into cold again. Of which manner of changes of the soul whom the devil driveth out of one vice into its contrary... may be well verified these words of Holy Scripture: “They shall from 20 25

*Jb 24:19* cold water of the snow go into far passing heat.” And yet I say that with these sins, a true member *may* lose *all* hope and fall in despair... and after, by grace, come unto hope again. 30

Now, where he saith that “love and consent to the law of God” is not lost by a true member of the “elect church”: I wot not whether Tyndale’s love remain or no... but I am sure that by sin, Christian charity goeth away. For neither charity nor grace can stand together 35



2 Cor 6:14–15	with sin. For as Saint Paul saith, “What fellowship can there be between light and darkness, between Christ and Belial?”	
	I say also that all his gay, goodly tale that he telleth us here of his elect members with their holy “feeling faith”... to whom he would appropere some special privilege of keeping still faith, hope, and charity with all their heavy heap of horrible devilish deeds—I say that as far forth as in his words is any truth, his privilege is not proper to the members of his “elect church,” but common to the very, final elects and to the final reprobates too. For both the one and the other may sin and repent, and amend and sin again, and amend again, offer than Tyndale hath fingers on his hands, and toes on his feet, too. But he that finally repenteth his sins in a <i>An elect foreseen</i> right fashion is an elect foreseen to God from the beginning. And he that finally dieth impenitent, as divers wedded friars die in their lechery... or he that, after Tyndale’s doctrine, repenteth without care of shrift, and dieth in a false heresy against his holy housel: such folks be finally reprobates, foreknown unto God, before the world was <i>A reprobate foreseen</i> wrought, that they would finally for impenitence fall utterly to naught.	5 10 15
	And the other part of his tale, which cannot be verified in the reprobates, that is to wit, the keeping of charity still in the doing of horrible deeds, cannot be verified in the elects neither. And so is his tale on every side foolish, false, and naught. For the seemly setting forth whereof, to make it appear fair and likely... because he can neither bring reason, Scripture, nor other good authority—ye shall now see what example he bringeth forth.	20 25
	Tyndale	
	As a good child whom the father and mother have taught nurture and wisdom loveth his father and all his commandments... and perceiveth of the goodness showed him that his father loveth him, and that all his father’s precepts are unto his wealth and profit, and that his father commandeth him nothing for any need that his father hath thereof, but seeketh his profit only; and therefore hath a good faith unto all his father’s promises, and loveth all his commandments, and doth them with good will, and with	30 35

good will goeth to school. And by the way haply he seeth company play... and with the sight is taken and ravished of his memory, and forgetteth himself, and standeth and beholdeth and falleth to play also, forgetting father and mother, all their kindness, all their laws, and his own profit thereto. Howbeit, the knowledge of his father's kindness, the faith of his promises, and the love that he hath again unto his father, and the obedient mind, are not utterly quenched, but lie hidden, as all things do when a man sleepeth, or lieth in a trance. And as soon as he hath played out all his lusts, or been warned in the mean season... he cometh again unto his old profession. Never the later, many temptations go over his heart, and the law as a right hangman tormenteth his conscience, and goeth nigh to persuade him that his father will cast him away and hang him if he catch him, so that he is likely a great while to run away, rather than to return unto his father again; fear and dread of rebuke, and of loss of his father's love, and of punishment, wrestle with the trust which he hath in his father's goodness, and, as it were, give his faith a fall; but it riseth again as soon as the rage of the first brunt is past, and his mind more quiet. And the goodness of his father and his old kindness cometh unto remembrance, either of his own courage or by the comfort of some other. And he believeth that his father will not cast him away or destroy him, and hopeth that he will no more do so. And upon that he getteth him home dismayed, but not altogether faithless. The old kindness will not let him despair. Howbeit, all the world cannot set his heart at rest till the pain be past, and until he have heard the voice of his father that all is forgiven.

#### More

I neither have yet ever heard nor never look to hear any very wise word in all Tyndale's works. But yet heard I never a more peevish process than this his holy preaching is; nor, therewith, more pestilently perilous, while he pretendeth to make this chapter of *faith*, and then juggleth it into trust and hope—and yet would make us believe that neither nother at any time faileth any man that once hath gotten them, nor that any man which once hath the faith that himself describeth, and thereby is once a true member of his “elect church” (as every man is, by his doctrine, that once attaineth that faith), can at any time after lose it nor fall away therefrom, and for that

cause can never do deadly sin, though he do never so many  
 damnable deeds, or (to call them as himself calleth them)  
 horrible deeds. For as for damnable, haply Tyndale will say  
 they be not, be they never so horrible, because the “seed of God,” that  
 is to wit, their “feeling faith,” can never suffer such true members 5  
 of his “elect church” do those horrible deeds willingly or of purpose,  
 but only for weakness and frailty—for which they can be,  
 saith he, no deadly sins in those blessed bodies, be the deeds never  
 so devilish.

And now, to prove us this wonderful strange paradox, this 10  
 opinion inopinable, to be very plain, open, evident, and clear—  
 he furnisheth it with examples so feeble and so dim that the faint  
 sight of our sore eyes can scant attain to perceive how the  
 examples anything touch the matter.

For whereas he should, to make us clearly behold it, put his examples 15  
 in great and horrible deeds, such as himself before, in  
 another chapter, confesseth that his holy members do—he forgetteth  
 here now such horrible deeds as would make the readers abhor the  
 doers of them, and speaketh fair and easily that they be “feeble” sometimes  
 in temptation, and then they “cannot stand”; and that after they 20  
 have sinned, their faith is faint; and when they should help their  
 neighbor, their “love is cold”; and they be not patient in tribulations;  
 and when they suffer wrong, they “cannot forgive,” lo, and  
 when men take away their goods, they be angry, so they be, lo.

Lo how angry Tyndale is with his true members of his “elect 25  
 church,” and how sore he layeth their sins to their charge! And  
 yet because we should take their faults for much the slighter, he  
 diminisheth all the matter and maketh it much the less, by resembling  
 and likening them to a good little child, as though  
 their faults were all but childishness... and as it were a babe that 30  
 weepeth and waxeth angry with the kite for catching away his  
 bread and butter, and would complain to his mother, and bid her  
 go take a rod and beat the kite.

But since that Tyndale now goeth about to play the master, and 35  
 set all the Catholic Church again to school... and would have us  
 learn such hard lessons as we never heard of the like... as that men  
 may commonly do mischievous deeds without any deadly sin,

because they do them not willingly where nobody compelleth them—  
 let him at the leastwise, since he will make us all young children,  
 teach us our lesson as a good master teacheth his young children.  
 And let him not teach us our lesson in a small, ragged hand wherein  
 a young beginner can scant perceive one letter from another... but 5  
 let him teach us in a fair, great letter of some text hand that is  
 more easy to learn upon. And therefore we shall pray him to let  
 pass over for this once his long childish example of his good  
 child which for all the nurture of his father and his mother, and  
 all the wisdom that he learned of them, and all his love to them and 10  
 to their commandments, and all the trust in his father's promises,  
 for which he goeth with good will to school... finding yet by the way  
 some companions that fall to play, is ravished of his remembrance...  
 and, forgetting father and mother and all their promises,  
 and all their kindness, and all their laws, and all the wisdoms that he 15  
 learned of them, and all the nurture-turture that they taught him,  
 standeth still and looketh on them... and after falleth to work with  
 them at some such pretty plays, of likelihood, as children be wont to  
 play, as Cherrystone, Marrow Bone, Buckle Pit, Spurn Point, Cobnut,  
 or Quating; let us leave, I say, this good child at his game, till he be 20  
 fetched either home with his father or to school with his master with  
 three stripes for his tarrying and truanting by the way—which  
 is more meet for such a child than, after his lusts played out,  
 Tyndale's tragical process of remembrance of his "old profession,"  
 with temptations over his heart, and the law his "right hangman," 25  
 tormenting of conscience, fear of destruction, and almost desperate  
 dread of hanging. Now let Tyndale, therefore, instead of this  
 child, take for example some of the true members of his own  
 "elect church," that hath the feeling faith of his own false heresies...  
 and not a little child, but a great sloven slouch that out of his 30  
 boy's age is twenty winters stepped into his knave's age. Then let  
 Tyndale put in him for example not, as he doth here, the being  
 angry with them that doth him wrong, or lack of due love to the  
 liberal help of his neighbor's need—with which mind and soft  
 examples of infirmity, feebleness, imperfection, and frailty, 35  
 Tyndale covereth and keepeth aside the hateful hearing and

beholding of their abominable deeds—but let him put for example that his true member, this Jack Slouch that we speak of, is so frail and so feeble in temptations that, through the fruit of the sin remaining in his flesh and, as Tyndale saith, “breaking out” at his “members,” he falleth into *horrible* deeds (for that is Tyndale’s word), as into adultery with his mother, poisoning his father, and murdering his brother, in sacrilege and incest as Friar Luther doth with his nun, fall to mocking of Almighty God as Tyndale doth in the Blessed Sacrament. 5

Now, since we have for example taken no little, pretty sins, but great and horrible deeds... and have also taken for example no little, pretty boy, but an old, great knave fit and meet for the matter, as in whom may well and conveniently be verified all Tyndale’s tragical terms of temptations and tormentry, destruction, hangman, and gallows, and altogether: let us in this abominable beast now, and in these horrible crimes, as in a great text hand, look upon our lesson that Master Tyndale teacheth us, and see whether there be written therein the thing that he would have us learn... or whether that (since we have now such a book with so great, large letters as we can spell upon and do together or self) it shall peradventure appear that he went about before with a small, ragged hand to beguile us and make us read false. 10 15 20

Ye remember, good readers, that he saith that his true members upon great occasions, as upon the sight of such things as delighteth them, be ravished of their memory and forget themselves (as his little good child doth at the sight of the play), and so continueth still in the following and fulfilling of his lust as it were a man in his sleep, or one that lay in a trance; and neither is his faith lost in all that while, nor his love to the law of God... but though they lie hidden, yet they continue still, both twain, and his hope and his trust in God also. And therefore, though our Jack Slouch do all those horrible deeds that we did put for example—yet, being a true member of Tyndale’s “elect church,” because of his feeling faith which so lieth hidden in his heart that he feeleth nothing thereof... he consenteth not in his mind to none of those deeds, nor doth none of them willingly nor of purpose, or at the leastwise 25 30 35

not *maliciously* (for that word into his old tale putteth Tyndale of new in his false *Exposition upon the First Epistle of Saint John*), and therefore in him there can none of all those horrible deeds be damnable or deadly sin.

We might here let Jack Slouch alone... and ask Tyndale whether  
 another slouch of his acquaintance—his own master Martin  
 Luther, not only a true member but also one of the *chief* members  
 of his “elect church”—hath lain all this while asleep, by the space of  
 so many years together, since he first ran out of his order in  
 apostasy, and after wedded his nun, and yet continueth with her  
 still. This friar and his nun drank well, of likelihood, ere they  
 went to their bridebed, if they lie still and sleep yet. 5 10

But forasmuch as Tyndale will not agree that Friar Luther’s  
 lechery with his nun is any evil deed at all, but very well done  
 and virtuously—therefore, though we need none other example  
 against his frantic heresy to the ears of any good Christian man,  
 yet for Tyndale himself we must leave Luther lying still asleep  
 with his leman, and return again to Jack Slouch... whose  
 deeds Tyndale will grant and agree to be horrible, though he deny  
 them to be damnable because of Jack’s feeling faith... which,  
 though he feel it not because he lieth asleep, keepeth in him still yet  
 the love to God’s law, and suffereth him not to consent unto the  
 sin, nor to do any such deeds willingly nor of purpose, or at the  
 leastwise not maliciously. 15 20

Let every man here, against Tyndale’s foolish tale and shameless  
 invention, take testimony and witness of his own wit... whether  
 he that by the devil’s enticement defouleth his mother, poisoneth  
 his father, and murdereth his brother, and mocketh Almighty God,  
 and such other horrible and abominable deeds, oftentimes doth  
 deliberately, with long device and study bestowed about it, do this  
 gear willingly and consent thereunto... or else doth all unwillingly,  
 as he were asleep or in a trance. Let Tyndale tell us what he will...  
 he shall, I ween, find no wise man in this point agree—that these  
 beasts do their detestable deeds unwillingly, without consent unto  
 sin. 25 30 35

Now, touching Tyndale’s other goodly refuge—that the  
 horrible deeds of his true members of his “elect church” be never

deadly sins, because they do them never of no malice—this is,  
 be ye sure, a very comely device which every wise man, ye wot well,  
 must needs allow and commend. For in our example of Jack  
 Slouch... what indifferent judge would not hold the good man  
 excused of all those abominable deeds if it might appear to the 5  
 court that the defouling of his mother was not for any despite or  
 malice borne to his father, but of unnatural affection and very  
 beastly lust... and also that the poisoning of his father grew not of  
 anger or evil will to his person, but of love and longing for his  
 substance; and such other excuses like, for all his other detestable 10  
 crimes, whereupon it might appear that none of them all rose of anger  
 or evil will... but some of pride, some of covetousness, some of lechery,  
 or such other ribaldrous appetite; what could his judge in such  
 case say to him for very pity, if the poor man said once he  
 were sorry... but stroke his head and bid him go home and be a good 15  
 son and do so no more? And therefore, forasmuch as the same Jack  
 Slouch doth none of those detestable deeds of pure malice to any  
 other body, but of some kind of affection toward himself, his  
 love is not utterly quenched... and therefore he is one of Tyndale's  
 elects that sinneth never, how bad soever he be. 20

For whereas, finally, Tyndale teacheth us that his true members of  
 his “elect church” do never sin deadly because that after the  
 larks have played out all their lusts, then they repent again and  
 remember themselves and their Father's former kindness, and be sorry—  
 this is a fair tale of a tub, told us of his elects. For every man 25  
 well wotteth that thus do the final reprobates, and be by due  
 repentance divers times in their lives restored again to the state  
 of grace. And then by this tale of Tyndale were there no deed  
 damnable nor deadly sin in any man, were it never so abominable...  
 but only those last sins, in which he died impenitent. And 30  
 then were all Tyndale's high descriptions and differences of elects  
 and reprobates all brought to this point at the last: that their  
 deeds be all one, and their fashions and their faiths and their  
 loves to the law of God alike changeable through the remnant  
 of their lives, saving that the one sort die repentant, and the 35  
 other sort impenitent. And this is the same thing that *we*  
 say. And so is Tyndale, after all his long, foolish variance, at last,  
 maugre his teeth, against his purpose compelled to say the same  
 that we have always said and he always denied.

But then say we one thing further: that whereas the elects be,  
 by his own agreement, the penitents only, and the true repentants—  
 neither himself, which repenteth not his abominable  
 heresies, but stubbornly standeth by them and saith he will die in  
 them... nor his master Martin Luther, which, notwithstanding 5  
 that the lusk hath oftentimes played out his lust, will not yet  
 leave his lechery, but lie still with the nun, and defend for lawful  
 matrimony their filthy life that is before God and all good men a very  
 beastly bitchery... show themselves clearly to be any of the true  
 penitents... but utterly to be such as, but if they repent better ere 10  
 they die, shall else be none of God's final elects, but very wretched  
 reprobates accursed out of God's company, and miserable members  
 of the devil's damned church in hell.

Yet saith Tyndale further, in the end of all this chapter, that

[albeit the old kindness of the father cannot let the good 15  
 child utterly despair, for all that he hath played at Spurn Point by  
 the way in going at schoolward, yet] all the world cannot set his heart  
 at rest until the pain be past, and until he have heard the voice  
 of his father that all is forgiven.

These words would I have Tyndale apply me well to his ghostly 20  
 purpose... and, turning the example of his good child into some old  
 shrew, and the playing at Spurn Point into some detestable deed,  
 let Tyndale then tell us where, what voice, and by whom his true  
 member of his "elect church" shall hear that voice of remission. If he  
 mean any word spoken in Scripture already—then is he soon sped, 25  
 and shall not after his sinful crime committed fall at any great  
 conflict in himself between hope and despair, his faith almost  
 catching a fall for fear, and at last, with much work, rising  
 again. All this gear is soon done if the voice of his Father  
 granting remission set his heart at rest, and that voice be his 30  
 word written in Scripture; for then he heard the word before he  
 did the deed. And that word being such... if it were understood  
 as Tyndale teacheth... that forthwith, at the bare repenting, without  
 shrift or penance, all were forgiven, sin, pain, and all,  
 both eternal and temporal, both in hell and purgatory and in this 35  
 world too—that word were then, I say, already, before the deed, not a  
 forgiveness only of the sin past, but a license, almost, also of



all horrible deeds to be done. And if he mean to *hear* the voice of his Father *afterward*, not *written before*—he must hear it by the mouth of his ghostly father upon his humble shrift and confession, which Tyndale calleth the craft and invention of Satan.

And this is, lo, the conclusion of Tyndale in this his chapter of his false faith “ever assaulted”; which is, as ye see, now taken here with assault piecemeal, on every side wounded, despoiled, and bound... and, quick of feeling as any blain or botch, but utterly dead of grace, sent down unto the devil.

Tyndale  
*The Manner and Order of  
Our Election*

Even so goeth it with God’s elects. God chooseth them first, and they not God, as thou readest, John 15. And then he sendeth forth and calleth them, and showeth them his good will which he beareth unto them, and maketh them see both their own damnation in the law and also the mercy that is laid up for them in Christ’s blood, and thereto what he will have them do. And then when we see his mercy, we love him again, and choose him, and submit ourselves unto his laws, to walk in them. For when we err not in wit, reason, and judgment of things, we cannot err in will and choice of things. The choice of a man’s will doth naturally and of her own accord follow the judgment of a man’s reason, whether he judge right or wrong. So that in teaching only, resteth the pith of a man’s living.

More

This chapter dependeth upon the chapter before, in which he compared his true members of his “elect church” unto his good child, whom his father taught nurture and wisdom, and sent him to school, and he, like a micher and a truant, played at Bockle Pit by the way... and when the game was done, fell almost in despair of life for fear of hanging if his father caught him... and yet, soon after, well and wisely recomforted himself with the remembrance of his father’s old goodness... and so came home again like a good little boy, and heard his father’s voice of forgiveness... which set his heart at rest... and then he went to supper merrily... and then the maid

put on his biggin and brought him to bed... and then he cared for no more, but was merry in the morning, and ready to go play the boy again as he did before. And now thereto Tyndale joineth this chapter... saying, “Even so goeth it with God’s elect.”

Yet, since he resembleth God’s elect unto the little boy... he should have put into the example of his little child that his little child sometimes, when he hath played the little young truant, for all his remembrance of his father’s goodness... is for fear of his father’s anger glad to go to some other friends of his father’s, and pray them to bring him home and help to excuse him and keep him from beating. And *then* he should have begun this chapter as he doth now, and say, “Even so goeth it with God’s elect.” For if the example of his good child may prove all the remnant for him... then may it  
*To seek unto saints* prove this one piece as well for us: that the elect, after his offense, seeketh unto saints as his Father’s friends, and prayeth them to help to entreat for him; for so do many times such good children, ye wot well, as Tyndale putteth his example by.

But we will not now, for this time, trouble Tyndale much with that matter. I would that in this chapter all were well save it. For surely this chapter is *very* naught... and hath in it the secret seed of Tyndale’s chief poison, whereby he laboreth, after Luther, under color and pretext of God’s election to destroy the free will of man, and ascribe allthing to destiny. Which thing is not in itself so false... but Tyndale proveth it as foolishly, as ye shall perceive anon.

