A DIALOGVE OF SYR THOMAS MORE KNYGHTE: ONE OF the counsaill of our souerayne Lorde the Kinge, and Chauncellour of his Duchy of Lancaster. Wherin be treatyd diuers maters, as of the veneracion & worship of ymages and relyques, prayng to saintes, and goyng on pylgrimage. With many other thinges touchyng the pestilent sete of Luther and Tyndale, by the tone bygone in Saxony, and by the tother labored to be brought into England.

Made in the yere of our lord. 1528.

The fyrst Boke.

One busynes begetteth a nother.

IT is an olde said saw, that one busynes begetteth & bryngeth forth a nother. Whiche puerbe as it happeth I finde very trewe by my self, which haue benefayne by occasion, first of one busynes, after to take the secōd, and vpon the secōd, now to take the thirde. For where as a right worshipfull frende of myne sent ones vnto me a secrete sure frende of his, with certayne credence to be declared vnto me, touchynge many such maters, as beinge in dede very certaine and out of doute, be nethelesse of late by lewde people put in question, the specialtees wherof do so ferforth in the first chapiter of this boke appere, that we shall here nede no reherfall therof: I thought it first ynough to tell the messenger my mynde by mouth, accōptyng that after our communicacion ended, I sholde neuer nede ferther busynes therin. But after that the messenger was departed, & I felte my stomake wel eased, in ý I rekened all my labour done, bythinkinge my selfe a litle whyle therson, my busynes that I toke for finysshed, I foūde very farre fro that point, and litell more than bygonne. For whā I considered what the maters were, & how many great thinges had ben treated betwene the messenger and me, and in what maner fassion, albe it I mystrusted not his good will, and very wel trusted his wytte, his lernyng well seruyng him to the perceyuyng and reportyng of our communicacion: yet findyng our treatie so diuerse and so long, and somtime such wise intrycate, that my selfe coulde not without labour call it orderly to mynd, me thought I had not wel done, without wryting, to trust his onely memory, namely sith some partes of the mater be suche of thē selfe, as rather nede to be attentely redde and aduised, than houerly harde and passid ouer. And ouer this I considered, that thoughe I nothing suspecte the messenger, as in good faith I do not, & to sate the treuth, am of my selfe so lyttell mistrustyng, that he were like very plainly to shew him selfe nought, whō I sholde take for bad: yet sith no man can loke into an others breste, as it is therfore well done to deme the beste, so were it not muche amisse in such wise to puide for the worste, as (if a man happe to be worse than we take him for) our good opinion turne vs to none harme. For this cause me thought that for the more suerty, my parte were to send our communicacion to my said frende in wryting. Wherby if it had happed that his messenger had for any sinyster fauour borne towarde the wrōg side purposely māgled the mater, his master shold not only know ý treuth, but also haue occasiō the better to beware of his messēger, which elles might hap to hurte while he were mystaken for good. Nowe whan I had vpon this deliberaciō, takē with my self, wryten all the matter, and sent it to my frende, than had I me thought all done, and my mynde full set at rest. But that rest rested not lōge, For sone after it was shewed me, ý of al my wrytynges were written diuerse copies, & one also caried ouer ý see. Where whan

Deme the best.

A I remēbred what a shrewde sorte of our apostatas are assembled, parte runne out of religiō, & al rūne out of the right faith, me thought grete parell myght arise, if some of that company (whiche are confedered & conspired together, in the sowynge & settyng forth of Luthers pestilent heresies in this realme) sholde maliciously chaunge my wordes to the worse, and so put in prynte my boke, framed after their fantasies, whiche whan I wolde afterwarde reproue and shewe the difference, I might peraduē-
B ture seme for the colour of my cause, to haue amēded myne owne, vpō the sight of theirs. For eschewyng wherof I am now driuen, as I say to this thirde busynes of publishynge and puttynge my boke in printe my selfe: wherby their enterprise (if thei shoulde any such intende) shall (I trust) be preuented & frustrate. And this haue I done not all of mine owne heed, but after the counsaile of other, mo than one: whose aduise and counsaile for their wisdome & lernyng I asked in that behalfe, and which haue at my request vouchesauied to rede ouer the boke ere I did put it forth. For albeit that I dare be somewhat bolde to
C commen in familier maner, with such as for their fantasies like to aske me of such matters any question, according
8. Pet. 3. to the coūsaile of sainct Peter, bydding vs be redy to geue a rekenynge, and to shewe a reasonable cause to euery man of the faith & hope that we haue, yet to make & put forth ani boke (wherin were treated any such thinges as touche our faith) wolde I not presume, but if better lerned than my selfe, shoulde thinke it eyther profitable, or at the leste wise harmlesse. To whose examinacion and iudgement, I did the more studiously submit this worke, for two thinges in
D speciall, among diuers other. The one for the liberall allegacions of the messenger for the wronge parte so laide out at large, that of my selfe I stode halfe in a doubte whether it were conuenient to reherse the wordes of any mā so homly, & in maner somtime vnreuerētly spoke against goddes holy halowes, & their reuerēt memories. The other was certaine tales & mery wordes which he mēgled with his matter, and some such on mine owne parte amōg, as occasiō fell in communicacion. In which albeit I sawe no harme, yet somwhat doubted I lest thei should vnto sad men seme ouer light & wanton for the weight & grauite of such an ernest matter. Wherfore in
E these two pointes though I had all redy sene some ensamples of right holy men, which in their bokes answeringe to the obiections of heretiques in their tyme, haue not letted to reherse ỳ very formal wordes of them, whose writinges thei made answere to, beinge somtyme of such maner & sorte as a good man wolde not well bere, & haue not also letted to write a mery worde in a right ernest worke, of which two thinges I coulde out of godly mēnes bokes & holy saintes workes gether a good sorte, yet in myne owne worke I determined that I wold
F nothinge alowe nor defende, that the iudgement of other vertuouse and connynge men woulde in any wise mislike. And therfore after that suche had red it and seuerally said their aduice. I founde as it often happeth, that som thynge which one wise and well lerned man woulde haue out, twayne of like wisdome and lernyng specially would haue in, neither side lackynge good and probable reasōs for their parte. Wherfore sith it became not me to be iudge ouer the iudgement of them, whom I toke and chose for my iudges, beynge such of them selfe, as harde were it for
G any man to say, which of them before the other he coulde in erudicion, witte, or prudence any thing preferre, I could no further go, but lene to ỳ more parte. Which I so ferforth haue followed, that like wise as I diuerse thinges put out or chaunged by their good aduice and counsell so let I nothing stande in this boke, but such as twain aduised me specially to let stāde, against any one that any doute moued me to the contrary. And thus much haue I thought necessary for my declaracion and excuse to aduertise you all that shall happen to rede this rude simple worke, prayeng
H you of pacience and pardon, whom god of his especiall grace graunt as much profite in the redinge, as my poore hart hath mente you and entēded in the makynge.

Lene to the more parte.

¶ The first Chapiter.

THe letter of credēce sent from his frende by a trusty secret messēger. With the letter of the author answeryng the same. The declaracion of the credēce by the mouth of the messenger whereuppon the matter of all the hole worke dependeth.

A ¶ The letter of credence.

MAister chaūceller as hartelye as I possible cā, I recō mende me to you. Not wōut a thousande thankys for your good company, whā we were last togyther. In whiche for as muche as it liked you to spend some of your tyme with me in familyer communicacion, wherof some parte I truste so to remēber as my selfe shal be the better, and some other neuer B the worse, whiche shall haue cause and haue all ready to gyue you great thank therfore, I am bold at this time to send you my special secret frend this bearer, to breake with you somewhat ferther, partely of the same matters partelye of some other, suche as are happed there sence, wherof great speche and rumour runneth here whereby ye shall haue occasyon more at length (yf your leysour wyll serue) to touch certein doutes moued sence of ẏ maters treated betwene vs before. Wherin were it not for your other busines I would be bold on your C godnes, to desyre you to take good time with him. And yet neuertheleſſe do require you hartely, as your leasour wil serue you, to satisfye him at the full. For he shall (howe longe so euer he tary therefore, gyue attendaunce vnto you, dayes and houres, as ye may spare him tyme, which can not in these thinges be but well bestowed, cōsidering that the matters bee suche, and so touchinge to god, as they were well worthye to sett worldely businesse aside, specyallye in such nede. For I assure you, some folke here talke very straungely of the thin- D ges that he shall moue you. Not onely for such wordes as they tell, that from thense, but also most specially thrughe the occasion of some letters lewdelye written hyther out of Lōdon by a priest or two, whom thei take here for honest. But what so euer any mā tell or write I shal for the confydence and trust that I haue in you, surely take and tell forth for the very truth, what so euer ye shall affyrme vnto my frende, whom I sende vnto you, not so much, bycause I may not come my selfe (howbeit therfore to) as for bycause, I lōge to haue him talke with you. To whō whatsoeuer ye saye, reken it said to my selfe, Not onely for hys trouth & secretnesse, but also for his memory with whōe to cōmune, I trust E shall not mislike you. For eyther myne affection blindeth me, or ye shall fynde hym wyse, and as other say, that canne better iudge it then I, more then meanlye lerned, with one thing added where w̄ ye be wont well to be content, a very mery wit. He is of nature nothing tōgetayed. And I haue in these matters bidde him be bolde, without any strayning of curtesie, whereof the serimonyes in disputacīō marreth much of the matter while one studyeth more howe he maye behaue him, than what he shall saye. I haue I say therefore boden him more to F. mynde his matter, then hys curtesye, & frely to lai forth, not only what he thinketh, but also what him list, gyuyng no fote in disputing vnto your authority, but yf he bee borne backe with reason. Thus maye ye see I am boulde on your godnes, to put you to labour & busines and sende one to face you in your owne house. But so much am I bolder, for ẏ in such chalenges I know you for a redye & sure defender. And of such labour your wisdom well seeth, ẏ god is the reward, who lōg p̄serue you & al yours.

In matters concerning god, ser worldly businesses asyde.

¶ The letter of the author sent with the boke.

G RIght worshipfull syr, after most hartye recommēdacīō, albeit ẏ of late I sent you my pore minde by the mouthe of your trusty frende, to whom ye desyred me by your letters to gine no lesse credence, than to your selfe, cōcerning all suche thinges as he brake of, & communed with me in your behalfe (& that for the confidence that ye haue in him, the wit and lerning that I founde in hym, and honesty that I so much the more thinke him to be of, in that I per- H ceiue you being of such wisedom & vertue to haue hym in so speciall trust) I neither do nor can beleue the cōtrarye but that he hath of all our communicacyō made you faythfully, plain and ful reporte, yet sith I suppose in my selfe, that if wee had mought connenient cōe togyther, ye woulde rather haue chosin to haue harde my mynde of mine owne mouthe than by the meane of another, I haue sence in these fewe dayes (in which I haue ben at home) put the matter in writing, to the ende, ye may not only hyre it by the mouth of your frēde, but also (whiche better is then sodenlye ones to hyre it of myne owne mouth)

A rede it (if ye lift) more often at your best leisure aduisedly from mine owne pen. Which thing I verely thought my self so much the more bounde to do, for that it lyked you of your special fauour, and affection towarde me, so greatly to regarde and esteme my mynde & answere in those matters, that no rumour there running, or tales in your coūtrie told, or letters thither writtē, nor reasons or argumentes there made to the cōtrary shoulde let or withstande, but that ye woulde (as ye wrote) take that thing for
B vndowted trouth that I should (by your frende) assertaine you. And surely sir in this poinct, ye maye make your selfe sure, ỳ I shall neuer willingly deceyue your trust. And lest I might hap to do it of ouer sight vnware, albeit I nothing sayd vnto your frēd by mouth, but that I was right wel enformid of the trouth yet for as muche as I perceiued by hym ỳ some folk doubted, lest many thinges were layed to the charge, not onelye of that man ye wrote of, but also of Luther him selfe, otherwise than coulde be
C proued, I did so much therin that I was suffred to se and shewe hym as well the bookis of the tone, as the very actes of the court concerning the other, that we might both (by so much) the more surely warrant you the trouth. Wherin yf ye fynde any man that yet dowteth, whether he tolde you, and I wryte you the trouth or not, I shall if he vnderstande the latine tonge find the meane at your pleasure, that he shall so se ỳ bokes him selfe, that were he neuer so full of mistrusting, he shall not fayle to bee fully content and satisfyed. And this warātise will I make you as farforth as cōcerneth any acte done here. But as for
D things reasoned and disputed bytwene vs, the conclusions selfe be so sure truthes, that they be not disputable. But whyther the reasons by me made in thē ben effectuall or insufficient (albeit your frende, either for that of trouth he thought so, or for that of curtesy he said so, accepted them for good) yet without preiudice of the principall matters ye may your self be iuge. And thus I pray you take in good worth the littel labour and great good will of him, whome in any thing that may do you pleasure, ye may to the vttermost of his littel power well and boldely cōmaunde. And thus our lorde sende you with my good lady your bedfelowe and all yours, as harcely wel to fare as you would al wishe.

Your frende first after your letter redde (whan I demaūded hym his credēce) shewed me that ye had set him to me, E not for any doute ỳ your self had in many of those thinges that he should moue vnto me, but for the doubt that ye perceiued in many other, and in some folke plaine persuasion to the cōtrary, whome ye woulde be glad to answere with the trouth, albeit some thiges he sayd were also there so talked, ỳ ye wist not well your selfe which parte ye might beleue. For it was there not F only spoken, but also thyder writtē by diuers honest preestes out of London, that the man ye write of, was of many thinges borne wrōge in hande, & therin so sore handeled that he was forced to forswere and abiure certaine heresyes, & openly put to penance therfore, where he neuer held any such. And all this done for malice & enuy, pity of sōe freres (against whose abusions he preched) partly for that he preched boldely against ỳ pompe & pride & other inordinate liuing (that mo men speake of thā G preche of) vsed in the clargye. And they take for a great tokē that he should not meane euyll, the profe and experyence which men haue had of hym, ỳ he lyued well, and was a good, honest, vertuous man, farre from ambiciō and desire of worldely worship, chast, humble, and charitable, free and liberall in almous deede, and a very goodly prechoure, in whose deuout sermons the people were greatly edified. And therfore the people say that all this gere is done but onelie to stoppe mennes mouthes, and to put euery man to silence that woulde anye H thinge speake of the fautes of the clargye. And they thinke that for none other cause was also burned at Poules Crosse the newe testament late translated in englyshe by maister William Huchin, otherwise called maister Tindall, who was (as men saye) well knowen or he went ouer the sea, for a man of right good lyuing, studious and wel lerned in scripture, and in diuers places in Englād was very wel liked and did great good with preching. And men mutter amonge them selfe, that ỳ boke was not only fautles, but also verywel translated, & was deuysed to be burned, bicause men should not be able to proue that suche fautes (as were at Poules cross declared to haue bē foūd in it) wer neuer foūde there in dede, but vntruly

surmi-

A surmised. And yet suche as they were, some men saye) were no fautes at all, if they hadde be so translated in deede, but blame laied and faute found with thinges nothinge faute worthye, onely to deface that holy worke, to the ende, that they might seme to haue some iust cause to burne it. ¶ And that for none other entent, but for to kepe out of the peoples hãdes all knowledges of Christys gospel, and of goddys law, except so much onely as the clargye them selfe list now and than to tell vs. And that lytell as it is & seldom shewed, yet, as it is feared not wel and truely tolde, but watered B with false gloses, and altered from the trouth of the very wordes and sentence of scripture only for the maintenaunce of theyr authorite.

¶ And therfore lest this thinge shoulde euydently appere to the people, if they were suffered to rede the scripture them selfe in theyr own tonge, was (as it is thought, the verye cause not onely for whiche the newe testament translated by Tyndale was burned, but also that the clargye of this realme hath before this tyme by a constytucion prouincial prohybited any boke of scripture to bee ¶ translated into the englyshe tonge, fearing men with fier as heretiques who so should presume to kepe thẽ as though it were heresie for a christen mã to rede christes gospell.

¶ And surely syr quod he some folk that thinke this dealinge of the clergye to be thus) and good men to bee mishandelyd for declaring the trouth, and the scripture selfe to be pulled out of the peoples handes, lest they shoulde percepue the trouth (be led in theyr mindes, to doute whither Luther himselfe (of whose op- D pinions or at the lest of whose workes all these businesse bygan) wrote in dede so euyll as he is borne in hande. And many men there be that thinke he neuer ment such thinges. But that bicause he wrote against the abusions of pardons and spake some what liberally agaynst the court of Rome, & generally against the vices of the clargy, therfore he was brought in hatred, and first cyted to Rome. And whã that for fere of bodely harme with wronge, wherof it wouldе haue bene to late to loke for remedye after, if he had ones bee burned vp before (he durst not come thyther, than was he accursed, & his bokes dampned, & vnder great paines forboden to be redde. And that thing done bycause it shoude not be knowen what wronge he had, & that he ¶ neither meaneth nor sateth such odious & abhominable heresies, as the people be borne in hande to enduce thẽ to hatered of him, as it wold peradventure appere if hys bokes wer suffered to be red.

¶ And they saye that it were no mastry to make it seme that a man should be an heritique, if he may be borne in hande ý he saith the thing, which he neuer sayd, or peradventure one line takẽ out amõge many, & misconstrewed, not suffringe ý remenant to be sene, whereby it might more clerely appere what he meaneth. By which maner of deling a man they saye might laye heresie to saint Poule, and find a faute in saint Johns gospel. F

¶ And yet they saye, the worst of all is this that the clargye cease not hereby, nor holde thẽ selfe content with the cõdẽpning of Luther, & forbydding of his bokes, but further abuse the hatered of his name against euery man that is (in preching of the worde of god) any thing such as should be, that is to witte, plain & bold without glose or flatering, where if thei find a mã fauty, let them lay his faute to his charge, what nedeth to call him a Lutherane. Though Luther wer a deuill, yet might a man percase say as he sayth in some thinge, and saye trewe ¶ ynough. For neuer was ther heretique, that sayd all false. Nor the deuill hym self lied not, when he called christ gods sonne. And therefore mẽ think that this name of a Lutherane serueth the clargy Mar.8. for a common clocke of a false crime, ý where they lacke special mater to charge one with by iugemẽt, they labour to bringe him first in ý infamy of ý name, that comprisеth (as they make it seme) a confused heape of herisies, no man can tell what.

¶ And yet in such dealing thei wounde H their owne matter another way. For while they desfame for Lutheranes, men that be of knowen vertue and conning, what do they thereby, but one of the twaine, either cause the people (that haue for good lyuinge & lerninge, those men in great reputacion) to thinke that the clargie for malice & enuy dothe vntruly defame them, or els that Luthers doctrine is good, while so conning mẽ & good mẽ lene therto. ¶ And therfore it were wisdõ, not to call thẽ Lutherans, but rather when they teche & holde any such oppinions, as the people know for Luthers, let it eyther be dissimuled, or thei secretly by faire waies educed to ý

A contrarye, if the pointes that they teche of his be nought. Lest by calling good and conning mē Lutheranes, they may peraduenture bringe them seif in suspicion of malyce and enuye. And Luther amonge the people into good oppinion. Thinkinge as they begin to do al redy, that eyther Luther saied not so euyll as is surmised vpon him, or els that those thinges that he sayth, as odious as they seme, bee good ynough in dede.

¶ He said also that it semed vnto many men a sore thing, and fer vnreasonable, that pore, simple, and vnlerned men (all B though they fell into errours, and were led out of the right way, by that they lened to the auctherite of such mē, as they beleued to bee vertuous and conning, should in stede of teching, bee beaten cruelly with abiuracions & opē shame, w̄ perell of burning also, if a few false witnesse shall after such abiuracion depose ý thei haue hard him fal in relapse.

¶ Finally he said that many good & wel lerned mē thought plainly that the clergie semeth farre out of all good order of charite, and that they do contrary to the mildnesse and mercifull minde of their maister, & against the ensample of al the C olde holy fathers, in that they cause for any errour or wrong oppinio in ý faith, any man one or other to be put to death.

¶ For they say that the old holy fathers vsed onely to dispute with heretiques, techinge them and conuicting them by scripture, and not by fagottes. And that by that way, ý faith went well toward, and one heretique so tourned did turne many other, where as nowe mē abhorre this crueltie in the chyrche. And they that seme tourned, thynke stil the thinges ý they dare not say. And of ý ashes of one heritique springeth vp manye.

Of the ashes of one heritique springeth vp many.

D And ý now we make the fallio of cristēdom, to seme al turned quite vpsodown. For where as Christ made infidels the persecutors, and his christen people the sufferers, we make the christen men the persecutours, and the infidels the sufferers, wherby men thinke, that secretely Christes order yet standeth stil, though it bee not so taken and so perceyued.

For the people take it, that syll those that persecute be the miscreauntes, and those pore people that suffer it, be (vnder the false name of heretykes) the trewe byleuinge men, and very christen martyrs.

¶ Christ also they say wold neuer haue any man compelled by force & violence to beleue vpon his faith, nor wolde that E mē should fight for him or his matters. In so ferforth that he woulde not suffre saint Peter to fight for his owne selfe, but reproued him for stryking Malchy. Math. 26. Nor woulde not defende him selfe, but healing the eare againe of Malchus his persecutour, whiche Peter had smitten of: and gyuing all his holy bodye to the pacient sufferaunce of al the peinfull tourmētes, that his crueil enemies would put to it, shewedys, as wel by his effectuall ensample of his death, as by his godly counsail in his life, and after that confirmed by the cōtinuall passion F and martyrdoms of his holy martyrs, ý his will and pleasure is, that we should not so much as defende our self against heretiques and infydels, were they paganes, turkes, or sāralyns. And muche lesse than shoulde we fyght against thē and kill them, but that we shoulde perseuer in setting forth his faith agaynst miscreātes and infydels, by such waies as hym selfe began it, kepe it, and encreace it, as it was gottē. And that was by pacyence and sufferaunce, by which the faith was dyuulgate and spred almost thorowe the worlde in litel while. G Not by warre & fightinge, which waye hath (as they saie) well nere all redy lost all, that the other way wanne.

By pacience & suffrance the faith was dyuulgate.

¶ When your frēde had thus declared his credēce, he desyred me both on your behalfe, & on his owne, in suche thinges as were pereafe not well saied, to take them as they were in dede, the minde of other, whome ye would fayne answere, and satisfy with reasō, which ye trusted to be the better able to doo, by mine answere, and neyther the minde nor oppinion of you nor him, which did & would in all thing stāde and abide, by the faith and beleue of Christes catholike chirch. H But as for such partes of this mater as concerned not any parte of our beleue, but the dealing of this world, as the iustice or vniustice of some spirytuall persons, in the pursuing, and cōdempning men for heretiques, or their workes for heresyes, he thought he sayd (as of hym selfe) that men might without any parell of heresy, for their owne parte, not wythstandinge any mans iudgement gyuen, yet well and reasonably doubte therein, for though he thought it heresye, to thinke the oppinions of any man to bee good and catholyque, which been heresyes in dede, yet mighte a man he thought wythout anye parell of heresy,

doubts

A doubte whether he were an heretike or no, that were by mannes iudgemēt condēned for one, sith it might well happen that he neuer helde those oppiniōs that were put vpon him, but that he was either by false depositiōs of wrongefull witnesse, or by the errour or malice of vniust iudges condēned. And that somtime percase, the ignorauce of some iudges, woulde cōdēne for heresie such articles, as wyser & better lerned woulde in pointe of iudgement alowe for good and catholique, and of the other iudgement deserne and iudge the contrary.

¶ Howe be it, he said that ye had in me
B and my lernynge, so speciall trust & cōfidence, that in any of all these thinges, what so euer ye had herde, or shoulde hyre els where, ye were fully determined to geue full credēce to me, & take for the trouthe such answere, as he shoulde bringe you from me, wherin ye right hartely desired me, to take some payne, that ye might in these matters, by his mouth knowe my minde at large.

After this, ere I made any answere to his wordes, I demaūded him what maner acquayntauce was betwene him & you. And there vpō perceyuyng him to
C haue your sonnes at seole, enquyryng further of him, to what faculte he had most geuē his studyng, I vnderstode hi to haue geuē diligēce to the latin tōge, As for other facultieshe rought not of. For he told me merply, ý Logicke he rekened but bablinge. Vnlike to serue for singers. Arithmetricke meete for marchautes, Geometry for masons, Astronomy good for no man, And as for Philosophy, the most vanite of all, And ý it & Logicke had lost all good diuinite, w̄ the subtilties of their questions, & babelynge of their dispicions, buyldinge all vpō reason, which rather geueth blind-
D nesse thā any light. For mā (he said) hath no light, but of holy scripture. And therfore he said ý beside the latin tonge, he had ben (which I much cōmende) studiouse in holy scripture, which was (he said) lerning ynoughe for a christiē mā, with which the apostles helde thē selfe cōtente. And therin he said he laboured not onely to can many tertes thereof by harte, but also to enserche the sentence and vnderstādīng therof, as ferre as he might perceiue by him selfe. For as for interpretours, he tolde me that neyther his time woulde well serue him to rede, and also he foūde so great witnes in the terte self, that he coulde not finde in his harte, to lese any time in ý glofes. And
E as touchyng any difficultie, he said that he founde by experience that the best and surest interpretacion was to lay & conferre one terte with another, whiche kayle not amonge them well and sufficiently to declare them selfe. And this way (he saide) that he vsed: whiche he founde sufficient and surest. For so shoulde it most surely tary, whā it were founde out, and lerned by a mannes owne laboure. And that he saide euery mā was able ynoughe to do with helpe of God, which neuer faileth them that faithfully trust in his promise. And he hath promised, that if we seke we shall Mat. 7.
F kinde, and if we knocke we shall haue it opened to vs. And what shal be opened: but that boke whiche as sainct Johan saith in the Apocalyps is so shyt with Cap. 5.
by. clapses, that it can not be opened, but by the lambe, that whan he shytteth then can no man open it, and whan he openeth it, than can no man shyt it.

¶ Upon these wordes & other like, whā I considered that your frende was studious of scripture, & all thoughe I now haue a very good opinion of him, nor at that time had not all the cōtrary, yet to be playne with you and him bothe, by
G reason that he set the matter so well and lustely forwarde, he put me somwhat in doubte whether he were (as yonge scolers be somtyme prone to newe fantasies) fallen in to Luthers sede. And that ye peradventure somwhat feryng the same, did of good minde the rather sende him to me, with such a message, for that ye trusted he shoulde be somewhat answered and satisfied by me. I therfore thought it not metely in so many matters & weightie to make him an vnauised answere, but with good wordes welcomyng him for the time, pretending
H lacke of leasure for other present busynes, required him to retourne on the morowe: Against which time I woulde so order mine affaires, that we woulde haue cōferēce together, of all his erande at length. And he in this wise beyng departed, I began to gather in minde, the hole effecte as my remēbraunce woulde serue me of all that he had purposed. And because I woulde haue it the more redy at mine eye, so ý I might the more fully & effectually answere it, leuyng no parte vntouched, in such order as he had purposed it, that is to witte, after the maner that I haue aboue reherced, I briefly committed it to wrytynge.

The sure & interpretatiō of scripture.

A ¶ The second chapiter.

HEre sommarylye is declared what wordes the Auctor intedeth to treate of the matters purposed vnto him. Whereof because the first was an opinion conceyued in som mennes heddes, that a certain person late abiured of heresy for preching against pilgrimages, and ymages, & praiers made to saintes, was therin greatly wrōged, the auctor briefly declareth his minde, cōcernyng the confutacion of those perylouse and perniciouse opinions.

B ON the morow whan he was comē again somwhat before viij. of the clocke (for so I appoited him) taking him with me into my studye, & my seruantes warned, that if any other sholde happen to desire to speake with me (certaine except of whō I gaue them knowledge) thei sholde differre them till another leasour, I set him down with me, at a litell table. And then I shewed vnto him, that where he had purposed on your behalfe i short wordes, many lōge thinges, wherof the rehersall were losse of time, to him that so well knewe them all redy, I wolde (all superfluous recapitulacion set apart) as briefly as I cōueniently coulde, shewe him my mynde in them all. And first begyn where he began at the abiuracion of the man he spake of. Secondly, wolde I touche the cōdemnacion and burnyng of the new testamēt, trāslated by Tyndale. Thirdly, somwhat wold I speke of Luther, & his secte ingenerall. Fourthly & finally, the thing that he touched last, that is to wit, the warre and fightyng against infideles, with the condemnacion of heretikes vnto death, which two pointes, him selfe had combyned and knitte together.

D ¶ And first as touching the matter of the mannes abiuracion, where it is reported, that the spiritualtie did hym wronge, and for to make that seme lykely, there is layed in them displeasure, malice and enuy towarde him, for prechyng (as ye say quod I) against their vicious lyuing: & in him is on the other side alleged much cōnyng, vertu, & godnes. I will neither enter into the praise of them, nor into the dispraise of him, wherin standeth nothing the effecte of this mater. For if there did, I wold not passe ouer som parte therof so shortly.

C ¶ But now for this matter, allthough the whole spiritualtie (wherin no man doubteth to be many a right, vertuous, and godly man) were in their lyuinge farre worse than deuilles, yet if thei did that man no wrong, there hath for this matter no man against them any cause to complayne. And ouer this, if that mā were in all his other lyuing as innocēt as a saint, yet if he were infected & fautie in these heresies, he had than in this matter no wronge. And yet beside all this, if he not only were in all other thinges very vertuous, but also were in all these heresies (wherof he was detected) vtterly clene & fautles, yet if it were by F sufficient witnesse (were thei neuer so false in dede, semyng honest & likely to say trewe) preued in open court that he was fautie therin, albeit in suche case his witnesses had wrōged him, yet had his iudges done him but right. And therfore lettinge passe as I say, ý praise or dispraise of either his iudges or him, as thinges impertinent to the point, I will shewe you that thei not onely did him no wronge, but also shewe him in my minde the grettest fauour, and vsed towarde him the most charitable mercy that euer I wist vsed to any mā in such case. ¶ And first as for any wrōge that G his iudges did him, I meruell me much, wherin thei that report it could assigne it. For if any were done him, it must nedes haue ben in one of the two thinges, either in that he was vntruly iudged to haue preached suche articles as he was detected of, where he preached none such in dede: or elles in that some such articles as he preached, were iudged & condēned for heresies, where thei were none in dede. Excepte ý any man wolde say that though he were preued & cōuicted of heresie, yet he should haue bene put to no penaunce at all, or elles to no such as he was. And of that point H if any man so thinke, I shall speake in the fourth parte, where we shall touche ingenerall the order, that the churche taketh in the cōdēnacion of heretiques. But as for the other poites, first if any priestes wrote out of London into your countrey, that any suche article of his preaching, was by his iudges declared for heresie, as were in dede good & not against the faith of Christes church, let him name what article. And either ye shall finde that he shall name you such as the man was not charged withall, or elles shall ye finde that such as he shall name

A name you, were suche in dede, as your selfe shall perceiue for heresies at your eares. For the articles where wh̄ he was charged, were ȳ we shoulde do no worshippe to any ymages, nor pray to any saintes, or go on pilgrimages, whiche thinges (I suppose) euery good christen mā will agree for heresies. And therfore we shall let that point passe, and so resort to the seconde, to se whether it were well proued that he preached thē or no.

Three manifold heresies.

¶ Sir quod your frēde, I wolde for my parte well agree them for heresies, but yet haue I hard som or this that wold not do so. And therfore whā we call thē B heresies, it were well done to tell why, sith some men wolde (I wene if thei might be hard) stylly say nay, whiche now hold their peace, & bere them selfe full coldly that wolde take the matter more hote, saue for burnynge of their lyppes.

¶ Now forsoth quod I, who so euer wil say that these be no heresies, he shall not haue me to dispute it, which haue no cōnynge in such matters, but as it best becometh a lay man to do in all thinges, lene & cleue to the comen faith, & beleue of Christes churche. And therby do I plainly know it for an heresie, if an heresie be a secte & a side way (taken by C any parte of such as ben baptised, & beare the name of christen mē) from the comē faith, & beleue of the whole churche besyde. For this am I very sure and perceyue it well, not onely by experiēce of myne owne tyme, and the places where my selfe hath ben, with comen report of other honest men, from al other places of christendom, but by bokes alio & remembraunces left of longe time, with worpting of the olde holy fathers, & now saintes in heauē, that from the apostles time hetherto, this maner hath ben vsed D taught & alowed, and the contrary cōmōly condēned, thrughe the hols flocke of all good christien people.

What becometh a lay man.

¶ And as touchynge suche textes, as these heretiques allege against ȳ worshipping of ymages, prayeng to saites, and goyng on pilgrimages, as thei lay the lawe geuen to the Jewes. Nō facies tibi sculptile, thou shalt carue the none ymage. And the psalme. In eritu israel de egypto. And Soli deo honor & gloria. Onely to God be honour & glory. And Maledict⁹ qui cōfidit in hoie. Accursed is he that putteth his trust in mā, with many such other like, which heretiques haue of olde, euer barked against christes

Exo. 20.

Psal. 113.

1. Timo. 1.

Hier. 17.

catholike churche, very sure am I that E sainct Austyn, sainct Hierome, sainct Basyle, sainct Gregory, with so many a godly connynge man, as hath ben in Christes church, frō the begynnyng hetherto vnderstoode those textes, as well as did those heretiques: Namely hauig as good wittes, beyng farre better lerned vsynge in study more diligence, beyng an hepe to an handfull, & (which most is of all) hauyng (as god by many miracles bereth witnes) beside their lernyng, the light and clerenes of his especiall grace, by which thei were inwardly taught of his onely spirite, to perceyue that the wordes spoken in the F olde lawe to the Jewes people prone to ydolatry, & yet not to all them neyther, (For the priestes than, had the ymages of the Aungell cherubin, in the secret place of the tēple) shoulde haue no place to forbyd ymages amonge his christien flocke, where his pleasure woulde be to haue the ymage of his blessed body hangyng on his holy crosse, had in honour and reuerent remembraunce, where he woulde vouchsaufe to sende vnto the king Abiagarus, the ymage of his own face, where he liked to leue the holy vernacle, ȳ expresse ymage also of his blessed visage, as a token to remaine in honour among such as loued him, frō the G tyme of his bitter passion hytherto.

Kynge Abiagarus.

The vernacle

Which as it was by the miracle of his blessed holy hande expressed and lefte in the sudary, so hath it ben by like miracle in ȳ thynne corruptable cloth, kepte and preserued vncorrupted this .xv. C. yere fresshe and wel preiued to the inwarde comforte, spirituall reioysyng, & great encrease of feruoure and deuociō in the harties of good Christien people. Christ also taught his holy euangelistes sainct Luke, to haue an other maner mynde towarde ymages, thā haue these heretiques, whā he put in his mynde to H coūterfete & expresse in a table, the louely visage of our blessed lady his mother. He taughte also saint Amphibalus, the maister and techer of the holy first martyr of England saint Albane, to bere about and worship the crucifixe. Who shewed also sainct Albane him selfe in a vision the ymage of the crucifix: but God, which thing wrought in that holy man so strōgly, that he with fewe wordes of saint Amphybalus, at the sight of the blessed ymage (which our lord had before shewed him ī his slepe) was clene tourned to christendome. And in the

S. Amphibalius.

S. Albanus.

wor-

A worshipping of the same ymage, was taken and brought forthe to iudgemēt, and afterwarde to martyrdome.

¶ I woulde also fayne witte, whether these heretiques will be contēte that the blessed name of Jesus be had in honour & reuerence or not. If not, then nede we no more to shewe what wretches thei be, whiche dare dispise that holy name that the deuill trembleth to hyre of. And on the other side if thei agree ý the name of Jesus is to be reuerenced and had in honour, then sith that nāme of Jesus is nothing els but a worde, which by writyng or by voice representeth vnto the hyrer the person of our sauiour Christ, faine wolde I witte of these heretiques, if thei geue honour to the name of our lorde, which nāme is but an ymage representynge his person to mānes minde and ymaginacion, why and with what reason can thei dispise a figure of him carued or paynted, which representeth him and his actes, farre more playne & more expressely.

The name of Jesus. Phil.2.

B

¶ Sir quod he as touchinge the coste done vpō the arche, and the temple, and the priestes apparell by the cōmaundemēt of God, there is a proper boke and a very cōtēplatiue written in englishe, and entitled the ymage of loue, whiche was made as it semeth by some very vertuous man cōtemplatiue and well lerned, In which boke the reason of yours is not onely well answered, but also tourned agayn against you. For therin that good holy man layeth sore agayns these carued & painted ymages, geuyng them litell praise, and specially leste cōmendyng such as be most costely, curyously, and most workemanly wrought. And he sheweth full well that ymages be but lay mennes bokes, and therfore that religious men & folke of more parfite life, and more instructe in spiritual wisdome, shoulde let all such dede ymages passe, & labour onely for the lyuely quicke ymage of loue and charitie. And very sore he speaketh there agayns all this costly ornamentes of the churche, wherof the money were (as he saith) better bestowed vpon poore folke. And he sheweth that the sainctes and holy doctours of olde time woulde suffre no such superfluite in the paramētes of the church, but only see that thei were clene and pure, and not costely. And therfore he saith that in their time thei had treen chalices & golden prestes, and now haue we golden chalices and treen prestes.

C

Images lay mānes bokes.

D

¶ Surely quod I, that boke haue I sene, whereof who was the maker I knowe not. But the man might peradventure meane well & renne vp so highe in his cōtēplaciō spirituall, that while he thought he sat in God almighty his bosom vp an highe in heaue, he cōtened & set at nought all earthly thinges, & all temporall seruice done to God here benethe amonge poore sely men in erthe. And verely of his entēte and purpose I will not much medle. For a right good man maie happe at a time in a feruent vndiscrete, to saye some thing & write it to, which whē he cōsidereth after more aduisedly, he woulde be very fayne to chaūge, but this dare I be bolde to say, that his wordes go somewhat further then he is able to defende. For I doubte it not but that in the daies of those holy saintes, or namētes in churches of christ were not only pure and clene, but also very costly. And it might well be, and so haue I redde that it hath be in some great derthe of corne & famine of people, that some good holy bishoppes haue releued poore people with the sale of some of the vessell & plate of the church. But I suppose he shall neuer finde (excepte in some suche great vrgent cause chaunynge vpon some occasion) that euer those holy men refused to haue god serued in his churches with the best and most precious of suche metals as his goodnes geueth vnto man, of which it is very right and good reason that man serue him agayne with the best, and not do as Caym did, kepe all that ought is for him selfe, and serue his maister and his maker with the worst. And bicause he nameth saint Ambrose, I wene there will no man doubte of the Emperour Theodosius, a mā so deuout vnto God as he was, that he wolde be serued him selfe in cuppes of golde, & suffre his and our sauyoure Christ in the churche of Millayne, where him selfe resorted, and saint Ambrose was bisshop, to be serued in chalices of tree. Nor verely I can scānte beleue that any christien people, all were thei very poore, woulde at this daye suffre the precious blonde of our lorde to be consecrate and receyued in tree, where it shoulde cleue to the chalice and sinke in and not be clene receyued out by the priestes. But ý worde I wene he set in for the pleasure that he had in that proper comparison betwene treen chalices and goldē priestes of olde, and nowe golden chalices & treen priestes.

E

Note.

F

G

Gen.4.

H

But

A But of trouth I thinke he saith trouth, that the chalices were made of treen when the prestes were made of golde, and shall finde that there were of olde tyme many mo chalyces made of gold, thē he findeth now prestes made of tree. If he loke well in Platina de vitis pontificum, I wene he shall well perceyue that Christ was serued with syluer and gold in the vessels vtensylys and ornamentes of his chirche, lōge time or saint Ambrose was borne, or ỳ eldest of those olde doctours that he speaketh of. And I dare make me bolde to warrant that they them selfe vsed not to say masse in B chalices of tree. And me thiketh that the pleasure of God can not in this poinct better appere, then by his owne wordes writen in holy scripture, as in the arch of the testament and the ornamentes of the prest, and the cost and richesse bestowed aboute the temple of Salomon.

¶ Mary quod he, that is the thinge that is in the boke of the ymages of loue, as I was aboute to tell you very well and clerely answered. ¶ In what wise q̃ I.

¶ Mary quod he, for first whā the arche was made, there were no pore men to bestow that richesse vpon, for while the C children of Israell were in deserte they were fedde with manna, and theyr clothes neuer wasted, nor were the worse in all that fourty yere. And as for the richesse of the tēple made by Salomon, coulde make no matter to the people, for there was then no poore folke neyther. For as the very wordes of the scripture sheweth, there was in his daies so great plēty of gold, that siluer was not set by.

¶ Forsothe quod I the man maketh a proper answere for the arche. But I would faine witte of him though there were no pore folke amonge them at the D time of the makinge, was there neuer none amonge them after the time of the keping? I wene he will not saye nay. And then if there were, sith god woulde by his reasō rather haue commaunded to gyue that golde to pore men if there had ben such thē to make it in the arch: he woulde by the same reason after whē there were suche, haue cōmaunded then to breake it againe & giue it thē, rather then to kepe it in the arche. And as for the richesse bestowed vpon the temple of Salomon, where he sayd that there wer then no poore men because there wer so great plenty of golde, that siluer was not set by: euery man may well wytte, that if euery man had in his time been rich, he had not had so many worke mē. E But weneth he that because there was in his dayes so much gold, that therfore all the people had ynough therof? I rather fere me that bycause he was so rich his people were the porer. For albeit he had great giftes sente hym, and also vsed not his owne people of the children of Israel for bonde men and slaues, yet it is likely that he set great and sore imposicions vpon them, wherby he gathered great richesse, & they grewe in great pouertye. And if any man thinke ỳ contrary, let him then loke after Salomōs death in the beginninge of his sonnes reigne, whither all the people dyd not so sore complaine therof, that (bicause thei F coulde not geate a promise of amendement as sadd men aduised the king, but by the lewde connsaile of ponge laddes 3.reg.12 ỳ then led the ponge kyng to foly, were with a prowde rygorous aunswere put in fere of worse) of the.xii.tribus of Israel.x. fell clerely from him, and lefte him no mo but twaine. And therfore by the richesse and roialtye of the prince to proue that there was no pore people in his roialme, is a very pore prose. For so may it happe that ỳ prince may be most riche when his people be most pore, and G the ryches of the one causing the pouertye of the other, if the peoples substance bee gathered into ỳ princes purse. And for conclusion it is lyttell doubte but Salomō myght haue foūde poore folke ynoughe to haue gyuen his golde vnto that he bestowed vpon the tēple of god. And therfore that aunswere answereth not well the matter.

¶ Well quod your frēde, yet hath that boke one aunswere that assoileth al the hole matter. For as it is said there, all those thinges that were vsed in the olde lawe, were but grose & carnall, & were H all as a shadowe of the lawe of Christ, & therfore the worshipping of god with golde and siluer, & suche other corporall thinges oughte not to bee vsed amonge christen people, but leauing al that shadowe, we shoulde drawe vs to the spirituall thinges, and serue our lord onely in spirite & spirituall thinges. For so he saith him self, that god as him self is Iohā.4 spiritual, so seketh he such worshippers as shall worshippe him in spyrite, and in trouthe, that is in fayth, hope, & charyte of harte, not in the ypocrisy, & ostēcacion of outward obseruance, bodyly seruice, gay and costly ornamētes, fairs ymages, goodly songe, fleshly fastinge,

and

A and all the rable of such vnsauoury ceremonyes, all which are now gone as a shadowe. And our sauiour him selfe whose fayth is our iustyfycacion, calleth vpon our soule, and our good faithfull mynde, and setteth all those carnal thynges at nought.

¶ The booke quod I saith not fully so farre as ye reherce, howbeit in dede many other men do. But these men that make them selfe so spyrytual, god sende grace that some euyll spyrite enspyre not to theyr hartes a deuyllishe deuice, B which vnder a cloke of speciall zele to spirituall seruyce, go first about to destroy all such deuocion, as euer hath hytherto shewed it selfe, & vttred the good affection of the soule by good and holy workes, vnto gods honour wrought w̃ the body. These mẽ be commen in to so hyghe poinct of perfeccion, that they passe all the good men that serued god in old tyme. For as for the good godly man Moyses, he thought that to praye not onely in mind, but with mouth also was a good way. The good kinge Dauyd thought it plesant to god, not only to pray with his mouth, but also to sing and daunce to, to goddes honour, & blamed his folishe wife, whiche did at that time as these folishe heretiques do now mockinge that bodyly seruice.

2.reg.6.

Holy saint John the Baptist not onely baptysed and preched, but also fasted, watched, praied & ware heare. Christ our sauiour him selfe, not onely prayed in minde, but also with mouth, whiche kinde of prayer these holy spirituall heritiques nowe cal lippe labour in mockage. And the fastinge which they sett at nought, our sauiour him selfe sett so much by, that he continued it fourtye D dayes to gider. Nowe as for the ymages whiche ye call one of the shadowes. ¶ Maye by saint Marye quod he I called gaye ornamentes of the chirche and suche other outwarde obseruaunces and bodyly ceremonies, as the ymage of loue calleth them, suche thynges I called as the booke doth shadowes of the olde law. But as for ymages the boke aduiseth mẽ either clenelet passe and leaue of, or if we will needes haue anye, care not howe simple it bee made, for as well may the moste rude ymage and moste symply wrought, put vs in minde of Christ, & our lady, and any other saint, as may the most costelye and moste curyous that anye paynytour or caruer can deuise.

Luc.3.

Luc.4.

¶ And verely to say the trouthe, as for ymages they bee no shadowes of the olde lawe, but thinges therin plainelye and clerely forbidde, as wel in dyuerse other places of scripture, as in the textes late remembred by your selfe. Non facies tibi sculptile, thou shalte carue the nor graue the none ymage. And by all the hole psalm. In exitu Israel de egipto, is it with great execracion and maledicciõn prohybyted. E Exo.20. Psal.113.

¶ First quod I ye maye not take those wordes for suche a precyse prohibicyon, as shoulde forbede vtterlye anye ymages to bee made, for as I shewed you before, they had in the temple the ymages of cherubyn. But it was prohybyted to make suche ymages as the Egipciãs and other painyms dyd, that is to witte, the ydols of false goddes for that appereth in the psalme self, where he layeth for the cause of the prohybycion. Quoniam omnes dij gentium demonia, dominus autem celos fecit. For all the goddes of the paynyms bee Deuilles, but our Lorde hathe made the heauens. Dothe it not by these wordes well appeare what ymages were in that psalme forbeden, that is to witte, the ymages and ydols onely of those paynym gods? For els I pray you tel me what reason wer this, if one would say make non ymage of Christ, nor of our ladye, nor of any christẽ saint in no wise, for all the gods of the paynyms be but deuyls? were not this a wise reason wel concluded? F what ymages were prohybyted. G

¶ There is also in these prohibicions intended, that no man shall worshippe any ymage as god. For if he should, thẽ should he fall in the contẽpte of the precepte of god, by which we bee commaũded to worship onely one God, and forbodẽ to worship any false goddes. And therefore where it is written. Non facias tibi sculptile. Thou shalt graue the none ymage, it goeth next before. Non habebis deos alienos. Thou shalt haue no false goddes. And it is also written. Nolite conuerti ad ydola neque deos conflatiles faciatis vobis Tourne not to ydols, nor make not for your selfe any goddes of metall cast in a moulde. And where it is forboden to worship any ymage, there is the worde that signifieth the honoure and seruice onely perteyning to god. And therefore neyther may we doo worshippe to any ymage and ydole of any false paynym, with honour and seruice done as to god may we neyther worship ymage of any sayñt, nor yet the saint it selfe. But I suppose H Exo.20. Exo.34.

A suppose neyther scripture nor naturall reason doth forbede that a man may do some reuerēce to an ymage, not fyxing hys finall intente in the ymage, but referringe it further to the honour of the person that the ymage representeth, sith that in such reuerēce done vnto the ymage there is none honour withdrawen neither from God nor good man, but both ẏ saint honoured in his ymage and god in his saint. Whan a meane man and an embassiatour to a greate kinge hath muche honour done him, to whom doth that honour redoūde, to the embassiatour or to the kinge?

B ¶ When a mā at the receite of his princes letter putteth of his cappe and kisseth it, doth he this reuerence to the paper or to his prince?

¶ In good faith to saie the trouth these heretiques rather trifle then reason in this matter. For where thei saie that ymages be but lay mennes bokes, thei cā not yet saie nay but that thei be necessary if thei were but so. Howbeit me thinketh that they be good bokes, bothe for lay mē and for the lerned to. For as I somwhat said vnto you before, all the wordes that be either writtē or spoken, C be but ymages representing the things that the writer or speaker conceiueth in his minde: likewise as the figure of the thinge framed with ymaginacion and so conceiued in the minde, is but an ymage representing the verie thinge it selfe that a man thinketh on. As for ensample, if I tell you a tale of my good frende your maister, the ymaginacion that I haue of him in my minde, is not your mayster hym selfe but an ymage that representeth hym. And whē I name you hym, his name is neyther hym self, nor yet the fygure of him, which figure D is in myn ymaginacion, but onelye an ymage representynge to you the ymagynacion of my mynde.

¶ Now if I be to farre from you to tel it you, then is the writing not the name it selfe, but an ymage representyng the name. And yet all these names spoken, and all these wordes written, be no naturall signes or ymages but only made by consent and agrement of men, to betoken and signyfie such thinge, wheras ymages paynted, grauen, or carued, may be so wel wrought and so nere to ẏ quicke and to the trouth, that they shal naturally, and much more effectuallye represent the thinge then shal the name eyther spoken or writen. For he that neuer herde the name of your mayster, C shall yf euer he sawe hym be brought in a rightfull remembrance of him by his ymage wel wrought and touched to the quicke. And surely sauing that men cā not do it, els if it might commodiously be done, there wer not in thys world so effectual writing as were to expresse al thing in ymagery. And nowe likewyse as a boke well made and well written better expresseth the matter then doth a boke made by a rude man that can not well tell hys tale and written with an euyll hāde: so doth an ymage wel workmanly wrought, better expresse the thig then doth a thynge rudely made, but yf it moue a man for some other specyall F cause, as peraduenture for some greate antiquite or ẏ great bertue of the workman, or for that god sheweth at ẏ place some specyall assistence of hys fauoure and grace. But nowe as I began to say syth all names spoken or writen be but ymages, if ye set ought by the name of Iesus spoken or written: why shoulde ye set nought by hys ymage painted or carven that representeth his holy persō to your remembrance, as much & more to, as doth hys name writtē. For these two words Christus crucifixus, do not so lyuely represent vs the remembrance G of his bitter passion, as dothe a blessed ymage of the crucifix, neither to lay mā nor vnto a lerned. And thys perceiue these heretiques them self wel ynough, For they speake not against ymages for any furtherance of deuocion, but plainly for a malicious minde, to mynyshe and quenche mennes deuocions, For thei se wel ynough that there is no man but if he loue another, but he delitteth in hys ymage or any thing of hys. And these heretyques that be so sore against the ymages of God, & hys holy saintes, would be yet right angry with H hym that would dishonestly handle an ymage made in remembraunce of one of them selfe, where the wretches forbere not vylanously to handle and cast dyrte in dispite vpon the holy crucifixe, an ymage made in remēbrance of our sauyour him self, & not only of his most blessyd person, but also of his most bitter passion.

Nowe as touchinge prayer made vnto the saintes, and worship done vnto thē, much meruaile is it what cause of malyce these heretiques haue to them, we se it commen in the wretched condicion of this world, that one man of a pryde in

ow ymages ay be reuenced.

Effectuall writinge.

Why heretyques speake against ymages.

A in him selfe hath enuy at a nother, or for displeasure done, beareth to some other malice & euill wil. But this must nedes be a deuelyshe hatered, to hate him whō thou neuer knewest, which neuer dyd ȳ harme, whiche yf he coulde now do the no good where he is, yet either with his good ensample gone before the, or hys good doctrine left behynde hym, dothe the (but if thou bee very nought of thy selfe) great good in this worlde for thy iourney towarde heuin. And this must nedes bee an enuye comming of an hye B deuelishe pryde, and farre passinge the enuy e of the deuyll hym selfe, for he neuer enuyed but such as he sawe, & was conuersant with, as whan he sawe mā and the glory of god. But these heretyques enuy them whom they neuer shall se, but whā they shall be sory & ashamed in them selfe of that glorious sight.

A deuelyshe hatred.

¶ For where they pretende the zele of goddes honour him self, as though god (to whom onely al honour and glory is to be gyuen) were dishonoured in that some honour is done to his holy saintes C they be not so mad nor childishe as they make them selfe. For if al honour were so to bee gyuen onelye to god, that we shoulde gyue none to no creature, wher were than goddes precepte of honoure to be gyuen to our father and mother, to prices, gouernours, and rulers here in earth, And as saint Poule sayth euerye man to other.

Mar. 7.

Ro. 12.

¶ And well they wote that the chyrche worshippeth not saintes as god, but as goddes good seruauntes, and therefore the honour that is done to them redoūdeth principally to the honour of theyr maysker, like as in commen custome of people we do reuerence sometyme and D make great chere to some men for their maysker sake, whom els we would not happely byd ones good morowe.

Howe the church worshippeth saintes.

¶ And surely yf any benefyte or almes done to one of chrisses pore folk for his sake, be by hys high goodnes reputed & accepted, as done vnto hym selfe. And ȳ who so recepueth one of hys apostels or discypples receiueth him self, euery wise man may wel consider that in likewise who so doth honour his holy saintes for his sake, doth honour hym self. Excepte these heretiques wene that god were as enuyouse as they be them sefe. And that he would be wroth to haue any honour done to any other, though it therby redounded vnto him self. Wherof our sauyour christ well declareth the cōtrary for he sheweth hym selfe so wel content E that hys holy saintes shalbe parteners of his honour, that he promisith hys apostels, ȳ at the dredful dome (whan he shal come in his hygh maiesty) thei shal haue their honorable seatys, & sytt with him self vpon the iugemēt of the world.

¶ Christ also promised that saint mary magdalene shoulde be worshipped thoroughe the world, & haue here an honorable remēbrance for that she bestowed that precyouse oyntement vppon hys holy hed: Which thing whan I cōsider, it maketh me meruaile of the madnesse F of these heretyques, that barke against the olde auncient customes of Christes chyrch, mockinge the settinge vp of cādels, and with folish fancies and blasphemous mockery demaunde whyther god and hys saintes lack lyght or whyther it be nyght with them that they cā not se wyth out candle. They might as well aske what good dyd that oyntmēt to crisses hed. But ȳ heretiques grudge at the cost now, as theyr brother Judas dyd than. And say it were better spente in almes vpō a pore folk, and thys saye many of them, which can neyther finde G in theyr harte to spende vpō the one nor the other. And some spende sometyme vpon the one for none other entent, but to thende that they may the more boldlye rebuke and rayle against the other. But let them all by that ensample of ȳ holy womā, and by these wordes of our sauiour lerne that god deliteth to se the feruēt hete of ȳ hartis deuociō boile out by ȳ body, & to do him seruice w̄ all such gwdes of fortune as god hath giuē a mā

Mat. 26.