But first consider how darkly the man walketh in his way still. For yet he handleth it of that fashion that he would not we should see whether he mean by this word “elect” the man that is elect for the time, after the manner of any of those elections that I declared you before (in the beginning of my Fourth Book), or whether he mean of those elects that are of God, before the beginning of the world, foreseen to be such as by his gift and grace—and good will working therewith, in folk of age and wit thereto—should and would die in the state of grace and be saved, and therefore be called sometimes “final” elects, sometimes “eternal.”

Thus, which kind of elects himself meaneth, Tyndale leaveth undeclared... and will we shall guess at his mind upon his uncertain words, to the end that he might ever have some refuge into a starting hole... and when he were plainly confuted and reprov'd, cry out upon me then and say that I mistake him. 5

But I am content to take him, therefore, that way that may be the strongest for himself... and that way that his words gathered out of divers of his chapters, some before and some hereafter, show most likely that he should mean, when they be considered together. And that is, as meseemeth, that he meaneth of those elects that are called the “final” and “eternal” elects; albeit that the place of Scripture (in the fifteenth chapter of Saint John) which Tyndale allegeth here for his elects little maketh for his purpose concerning that final or eternal election... not only because the words of Christ spoken there to his apostles cannot conveniently serve for those which swerve from the true doctrine of Christ’s Catholic Church, that the apostles taught, into false heresies... but also for that our Savior in those words, when he said unto them, “You have not chosen me but I have chosen you, and appointed you, that you shall go forth and bring fruit, and your fruit shall abide,” he spoke there not of their final election to salvation, which 10 15 20

election himself foresaw in his Godhood before the world was made, *Eternal election* and which election therefore is called “eternal”; but he spoke there of that election only by which he chose and elected them to be his apostles and messengers, to be sent about the world to preach his Gospel... as plainly appeareth by those aforesaid words, “I have chosen you, and appointed you, to *go* and *bring in fruit*”—and, finally, is the same election whereof he spoke when he said, “Have I not elected and *Jn 6:70–71* chosen you twelve, and lo, one of you is a devil?” And therefore, as I say, the man layeth the Scripture very far from his matter. 25 30

But now taking him as he would say if his wit would serve him—that is to wit, that by his word “elects” he meaneth the final and eternal elects—let us see and consider what high doctrine, and before unheard, Master Tyndale teacheth us of them. 35

He saith that *after* that God hath chosen them (and telleth not when—whether after their coming into the world, or before the world were made—so that he leaveth it by those words yet in doubt which election he moveth, whether unto salvation in the Church Triumphant in heaven, or only into the Church here militant in earth), “God,” he saith, “sendeth forth and calleth upon them, and sheweth them his good will which he beareth unto them.” 5

Now, here falleth Tyndale in two faults. One is that these words of his cannot be verified upon all elects, since many die in their cradles, and many in their chrisms... but if he reckon all those for none elects, because they can understand no preaching. Another fault is that the thing which he seemeth here to appropere unto the elects be common both to the elects and reprobates. For all this God doth to them too that are not his elects, but unto such also 10

*1 Tm 2:3–4* as will be, and therefore shall be, final reprobates. 15  
For God of his goodness willing, as the Scripture saith, “all men to be saved,” sent his Son into this world to call upon the whole world. And he sent his

*1 Pt 1:17* apostles about the world as a Lord  
*Acts 10:34* and God indifferent, without acception of persons, as said Saint Peter. 20

But then goeth Tyndale farther, and saith that God “maketh [his elects] see both their own damnation in the law and also the mercy that is laid up for them in Christ’s blood, and thereto what he will have them do.”

These words men would ween were but well and plainly meant. For they may seem to good, plain-meaning men to be well and plainly spoken, and as well and plainly meant. But yet, as ye shall shortly see, in these words that “God maketh his elects see . . . his mercy”—as plain words as they be, and as innocent and as simple as they seem—yet in them meaneth Tyndale covertly to come forth with his poison of falsely preaching the predestination of God, with destruction of the free will of man concerning any manner of devoir of themselves toward the belief and faith. For he meaneth here that God always *maketh* the elects to see these things, without any will of their own anything working with God toward the sight thereof; and that all the reprobates that shall be damned for lack of the belief... be reprobated and rejected and left unchosen, and kept from 25 30 35

the sight and perceiving of the things to be believed, without any demerit or evil desert of their own, only because God list not to make them see.

And that Tyndale thus falsely meaneth by those fair plain words... ye shall farther perceive by other words of Tyndale's own writing afterward, in his answer to the first chapter of the Third Book of my *Dialogue*. For whereas I there showed that the very books of the Scripture itself cannot make men believe the Scripture, nor very surely know which *were* the very, true Scripture of God, *The Church teacheth us to* and which were scriptures counterfeit, *know the Scripture.* saving that the Catholic Church teacheth us to know the Scripture... and the Spirit of God, with man's own towardness and good endeavor, worketh in man the credulity and belief by which we both believe the Church in teaching us which *is* the Scripture and also by which we believe the things that are written *in* the Scripture: to this, because I said there that when we hear the Scripture or read it, if we be not rebellious but endeavor ourselves to believe, and captivate and subdue our understanding to serve and follow faith, praying for God's gracious aid and help, God then worketh with us, and inwardly doth incline our heart into the assent of the thing that we read... and after a little spark of our faith once had, increaseth the credence in our incredulity—Tyndale to this, in mockage of men's endeavor toward the belief, and in scorning that we would captivate our understanding into the service of faith, answereth me with a hideous exclamation... and crying out upon my fleshliness and folly, foameth out his high spiritual sentence in this fashion...

Tyndale

Oh, how beetle-blind is fleshly reason! The will hath none operation at all in the working of faith in my soul, no more than the child hath in the begetting of his father. For, saith Paul, it is the gift of God, and not of us. . . . My wit must show me a true cause or an apparent cause why, ere my will have any working at all.

More

Now perceive you good Christian readers what an un-Christian mind this evil Christian man hath in those words that seem

so fair and plain in this present chapter. For though he speak  
 not out so plainly in this chapter as he doth after in his answer  
 to my Third Book, as ye have here heard—yet that he falsely meaneth  
 in either place alike, ye may yet more plainly perceive by his  
 words that in *this* chapter immediately follow... which are such as may 5  
 be as well joined to his aforesaid words of his answer unto my  
 Third Book as to the words unto which they be knit in this  
 present chapter. In which when he hath said that “God maketh  
 his elects see their damnation in the law, and also the mercy that  
 is laid up for them in Christ’s blood, and thereto what he will 10  
 have them do,” it followeth then, forthwith...

#### Tyndale

And then when we see his mercy, we love him again, and choose  
 him, and submit ourselves unto his laws, to walk in them. For  
 when we err not in wit, reason, and judgment . . . we cannot err 15  
 in will and choice of things. The choice of man’s will doth  
 naturally and of her own accord follow the judgment of a man’s  
 reason, whether he judge right or wrong; so that in teaching only,  
 resteth the pith of a man’s living.

#### More

Now trust I, good readers, that it is enough that we perceive and  
 see what Tyndale intendeth in this chapter of the order of our  
 election... and that, for all his great exclamation, we be not yet so  
 beetle-blind but that we spy well enough which way this wily  
 serpent walketh—and that he goeth about, under color of the praise 25  
 and commendation of God’s predestination and ordinance,  
 utterly concerning faith to put away the work of man’s free  
 will... and yet over that (though somewhat more covertly), of truth,  
 concerning all other good works too.

And albeit that he seem here to give man’s will, in manner, 30  
 like place in the act of our love toward God as he giveth God in the  
 work of our belief and faith in us—yet when he is well perceived,  
 he bringeth all to such inevitable necessity that both in the one  
 and the other, and in all manner of good works, he taketh utterly  
 away all manner of merit from the good men and elects... and 35  
 giveth unto the evil people and reprobates an excuse for themselves,

and an occasion to lay the weight of their just damnation to the injustice of God's eternal ordinance and most righteous predestination. And yet are all his reasons in this great matter so small that a man may not well wit whether they be more wicked or more witless.

5

Now, albeit that I shall purpose to treat of this matter more at long with Tyndale when I shall come to the confutation of his fond answers made unto the third and fourth books of my *Dialogue*—yet can I not presently forbear somewhat to show you of his abominable error in this point. And yet, in good faith, meseemeth no very great need; his follies, after his words of both the places brought forth and laid together, be now so plain and evident of themselves.

10

For who is so beetle-blind that seeth not clearly the dark, devilish heresy of this high spiritual heretic, that saith it is a “beetle-blind,” “fleshly” reason to think that the good endeavor of the man's part in willingly conforming himself toward the faith,

15

*Yea, the operation of the will  
of man is a great  
furtherance to faith!*

and captivating and subduing his reason  
and understanding into the obsequy and  
obedient service of belief—should be no  
manner help nor furtherance toward the

20

getting of any Christian faith, but that “the will hath none operation at all in the working of faith in [man's] soul, no more than the child hath in the begetting of his father”! For here ye see well that we speak of such as are of age and have the use of reason.

25

If man's will had no more part toward the attaining of the belief than the child hath in the begetting of his own father... I see not wherefore our Savior should call upon the people and bid

*Mk 1:15*

them do penance and “believe the Gospel,”  
as he doth in the first chapter of Saint

30

Mark.

For though it be very true that without God's help and God's grace preventing and foregoing, no man can believe: yet if there were *nothing* in the man himself whereby he might receive it *if* he would, with grace which God of his goodness offereth, apply himself towardly to the receiving thereof, and whereby, on the other side, he might frowardly refuse it, or of sloth and negligence so slightly

35

regard it that he were worthy to lose it—if there were, I say, no such thing in the man whereby he himself might somewhat do therein with God—our Lord would not call upon men and *exhort* them to believe, and *praise* them that will believe, and *rebuke* them that will not believe, as he doth in many plain places of the Scripture. 5

But, now, against God and his holy scriptures it is a world to see what slender things Tyndale allegeth. First he saith that it is a beetle-blind fleshly folly to reckon that the good endeavor of man should be anything worth toward the attaining of faith, because that faith is the gift of God. Is not here a high reason? Who denieth that faith is a gift of God? But what letteth that that a man may not by his towardness endeavor himself to receive the gift of God by God's goodness freely offered unto him... or by his frowardness, sloth, or negligence lose and forgo the gift of God? Is it anything against the nature of gift, to be as willingly received and taken as it is offered and given? If a man would give Tyndale a cup of gold... would Tyndale call it no gift if himself did with good will put forth his hand to take it? Doth the willing behavior of the taker change the name and the nature of the gift, or anything diminish the free, liberal mind of the giver? In good faith, I must needs confess myself so beetle-blind that *I* can see no reason at all, neither fleshly nor ghostly, in this reason of Tyndale; nor, as I ween, Tyndale's own sharp eagle eyes, neither. 10 15 20

What good thing is there that is not the gift of God—hope, charity, continence, piety, learning, wisdom... or anything in this world that aught is?—for, as saith Saint James, “*Every good,* 25

*Jas 1:17* perfect gift is from above, descending  
*1 Cor 4:7* from the Father of lights.” And Saint Paul saith, “What hast thou that thou hast

not received?” And of whom meant he allthing received, but of *God's* gift? Now shall every man, then, in Tyndale's high spiritual judgment, be taken for fleshly and beetle-blind that will be so foolish to put any endeavor of his own to labor and work with God in the getting of hope or charity, piety-ful affection or chastity, learning, justice, wisdom, or any other good thing. Because 30 35



they be all gifts of God, a man must therefore sit even still and do nothing toward it, till God come and give him allthing, unawares. For if he may be aware before... then must he, by Tyndale, do not so much as be willing to receive it. For he that by his will receiveth it, and which should else, for his frowardness and contrary will, go without it: he doth, ye wot well, somewhat more in getting thereof than doth the son in the begetting of his own father... wherein the son's will that is yet unbegotten can nothing make nor mar; whereas in the getting, attaining, and receiving of these virtues, the will of the man conformable and toward worketh with God and doth somewhat... not as a dead vessel, whereinto Tyndale putteth and poureth his beer... but as a quick instrument, as the hand of the man that wittingly and willingly receiveth a gift of another man's liberal offer. 5

Now, if Tyndale would here labor to make us beetle-blind with his blunt subtleties, and tell us that we can do nothing till God prevent us with his grace, nor nothing but as his grace goeth on forth with us—these tales, when they be all told, be not worth a whistle. For ye may tell him again that we say not that man's endeavor can any good do *without* God. 10

*The endeavor of man* But we say that when men endeavor themselves toward so good a thing... they may then make themselves sure that God *hath* prevented them with his grace—for else they could not so do—and that he is ready with his grace to walk forward with them. And since their endeavor toward God is good—therefore if they will still persevere and walk on still with God, he will walk on still with them. And their endeavor shall not be a void, foolish thing, as Tyndale calleth it... but a fruitful work toward the attaining of faith, though Tyndale would say nay thereto. 15

I would also very fain wit of Tyndale... if himself were as firm and as fast in the true Christian faith as he is in his heresies... and then should happen to fall in company with either paynim, Turk, Saracen, or Jew, and would exhort them to the Christian faith... and that albeit they granted him the belief of one almighty God, yet for aught that he said unto them, he found them 20

25 30 35

far off from the belief, not only of the Sacrament of the Altar  
 (from which himself is now as far off as any of them), but also far  
 off from the belief of the Son and Holy Ghost, and, finally, from the  
 taking of our scriptures for holy, or for writings worthy credence—  
 what advice and counsel would Tyndale give them? Would he 5  
 not advise and counsel them to pray unto God, and to call aid of  
 him, that it might please him to help to lead them in the way of  
 the right belief... and that he would with his grace help them to  
 incline their hearts into the following of that thing that  
 should be unto his pleasure and the salvation of their own souls?— 10  
 which kind and prayer they might assent unto without any  
 prejudice of their own faith. Would he not also counsel them to  
 fast, and forbear women, to the intent their prayer might be the  
 more clean and pure... and advise them also to give good alms  
 for God's sake, as did Cornelius when Saint Peter was sent unto 15  
 him therefore? Would he not also counsel them to be not willful  
 nor obstinate, but conformable and willing to hear and learn the  
 truth, and upon the hearing thereof, gladly to print in their hearts  
 those things that most make toward the moving and inclination  
 of their minds toward the credence thereof? And would he not tell 20  
 them that through such toward and willing demeanor on their  
 part (in the doing whereof, themselves not lacking nor being  
 slothful, God would not fail to prevent them with his grace,  
 help, and favor, and be before them), God would lead them and go  
 forth with them, and never leave them nor forsake them, till he would, 25  
 with their own good endeavor walking and working with him,  
 bring them first into the right belief and good hope and godly  
 charity, with other many virtuous and good works proceeding  
 thereupon... and finally, by that means, after this transitory life, into  
 the perpetual bliss and eternal joys of heaven? 30  
 Whether would Tyndale advise them thus—which if he did,  
 then should he teach them that man's endeavor toward faith is  
 not a thing to be mocked, as himself mocketh it now... but that  
 man's own will doth somewhat more toward it than doth the child  
 to the begetting of his own father—or else would Tyndale forbid 35  
 them all such things in any wise, and tell them that their

own endeavor would rather hinder, and make them ascribe the  
 faith that is the gift of God unto the merit and goodness of their own  
 will, their own towardness, their own prayers, their own  
 continence, almsdeed, and fasting, and all their other endeavor?  
 All which things if Tyndale take for naught or perilous... then 5  
 is it likely that he would of consequence advise those disciples of  
 his to be well ware of all such things, and do none of them in no  
 wise, for the counsel to such things could come but of beetle-blind  
 fleshly reason. And therefore Tyndale's disciples,  
 toward the getting of the faith, to the intent they should take thereof 10  
 no part unto their own praise, but give the whole glory to God...  
 should, I say, by his advice, use none endeavor at all, nor do nothing,  
 nor say nothing, nor think nothing, but sit even  
 still, sadly, and gape by day against the sun, by night against  
 the moon, till either some blind beetle or some holy humblebee 15  
 come fly in at their mouths and buzz into their breasts an  
 unwholesome heap of fly-blown errors and moth-eaten heresies.  
 And thus, good Christian readers, the reason that Tyndale maketh  
 us against the endeavor of man toward the attaining of faith...  
 which endeavor he mocketh and calleth it a counsel of beetle-blind 20  
 reason, because faith is the gift of God—I doubt not, I say,  
 but that his reason is such that a man that were beetle-blind indeed,  
 may perceive well enough that Tyndale, for lack of good  
 endeavor, hath had of the gift of God little wit and less grace,  
 in making of that feeble and unlawful reason. 25

*Tyndale's other reason against the  
 good endeavor of man's  
 will is this.*

Tyndale

My wit must show me a true cause or an apparent cause why, 30  
 ere my will have any working at all.

More

Let Tyndale set his consequent and conclusion to this antecedent  
 made of this reason, and say, "My wit must first show me  
 some cause either true or somewhat seeming true, before that my 35

will can anything do at all: ergo, none endeavor of myself in conforming and applying of my will can anything do at all.”

And now, when his argument is all made up—ye shall find it as full of reason as an egg full of mustard.

For what though my wit and reason must first set my will a-work? 5  
Can yet my will, when it is once moved diversely between two reasons, nothing do at all in removing an obstinate leaning to the one side, or in working of a conformable inclination toward the consent of the other?

If all the faith of such truths as are taught were in such 10  
wise inspired into every man’s heart that is a faithful man, as he by that inward inspiration had such a full, perfect, and clear perceiving thereof in the inward sight of the understanding as the bodily eye hath of the thing that it plainly seeth and looketh upon... or as the sight of the soul hath in such evident and open 15  
conclusions as it doth plainly and openly behold—such, I mean, as are the general petitions in the First Book of Euclid’s *Geometry*, as that every whole thing is more than its own half, or such other like—then would I well agree with Tyndale that when the thing were so showed unto my wit, I could not but agree 20  
thereto with my will. But I say that albeit God is able in such wise to inspire and infund the faith if that him list—yet I say that ordinarily into his faithful folk, neither final reprobates nor final elects (for faithful are at sundry times of both the sorts), he giveth not the belief or faith on that fashion. For if he did—then 25  
were it not faith nor belief, but very sight and knowledge. And such kind of so certain and open revelation were unto the man occasion of belief and credence necessarily, surely, and inevitable... but therefore, as it seemeth, neither thankworthy nor rewardable.

Now doth God with his Christian folks ordinarily take that 30  
way, in the giving them their belief and faith, that though they do not merit with any foregoing good deeds, nor deserve the gift of believing... yet may they with good endeavor and obedient conformity deserve and merit *in* the believing.

And therefore, since God will for that cause *bind* us to the belief— 35  
because he will that we merit and be rewarded for our belief (the reason of which desert and merit on our part, standeth in

the respect and regard that God hath to our *obedience* by which we willingly submit ourselves to the credence of God's word, written or unwritten, telling us anything against our own reason telling us the contrary)—then if our belief lost its merit

*How belief loseth its merit* (as that holy pope Saint Gregory saith it should) if reason plainly proved us the 5

thing that we believe... so were the merit of our belief lost in like wise if the thing were in such wise *given* us as we more perfectly perceived it than we perceive any such as reason may most perfectly prove us. 10

And therefore I say that God doth not ordinarily give into men the faith in such manner... because he will not utterly take away the merit from man... forasmuch as he hath ordained him to

*Man is ordained by the* joy by the means of some merit, some  
*means of some merit.* conflict, passion, or pain upon his 15  
*Rom 8:18* own part, though not sufficient and worthy (for as Saint Paul saith, all the

passions and sufferances of this world “be not worthy the glory that is to come, that shall be revealed in us”), yet such, at the leastwise, as his high goodness accepteth and rewardeth for worthy through the force and strength of those merits that are indeed sufficient and worthy: 20

the merits, I mean, of the bitter pain and Passion of his alone only-begotten and tenderly beloved Son. Then say I now that since the faith is not ordinarily with such open, inevitable, and invincible lightsomeness inspired into the soul that the man must of necessity and very fine force clearly perceive and agree it... but by 25

God provided so sufficiently to be showed and taught as he that will be conformable and walk with God's grace may find good cause enough to captivate his reason to the belief... and yet not so great and urgent causes but that he which will be ill-willed and 30

froward may let grace go, and find himself cavillations proudly to rest upon his own reason against the word of God... either saying that his reason seeth it not sufficiently proved for

God's word (as Tyndale saith in all God's words unwritten) or else that God's word is not so meant as all Christ's church understandeth them (as Tyndale saith touching the plain scriptures 35  
against the marriages made between friars and nuns)—the

points of the faith are not, I say, in such wise showed, nor the wit in them so thoroughly and so clearly instructed, but that the thing which in the wit lacketh and remaineth imperfect may by the will be perfected and made up... and, instead of sure and certain sight, be from distrust or doubtful opinion brought by God working with man's will into sure faith and undoubted belief. And this, I say, for the time of this present life... and in the life to come, then turned into full sight and inevitable contemplation.	5
And that this is the ordinary manner of the faith given by God into the soul—with the pliable and comfortable will of man, and not an inevitable sight of the truth inspired into the man whether he will or not, in such manner wise that he cannot choose but believe it—the scriptures be plain and evident.	10
<i>Heb 11:1</i> Doth not Saint Paul unto the Hebrews, in the definition of faith, openly and clearly declare that the faith is an argument or matter of things that appear not? Now, if the resurrection of our own body were in this world in such manner appearing unto us as it shall <i>after</i> the resurrection, when we be in heaven... it were now no faith at all, but a sure knowledge. And therefore saith Saint Paul also that we see now, as it	15
<i>1 Cor 13:12</i> were, but in a glass, and perceive and behold but, as it were, in a dark riddle... but in the other world shall we see face to face.	20
To show also that God giveth not ordinarily the faith to folk but with some manner of towardness and conformity of their own <i>Mt 23:37</i> good will... our Lord saith himself unto the city that he so sore longed to convert, “Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how oft have I willed to gather thy children together, as a hen gathereth together her chickens, and thou wouldst not!”	25
No man here doubteth but that our Lord, if he would have used some such ways as he could—it was in his power to inspire the knowledge of himself into their hearts, and of allthing that he would have them believe... and that in such wise that they should not choose but believe, for they should not choose but <i>know</i> it... and that in such wise that they could not have thought the contrary. But	30
<i>How man is brought to salvation</i> God had determined to bring man to salvation not in such inevitable wise, nor without some willing conversion	35
	40

and turning of man toward him... though man cannot turn unto him without prevention and concurrent help of God's especial grace. But since the goodness of God provideth that his grace is *ever* ready to him that will use it—therefore, though the will of man may nothing do without grace, yet without any speaking of grace we commonly let not to say “man may do this” and “man may do that,” as believe, and hope, and love, and live chaste, and do alms, and fast, and many such other things... not meaning, though we make no mention of grace, that man can therefore do them without grace. Like as we say that “a man may see to thread a needle,” and speak nothing of the light, and yet mean we not that he can thread it in the dark.

And therefore let not Tyndale look to bring us in darkness... and because man's will can nothing do without grace, therefore tell us that man's will can nothing do; nor tell us, neither, that man's will hath no part in belief and faith... and make us ween it were so because the will cannot (as he saith) go before the wit—whereof experience proveth many times the contrary, and sometimes with Tyndale, too. But though a man cannot have any will at all in that thing whereof he hath utterly nothing known nor heard tell of, nor had imagination in his mind, nor anything thought upon—yet when the mind with divers reasons and arguments is once moved of a matter, the will, as it happeth of other occasions at the time to be well- or evil-affectionate, so may give itself into the consent and agreement of the one side or of the other; yea, and that, sometimes, on that side, for affection, upon which side he seeth least part of his wit and reason. And therefore it is not always true, that Tyndale saith in these words...

#### Tyndale

And then when we see his mercy, we love him again, and choose him, and submit ourselves to his laws, to walk in them.

#### More

Here seemeth he to give as much to the working of man's will concerning charity as he before took from it concerning faith. For here he saith that we “choose” God, and “submit ourselves to his laws,” whereas of truth, without his grace both preventing us and concurrent with us, we can in these things neither, do nothing at all.

Now meaneth Tyndale further, for all this, that man's will in these things yet doth nothing work at all but of necessity. For he saith that God *maketh* them to see his mercy by faith, without any manner working of their wills, as ye have heard. And then he saith that upon the sight thereof... they "love" God, and "choose" him, and "submit themselves to his laws"; but yet saith he that their wills do this of inevitable necessity. And then can no man, if Tyndale's lie be true, neither in faith nor charity have any merit at all. For what can a man deserve in believing the thing that he thoroughly seeth, or in doing a thing when he can do none other? Now, that Tyndale so saith is open and plain by these words that he consequently saith...

#### Tyndale

For when we err not in wit, reason, and judgment . . . we cannot err in will and choice of things. For the choice of man's will doth naturally and of her own accord follow the judgment of a man's reason, whether he judge right or wrong; so that in teaching only, resteth the pith of a man's living.

#### More

Here ye see that Tyndale in loving and choosing by which man loveth and chooseth God putteth a plain necessity—that man's will can none other do, because he seeth the mercy of God by faith... which, as Tyndale said before, man seeth also of necessity; and so, consequently, no merit in neither nother.

But Tyndale saith untrue in both. For man neither of necessity seeth the one nor of necessity doth the other, but may do the contrary both in the one and the other... and therefore in doing both, meriteth in both, whatsoever Tyndale say.

But yet saith Tyndale untrue in these other two things also: that is to wit, both where he saith that when a man seeth the mercy of God, then he loveth and chooseth God, and submitteth himself to walk in God's laws; and also where he saith, for the proof of that point, that when we err not in wit, we cannot err in will... but that the choice of the will doth ever follow the judgment of the reason. For first, what question is there but that many which right surely believe the mercy of God do not yet love God in such



*How man should love God*    wise as is requisite unto salvation: that  
*unto salvation*                is, in the preferring his pleasure before  
    their own, and to forbear sin for the  
 love of his law, and for the regard of his goodness to fulfill his  
 commandments? But we find it many times far contrary: 5

*"Mercy" is at some times*    that the over-great regard of his mercy  
*turned into presumption.*    turneth trust into presumption, and  
    maketh men the more bold in sin—so,  
 forsooth, that neither love of God nor desire of heaven nor dread of  
 hell is able to pull them back. 10

Now, as touching the other point, that when we err not in will  
 and judgment, we cannot err in will and choice of things... but  
 that the will always doth naturally accord and agree to follow the  
 judgment of reason, whether it judge right or wrong: we  
 shall defer the subtleties of that disputation till we come to the place 15  
 in his answer unto my Third and Fourth Book of my *Dialogue*—  
 where I purpose, God willing, to touch this matter more fully—and  
 will at this time nothing else object against him than the plainest  
 proof that can be; that is to wit, every man's own experience  
 and express perceiveth of the contrary. For many a wretch 20  
 that doth an abominable deed seeth and perceiveth full well that  
 he doth very naught, and that he should not do so... and his wit  
 and his reason forbiddeth him. But his will, falling from the following  
 of his reason to the fulfilling of his fleshly desire and beastly  
 lust and devilish appetite, accomplisheth his detestable deed... 25  
 not for any lack of wit and reason, but through fault of the froward  
 will wittingly working for pleasure *against* reason.

Many a man that hath a great wit and a great reason too,  
 and much learning joined unto them both, doth yet more foolishly  
 and more unreasonably than doth some other whose wit and 30  
 reason is very far under his, and as for learning, hath utterly none  
 at all. And whereof cometh this, but in that the one with no  
 learning and no great wit hath great good will to work with  
 God's grace and do well... and the other with much wit and  
 learning lacketh the will to work well after his reason—and therefore 35  
 letteth grace go by, and willfully followeth affection!

And if Tyndale in this believe not me, nor all the wide world

besides... he will, I trust, at the leastwise believe himself. Now, then, saith he (in more places of his book than one) that I see the truth well enough, and that I see well enough that I should not do as he saith I do—wittingly and willfully write against the truth. Wherein if he will now confess that he saith untrue... let him revoke his lie and call it back again, and then God forgive him and I do. And if he will abide still by that word that he said then... then must he go from this word quite that he saith now. For if I wot well I do not well, and yet, for all that, I do it—then is there one man, at the leastwise, whose will followeth not his wit. And then if I be such one, I shall not, I trust, live all alone... but shall, rather than fail, find Tyndale himself so good a fellow as to falsify his own words here and bear a poor man company.

And that his words here be very false indeed... doth yet farther appear by his conclusion that he concludeth thereon, if his conclusion do necessarily follow. For his conclusion is this: that in teaching only, standeth the pith of a man's living. For if this be false, as indeed it is... then if it necessarily follow upon his other words, his other words must needs be as false as it; for upon a truth nothing can there follow but truth, as every man learned well knoweth.

But now knoweth every man very well that all the pith of a man's living standeth *not* in only teaching. For many be full well taught how they should live—yea, and so well taught that they be able to teach it others full well—and yet live themselves full naught. We shall not need to seek long for example, since no man doubteth but that Judas Iscariot had so good a schoolmaster, and was with him so long, that if he had any wit he was meetly well taught how he should live. And that he was not all witless, though by default of good will he waxed in conclusion graceless... appeareth well in that so wise a master as our Savior was, sent him forth among others for one of his ushers, to teach in his own time. And yet, as well taught as he was, and as well as he taught others, too—yet was

*Mt 10:1–8* his own living not very good, while he  
*Jn 12:4–6* was both a thief and a traitor both to  
 God and man.

And yet, that we shall not need to seek so far as fifteen hundred years ago... I ween it will be no great difficulty to find folk enough even now, in our own time, that can preach and give good counsel to their neighbors against the vices in which they live

themselves. So that though to good living, good teaching be necessary... yet may every fool see that in good teaching standeth not *all* the pith of good living, as Tyndale saith it doth... since many men have been well taught and yet lived naught.

But this wise reason, among many like, learned Tyndale of his master Luther... which at Worms, in Almaine, at his being there before the Emperor, said that if the Gospel were well taught, there should need none other law. And this said he there, and this saith Tyndale here... because they and their fellows would fain take away all laws, and leave nothing but sermons. And then, after that their ungracious heresies might be freely preached for the gospel of God, and no law to let them; when, after many souls sent unto the devil by them, they should (as they have done in Almaine already) begin sedition and rebellion, and fall to rifling, robbery, murder, and manslaughter: whoso should then, without force of punishment, only teach and preach unto such unruly rebels... should, ye wot well, have a devout audience!

But Tyndale in this matter, when he hath told us this tale—that the pith of man’s living standeth altogether in teaching—he addeth thereunto by and by, and saith...

#### Tyndale

Howbeit, there be swine that receive no learning but to defile it; and there be dogs that rend all good learning with their teeth.

#### More

If there be such swine and such dogs—as indeed there be, as our Savior himself witnesseth in the Gospel—if this, I say, be truth, as it is, that

Tyndale telleth us now... then is it false that Tyndale told us before; that is to wit, that all standeth in teaching. For those swine and those dogs will be naught for all the good teaching. And then to keep such from doing harm, we must not only teach and preach... but unto such as will be like swine, we must yoke them for breaking hedges, and ring them for rooting, and have bandogs to drive them out of the corn with biting, and lead them out by the ears.

And if there be such dogs, as indeed there be, that rend all good learning with their teeth—then standeth not all the pith of



*Tyndale's abominable teachings* is, as he taketh it, the teaching of his abominable heresies in which he teacheth us that only faith sufficeth, and that neither good works have reward in heaven nor that any evil works shall have any punishment either in this world or in purgatory, no, nor in hell neither, if the sinner be but a bare penitent and only believe and repent, and be well ware, in any wise, that he go to no shrift nor do no penance for his sin. For all those that do, they be those of whom he railleth here and calleth "pope-holy," and saith they make themselves a "righteousness of their own feigning," and "resist the righteousness of God in Christ," because they resist Tyndale's unrighteous heresies—which, under pretext of God's only mercy, taketh away God's righteousness... and not only that, but under the same pretext of praising and setting forth a more mercy, covertly and craftily depraveth and dispraiseth the very, true mercy itself that God of his goodness ordinarily useth toward us. 5

For Tyndale maketh as though it were no mercy at all, after a little penance in this world done by the party for many great, mortal sins... or after a temporary pain endured in purgatory, to set the merits of Christ's Passion for the remnant, which 20

*The ordinary mercy of God* would else be infinitely, ten hundred thousand thousand times, longer. This taketh Tyndale for no mercy, which is indeed the very mercy that our Lord ordinarily useth. But this order the beast blasphemeth... 25

and, as well in this devilish work of his as in divers others, calleth it express tyranny.

Yet goeth he finally further to another kind of such folk, as teaching cannot for a while help and yet after doth; and of them thus he saith... 30

#### Tyndale

And there be that cannot attend to hearken unto the truth for rage of lusts... which, when lusts abate, come and obey well enough. And therefore a Christian man must be patient, and suffer long to win his brother to Christ, that he which attendeth not today may . . . hear tomorrow. We see some at their very latter end, when cold fear of death hath quenched the heat of their appetites, learn and consent unto the truth... whereunto before, they could give none ear, for the wild rages of lusts that blinded their wits. 35

## More

Lo, good readers, here ye may see what constancy is in this man. <i>Here</i> he saith (and saith true) that men will at some times not learn nor hearken to the truth, though it be never so well taught them. And yet in another chapter before, he showeth that the elects as soon as ever they be taught the truth assent forthwith and will never resist. So he that hath a false part to defend never wotteth where to hold him.	5
But at the leastwise, <i>this</i> that he <i>now</i> saith is true; and more, too. For not only when the rage is past, then men hearken... but also when the rage cometh again, then many fall naught again and into deadly sin... and that of such as after wax good again and finally shall be saved. And likewise some good, faithful folk, when false shrews come, and false heretics... do by false doctrine fall from the true faith again, though they had it before right lively.	10
And yet of such, some turn again by grace from their deadly heresies into the life of faith... and some be so sore nuzzled in the false heresies, and in their obstinate frowardness take such a devilish delight, that finally they die therein—as did Bayfield, Bainham, and Tewkesbury. And yet in some, as Tyndale here telleth us, even in the “very latter end, when the cold fear of death hath quenched the heat of their appetites,” God worketh with them toward the consent of the truth whereunto before, they would give none ear—as he did indeed in that good and contrite penitent and	15
<i>Bilney’s return to the</i> open confessor both of his faith and his <i>Catholic faith</i> fault, M. Thomas Bilney. Which, being once good, faithful, and virtuous, did	25
after, by the false delight of Luther’s and Tyndale’s books, fall into their false heresies, and held on in them through the delectation and vainglory that he took in the praise of that secret sect and scattered “congregation”... till finally, at his death, God of his goodness opened his eyes... and he looked upon himself, and considered that all those vain praisers, he must go from them by fire... and saw that if he died in those heresies he should never meet with them more but in the fire of hell, where he should never from them; then turned he to the true faith again, and exhorted them all unto the same.	30
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And thus, good readers, ye see that of his order of election Tyndale hath in this chapter hitherto said nothing to purpose; and now shall ye see that as little he saith to purpose in this that after followeth...

### Tyndale

And though God's elect cannot so fall that they rise not again, because that the mercy of God ever waiteth upon them to deliver them from evil... as the care of a kind father waiteth upon his son, to warn him and to keep him from occasions, and to call him back again if he be gone too far—yet they forget themselves oftentimes, and sink down into trances, and fall asleep in lusts for a season. But as soon as they be awaked they repent and come again without resistance. 5 10

### More

Here maketh Tyndale as though he said a great thing. And when his words are well examined... he both meaneth very falsely and speaketh foolish-wilily. For where he saith that an elect cannot so fall but that he shall rise again, he meaneth that of necessity the elect *must* needs rise again, through the mercy of God that ever waiteth upon him; which is very false. 15

For albeit that of truth the elect *shall* arise again by means of God's grace and mercy—yet *might* he, if he would, lie still in sin when God's grace and mercy calleth upon him and biddeth him rise; as many reprobates do upon whom God's grace and mercy waiteth, and calleth as fast as he calleth upon his elects, and is as ready to help them up again as the others, if they would rise, and that the malice or sloth of their own wills letted them not to take hold of God's grace, and made them not lie still in sin like swine. 20 25

Now, that Tyndale thus meaneth appeareth plainly by the whole process of his work. Wherein as concerning salvation and damnation, he laboreth to make us ween that the will of man doth nothing willingly, but were utterly forced and inevitably necessitated by the eternal election of God unto glory and his eternal reprobation unto pain; which is as much as to say that the will of man is no will at all, any more than as he might say that the will of a tree were to grow and bring forth fruit and leaves, and that the 30 35

will of an axe were to hew down the tree when a man smiteth the tree therewith.

And that he thus specially meaneth in this chapter of the order of our election appeareth as well in general, by the whole progress thereof, as by this also: that he assigneth that thing as the *only* difference between the elects and the reprobates—alleging that the *elects* can never so fall but that they shall rise, by the reason that mercy waiteth ever upon them. Whereby it well appeareth that Tyndale meaneth that no reprobate, that is to wit, none that finally shall be damned, hath God's mercy while he liveth, waiting upon him to call upon him and stir him to rise out of his sin. For except he meant so—he should put elects and reprobates all in one case if he said that the mercy of God (which *only* thing, he saith, waiting upon the elect, raiseth him out of sin) waited upon the reprobate too... but if he should put some difference between them by reason of the different working of their free wills; which Tyndale will none of, in no wise.

Now, meaning falsely thus... he useth yet in his speech a foolish wiliness, as doth a cony that covereth her head and weeneth all were well, when all her loins be open.

For he saith that the elects cannot so fall but that they shall be so saved, because mercy waiteth upon them. And therein he saith truth. For if God had not foreseen that they would finally *turn* again to him, and with help of his grace *deserve* to be partakers of the merits of Christ's Passion, and so, to be saved... he would not have elected them to salvation. But he meaneth that they shall *necessarily* be saved, so that they shall not *mow* other than repent and amend, as soon as God of his mercy calleth upon them to repent. And this though he thus mean, yet doth he dissemble it... and saith not that because mercy waiteth ever upon them, therefore they *must needs* rise after their fall... but because mercy waiteth upon them, therefore they *shall* rise. But this point he layeth so openly in many places of his work that it is but a foolish wiliness of him to ween it well covered thus.

Wherefore he were as good to speak out plainly and tell us whether he mean that after a fall, mercy wait anymore upon any reprobate or not. If he say nay, he saith against the scriptures plain. For as

<p><i>God calleth upon all kinds of people.</i></p>	<p>in the beginning God of his great mercy calleth upon all people, both elects and reprobates, to come to him... so doth he</p>
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after both twain come and received, and gone away by  
sin again, call ordinarily upon them both of his like mercy  
still, as long as they live in this world here, and would if they  
would assent thereto themselves and obey, be as glad to find them  
again as ever he was to win them before—as the words of Holy

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*Rv 3:20*

Writ be plain in the Apocalypse: “I  
stand at the door and knock.”