¶ What riches deuysed our lorde God him self, in the makinge & garnishinge H of the temple, and in the ornamentes of the aulter and the priesses apparayle, what was hym self the better for al this what for the bestys that hym selfe commaunded to be offred him in sacrifyce: what for the swete odours and frankēsence: why doo these heretiques more mock at the maner of chrisses chyrche, thā they doo at the maner of the Jewes sinagoge, but if thei be better iewes thā chisten mē: If mē will say that the money were better spent among pore folke (by whom he more setteth, beynge the quicke temples of the holye goste made by hys owne hande, that by the tēples of stone made by the hande of mā. This wold be percase very trew, if there wer so lyttel to do it with, that we should be driuē of necessite, to leue ȳ one vndone,

But

A But god geueth ynough for both, & geueth diuers men diuers kindes of deuocion, and all to his pleasure. In which as the apostel Paule saith, let euery mā for his parte abounde and be plētuouse in that kynde of vertue, that the spirite of God guydeth him to. And not to be of the folithe minde that Luther is, which wished in a sermon of his, that he had in his hande all the peces of the holy crosse, & saith that if he so had, he would throw them there as neuer sonne sholde shyne on them. And for what worshipfull reason woulde the wretche do such vilianye to the crosse of Christ? bycause B as he saith that there is so much golde nowe bestowed about the garnyshynge of the peces of the crosse, that there is none lefte for poore folke. Is not this an high reason? as though all the gold that is now bestowed about the peces of the holy crosse, woulde not haue failed to haue ben geuen to poore men, if thei had not ben bestowed about the garnishing of the crosse. And as though there were nothyng lost, but that is bestowed about Christes crosse. ¶ Take all the golde that is spent about all the peces of Christes crosse thorowe christendome C (albe it many a good christē prince, and other godly people hath honorably garnished many peces thereof) yet if all the golde were gathered together, it woulde appere a poore porcion in cōparison of the golde that is bestowed vpō cuppes, what speke we of cuppes? in which the golde, albe it that it be not geue to poore men, yet is it saued, & may be geue in almes whā men will, which thei nener will, howe small a porcion wene we were ỳ golde about all ỳ peces of christes crosse, if it were compared wō the gold that is quyte cast away, about the giltynge of knyues, swordes, spores, arrace, & paynted clothes: and (as D though these thinges could not cōsume golde fast ynoughe) the gyltyng of postes & hole roofes, not onely in the palaces of princes & great prelates, but also many right meane menes houses. And yet among all these thinges coulde Luther spye no golde, that greuously glyttered in his blered eyes, but only about the crosse of Christ. For that golde, if it were thens the wise mā weneth it wold be streight geuen to poore men, and that where he dayly seeth, that such as haue their purse full of gold, geue to the poore not one pece thereof, but if thei geue ought, thei transake the botome among all the golde, to seke out here an halfe E peny, or in his countrey a brasse peny, wherof foure make a ferthynge, suche goodly causes finde thei that pretende holynesse for the colour of their cloked heresies.

¶ The thirde Chapiter.

THe obiectiōs of the messēger made against prayeng to saintes, worshippynge of ymages, and goyng on pilgrimages, with the answere of the author vnto the same. And incidently is it by the messenger moued, ỳ there sholde seme no necessitie for christen F folke to resorte to any churches, but ỳ all were one to pray thens or there. And that opinion by the author answered and confuted.

AT this point your frende desiring me, that what so euer he sholde say, I shold not reken it as spoken of his owne oppinion, but ỳ he would partely shew me what he had herde some other sate therin, to the ende that he might the better answere them, with that he should hyre G of me. This protestacion and prefacion made, he said that albe it no good man woulde agre, that it were well done, to do vnto saintes or their ymages dispite or dishonour, yet to go in pilgrymages to them, or to pray to them, not onely semed in vayne, consideryng that all thei (if thei can any thing do) can yet do no more for vs amōg them all, than Christ can him selfe alone that can do all, nor be not so redy at our hande, to hyre vs, if thei hyre vs at all, as Christ that is euery where, nor bere vs halfe the loue and longynge to helpe vs, that both our sauyour that dyed for vs, whome H as sainct Paule saith, we haue for our aduocate afore the father. But ouer Rom.8. this it semeth to smell of ydolatry, whā we go on pilgrymage to this place and that place, As thoughe God were not like stronge or not like present in euery place. But as the deuill were of olde, vnder the false name of goddes, present and assistent in the ydolles and mammettes of the paganes, so woulde we make it seme, that God and his saintes stode in this place, and that place, bounde to this post, and that post cut out and carued in ymages. For whan we reken our selfe to be better

A better herde with our lord in Kent than at Cābridge, at the north dore of Poules than at the south dore, at one ymage of our Lady than at another, is it not an euidēt token, and in maner a plaine profe, that we put our trust & confidence in the ymage selfe, and not in god or our lady: whiche is as good in the one place as in the other, & the one ymage no more like her thā the other, nor cause why she shoulde fauour the one before the other. But we blinde people in stede of God and his holy saintes them selfe, cast our affections to the ymages selfe, B & therto make our prayers, therto make our offringes, and wene these ymages were the very saintes self, of whom our helpe and helth should grow, puttynge our full trust in this place & that place, as Negromācers put their trust in their cercles, within which thei thinke them self sure against all ỳ deuils in hel. And wene if thei were one ynch without, ỳ than the deuill wolde pull thē in pecys, but as for the cercle he dare not for his eares ones put ouer his nose. ¶ And men reken that the clergie is glad to fauour theis waies, & to norishe this superstiсion vnder the name and colour of deuocion, to the parell of the peoples C soules, for the lucre and temporall aduauntage that them selfe receyue of the offringes. ¶ Whan I had hard him say what him liked, I demaūded if he mynded euer to be prieste, werunto he aunswered, nay verely, for me thiketh quod he that there be prestes to many al redy but if thei were better. And therfore when god shall sende time I purpose he said to marry. ¶ Well said I than sith I am all redy married twyse, and therfore neuer can be prieste, and ye be so set in minde of marriage, that ye neuer wil be prieste, we two be not the most me- D tely to pōder what might be said in this matter for the priestes parte. ¶ How be it whan I cōsider it, me thinketh surely that if the thing were such as ye say, so far from all frame of right religiō, and so perilous to mēs soules, I cā not perceyue why that the clergie woulde for the gayne thei get thereby, suffer such abusion to cōtinew. For first if it were trew that no pilgrymage ought to be vsed, none ymage offred vnto, nor worship done, nor prayour made vnto any saint. Than if none of all these thinges had euer ben in vse, or now were all vndone If that were the right way, as I wote well it were wrong, than were it to me lytell question, but christen people being in the trew faith, and in the right way to godwarde, woulde therby nothinge slake their good myndes, toward the ministers of his church, but their deuocion should toward thē more and more encrease. So that if thei now get by this waie one peny, thei shoulde (if this be wronge and the other right) not faile in stede of a peny now, than to receyue a grote. And so should no lucre geue thē cause to fauour this way and it be wronge, whyle thei coulde not faile to wyn more by the right. E

Nigromācers

Twyse married can not be a prieste.

¶ Moreouer loke me thorow christendome, and I suppose ye shall finde the frute of those offerynges a right small parte of the lyuynge of the clergye. And suche as though some few places wolde be gladde to retaine, yet the hole body might without any notable losse easely forbere. ¶ Let vs consider our owne coūtrey here, and we shall finde of these pilgrymages for the most parte in the handes of suche religious persones, or suche poore parishes as bere no greate rule in the conuocacions. And besyde this ye shall not finde I suppose, that any bishop in Englande hath the profite of one grote of any suche offringe within his diocese. Now standeth then G the continuaunce or the breking of this maner and custome, specially in them, which take no profite therby, which if thei beleued it to be (such as ye call it) superstiсious, & wicked, woulde neuer suffre it continewe to the perishynge of mennes soules, wherby thē self shoulde dystroy their owne soules, and neither in body nor goodes take any commoditie. And ouer this we se, that the bishoppes and prelates them selfes visite those holy places & pilgrymages, with as large offringes, and as great cost in commynge and goyng as other people B do, so that thei not onely take no temporall aduauntage therof, but also bestowe of their owne therin.

¶ And surely I byleue this deuocion so planted by goddes owne hande in the hertes of the hole church, that is to wit, not the clargie only, but the hole cōgregacion of all christen people, that if the spiritualtie were of the mynde to leue it, yet wolde not the tēporaltie suffre it. ¶ Nor if it so were that pilgrymages hanged onely vpon the couetise of euill prieskes, for euill must thei be that wold for couetise helpe the people forwarde to ydolatry, thā would not god prieskes

The chur

and

A and good bishops haue vsed them theyr selues. But I am very sure that many an holy bishop, and therwith excellently wel lerned in scripture, aud the lawe of god, haue had hygh deuocion therto.

¶ For where as ye say, mē rekē, that it smelleth of ydolatry, to visit this place and that place, as thoughe that God were more mightye or more present in one place then in another, or that god or his saintes had bounden them selues to stande at this ymage, or ý ymage, & ý by mens demeanour therby should appere, that the pylgryms put theyr truste in the place or the ymage it selfe, takinge that for very god, or for the very saynct, B of whom they seke for helpe, and so fare like negromancers, that put their trust in theyr cercle. ¶ Surely holye sainct Austyn in an epystle of hys (whyche he wrote to the clergy and the people, take the pilgrimages for a more ernest and a farre more godly thing. And saith, that thoughe the cause bee to vs vnknowen why god doth in some place miracles, and in some place none, yet is it no dout but he so doth. And therin had that good holy doctour so great confydence, that as he saith hym selfe, he sent two of hys C priestes in pilgrimage for ý trial of the trouth of a great matter in contenciō & debate betwene thē out of Hyppona in affrike, vnto saint Stephens chyrche in Myllayne, where many miracles were wont to be shewed, to the ende, that god myght there, by some meanes, cause the truth to be declared, & made open by his power, which by no meane knowen to man, he coulde well synde out.

¶ Nor they that gone on pilgrimage do nothinge like to those nygromancers, to whome ye resemble them that put theyr confydence in the roundell and D cercle on the grounde, for a speciall beleue that they haue in the compace of that grounde, by reson of folishe caractes and figures aboute it, with inuocacions of euyll spirites and familiarite with deuyls beyng enemies to god, and the crafte and wayes of all that worke by god hym selfe prohibited and forboden, and that vpon the payne of death, what lykenes hath that vnto the going of good men vnto holy places, not by enchauntment dedicat to the deuill, but by goddys holy ordynaunce wyth hys holy wordes consecratid vnto him selfe. Whyche two thynges if ye woulde resemble togither, so might ye blasphemeand haue in derysion all the deuout rytes & cerimonies of the church, both in ý E deuine seruices as ensensing, halowing of the fyre, of the funt, of the pascall lambe, and ouer that the exorsismis, benediccions, and holy straunge gestures vsed in consecracion or ministracion of the blessyd sacramentes, all which holy thinges great parte whereof was from hande to hande left in the church, from the time of chrystys apostels, and by thē left vnto vs, as it was by god taught vnto them, mē might now by that meanes folyly misliken vnto the superstici- F ous demeanoure & fond fassion of iugglery. Nor ý flock of christ is not so folish as those heretiques bere them in hande, that wher as there is no dogge so mad, but he knoweth a very conye frō a cony carued b paynted, cristen people ý haue reason in their heddys & therto the light of faith in theyr soules, shoulde wene ý thimages of our ladi were herour lady self. Nay they be not I trust so mad, but thei do reuerēce to thimage for ý honour of ý persō whō it repseteth, as euery mā deliteth in thymage and remēbrance of his frende. And albeit that euery good christen man hath a remembrynge of chrystys passion in hys minde, and con- G ceiuith by deuout meditaciō a fourme & fassiō therof in his harte, yet is there no mā I wene so good nor so wel lerned, nor in meditacion so well accustomed, but that he findeth him selfe more moued to pyte & compassiō, vpō the beholdinge of the holy crucyfire, than whan he lacketh it. And if there be any that for the mayntenance of his opinion will peraduenture say that he fyndyth it other wise in him self he should giue me cause to fere, that he hathe of chrystes passion neyther the one way nor the other, but a very faint feling, sith that the holy fa- H thers before vs dyd, and all deuout people about vs do, fynde and fele in them selfe the contrary.

¶ Nowe for the reason that you aledge quod I, where ye saye that in resorynge to thys place and that place, thys Image and that ymage, we seeme to reken as though god were not in euerye place lyke myghty, or not lyke present, thys reason procedith no more against pylgrimages, than agaynst all the chyrchys in cristendome. For god is as myghtye in the stable as in the tēple. And as he is not comprehensyble nor circumscribed no where, so is he p̄sent euery where. But this letteth not heuē be it a corporal thing or not, to beý

Reuerence to thymage.

God is euery where present

Nigromanci by god forboden.

A place of a speciall maner & kind of hys presence, in which it liketh him to shew hys glorious maiestie, to his blessed heuēly cōpany, whichhe sheweth not vnto dāpned wretches in hel, & yet is he neuer thens. So liked it hys goodnes to go wō his chosen people through the deserte in the cloude by day, and the piller of fyre by night, yet was he not bounden as ye resemble it like the dampned spirites to the olde ydols of the paynims.

Psalme. 77.

It lyked him also to chose the arche ý was carped with his people, at whiche arche specyally by myracle, he diuers times declared hys especyal assystence, the arche beyng translated fro place to place.

B

Was it not also hys plesure to be specially presēt in his tēple of Ierusalē, till he suffered it to bee destroyed for theyr synne? And in stede of that one place of prayer (to which he wold before that all hys people should come) he hath vouchsaufed to spreade hym selfe abrode into many temples, and in more acceptable wise to be worshipped in many temples through out his christen flocke.

Here said your frende, that the tēple of christ is (as saint Poule sayth, mans harte, and that god is not included nor shit in any place. And so him selfe sayde to the womā of Samary, the very worshippers should worship in spirite) and in truth, not in the hyl or in Ierusalem or any other temple of stone.

C

1. Cor. 6.

Christes very temple.

Wherunto I shewed hym, ý I wold well agree that no temple of stone was vnto god so pleasant, as the temple of mās harte. But yet that nothing letteth or withstandeth, but that god wil, that hys christen people haue in sundry places, sundry temples & chirches, to which they should beside their priuat prayers assemble solemply & resort in company to worship him togyther, such as dwell so nere togither, ý they may conueniently resort to one place.

D

For albeit our sauiour said quod I, vnto the womā, of whom ye spake, that the time should cōe in which thei should neither worship god in ý hill of Gezera, nor in Ierusalem neyther, whyche places wer after distroied and desolate, and the Pagane maner of worshipping of the one, & the Iewes maner of worshipping in the other, tourned bothe in to the maner of worshipping of christē faith and religion, yet said he not to her that they should neuer after worshippe god in none other temple. But he sayed that the time should come, and thā was commen all redy, whan the very trewe worshippers should worship god in spirite and treweth. And that as God is a spirituall substaunce, so lokyd he for worshippers, that shoulde in such wyse worship him. In which wordes our sauiour reprouid al false worship, as was vsed after paganisme in that hil in Samaria, & all such worship as was done in any place with oppinion, that god might not be worshipped els where.

E John. 4.

Those that so beleue, they bee suche as binde god to a place, which our lord reproueth, shewing that god may in hart truely & spiritually be worshippyd euery where. But this excludyth not, ý besides ý, he wil be worshippid in his holy temple, no more than whā he gaue coūsell that for auoiding of vayne glory a man shal not stand and pray in ý strete to gather worldly prayse, but rather secretly pray in hys chamber. This coūsell forbadde not the Iewes to whom he gaue it, that they should neuer after cōe into the temple, & pray. And surely albe it that some good man here and there, one among. x. thousand, as saint Poule and saint Antony, & a fewe suche other like, doo liue all heuenly, far out of all fleshly companye as farre from all occasion of worldly wretchednes, as frō the comon temple or parishe chyrch, yet if chirches and congregacions of cristē people resorting togither to goddis seruice were ones abolished & put awaye, we were like to haue few good temples of god in mennys soules, but all would wōn a while weare away clene & clerely fall to nought. And this proue we by experyence, that those which be the best temples of god in their soules, thei most vse to come to the temple of stone. And those ý leest come there, be well knowē for very ribaudes and vnthriftes, & opēly perceiued for ý tēples of ý deuil. And this not in our daies onely, but so hath bē from cristes daies hither. I trow no man dowteth, but that crystes apostels were holy templs of god in theyr soules and wel vnderstode the wordys of their maister, spoken to the woman of Samary, as the thing which their maister after tolde them hym selfe, or els howe coulde some of them haue written that communicacion whiche none of them harde as apperith by the gospell. But thei not in theyr maisters dayes onely, but also after his resurreccion, & after that

F

God in harte may euery where be worshipped. Mat. 6.

G

H

What they are that comi not to the chirche.

A that they had receiued the holy ghost, and were by hym instructed of euerye trewth, longing to the necessite of theyr saluacion, were not cōtent only to pray secretly by them self in their chambers, but also resorted to the temple to make theyr praiers. And in ý place as a place plesant to god, dyd they pray in spyryte and in truthe, as well apperyth in the boke of saint Luke writen of the actes of christes holy apostles. So that no doute is ther, but that yet vnto this day and so forth to the worldys ende, it is ę shalbe pleasant vnto god, that this chosen people pray to him and call vpō him B in temple and chyrch. Wherof him self witnesseth with the prophete. *Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur.* My house shall be called a house of praier.

¶ Now maketh your reason, as I said, no more againste pylgrimages, than against euery chirch. For god is not bounden to the place, nor our confidēce boūden to ý place but vnto god (though we rekē our praier more plesant to god in the chirch than without, bicause hys hyghe goodnes accepteth it so) in likewise do not we reken our lord bounden to the place or image where the pilgrymage is, though we worship god there, C because hym selfe lyked so to haue it.

¶ The. iiii. chapiter.

¶ The author declareth in the cōpro-baciō of pilgrimages that it is the pleasure of God to be specially sought and worshipped in some one place before another. And albeit that we can not attaine to the knowlege of the cause why god doth so, yet the author proueth by great auctoryte that god by miracle testifieth it is so.

D With this your frēde asked me what reson were there, that god woulde sett more by one place than by an another, or howe knowe we that hee so doth, namely if the one be a chyrch as wel as ý other. ¶ Wherunto I answered that why god would doo it I coulde make him no aunswere, no more than sainct Austin saith that hee coulde. I was neuer so nere of his cōsayle nor dare not be so boulde to aske hym. But that he so doth in dede, that I am sure ynough, yet not for that he setteth more by that place, for the soile and pauement of that place, but that hys plesure in some place is, to shewe more hys assistance, and to be more specially E sought vnto, than in some other.

¶ Than he asked me whereby was I so sure of that, whereupon I demaunded hym, that if it so were, that the thynge standinge in debate and question, it woulde lyke our lorde to shewe a myracle for the prose of the one part. Would ye not quod I, reken than the questyon were decyded and the doute aslopied, ę that parte sufficiently proued? ¶ Yes mary quod he that woulde I. ¶ Well quod I, thā is this matter out of doute longe a go, for god hath proued my part F in diuers pylgrimages by the working of many mo thā a thousand myracles, one tyme and other. In the gospell of Johan the fifte chapiter, where we rede ý the āgel moued the water, ę who so nert wēt in, was cured of his disease was it not a suspeyent proffe, that god woulde they shoulde come thyther for theyr helthe. John. 5.

¶ Albeit no man can tell whye he sent the angell rather thither, and there dyd hys miracles than in an other water? why god doth miracles in certen places

But whansoeuer our lorde hath in any place wrought a myracle, although he nothyng do it for the place, but for the honour of that sait, whom he will haue honoured in that place, or for the sayth G that he fyndeth wyth some that prayeth in that place, or for the encrease of faith which he findeth falling and decaied in that place, nedynge the shewe of some myracles for the reuiuing, what soeuer the cause be, yet I thinke the affection is to be commended of men and womē, that with good deuocion ronne thither, where thei se or hyre that our lorde sheweth a demonstracion of hys specyall assistence. And whan he sheweth many in one place it is a good token, that he Joan. 11. H woulde be sought vpō, and worshipped there. Many Iewes were there, ý came to Ierusalem to se the miracle that crist had wrought vpon Lazare, as the gospel reherseth. And surely we wer worse than iewes, if we would be so negligēt, that where God worketh myracle, we lyst not ones go moue our fote thitherwarde. We meruayle muche that God sheweth no mo myracles nowe a daies, whan it is muche more meruaile that he doth vouchsaufe to shewe any at all amonge such vnkinde slouthfull dedely people, as list not ones lift vp their heddys to looke thereon, or that our incredulyte can suffer hym nowe a dayes to worke any.

A ¶ The.v.chapiter.

¶ Because pilgrymages be amonge other proues testifyed by myracles, the messenger dothe make obiection against those myracles partelye lest they be fayned and vntrewe, partely lest they be done by the deuill yf they be done at all.

THan sayd your frende, well I perceiue then, the force & effect of all the proffe standeth all in myracles, which I will agre to be a stronge prose, if I sawe them done, B and were sure that god or good saintes dyd them. But first syth that men may and happely do, of myracles make many a lye, we must not proue this matter by the miracles, but if we fyrst proue ý the myracles were trew. And ouer this yf they wer done in dede, yet sith the angell of darknes may trãsforme, & transfigure hymself into an angell of light, how shall we know whyther the miracle were done by god to the encrease of christen deuocion, or done by the crafte of the deuill to the aduancement of mis- C beleue and Idolatrye, in settinge mens hartys vpon stockes and stones in stede of saintes, or vpon sayntes them selfe ý are but creatures, in stede of God hym selfe. ¶ I aunswered hym that the force of my tale was not the myracles, but ý thynge that I holde stronger than any myracles, which as I said in the beginnyng I reken so sure & fast, and therwõ so playne and euydẽt vnto euery christẽ man, that it nedeth none other prose, & that thynge is as I said afore the faithe of Cristes chyrch, by the common consent wherof, these matters be decyded D & wel knowẽ that the worship of saintz and ymages ben alowed, approbate, & accustomed for good christen & meritorious vertues, & the contrary oppinion not onely reproued by many holy doctours, but also condempned fortheresies by sundry generall counsailes.

To worship saintes and Images is meritorius.

¶ And this in the beginning I told you quod I, was and shoulde by ý force and strength of my tale. Albeit of trouthe I said vnto you besyde, that me thought ý the myracles wrought by god were sufficient prose and authorite therfore, although there were none other, whiche thinge sith ye seme to impugne, I shall as I can, make you answere theruntо. ¶ Nay syr sayd he, I pray you take me not so as though ý I did impugne it, but as I shewed you before, I rehersed you what I haue harde some other say. E

¶ In good time quod I. Than because thei be not here, I pray you defende and bere out ther part, wõ all ý ye haue hard them say and set therto also al that euer your owne minde giueth you, that they may more hereafter say, lest you return not fully furnished for your purpose.

¶ The.vi.chapiter.

¶ Because the messenger thynketh that he may well mistrust & deny the myracles, bicause reason & nature tel him that they cã not not be done, therfore fyrst ý author sheweth what vnreasonablenes woulde ensue if folke F would stande so stiffe against all credence to be giuen to any suche thinge as reason and nature shoulde seme to gayne say.

AND first wher ye say. Nay quod he where thei say. ¶ Well quod I, so be it, where they say. For here euer my tõg trippeth. But nowe therfore first where thei say, that they neuer sawe any of these miracles them selfe, and therefore the myracles be no prose to them, whiche while they neuer sawe them are not boũden to be- G leue them, thei seme either veri negligẽt if they nothing enquere whan they mistrust and doubte of the trouth in such a weyghty matter, or if they haue dyligently made enserche, thã must it nedes be, that they haue harde of so many told and rehersed by the mouthes & the wryting of so good and credible pſons that they seme vnreasonably suspicious, yf they thinke altogither lyes, that so many trew mẽ or mẽ liketo be trew so faithfully do reporte. If these men were iudges fewe matters woulde take ende at theyr hande, or at the lest the plaintife H shoulde haue euyll spede if they woulde beleue nothinge, but that were proued nor reken nothing proued, but that they se them selfe. ¶ Thus may euery man reken hym selfe vnsure of his owne father yf he beleue no man, or bycause all the prose therof standyth but vpon one woman, & that vpon her, which though she can tell best, yet if it be wronge hath greatest cause to lie. Let ý knowlege of the father alone therefore amonge our wifes mistreyes. And let vs se if we beleue nothing, but ý we se our selfe, who cã reken him self sure of hys owne mother, for possible it wer that he wer chãged in ý cradel, & a riche mannes norce bringe home her owne chylde for her

maisters

A maisters, and kepe her maisters for her owne, to make her owne a gētilmā good chepe. And this were no great mastry, while the mother hath of her own child no care marke. ¶ Sir q your frēde yf I should answere them thus, & by these examples prove them, ý they wer of reasō boundē to beleue such miracles as wer reported, bicause many credible mē tell the, for as much as els we should beleue nothing, but ý we see our self, & thā wer all the world full of confusion, nor no iugement could be gyuen, but vpō thinges done in the iudges sight, I should I fere me very feblye satisfy the. For they would sone saye, that the ensampies be B nothing like the mater. But as it is resō ý I should beleue honest mē in al such thinges as may be trew, & wherein I se no cause why they should lye, so were it against al reason to beleue men, be they neuer so many, seme they neuer so credible, where as reason & nature (of which twaine euery one is alone more credyble thē they al) sheweth me plainly that theyr tale is vntrew, as it must nedys, yf the matter be impossible as it is in al these miracles. And in suche case, though I can perceiue no profite, that they can receyue therby, yet whan I well se that C it could not be trew, I must well se that it was not trew. And therby must I nedes know that if thei cā take no profyte by lieng they lye not for anye couetise, but euen onely for theyr speciall pleasure. ¶ Forsoth quod I this is ryght merply answered. And to say the truthe as far as we bee yet gone in the matter of these myracles not much amysse nor very far fro the poit. But sith this thing is much material, as wherupon many great thynges do depende, we shall not so shortly shake it of, but we shall come one skep or twaine nerer to the matter, D and fyrst I will say to thē ý it wer hard for them & not very sure to beleue that euery man lieth which telleth the a tale for trew that reason & nature semyth to shew them to be false & impossible. For in this wyse shall thei in many thinges erre & clerely deceyue them self, & sometyme whyle they make themself sure of the wrong side if thei would wō wagers cōtende & striue therin, thei should vpō the boldnes of nature & reason lease al ý euer thei wer able to lay theron. If ther were a mā of Inde that neuer cā out of hys countrey, nor neuer had sene any whyte mā or woman in his lyfe, & sythe he seeth innumerable people black, he myght wene that it were against the na- E ture of man to be white. Now if he shal because nature semeth to shewe him so, beleue therfore that all the worlde lyed if they would say the cōtrary, who wer in the wronge, he that beleueth hys reason and nature, or thei that against his persuasiō of reason and nature shal tel hym as it is of trouth. ¶ Your frende answered that reason and nature tolde not the man of Inde that al men should be blacke, but he beleued so against reason and against nature, for he had nothing to lede him to it, but because hym self sawe no white, which was no resō. F And he myght by nature perceyue if he had lerning ý the heate maketh his coūtrey blacke. And ý of lyke reason, ý cold of other countries must make the peple whyte. ¶ Well quod I and yet he commeth to hys persuasion by a sylogysme & reasonninge, almost as formall as is the argument, by whiche ye prove the kinde of man reasonable, wherof what other collecciō haue you that brought you first to perceiue it thā that this mā is resonable, and this man, & this man, and this man, and so forth all whom ye se. By ensample wherof by them whom ye knowe, presuming thereby no man to be otherwyse, ye conclude that euery mā is reasonable. And he thinketh him- G self surer in his argument than he thinketh you in yours. For he saw neuer other but black people where ye se many men foles. As for that he hereth of other that there be white men els where, this serueth nothing for your purpose yf ye beleue no witnes against the thing that you reason, and experiēce sheweth you. And whereas ye say, if the man of Inde had lerning he shoulde perceiue that it is not against nature, but rather cōsonant with nature that some other men shold in other coūtres be white, though H al his countrey men be black, so peradueture those whose part ye do sustayne, if thei had some lernyng that they lack, should wel perceyue that of reason thei shoulde gyue credence to credyble persons, reportyng them thynges ý seeme far against reson because they be farre aboue reason, whereof we maye peradueniture haue more perceyuing in our communycacyon here after or euer we finishe that we haue in hande. But in the meane whyle to shewe you further what necessite there is to beleue other men in thynges not onely vnknowen, but also seminge impossible, the man of

what maketh black and white mē.