And if Tyndale will avoid this—he must then say that all the  
words of Holy Scripture by which God called upon the people to  
repentance be spoken only to the elects. And then must he tell  
every man how he may know himself for elect... lest he may  
ween that they pertain not to him. And then shall he by the same  
reason say that all the commandments be written unto the only  
elects too; and then the reprobates cannot be reprovèd for the not  
observing of them, if they were not written for them.

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But surely if Tyndale tell us that the mercy of God wait upon  
the only elects, and only calleth upon them... he telleth us a vain,  
foolish tale. And so he doth indeed; for so he meaneth indeed,  
against the plain Scripture and all the old interpreters of the  
same, and against all the old holy doctors of Christ’s church,  
and against the Catholic faith of all Christian nations this fifteen  
hundred years from the time of our Savior himself and his blessed  
apostles even unto lousy Luther’s days.

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And yet, notwithstanding that he seemeth to assign the cause of  
the rising of his elects out of their sin to be by the mercy of  
God “always waiting” upon them—yet handleth he the matter so that  
a man may not well wit by these words of his whether he mean  
that when his elect is “sunk down into his trances,” and “fallen asleep  
in his lusts,” as he calleth it, “for a season”... whether he mean, I  
say, that mercy calleth upon him *in* his trance, and shaketh him out  
of his sleep, or else let him sleep still in his lusts, and the devil rock  
the cradle, till the babe awake by himself. And surely he rather  
seemeth to say that God not awaketh him out of his lust... but  
letteth him sleep in his lust until his lust have left him. As  
though God’s calling of men from gluttony were not to put them in  
mind and call upon them busily, and inspire good thoughts of  
temperance, while they be at their meat... but let them then

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alone, as in a trance and asleep, till they be so weary of eating that  
 the grief and grinding in their bellies standing a-strut with  
 stuffing, call them up and awake them. And that is a good easy  
 way, too... for then be they the more easy to entreat to fast and  
 forbear... but not much longer than till they wax ahungred 5  
 again. And as it fareth in the trances and sleeps that folk fall in  
 by the belly—so fareth it likewise in the trances and sleeps that folk  
 fall in by those parts that are beneath the belly. For when the rage is  
 thereof (as Tyndale saith) over passed, and that they have in their  
 trance and their sleep played out all their luskish lusts... then 10  
 they awake. And then, as soon as they be awake... they “repent,” as  
 Tyndale saith, and “come again” to chastity “without resistance.”  
 But evermore I would that Tyndale should remember that all this  
 tale which he telleth us here is for his purpose of elects a tale of  
 very little effect. For this tale of such sleeping and awaking of 15  
 elects is nothing proper to the elects... but a thing common both  
 to the elects and to the reprobates too. And these rages, and these  
 trances, and these sleeps in sinful fleshly lusts, into which folk  
 fall, and out of which they wake again and repent—the thing that  
 Tyndale telleth us here as a thing far set and sought, and searched 20  
 out of the very bottom of his deep divinity—that same thing, in a manner,  
 as for thus far forth, Doctor Ovid describeth us well and plainly in  
 his pleasant poetry entitled “The Remedy of Love.” Where he  
 declareth after Tyndale’s fashion, full clerkly, how some wanton  
 lovers, after their rages past and their lusts played out, lie then 25  
 waking, and have meditations of amendment, and of leaving of  
 their lecherous love, even lying by their lemans’ sides, and think  
 they will come there no more, and would with good will that they  
 had not come there then neither.

In this chapter which Tyndale entitleth “The Order of Election”... 30  
 I look always that he should, as reason is, tell us those things that  
 properly pertain unto the elects... and the things that, contrariwise,  
 appertain properly to the reprobates; by which manner of handling  
 of the matter, we might clearly perceive and understand what he  
 meaneth, and what order of God’s working, or of the working of 35  
 man’s own will, he putteth in the course and progress of the one

sort and the other toward their final end, the one of everlasting life, the other of eternal damnation.

And always while I look for this... Tyndale, besides that his conclusions be false heresies in the end, telleth us nothing, almost, by the way (except only, peradventure, the last repentance before the death), but that they be common as well to the final reprobates as to the final elects; as this is also that in his chapter followeth, where he writeth in this wise...

#### Tyndale

God now and then withdraweth his hand, and leaveth them unto their own strength, to make them feel that there is no power to do good but of God only... lest they should be proud of that which is none of theirs.

#### More

Tyndale maketh these words for a ground of a great matter concerning the order of God used toward the elects. And upon this foundation he specially reareth his building, of the trances, and the sleeps, and slidings of the elects into sins and errors... in which sins yet they sin not, and in which errors yet they err not, because of their “feeling faith.” From which though they fall yet they fall not, because they feel it still though they feel it not.

But what is there, good reader, in these words of his that he speaketh of the elects, that is not verified both in the elects and in the reprobates too? Now, if he say that he speaketh here specially of the elects because at *some* time God withdraweth his hand from them, and that from reprobates he withdraweth his hand of help and grace *always*—if he say thus, he saith untrue. For doth not God, as he of his goodness calleth them, and at their coming receiveth them... so when they fall away by false faith, or faint heart, or fleshly delectation, call upon them again as he doth upon his elects, without acception of persons or partial favor, indifferently... till he, either (sometimes) for their immeasurable outrage or (commonly) for their final impenitence, finally rejecteth and refuseth them? Among which fatherly cure and care for them—*as well* as for his elects—before their final fall... he useth the same ways to win and save them that he useth to the other. Yea, and doth sometimes, peradventure, give *more* of his gracious aid and help in this world toward salvation in heaven unto some reprobate wretch that will

for all that be damned... than to some of his elects that will so work with his grace that he finally shall be saved. As I doubt not but some two souls have been saved, and now sit in heaven, with the one-half of the grace that Judas had, and cast off, and finally fell into hell.

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And therefore this that Tyndale here telleth us of elects—that God sometimes withdraweth his hand and leaveth them to their own strength—he may as well tell us of the reprobates as of the elects.

Now, the cause *why* God withdraweth his hand and his help... is not always the cause that Tyndale here allegeth, because he longeth always to make a glance against all the merit of man's free will...

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*Why God withdraweth  
his help*

but to avoid the pride of the mind—  
and the far less boldness presuming  
upon the surety of high, holy living *or*

faith... which many men may fall in by taking themselves for God Almighty's minions, though they give all the thank to himself and ascribe nothing to their own strength at all, nor ween they have no free will at all, neither. For the proud Pharisee that

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*Lk 18:9–14*

despised the poor publican, though he  
were proud of his deeds, yet ascribed

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them not unto himself, nor said not, “All this have I done, good Lord, of mine own strength,” but he said, “I thank *thee* thereof, good Lord, that I am such... and that thou hast made me better, and given me the grace to live more holily, than this publican”... and said not, “I thank thereof myself.” And therefore, as I say, God withdraweth his hand to show his elects and reprobates both, that they have rather cause to be meek and fear a fall than to be proud of their virtue, and make themselves sure of their standing, and think that they be so dear darlings to God, of whom all good cometh, that do themselves what they will, he will not let them fall. For *this*, I say, God doth it—and not, as Tyndale saith, only to show his only elects that they can do no good but only of him, lest they should be proud.

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*2 Cor 12:7–10*

Lo, Saint Paul, though God withdrew  
not his hand and help from him, had

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yet such a plague of temptation put upon him that he waxed weary thereof, and very sore afeard. And wherefore was it laid in his

neck? Lest he should have thought his virtue to come of himself? Nay; lest he might through the great *revelations* that he had had fall into pride and presumption.

And therefore this were not so very a likely manner: that God would, as Tyndale putteth, withdraw his hand from a good elect, and thereby send him into sin, lest he should ween that any virtue came of himself without God; for no good man can lightly fall into that thought; but, rather, lest (whereof he standeth in much more peril) he might hap to think himself over-great in God's favor... and thereby fall into pride for lack of fear mingled with his hope. 5 10

Nor also that good elect from whom God so should withdraw his hand, and suffer him to fall into sin, for the cause that Tyndale here allegeth—lest he should reckon his virtue to come of himself—were not likely after his repentance and rising again to take that kind of fruit thereof, since he were not likely to reckon that God withdrew his hand for that cause. For if he should so reckon, he were likely to reckon that he before that fall was so holy that God was afraid lest he would wax too proud thereof. But the better the man was before... the more is he after his repentance likely to fear that he was naught before and worse after... and that his fall into that sin came unto him, not by the reason that God withdrew his hand from him for any fear of any such pride that was likely to rise of his virtue (whereof he will reckon that he never had such store to take occasion of any such pride thereof), but rather that God withdrew the hand of his grace and help from him at that time for some other, secret sin whereby he had before deserved that he so should do; and that the second sin was not only 15 20 25

sin, but also pain for the first. (As "one sin deserveth the  
*Rom 1:18–27* doing of another," after the sentence of  
 Saint Paul to the Romans that the old philosophers for their willful idolatry against God were given by God into the sin against the nature of man.) Or else that in the committing of the *same* sin, he withdrew himself from God's hand by the default of his own froward will, before that God withdrew his hand from him. And thus were he likely to lay the default in his *will*, and not in the lack of his power... whereof he shall have no cause to doubt but God had always given him enough, 30 35

and always would give enough, to work with his grace in the vineyard of virtue toward heaven, if himself did not first willingly forsake it and fall therefrom. And then putting the fault of his fall in the frowardness of his own will, and not in any lack of towardly goodness and mercy at God's hand, and consequently not in lack of power, which can never lack till help of grace fail... and were but a false excuse of sin, since grace never faileth nor falleth from man till man first fail and fall from grace—he were, I say, likely not to take that kind of fruit by occasion of his fall which Tyndale speaketh of. And then if the man were not likely to take that kind of fruit thereof—it were not likely that God would do it for that cause... which cause the man would not after conceive in his mind and imagine that God did it therefor.

For surely, as touching the withdrawing of God's hand (whereupon Tyndale here edifieth up his process following in this chapter), which his high goodness and unsearchable wisdom doth divers times for more causes than men have the wit to spy—yet doth he it never but man withdraweth first his will. For as God preventeth us in giving... so prevent we him in leaving. For since

*God withdraweth not his hand*    God seeth that we can no good thing do  
*till man withdraw his will.*    without his grace—he will not bid us  
    do a thing for the not doing whereof

he will punish us... and then without our fault withdraw his grace without which he wotteth well we can no more do it than see without light. Since it were hard to find a woman so unreasonable that would command her maid upon pain of beating go thread her needle, and then pull away the candle or put it out, and bid her upon her peril come of, and thread it in the dark—let Tyndale say what he will... we withdraw before God withdraw. For as God

*Hos 13:9*                            saith in the Scripture, “Thy fall is of thyself”—  
    not of the withdrawing of his  
 hand, till we wax wanton or sow-drunk and will needs sink  
 down and fall.

But God sometimes seeth causes why he setteth to less strength of his hand than else he would do. For if he would... he *could* set the hand of his grace so strongly that he which falleth should not;

and so *would* do, saving that his wise goodness well seeth wherefore it  
*Rv 3:15* were not best. For as himself saith in  
the Apocalypse, some man is neither hot  
nor cold, but, as it were, lukewarm... weening, therefore, since he  
findeth himself out of the cold of great, notable crimes, that he 5  
standeth therefore in state good enough, though he be not very  
fervent and hot in virtue. But God, as he there saith, seeth that it  
were better for him for a while that he were once frozen for cold,  
for then should he feel the fault... and from the very cold better wax  
very hot than from the lukewarm. And therefore saith the 10  
Spirit of God there unto him, "I had liefer thou were cold, that  
thou mightest be made hot"... as though he would say farther,  
"than so to stand liking thyself well enough in a lukewarm,  
without growing into greater heat."  
And therefore, as I was about to say, in such a person as God 15  
feeleth him faint and little well willing to go forward... so God  
againward useth himself toward him... in holding him the  
more slackly; and then the other waxeth thereby the more faint,  
and God followeth him and doth as he doth, and holdeth him yet  
somewhat less, till with less on the one side and less on the other, 20  
the man falleth into the mire of sin altogether. And all this  
doth God for the best, using our evil to goodness as we use his  
goodness to evil. For when a wanton child feeleth once a fall, and  
hath allto rayed his gay coat and broken both his shins... then  
will he find his own fault and look better to his feet, and hold 25  
faster after on the man's hand that led him.  
And such *slack* holding on God's part is the thing, of likelihood,  
that is called the "withdrawing" of God's hand from good  
men, concerning falling into sin. For else, till *they* begin to  
withdraw and draw back, or else drag and stick still, or go not 30  
so gladly forward—albeit that he give not unto them so strong  
a hand of his grace as if he did, that sloth of theirs should be  
mastered, and they borne up thereby, in manner, maugre their teeth,  
which is not his ordinary course to do—yet till themselves either by  
sinful will or slothful mind in some wise do deserve it... he never 35  
leaveth good man without so much help of his grace as were

*God never leaveth good man* sufficient for him both to stand and  
*without his sufficient grace.* walk with if himself would; nor never  
doth, as I suppose, by the withdrawing of  
his hand from any elect or reprobate either, in the time in which they  
be good, suffer them, without their own fault first begun, to 5  
fall into such “horrible deeds” for any good that should after come  
thereof. For—since that without his helping hand they can none other  
*but* fall—to withdraw his hand without their fault were, in manner,  
not to *suffer* them sin, but even to *send* them in thereto. And the  
good nature of God neither will nor can do any manner evil to 10  
*Rom 3:8; 6:1* bring any good to pass, since he by the  
Scripture crieth out upon all those that  
would use that condition, and saith, “Woe to them that say, ‘Let us do  
evil that good may come thereof.’”  
Thus much have I thought it good to declare you upon Tyndale’s 15  
tale of the withdrawing of God’s hand sometimes from his elects,  
properly preached here to little purpose, since it serveth as well  
reprobates as elects... and neither the cause very well assigned nor  
the sentence very well expressed. And, finally, put for two false intents:  
one, to glance at man’s free will... as though because all the good 20  
that man doth cometh of God, of whose goodness cometh man’s  
creation and all, and therefore no good can do but by him and with  
him... therefore man had himself and his own will nothing  
ado in his own good deeds, but that it were a perilous presumption  
*Acts 10:1, 31* to call any man’s good work in any 25  
wise his own; whereas the angel of  
God said unto Centurio, “Thy prayer and alms are come up in  
remembrance before God.”  
*Mk 14:3–9* And our Savior himself calleth the  
breaking of the glass, and bestowing of 30  
the ointment upon his holy head, the *deed* of Saint Mary Magdalene—  
though she could not, of truth, have done it without himself,  
and that all the deed, allthing reckoned from the first to  
the last, came only of God himself. And Saint Paul saith, “What  
*1 Cor 4:7* hast thou that thou hast not received? And 35  
then what gloriest thou, as though thou  
hadst not received it?” He saith not, “. . . as though it were thine



own.” For when I have received it, it is then mine, and so may I call it.

Another false intent wherefore Tyndale telleth us this tale of withdrawing of God’s hand sometimes from his elects is because he would have it stand with his heresy that he goeth so fast about—  
 that is to wit, that the elects do not sin deadly in their deadly  
 sins, because they do it not willingly, but of infirmity, for lack of  
 power. In pursuing of which purpose he would make it seem that  
 God withdraweth his hand from them without their fault, and then  
 leaveth them no power to resist, and so no blame in them nor no  
 sin... though he be content to *call* it sin, after that manner that the  
*motion toward sin* which remaineth of original sin is called  
 sin. This is Tyndale’s intent in this matter by which he excuseth  
 the sin of the elects by the withdrawing of God’s hand from  
 them... not for any default of their own, or any sin that they  
 have done, but to keep them only from  
 the sin that they would else do at another  
 time. And whereas God doth for this point both for elects and  
 reprobates all after one... that is to wit, never withdraweth his grace  
 from the one nor from the other till they begin themselves to  
 withdraw their will from him—he  
 dissembleth that point, and goeth forth in  
 his matter that he buildeth upon that foundation, and saith...

#### Tyndale

God laid so sore a weight of persecution upon David’s back,  
 that passed his strength to bear. So that he crieth oft out in his  
 psalms, saying that he had lived well and followed the right  
 way of God in vain. For the more he kept himself from sin,  
 the worse it went with him, as he thought; and the better with his  
 enemy *Saul*, the worse *he* was. Yet God left him not there, but  
 comforted him and showed him things which before he wist not  
 of—how that the saints must be patient and abide God’s harvest,  
 until the wickedness of ungodly sinners be full ripe, that God may  
 reap it in due season. God also suffered occasions stronger than  
 David to fall upon him, and to carry him clean out of the way.  
 Was he not ready for a churlish answer to have slain Nabal, and

all the males of his house, so much as the child in the cradle?  
 Howbeit, God withheld him and kept him back from that  
 evil, through the wisdom of Abigail. How long slumbered he—  
 or rather, how hard in sleep was he—in the adultery of Bathsheba, and  
 in the murder of her husband, Uriah! But at both times, as soon  
 as he was rebuked and his fault told him—he repented immediately,  
 and turned again meekly. Now, in all that long time from  
 the adultery of Bathsheba until the prophet Nathan rebuked him,  
 he had not lost his faith, nor yet his love unto the laws of God, no  
 more than a man loseth his wits when he is asleep. He had forgotten  
 himself only... and had not maliciously cast off the yoke of  
 God's commandments from off his neck. There is no man so  
 good but that there cometh a time upon him when he feeleth in  
 himself no more faith or love unto God than a sick man oftentimes  
 feeleth the taste of his meat which he eateth.

### More

Lo, good readers, here ye see that by Tyndale's doctrine, David did  
 no deadly sin... but was ever out of fault and not blameworthy,  
 neither by impatience (drawing near to despair) in persecution  
 nor by the purpose of much manslaughter at an angry word, nor by  
 adultery conceived at the sight of another man's wife, nor by the  
 traitorous destruction of his friendly servant in recompense of  
 troth and amends of his misdeed. All this was no deadly sin in  
 him, because he was an elect.

But yet is Tyndale ashamed to confess and say boldly that to be  
 elect is enough, and that he may do what he list and sin at his  
 pleasure, and that God will give him leave to do it, and cause him to be  
 repentant when he hath done it, and forgive him forthwith when  
 he repenteth, and so forth, *totiens quotiens a poena et culpa*, so that he  
 believe it well and surely trust thereto, lest for faint hope, and fear,  
 he fall the less to sin. This tale is Tyndale, I say, somewhat  
 ashamed to tell us even well and plainly forth; and therefore he  
 deviseth another way, and would make us believe that they be so  
 preserved by the faith that they do never any deadly sin, but  
 their deeds be such as men may well see that they be not to be  
 blamed for them, be they never so beastly, but very babyish and  
 venial... and such as God can do no less, of very right and reason,

than remit and forgive; and that for three great causes here specified by Tyndale.