A Inde that we speke of cã by no lerning know ẏ course of the sonne whereby he should pceyue the cause of his blaknes, but if it be by astronomy, which cõning who can lerne that nothing will beleue that seneth to hym selfe impossible? Or who would not wene it impossible, but if experience had proued it that the hole earth hangeth in the ayre, and mẽ walk fote against fote, & shippes saile bottom against bottom, a thyng so straunge, & seming so far against nature & reson, ẏ Lactancius a mã right wise & wel lerned in his worke which he writeth *de diuinis institutionibus* rekeneth it for impossible, & letteth not to laugh at ẏ Philosopers for affyrminge of ẏ poinct, which is yet now founden trew by experience of thẽ ẏ hauein lesse than two yeres sailed the world roũde about. Who wold wene it possible ẏ glasse were made of ferne rotys? Now if those that wene it impossible by reason, and neuer sawe it done beleue no man that tell it them, albeit that it be no peryll to theyr soule, yet so muche haue they knowledge the lesse, & vnreasonably stãde in their errour thorough the miskrukinge of the trewth.

B

Glasse & wherof it is made.

C It is not yet fyfty yeres a go syns the fyrst man as far as mẽ haue herd, came to London that euer parted the gilt frõ the siluer consuming shortly the syluer into dust with a very faire water. In so far forth that whã the finers and goldsmithes of Londõ hard first therof, they nothing wondred thereof but laughed therat as at an impossible lye, in which perswasyons if they had continued stil, they had yet at this daye lacked all that conning. Yet wyll I not say nay but that a man may bee to light in beleue, & be by such ensamples brought into beleue to far. As a good felow and frende of mine late in talking of this mater of meruails & myracles, entẽdyng merely to make me beleue for a troth a thing ẏ could neuer be, first brought in what a force the fire hath ẏ wil make two pecis of yrõ able to be ioined, & cleue togither and with the help of the hãmer be made both one, which no hamering could doe without the fire, which thinge bicause I daily se, I alleted. Thã said he ferther that yt was more meruayle that the fyre shall make yron to ronne as siluer or led dothe, and make it take a print. Whiche thinge I tolde hym I had neuer seene, but bycause he saide he had sene it, I thought it to be trew. Sone after this, he wold haue me to beleue that he had sene a pece of siluer of two or thre inches about, & in length lesse thã a fote drawen by mãnes hand thorow straite holes made in an yrõ, til it was brought in thyeknes not halfe an inche about, & in length drawen out I cã not tell how many yardes. And whẽ I hard him say, that he saw this hym self, thã I wist wel he was merely disposed.

D

E

Mary q̃ your fred, it was hie time to gyue hym ouer whan he came to that. Wel sayd I, what if I should tel you now, that I had sene the same. By my faith quod he merely I would beleue it at leisour whã I had sene the same, & in the meane while I coulde not let you to say your pleasure in your owne house, but I would thinke that ye were disposed merely to make me a fole. Well sayd I, what if there would besydes me x. or. xx. good honest men tell you ẏ same tale, & that they had al sene the thynge done them selfe. In faith quod he, sith I am sent hither to beleue you, I would in that poynt beleue your self alone, as wel as them all. Wel q̃ I, ye mene ye woulde beleue vs all alike. But what would you than say if one or twaine of them would say more. Mary q̃ he thã would I beleue thẽ lesse. What if they wold q̃ I shew you, that thei haue sene that the pece of siluer was ouer gilte, & the same pece beyng stil drawẽ thorowe the holes, the gilt not rubbed of, but stil go forth in legth with the siluer, so that all the length of many yardes was gilted of the gilting of the first peece not a fote lõg. Surely sir q̃ he, those twain that wold tell me so much more, I wold say were not so conning in the maintenance of a lie, as was the pilgrimes cõpanion, which whan his felow had told at yorke, that he had sene of late at London a byrd ẏ couered al Poules chirch yarde with his winges: comminge to ẏ same place on the morowe said, that he saw not that byrde, but be herde muche speeche thereof, but he sawe in Poules chirch yarde an egge so great that. x. mẽ could scante moue it with leuers, thys felow coulde help it forth with a proprie side way. But he were no proprie vnderpropper of a lie, that would minish hys credence w̃ afferming all the first & setting a lowder lye therto. Wel sayd I than I haue espyed if. x. should tel you so ye woulde not beleue them.

F

G

H

No q̃ he not yf. xx. shoulde. What yf an hũdred would quod I, that seme good and credible? If thei were quod he. x. thousãd, they wer not of credethe

A wyth me, whan they should tel me that they sawe the thinge that my selfe knoweth by nature and reason vnpossible. For whan I knowe it couldē not bee done, I knowe wel ý thei lye all, be they neuer so many that sai thei saw it done. ¶ Well quod I, syth I se wel ye would not in thys point beleue a hole towne, ye haue put me to syléce, that I dare not nowe bee bolde to tell you that I haue sene it my selfe. But surely yf witnesse would haue serued me, I wene I might haue brought you a greate many good men that wouldē say and swere to, that they haue sene it them selfe. But nowe shall I prouide me to morowe peraduē-
B ture a cople of witnes, of whom I wote well ye wyll mysstrust neyther. ¶ Who be they quod he, for it were hard to find whom I couldē better trust then your selfe, whō whatsoeuer I haue merelye sayd, I could not in good fayth but beleue you in that you shoulde tel me earnestly vpon your owne knowlege. But ye vse (my maister sayth) to loke so sadly whā ye mene merely, ý many times mē doubte whyther ye speke in sporte, whā ye mene good ernest. ¶ In good faith q
C I, I mene good ernest nowe, and yet as wel as ye dare trust me I shal as I said yf ye wyll go wyth me prouide a couple of witnes of whome ye wyll beleue any one better than twaine of me, for they be your nere frendes, and ye haue been better acquainted with them, and such as I dare say for them be not oftē wont to lye. ¶ Who be they q he I pray you. ¶ Mary quod I your owne two eyen, for I shall if you wyl, bring you where ye shall se it, no ferther hens than euyn here in London. And as for yron & latē to be so drawen in length ye shall se it
D done in. xx. shoppis almost in one strete. ¶ Mary sir quod he these witnes in deede will not lye. As the pore man sayed by the priest, if I may be homely to tel you
A mery tale. a mery tale by the way. ¶ A mery tale quod I, commith neuer amysse to me. ¶ The pore man quod he had founde ý priest ouer kamplier with his wife, and bycause he spake it a brode and couldē not proue it, the priest sued him before ý bishoppes offyciall for dystamatyon, where the pore man vpon paine of cursynge, was commaūded that in his parysshe chyrch, he should vpon ý sondaye, at high masse time stāde vp & sai, mouth thou lyest. ¶ Wherupō for fulfillinge of hys penāce, vp was the pore soule set in a pew, that ý peple might wōder on him and hyre what he sayd. And there all a E lowde (whan he had reherysyd what he had reportyd by the priestes) than he sett his handys on his mouth, & said, mouth mouth thou lyest. And by and by thereupon he set his hand vpon both his eyen & sayd, but eyen eyen q he, by ý masse ye lye not a whitte. And so sir in dede, & ye bring me those witnes thei will not ly a whyt. ¶ Howbeit sir and thoughe thys be trewe, as in good fayth I beleue and am sure ý it is, yet am I neuer the more bounden by reason to beleue them, that wold tel me a myracle. For though this thynge be incredible to hym that hyreth it, & strange & merueylous to hym that F seeth it, yet is it a thyng ý may be done. But he that telleth me a miracle, telleth me a thinge that can not be done.

¶ I shewed you quod I thys ensāple to put you in minde, that in beinge ouer harde of beleue of thinges that by reasō & nature seme & appere impossible, wher they be reportyd by credyble witnes, hauing no cause to ly, ther is as much peril of errour, as where men be to lyghte of credence. And thus much haue I proued you onward, that if ye beleleue no man in such thinges as may not be, thā must it folow that ye ought to beleue no man in many thinges that may be, for all is one to you, whyther they may bee G or may not be, if it seme to you that thei may not be. And of trouth ye cā not tell whyther they may be or may not be, except they be two such thinges as imply contradiction, as one selfe thing in one self yt to be both white & black at ones. For els many thinges shal seme to you suche as all reason wyll resist, & nature wyll no wyse admitte. And yet thei shal be done wel ynough. And be in some other place in comen vse & custome. But nowe, because all your shifte standeth in this that of a myracle tolde you ye H may wyth reason beleue, that all men lye, bycause reason and nature beynge more to be beleued than all they, telleth you that they saye wronge, in that the thing reported for a myracle can not be done, I haue shewed you that nature & reson doth shewe you, ý many thinges may not be done, which yet in deede be done so ferforth, that whē ye se thē done ye may right well accompt them as miracles, for any thing ý reson or nature can shewe you by what natural order & cause it could be done, but that ye shal skyll se reason stand quite against it, as in the drawing of the siluer or Iron.

A

The.vii.chapiter.

¶ The author sheweth that neyther nature nor reason doo deiiy themiracles to be trew, nor do not gayne say, but that they may be well and easely done.

SIr sayeth he, yet hitte we not the point, for albeit that many thinges be wel done, and by nature, in which neyther my witte, nor happelye no mannes ellys, cā attaine so nere to natures coūsaile, that we can therin perceyue her crafte. But like as some rude people muse vpon a clock, that hath the springe (which is the cause of hys mouinge) secretely conueyed and closed in the barrel, so meruaile we and wonder on her worke yet al waye all those thinges differ and be vnlyke to myracles. In that your selfe wyll agree wyth me, that whan I beleue, that reasō and nature techeth me surely, that miracles be thynges that can not be done, I am not in this deceyued, though I maye be in such other thinges deceyued, as seme impossible, and yet may be done. And therefore as concerninge myracles, in which your selfe will agree, that I am not (by any missetaking of reason and nature) deceyued, ye may not your selfe (me thinketh) say nay, but that I maye well with reason beleue them twayne, against all them that will tell me they haue sene such thiges done, as your self doth agree, that they twaine (that is to wyt nature and reason) doth verely and truely shewe me, can not be done.

B

C

¶ What maner of thiges be those q̃ I.

¶ Mary miracles q̃ he, suche as your selfe will agree to be done agaynst nature. ¶ Giue vs therof quod I some ensample. ¶ As if mē quod he would now come to tel me that at our lady of Rouēyuale, there were a dede child reskored again to life.

D

¶ Let that quod I be one: and let another be, ẏ a bysshop in ẏ buildyng of his chirch, fyndinge one beame cut a great dele to short for his worke, drew it forth betwene another man & him foure fote (and ye will) lenger than it was, and so made it serue. ¶ Be it by my trouth quod he. ¶ Wyll we quod I take for the thyrde, that a man was by miracle in a Pater nosker while, conueied a myle of from one place to a nother. ¶ Be it so q̃ he. ¶ Now they that should tel me quod he, that they hadde sene these three myracles, were I bounde to beleue them.

¶ Whyther ye were bounden quod I or no, we shal se further after. But now why should ye not of reason trust them, if the men be credible, and ernestlye report it, and peraduēture on their othes depose it, hauyng no cause to sayne it, nor lykely to lye and bee forsworne for nought. ¶ I wyll quod he not beleue them, bycause that nature and reason ar two recordes, more to be beleued thā all they, that beare witnes against thē. ¶ Why quod I, what doth reason & nature tell you. They twayne tel me quod he, that those three thinges can not bee done which those mē say, thei saw done.

E

F

¶ Wote you quod I, that reasō and nature tell you so? ¶ Ye mary quod he, ẏ I wote well they do, and I thynke your selfe wyll agre that they tell me so.

¶ Nay by saint mary lyr quod I, that wyll I not. For I thinke that neyther reasō nor nature telleth you so, but rather both two tel you clene ẏ cōtrary, ẏ is to witt, that they both beare witnes, that those three thinges and suche other like bee thinges that may bee well and easely done.

¶ Ye quod he? Mary thys is an other waye. Then haue we walkyd wronge a while, if ye proue that. ¶ Ye thinketh quod I nothinge more easy to proue thā ẏ. For I praye you tell me quod I, doth reason and nature shewe you that there is a god or not? Faith sheweth me that surely quod he, but whither nature and reasō shew me that or no, that I doute, syth great reasoned mē and philophers haue doubted therof. And some of them haue be plainly perswaded and beleue, that there was none at all, and the hole people of the world in effecte fallē from knowlege or beleue of god, into Idolatry and worship of mammottys.

G

H

¶ Nay quod I, there is lyttell doubte I trow, but that nature and reasō gyueth vs good knowlege, that there is a god. For albeit the gentyles worshipped amonge them a thousand false goddes, yet al that proueth that there was and is in all mennes heddys, a secrete consent of nature, that god there is, or els thei wold haue worshipped none at al. Now as for the philosophers though a verye fewe doubted, and one or twaine thought ther was none, yet as one swalow maketh not somer, so the foly of so fewe maketh no change of the matter, against al the hole noumber of the olde phylosophers. Which as saint Paule confesseth, founde out by nature and reasō,

One swalow maketh not somer.

Ad Roma.1.

A reaso, that there was a god, eyther maker or gouernour or boty, of al this hole engine of the world. The maruaylous beautye and constant course whereof, sheweth well that it neyther was made nor gouerned by chaunce. But whan they had by these visible thinges knowledge of hys inuisible maiesty, than did they, as we do, fall from the worship of hym to ý worship of Idolles, as now do christen men, not as heretiques laye to the charge of good people, in doyng reuerēce to saites, or honour to their ymages, but in doing as do those heretiques them selfe, making our bely or bynethe our bely, or goodes, or our owne blinde B affectio toward other creatures, or our owne prowde affection and dotage towarde our selfe, our māmottes & ydols, and very false goddes. But surely both nature and reason wil declare and tech vs that a god there is. ¶ Wel quod he, I wil not stick in this, sith saint Paule saithe so. ¶ Than quod I, if reason and nature shew you that ther is a god doth not reason and nature shewe you also, that he is almighty & may do what he will? ¶ Yes quod he, that is both naturall to his godhed, & by reason it may ¶ wel be perceiued. Thā foloweth it said I, that reso & nature doth not shew you that these three miracles (that we were agreed should stand for ensamples) precisely could not be done, but thei taught you only that thei could not be done by nature. But ye may (as ye nowe se) perceiue that thei them self tech ý thei may be done by god, sith thei tech you ý there is a god, and ý he is almighty. And therfore whan ye wyl in no wise beleue thē, ý tel you they haue sene suche myracles done, ye refuse not to byleue such thin- D ges as can not be done, but ye mystrust causeles the credence & faith of honest, men, in the reporte of suche thinges, as by hym that they said dyd it, may wel & easely be done.

The Idolatry of heretyques.

¶ The eight chapiter.

¶ The messenger alledgeth that god may nothinge do agaynst the course of nature. Of whiche the auctho declareth the contrary, and ouer that shewith, that oure lorde in workinge of myracles dothe nothynge agaynst nature.

SIr quod he, ye come in dede somwhat nere me now. But yet seme th me, that reason and nature teache me stylll that I shall in no wyse belene them that tell me, ¶ they haue sene suche myracles doone. For fyrst ye wyll graunt me, that they teache me, that yf they shoulde be done they must bee done by god aginste the course of nature, so is it thā, that reso sheweth me ý god hath set al thinges al redy fro the first creacio to go forth in a certaine order & course, which order & course men call nature, and that hathe he of hys infyntie wisdome done so wel and prouyded that course to go forth in suche a maner and fassyon, that it can not be mended. And therfore seneth it, that reason shewith me that God ne- F uer wyll any thynge doo agaynste the course, which hys hygh wisdōe, power, and goodnes hath made so good, that it could neuer be broke to the better. For yf it might, than had our lord not made hys order and course perfite in the begynnynge. And therfore dothe as I say reason and nature yet beare recorde aginst them, that shall say they se such myracles, syth god wyll neuer worcke aginst ý course of nature, which hym selfe hath all readye set in so goodly an order, that it were not possible to be better, and the gwdnes of god wil make no change to the worse. ¶ Surely quod I ye go now very far wide. For neyther G doth reason proue you, ý god (al though it can not otherwise be but ý any thing of the making of hys goodnes must nedys be good) hath made therfore euerye thyng to be of souerayn perfeccion, for than must euery creature be egall, nor also that the hole worke of his creacion though it haue in it self suffycient and ryght wonderful perfeccion, that therfore it is wrought to the vtterest pointe of souereigne goodnes, ý his almighty maiestye could haue made it of . For syth he wrought it not naturallye but willingly, he wrought it not to the vt- H termost of his power, but with such degrees of goodnes as hys hye pleasure liked to lymit. For elswere hys worke of as infinite perfecciō as him self. And of such infinite egal perfecciō was ther by God brought forth nothing but only Note. the two persons of the trinite, that is to wit ý son & ý holy ghost. Of which two the sonne was first by ý father begotē, and after the holy gost by the father & ý sonne, after I say in order of beginning but not in time pduced & brought forth. And in this hy generacion & producciō did the doers work both willingly & naturally and after the vtterest perfection

A of thē selfe, which they did only therin & in none other thynge. And therfore god might breke vp ý hole world if he wold, & make a better by & by, & not only chāge in the naturall course of this world soe thinges to the better. Howebeit God in workinge of myracles dothe nothinge against nature, but some speciall benefyte aboue nature. And he dothe not against you that dothe an other a good turne which ye be not able to doo. And therfore syth god may do what he wyll beyng almyghty, and in doing of miracles he doth for the better, neyther reasō
B nor nature shewith you, ý they whiche say thei sowe such myracles, do tell you a thing that cā not be done, sith ye haue no reason to proue that god eyther can not do it, or will not do it. For sith he cā do it, & it may be that he will do it, whyē shoulde we mistrust good and honest men that say they saw him do it.

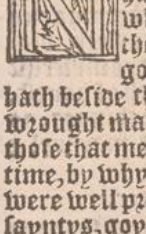
¶ The. ix. chapiter.

¶ The author shewith that albeit mē maye mistrust some of the perticuler miracles, yet can there no reasonable man neither deny nor doute but that many myracles hath there bene done
C and wrought.

Forsoth quod he, and yet as for miracles, I wer not for all thys bounden to beleue any. For I spake neuer yet with anye man that coulde tel me that euer he saw any. ¶ It maye quod I fortune you, to liue so long that ye shall fynde no man that was by at your crystenynge, nor when ye were bysshopped neyther. ¶ Mary q he for ought I wote I haue liued so lōge all redy. ¶ Why doute ye not thā quod I whether ye wer euer cristened or not:
D ¶ For euery man quod he presumeth & beleueth that I am christened, as a thig so commenly done, that we reken oure selfe sure that no man leueth it vndone. ¶ If the commen presumpcion quod I sufficiently serue you, to set your mind in suertye, than albeit miracles be nothing commenly and customably done nor that no presūption can sufficiently serue for ý profe of this miracle or that, yet hath there euer from the beginning of the worlde in euery nacion chrysten and hethen, and almost euery towne at sondry tymes so many myracles & meruayles ben wrought beside the commen course of nature, that I thinke thorow the worlde it is as well beleued vniuersally ý myracles and meruails ther be, as any thinge is beleued that men loke
E vpon. So that if commen presumpcyon serue you, ye may as I sayd as well beleue that miracles be done, as that your selfe was euer christened. For I dare well saye that there are a thousand that beleue there hathe been myracles done, agaynst one that beleueth that ye were euer crystened, or euer wist whyther ye were borne or not. ¶ Nor the doctours of Christes chyrch dyd neuer mystrust the wonders and meruayles that the paynyms tell & write to haue been done by theyr false goddes, but assygneth thē
F to haue ben done by the deuil thorough goddes sufferaunce, for the illusyon of them that with ydolatry had deserued to be deluded. And whyther they be miracles by whyche name we commenly call the wonders wrought by God, or meruayls done by the deuyll, it forceth not for this purpose of ours. For if ye Myracles. Meruayls. graunt that the deuyll may do anye by goddes sufferaunce, ye can not say nay but god may much more easely do them hym selfe. And syth ye be a chrysten mā and receyue scripture I myght in thys matter quod I, haue choked you longe a go, wyth the manifolde myracles and
G meruayls that be shewed there.

¶ The. x. chapiter.

¶ The author proueth that manye thinges daily done by nature or craft wherof we nothyng meruayle at all, be more meruailous and more wonderfull in deede than be the myracles that we most meruaile of and repute most incredyble.



Nay quod he surely, though it hathe done me good, to hyre what ye wold say, yet I neither doute nor I suppose no good man els, but that God
H hath beside the comen course of nature wrought many myracles. But yet of those that men tell of, as done in your time, by whych ye woulde seme that it were well proued, that the prayinge to sayntys, goynge on pylgramages, and worshipping of ymages were well and sufficyently proued, all thoughe there were none other profe therupō, of these myracles dyd I meane, in the report of which me thinketh I nede not beleue a comen fame of thys myracle and that, begon by some sely womā seking saint Sythe when she seghyth for miscasting of her kayes. Of these myracles I speke and all such as men saye nowe adayes bee done at diuers pylgrymages by diuers

A diuers sainctes or diuers ymages, in which me thinkyth that such as be tolde to be done, which nature and reso saith be impossible. I may well mistrust the tellers. Or els how many of them shal make me a sufficient proofe of an impossible matter? One or two or thyee either semeth me to few to trust their credence in a thing so incredible. And if I shall not beleue the tyll I kinde many recordys, I wene I were faine to wander ye world about or I prouide many myracles suffycyently, of suche I saye as ye pue your pilgrimages by. ¶ Your fewe wordes q I haue wrapped in the many B thynges, that seme somwhat as they be couchyd togyther. Which whan we se them vnfoldid, and consider eche part a sonder, than maye wee better examine them, and better se whereof they serue. ¶ First ye speke of seking to saintys for sleyght causis, as for the losse or misse of kyttes kayes. Then ye woulde wit, howe many ye muste hyre say they saw a myracle, or ye shoulde of reason beleue it. ¶ Thyrdly ye thynke ye were lyke to go longe or ye shoulde fynd any proued trew. Fynally whan ye saye, ye meane onely those myracles that me tell of, as done at pylgrimages, ye seme C to put styll a difference betwene those miracles wrought in pilgrimagis, and such as are wrought by god otherwyse. The cause wherof I muste further aske you after. For I perceiue not wel what ye meane by that. ¶ But fyrst where as ye speake styl, as though ye might mistrust them were they neuer so many: bicause they tell you a thinge, that reaso and nature saieth is impossible, me thiketh that ye should nowe chaunge that worde. For I haue all redy prouyd that reason and nature say not that a myracle is impossible, but onely that is im- D possible to nature. And they cõfesse both that miracles be possible to god, & they ye report them do report them for thinges done by god. And therefore they doo report you none impossible tale. ¶ For ye clerer consideracyon wherof, let vs resort to ye miracles which we wer agreed should stande for examples. And first yf men should tel you ye thei saw before an ymage of the crucifix a dede man raised to lyfe, ye wold much meruaile therof, and so might ye well yet could I tel you somwhat that I haue sene my selfe that me thynketh as great meruaile, but I haue no lust to tell you, because that ye be so circumspect and ware in beleue of

miracle ys impossible to nature.

any myracles, that ye wolde not beleue G it for me, but mistrust me for it. ¶ Nay syr quod he in good fayth, if a thinge semed me neuer so farre vnlykely, yet yf ye woulde ernestly saye that your selfe haue sene it, I neyther would nor could mistrust it. ¶ Wel q I, than ye make me the bolder to tell you. And yet wil I tell you nothing, but that I woulde yf nede were fynde you good witnes to proue it. ¶ It shal not nede sir quod he, but I beseche you let me hyre it. ¶ Forsoth quod I, because we speake of a mã reysed from deth to life. There was in F the paryshe of sainct Stephens in walbroke in Londõ where I dwelled before I come to Chelsith, a man and a womã whyche are yet quicke and quething, and yonge were they bothe. The eldest I am sure passeth not. xxiiii. It happed them as doth amõge yonge folk the one to cast the mind to ye other. And after many lettes, for the maydens mother was muche against it, at last they came togyder and were maried in saint Stephens chirch, which is not greatly famous for any miracles, but yet verely on saint Stephens day it is somwhat sought vnto, and visited with folkes deuocion. But now shorte tale to make, this yonge woman (as maner is in brydes ye wote well) was at night brought G to bed with honest women. And than after that went the bride grome to bed, and euery body went theyr wayes, and left them twaine there alone. And the same night, yet a bide let me not ly, now in faith to say the trouth I am not very sure of the tyme, but surely as it appered afterward, it was of lyklyhode the same night, or some other time sone after, excepte it happened a litel afore. No force for the time quod he. Trouth quod I, and as for the matter all the paryshe H wil testifye for trewth the woman was knowen for so honest. But for the conclusion the sede of them twayne turned in the womans body, first in to bloode, and after into shappe of mã chlide. And thã wared quicke and she great therw. And was within the yere delyuered of a fayre boy, & forsoth it was not than (for I saw it miselfe) passing the length of a fote. And I am sure he is growen nowe an ynche lenger than I. ¶ How long is it a go q he. ¶ By my faith q I. aboute xxi. yeres. ¶ Tushe q he thys is a worthy myracle. ¶ In good faith quod I, neuer wist I. that any man coulde tell ye he had any other beginninge. And me

thin-

A thynketh that this is as gret a myracle as the railing of a dede mã. ¶ If it seme so quod he to you, than haue you a meruaylous seming for I wene it semeth so to no man els. ¶ No quod I, can ye tell what is the cause? None other sure but that the acquayntaunce & daylye beholdynge taketh awaye the wondring as we nothing wonder at the ebbing and flowing of the sea, or the Thamys because we dayly se it. But he that had neuer sene it, nor herd therof, would at the fyrst sight wonder sore therat, to se that great water come walowing vp
B agaynst the wynde, keppyng a commen course to & fro, no cause perceiued that driueth him. If a mã borne blind had sodenly his sight, what wonder would he make to see the sonne, the mone, and the sterres, where as one that hath sene thē syrtene yere to gyther, meruayleth not so muche of them all, as he would wonder at the first sight of a pecockes taile. And very cause can I se none, whye we shoulde of reason more meruaile of the reuyuyng of a dede man, thã of the bredyng, bringing forth and growing of a childe vnto the state of a man. No more
C meruailor is a koko thã a cock, though the one be sene but in somer & the other al ye yere. And I am sure, if ye saw deade men as commenly called againe by miracle, as ye se men brought forth by nature ye would reken it lesse meruaile to bringe the soule agayne into the bodyez keppyng yet stil his shappe & his organis not much perished, than of a littel seede to make all that gere newe, and make a newe soule thereto. Nowe yf ye neuer had seene any gonne in your dayes nor harde of any before, if two men shoulde tel you the one that he had wist a mã in
D a pater noster whyle conueyed and caried a myle of, frõ one place to an other by miracle, and the other should tel you that he had sene a stone more thã a mãnes weyght caryed more than a mile in as litell space by crafte, which of these wold you by your faith take for ye more incredyble? ¶ Surely q he both twaine wer very stronge. But yet I coulde not chose but thinke it were rather trewe ye God did the one, than that anye craftē of man could do the other. ¶ Wel quod I let vs than to our thyrde ensample. If it were shewed you that sainct Erkenwalde or hys syster, drewe out a pece of tymber, that was cut to short, for ye rose in making Barking abbey, should this be so incredible to you to beleue, ye they drew in length a pece of woode by ye power and helpe of gods hande, whan we se dayly a great pece of siluer, halle, laten or yron drawē at lēgth into smale wier, as wonderfully by mans hande.

Note.

E

The. xi. chapiter.

¶ The author shewith ye a myracle is not to be mistrustid though it be done in a small matter and sempth vpon a sleyght occasyon.

NOwe though ye wold peradventure (as ye seme to do) rekē this cause very sleight for god to shew such an high miracle, syth there might haue F ben wout miracle a longer pece of timber gotten, & so ye wouldе happely mistrust it, for the slender occasion, resembling it to the miscasting of some good huswives kaies. God hathe I wene so much wit of himself, that he nedeth not our aduice to enforme hym what thing were sufficient occasion to worke hys wonders for. But & if ye rede in ye bokes of Cassiã, saint Gregory, sait Austyn, saint Hierom, & many other holy vertuous mē, ye shall (excepte ye beleue them not seruе and know, ye god hathe for his G seruãtes done many a great miracle, in very smal maters. And so much ye more are we bounden to hys goodnes, in that he vouchsafeth, so familyerly in small thynges to shew vs so great a tokē of his mighty godhed. And no reasõ wer it, to withdrawe his thank & honour because of his familier goodnes. And if ye paduenture wouldе not beleue theyr wrytinges, go to Thrisses gospell & loke on his first miracle, whither he might not haue prouided for wine wout miracle. But suche was hys pleasure in a small matter, to do a great myracle, for some shew of hys godhed amonge thē whō he H vouchsauſed, where on the other side a fore Herode ye wouldе faine haue seene some miracle, where it stode vpō his life & might haue delyuered him frō ye iewes yet would he not vouchsauſe, eyther to shew the prowde curyous king one miracle, or speake one worde. So ye times, places, & occasiõs resõ is ye we suffre to rest in his arbiterint & not loke to pscribe & appoint thē at our pleasure, & els blasspheme thē & say we will not beleue thē.

Joan. 2. Wherefore Christ turned water into wine. Luc. 23.

¶ The. xii. chapiter.

¶ The author sowhat noteth the frowarde mindes of many folke that would be very harde to beleue a man in a myracle vpon hys othe and very

A light and a shrewde tale to beleue a woman on her worde.

NOw where ye require how many wytnes should be requisite & suffice to make you thinke your selfe in reaso, to haue god cause to beleue so strange a thinge, me thynketh ý right fewe were sufficient of thē ý wold say they saw a great good thing done by the power and goodnes of god, excepte it be harde for vs to beleue, eyther that god is so myghty that he may do it, or so good that he woulde do it.

¶But because ye wold wit of me, how many recordes wer requisyte, that thig B standeth not so muche in nombre as in weight. Some twaine be more credible than some. r. And albeit ý I se not gretly why I shoulde mistrust any one that semeth honest & telleth a god tale of god in which ther appereth no special cause of lyenge, yet if any witnes will serue you, than would I wit of you, how many your selfe would agree. For I now put case that ther came. r. diuers honest men of good substance out of. r. dyuers parties of the realme, eche of them wan offering at one pilgrimage, as for ensāple at our Lady of Ipswich, eche one of them affirming vpon their othe, a my- C racle done vpon thē selfe, in some great sodayn helpe, wel appering to passe the power of craft or nature, would ye not beleue that amonge them all, at the lest wise twaine of those. r. sayde trewe?

¶No by our lady qhe, not & there were r. & rr. ¶Why so q I. ¶Mary q he, for were they neuer so many, hauing none other witnes, but eche man telling hys tale for him selfe, thei be but single all & lesse thā single. For euery miracle hath but one recorde, & yet he not credible in his owne cause. And so neuer a miracle D well proued. ¶Well sayd I, I like wel your wisdome, that ye be so cyrcūspect that ye will nothing beleue wout good sufficient & full prose. ¶I put you than q I, an other case, that. r. yong women not very specially knowen for god, but taken out at auenture, dwelling all in one towne, wold report & tel that a freer of good fame, hyring their confessions at a pardon, would haue giuen them al in a penaunce to let hym lye with them on your faith would ye not beleue, that amonge so many some of thē said trewe?

¶Yes ý I woulde q he by ý Mary mas beleue they sayd true all. r. & durst well swere for thē, & thei wer but. ii. ¶Why so q I, they be as single witnes as the other, of whom I tolde you before. For E none of them cā tel what was said to an other, & yet they be vnfworne also, and therwith be they but women, which be more light & lesse to be regarded, dwelling al in one town also & therby might thei the more easely cōspire a false tale.

¶They be q he, witnes good ynough for such a matter, the thing is so likely of it selfe, ý a freer will be womanyshe, loke the holy horeson neuer so sayncty.

¶We deny not q I, but god may as easly do a good turne by myracle, as anye man may do an euil by nature. ¶That is trew q he, and he lisk. ¶Well q I, se F now what a good way ye be in, ý are of your owne god godly minde, more redy to beleue. ii. simple women that a mā will do nought, than. r. or. rr. men that god wyll do good.

¶The. xiii. chapter.

¶The author sheweth the vntoward minde of many men, whiche in miracles so hyely touching the honour of god & wele of their owne soules, wyl neither beleue other folk ý tel thē, nor them self douchsaufe to go proue him.

BUt sith that this kinde of prose will not suffice you, I dare sai, G if ye would seke and enquere, ye shoulde finde many done in your dayes, in the presēce of much people. ¶Where shold I se that q he? ¶Ye myght q I, vpō good friday euery yere this. ii. C. yere til within this. v. yere, ý the turkes haue taken the towne, haue sene one of the thornes ý was in Crisses crowne, bud & bring forth flowers in ý seruice time, if ye would haue gone to ý Rodes? ¶So farre q he? nay yet had I leuer haue gods blessing to beleue that I se not, than go so far therfore. ¶I am well appaied q I thereof, for if ye had H leuer beleue than take the payne of a longe pilgrimage, ye wyll neuer be so stycke in any oppinio, ý ye wyl put your selfe in ieopardy for pertynacy and thorne standing by your parte. ¶Nay mary q he, I warrant you that, I wyll neuer be so madde, to holde tyll it ware to hote. For I haue such a fonde fantasy of mine owne, ý I had leuer shyuer & shake for cold in ý middes of somer, thā be burned in the middes of winter.

Note this miracle of the thorne.

¶Verily saied q I, but yet in ernest, where suche a solempne yerely myracle is wrought, so wonderfly in the face of the world before so great a multitude, it is a great vntowardnes in a thinge so holy

A mery supposed tale.

A holy touching the honour of god & helth of our owne soule, both to mystrust all them that say they haue sene it, and eyther of slouth or incredulite, not vouchsaufe himself to proue it. ¶ If I should haue gone quod he, and founde it a lye, than had I walked a wise iourney, and on the other side, if I shoulde haue sene there such a thinge myselfe, yet could I scantly reken my selfe sure. ¶ No q I, that were a strange case. ¶ Not very strange quod he. For where ye spake of miracles done before a multitude, a mā may be disceyued therin right well.

B ¶ The. xiiii. chapiter.

¶ The messenger maketh obiection that myracles shewed before a multitude, may be fayned, & by the auctho shewed how the goodnes of god bringeth shortly the trouth of such falshed to light, with ensāples thereof one or two reherſed, & further shewed that many miracles there bee, whiche no god cristen mā may deny to be trew.

SOme priesse to bringe vp a pilgrimage in his parishe, mayde-uise some false feldwe fayning hym selfe to come seke a saint in

C hys chyrch, and there sodeinly say, that he hath gotten hys syght. Than shall ye haue the belles rong for a miracle. And the fonde folke of the countrey soone made holes. Than women commynge thither with theyr candels: And the person byenge of some lame begger. iii. or. iiii, payre of theyr olde crutches with xii. pennes spent in men and women of wer, thrust thorowe diuers places some with arrowes, & some wyth rusty knyuys, wyll make hys offerynges for one hy. yere, worth twise hys tithes.

¶ Thys is q I, very trouth that suche

D thynges may be, and sometime so be in dede. As I remēber me that I haue hard my father tell of a begger, that in kyng Hēry his daies the sixt, cam wō his wife to saint Albonis. And there was walking about the towne begging a fiue or six dayes before the kinges commynge thither, saienge ý he was borne blinde, and neuer sawe in hys lyfe. And was warned in hys dreame, that he shoulde come out of Berwyke, where he said he had euer dwelled to seke saynt Albon, & that he had ben at his shryne, & had not bene holpen. And therfore he woulde go seke hym at some other place for he had hard some say sins he came ý sainct Albonys body shold be at Colon, & in dede such a contencion hath ther ben. But of troth as I am surely informed, he lieth

E here at saint Albonis, sauing some reliques of him, which thei there shew shrined. But to tell you forth whan ý kyng was comen, & the towne full, sodaynlye thys blind man, at saint albonis shrine had his sight agayne, and a myracle solemply rongen, and *te deum songen*, so that nothyng was talked of in al tye towne, but tyis myracle. So happened it than, that duke Humfry of glocester a great wyse man and very wel lerned, hauing great Joy to se such a myracle, called ý pore man vnto hym. And first shewing him self Joyouse of goddes glory so shewed in the gettinge of his sight, & exortinge hym to mekenes, & to none ascribing of any part the worship to him self nor to be proude of the peoples prayse, which would call hym a good & a godly man therby. At last he loked well vpon hys eyen, & asked whyther he could neuer se nothing at al, in al his life before. And whan as well his wyfe as him self affermed faslely no, thā he loked aduisedly vpō his eien again, & said, I belene you very wel, for me thinketh that ye cā not se well yet. ¶ Yes syr q he I thanke god & his holy marter, I can se nowe as well as any man. ¶ Ye can q the duke G what colour is my gowne? Thā anone the begger tolde him. ¶ What colour q he is this mans gowne? He told him also, & so forth without any sticking, he told him the names of al ý coiours that coulde bee shewed him. And whan my lord saw ý, he bad him walke faytoure, & made him be set openly in the stockes. For though he could haue sene soudēly by miracle ý dyfference betwene diuers colours, yet coulde he not by the syght so sodenly tell the names of all these colours, but if he had knowē them before, no more than the names of al the men ý H he should sodēly se. ¶ Lo therfore I say quod your frende, who may bee sure of such thynges whan suche pageantes be played before all the towne. I remēbre me now what a worke I haue herde of that was at Lempster in that kings fathers daies wher ý priour brought priuely a strange wēche in to the chyrch ý said she was sent thither by god, & wold not lye out of the chirch. And after she was grated wōin yron gratis aboue in ý rode loft; wher it was beleued she liued wōut any meate or drink, only by āgels fode. And diuers times she was houseled in sight of ý people wō an host vnconsecrate, & al the peple lokīng vpō, there was

Humfrey duke of glocester.

A was a deuice w̄ a smal heare ý cōueied ý
holt frō ý paten of ý chalice, out of ý priours handes into her mouth, as though it came alone, so that all the people not of the towne only, but also of the countrey aboute tooke her for a very quicke sainct, & daily sought so thick to see her that mani ý could not come nere to her, cryed out aloude, Holy maiden Elyzabeth helpe me, & wer fain to throw their offring ouer their felowes heddes for preasse. Nowe lay the priour with holy mayden Elyzabeth nyghtly in the rode loofte, tyl she was after taken out & tried in the keping by my ladye ý kinges mother. And by the longing for mete with
B voidāce of ý she had eten (which had no saintly sauoure) she was perceiued for no saint, & confessed al the matter. ¶ In faith quod I, it had ben great almes the priour, & shee had ben burned togyther at one stake: what came of the priour.
¶ Quod he ý can I not tell but I wene he was put to such punishement as the pore none was, ý had giuen her in penance to say this verse. *Miserere mei deus, quoniam conculcauit me homo*, w̄ a great threte, that and she did so any more she should say the hole psalm. But as for holy Eli-
Psalm.56.
zabeth, I herde say she liued & fared wel
C and was a common harlot at Calyce many a fayre day after, where she laughed at the matter full merelye. ¶ The more ppte quod I, ý she was so let passe.
¶ That is trouth quod he. But nowe what say you, what truth cā we haue, or at lest way what suretye cā we haue in such thinges, whan we see them fayned so shamefully in the face of the worlde, so openly and so much people abused so farre, that they wold not haue letted to swere, and some to ieoperde their lyues thereon, that all thys worcke was
D wrought by gods owne hande, tyll the trouth came to light, & the drabbe driue out of the chyrche in the deuyls name.
¶ Merely said I there was abusion in the one syde, and great foly in the other syde. And as that noble duke Hymfrey wisely found out the falshed of that blison begger, so dyd that noble lady the kinges mother prudently decypher and founde out that beastlye fylthe. And to say the trouth there was cause ynough in both these parties, wherof the people might reasonably gather so much suspicion, that yf they had made therupon sufficiēt inquisitiō and serch, thei could neuer haue ben so far abusid. For bothe might thei wel mistruste a beggers word
whō thei had but newly knowē, & well
E likely to lye for to win kyrst fauour and after money. And also men might well think ý a yong she sait, was not metely to be shrynid quicke, in a monastery amonge a meany of monkes. And yet in cōclusion because no such fayned wonders should enfame goddes very miracles, his goodnes shortly brought them both to knowlege. And so doth his especiall cure & prouidēce bring euer shortly such falshed & faitery to light to their shame and confusion. And as he did in
F Berna a great cite in Almaigne bring to knowlege the false miracles, wherbi certayne freers abusyd the people, for which they were openly burnyd. And so god alway bryngeth such false miracles to light. Nay nay quod he, there be many such I warāt you that neuer com to light, and are stil takē for very good.
¶ Ye can not very wel warant it quod I, For sith god brought to light ý false fained miracle of the prestes of the ydol Bell in the olde time, as appereth in ý xiiij. chap. of ý profet Daniel, it is more like ý amonge christen mē he wil suffer no such thinges longe lye hid. And also how can ye warant that many of those
G miracles be false. For while there is no doute but many be trew, and ye knowe not any whiche ye precisely knowe for false, ye be not sure whither any be such or not. ¶ Mary quod he, that reasō holdeth as well on the other syde. For syth I know not any which I pcisely know for trew, I knowe not whither any bee trew or not. ¶ Nay quod I that argument will not serue you so. For though no mā byndeth you to beleue that euery thinge ys trewe, that is tolde for a miracle, yet some there be of which ye muste uedes reken your self sure, & of which ye can not if ye be a cristen man haue any
H scruple or doute. ¶ Ye quod he: Fayne would I wyt, which were one of those.
¶ Mary quod I, all that are written in the gospell. ¶ Mary quod he that wote I wel, but them we speke not of, for thei wer done by god him self. ¶ Why quod I, be they not so all: If ye will not agre that ye be sure of any which be tolde by sayntes, what say you by the myracles of the apostels written by sayntt Luke.
¶ Nay q̄ he, ye mistetake me yet, for I do not meane any mistrust in the miracles done of olde time by god for hys apostles or holi marters, in corroboraciō & setting forth of ý faith. I meane onely these miracles ý men tel & talk of now a
dayes,

A days, to be done at those images, where these pilgrimages, be & where we se soe of the our selfe, pued plainly false. And yet tolde for so trew, and so many false threwes to affirme it, so many symple soules trust it, so much folishe folke beleue it, that a mā may wel w̄ reasō mistrust al the remenant. ¶ Ye haue ye I, more oft then ones spoken of a differēce betwene ý miracles done by god in olde time, & these miracles ý ar done or tolde to be done now a dates at pilgrimages. But surely if ye grāt the miracles done of old time, we nede no more for ý prose of al our matter. For I trowe that pilgrimagys and miracles done at them be very olde thiges, & not thinges newly begon nowe a dayes, except ye call a thousande yere a go, or. xiiii. hundred yere a go, now a dayes. For I am very sure that so longe a go & yet longer to, did good christen people pray to saintes & go in pilgrimage to theyr holy relyques, & had ymages in great veneraciō, & many wonderfull miracles dyd our lorde worke for the comprobaciō of hys hygh pleasure to the conseruacion and encrease of the deuocyon of hys christen people therin, as we fynde largelye written & reported in the godly bokes of holy saint Gregory, saint Austin, saint Hierom, saint Eusebyus saint Basyle, saint Crisostom, & many another olde holy doctour of Christes chyrch, whose bokes were not vnwritten this thousād yere. And where ye say that of miracles many be nowe a dayes fayned, so maye it be that some were than also, but neyther than nor now neyther, were nor be all fayned. And any beyng trew al were thei right few, suffised for our purpose. For if god had but with one miracle declared that the thing contenteth & pleaseth him in his chirch, it must nedes suffise for the chirch against al the heretyques in the world, that euer wold bark against the chyrch therin. And therfore ther cā be no doubte in the matter wher god hath declared his plesure by so many a thousand, and that in euery tyme, not only now a dayes but also a thousand yere or fourtene hundred yere, and yet more to, before our dayes. And as for fained miracles of whych ye speake somuch, albeit that some such hath ben, yet I verely thynke that neyther of olde time, nor now, christ among christē peple suffreth not such thinges to happen oft, nor such delusion to last longe, but (shortly to their shame as it hath apered in some) doth vtter & make open their falsehed as him selfe said of al such. That ye whisper one in an others eare shall bee pched out alowde vpon the ridge of the house rofe. ¶ The. xv. chap.

Pilgrimages were. viiii. C. yere a go.

¶ The author sheweth that if of those miracles ý are told & writtēto be done at diuers pylgrimages, & commenly beleued for very trew, we certeynlye knew some fallsly fayned, yet were ý no cause to mistrust the remenaunt.

But bee it that amonge so many miracles as be dayly tolde and writē done at diuers pilgrimagys, betwene which miracles, & other, why ye put a difference, we shall as I sayed before, knowe further your minde hereafter. And be it also that of suche as longe haue bee reputed and still taken for trew, your self vndoutedly knewe some for very false, wouldye therfore thinke ý amonge al ý remenāt, there were neuer one trewe? what yf ye finde some fayre womā paynted, whose colour ye had went were naturall, wil ye neuer after beleue ý any womā in the world hath a fayre colour of her self? If ye finde some false flatterers ý longe semed frendely, wil ye take euer after al ý world for such? If some pue starke ypocrites, whō ý world wold haue sworne good and godly men, shall we therefore mistrust al other for theyr sake, & wene there were none good at all? ¶ By my trouthe ye he, I rode ones in good company, & to sai the trouth for gwd cōpany to walsighā in pilgrimage, wher a gwd fellows horse so fel in halting, ý he was faine to hire an other, & let him go lose, which was so lene & so pore & halted sore ý empty as he was he coulde scant kepe fote with vs. And whā we had went we should haue left him behind, sodenly he spyed a mare, & forth he lymped on three legges so luskly, ý his maysters horse w̄ four fete, could scāt ouertake him. But whan he caught him & cam agayne, he sware in gret anger al ý othes he might swere, ý he wold trust halting sir Thomas the worse while he lyued. What was that halting sir Thomas quod I. ¶ Mary ye he theyr parishe prieste as he tolde vs, as lene & as pore and as haulting as his hors, & as holy to. But syns he would while he liued mistrust ý halting preest for his halting horse, if I find an holy horeso halte in ypocrisie, I shal not faile while I liue, to trust al his fellowes ý worse. ¶ Well quod I ye speke merily, but I wote well ye wyll do better whatsoeuer ye saye.

I mery tale

A Nor I am sure though ye se some white sapyre or byrall so well counterfeit, and so set in a ring, that a right good iueller will take it for a Diamounde, yet will ye not doubt for al that, but that ther be in many other ringes, al ready set right dyamountes in dede. Nor ye will not mistrust sainct Peter for Judas. Nor though the Jewes wer many so noughty, that they put Christe to death, yet ye be wiser I wote well, than the gentlewoman was, which in talking once wõ my father whan she harde saye that our Lady was a Jew, first could not beleue B it, but saide, what ye mock Jwis, I pray you tel trouth. And whan it was so fully affermed that she at laste bileued it, & was she a Jewe quod she, so help me god and halidom I shall loue her the worse while I liue. I am sure ye will not so, nor mistrust all for some, neither mẽne nor miracles.

merye tale.

¶The.16 Chapiter.

¶The anthour sheweth that who so would enquere, should sone find that at pilgrimages bẽ dayly many gret and vndouted miracles wrought & well knowen. And specially he speketh of ỳ great & opẽ myracle shewed at our Lady of Ippiswitche of late vpon the doughter of syr Roger wentworth knight.

C And as for the point that we spake of, concerning myracles done in our dayes at diuers images, wher these pilgrimages be, yet could I tel you sõe such done so openly, so farre from all cause of suspicion, and therto testified in suche sufficient wyse, that he might seme almoste madde that bring the whole matter, wil mistruste the miracles. Amõg which I durst boldly tell you for one, the wonderful work of god, that was within these few yeres wrought, in ỳ house of a right worship D full knight syr Roger wenworth, vpon diuers of his children, and specially one of his doughters a very faire yong gentlewoman of.xii.yeres of age, in mervailous maner vexed and tormented by our ghostly enemy the deuill, her minde alienated and rauing with despysyng & blasphemy of god, and hatred of all halowed thinges, with knowledge & parceiuing of the halowed from the vnhalowed, al wer she nothing warned therof. And after that moued in her own mind C and monished by the will of god, to goo to our Lady of Ippiswitche. In the wai of which pilgrimage, she prophesied & tolde many thinges dons and said at the same time in other places, whiche were proued true, and many thinges said, lying in her traunce of such wisdome and learning, that right conning mẽ highly merueiled to hyre of so yonge an vnlearned maiden, whan her self wist not what she saide, such thinges vttered & spoken, as well learned me might haue missed with a lõg study, and finally beyng brought and laide before the image of our blessed Lady, was there in ỳ sight of many worshipful people so grieuously tormẽted, and in face, eyen, loke, and countenaunce so griselye chaunged, wõ F her mouth drawen aside, and her eyen laide out vpon her chekes, that it was a terrible sight to behold. ¶And after many merueilous thinges, at ỳ same time shewed vpõ diuers psons by ỳ deuil thorowe goddes sufferaunce, as wel al the remenaunt as the maiden her self in the presence of all the companye resorted to their good state perfitely cured and sodeinly. ¶And in this matter no pretext of begging, no suspicion of faining, no possibilitie of coũterfeityng, no simplenes in the seers, her father and mother right honorable and rich, sore abashed, to see suche chaunces in their children, the witnesses, great noumbre, G and many of great worshippe, wisdom, and good experience, the maide her selfe to yonge to fayne, and the fashion it self to straunge for any man to faine. And the ende of the matter vertuous, the virgine so moued in her mind with the miracle, that she forth with for ought her father coulde do, forsoke the world and professed religion in a very good & godly company at the mynoresse, where she hath liued well & graciously euer sins.

The.17.Chapiter.

¶The messenger layeth forth obiec- H ctions against miracles done at pilgrimages, of whiche he confesseth manye to be true. But he layeth causes & reasons wherby he saith ỳ many menne be moued to beleue and thynk that those miracles that be done ther, bee done by the deuill to sette oure heartes vpon ydolatrie by the worshippyng of ymages in stede of God.

A But now albeit as I said that I might allege you this myracle, and proue it you i such wise, ý I wote wel ye wouldebee as farre out of all doubte therof, as ye would bee depe in the mernaile of the miracle. And paraduenture diuers other could I shewe you done of late at diuers pilgrimages, and proue them wel to, yet would I fain fyrst hyre of you, what distinction and difference is ý, that ye make, & wherefore ye make it betwene ý miracles done of old time, and these that be nowe a dayes done at B these pilgrimages. ¶ Syr quod he, some what a litle I touched it in ý beginning and made in a maner a glaunce therat. ¶ But lothe wer I to hyt it w̃ a ful shot & a sharpe, as I haue sene some w̃ suche reasons cleue the pricke in twayne, that they semed to bere ouer the but and all. Which reasons I woulde be lothe in so sore maner to allege. Lest I might happely geue you some occasion, to think ý eyther I set to somewhat of myne own, or els at the lesse wise, lyked wel that side and wer a fauourer of that faccion.