First, for they never sin but upon great occasions far above their strength. Secondly, for after their “horrible deeds” done, they repent upon rebuking, without resistance. And thirdly (which most is of all), all the while that they be in doing, the poor babes wot ne’er what they do, but be all the while asleep, as he putteth here his example by David. And therefore let us consider David’s deeds with Tyndale’s words, and examine in them these three godly reasons. 5 10

*1 Sm 25:2–42*

First he saith that David’s sins arose upon great occasions above David’s strength... which great occasions God suffered to fall upon him and carry him away. For when he would have slain Nabal and all his sons even to the child in the cradle, he fell not into that mind without great occasion, ye wot well. For the rude fellow had, as Tyndale well rehearseth, given him a churlish answer! And what man were there so unreasonable that would not think that a king or a great man had cause enough to kill twenty peasants and villeins 15 20

*2 Sm 11:1–27*

for a churlish answer of one of them? Now, when he fell to adultery and thereby to manslaughter—had he not a great occasion to it and importable to bear? For he saw the woman as he looked out at his window! And therefore, whosoever have once the sight of a woman is excusable if he take her when he can catch her... and no man greatly to blame but either a blind man or he that taketh one in the dark whom he never saw in the light. 25

But we must here yet remember, lest we mistake Tyndale, that these great and strong occasions were not so very great and strong of themselves... but they were, as Tyndale saith, “stronger than David,” and able to “carry him” away. Which he saith to show us that they were of that strength in comparison of the *person*; not so much by the force and strength of their own nature as by the lightness, frailty, and feebleness of David—as a small burden is a great weight upon a child, and able to bear him down... and a little wind able enough to blow away a feather. 30 35

Then would ye ween that he *accuseth* David and the elects,

because they be so light and so frail to fall upon such occasions  
as be strong to them by reason of their own feebleness. Nay, forsooth.  
For here ye must remember that to provide them their  
*excuse* in this point was the cause for which, as I told you before,  
he laid for a foundation... that God at such times first withdraweth 5  
his hand of his help, and then must they *needs* be weak, feeble, and  
frail. And so their fall cometh of the occasions... and the occasions  
be mighty to them, by reason of their feebleness. And their  
feebleness cometh of the withdrawing of God's hand. And he  
withdraweth it without any desert and default of them, only to 10  
keep them from the sin of taking their good works for their  
own. And so is there, in all the progress of their deed, no deadly  
sin in themselves... since the occasions that bring them to it be,  
without their own fault, stronger than they... and by reason of their  
faultless feebleness, carry them clean away. 15

And this is, as ye see, the first goodly cause for which Tyndale  
will make us ween that the abominable deeds of elects be no  
deadly sins: because of the great occasions. Against which, if  
the matter were worth the argument, we would press upon him  
sore with the sins of the reprobates... and bear him in hand that 20  
some of them have as great occasions of their sins, sometimes, as  
is a churlish answer to the king of a man, or the sight of a naked  
woman out at a window for adultery. And we would then ask him  
such questions further, either of holding of God's hand over  
them or withdrawing his hand of help from them, with other 25  
diverse dependents thereupon, which every learned man may  
soon find out himself, and almost unlearned too. Which when  
Tyndale should answer to... he should soon make every wise man  
see that in this chapter of the order of their election, he hath  
elected and chosen a very foolish order. 30

But forasmuch as the folly thereof is open and plain of itself...  
we shall let the further dispicions of this point pass, as against  
*1 Cor 10:13* which Saint Paul plainly speaketh, and  
saith unto us, "God is faithful, which 35  
suffereth you not to be tempted above that that ye may bear, but  
maketh with the temptation a way out also, that ye may well

wield it.” By which words this point of occasions above our power is clean carried away... and it is clearly determined that God suffereth no such temptation to come unto us but such as we may, both reprobates and elects, be able to withstand if we will,

*Man with the grace of God may* through the assistance of God’s gracious hand... which he never withdraweth  
*withstand all temptation.* but in the fault of our own will, and

never denieth to put it forth unto us if we call therefor and will take hold upon it. And therefore since, as I say, the reproof of this first point is plain... I will now pass it over and see what substance is in the second. 5 10

The second thing is that as soon as they be rebuked and their faults told them, they repent immediately and turn again meekly. For this he said two or three times in two or three chapters... and now he confirmeth it with his example of David, which did so, as he saith, “at both times.” 15

But yet is this but barely laid forth for the order of the elects. For of truth, thus do some reprobates, too, among repent, not only when they be rebuked, but also before, too... and be forgiven at their repentance and penance as well as be the elects, as long as they do so repent, till they be damned because they die at last impenitent. 20

And also, this is not proved to be always true: that every elect repenteth at the first rebuke, and meekly returneth without resistance, though David so did twice. There is, I trust, many a man in heaven that was rebuked thrice of some one fault, and defended it full stiffly before he repented, and yet amended after full well. 25

And for example we need no further than the blessed apostles... and specially Saint Thomas of India, which  
*Jn 20:24–29* left not his diffidence and distrust  
neither at the first speaking nor the second, nor till he put his finger in God Almighty’s side. But Tyndale excuseth all that by being “amazed”—as he doth all the elects’ “horrible deeds” by being in trances and sleeps, as he doth David here. For that is the third point and the most special excuse of all elects from all deadly sin: in that they be asleep all the while they do it. For thus saith he of David, as ye have heard... 30 35

How long slumbered he—or rather, how hard in sleep was he—in the adultery of Bathsheba, and in the murder of her husband, Uriah!

## More

David was here in a very long slumber and a very deep dead sleep indeed, if he did all those devilish deeds in his sleep. Tyndale of likelihood lay near him and heard him all the while snore and rout. And if he so say that he did... then is his tale as fully proved as is any part of all his heresies. And except he say it of his own certain knowledge, he shall else never make me believe that David did spy her, and send for her, and talk with her, and get her with child, and send for her husband, and devise the murder, and write the letter, and send the man to his death, and all these deeds in diverse days, and all this while still asleep. 5 10

But Tyndale will have him asleep needs, for the defense of his own foolish heresy whereby he teacheth us that the elect is by faith born of God, and therefore doth never sin willingly, nor consent to sin, nor cast off the yoke of the law, nor the love to the law of God. And therefore he saith... 15

## Tyndale

Now, in all that long time from the adultery of Bathsheba until the prophet Nathan rebuked him, he had not lost his faith nor his love unto the laws of God, no more than a man loseth his wits while he is asleep. 20

## More

Lo, because he was all this while asleep... therefore in all this while he lost neither faith nor love to the Law, no more than a man loseth his wits when he is asleep. Is not here a wise tale, trow ye? Except that Tyndale had either lost his wits or else were himself asleep while he wrote this... he could never for shame tell us this tale. What calleth he losing of faith or love? Nothing but such departing thereof as he never cometh to it again? If that be so... then Tyndale setteth our Savior Christ to school, and teacheth him to speak. For *he* saith, in the Gospel, that a man *lost* one of his hundred sheep, and left the remnant and sought the *lost* sheep, and found it. 25 30

*Lk 15:1-10* And that the woman had *lost* her money, though by ransacking up her house and seeking, she found it at last again. Now, Tyndale is not so mad, I suppose, as to say that if a man let fall his ring 35

in the main sea, though he find it five weeks after in a fish's maw, that therefore he never lost it because he findeth it again. The common people say among that "nothing can be found till it be lost"—saving that of a thief they say in sport, "He can find a thing ere it be lost"; and so they praise him in his cunning, that he can do such a mastery as no true man can. 5

Now, if a thing may be lost indeed for a season, though it be after found again... how proveth Tyndale here that David, in all this long while between the first sight of Bathsheba and the rebuke of Nathan, never lost neither faith nor love? 10

He proveth it us in this wise by example: A man that lieth asleep loseth not his wits; and therefore, in like wise, David, lying in lechery, lost neither faith to God nor love to his law. Is not this well likened? Yes, by my sheath!—less like than Paul's steeple to a dagger sheath, till he prove us thoroughly that David was that while in a very sleep indeed! 15

For God hath naturally provided sleep for man's rest from labor, and for his refreshing again *to* labor. And the withdrawing of the use of our wits is there not forbidden by God's ordinance, except we sleep when we should not. And so is neither adultery nor such manner of manslaughter... but be things of God forbidden and of their nature abominable. And in the sleep, also, there is only a suspending of the use of the wits, and no contrary willful doing *against* the wit... as there was a willful working of David *against* the faithful love of God's law, in his "horrible deeds." 20 25

For as for his faith, as far forth as concerneth only the nature of *faith*—that is to wit, of belief—I will well agree with Tyndale that he lost *it* not in all the while. And in Tyndale's "faith" for one point—in that he juggleth faith into *hope*—I will agree also that David had all that while enough thereof still, and peradventure a little too 30

*Gal 5:6* much, too. But surely as for the lively faith that worketh, as Saint Paul saith, by love—that kind of faith *had* he lost for that while in which he willingly wrought evil... except Tyndale say that all his lechery and his manslaughter too was wrought by love, because all that ever he did was done for the love that he bore to Bathsheba. And if Tyndale 35

tell me so—then driveth he me to the hard wall. For then can I go no farther in that point, but as far as concerneth his faith I must needs give it over.

Howbeit, yet as touching his love unto the law of God... very fain would I hear how Tyndale can defend it that he lost not that love in no point of all that long while in which he willingly wrought against it, first his foul adultery, and after, mischievous manslaughter too. “This shall I” (saith Tyndale) “defend you well enough. For ye touched yourself right now the very point at which I would myself have you... when ye said that in the natural sleep the wit is only suspended, and the will therewith in like wise, so that a man doth not wittingly nor willingly any contrary act against the wit, as ye said that David did in his deeds. But now say I that David did none of these things wittingly nor willingly, but upon those occasions his wits were ravished away... and both his wit *and* his will suspended as it is in the natural sleep, so that he had forgotten himself, and for the while neither had wit nor will. For if his wit had showed him his fault... his will must needs have followed. But his wit was all that while, though not lost, yet carried away clean with the rage of the lust. And when the wit is away, the will is gone therewith. For it can nothing do but as the wit showeth it, as I have said before. And then was the wit asleep and the will followed the fumes that fell into the fantasy, and so no consenting to sin... but as the man was in manner all asleep, so were all his deeds in manner but a dream.”

Here is Tyndale’s proof, picked out unto the best that I can perceive of his words. But, now, this reason of his neither defendeth David against the loss of love, and yet utterly loseth him, by Tyndale’s doctrine, the most especial faith. For Tyndale, as ye shall hereafter read, calleth the faith of the elects a *feeling* faith. Now, if David were in a sleep all that while, and had thereby forgotten his faith and himself too... then though his faith had all the while the life, yet at the least it lost for the while the feeling. For so doth the man, ye wot well, in the sleep.

But let this pass this once, as for this time... and see how he proveth that David was fallen to such a dead sleep that he had in all that while neither wit nor will... and therefore consented not



unto sin against the law of God. Proof layeth he none in this world, but only *saith* it was so. Now might he lie, by possibility, though his tale were likely. But yet am I content if his tale be likely, let him be believed. But, now, if his tale be very far unlikely, reason were he brought one witness with him at the least. 5

Now, then, when David first began to spy her, let that be chance and occasion of one rising in his sleep... but when he liked her and longed for her, and stood still and looked on her, and kindled his heat himself, and set himself sore afire... was he all that while asleep? When he thought he would have her, when he sent his messenger for her, when he stood and talked with her, when he broke the matter to her, when he won her assent to the sin, when he fulfilled his foul fleshly lust, when he sent for her husband to color and cloak their offense, when he compassed and contrived to keep her for himself and kill her good husband his own faithful servant, when he devised and wrote the traitorous deadly letter, and delivered that innocent man his own death in his hand, to deliver over to him that should set him where he should be slain... did David in all this while, among all these evil thoughts, all these ungracious words, all these abominable deeds, never fall from the love of the law of God... but was all this while asleep, and never consented to sin, nor did none of all these things willingly? “No,” saith Tyndale. I say no more but it is likely *yes*. And therefore let Tyndale tell us whereby he proveth the contrary. “I prove it,” saith he, “by that that he was an elected person that finally should be saved... and therefore, because of that feeling faith with which he was born of God, he could not consent unto sin.” Very well. Then if a reprobate had done the like upon the like occasion or greater... he had sinned deadly, for lack of “feeling faith,” only because he was not elected. And if he repented alike upon less occasion, yet he should not be forgiven, for lack of the “feeling faith” which was never given him, but ever kept from him, only because he was not elected. 10 15 20 25 30

If I ask Tyndale here how he knoweth, or why he believeth, that David was elected to salvation... what will he answer? He will not say, I am sure, because “the church” so teacheth him, lest I should ask him again which church. For then were he forced to grant 35

that he believeth the teaching of this common-known Catholic church of ours, since that his own unknown church can teach him nothing to be the better believed upon the credence of that church, not being known for *the* church. Now shall he not find, as far as I remember, any plain, evident scripture proving his final salvation. Then if Tyndale answer that he findeth in Scripture of his faith and his repentances, and nothing of his final damnation, and therefore he believeth of these likelihoods that he was elect to the final salvation, and shall come to heaven at the Day of Doom (for Tyndale's sect believeth not that he shall come thither before), I will not here press upon him with the examples of such as he hath seen here live well, and believe well, after his own opinion, both while he believed well himself and since he believed wrong, of whose salvation yet he maketh not himself so sure as of the salvation of David; but holding myself for this time satisfied that he believe it so well upon good *likelihoods*, that he should not believe a man that would without good *proof* tell him the contrary... I shall no more but pray him to be so reasonable and so indifferent again toward us, as to give us leave in like wise to believe upon good likelihoods that David consented to sin, and not to believe him that without good proof would with his bare word make us ween the contrary, and boldly bear us in hand that while he wrought so much wickedness he was all the while asleep.

In which point, as I have before proved in another chapter by like matter, if he were so asleep, his very first falling into such a sleep was his own willful negligence... while he, beginning to be moved unto lewdness at the first sight of Bathsheba, stood still and fed his devilish delight in beholding her, and thereby willingly suffered the death of sin to enter into his heart by the glass windows of his eyes. Whereupon all that ever he did after, pursuing thereupon, all had he been in such rage that he neither wist what he did nor where he were, should have been imputed unto him... as he that sinfully drinketh himself drunk deadly sinneth, and shall die also, if he kill a man in that drunkenness.

Nor it excuseth not David nor no man else that Tyndale saith, "There is no man so good but that there cometh a time upon him in which

he feeleth in himself no more faith or love unto God than a sick man oftentimes  
 feeleth the taste of his meat.” Whether this happeneth unto the best men  
 or not, God wot I cannot tell; I wot not what affections they feel...  
 for I am none of them; nor, I fear me, Tyndale neither, as wise and  
 expert as he maketh himself of their feeling. Would God we were 5  
 both of the best, so the best were never the worse, nor waxen as  
 evil as we, and we made their matches in that manner wise. But  
 this dare I surely say: that whensoever the best *is* in such case... it  
 excuseth not David from deadly sin. For then is the best very  
 naught. 10  
 And finally, for conclusion of David’s deeds, whereas Tyndale  
 saith he could not sin deadly because he was an elect... for  
 which cause God kept him, through the “feeling faith,” from  
 consenting to the service of sin, and from the malicious casting  
 off... of the yoke of God’s commandments from his neck: it 15  
 appeareth very well that off his neck *was* it once, whether himself  
 cast it off or Bathsheba took it off because he should not come yoked  
 to bed. For well we wot it held him not within the hedge of  
 God’s commandments but that he thrust his head through and  
 broke a couple of them, and ran unyoked a good while. And it 20  
 will, I ween, well appear also that he cast off the yoke himself; and  
 then will all the doubt stand upon this only word “maliciously.”  
 Which word how Tyndale taketh, that can I not tell... but except  
 he take it for no malice because it was all for love. Else, if he agree  
 that the contempt and despising of God’s law may be called 25  
 malice, and a malicious casting off of the yoke of God’s law  
 both from love and dread, as I ween it is expounded in God Almighty’s  
 vocabulary—then dread I nothing but that it will well appear  
 against Tyndale, all the whole matter... both that David agreed and  
 consented to sin and willfully cast off God’s yoke, and maliciously, 30  
 too. This will well appear, I say, by plain and evident Scripture.  
 For after those horrible *sins* so committed by David, his *deadly*  
 2 Sm 12:1–12 deeds so displeased God (as it is written in  
 the twelfth chapter of the Second Book of  
 Kings) that he sent Nathan the prophet unto him, which by the 35  
 commandment of God, after that he had put unto him the parable

of the rich man that took away the poor man's sheep, and thereby made him give sentence, unawares, against himself... he said further unto David, as in the person of Almighty God, in this manner wise, as followeth...

“Why hast thou, then, set my word at naught, and done evil in my sight? Thou hast killed with sword Uriah the Hittite, and his wife hast thou taken to thy wife, and him hast thou slain with the sword of the sons of Ammon. And therefore the sword shall never be taken away from thy house, because thou hast despised me, and taken to thy wife the wife of Uriah the Hittite. And therefore thus saith our Lord: Behold, I shall raise up evil against thee, even out of thine own house... and I shall take away from thee thy wives before thy face, and give them unto one that is nighest unto thee, and he shall lie with them in the sight of this sun. For thou hast committed this deed privily... but I will accomplish this my word in the sight of all Israel and this sun.”

Lo, good readers, here see ye very clearly that whereas Tyndale saith that David in all those horrible deeds did yet no deadly sin, because, he saith, he consented not to sin, nor did none of these deeds willingly, nor cast not off the yoke of love toward the law of God... *God* here saith that David did in those horrible deeds *despise* both his law and himself too. And how did he then keep still his *love* to the law of God, in the while in which he *despised* both the law of God and God himself also? Or how saith Tyndale that David consented not to the sin, when God himself, that best knew his thought, laid his sins so sore to his charge that he appointed an endless plague for the punishment thereof?—till by his repentance and his humble confession, God, as he forgave the deadliness of the sin, and translated it from mortal into venial, so changed the punishment from endless into ending.

For—whereas the prophet had before his repentance and confession said unto him by the bidding of God, “The plague shall abide in thine house forever, world without end”—forthwith after his repentance and his confession made, he said unto him, “Our Lord hath translated thy *sin* that was, from deadly to venial”; that is to wit, the punishment from eternal to temporal. And

therefore the prophet said that yet the child that he begot upon her in that adultery should die, as it did after indeed. And yet was not David out of hope with other penance (which he had liefer sustain) to purge and redeem that punishment too... and therefore fasted and prayed to save the child, until the time that it was dead indeed. 5

And thus, good Christian readers, ye may clearly see that all Tyndale's proper process of King David concerning the order of his election—that he was thereby preserved forever from all deadly sin—is clearly come to naught... and all his words reproved by the very plain words of Scripture. And yet by the same Scripture, for advantage, is there another of Tyndale's heresies destroyed... by which he teacheth that after repentance, all is forthwith forgiven unto the elect—both sin and pain and all—so far forth that for the sin past, the party shall never after be punished nor suffer any pain, neither in this world, purgatory, nor anywhere else. The plain reproof whereof appeareth evidently—the deadly sin translated, and the temporal punishment reserved—by this open place of Scripture. By which is reproved Tyndale's other heresy that we now go about... in which he teacheth us that David did none of his horrible deeds willingly, nor consented to sin, nor maliciously cast off the yoke of love toward the love of God, and therefore sinned not deadly. Wherein, as ye see, against Tyndale telling us this... very God himself telleth us the contrary... and that David sinned so deadly that he sinfully despised both God's law and God himself therewith. 20 25

And now that Tyndale hath of King David told us his wise process of not sinning, such as ye see it proved... he proceedeth forth from David, and telleth us as wise a tale of Christ's blessed apostles. Of whom thus he saith... 30

#### Tyndale

And in like manner the apostles of Christ at his Passion were astonished and amazed... and in such a storm of temptations, for the sudden change from so great glory into so vile and shameful death, that they had forgotten all the miracles and all the words which he had told them before—how that he should be betrayed and delivered 35

on the same manner unto death. Moreover, they never understood that saying of his death, because their hearts were always heavy and overladen with earthly thoughts. For though they saw him raise up others... yet who should raise *him* up when *he* were dead, they could not comprehend. Read what thou, reader, canst... and thou shalt find no temptation like unto that from the creation of the world, or so great as it by the hundredth part. So that the wonderful sudden change, and the terrible sight of his Passion, and of his most cruel and most vile death, and the loss of whom they so greatly loved that their hearts would fain have died with him, and the fear of their own death, and the impossibility that a man should rise again of his own power... so occupied their minds, and so astonished them and amazed them, that they could receive no comfort, either of the Scripture or of the miracles which they had seen Christ do, nor of the monitions and warning wherewith he had warned them before, neither of the women that brought them tidings that he was risen. The sword of temptations, with fear, sorrow, mourning, and weeping, had so deeply pierced their hearts, and the cruel sight had so encumbered their minds... that they could not believe until Christ himself came, death put off and overcome. Yea, and when they first saw him, they were astonished for wondering and joy together, that thoughts arose in their hearts, "Alas, is this he, or doth some spirit mock us?" He was fain to let them feel him and to eat with them to strengthen their faiths.