¶ Naye nay quod I, fere not that hardly, for neither am I so suspicious, to mistrust that one thinketh euil, because he C defendeth the worse part wel by the wai of argument and reloning. And also I trust that all their shottes shall be so far to feble to beare ouer the but, that fewe of them shall touche the marke, manye to faint to perce the paper. And some to hygh, and some to short. And some walk to wyde of ý but by a bowe. ¶ And therfore I require you spare not to bryng forth al that euer ye haue heard, or that ye think may be said in ý matter. ¶ Sir quod he, sith ye can hyre it so indifferētly, I shal not spare to speke it. And surely to beginne with all that I think true, I will not fayle to confesse. For all be it D that I haue long sticked w̃ you to withstand any credence to be geuen to miracles done now a dayes, in which I haue much the lenger sticked because of some whome I haue knowen or this so farre from the beleue of any miracles at all, that in good faith they put me halfe in doubte whether they beleue that there were god at all, yf they durst for drede & shame haue saide all that they semed to thinke, yet to saye the trouth I neuer herde any thyng sayde so sore therein, that euer moued me to thinke that anye reasō wold bere the importuns mistrust of them, that among so many an opē miracle as is daily in diuers places done, E would wene that none at all were true. But verely as I begon a litle to touche in the beginning, whether these myracles be made by god and for good faites, or by the deuil for our deceit and delusion (albeit I beleue and euer wyll as the church doth) yet some men among some such thinges say therin, ý I am drieuen to do as I do in other articles of ý faith, lene fast vnto belief for any reason that I finde to make thē answer w̃. For first thei take for a groūd ý the deuil may do myracles. Or if we liste not to suffer thē called by that name, the matter shall be therby nothing amended, for if we will haue onely called by the name of myracles thinges by god done aboue nature, Myracles. F yet wil we not deny but ý god suffereth the deuil to work wōders, which ý people can not discerne frō miracles. And therfore whā thei se thē, miracles shall thei call them, & for miracles shall they take thē. Now sith it so is, that the deuyl may do such thinges, whereby shall we be sure that god doth them, and sithe the deuil maie doo them, and we be not sure that god dothe them, why may not we as wel beleue that the deuil dothe them. ¶ Mary sayd I, ye tolde me that ye sette nought by Logycke, but now ye playe ý Logicie out right. Howbeit ý argumēt G mē may turne on the other side and say, ý sith god may do thē muche better than the deuil, & we be not sure that the deuil doth thē, why should we not rather beleue that god doth them, which may do thē better. And much more reason it is, where a wonderful worke is wrought, there to ascribe it to god the maister of all maistries, rather than the deuil, that can do nothing but by suffrance, except we see some cause that can not suffer ý The deuil doth nothing but by suffeyraunce. worke to be rekened gods. ¶ Wel quod he, than is it reason ý we shew you some such case. ¶ It is quod he cause ynough H in that we see that god hath in scripture Exodus. 20. forbodden such ymagerye, & that vnder Psalme. 113. great maledicciōn, as in the law which your self spake of before. ¶ *Non facies tibi sculptile.* And in the Psalme. *In exitu Israel de Egipto*, where fyrst by the mouth of ý Prophete, discribeth the folly of such as worshippeth those images, that hath eares & can not hyre, handes and can not feele, feete and can not goe, mouth and cānot speake. All whiche absurdities & vnreasonable folyes appeareth as well in the worshippe of our ymages, as in the Paynims ydolles. And after he sheweth

the

A the maledicciones that shall fall thereupon. Seing lyke mote thei be to them al, such as make them, & all such as putteth their trust in thē. And foorthwith he declareth in whō good mē haue their trust, & the profit that procedeth therupō, saying. *Domus Israel speruit in domino, adiutor eorum & protector eorum est.* The house of Israell hath put their trust in our lorde the helper and defender of them is he. Nowe when the wordes of god be clere, open & plaine vpon this side, what reason is it to beleue the cōmentes & gloses of men suche as ye brought foorth right nowe, wherwith ye would winde out agaynst B the true textes of god? What should we geue credence to the ensample of mens doynges against the plaine commaundement of gods writinges? And whan ye onely Christ is our sauiour and mediator to bryng our nature again to god, & our onely protectour and aduocate afore his father, & maye helpe vs best and will helpe vs most, what shall we make either our Lady or anye other creature our aduocate, or pray to them, which of likelyhode hyre vs not? For there can none of thē be present at so many places at once, as they be called vpon. And yf they wer, yet ar they no nere vs thā god himself, nor so fain would ye we did wel as he that dyed for vs. And therfore whā C we not onely do them reuerence (which I wer content wer done them, for gods sake as ye saide before) but also praye to them, we do Christ and god great iniury. For if we pray to them as mediators & aduocates for vs, we take fro Christe his office and geue it them. Yf we aske helpe & heith of them, than make we thē plain goddes and betake to thē ye power of the godhead. For onely god is it, ye geueth all good as witnesseth sait James. ¶ Euery good and very perfite gifte cōmeth from aboue descendyng from the father of lightes. And surely if we consider howe we behaue vs to them though ye saye that al the honor geuē to saintes redoundeth vnto god, sithe it is done as D ye saye: not for theyr owne sakes but for his, yet would I not wene, god bee well content that we shoulde for his sake doo to any creature like honor as to hiselfe. For scripture saith that he wil not geue his glory fro him, nor to any other creature lyke honor as to himself. And therfore ye scholes as I here say deuise a treble difference in worshipping, calling ye one *Dulya* the reuerence or worship that man doth to man, as the bonde man to ye Lorde. The seconde *Yperdulia* that a man doth to a more excellente creature as to aungels or saintes. The thirde *Latria* the veneracion honour and adoration ye creatures doth onely to god. In whiche of these parties ye put the worshippyng of Images, I am neyther so well sene therin to tell, nor so curious greatlye to care. But this I se wel if any of al these iii. kyndes of worship bee better than other the ymages hath it. For they haue all that euer we can doe. For what doo we to god when we do worship hym in that fashiō that they call Latria, but we do the same to saites and ymages both: if it stande in kneling we knele to saites & their ymages, if in praying, we praye as bitterly to them as to god. If in sensing and setting vp of candels we sense them also and set some sainct. vii. cādels against god one. So that what so euer fashiō or worshipping of Latria be, the same is as largely done to saintes and ymages as to god. And this not vnto ymages onely (whiche though they haue no life haue yet some shape and fashion after man) but as mē wene vnto pigges bones also sometyme. For what reuerēt honor is ther daili done vnder the name and oppinion of a saintes relike, to som olde rotten bone that was happely some time as Chaucer saith a bone of sōe holy Jewes shepe. Se we not ye sōe one saites head is shewed in. iii. places. And some one hole saites body lyeth in diuers cōtreys, if we beleue the lies of the people. And in bothe the places is the one bodye worshipped wher the one or the other is false, & one body mistaken for another, an euill mā happely for a good. And yet will the prieستes of bothe places take offeringes and toll men thyther with myracles to. In which case eyther must ye say that the miracles of the one place be false and fained, or els ye miracles make not your matter good nor proue your pilgrimages trewe, and yet might all this gere be muche the better borne yf it were trewe that ye defende the thynges withall, when ye say ye in worshipping of saintes and images, menne worship neither the one nor the other as goddes, but the ymages for the saintes and the saintes for god. But now as it semeth ye matter is in dede farre otherwise. For the people praye to the saintes for theyr necessities, putting therto trust for their peticions in the saintes them selfe as though god gaue it not but they. And in the images put the people their trust in

Dulia.

Yperdulia.

Latria.

A stede of the saintes selfe. For albeit that
Note. it might stande w̄ reason as ye haue an-
swered me ý presupposed the miracles i
these pilgrimages to be done by god, the
people might then w̄ reason go seke and
visite such places as god by myracle de-
clared ýhe would haue himselfe or his ho
ly saintes sought & honored in, yet now
this aunswer toucheth the poynt but in
part & matcheth not ý hole matter. For
the people do not onely visite these pla-
ces & there do al the worship to the saites
that thei can possible do to god, w̄ hope
of their helpe from ý saintes selfe, which
thei should wel wit only to be geuen by
B God, & thus by this demenour make the
saintes gods felowes, that is to saye the
seruauntes matcheth with their masser
and the creatures mates to the maker)
but also vse thēselfe in as religious fashi-
on, & as feruent affection to the ymages
of stone or tree, as either to saint or god.
And plainly take these ymages for the
saintes selfe and for god himselfe. And put
in these ymages of their pilgrimages
their full hope and hole truste that they
should put in god. ¶ Which besides ý I
haue said before appeareth wel in this,
ý thei will make comparisons betwene
C our Lady of Ippiswitch and our Ladie
of Walsingham. As wening that one i-
mage more of power thē ý other, which
thei would neuer doe, but if in stede of
our Lady they put their truste in the y-
mage selfe. And the people in speaking of
our Lady: Of al our Ladies faith one, I
loue best our Lady of Walsingam. And
I saith ý other our Lady of Ippiswitch.
In whiche woordes what meneth she
but her loue & her affeccion to the stocke
ý standeth in the chapel of Walsingam
or Ippiswiche. ¶ What say you whan
the people speke of this fashion in they-
paines and perils. Helpe holy crosse of
Bradman. Help our dere Lady of Wal
singā. Doth it not plainly appeare that
D either thei trust in ý images in Christes
stede & our Ladies, letting Christ & oure
Lady go, or take at the lest wise those y-
mages so, ý thei wene thei wer verely ý
one Christ, the other our Lady her selfe?
And so euery way ý faith & deuocion w̄-
drawen frō god ý shold haue it, and our
heartes by these ymages blinded and set
vpon the dede stockes & stones. Now see
the good fruite also that foloweth ther-
vpō. I let passe ouer the faitry and fals-
hed that is therin vsed amōg, sometyme
by the priestes, sometime by beggers in
fayning of false miracles. Looke what
deuocion men come thither with. With ¶
the most come thei ý most abuse thēselfe,
suche I mene as most trust haue & blind
faith in these blinde ymages. But the
most part that cōmeth, commeth for no
deuocion at al, but onely for good com-
pany to bable thyther warde and drinke
dronk there, and daunce and rele home-
ward. And yet here is not alle. For I tell
you nothing nowe of many a noughtye
packe, many a flecke and his make that
maketh their ymages metinges at these
holsū hallowes. And many ý semeth an
honest huswife at home, hāth helpe of a
baude to bryng her to mischiefe as she wal-
keth abrode about her pilgrimages. I
herde once when I was a child the good
scottish freer father Donoide whom I
reken surely for a sainct, if there be any
in heauē. I herd him preache at Poules
crosse ý our Lady was a virgin, & yet at
her pilgrimages be made many a foule
meting. And loude he cried out, ye men
of Lōdon gange on your selfe with your
wiues to Wylleslō in the deuils nāme,
or els kepe them at home w̄ you with so-
row. And surely so mani good mē wene
it wer best, cōsiderīg ý these viages ben
but wandring about vanitie or superstit
cious deuocion, & the next dore to ydola-
trye when men haue their affeccions in
stede of god bounde to blockes & stones.
And now sith ý this gere is suche, what
G merualle is it though (as I saide before)
ý deuil be glad to geue attendance ther-
on, & do for his part what he may to help
his owne deuises forward? Or what
merualle is it though god in this cursed
world when we fall from him to other,
& frō the honor of himselfe to his saintes,
when we do as the paynims did in stede
of god worship mammottes, & al this by
falling to folow mens gloses before his
owne textes, what wonder is it though
Y god again serue vs as he serued thē, and
suffer the deuil delude vs as he did them,
& make vs leane to false miracles as we
fal wilfully to false gods? Thus sai thei
quod he ý speke on that side, & yet mache
more than I can call to mind. But sure-
ly sith ye willed me to forbere nothyng
I haue as I coulde rather sette to some-
what, not of mine own oppinion, but of
mine own inuencion the any thing lefte
out that I could remember which I had
euer herd any man ley, to proue the my-
racles done at pilgrimages to be vncer-
tain by whō thei bee wrought, or rather
to proue ý thei should not be gods mira-
cles but the deuils wonders.

E

F Frier Donoide.

Warke this ye Lōdoners

¶ The

A The. 18. Chapiter.

¶ The author differreth the answer to the foresaid obieccions, & fyrste by scripture he proueth, ý the churche of Christ cā not erre ī any necessary article of Christes faith. And in this chapiter ben those wordes of Christe specially touched. *Super cathedram Moysi sederunt. &c. Quæ dicunt vobis facite, quæ autem faciunt nolite facere*, concerning the authoritie of the churche.

B Surely quod I for my part I can you very good thāk, for ye haue not faintly defended your part, as though it wer a corrupted advocate, ý would by collusion handle his clientes matter febly for the pleasure of his aduersary, but ye haue saide therein I can not tell whether as muche as any man may saye, but certainly I suppose as much as ye either haue hard any mā say or can your self say. And at the least wise, much more than I haue herd of any mā els, or could haue said of my self. And vndoubted as ye spake of shotyng in the beginning, this gere howe nere it goeth to the prick, we shal see after. But this I promise you, it would fain beare ouer the but and al. For if it might hold & be bidden by, & wer as well able to bee C proued trew, as I trust to proue it false, the butte we shote at wer quite gone, for any suretie ý we could rekē of our faith & christendome. But now to come to the poit. Sith it is agrred al ready betwene vs, that at these images & pilgrimages miracles ben ther, either shewed by god for the cōpracio of his pleasure therin or wonders wroughte by the deuill for our delusion and damnacion. If it may either appere to vs, that thei be not done by the deuil, than will it wel folow that thei be done by god. Or if it be proued to be done by god for the good of his church D than wil it be clere inough, that they bee no wonders wrought by the deuill, to ý disceit of christen people. And sithe that either other of these parties proued, implieth the repro se of our purpose, I wyll assay to shew, & trust right wel to proue you the trouth of our syde, by some one of these waies or paraduenture by both that is to wete as well in prouing ý god doth these miracles, as in reprouing & confuting that thei should be done by ý deuill. And first would I faine mete w̄ your obieccions and aunswer thē forth-

with while thei be fresh, sauing ý me seme G ýh better for the while to differ them, forasmuch as som thiges ther be, wherupon it will be requisite, ý we firste bee both agreed: wout which we wer like to walke wide in wordes, & ronne at al ryot so lose, that our matter could neither haue grounde, order, nor ende. ¶ Nowe if I wer in this matter to dispute with a Patnim, that would make the question betwene their miracles and ours, albeit I should haue a clere matter in thend, yet must it nedes bee a long matter and much entriked or it shoulde come at the end. And hole bokes would it hold, both ý confuting of theirs, and vnto them the assertacion of our owne, specially for ý F thei receiue not our scripture, and betwene thē & vs nothig cōmune to groūd vpon but reason. And if we shoulde dyspute with a Jewe lesse labour should we haue, sith that we should haue with him (though he denie the new testament) yet reason and the olde testament agreed vpon, wherin we should not vary for the tert, but for the sentence and vnderstandyng. For therin we should haue hym stykly withstande vs. But now sith we shall in oure matter dispute and reason with those that agree themselfe for christen men, our dispicions is so muche the shorter, in that we must nedes agree together in mo thiges. For we muste agre G in reson wher faith refuseth it not. And ouer that we shall agree vpon the hole corpus of scripture, as well the new testament as the old. But in the interpretacion we may paraduenture stycke, Is it not so? ¶ Yes quod he. ¶ Wel quod I, is ther any other thing wherin ye think ý we shal vary, but ý interpretacio of ý scripture? ¶ Not ý I remember ꝙ he, except the conclusio it self, whe upon we talk, as of ý worshipping of ymages, or praying to saintes, in which mē thynke ther cā be no great questio, if ý scripture be wel interpreted. ¶ Ye do ꝙ I agree, ý such thinges as ar mēcioned in ý gospel spokē by Christ vnto saint Peter & other H apostles & disciples, wer not only sayde to thēselfe, nor only for thēselfe, but to thē for their successours in Christes flocke, & by thē to vs al, ý is to wit euery mā as shal apperteine to his part. Wherebymene you ý ꝙ he. ¶ I mene ꝙ I, as for ensample when he said: *Nisi abundauerit iustitia vestra plusquam scribarum & pharisiorum, non introibitis in regnum celorum.* Except your iustice abound & excede ý iustice of the Scribes

That this was sayde to the Apostles was sayde to their successors.

Math. 5.

A and Pharisees, ye shall neuer come in heauen. And where he sayth, if ý wilte enter into the kingdom of heauen, kepe ý cõmaundementes, dyd not he say such thinges to thẽ for all christen men that should come after? ¶ I thinke yes quod he, for the seconde worde concernyng ý cõmaundementes. But as for the first, ý their iustice should be better than the iustice of the Scribes and Pharisies, peauenture he spake specially e to his Apostles thẽself, ý thei shold not bee like ý B Scribes & Pharisies, whiche commaũded other many thinges, and did nothig thẽself. ¶ That is in my minde q I wel taken, & so doth holy sainct Austyne expounde it. But sith ye think he said that woorde to his apostles specially, rather than to all his hole flock, whither think you that he saide it onely to them, or els to all other also that shoulde after come in their places and succede thẽ in office? ¶ Nay for god q he to all that bysshops he saide it, and prelates and spirituall rulers of his churche, that euer shal bee in the churche, forbidding them to bind and lay vpon other poore mens backes C importunable burdeyns, to the bearing wherof themself will not once put forth a fynger. ¶ Verye well saide q I, what think you than of that he sayde, Doo ye such thinges they bid you do, but not as ye see thẽ doo? ¶ In that would our lord q he, that al the people should do al that the prelates should commaunde, as far as was commaũded in the law by god, but he ment no further. And therfore he said that thei sat vpon the chaire of Moises, and he willed ý they should for that cause be obeyed. And therin he mente in such thinges onely as thei shoulde commaunde, ý were by god commaunded ý D people, in the law geuẽ to Moyses. And that christen men in likewise obeye the bishops and prelates, cõmaunding only suche thinges as hymselfe hath commaunded his people in his ghospell and his owne lawe. ¶ And in nothing els q I: what meaneth it than that our Lord in the parable of the Samaritane, bearing the wounded man into the Inne of his church, and deliuering him to the host after that himself hadde dressed hys woundes w̃ wine & oyle, & left w̃ ý hoste ý. ii. grotes of ý. ii. testamẽtes, ymised ý host beside, ý what so euer ý host would bestow vpõ hi more, he wold whã he cãe again recõpence hi therfore. And also in ý place ý we spake of, our sauiour said ý ý Scribes & Pharisees beside the law of Moises on whose seate they sat, dyd lay E gret fardels & fast boũd thẽ on other mẽs backes, to ý bering wherof they would not moue a finger thẽself. And yet for al ý he bad ý people do what theyr prelates wold bid thẽ, though ý burdẽ wer heuy. And let not to do it though thei shold seý bidders do clene cõtrary. For which he added, but as thei do, do not you. ¶ By our Lady q he, I like not this glose. For it maketh al for ý bondes, by whiche the lawes of ý church bind vs to more a do, thã the Iewes wer almost w̃ Moses law And I wote wel Christ said come to me, ye ý be ouercharged, & I shal refresh you And his apostles said ý the bare lawe of Moises beside ý ceremonies ý wer set to F by ý Scribes & the Pharisies, wer more thã euer thei wer able to beare & fulfill. And therfore Christ came to cal vs into a law of liberte. And ý was in taking away the band of those wery ceremonial lawes. And therfore saith our sauior of ý law ý he calleth vs vnto, mi yoke (saith he) is fit & easy, & my burden but lyghte. Wherby it apperethý he ment to take away the straite yoke & put on a more easy. And to take of the heuye burdẽ & laye on a lighter. Whiche he had not done yf he woulde lade vs with a fardell full of mens lawes, mo than a cart can cary away. The lawes of Christ q I, be made G by himself & his holy spirit, for ý gouernance of his people, & be not in hardnes & difficulte of keping anye thing like to the lawes of Moises. And therof durst I for nede make your self iudge. For yf ye bethik you wel, I wene if it wer at this age now to chose, you would rather bee boũdẽ to many of the lawes of Christes church, than to the circumsicion alone. For to as muche ease as we wene that Christ called vs, yet be not the lawes ý haue bene made by his churche of halfe the pein nor half the difficulte ý his own be, which hiself putteth in the ghospell, though we set aside the coũsels. It is I trow more hard not to swere at al, than H to forswere: to forbere eche angry word thẽ not to kil: cõtinual watche & prayer thẽ a few dayes apointed. Thã what an anriete & solicitude is ther in ý forberig of euery idle word? What an hard thiet after the wordly cõpt for a smal mater. Neuer was ther almost so sore a worde sayd vnto ý Iewes by Moises, as is to vs by Christ in ý word alone, wher he saith ý we shal of euery idle word geue accõpt at the day of iudgemẽt. What say ye thã by deuorses restrayned, & liberte of dy-

Mat. 23.

Mat. 11.

Acte. 15.

Mat. 11

The lawes made by the church, are of lesse difficulte the the lawes made by Christ.

Mat. 12

A uers wiues wōdrawen, wher thei had li-
bertie to wed for their pleasure, yt they
cast a fantasy to any ỳ they tooke in the
warre. One of ỳ ware is inough ꝙ he to
make any one mā warre. Now ỳ is me-
rily said ꝙ I, but though one eye wer y-
nough for a fletcher, yet is he for skore cō
tent to kepe twaine, & wold though they
wer somtime sore both, & should put him
to soe pain: what ease also cal you this,
ỳ we be boundē to abide all sorowe and
shameful death & al martirdome vppon
pain of perpetual damnaciō for the pro-
fession of our faith. Trowe ye that these
easy wordes of his easy yoke & light bur-
dein wer not aswel spokē to his apostles
B as to you, & yet what ease called he them
to. Called he not thē to watchig, fastig,
praying, preching, walking, hunger,
thirst, colde, & heate, beating, scourgig,
prisonment, painful & shamefull death.
The ease of his yoke standeth not in bo-
dily ease, nor the lightnes of his burden
standeth not in the slacknes of any bodi-
ly payn (except we be so wanton, ỳ wher
himself had not heauē without pain, we
loke to come thither with playe) but it
standeth in the swetenes of hope, wher-
by we fele in our pain a pleasaunt taste
of heauen. This is the thing as holy sait
Gregory Nazanzeno declareth that re-
fresheth men that are laden and maketh
C our yoke easy & our burdein light, not a-
ny deliueryng frō ỳ lawes of the church
or frō any good tēporal lawes eyther, in
to a lewde liberte of slouthfull rest. For
that wer not an easy yoke, but a pulling
of ỳ head out of the yoke. Nor it wer not
a light burdein, but all the burdein dys-
charged cōtrary to the wordes of sainct
Poule & saint Peter both, which as wel
vnderstode ỳ wordes of their maister as
these men do. And as a thing consonant
& wel agreable therw̄ do cōmaund vs o-
bedience to our superiours & rulers one
D & other in thinges by god not forboden,
although thei bene harde & sore. But see
for gods sake how we be rōne a gret wai
further thē I thought to go whē I begā,
& haue left ỳ we should go forth w̄ al. It
is no losse ꝙ he, for ther is a good thyng
well touched by ỳ way. Well ꝙ I let vs
go back again wher we left syth ye agre
ỳ Christ spake his wordes not to his A-
postles onli for their own time, but such
thinges as he said to thē he mente to all
that shold folow thē. And thereof some-
what he spake to thē for ỳ priestes & By-
shops only. As whē he said, *Vos estis sal terre*, Math.5.
ye be ỳ salt of ỳ erth, & sōwhat to ỳ whole
flock as whē he said: *Mandatum nouum do vo-* E
bis vt diligatis inuicem sicut ego dilexi vos. I geue Math.16.
you a new cōmādemēt ỳ you loue togi-
ther as I haue loued you. Tel me the I
require you, whā Christ said to sait Pe-
ter, Sathanas hath desired to sift the as
mē sift corne, but I haue prayed for thee
ỳ thy faith shal not faile: said he thys to
him as a pmise of ỳ faith to bee by gods
help ppetually kept & preserued in saint The whole
Peter only, or els in the hole churche, ỳ churche.
is to wete ỳ hole congregacion of christē
people professing his name & his fayth,
& abiding in ỳ body of ỳ same, not being
precided & cut of, meaning that his faith
shold neuer so vtterly fail in his church
but ỳ it shold hole & entier abide and re-
main therin. Mary ꝙ he this is good
to be aduised of. For though Christ for ỳ F
more part such thiges as he spake to one
spake to al, accordig to his own wordes, Mark.13.
Quod vni dico, omnibus dico, ỳ I saye to one I
say to al, yet some thinges he sayd & mēt
pticularly as he spake it. As whē he bad
saint Peter come vpō the water to hi, he Math.14.
bad not the rēnant come so. And so may
it paduēture be ỳ this word was spokē &
mēt toward Peter alone. That wil be ꝙ
I very hard to hold. For his faith after
failed. But sith ỳ vpō his firste confessiō G
of ỳ right faith ỳ Christ was gods sōne, Peter head of
our lord made him his vniuersal vicare the churche.
& vnder hi head of his church. And ỳ for
his successor he should bee the first vpon
whom & whose firme confessed faith he
wold bild his church, & of any ỳ was on-
ly mā make him the first & chiefe head &
ruler therof, therefore he shewed hi that
his faith, ỳ is to wete the faith by him cō
fessed, should neuer faile in his church,
nor neuer did it, notwstādīng his deny-
ing. For yet stode styl the light of fayth
in our Lady, of whō we rede in the gos-
pel cōtinual assistēce to her swetest sōne
wout fleyng or flitting. And in al other
we fynd either fleyng frō him one tyme H
or other, or els doubt of his resurrecciō
after his death (his dere mother onely ex-
cept.) For the significacion & remēbrāce Our Ladyes
wher of the church yerely in the tenebre Candis.
lessons leueth her candel burning styll,
when al the remnant that signifieth his
apostles and disciples be one by one put
out. And sith his faith in effect fayled, &
yet the faith that he professed abode styll
in our Lady, the promise that god made
was (as it semeth) mēt to hi, but as head
of the church. And therfore our lord ad-
ded thereto. And thou being one of these
dayes conuerted, confirme and strēgth

A thy brethrē. In which by these woordes our sauior mēt & promised that the faith shold stād for euer. So ý the gates of hel shold not preuaile thereagainst. Or els might ye say, ý these woordes spoken to saint Peter, fede my shepe, was mēt but for himself, & no cōmaundement to any successor of his or any bishop or prelate. And by ý meane might ye say also, that these wordes of Christes promise made vnto his disciples, ý the holy ghost shold enstruct thē of al thinges, wer only mēt for thēselfe in their owne persons. And B not ý euer he shold enstruct his churche after their dayes. And when he said, wherſoeuer be two or thre gathered together in my name, there am I my selfe amōg thē: we shall say by this meanes, ý he mēt but of his own disciples in his own time while he was here w̄ thē, and not ý he would be likewise present with such other congregacions in his church after. And finally, thē wer these wordes frustrate where he said: Lo, I am w̄ you al ý dayes to ý worldes ende. If he shold mene it but w̄ thē ý heard him speak it, then should it appere, ý he had entended a church only of thē, and for their tyme. And then from their death hither al wer done. Verely syr q̃ he, I can wel agre, ý al such thinges was spokē by Christe, C to make thē sure that ý faith should neuer faile in his churche. Howbeit yf I durst doubt in ý point, one thing is ther ý somwhat sticketh in my mind. Doubt on q̃ I betwene vs twayne & spare not, nor let not to tell me what moueth you. Sir q̃ he, I think ý god setteth no more by faith thē he doth by charitie. But as for charitie and good workes with vertuous liuing shall coole and dekay in ý church as our sauior saith in the. xxiiii. chapiter of Mathew. Because iniquitie shall abounde, the charitie of many mē D shal coole. And surely me thynketh it is wel nere al gone already. God forbid q̃ I. For albeit ý it greatly dayy by dayy dekayeth, & much people nought, yet be there mānye good men about, & shalbee alway though they be few in comparison of the multitude. And yet is not all one of other vertues & of faith, that is to wit, of knowlege & beleue of the articles of our faith. I meane of such articles as we be of necessite boūdē to beleue. For al beit ý the flock of Christ shal neuer lack good & deuout vertuous people, yet shal both ý best be sinners, & also muche more the multitude shall euer haue the faith that I speake of, than shall haue the goodnes of liuing. Why so q̃ he? For E two causes q̃ I. One, the malice of the people wherby thei wil not be to redy to liue wel as to beleue well. For ý people thēself will better kepe ý faith thē other vertues, sith it is a thing of lesse labour to know what thei shold beleue, & to beleue it also when thei know it, then it is to work wel. For though the knowlege & beleue bring many men to the labour of good workes, yet ý world commonly & the frailte of our flesh w̄ the enticemēt of our ghostlye enemies, make vs willingly & wittingly well knowyng & beleuing the good, yet to walke in ý worse as doth somtime the sicke man, that beleuing his phisicion, & hauing had also F. right often good proofe by his owne experience to his paine before, that some certain meate or drinke shall dooe hym harme, doth yet of an importune appetite fal for his litle pleasure to his great pain & hurt. Another cause is q̃ I, the goodnes of god, which howe far so euer his people fal frō the vse of vertue, shal not yet as himself hath promised suffer thē to fal frō ý knowlege of vertue, not onely for ý manifestaciō of his iustice, ý their own cōscience may condemne thē in doing the thinges ý thēselfe knowe to be nought: but also to ý entent thei may stil haue among thē a ypetual occasion G of amendement. For if ý faith wer once gone, & the church of Christ fallē in that error, ý thei beleued vice to bee vertue, & ydolatry to be ý right way of gods worship, thā had they no rule to geue thē to better. And therfore while we be not in error of vnderstanding & faith, howe so euer we fal, or how oftē so euer we sin, we see ý way to turne again by grace to gods mercy. But if faith were gone, all wer gone, & thā had god here no churche at al.