#### More

Here have ye heard, good, devout Christian people, a piece of Tyndale's devout, godly collation in which the man is not so far fallen into devotion but he is much further fallen from his wit... whereby he neither perceiveth the point that he should prove and, over that, seeth not that his sermon saith more against his matter than we that impugn his purpose!

For his purpose is to prove us that none elect can at any time sin deadly. And now forgetteth he that point, and telleth us that the apostles never lost their faith. Which if it were granted him, yet won he not his purpose. For they might keep still the faith in their heart, and yet sin deadly by the denying thereof with

*Rom 10:10*

their mouth. For as holy Saint Paul saith,  
"In heart believe we for our justification..."

and with the mouth we confess it for our salvation.” Showing, by those words, that neither are we righteous by saying with our mouth that we do believe, but if we believe in our heart; nor shall be saved by the belief of our heart but if no fear can let us to confess it with our mouth. Whereunto consent the words of our Savior 5

*Mt 10:33* himself, where he saith, “Whoso deny me before men, I shall deny him too before my Father which is in heaven.” And thus, for the first point, Tyndale in his holy sermon is so deep in devotion that he forgetteth whereabout he goeth. 10

Now, for the second point, whereas *I* said no more but that they lost the *sufficient* faith—that is to say, the life of their faith—he goeth about, as I told you, to prove us that the apostles (such as were elect) never lost their faith at *all*, nor at any time fell therefrom. And this point handleth he so properly that ever he *telleth* us 15 that they lost it *not*, and ever he *proveth* us that they *lost* it. And by the selfsame words by which he saith that they keep it always still—by the selfsame, I say, always still he proveth that they kept it not still indeed, but were very far fallen therefrom.

For first, read me all those words of his again... and as gaily as 20 they be couched, with “astonied” and “amazed,” and “stormy” temptations, “terrible” sights, with their hearts “pierced,” and their minds “encumbered,” with “sight” of his death and “fear” of their own, that ere they could believe his resurrection, he was “fain” to eat and drink with them and to “let them feel him”... is not all this tale excuses of their 25 faith *fallen* from them, and no proof of the keeping? What was that in them but the *lack* and *loss* of the faith, that Tyndale telleth us—that they thought it *impossible* that he should rise again, because they thought he could never “of his own power”... and could not think or devise who should raise him else? 30

Now, where he saith that all this happed them through temptation—that will we well agree. But yet is that no more to say but like as David did adultery through temptation, and killed his good friend through temptation... and as Eve ate the forbidden fruit through temptation, and Adam ate it also through temptation... 35 and Judas betrayed Christ also through temptation—so the apostles fell from their faith, and lost it, and all through

temptation. Let Tyndale excuse every sin that cometh of temptation... and whose sin shall he leave unexcused, except peradventure the devil's?

But the sin of men standeth in this: that they break the commandment of God in that they do not, as he biddeth them, strive and *resist* the temptation. Which till they cease to do, if they trust in God and call help of his grace... there can no temptation be so great that it can overcome them; as witnesseth our Lord by the

*1 Cor 10:13* mouth of Saint Paul: "God is faithful, which suffereth you not to be tempted above that ye may bear... but giveth with the temptation a way out, that ye may well wield it."

But let Tyndale say for excuse of their sin what him list... which though the occasions and circumstances may diminish or aggrieve, and so may theirs be *less* grievous than the sins of some others... and the sin of some one of themselves also less than another of his own fellows—yet shall Tyndale never make it good but that when he saith they "could not believe"... if he say true, the lack of their belief *was* a *grievous sin*.

For whereas Tyndale would seem to say well for the apostles in that he saith they "would fain have died with" our Savior, saving for "the fear of their own death": Christ had before forbidden them

*Lk 12:4–5* such fear of temporal death upon the pain of eternal death, when he said unto them, "Fear ye not them that kill the body... which, when they have killed the body, have nothing that they can do more. But I shall show you whom you shall fear. Fear you him which, when he hath killed the body, hath the power to cast the soul into the fire of hell." And in another place he told them according

*Mk 8:35* to the same: "Whoso will save his soul in this world, shall lose it; and whoso shall lose his soul in this world, keepeth it still for the everlasting life." And finally—to show them that all these words most properly pertained to the putting away of that fear of death by which folk for fear of death would forbear and refuse to die for him and his faith—he said the words which I before remembered:



Mt 10:33

“Whoso deny me before men, I shall deny  
him also before my Father which is in

heaven.”

And therefore Tyndale in vain goeth about to excuse the sin of  
Christ’s apostles which *they* rather will have known, and the great 5  
mercy of God therewith... and therefore they write it themselves, and the  
rebukes therewith that our Savior gave them therefor... to the end  
that we should both beware of falling in the like, and yet if it in  
our own default misfortune us to fall, not despair therefore, but  
repent and arise with God’s help, as they did... and then shall he 10  
forgive us as he forgave them. And this would rather Christ’s  
blessed apostles—that Tyndale should tell us truth—than under pretext  
of their excuse teach us false heresies... and make us ween that upon  
temptation to forsake our Savior for fear of temporal death, were  
no deadly sin. Whereof our Savior himself, as ye see, teacheth us 15  
plain the contrary... and will not admit for us, I fear me, the  
excuse of Tyndale for the apostles, if we come and say, “By my faith,  
good Lord, I was afeard and so forgot all that ever thou taughtest me.”

Howbeit, that they sin not in losing of their faith, I let no  
man to believe Tyndale, whensoever he prove himself more 20  
credible than Christ. But here ye see that as I told you—that they  
lost their faith indeed—Tyndale *proveth* us, after his manner, in  
his before-rehearsed words wherein he *saith* nay.

And yet is the man of so good remembrance, and so good heed  
taketh whereabout he goeth, that forthwith, in his next words 25  
after, he saith very plainly, more and more, that they could not  
believe the Resurrection... and excuseth them thus: that for all that,  
they hated him not in their heart. Lo, thus he saith...

Tyndale

Howbeit, there was none of them that was fallen in his heart from 30  
Christ.

More

Who can more plainly say that they *were* fallen from the *faith*,  
and lacked the *belief*, than Tyndale saith here? For though he  
saith that none of them was in his heart fallen from Christ... yet he 35

<i>The substantial article of Christ's faith</i>	saith they "could not believe" the substantial article of the faith of Christ: that is to wit, the belief of his resurrection...	
	without the belief whereof all the remnant would not then serve them to salvation.	5
	And that they believed not that article, Tyndale here saith expressly. For he saith that though they ran to the sepulchre, and would fain have believed that he was risen... yet they <i>could</i> not believe it; the wound of their temptation was so great that they could not believe it at the preaching of a woman, without any other miracle. Then ask I no more but this tale of Tyndale. For if they <i>could</i> not believe, then <i>did</i> they not believe; and so lacked they then the belief. For as for that they came thereto <i>again</i> , and that Joseph	10
<i>Jn 19:38–42</i>	of Arimathea, and Nicodemus, and the	
<i>Lk 23:50—24:32</i>	women came afterward to strength and boldness, and that his two disciples	15
	toward Emmaus burned in their breasts to hear speak of him—all this maketh to Tyndale's purpose in this point not the value of a point's end. For we speak of his <i>apostles</i> , in the time in which himself saith here they believed not nor <i>could</i> believe it. At that time say I that since they then believed not, as they did not if they could not, they then had for that while the lack of the faith.	20
	And also, to what purpose telleth Tyndale us that they could not believe at the bare preaching of the woman? As though they were nothing to blame for that, because they were but women... when the apostles themselves knew these women for such as they were worthy more credence some one of them than some many men!	25
	And for to excuse the apostles in the lack of belief because the messengers were but women—Tyndale doth therein no more but lay lack and oversight in our Savior, that in a thing that he would have believed, sent out such women on his message.	30
	But Tyndale wotteth well, if he believe the Gospel, that no more they did when they saw the miracle of himself coming	
<i>Jn 20:19; Lk 24:36–43</i>	in before them—the doors being shut—	
	and speaking unto them... but were so	35
	far from the belief of his resurrection, at the first, that they had went that he had been some spirit, till he not only preached to them but also reasoned with them thereupon.	

*Jn 24:24–29*

Nor yet Saint Thomas, which, as  
Tyndale saith, “could not believe” till he  
saw Christ... neither did believe the woman nor all his own  
fellows, nor our Savior himself upon the sight neither, till he  
felt him fully, and put his finger in his side. And this he did of 5  
stubborn standing in his misbelief... in that after his belief  
lacking, he went not about to seek the truth, and endeavor himself  
to believe them that told him the truth... but, as it seemeth by  
the Gospel, obstinately stood in his distrust, and said till he did...  
that he thought, of likelihood, he never should—that is to wit, till he 10  
felt him and put his finger into his wounds—he would never believe  
it.

And I say plainly: Whosoever, being informed of any article  
of the faith which God bindeth us to believe, believeth it not—the  
cause why he believeth not is not because he *cannot*, but because he 15  
*will* not. For if he would do the thing which Tyndale taketh for  
folly—that is to wit, not resist, but endeavor himself to submit  
his reason unto faith, with asking help of God for the furtherance  
of his imperfection—he thus doing his part, God would, I  
say, not fail on his part again, but would effectually work with 20  
him to perfect in him the faith in which he preventeth him by  
grace... which prevention was when he gave him the grace and  
occasion to be first told of the matter.

But ever cometh Tyndale by degrees... and ever he seeth himself  
likely to be driven from step to step. And therefore where he 25  
said that the elect cannot sin deadly—first he allegeth for the  
cause thereof that he sinneth never but “upon great occasions.” And  
seeing that a man may thereto say, “What then?” he goeth to another  
step, and saith that he never “consenteth” to sin. And then  
seeing that step will not be defended... he goeth to another, and 30  
saith he consenteth not to sin to “serve” it. And perceiving that  
he cannot stand sure there... he steppeth down to the next, and  
saith that he “casteth not off from his neck the yoke of love  
toward the law of God.” And yet perceiving that that step will not  
hold him neither... he cometh at last unto another step, and 35

saith he casteth it not off “maliciously”—trusting, because we cannot look into the man’s breast to see whether he bore any malice therein, we should never be able to convict him of that word, when he put once thereto maliciously. And yet from *that* step have I driven him... and therein have I beguiled his hope, as ye before have heard, in the sins of King David, by the words of God spoken by the mouth of Nathan the prophet. 5

Now, as he played there... so playeth he by the apostles here. For first he saith they lost never the faith, because they were “amazed,” and then “astonied,” and then afeard, and then because they could not perceive the thing for possible. And yet at last he cometh so near to the granting that they lacked it... that by plain words at length he saith the same thing himself... affirming that they believed not, nor could not believe. And yet would he now make us ween that though they believed not, yet had they no lack of the faith... because in the lack of their belief they had no malice. And that thing he proveth thus... 10 15

#### Tyndale

There was none of them that ever railed on him, and came so far forth to say, “He was a deceiver, and wrought with the devil’s craft all this while, and see whereunto he is come in the end! We defy him, . . . false wretch that he was, and his false doctrine also!” And thereunto must they have come at the last, when fear, sorrow, and wondering had been past, if they had not been prevented and helped in the mean season. 20 25

#### More

Lo, good Christian readers, here hath Tyndale taught us that whoso believe not the resurrection of Christ... yet all the while he raileth not upon him and calleth him “wretch,” and defieth him, he is safe enough. For all that while though he believe not, yet lacketh he not his belief. And then if he be an elect... he shall be prevented of God, and helped before, ere ever he fall into such blasphemy. But and if he be a reprobate... then when he cometh once into the case that the apostles were in, as Tyndale saith... he shall, for lack of such prevention and help, fall into such railing and blasphemy; and then is he remediless, 30 35

he saith. And therefore saith he (both here and in divers places) that the seed of God preventeth always and keepeth and preserveth the elects from falling into that case.

Here is a goodly tale, be ye sure. But, now, whereby shall Tyndale of this doctrine make us sure?

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The Gospel, to begin with for one piece, maketh us sure of the contrary.

For therein we find that the traitor Judas, which was, I ween, as far from the belief of the Resurrection as ever was Saint Thomas of India... came never, yet, unto such railing and blaspheming of Christ... as Tyndale saith that the apostles, because they believed not, had they not been by grace prevented must needs have come unto.

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For when he went about to make his bargain, and betray him and sell him... we find not that he called him "false wretch," nor no such villainous word. And after, we find that when he repented and brought again the money, he was far from railing upon him, and said, "I have offended God in betraying the righteous

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*Mt 27:3-4*

blood." And surely, though he had at the

selling railed as much upon him toward

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his Passion as Tyndale in his books now railleth and jesteth upon him in the Blessed Sacrament after his resurrection... yet dare I be bold upon his mercy to say that if that old Judas in his repentance had, with the looking upon his own sin, looked also upon the great mercy of God—and also that if Tyndale now, this new Judas, will repent his railing against Christ's Blessed Body, the Sacrament of the Altar, and ask our Lord mercy therefor—both the one should have had, and the other shall have, remission and forgiveness of that deadly sin with change of hell into purgatory... into which the one in vain now fain would, and the other except he amend hereafter shall as much in vain wish to, come.

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Now Tyndale will peradventure stick upon some subtle conjecture of his own and stiffly bear us in hand that though it be not written in the Gospel, yet did Judas, when he sold Christ, speak of him some blasphemous words, and had opprobrious language against him—and that the blasphemy thereof was the very cause

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why that he could never after, by any repentance, be forgiven his sin and received again to grace.

If Tyndale thus tell us, and will ween by this way to wind out... we will for this once forget to put him in mind of his own rule, that we need not believe him further than he findeth in plain and evident Scripture. But we will tell him then that there is as great likelihood, and some deal more, too, that Saint Paul when *Acts 7:54–60; 9:1–2* after the resurrection of Christ, and the stoning of Saint Stephen, persecuted and punished so cruelly the Christian people... did rail and blaspheme the name of Christ, and his doctrine, and miracles, and all that he taught and did. And yet, for all this, was he received after to grace and forgiveness... and was after elected; yea, and for the foresight of his repentance, change, and penance, was a “chosen vessel” before God before the world was made; and had once the right belief, of likelihood, as much as he was bound to... before the Gospel preached, and then stood in state of grace; and yet was suffered through his own fault to fall therefrom, by refusing the Gospel of Christ, and after fell in hating and persecuting of his name and doctrine... and not, as it seemeth, without blaspheming of his name, his living, his death, his doctrine, and his resurrection, and all that ever he did; and yet by repentance and penance received to faith and to forgiveness again. And therefore needeth not Tyndale to despair but that as evil as he is, he may yet repent and be forgiven if he will.

But by this one example of Saint Paul are in the meanwhile utterly destroyed not only Tyndale’s words last above-rehearsed... but over that, all this his whole chapter of the order of our election... whereof the whole purpose is, in effect, that God keepeth them ever from all deadly sin.

And thus, good readers, ye see how well he defendeth the apostles’ faith, which he saith they never lost at no time... and yet confesseth himself that at one time they neither believed nor could believe. And yet while they believed not, they lost not their belief, because they railed not; and because that after, they came again

to belief, therefore they lacked it not at any time before they came to it again.

Is not here, good readers, a wise and well-told tale? It is enough for me that howsoever Tyndale excuse their mistrust and unbelief...

*Mk 16:14*

I see *themselves* write that our Savior himself  
accused it, and rebuked them sore of  
their incredulity and hard heart, for that they had not believed  
them that they had seen him rise. And now that Tyndale hath  
so wisely defended them all... he cometh particularly to Saint Peter,  
and saith... 5  
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Tyndale

Yea, and Peter, as soon as he had denied Christ... came to himself  
immediately, and went out and wept bitterly for sorrow. And thus  
we see that Peter's faith failed not, though it were oppressed for a time.

More

Tyndale ever laboreth to lead us a mile from the matter. For well ye  
wot the Church teacheth not, nor no man was there ever anywhere  
so mad to say, that the chosen and elects do *die* in deadly sin;  
but that they sometimes *do* deadly sins—that is to wit, such  
sins as if they died in them without repentance of them, they  
should be damned for them. 15  
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Against this doctrine of the Catholic Church... taketh Tyndale  
in hand to prove us—as well by divers other titles of this book,  
and by his *Exposition upon the First Epistle of Saint John*, as by  
all the process of this his present chapter, of the order of their  
election—that the elects never do no deadly sins. That is, ye wot  
well, as much to say as that they do no such sins... which, done in  
such manner as they do them, be of their nature deadly; that is to  
say, such as if the person that doth them die before he repent them,  
he should be damned for them. 25  
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Now, good Christian readers, the point considered that is in debate  
between us... ye perceive very well that either must Tyndale take  
and understand “deadly sin” for some other thing and in some  
other manner than all other men do, and otherwise than it is taken

and understood by the Catholic Church of Christ, against which he disputeth; which manner of his disputation—if he otherwise took it than his adversaries do—were on his part too shameful and foolish, as every man well seeth that any learning hath... for then disputed he but upon the word and not upon the matter, which he will not, I ween, for very shame be so mad to do; or else, if he take, I say, this word “deadly sin” as indeed he must needs do, then do you, good readers, I doubt not, very well and clearly see that Tyndale’s tale of Saint Peter’s repentance and sorrow *after* his denying of Christ, nothing proveth Tyndale’s purpose... which is and must be that Saint Peter *before* his repentance sinned not deadly, at the time when he forswore Christ. 5 10

For Tyndale, if he will prove that he did therein no deadly sin *at* the time—it is not enough for him to tell us that he repented *after*, and was by repentance restored to the state of salvation; but he must prove us that his forswearing of our Savior yet should not have letted him from salvation although he had forthwith upon that deed deceased without repentance, or any remembrance after, of that sin. 15

This should he prove us, ye wot well; and this, ye see well, he dissembleth. And to prove that Saint Peter sinned not deadly before... he telleth us that he repented after. Which is the very thing whereby it is declared in Holy Scripture that his sin *was* grievous. For what was the thing he so repented... but the sin of his denying? And therefore the more sorrowfully that he repented it, the more bitterly that he bewept and bewailed it, the more pain that he took for it... the more himself sheweth us the sore offense and heinous deadliness thereof. 20 25

And now cometh Tyndale on the other side... and by the selfsame sorrow would make men ween it was no deadly sin... by which it specially doth appear the contrary. 30

And then, thus handling the matter, he is not ashamed to tell us in conclusion that we now see, by this wise reason, that Saint Peter’s faith “failed not.” Whereof he hath, as ye see, proved us nothing... but hath himself told us by plain, express words the contrary, when he told us that the apostles *could* not, for all the women’s 35



words, believe that Christ was risen... nor well, in a good while after, at the sight of our Savior himself.