It is lesse labour to beleue then to worke well.

The. 19. Chapiter.

H The author proueth ý if the worship of ymages wer ydolatrie than ý churche beleuing it to be lawful and pleasant to god, were in a misbelieue & in a deadly error. And than wer the faith fayled in the churche, whereof Christ hath promised the contrary as is proued in the chapiter before.

SVrely syr q̃ he, that God made not his church for a while, but to endure tyll the worldes ende, that is there no christen mā but he wil wel agree. And sithe his churche cannot stand without faith, whiche is ý entris

A entrie into chrisstendome (for as saincte Poule saith, *Accedentem ad deum oportet credere,* whoso will come to god must nedes beleue) No man wil dēny but that fayth is & alway shalbe in his chirche. And that his chyrche not in fayth onely and the knowledge of the truethes necessarye to be knowne for our soule health, but also to the doing of good woorkes and auoyding of euils, is, hath been, & euer shalbe specially gyded and gouerned by God & the secret inspiracion of his holy spirit. ¶ Well quod I then, if the chyrch haue fayth, it erreth not in beliefe. ¶ That is trouth quod he. It should erre quod I, if it beleued not all the truthes that we be bound to beleue. ¶ What elles quod he. What and we beleued quod I al that is trewe, and ouer that some other thyng not only false, but also displeasāt to god did we not thē erre in our necessary beleue: wherby mene you that q he: ¶ As thus q I, if ý one beleued in all the thre parsones of the trinite, ý father ý sone & the holy gost, & therw̄ wer perswaded ý ther wer a fourth person beside, equal, & one god with thē. ¶ He must q he nedes erre in his necessary beleue, by which he is bounden to beleue in ý trinite. And ý felowe beleueth in a quaternitie. That is q I ý hole trinite & one moe. But we be not only not boundē q he to beleue in any mo, but also boūdē not to beleue in any moe. ¶ Very wel q I, thē erreth he asmuch and as far lacketh his right beleue that beleueth to much, as he ý beleueth to litle, & he ý beleueth some thyng ý he should not, as he that beleueth not some thing ý he shold. ¶ What els q he, & what the. ¶ Marye this q I, yf we beleue that it were lawfull & well done to pray to saincteS, & to do reuerence theyr ymages, & doo honour to their reliques, & visit pilgrimages. And than wher we do these thiges thei wer in dede not well done, but wer displeasaunt to god, & by him reputed as a minishment & a withdrawing of the honor dewe to himself, & therefore afore his magestie reproued & odious & taken as ydolatrie, were not this opinion a deadlye pestilent errour in vs, & a plain lacke of right faith: Yes for god q he. ¶ But ye grant q I, ý the church cā not erre in the right faith necessary to be beleued, whiche is geuen & alway kept in ý church by god. Trouth q he. Thā foloweth it q I, ý the church in ý it beleueth saintes to be prayed vnto, reliques and ymages to be worshypped, and pilgrimages to bee visited and sought, is not deceued nor doth not erre, but that the beleue of the church is true therin. And therypō also foloweth that the wonderful woorkes done aboue nature, at such ymages & pilgrimages, at holye reliques by prayers made vnto saites, be not done by the deuil to delude the church of Christ therwith, sithe the thing that the churche doth, is wel done & not Idolatrie. But by the great honor done vnto saintes, god himself the more highly honored, in that his seruauntes haue so muche honour for his sake. And therof foloweth it, that himself maketh the miracles in comprobacion therof. ¶ Also if it be true that ye haue granted that God kepeth and euer shall kepe in his church the right faith and righte beleue by the helpe of his owne hande that planted it, then can it not be that he shal suffer the deuill to worke wonders lyke vnto his own miracles to bring his hole church into a wrong faith. And then yf those thinges be not done by the deuyll, I trow ye will not then denye, but they be done by god. And so is yet again our purpose double proued. Fyrst in that ye grant that god wil not suffer his church to erre in his right faith, secōdly (which pursueth thereupon) by that he hath by many a visible miracle declared, ý this faith and maner of obseruaunce is very pleasāt and acceptable vnto him, which miracles sith they bene pued to bee done vpon good grounde and cause, appeare well to bee done by god and not by oure ghostly enemy.

Hebrues. II. Fayth shal be alway in the churche.

B

C

D

E

F

G

The. 20. Chapiter.

¶ The messenger alledgeth that the perpetual being & assistence of Christ w̄ his church to kepe it out of al damnable errours, is nothing els but his being with his churche in holy scripture, wherof the author declareth the contrary.

HOw thynke you q I, is ther any thyng in this matter amisse: I cā not well tell q he, what I myght aunswer therto. But yet me thik that I come to this point by some oversight in graunting. ¶ Well q I, mē say sometyme when they would saye or doo a thyng and cannot well come thereon, but misse and oversee themselfe in the assaye, it maketh no matter they saye, ye maye beginne agayne and mende it, for it is nother masse nor mattyns. And all be it in this matter, ye haue nothyng granted but ý is in my mind as true as

H

the

A the mattins or the masse either, yet if ye reken your self ouer swift in graunting I geue you leue to go backe & cal againe what ye wyll. ¶ In good faith or he full hard wer it in myne owne mynde, other wise to think, but ý god shal alwai kepe the right beleue in his church. But yet sithe we come to this conclusion by the granting therof, let vs loke once again therupō. And what yf men wold say, as I hard once say my self, that God dothe paraduenture not kepe alwaye fayth in B his church, to geue thē warning w̄, whē they do wel, & when the contrary. But sith he hath geuē thē and left with them the scripture, in which they may sufficiently se, both what thei should beleue, & what thei should do, he letteth thē alone therwith, w̄out any other speciall cure of his, vpō their faith & beleue. For theri thei may see all that them nedeth yf they will loke and labour therin. And yf they will not, the fault is theyr owne slouthe and foly. And whoso be willing to mēd & be better, may alway haue lyght to see how, by recours to the reading of holye scripture, which shal stande him in like ¶ stede as ye said before, that god kept the faith for, by his speciall meanes in hys church. ¶ If this or I wer thus, wherof should Christes promise serue. *Ego vobiscū sum omnibus diebus vsque ad finem seculi.* I am w̄ you al the dayes tyl the ende of ý world. Wherfore shold he be here w̄ his church if his being here shold not kepe his right fayth & beleue in his church? ¶ Mary or he these wordes well agreeth w̄ al. For god is & shalbe to the worldes ende with his church in his holy scripture. As A- D brahaam answered the riche man in hell saying thei haue Moises & the prophetes not meaning ý they had thē all at ý time present w̄ thē, but onely that they hadde their bookes. And so Christe forasmuch as the scripture hath his faith cōprehended therin according to his own wordes. *Scrutamini scripturas, quia scripture sūt que testimonium perhibentde me.* Serch you the scriptures for thei bere witnes of me. Therefore he said. *Ego vobiscum sum vsque ad fiēn seculi,* I am with you to the ende of the world, because his holye scripture shall neuer fayle, as lōg as the world endureth. Heuen and earth shall passe away, but my wordes shall neuer passe away. ¶ And therfore in his holye writing is he with vs stil, and therin he kepeth and techeth vs his right faith if we list to loke for it, & els as I said our own fault & foly it is.

Mat.28.

Luke.16.

John.5.

Mat.24.

¶ If God or I bee none otherwise w̄ vs but ý holy scripture, thē be those wordes of Christe, I am w̄ you to the worldes ende, somewhat straūgely spoken, & vnlike the wordes of Abraham whereunto ye reseble thē. For Christe lefte neuer a boke behind him of his owne makyng, as Moises did and the prophetes. And in their bokes was he spoken of, as he was in the gospell. Wherfore if he had spoke & ment of scripture, he would haue sayd that thei should haue w̄ the in stil his E- uangelistes and writers of his gospels as Abraham said thei haue Moyses and the prophetes, which wer the writers of the bokes ý the Jewes had: Christe also said, I am with you tyll the ende of the F world, not I shal be, but I am, which is the word appropried to his godhed. And therfore ý word am, is ý name by which our lord wold as he tolde Moises, be named vnto Pharao, as a name which frō all creatures (syth they be all subiecte to time) clerelye discerneth his Godhead, which is euer being & preset w̄out difference of time past or to come. In whiche wise, he was not in his holye scripture, for ý had begining. And at those words spoken, was not yet all written. For of the chief part which is the new testamēt ther was yet at ý time neuer one worde written. And also we be not sure by any G promise made that the scripture shall endure to ý worldes end, albeit I think verely the substaunce shall. But yet as I sai, promise haue we none therof. For where our lord saith ý his wordes shall not passe awaye, nor one iote thereof bee losse, he spake of his promises made in dede, as his faith and doctrine taught by mouth & inspiracion. He mente not ý of his holye scripture in writyng there should neuer a iote be lost, of which sum partes be al ready lost, more paraduenture then we cā tel of. And of ý we haue the bokes in some parte corrupted with H missewriting. And yet the substaunce of those wordes that he ment bene knowē, where some parte of the writing is vnknowen. He sayeth also that his father and he should sende the holy gost, & also ý he wold come himselfe, wherto al this if he ment no more but to leue the bokes behinde them and go their way? Christe is also present among vs bodily in ý holy sacramente. And is he there presente with vs for nothyng? The holye ghosste taughte manye thynges, I thynke vn- written, & wherof some part was neuer compryled

Mat.28.

Exod.3.

Mat.24.

Christe is bodily present in the sacrament.

A compyled in the scripture, yet vnto this day, as the article which no good christē man will doubt of, that our blessed Lady was a perpetual virgin as wel after the byrthe of Christ as afore. ¶ Our sauiour also said vnto his apostles, ý whē they shoulde bee accused and brought in iudgement, they should not nede to care for answer, it should euen then be put in their myndes. And that he ment not only the remembraunce of holy scripture, whiche before the Painim iudges were but a colde and bare alleging, but such new wordes geuen them by God inspyred in their heartes so effectuall, and cōfirmed with miracles, that they aduersaries though thei wer angri therat, yet should not be able to resist it. And thus with secrete helpe & inspyraciō is Christ with his churche, and wyll bee to the worldes end present & assistent. Not only spoken of in writing.

The. 21. Chapiter.

¶ The author sheweth ý if it so were in dede as the messenger saide, that is to wit that Christ continued with his church none otherwyse but onely by the leuyng of his holy scripture to them, and that all the faith also were only therin, than should it yet folow ý as farre as the necessitie of our saluaciō requireth, god geneth ý church ý right vnderstādig therof. And therypō foloweth farther, ý the church cā not erre in ý right faith. Wherupō is inferred eftsone, al that the messēger wold haue sled fro by force. And therron also specially foloweth, that all ý textes of holy scripture whiche heretiques alledge agaynst ymages or any point of ý comē beleue of Christes catholike church, can nothing serue their purpose.

D

BUt now would I wit, syth ye rekē him none otherwise preset thē in holy scripture, whither then dothe he geue hys churche the right vnderstandyng of holy scripture or not? ¶ What yf he doo not quod he. ¶ Marye quod I than your selfe seeth well, that they wer as wel without. And so should the scripture stand thē in as good stede, as a paire of spectacles shold stand a blinde freer. ¶ That is very trueth q̃ he. But therefore hath his wisdome and godnes prouided it so to be writen, that it maye bee wel vnderstanden, by the collacion and consideracio of one text with an other. G

¶ May it not also bee q̃ I, that some of them which do rede it diligently, and diligentlye compare and consider euerye tert, how it may stande with other, mā yet for al that, mistake & misvnderstand it? ¶ Yes quod he it may be so. For elles had there not bene so many heretiques, as there hath bene. ¶ Very trueth q̃ I, But now if all the faith be in holy scripture, and no part therof any where els, but that it must be therin altogether lerned, wer it thā sufficient to vnderstande some part a right, and some other parte wrong, in the necessary pointes of oure faith, or must we as farrefoorth as concerneth ý necessite therof misvnderstād no part? ¶ We must q̃ he mistake no part, as farre as necessarily concerneth our faith. But we muste haue so ý right vnderstanding of all together, that we conceiue no damnable errour. ¶ Well sayd q̃ I, then yf we must, we may. For if we maye not, we muste not. For oure lord bindeth no mā to an impossibilitie. We may q̃ he. If we may q̃ I, thē may we eyther by good hap fall into ý ryght vnderstanding, or els by naturall reasō come to it, or els by supernatural grace be led into it. ¶ That is trouth quod he, nedes must it be one of these wayes. F

¶ Wel q̃ I, we wil not enserch whiche, But I would first wit, whither Christ haue a church in the world continually and so shal haue to the worldes ende, or els hath one somtyme, & sometime none at all, As we might thynk, ý he had one, while he was here himselfe, and paraduēture a whyle after, and happely none at all neuer sith, nor shall not again we wot nere when. ¶ Nay quod he, that cā not bee in no wise, but ý he muste nedes haue his churche continue styll somewhere, for els how could he be with thē cōtinually to the worldes end, in scripture or otherwise, yf they (with whome he promised to bee, and continue to the worldes ende) should not continually so lōg endure? Or how could those wordes of Christ be true. Lo I am with you all the dayes to the worldes ende, if before the worldes ende he were awaye some dayes, as he were in dede fro ý churche some dayes, yf in some dayes he hadde no churche. ¶ Well quod I, yet would I witte one thing more. Can he haue a churche without fayth. ¶ Nay quod he, ý were impossible. ¶ Forsoth quod I, so were it. For his churche is a congrega- Churche

Math. 28.

cion

A cion of people gathered in to his faith.
Fayth. Reason. And faith is the first substanciall difference discerning christen men from hethen, as reason is the difference deuyding man frō all kindes of brute bestes. Now thē if his churche be and euer shal be continuall wout any times betwene (in which there shall be none) & without faith it may neuer be, and no part of the faith is as ye say els where had, but in holy scripture, & all it must be had, and also as we were agreed a litle while afore, ther must be none errour adioyned therto, and therefore as far as toucheth
B the necessitie of faith, no parte of scripture may be misse taken, but all must be vnderstānden right, and maie bee right vnderstanden by hap, reason, or helpe of grace, it necessarily foloweth that by one or other of these wayes, the churche of Christ hath alway and neuer fayleth ý right vnderstāding of scripture, as far as lōgeth for our necessite. That foloweth in dede q̃ he. ¶ Wel q̃ I, let passe for ý while, what foloweth further: And sith ý churche so hath, let vs first agree by which of these. iii. wayes the church hath it, whyther by hap, reson or grace.
C ¶ By hap q̃ he wer a pore hauing. For so might it hap to haue and hap to faile. ¶ Thē q̃ I sith it hath it euer, it can not be by hap, what thinke you then of reason. ¶ As litle q̃ he as ani mā thinketh. For I take reason for playne enmye to faith. ¶ Ye take peraduenture wrōg q̃ I. But now sith ye so thynk, ye leue but the third way, which is ý help of grace.
The spirit of god ledeth the churche into all trouth. ¶ No surely q̃ he. ¶ Verely q̃ I, where reso̅ may betwene diuers tertes stād in great doubt, which way to leue, I think that god with his holy spirite ledeth his church into the cōsent of his trouth. As himself said that the holy goste (whom he wold send) shold lede thē into al trouth.
John. 16. He said not the holy goste should at hys
D commyng write them al trouth, nor tell them all the hole trouth by mouth, but that he should by secret inspiracion lede them into all trouth. And therefore surely for a true cōclusiō in such menes by god himself, by the helpe of his grace (as your self graunteth) the right vnderstandyng of scripture, is euer preserued in his churche for all suche mistaking, wherof might folow any damnable errour concerning the faith. And therof doth there fyrste folowe, that besyde the scripture selfe, there is an other present assistence, and speciall cure of god, perpetuall with his churche, to kepe it in ý right faith, that it erre not by misse vn-
E derstanding of holy scripture, contrary to the opinion that ye purposed, when ye saide, that Christes being with hys church, was onely the leuyng of his holy scripture to vs. And ouer this, if God wer no otherwyse present then ye spake of, yet sith it is proued that his churche for all that euer hath the right vnderstādyng of scripture, we be commen to the same point again, that ye would so fain flit from. For if the scripture (& nothing but the scripture) doth contein al thyng that we be bounden to beleue, and to do and to forbeare, and that god also therefore prouideth for his churche, the right vnderstandyng therof, concerning euery thyng necessary for vs, that is conteyned in scripture, thē must ther nedes folow therupon, the thyng that ye feared, lest ye had wrōg, & vnaduisedly graūted ý is to wit, ý god alway kepeth the right faith in his church. And therupon foloweth further, the remnant of all that is questiō betwene vs, that the faith of the church in the worship, that it beleueth to be wel geuen vnto saintes, reliques & ymages, is not erronius but right. And therupon foloweth also that the myracles done at such places be none illusions of damned spirites, but the mighty
G hand of god, to shew his pleasure in the sorroboration therof, & in the excitaciō of our deuocion therto. ¶ In dede q̃ he, we be come back here wō going forward as men walk in a mase. ¶ Ye haue not yet q̃ I lost al that labour. For though ye haue halfe a checke in this pointe, yet haue ye (if ye perceiueit) mated me in an other point, by one thing, that is agreed betwene vs now. ¶ What is that q̃ he. This q̃ I, ý I haue agreed as well as you, that god hath geuen his church the right vnderstandyng of scripture in as
H farre forth as longeth to the necessitye of saluacion. ¶ In what point quod he, hath that mated you. ¶ Why quod I so you not that: Naye then wyll I not tell you, but yf ye hyer me, or yf I tell you, yet shal ye not wynne the game therby. For sith ye see it not your self, it is but a blynde matter. ¶ Let me know it yet q̃ he, and I am agreed to take none aduantage therof. ¶ On that bargaine be it quod I. ¶ Ye wots well quod I that against the worshipping of ymages, and praying to saites, ye sayd certain tertes of scripture to pue it forbodē, & reputed of God for Idolatrye. For aunswere wherof, when I sayde that men muste

kene

A lene to the sentence that the church and holy doctours of ý church gene to those textes, ye said thei were but mens false gloses against gods true textes. And now sith ye graunt & I also, ý the church can not misse vnderstand the scripture to the hinderance of the right faith, in thinges of necessite, & that ye also knowlege this matter to be such, ý it must either be the right beleue & acceptable seruice to god or els a wronge & erronious opinio and plain ydolatrie, it folowetH of necessite, ý the church doth not misse vnderstand those textes, that ye or any other cān alege, and bryng foorth for that purpose. But that al these textes be so to be taken and vnderstande, as they nothing make against the church, but al against your own opinion in this matter. And this haue ye sodeinly answered your self, to all those textes out of hand, w̄ a glose of your own, as true as any text in the byble, & which all the world wyll neuer auoide, except thei would make the scripture serue the church of nought, or rather to their hinderance the furtheraces in the faith. For so wer it, if it might be that god geueth the not the good vnderstanding therof, but suffreth them to be deceiued and deluded in errours, by the mistetaking of the letter. ¶ Mary quod he, this is a blind mate in dede. ¶ Surely quod I these two thinges seme to me two as true pointes, and as plaine to a christen man, as any petition of Euclidis geometry, is to a resonable manne. For as true as it is, ý euery pole thyng is more then his own half, as true is it in dede, and to euery christen man, faith maketh it as certain. For ý Christes church can not erre in any such article, as god vpon pain of losse of heauen will that we beleue. And thereupon necessarily folowetH, ý there is no text of scripture well vnderstanden, by which christen people ar commaunded to dooe the thing, which ý church beleueth that thei may leyfully leue vndone, nor any text wher by we be forbodē any thing, which the church beleueth that they may lawfully do.

The churche cannot mysse vnderstande the scripture.

¶ The .22. Chapiter.

¶ Because the messenger had in the beginning shewed himselfe desirous & greedy vpon the text of scripture, with litle force of the old fathers gloses, & with dispraise of Philosophie and almost all the .vii. liberall sciences, the authour therefore incidētly sheweth what harme hath happed sometyme fall to diuers of those yong men whō he hath knowen to gene their study to the scripture only, with contempt of Logike and other seculer science, and litle regarde of the olde interpretours. Wherfore the author sheweth that in the study of scripture, the sure way is, with vertue and praier, first to vse the iudgement of natural reaso, wherunto seculer litterature helpeth muche. And secondly the commentes of holy doctours. And thirdly aboue al thing, the articles of the catholike faith receiued and beleued through the church of Christ.

And for because we speake of scripture now, and that the church in thinges nedely requisite to saluacion hath the right vnderstanding of holy scripture, wherin I perceiue ye be studious of the text alone, without great force of the olde fathers interpretacions or any other scīce, of which ye roken all .vii. (saye gramer) almoste to serue for nought. I haue of you so good opinion, ý I truste all your studye shall turne you to good. But surelye I haue seen to som folk so much harme to grow therof, ý I neuer would aduise any mā, els, in the study of scripture to take that way. ¶ Why so quod he. ¶ For I haue knowen quod I right good witz, ý hath set all other learning aside, partelye for slouth, refusing the labour and payn to be suffeined in that learning, partly for pride, by which thei couldе not endure ý redarguсion that should sometime fall to their part in dispysicions. Whych affeccions, their inwarde secrete fauour toward themselues, couered and cloked vnder the pretext of simplicite, and good christen deuocion, borne to the loue of holy scripture alone. But in litle white after the damnable spirite of pride that vnware to themself lurked i their hartes, hath begonne to put out his hornes and shew himself. For then haue thei lōged, vnder the praise of holy scripture, to set out to shew their owne studye. Whiche because thei would haue seme the more to be set by, they haue first falsen to the disprais & derisio of al other disciplines. And because in speaking or preching of such comune thinges as all christē men know, thei could not seme excellēt, nor make it appere & seme, ý in their studye thei had done any gret maistry to shewe themself, therfore merueloulsy thei set out

So thinges the perfyte true.

para-

A paradoxis & strange opinions, against the comen faith of Christes hole church And because thei haue therin the old holye doctours against them, they fall to the contempt and dispraise of the, either preferryng their owne fonde gloses against the old conning & blessed fathers interpretaciōs, or els lene to soe wordes of holy scripture, ý seme to say for them against many mo textes, ý plaily make against thē, without receiuing or eare geuing to any reason or authoritie of any mā quick or dede, or of ý hole church of Christ to the cōtrary. And thus once B prowdly perswaded a wrong way, thei take the bridle in the teth, & renne forth lyke an hedstrong horse, ý all the world can not plucke them backe. But with sowyng sedicion, setting forth of errors and heresies, and spilling their preching with rebuking of priesthode and prelacie, for the peoples pleasure, they tourne many a man to ruyne and themselfe also. And then the deuill deceiueth them in their blynde affeccions. ¶ They take for good zele to ý people they r malicious enuy. And for a great vertue their ardēt appetite to preache, wherin they haue so C great pride for the peoples praise, that preache I wene thei would, though god would his owne mouth commaund thē the contrary. ¶ Why should ye wene so quod he, or whereby can ye be sure that ye do not now mislle conster they r good mynde? Hard is it oftymes to iudge an other mannes dede that hath some apparence of euill, because the purpose & entent may make it good. And what peryl is it then where the dede appereth good, there to iudge the mynde and entent for nought, which who can see but god? As 1.Reg.6 the scripture saith, *Dominus autem intuetur cor.* Only god beholdeth the hart. And therfore saith our sauiour, iudge not before the tyme. ¶ I iudge not quod I, but vpō opē thynges and well apparant. For I D speke but of those, whose erronious opinions in they r preaching, and they r obstinate pride in the defence of they r worldly worshippe well declareth they r myndes. And some haue I sene, whiche when thei haue for their perillous preaching ben by they r prelates prohibited to preache, haue (that notwithstanding) proceded on stil. And for the meintenāce of their disobedience, haue amended the matter with an heresy, boldly and stubburnly defendyng, that sythe they had connyng to preache they were by God bounden to preach. And ý no mā nor no law that was made or coulde be made, E had any authoritie to forbid them. And this thei thought sufficiently proued by the wordes of the Apostle. *O portet magis obedire deo quam hominibus.* As though these mē were Apostles now specially set by god to preache heresyes and sow sedicion among christen men as the very apostles were in dede sent and commaunded by God, to preache his verye fayth to the Iewes. Actes.5. One of this sorte of this new kinde of preachers beyng demaunded, why that he vsed to saye in his sermons about, ý now a dayes men preached not wel the ghospel, answered ý he thought so, because he saw not the preachers per F secuted, nor no strife nor busines arise vpō their preaching. Which thinges he said & wrote was the fruit of the gospel, because Christ said. *Non veni pacem mittere sed gladium.* I am not come to sende peace into the world but the sworde. Was not this a worshipfull vnderstanding, ý because Christ would make a deuision among infidels, frō the remnant of them to win som, therfore these apostles wold sowe some cocle of dissencio among the christen people, whereby Christ myght lese some of thē? For the fruit of strife among ý hyrers, and persecucion of ý preacher cannot lightly growe among christē mē, but by the prechīg of som strange newelties, & brynging vp of some newe G fangle heresies, to the infeccion of oure olde faith. One wist I that was for his partinacy in that oppinion, ý he would and might and was bounden to preache (ani prohibicion notwithstanding) whē he was after diuers bolde and open defence therof, at last before folke honorable and fewe, reasoned with all, and not onely the law shewed hym to the contrary of his oppinion, whiche lawe was made at a generall counsell, but also by plaine authoritie of holy scripture pro- H ued that his oppinion was erronius, he so perceiued himself satisfied, ý he meekely knowleged his errour, and offered to abiure it and to submitte himselfe to penance. But on the morow whē he came forth in open presence of the people, and there sawe many that hadde oft hearde hym preache, of his secrete pride, he fel in suche an open passion of shame that those shold hyre hī go back wō his worde, which had before had his sermōs in gret estimacion, ý at ý first sight of ý people, reuoked his reuocaciō, & said out alowd ý he might wel be herd, that his opinion was true, & that he was the daye before deceiued

Wyrkes.5.

Howe strife & persecucion doth grow among christen men.

A deceiued, in ý he had cõfessed it for false. And thus he held his owne stubburnely wont reason, til the bokes were shewed him again, & himself rede thē before al ý people, so that he perceyued the audiece ý stode about him, to sele and vnderstād his proude foly, in the defence of his indefensible errour. And thereupon at the last, yelded himself again. Such secrete pride had our ghostly enemye conueyed into ý heart of him, which I ensure you semed in all his other outward maner, as meke a simple soule, as a man should haue sene in a somers daye. And some of thē let not with lyes & periury to defend
B thē self, and some to stande in defence of their errours or false denying of theyr own dede, to their gret paril of the fier, if their iudges wer not more mercifull then their malice deserueth. And al this done because (as them self doth at last cōfesse) thei think if thei abiure, thei shall after be suffred to preache again. Such a scabbed itche of vainglory catche they in their preaching, ý though al ý world wer the worse for it, & their own lyfe lye theron, yet would thei long to be pulpeted. And this I saye hath comen of some ý haue w̄ contempt of all other lernyng geuen thē to scripture alone. Whose affeccions of pride & slouth hath not in the beginning bene perceiued to thē selfe, but
C haue accompted their vices for deuoctō.