Howbeit, all this, he saith, was no failing of Peter's faith, but an "oppressing for the while"... as though I or any man else had any time said that Peter's faith failed for ever.

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I say that it failed for the while, not for ever. And yet said I no further in my *Dialogue* thereof but that his *lively* faith failed for the while, because it wrought not by love; but if his *belief* stood still... it was a bare belief, barren of the fruit of charity... with which it wrought not in the heart, when it brought not forth the confession of Christ by the mouth.

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But marry, Tyndale hath said yet more—and hath taken away from him boldly both quick faith *and* dead faith, and all as for the while.

In which point when Tyndale hath all done... he can never while he liveth avoid it but that in saying that there was a time in which the apostles could not believe that Christ was arisen again, he is agreed with us as for the matter. For in those words he confesseth that in that time their faith *was* fallen from them. But he striveth still with us upon the word, and will in no wise have that fall called *failing*, but "amazing" and "astonying" upon "great occasions" and with the great burden "oppressing."

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Well, then, since we be meetly well agreed together, Tyndale and I, in the matter... we will for this once no longer debate about a word, and still dispute all day whether falling may be called failing; but I am content to give it over, and let Tyndale have his will, and abide thereby still... that though Saint Peter did fall and his faith too, yet shall not Tyndale be bound to call that falling "failing"... but "amazing," if he list, or "astonying," "upon great occasions and by sore burden oppressing."

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And in like wise am I content that if upon great occasion of a long, weary way, with a deep mire and a great block in the bottom, Tyndale's horse happen under him first to snapper and stumble, and after that faint and fall down in the mire and tumble, and his master and he there lie together and jumble till some good fellow help them up and bring them to an inn, where they tarry together till the horse be with meat and rest better grown in heart—let Tyndale for me, when he rideth again, call his fall no failing nor no falling, neither. But yet shall he never let other men to call it as it is.

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Now, Tyndale yet, after his foul fall, dissembling his overthrow as though no man saw it... royally triumpheth and boasteth in this matter, that he hath in his chapter of the order of election so well and wisely acquitted himself so like a pretty man. For joy and glory whereof, he finisheth his chapter with a pleasant proper taunt, wherein he taunteth me...

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#### Tyndale

[Therefore] we need to seek no glosses for the text that Christ said to Peter how that his faith should not fail. "Yes," saith Master More, "it failed in himself, but was reserved in our Lady." But let us see the text and their gloss together. Christ saith (Luke 22), "Simon, Simon, Satan seeketh you to sift you, as men sift wheat. But I have prayed for thee that thy faith shall not fail. Wherefore when thou art come unto thyself again, strengthen thy brethren." Now put this wise gloss thereto, and see how they agree together: "Simon, Satan seeketh to sift you as wheat; but I have prayed for thee that my mother's faith shall not fail. Wherefore when thou art come to thyself again, according as my prayer hath obtained for thee that my mother's faith shall not fail, strengthen thy brethren." How say ye? Is not this a proper text and well framed together? Do ye not think that there is as much wit in the head of mad Collins as in the brains of such expositors?

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#### More

Tyndale here, good reader, feeling his matter very faint and feeble, and that by reason, Scripture, or other good authority he neither can impugn his adversary nor defend himself... would very fain walk away thus, without any piece of his purpose proved, and make men ween all were won with his merry scoff.

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Howbeit, if Tyndale had here rehearsed you my very words of my *Dialogue*, as I am in such cases wont to rehearse his... it would (and that he saw well!) have made his quick, merry scoff wax very dull and more than half dead... as ye shall well perceive, I trust, when I come to that place in the replying to his several answers made unto the chapters of my said work. Whereunto I shall reserve the substance of mine answer to this wise cavillation of his against mine exposition, and better men's too than

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mine, of those words of our Savior spoken unto Saint Peter, “I  
*Lk 22:31–32* have prayed for thee that thy faith shall  
 not fail.”

But whereas he can in no wise bear the common opinion of good  
 Christian people that the faith abode at any time only in our 5  
 Lady... and therefore mocketh, and maketh a gay game, that Saint  
 Peter’s faith should be preserved in our Lady, and that her faith  
 should be his faith: I ween it will be no very great, subtle thing  
 to perceive that the faith which Saint Peter confessed may both  
 be his own, in that he confessed it, and yet our Lady’s too, in that she 10  
 believed it... and the thing also believed is all one both in him and  
 in her... saving that it is hers in that *she* believeth it, and his in that  
*he* believeth it. And yet if he lost the belief thereof, it may be called  
 still “his”... understanding, by that speaking, that he first confessed  
 it. And therefore, in good faith, I cannot well see wherefore we 15  
 may not say Saint Peter’s faith was in our Lady, as well as we may  
 say Wycliffe’s heresies are in Tyndale.

And therefore, whereas for the salting and seasoning of his unsavory  
 scoff, he changeth and misrehearseth my words, and the very  
 words of Christ’s Gospel, too... and hath a pleasure to play between 20  
 our Lady and Saint Peter, and to toss the faith like a tennis ball  
 from the one to the other, with fond words of his own foolish  
 framing, nothing near to the matter when the place in my *Dialogue*  
 shall be, as it shall once be, by God’s grace, surely seen and examined—  
 I trust to make you then see that all his proper sporting wherein he 25  
 playeth his pageant between Saint Peter and our Lady may, for any  
 wit it hath, serve him for a pastime if he sat sadly by frantic  
 Collins and picked rushes in Bedlam. And happy were Tyndale  
 if he were as well recovered of his frenzies as I trust in God Collins  
 is, at this day, of his. 30

But yet reserving, as I say, the farther answer to mine other place,  
 to which this matter much more appertaineth—yet since Tyndale  
 saith here himself that the cause why no such gloss needeth to  
 those words of our Savior is because that Saint Peter’s faith  
 never failed in his own person... he confesseth thereby that if it 35  
 ever at any time failed in his person, then at the leastwise some  
 gloss there needeth. And then dare I be bold to say that if there any

need... the gloss, then, that he mocketh, let him rehearse it right, is such as he will not this five years find a better.

But leaving that gloss, as I say, till I come to my *Dialogue*—yet to see in the meanwhile whether any gloss needed or none, since Tyndale agreeth that there needed if the faith at any time failed in Saint Peter... I shall not let for his pleasure once again to search whether the faith at any time failed in Saint Peter or no. 5

And to the intent that we may deal well and plainly together... let him and me first agree together what the thing is whereupon we dispute. For he useth often, when he is convicted, to say that he took this word or that word otherwise than we take him therein. 10

Let us therefore first, because we speak of faith, hear him declare what himself calleth “faith.”

To this, after that he saw himself shamefully confuted concerning his heresy of “faith alone sufficient for salvation,” he saith that he calleth not a *dead* faith any “faith”... but he meaneth always by “faith” a very, Christian faith that hath the love therewith, by reason whereof it cannot but work well. 15

Now shall ye see how courteously that I shall handle Tyndale. For albeit ye see well that I might by many means and many plain 20

<i>Jas 2:14–26</i>	authorities, as well of Saint James as	
<i>1 Cor 13:2</i>	Saint Paul, and the very Gospel too, convict	
<i>Gal 5:6</i>	him in that point, as I have often	
<i>Mt 25:31–46</i>	done already—yet shall I for his pleasure	
	let all that pass for this time, and take	25

“faith” as he saith he taketh it himself.

But then ask I Tyndale this time, whether that in the time in which Peter forsook and forswore Christ, he did believe with such a belief that then wrought well with love. If he say yea... then since the work that he then wrought was the forsaking and forswearing of Christ, it must needs follow that he saith that the forsaking and forswearing of Christ was a good work. And then will it thereupon follow that since Saint Peter wept sorrowfully therefor, he was very sorry and sore repented him that he had well wrought with love, and done a good work. So that I see no remedy but that Tyndale must needs, be he never so loath, confess and grant us that Saint Peter in that time did *not* believe with love that wrought well. 30 35

Now thinketh me, then, that between Tyndale and me there lacketh

now but one thing... and that is, what we call “failing.” For the better perceiving whereof, I will ask Tyndale this...

If Saint Peter had held on still in that forsaking and that perjury, still all his life, and so finally died therein, and had yet, for all that, all the while believed in his heart all the articles of the true faith, and the contrary of all that he said, and not only railed nothing, all that while, against Christ, but also loved him, too, saving not so well but that he would rather forswear that ever he saw him than to suffer pain and sorrow for him... I ask, I say, of Tyndale, if Saint Peter had continued his life, and died, in this state, had not then at no time in his life his faith that Tyndale calleth faith—that is to say, his belief with well-working love—failed him? If he say no... then will it follow, upon Tyndale’s word, that there may be many faithful folk with a well-working love, eternally damned in hell... except it be false that our Savior

*Lk 12:9* saith: “He that denieth me before the  
*Mk 8:35* world, I will deny him before the  
angels of God”; and “He that will save his  
life in this world shall lose it.”

The most part, I suppose, that of the Christian people shall be damned... the cause of their damnation shall be that whereas they believe right and love God also, so far forth as he will let them live as they list and make merry, and bind them to nothing that they have no lust to do... love him not yet so sufficiently as for the love that they bear him, they will rather forbear the pleasures of their life, and also rather die, than deadly to displease him by the doing of any such thing as *he* will rather that they shall die than do it.

Now see I, therefore, no remedy but that Tyndale must needs agree that if Saint Peter had in such state lived and died... his faith well working by love had failed him.

Then since it had, then, in some time at the leastwise, failed him... let us divide that time of that state of his from his first denying and forswearing unto the very minute of his dying, supposing to continue still, and die, too, in the same state... into five equal parts, if it please him; and then have we five times, all of one fashion; to which five times Tyndale, if it please him, may give names to, and call them *A, B, C, D, E*.

Now say I, then, since Tyndale must needs agree that in some of these five times Peter's faith failed... I ask in which of them? Whereto, since they be all five of one fashion concerning his faith, he must needs grant that in all five it failed him.

Let us now, then, somewhat change our case, from that that might have been into that that was indeed. And after that Peter's faith had failed in the three first times—that is to say, those that are named *A, B, C* parts of the whole time whereof *A, B, C, D, E* were all the parts—let us put that in the fourth part, which we called *D*, Peter repented by help of God's grace, through the means of Christ's aforesaid prayer; and that his loving belief so came to him again, in that time which we called *D*; and that he would ever after rather suffer ten times to die than once to forsake God again. Now ask I Tyndale whether the not-failing of his faith now in the latter parts of his time—that is to wit, in *D* and *E*—doth now make it true that his faith faileth him not before, while it failed him indeed in the three former times *A, B, C*, the three parts of his whole time *A, B, C, D, E*.

Now, what Tyndale must needs answer unto this, he can tell well enough, I warrant, when he looketh in his card upon those letters in his crossrow. For there he must needs see that though his faith faileth never after, while it failed not... yet before, *while* it failed, it *failed*, pardie! Whereof the proof is so plain upon his crossrow that he must needs see it!

Now, if Tyndale would wink at these letters like a wanton lad that no man could make him look up—yet shall I show you that he *hath* read them *already*, and spied full well that Peter sinned deadly... and, like a shrewd, wily lad, hath scraped it out of his book.

For ye wot well that in those words of our Savior unto Saint *Lk 22:32* Peter, he saith unto him: “And thou, after that thou shalt be converted, confirm thou and make strong thy brethren.” As though he might say, “I have prayed for thee that thy faith shall not finally fail. But though it fail for a time by forsaking of me, as I tell thee truly thou shalt thrice do ere the cock crow... yet shall it come into thee again, by the means of my prayer. And therefore when thou shalt be converted

again—that is to wit, after that thy lively faith fallen and failing for the time, and thou thereby turned from me to my enemy through forsaking and forswearing me, for deadly sinful dread of bodily death—*after* this, when thou shalt, I say, by mine help and means of my prayer, with applying of thine own will therewith, have gotten grace and repented, and attained thy faith again, and be thyself converted and turned from mine enemy unto me again... then do thou confirm and strengthen thy brethren.” 5

Now see, for God’s sake, where Tyndale hath scraped out and altered one word... in which one word standeth the making and marring of all the whole matter. 10

For whereas our Savior said, “When thou art once converted, then strengthen thou thy brethren”—Tyndale putteth out “converted,” and maketh our Savior say, “When thou art come to thyself again, then strengthen thou thy brethren.” 15

And whereas he in his *translation* had put in this word “converted”... yet because he said herebefore, in this chapter, that the apostles were not by failing of their faith, nor by any deadly sin, turned in any wise at any time from God... but were only “amazed” and “astonied” and past all remembrance—therefore he now hath put out here this word “converted,” which signifieth a turning to God (and therein doth ever imply a turning *away* from God before), and hath put in the stead thereof these words “come again to thyself”... to make it agree with his other words, “amazed,” “astonied,” and forgetting of themselves, which himself said of them before. 20 25

Now this ye see, good readers, very well: that though we grant unto Tyndale that a man may be turned to good, and turned to be bad, and turned to virtue, and turned to vice, turned to God, and turned to the devil, too... yet wheresoever in the Scripture that word “turned” standeth so alone, it is ever taken for turning unto God. And especially the word “converted” (which is the word that he hath changed), wheresoever in Scripture it so standeth alone, is never 30

<p><i>How this word “turned” is taken in Scripture</i></p>	<p>taken for turning of a man unto <i>himself</i>, but unto God. For in turning to himself, he may turn from God unto the devil... as Lucifer by turning to himself turned to the devil.</p>	<p>35</p>
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And now ye see that Tyndale, to make the Gospel seem to agree with his heresy, changeth in his exposition the very chief effectual word whereupon the pith of all the matter hangeth. I will not therefore ask ye now the question that Tyndale doth: whether ye think not as much wit in the head of mad Collins as in the brains of such an expositor; but out of question, I ween all wise men think that the same devil (or his mate) that made Collins mad hath sucked out the brain of this expositor, and blown his empty scalp full of busy, frantic heresies. 5

For else would he never for shame speak of that foolish heresy, that none elect at any time doth deadly sin... which thing he seeth so plainly reprov'd by the Scripture... and, except a very few heretics, else by the agreement, I ween, of all the whole people of the world, both Christian and heathen too, as many as believe the soul to be immortal. 10 15

And yet is it a better sport to see how in the very point in which he weeneth himself to deal the most wilily, therein uttereth he his folly most foolishly.

For whereas all his purpose of this chapter of the order of our election is only to prove that none elect at any time sinneth deadly: even in the very last end thereof, where he weeneth least—where he weeneth himself to sit surest in the chair of his glorious triumph, and most merrily mocketh and scoffeth at his adversary—even there, in his false exposition of this text of Scripture, “And thou being once converted, confirm and strengthen thy brethren,” by his unwise wily change of this word “converted” into “come to himself”... he is fallen from himself and perceived not that that *change* hath made every man well perceive that himself, when he so changed that word, perceived very well that the word “converted,” that is, “to God turned again,” proved clearly that Saint Peter *was* once from God averted and sinfully turned away. And therefore hath he by that wily change, even in the very last end of his chapter, with his own witness against his own purpose, all his whole matter perverted, and quite overturned and overthrown his triumphant chariot... and with the very words of his merry mock, laid all his matter in the mire. 20 25 30 35



*The Recapitulation of All Tyndale's Process  
concerning "the Church," from the  
Beginning Hitherto*

- For now shall you, good readers, understand that as concerning  
his declaration what is "the church," here his whole process endeth. 5  
And willing that we should now ween that he had well declared  
and proved us which is the very church, he now beginneth, after  
this chapter, another new matter: that is to wit, to prove that the  
common-known Catholic church is not "the church."
- And therefore, since here is an end of his own part... it is necessary 10  
that we briefly gather together and consider what thing he hath  
proved us therein, or at the least (for proved hath he nothing) what  
thing he hath *told* us therein, from the beginning  
hitherto.
- Remember first, good readers, that the occasion of his book is for 15  
answer of my *Dialogue*... wherein I speak of the church by which  
*The doctrine of the universal* we be and must be taught and informed.  
*church cannot err.* And I show there that it is the common-known  
Catholic church of all Christian  
people, neither gone out nor put out; and that the doctrine of this 20  
church is sure, and cannot err in anything necessary to salvation.  
Which thing I there sufficiently do prove.
- Now cometh Tyndale to teach us that "the church" is another  
church, which he will show you, and not the church that I told  
you. And whether the church that he sheweth you can err or not, 25  
he will tell you. And therefore he maketh the title of this book "What  
Is the Church, and Whether It May Err or Not"—wherein hearken well  
now what he hath hitherto taught you.
- First he told us, in the beginning, that this word "church"  
hath divers significations... among which at last he bethought 30  
him upon twain. One, a general signification by which it is  
taken "for all that embrace the name of Christ, though their  
faiths be naught, or though they have no faith at all."
- Another, by which it specially signifieth only the elects "in  
whose hearts God hath written his law with his Holy Spirit, and 35

given them a feeling faith of the mercy that is in Christ Jesus our Lord.”

All his other significations I let pass, as things not properly pertaining to this present question of the Catholic Church... except only that which he hath also defined false: that is to wit, the particular churches of every Christian country; which be not, as Tyndale there taketh them, all the people in the town or the country—Christian or heathen or open-professed heretics—but only such as are parts of the Catholic Church. 5

But in all his declarations of all the significations... he hath, as ye have seen in my first part of this work, neither rehearsed them all nor taken right almost any one of these that he hath rehearsed. 10

For letting, as I say, the remnant pass (as now not pertinent properly to this matter, and reprov'd in mine first part of this work)—of these two last significations hath he done his part in neither nother... but hath, as I there showed, left out the chief significations of all, and whereupon all the matter most especially dependeth... that is to wit, the Catholic church of Christ, of all true Christian people. 15

For as touching the first of his two last, if he will say that he meant *that* for the Catholic Church, then I say that he defined it false. For the general, Catholic church is *not* the number of “all that embrace the name of Christ” whether they have faith true or false, any faith or none. 20

For heretics such as Luther is, and Zwingli, and Wycliffe, and himself—that first willfully leave and forsake the Catholic Church and the Catholic faith thereof, and be therefore after precided and cut off therefrom, and cast out thereof—neither be, nor never have been, accounted either in the Church or of the Church... though they still call themselves Christian men and embrace his name, casting off the truth of his faith and fighting against good works by sects dissolving the unity, and being separate from the society, of the Catholic Church. 25 30

Then as touching the second signification, of the only elects, which is the church whereof he jabbereth in all this work... and would have it only taken for the church of Christ militant here in 35

earth: let us consider orderly, from the beginning to the end, what he telleth us thereof, and to what wise end at last he bringeth all his purpose.

After his defense of his translation (very fondly defended), to prove us that “the church” is only the number of elects “in whose hearts God hath written his law . . . and given them a feeling faith of the mercy that is in Christ Jesus our Lord”: he first moveth a question of his own devising—“Whether the Word Were before the Church, or the Church before the Word”—as though that question had in such wise been put by *us*, and that we had affirmed the Church to be before the Word. 5 10

There, with scoffs and mocks, he concludeth against us that the Word was before the Church; whereof never no man said the contrary.

But that the *written* word was before the Church, which was the thing that himself had said and meant, and which ever was and is his principal ground and foundation, whereof we *had* said and yet say the contrary thereof... in all that chapter neither anything proveth he nor anything so much as speaketh. And so that chapter nothing at all to purpose. 15 20

Moreover, since he bringeth forth that chapter for the proof that the only elects be “the church” (for thereabout goeth all his matter); and well ye wot the word of God, both written and unwritten, may be and is beloved both of the elects and of the not elected: therefore is also that chapter nothing at all to purpose. 25

Finally, since he speaketh of the law written by the Spirit of God in the heart... now, since that law so written there is rather the word of God *unwritten* than his word written in the books of the Scripture that we have... of which words only, Tyndale maketh all his matter, and abhorreth every word that God would either speak or write beside the Scripture that we have already: this chapter of Tyndale’s not only nothing maketh for his purpose, but also rather seemeth greatly to make against it. 30

Then goeth he forth with his other chapter wherein he laboreth to prove that “the apostles left nothing unwritten that were necessary to salvation”... meaning that we be bound to believe nothing but only that that they have written—and that (as Tyndale’s master Martin Luther saith), evidently and plainly written. Wherein whoso consider what I have answered him... shall, I trust, well perceive 35

that it had been better for him to have left that matter untouched.

For both is his purpose on his part unproved and the contrary to him proved; besides that it is in many places proved that the sacraments which he reproveth be written in the Scripture indeed.

Howbeit, he correcteth and amendeth, therefore, his doctrine of that chapter, in another chapter after. For whereas in the former chapter he teacheth that we bound to believe nothing of necessity but only that that is written in the Scripture—yet lest we should be thereby, concerning our belief, over straitly restrained of our evangelical liberty... he bethinketh himself better... and in his other chapter after, he teacheth us that we be not of necessity bound to believe all that neither... but, so that we believe the promises, we may be saved well enough, he saith, believing not other things written even in the very Gospel itself.

This is his doctrine in his chapter... where he teacheth us that “the church” may err and that yet it cannot err... saving that suddenly, unawares, he confesseth even there the contrary.

Then cometh he forth in his chapter with this question—whether “the church” can err or not. And there he first saith that this common-known Catholic church both may err and doth err... and proveth it by his bare word. And then he showeth what himself calleth the “elect church,” and saith that it is “the whole multitude of all repenting sinners that believe in Christ, and put all their trust and confidence in the mercy of God... feeling in their hearts that God for Christ’s sake loveth them and will be—or, rather, is—merciful unto them, and forgiveth their sins of which they repent, and all the motions unto sin of which they fear that they shall be drawn into sin again,” and this they believe and feel “without any respect of their own deserving,” and only for the respect of God’s troth and promise.

Then goeth he forth and boasteth highly this manner of “feeling faith” that is *heresies* instead of faith, as I have in mine answer proved; and therein he spendeth up that chapter.

But yet, though he thus describe the “elect church”—yet doth he not prove that this is the church which we must hear and obey. For God hath commanded us to complain to “the” church, and

hear “the” church, and obey “the” church. And therefore, though we agreed everything that he saith in his chapter—he had yet, since his elects are unknown, proved thereby no piece of his principal purpose: that is to wit, *which is* “the” church.

Also, whereas his title of that chapter is “Whether the Church May Err”—Tyndale saying that the Catholic Church may err—whether the “elect” church which himself taketh for “the” church may err or not, he saith not in all that chapter any one word. And so is his chapter neither anything toward his principal purpose... nor yet, which is more shame for him, anything containeth in it belonging to the matter of the title! 5 10

Then cometh he forth with his other chapter, that a true member of Christ’s church “sinneth not, and is yet, for all that, a sinner.” Which chapter, besides that it is but a fond riddle, with nothing but a heap of foolish heresies, as I have proved... yet is it also toward the matter—that is to wit, “*which is* ‘the’ church?”—nothing to the purpose at all... forasmuch as, though he saith that they can do no deadly sin, yet he confesseth that they may do such “horrible deeds” as must needs make them be taken for the children of the devil. 15 20

After cometh his other goodly riddle, that a Christian man “cannot err, and how he may yet err.” And therein he telleth us, as I have before showed you, that the elects cannot err in the promises of God... and as for all other errors, none can (he saith) be damnable to them, though the contrary of their error be written in the very Gospel. 25

By which doctrine of his ye may see that errors of doctrine in manner of *living*, Tyndale taketh for a small matter, because they be no promises of God. And therefore is Tyndale not greatly to be believed when he teacheth us that friars may wed nuns... because it is no promise of God, but a promise of the friar to the nun, and of the nun to the friar, each of them wedded and bedded with other, and both twain wedded and bedded with the devil. 30

Yet ye see well that this chapter... if it were all as true as it is all false... proveth yet nothing which is “the” church. Whereas he should first have proved that the elects only be “the” church, and then, after, search whether they can err or not. 35

Then cometh he forth with his other chapter, that the faith which he hath before described is “ever fought with,” but in the elects it is in such wise inexpugnable that when they once have it, it can never at any time fail.

Now, this great conclusion whereof he maketh this chapter is such that, as ye see well, thereupon dependeth many great matters. Yet doth he not in all this chapter bring forth any manner thing for the proof—either reason, Scripture, or other authority—but only by his own bare word telleth us that it is so. Now, if he told us a thing well known or commonly believed, I should not blame him. But, now, to tell us such a thing so strange, and unto every man save himself so inopinable, and such as no man would ween were likely to be true, and bid us so boldly believe it, and, save his own bare worshipful word, tell us no cause why: it is either a point of a man more authorized than an apostle, or else less witted than a very fool.

Finally cometh he forth at last with his chapter which he calleth “The Manner and Order of Our Election.”

Therein he telleth us, concerning elects, and the order of their choosing, that God doth first choose them, and after calleth them, and teacheth them, and maketh them see their “damnation in the law” and mercy “laid up for them” in him, and “what he will have them do.” And then they “choose” God again and “submit” themselves “to his laws, to walk in them.” And that thing he saith the man doth of necessity, because his will can do none other... but his wit must needs see the things that God maketh him see, and his will must needs agree to follow so the thing that his wit seeth.

Then he telleth us that the mercy of God always waiteth upon the elect... by reason whereof he can never so fall but that he shall rise again. But yet he sheweth us further that, for all this, the elect sinketh down sometimes, and falleth into “trances” and sleeps by which he “forgetteth himself” and then doth divers “horrible” and abominable deeds in his sleep. But yet in all his horrible deeds he doth no deadly sin, because he doth them all of “frailty” and “infirmity,” and none of them “of purpose” or “willingly.” For willingly can he not do them, because he lieth asleep; nor in all that while his faith never faileth at any time. And this he proveth us by the examples of King David

and Saint Peter, and Saint Thomas of India, and the other apostles.  
 For there was, he saith, none of these that, in all that ever we read in the  
 Scripture reproveth in their deeds, as adultery, manslaughter, not-believing,  
 forsaking, or forswearing of God... that ever was any deadly  
 sin yet, or any failing of faith at any time while they did it. 5  
 And this he nothing proveth, but telleth, and looketh that for the  
 worship of his bare word, we should believe it.

And here is all Tyndale's whole tale, that he hath from the beginning  
 hitherto told us, whereby we should learn of him which is  
 "the" church, and whether "the" church may err or not. In all which 10  
 whoso look it through, and mine answer therewith, shall well perceive  
 that he hath not in all his whole process half a leaf together, nor, almost,  
 half a line, without one great folly at the least, or else a lie and a  
 half.

Consider now that of his elects—which is of his words much 15  
 ado to perceive, they be so dark and so intricated of purpose, without  
 any dependence or order—yet in the end, when all is gathered together  
 and advised well, this is the whole sum: that God chooseth a  
 certain whom he liketh. And *when* he chooseth them Tyndale  
 telleth not—whether before the world made, or after themselves 20  
 born. But unto them he sendeth forth, and calleth them, and them he  
 giveth a "feeling" faith whereby they feel surely that they shall be  
 saved, without any regard of good works; and then they choose  
 him again, and agree to walk in his laws. But before their feeling  
 faith had, they never once think upon him. 25

For as for any endeavor of themselves at God's good motion  
 toward the faith, they do no more, he saith, than doth the child  
 toward the begetting of his own father. And his mercy waiteth  
 ever upon them. And their faith doth never at any time fail  
 them, nor they do never sin deadly, what horrible and abominable 30  
 deeds soever they do.

And since these folk that are Tyndale's elects have, or ween they  
 have, such a feeling faith that thereby they feel, or else ween they  
 feel, that they cannot be damned... but have here learned of Tyndale,  
 now, that what horrible deeds soever they do, they can never do 35  
 deadly sin... and be also very sure to repent, and then to be never

punished in hell, purgatory, nor in this life neither (for so far saith Tyndale now), but with a short repentance after long lying in sin, saying once “Christ, help!” for the manner sake (as it were after a sneezing), the friars may from the nuns’ beds sty even up straight to heaven: they may therefore be bold and hardy, and hardily so they be, to fall to what works they will. For since their faith is both full of false heresies and also can never fail them... they may make themselves sure, you see well, that they shall be no worse, pardie, not when they be at the very worst, than *faithful* harlots, *faithful* adulterers, *faithful* vow-breakers, *faithful* thieves, *faithful* murderers, *faithful* traitors to men, and *faithful* heretics to God!

And these be, as ye see now, Tyndale’s special elects... which only number, by his high spiritual doctrine, he would we should take for “the” church.

Now, good Christian readers, if we would grant unto Tyndale that all his lies were true that he hath made in all this whole process of his unto the end—yet were he far from the proving of his principal purpose, that is to tell us and teach us which is *the* church; toward the teaching whereof he hath nothing else done but only given us two definitions. Of which so declared as they be, neither nother is sufficient for his purpose—and yet the second much less than the first.

For whereas in the first he defineth it to be only the elects “in whose hearts God hath written his law with his Holy Spirit, and given them a feeling faith of the mercy that is in Christ Jesus our Lord,” afterward, in the second, he saith that it is “the whole multitude of all repenting sinners that believe in Christ, and put all their trust and confidence in the mercy of God... feeling in their hearts that God for Christ’s sake loveth them, and will be—or, rather, is—merciful unto them, and forgiveth them their sins of which they repent, and . . . all the motions unto sin of which they fear that they shall be drawn into sin again; and thus they believe and feel without any respect of their own deserving; yea, and for none other cause than that the merciful truth of God the Father, which cannot lie, hath so promised and sworn.”

*Two special great heresies*      Now ye remember that Tyndale hath put you by the way two special great



heresies. One, that whosoever after baptism sinneth once of purpose and willingly, shall never have remission after. The other, that whoso have once his feeling faith, can never sin deadly after.

Let us now see in the end, besides that these heresies of his be already otherwise impugned and reproved—let us yet further see how his definition of “the church” and his heresies will jumble and agree together among themselves. 5

And first I ask Tyndale whether he that have “once after his baptism sinned of purpose and willingly”—and set “maliciously” thereto—may after, by God’s help, repent again that ever he so did... and believe therewith that he is bound to believe, and love God and his neighbors as God biddeth him to do. May he, after such a sin done, do this by God’s help, or not? 10

Tyndale will peradventure say he may not. Then I ask him how Tyndale will peradventure say he may not. Then I ask him how 15  
*Heb 6:4–8* he proveth that. Thereto peradventure he  
*Mt 12:31–32* will say that the words of Saint Paul  
 “It is impossible that they which have  
 once been illumined,” etc., and the words of our Savior himself  
 spoken of the sin of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, do prove 20  
 it; which I will then deny. For those places, taking them as  
 falsely as any heretic can construe them, say yet at the uttermost  
 no more but that his sin shall never be *forgiven* him—and  
 saith not that he shall never again *repent*; nor that he shall never  
 well believe, nor that he shall never after love God nor his neighbor. 25

Whereunto if Tyndale will say that if he might come to very repentance and very belief and love, he needs must have his sins remitted and be saved; and since God saith he shall never be forgiven, and so never saved, he saith he shall never so repent and  
*Note* believe and love: to that I answer 30  
 Tyndale two things. One, that God in all

his threats reserveth his special prerogative of his mercy, by which his absolute power is never bound under any rule of his ordinary justice. Secondly I say that forasmuch as those words be minatory and threats, they be all, of truth, none otherwise to be understood than “except he repent.” As God himself plainly 35  
 expounded all his such words by the mouth of his own holy  
*Ez 33:14–16* prophet Ezekiel, saying, “Though I  
 should say to a sinner, ‘Thou shalt die’ ...

and the same sinner repent him of his sin, and deal justly and righteously, and deliver again the pledge, and make restitution of the robbery that he hath committed, and walk in the commandments of life, and do no unrighteous thing—he shall live in life, and shall not die. Of all his sins none shall be laid to his charge. He hath dealt justly, and righteously he shall live in life.”

5

Then, since God at the leastwise may remit his sin and save him *if* he so repent; and in Scripture is there nothing spoken to the contrary but that he *may* so repent: it *may*, therefore, I say, without any repenting be both put and granted that he so shall repent.

10

And therefore I put now that he so do repent... and then ask I Tyndale whether he shall be saved or no. If he say yea, he destroyeth his heresy; for then he granteth that he which after baptism sinneth maliciously *may* for all that be saved. If he say nay, then he destroyeth his definition; for then may there be some repentant sinners, with all that ever in his definition followeth, and yet they shall be none of the church of his elects.

15

And thus must either his heresy destroy his definition or his definition must destroy his heresy. Of which twain yet it will be more honesty for him to keep his definition still, whereupon all his whole matter hangeth... and let his heresy go to the devil that gave it to him... and then understand those places of Scripture whereupon the devil taught him to ground it, that either the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is final impenitence, and the other no restitution by the penance to the renovation of baptism; or else that the sore words of the both places, after a certain vehement manner of speech used in Holy Scripture, sometimes signifieth only great hardness and difficulty, and not as himself teacheth us, an utter impossibility of remission. But now let us see how his definition will stand with his second heresy.

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You see well and perceive that in his second definition he restraineth his “elect” church unto only “repentant sinners” that believe as himself showeth you.

And then hath he confessed unto you that his chosen elects plainly do sometimes abominable deeds... which deeds yet they

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repent not always till the rage be past... and till, as Tyndale saith, that they have “played out their lusts”; yea, and sometimes, too, till the “cold fear of death” turn them to give an ear to good counsel.

Now see you, then, very well that they be, by Tyndale’s second definition, all this while expressly put *out* of “the church” till they repent again. And then consider further, how far against all reason. 5

Ye remember very well, I wot well, that he teacheth us plainly that none of his elects doth at any time sin deadly—though their deeds be never so horrible and abominable—because of their “feeling faith,” which can neither at any time fail, nor suffer any of their horrible deeds to be deadly sin. And therefore are they consequently *never out* of the favor of God, not even in the time wherein they do their horrible and abominable deeds, and before the repenting of them, which may be, ye wot well, many times long between. In *all* which time they be, by Tyndale, out of all deadly sin—and therefore good folk and faithful, and God’s good children still. 10 15

And therefore, since they be so, wherefore doth Tyndale—that is in some places so angry with the Catholic Church for the putting out of evil folk by excommunication—excommunicate “good” folk now, and put out of his “elect church” himself and faithful, and, finally, such as, though they be “fallen asleep” in lechery, theft, sacrilege, incest, and murder, stand yet highly still in God’s especial grace and favor? 20 25

Now, the faults that are common to both his definitions, and yet more open in the second than in the first... I shall not need to rehearse you. For both have I touched some of them before, and also many of them be to every good Christian man so open at his eye that he can need none other way to give him warning of them. 30

For whereas all his elects depend upon his “feeling faith” and his “repentance”—while himself showeth what false articles he teacheth his elects for their faith, every good-faithful man very well feeleth that the more that Tyndale’s elects feel his false faith, the less faith have they, and the more faithless be they. 35

And when he teacheth them to repent the right belief of Christ’s sacraments, and therein the right rule and order of repentance—every true repentant person well perceiveth that Tyndale’s “repentant” elects, abhorring from shrift, and rejecting the

Sacrament of Penance, but if they amend and repent better will instead of purgatory, which they now mock and jest at, weep and repent in hell this foolish fruitless fashion of their impenitent “repentance.”

But now suppose that all were very well, that Tyndale here hath said; yet how hath he with all that proved his purpose? He hath told us that the whole multitude of his-fashioned elects is “the church.” But what one word hath he told us toward the proof? Neither reason nor one authority of any old holy saint, nor any one text of Scripture... but only one or twain such as nothing maketh for his matter, but utterly clear against him. 5 10

And therefore though we grant unto him that the whole multitude, not of his false-framed elects, but of the very, final elects, be *a* church of Christ... as he doth and must grant unto us that the whole multitude of Christian people not gone out nor put out is *a* church of Christ... of which the church of very elects be, though the better part, yet a part and but a part, and peradventure the less part... and Tyndale’s elects, either no part or but a part, and the very worst part: yet that the only elects, though they be *a* church, be *the* church (which is the thing that he should prove)—that hath he neither proved nor anything brought effectual toward the proof, no more than if he never had meant it nor thought it. 15 20

And therefore now hath he nothing proved which is *the* church... though we would yet, of our courtesy, further grant him that all his whole heresies were the very faith... and that the very elects were only those in whose hearts the devil hath written his law... or else (which were yet far worse) that the very elects were only those in whose holy hearts *God* had *himself* so written his will with his Holy Spirit that they should thereby feel that spiritual folk should please God with waxing fleshly, and friars with wedding nuns... and that if they would be saved, they 25 30

*How God may be pleased after the mind of Tyndale* should have therein no respect unto good works, but think that only faith in the promise and bare repentance without shrift or penance shall sufficiently save them... so that they believe 35

sure that all the seven sacraments serve of nothing, but be but  
 bare signs and tokens, and utterly as graceless as themselves are  
 witless... and especially so that they believe that the Blessed Body nor  
 Blood of Christ be not in the Sacrament of the Altar, nor that they  
 do none other honor in no wise thereto, but only believe and remember 5  
 that there is nothing but a memorial of his Passion in a cup of  
 wine and a gobbet of cakebread... and yet in doubt and question  
 whether it be bread or starch. And then that, with this godly belief,  
 they see surely to themselves that they serve no saints, but rail upon  
 their relics, and despise their images, and therewith the crucifix 10  
 too, and the Holy Cross itself also; and then, lest they might  
 hap to lose a whole day in God's service, keep themselves well and  
 warily from all holy days, and especially (for so these heretics  
 in their books call it) from the foolish fast of Lent. And thus  
 living, and therewith believing these aforesaid heresies so 15  
 firmly that they think verily they feel their false faith with their  
 very fingers' ends... be bold then, hardily, and believe verily that  
 their feeling faith shall never fail them... but at all times so  
 preserve them that they cannot only never be damned, but over  
 that, can never do deadly sin, though they do never so many 20  
 devilish deeds; but for all their falsehood, theft, adultery, vow-breaking,  
 treason, murder, incest, and perjury, shall for their only  
 feeling faith be good and faithful false, faithless wretches, and  
 therefore God Almighty's own minions still.

And thus, good Christian readers, since ye now plainly perceive 25  
 that Tyndale hath here, for his own part, nothing proved us  
 that his false-framed elects, nor yet that only the very, true  
 elects, be the church of Christ in earth, nor hath nothing showed  
 us which is; and therefore only, with all his long process, uttered and  
 taught his errors and his heresies... and left the matter not unproved 30  
 only, but untouched too, which he took upon him and professed  
 to prove, that is to wit, which is "the" church; but, as though  
 he had well and plainly proved it which he hath not so much,  
 almost, as spoken of, leaveth off his own part now and turneth  
 him to impugn ours: I shall leave him, for his part, a while in the 35  
 mire in which himself hath overthrown his matter... and shall

show you shortly how angrily he riseth up, and royally rayed in dirt, because he cannot prove the church of Christ here in earth to be a congregation unknown, layeth his miry hands upon the known Catholic church of Christ, and fain would pull that down too, and so leave no church at all.

5

Here endeth the Fourth Book.