¶ Would ye thē quod he condemne that maner of studyng, by which a man hath so great affeccion to the scripture alone, ý he for the delite therof, seleth little sauor in any thing els, but that we should lese time in philosophy ý mother of heresies & let scripture alone. ¶ Nay quod I that mind am I not of. Ther was neuer thig writtē in this world ý cā in any wyse be comparable with any part of holy scripture. And yet I think other liberall scyence a gift of god also, and not to be cast away, but worthy to wait and as hande maides to geue attendaunce vpon diuinite. And in this point I think not thus alone. For ye shal finde sainct Hierom,
D sainct Austine, sainct Basil, and many of the old holy doctours open & plain of the same opinion. And of diuinite reken I the best parte to be conteined in holye scripture. And this I saye for him ý shal haue time therto, & frō youth entendeth to the churchward, and to make himself with Gods helpe mete for the office of a preacher. Howbeit if any man eyther happen to beginne so late, ý he shal peraduenture haue no tyme therto, or elles

thyng can compared cripture.

any man of youth to haue that feruente appetite vnto scripture, that he can not fynde in his heart to rede any thyng els (which affecciō whoso happeth to haue geuen him, is very fortunate, if he with grace & mekenes gyde it well) thē would I counseile him, specially to studie for the vertuous framing of his own affeccions, & vsing great moderacion & temperance in ý preching to other mē. And in all thyng to flee the desire of prayse & shewe of conuyng, euer mistrusting his own inclinacions, & liue in drede & fere of the deuils subtil sleight & inuencions. Who though he lye in a continuall awaite vpō euery preacher to catche hym in to pride if he can: yet his hyest enterprise and proudest triumph standeth in the bringing of a man to the most abuse of that thing, ý is of his own nature the best. And therfore great labour maketh he & gret bost, if he bring it about that a good wit maye abuse his labour, bestowed vpon the studyng of holy scripture.

Their good counsayle.

¶ For the sure auoiding whereof, my poore aduise wer in the studyng therof, to haue a speciall regard to the writynges and cōmentes of olde holy fathers. And yet or he fall in hand w̄ the one or the other, next grace & help of god to be gottē with abstinence and prayer and clēnes of liuing, afore all thing wer it necessary, to come well and surely ensructed, in all suche pointes and articles as the
G churche beleueth. Which thinges once firmely had, and fastlye for vndoubted trouthes presupposed, then shall reason and thei be two good rules to examine & erpowne all doubtful textes by, sith the reder shall be sure that no text is so to be vnderstandē, as it standeth against thē both, or against any point of the Catholike fayth of Christes church. And therfore if it seme to stād against any of thē, eyther shall the light of naturall reason with the collacion of other textes, helpe to find out the truth, or els (which is the surest way) he shall perceyue the trouth in the commentes of the good holy doctours of olde, to whom god hath geuen
H the grace of vnderstanding. Or finally ý al ý he can eyther fynd in other mens workes, or inuent by goddes aide of his owne studyng, cā not sufficie to satisfie, but that any tert yet seme vnto him cōtrary to any point of the churches faith & beleue, lette hym then as saint Augustine saieth, make hymselfe very sure ý there is some fawte either in the translatour, or in ý writer, or now a daies in ý writer

or

A or finally that for some one let or other he vnderstandeth it not a right. And so let him reuerently knowlege his ignorauncе, lene and cleue to the faith of the churche as to an vndouted trouth, leauing that terte to be better perceiued whā it shall please our lorde with his lyght to reuele and disclose it. And i this wise shall he take a sure waye, by whiche he shal be sure of one of two thiges, that is to wit, eyther to perceiue and vnderstād the scripture right, or els at the lest wise neuer in suche wise to take it wrong, ý euer may turne his soule to perill.

Lene to the faith of the churche.

The. 23. Chapitet.

¶ The messenger obiected against ý counsell of the author in that he wold that the student of scripture shoulde lene to the commentours & vnto naturall reasō, which he calleth enemy to faith. And there vpon the aunswer of the author to those obiecciones, specially prouing that reason is seruant to fayth and not enemy, and must wō faith and interpretacion of scripture nedes be concurraut.

¶ Spr quod he I will not saye naye but this way will do wel. Howe beit I fere me that we wer likely to bylde vp many errours, if we square our timber and stones by these, 3 rules, mens gloses, reasō, & fayth, not ý we finde in scripture, but ý we bring wō vs to scripture. For first for as the commētours ý ye speake of, either their cōmentes tell vs the same tale ý the terte dothe, or els an other. If thei tell me the same, I beleue them onely because ý text saith ý same. And if thei tel me another, than beleue I thē not at all, nor nought I should, except I should beleue menne better than god. And as for reasō, what greater enemy can ye finde to faith thā reason is, which couterpledeth faith in D eueri point. And would ye then send thē twaine forth to schole together that can neuer agree together, but be readye to fight together, aud either scratch out others eyes by the waye? It semeth also somewhat straunge, that whē god hath left vs in his holy scripture well & sufficiently his doctrine, whereby he would we shoulde haue warning of all suche thyng as he woulde we shoulde beleue and doo or leue vndone, and hath left vs ý scripture for none other cause but for that it shoulde stande vnto vs for the witnesse of his will, declared vs by writing, that we should not say nay but we were warned, and none other cause why the scripture shoulde be geuen vs, but to tell vs his pleasure and stirre vs to fulfyll it, we shall now not shape our fayth after the scripture, but first frame vs a faith our selfe, and then shape the scripture of god thereby, and make it agree thereto. This were in dede a good easy waye for a slouthfull mason that were an euill workeman, to make hym a squier and a ruler of lede, that whē he lyste not to take the labour to hewe the stone to the squier, he may bend ý squier to the stone, and so shall he yet bring thē together at the lest waies. ¶ As for the olde commentours quod I, thei tell you thesame tale that the text doth, but they tell it you more plaine, as we shal more talke of after. But surely ye begylde me F nowe in that ye set reason so shorte, for verely I would neuer haue wente, that ye would in scripture like worse a wise man, then an vnreasonable reder. Nor I can not see why ye shoulde reken reason for an enemy to faith, except ye rekē euery man for your enemy, that is your better and hurteth you not. Thus were one of your. v. witts enemy to an other. And our felyng shold abhorre our sight because we may see further by. iiii. mile then we maye fele. Howe can reasō (but if reason be vnresonable) haue more dis- G daine to hyre the trouth, of any point of faith, thē to see the proke of many thiges natural, wherof reason can no more attaine to that cause than it can in the article of the faith. But stil for any power that reason hath to perceiue the cause, ihe shall iudge it impossible after she proue it trew, but yf she beleue her eye better then her wit. ¶ Whē ye se the A- In Adamant stone. damant stone draw yrō to it, it greueth not reason to looke thereon, but reason hath a pleasure to behold the thing, that passeth her power to perceiue. For it is as plain against the rule of reason that an heuy body should moue alone any other mocion then downward, or that any bodily thyng should drawe an other H without touching, as is any article of ý faith. Nor neuer was there yet cause by reasō assigned ý men may perceiue for probable, but only ý it is a secrete propertie of the stone, which is as much to say as I wote nere what. And yet as I say reasō cā beleue ý thing wel inough, & be not āgry therwō nor striue against it. And yet al ý rules ý euer she lerned tel her still ý it may not be. ¶ Ye quod he, but a mans own eyē tel him ý it may be. And ý must nedes

What is left vs i scripture.

A nedes content him. ¶ Pay a man then better trust his eies quod I thē his wit. ¶ Ye mary quod he, what may he better trust then his eyen? ¶ His eyen may quod I be deceyued & wene thei se that thei se not, if reason geue ouer his hold, excepte ye thinke the tugler blow his galles through the gobletes bottom, or cut your gyrdell afore your face in. xx. pecys and make it hole agayne, & put a knyfe into his eye & se neuer the worse. And tourne a plum into a dogges torde into a boyes mouthe. ¶ Now happened it madly ý euyn with this worde came one of my folke and asked whether thei B should make redy for dyner. ¶ Abyde q I, let vs haue better meate first. And therwith your frende and I began to laugh. ¶ Wel q I make none haste yet for a lytell whyle. And so wente he his way halfe out of cōtenance, wenynge that he had done or said somewhat like a fole as he was one that was not very wise in dede, & wonte so to do. And then said I to your frende. Nowe yese that reasō is not so proude a dame as ye take her for. She seeth done in dede by nature that she can not perceyue how, and is well contented therwith. She seeth a C fonde felowe deceyue her sight and her wyt therwith and taketh it well & merily, & is not angry that the tugler will not tethe euery mā his craft. And wene ye thē that she wil take it so hyghly that God him selfe her maister and maker should do what him lifte, and than tell her what, and tel her not how? ¶ I pray you quod I, that our lord was borne of a virgyn how know you? ¶ Mary quod he by scripture. ¶ Howe know you q I that ye shold beleue the scripture? Mary q he by faith. ¶ Why q I, what dooth faith tell you therin? ¶ Faith q he telleth me that holy scripture is thinges of D trouth wrytten by the secrete teching of god. And wherby know you q I that ye shold beleue god? ¶ Wherby q he? this is a strange question. Euery man quod he may well wete that. That is trouth q I. But is there any horse or any asse that wotteth that? ¶ None q he that I wot of, but if Balams asse any thing vnderstode thereof. For he spake like a good reasonable asse. If no brute beast can wyt that q I, and euery man may, what is the cause why that man may, & other beastes may not? Mary q he, for man hath reason & thei haue none. ¶ A well thē q I, reason must he nedes haue then that shall perceyue what he should beleue. And so musse reason not refyse E faith but walke with her, & as her handmaide so wayte vpō her, that as cōtrary as ye take her, yet of a trouth faith goth neuer without her. But likewise as if a maide be suffred to ronne on the brydle, or be cup shotten, or ware to prowde, she will then ware copious and chop logicke with her maistres, & fare somtime as she were frantike: so if reason be suffred to renne out at riot, & way ouer hye herted & prowde, she will not faile to fal in rebellyō towarde her maistres faith. But on the other syde, if she be well brought vp & well gyded & kepte in good tēper, she shal neuer disobey faith being F in her right mynde. And therfore let reason be well gyded for surely faythe goth neuer without her.

Faith goth neuer without reason.

¶ Nowe in the study of scripture, in deuysynge vpon the sentence, in consyderynge what ye rede, in ponderyng the purpose of diuers commentes, in comparynge together diuers textes that seme contrary and be not, albeit I denye not but that grace and goddes especiall helpe is the great thynge therin, yet vseth he for an instrument mannes reason therto. God helpeth vs to ete also, but yet not without our mouthe. G Now as the hande is the more nymble by the vse of some feates, and the legges and fete more swyfte & sure by custome of goynge and rennynge, and the hole body the more wyldy and lusky, by some kynde of exercise: so is it no doubte, but that reason is by study, labour, and exercyse of Logike, Philosophy and other liberall artes corroborate & quickened, and that iudgement bothe in them and also in oratours, lawes and storyes muche ryped. And albeit poetes ben with many men taken but for paynted wordes, yet do thei much helpe the iudgement, and make a man among other H thynges well furnyshed of one speciall thynge, without which all lernynge is halfe lame. ¶ What is that quod he. ¶ Mary quod I, a good mother wyt. And therfore are in myne oppinio these Lutherians in a madde mynde, that would now haue all lernyng saue scripture only clene cast away, which thiges (if the tyme will serue) be as me thinketh to be taken and had, and with reason brought as I saide before in to the seruice of diuinite. And as holy saint Jerom saith, The Ebrues well dispoile the Egypcyens, when Christes lerned men take out of the pagame wryters

Reason by liberall artes is quickened.

Balaams asse. Nu. 22.

Note.

A the riches and lernynge and wysdome that God gaue vnto them, and employ the same in the seruice of diuinite about the profite of goddes chosen children of Israell the churche of Christ, which he hath of the harde stony paynyms made the children of Abraham.

¶ The. 24. Chapiter.

¶ The messenger maketh obiections against the author, in that he cōsayled the student of scripture to bryng the articles of our faith with him for a speciall rule to conster the scripture
B by. And the author confirmeth his cōsail geuen in that behalfe, declaring that without that rule, mē may sone fall into greate errours in the study of holy scripture.

With this your frēde helde (as he said) him selfe somewhat cōtēt that reason was not so greate an enemy to faith as he semed: but yet he thought that he shoulde haue nede rather to be well bryded, than to beare much rule in the interpretacion of scripture. But
C as for the other point that we shold nedes bryng the faith with vs all redy, as a rule to lerne the scripture by, whē we come to the scripture to lerne the faith by, that he thought in no wise coueniet, but a thinge he said muche like as if we woulde go make the carte to drawe the horse. ¶ Well quod I we shall se anone whether the carte draw the horse, or the horse the carte. Or whether we be yet happely so blynde, that we se not well which is the carte, which is the horse.

¶ First quod I tell me how olde would ye that one were ere he come to the study of scripture. ¶ By my faith quod he,
D I would haue a christen mannes childe begyn therin very yong, and therin cōtinew all his life. ¶ In good faith quod I, that like I not amysse, so that ye do not mean that ye woulde haue him all his life lerne nothing els. And yet that could I suffer to and alow right wel in some. But yet if he did neuer in his life lerne ought els, how olde thinke ye that he should be, or he lerned the articles of his beleue in the byble? ¶ I can not redely tell quod he, for I haue not sene it assayed. ¶ Well quod I sith we be not sure howe longe it would be in lernyng there, were it not best then that for that whyle he were taught his crede before in his owne mother tonge?

¶ I deny not that quod he, that he shold
E conne his crede before, bycause euery christen mans childe by the lawe shold knowe his faith as sone as he coulde, but I say he shoulde not therwith take vppon him to iudge and examine holy scripture therby. ¶ Well quod I let this christen childe of ours alone for a whyle. And let vs consider if there were a good olde ydolater, that neuer hadde herde in all his life any thynge of our beleue, or of other god then only the mā in the mone, whom he had watched and worshipped euery frosty nyght. If this man might sodeynly haue that hole bybie tourned in to his owne tonge and
F rede it ouer, thinke ye that he shoulde therby lerne al the articles of the faith? ¶ I thinke quod he that he myght. ¶ Thynke ye so quod I? I put case that he beleued that all the boke were lyes? ¶ Mary quod he, that maye he by the boke him selfe lerne the contrary. For the boke in tellynge his tale affirmeth his tale and teacheth it to be trewe. ¶ Ye say very trouth quod I, if it were al one to rede a thing and lerne a thing. But nowe might there be another boke made also with lesse wōders and fewer
G and therby lesse vnlikely, and yet all vntrewe. And howe shoulde his mynde geue him than that this boke tellynge so incredible wonders should be trewe? ¶ Nay quod he that thinge must he nedes beleue, or els he can perceyue nothynge. ¶ Well quod I then is there one poynt of faith one great lesson to be lerned without the boke that muste be lerned some where eyther by God or man, or els the hole boke will do vs lytell seruice. And of whom we shall lerne that, we shall se hereafter. But now suppose that this olde ydolater were thorowly perswaded in his mynde that
H all the boke were trew, thinke you than that he shoulde fynde out therin all the articles of our faithe? ¶ I thynke quod he that he shoulde. ¶ Thinke ye so quod I? be it so than. But thinke ye that he shall fynde them out all in a weke? ¶ Nay quod he, that can he not do. ¶ Well quod I than, syth he shall not at the lesse wyse fynde them out all on a day, let vs leue him a lytell whyle in sekyng, and we shall retourne agayne after to him and loke what he shal haue founden. And in the meane season we shall go loke agayne vpon our good lytell godson, the boy pardee that we christened right now, and taught hym his

crede

A crede and set him to scripture, were it nede that this childe knewe no more of his faith, but his crede before he go to scripture? ¶ He thinketh quod he that it were ynoughe. ¶ Be it so than q̃ I. ¶ What if it ihold fortune him to finde some texte of scripture that sholde seme to him to be cōtrary to his crede. As for ensample, if he happened vpō the reding of these wordes. Dii estis & filii excelsi omnes. Psal. 81. Goddes be ye all and the children of the hye God, what if he woulde wene that syth in these wordes it is said, all good men be the children of god, our sauyour B Christ were not goddes onely begoten sonne, but his sonne in suche wise, as god by the prophet calleth all good men? ¶ That coulde he not thynke quod he. For he shoulde in other partes of scripture finde many places, ẏ should shewe him well the contrary. ¶ Well said q̃ I and very truth. But now in the meane tyme, will ye that he shal byleue as that texte shal seme to sounde to him against his crede, till he haue founde an other texte in scripture, that answereth it, & semeth to him to say more playnely the cōtrary. ¶ Nay quod he not one houre. For he seeth, that though other god mē C be called goddes children & goddes, yet as thei be not very goddes, so be thei not goddes very naturall children by generacion, but by acceptaciō, where as the crede sayeth of our sauyour, that he is goddes onely bygottē sonne, that signifieth him to be his sonne by generaciō. ¶ That is quod I very trew, & well and resonably considered, & accordyng vnto the very right faith. But now consider, that ye make him by & by fall to ẏ squaryng of his stones, like that slouthfull mason that ye spake of with his leden rule. For now ye make him to examine D the trouth of this texte of the psalme, by the article of ẏ faith, which he brought with him, and by a collectiō & discourse of reasō. And so forthwith ye finde both these rules necessary to the discussion of scripture. Of which twayne ye woulde in the beginning admit neither nother. ¶ But nowe go further. What if ye woulde vpon this texte, Homines & iumenta saluabis deus. Psal. 35. God thou shalt saue both man and beastes) wene that beastes had īmortall soules as men haue, and that man & beaste should be both saued at lasse, and so that no dedely synne shoulde be punyshed with euerlastyng payne, till he came to other textes that shoulde proue well the contrary: were that best: or els were it better ẏ besyde his crede he had knowlege before of these articles of our faith, that onely our soules be imortall, & not beastes also, And that the paine of hell shalbe for sinners euerlastyng, And that he may therby with reason ioyned therto, perceyue that this texte, thou shalt saue both men & beastes, is ment by some other kinde of sauyng & preseruing here in this world & not of bryngyng both to heauen? ¶ All this may he knowe q̃ he by scripture selfe well ynough. ¶ That wote I well quod I. And yet as playne as Christ speketh of hell in the gospell, Origene for al that, which neither was a naughty man nor vnlerned in scripture, coulde not so clerely se it, but that F he said the contrary. And toke the wordes of Christe in a wronge sense. And would peradnēture with one that wold stycke onely vpon the wordes of scripture (leuyng the right sense thereof, which God & his holy spirit hath taught his church) bryng him to a baye therin, that he shoulde be fayne not our childe only, but also a wel elderly man and in scripture well forwarde, to take him in cōclusiō to the faith of Christes church. ¶ Nowe if our child should rede on the texte of scripture, without care of the cōmentes, and without any further in- G structiō of the pointes of our faith, thā be specified in our cōmon crede, made in the begynnynge as a briefe remembrauce by the apostles, not settynge out in soo shorte a thyng and clerely declarynge all that we be bounden to beleue. All be it that he shoulde well fynde in scripture many plaine and open textes, whereby the godhedde of our sauyour, and his egalyte with his father maye well and sufficiently be proued, yet were he not vnlykely by such other textes as seme to shewe him to be lesse then his father, to fall in to the secte and he- H resy of the Arrians. And against those other textes prouyng his egall godhed, to denise suche false gloses as thei dyd, were as beyng before taught and confirmed by the faithe of the church, that our sauyour is one God and one egall substaunce with his father, shall well perceyue and vnderstande thereby, that all ẏ textes that seme to make him lesse, be nothynge to be vnderstanden of his godhedde, but of his manhode onely. As when we commonly speake of our selfe, and of our owne nature, and saye we shall dye and wormes ete vs vp, and tourne all to dusse, we mean

Goddes children by generaciō and acceptacion.

Origene.

Our commen crede was made by the apostles.

A all this by our body onely, and nothing entende thereby to denye the immortalite of our soule. ¶ We maye not dyne to day if I shoulde reken you the tenthe parte of such thynges as we must nedes (vpon losse of heauen) beleue, whiche neyther our childe with his onely crede (and much lesse our olde ydolater without crede) shoulde soo finde oute by scripture, but that thei were bothe well likely to take the scripture to the wrong parte, excepte we take with vs for a rule of interpretacion, the articles of our faith.

B ¶ The. xxv. chapiter.

¶ The authour takynge occasion vpon certayne wordes of the messenger, declareth the preeminence, necessitie, & profite of holy scripture, shewynge neuertheleſſe that many thiges haue bene taught by God without wrytynge. And many great thynges so remayne yet vnwrytten of trewthes necessary to be beleued. And that the newe lawe of Christe, is the lawe so wryttē in the harte, that it shall neuer out of his church. And ȳ the law there C wryttē by god, is a right rule to interprete ȳ wordes writte i his holy scripture. Which rule w̄ reason & the olde iterpretours, the authour sheweth to be the very sure waie to wade with, in the greate streme of holy scripture.

Why than quod he, this were as much to saye, as that God had not wel wryten his holy scripture, if he haue caused it to be wryten so, as men may be so sone decepued therin, ȳ thei were as likely and (as it seneth by you) more likely to fall into a false way, thā finde out the trewe. And better were it than D that God had not gyuē vs the scripture at all, than to geue vs a waye to walke, wherein we were more likely to synke than saue our selfe. ¶ Holy scripture quod I, bothe is such as I haue sayed, and yet nothinge foloweth it therupon, that God hath not caused it to be wrytten well or that it had bene better to haue kept it from vs. And albe it that in this point were a great occasion of a longe tale, in declarynge and makynge open, that God hath in that wrytynge of holy scripture vsed so hyghe wisedome, & shewed such a wonderfull temperaunce, that the very straunge familiar fassyon thereof, may to good men and wise well declare, that as it was wrytten by men, so was indited by god, C yet passynge ouer the praise, I will speake one worde or twayne for the answere of suche blame as ye lay therto. For it is almoste a comen thyng amōg men so to speake sometyme, as though thei coulde amende the workes of God. And few men be there I wene, but thei thynke that if thei had bene of goddes councell, in the makynge of the world, though thei dare not be so bold to say, that thei coulde haue made it better, yet if thei might haue ruled it, he shoulde haue made many thinges of an other fassyon. And for all that, if he woulde F yet call vs all to councell, and chaunge nothyng till we were vpon euery thing all agreed, the worlde were well likely till domys day to go forth on, as it goth all redy, sayuyng that I wote nere whether we wolde all agre to be wynged.

¶ But as for the scripture shortly, God hath so deuised it, that he hath geuen the worlde therin an inestimable treasure as the cause standeth. And yet we shoulde happely nothynge haue neded therof, if the woundes of our owne foly had not of our great necessitie, and goddes great goodnes requyred it. For G at our creacion he gaue but two preceptes or thre, by his owne holy mouth to our firste parentes. And as for all that was for theim to do besyde, the reason whiche he had planted in their soules, gaue them sufficient warnyng, wherof the hole some stode in effecte, in the honour of God and goddes frendes, with loue of eche to the other, and to their offspryngе and lynage. But the preceptes that he gaue by mouth was thre. Twayne commandynge generacion and etynge. The thirde forbedynge the tre of knowlege. And that was for theim continuall, where the other twayne al be it thei were therto H bounden by the precepte, yet were not thei and their posterye bounden therto at all houres and al places. But nede was it in the begynnyng to geue theim knowledge therof, for as muche as thei had no hunger to warne theim of the one, nor sensuall rebellyous appetite to warne them of the other. But after that thei were by god ones admonished thereof, than did reason interprete the remenaunt, wherby thei wist that thei should ete for conseruacion of their bodies, and ingendre, for propagacion of their kinde. And sith thei perceiued that these two thynges was the ende and

The preceptes geuē be godes mouth were thre.

entent

A entent of those commaundementes thei therby cõsequẽtly knewe whan it was tyme and place, & occasion conuenient to fulfill theim. But whã thei had ones at the subtill suasion of the deuill, broken the thirde cõmaundemẽt in tasting the forboden fruyte, beyng than expelled out of paradise, than concernynge their fode and engenderyng, not onely reason ofte shewed them, what was honest and profitable, but also sensualite, what was bestly and pleasaunt, which sensualite laboured soo busyly to cause man to set by delite aboue god and conuenient, that for the resystence thereof, B it then bycame to be the spirituall busynesse and occupacion of man, so to preserue & bryngе vp the body, that it were not suffered to maister the soule, and so to rule & brydell sensualite, that it were subiecte & obedient vnto reason, as god wylled the woman to be subiecte & obedience of mã. Wherein god wold that we were lerned rather to suffer our sensuall parties plaine and mourne, thã to folowe their owne hurte and oures to. As it hadde bene better for our father Adam and vs all, that he hadde suffered his wife our mother Eue, to be sad and C angry bothe, and lyke a womã to wepe to, than to haue eten the apple for felohyp to please her withall. ¶ Nowe dyd all the synne anone sprynge vp for the more parte vpon the occasyon of feding and engendryng, whereof sprynge, Conetise, Glotynye, Slouth, Wroth, and Lechery. And many times pride and enuye, as one perceyuyng him selfe in these thinges in better condicion or worse than another, so beganne to conceyue a settyng by hym selfe, with contẽpte of other, or enuie & hatred to some other (sauynge that pride somtyme also D sprange out of the soule) and so liked it selfe that it enuyed the better as Caym did Abell, and for to be the more set by, pryde longed superfluously to gete by couetyse and gredynes many folkes lyuynges in his owne handes, to make other folkes serue hym and honour and hange vppon him for necessyte.

¶ And of all these mischeues was alwaie sensualyte redy to minister matter, and by all the dores and wyndowes of the body by felyng, tastynge, smellyng, sight and herynge, ceased neuer to sende in occasions to the soule, nor the deuill neuer ceased for his parte diligently to put forwarde. Against whom did reason resiste, with good counsaile

berto the
by ould be
ought vp.

The wyn-
dowes of the
body.

gyuen to the soule, and good spirites, E appointed by God, gaue their helpe also, and God assysted with his aide and grace, where he founde the person willynge to worke therewith. And in this maner contynewed man longe tyme, not without reuelacion of Christ ones to come. Whiche faith delyuered to the father, wente by the mouthe to the sonne, And so from childe to childe, herde and byleued amonge theim. And what soo were goddes pleasure besyde (that nature & reason coulde not plainely shewe theim) God of his goodnes by speciall message gaue theim vndoubted knowledge, as he dydde to Noe, Loth F and Abraham, and diuers other, wherof some be sence wryten and compryse in scripture, and of likelyhodde not all. For well problable is it, that the patriarkes in diuers thynges that thei did, as in their diuers mariages, and some suche other thynges (as than were by theim well done for the tyme) were to theim appointed specially by God, for Note causes well knowen to hym selfe, and vnknowen to vs, and the thinges nowe forbeden vs, and therfore to vs vnleful, excepte goddes lyke ordenaunce or dispensacion should here after in generall G or perticuler be reueled to the cõtrary.

¶ But soo was it after that the worlde waxynge worse, right good & vertuous lygnages declyned and decayed. ¶ And by the lewde conuersacion of euill people, fell by disorder in such a blyndnes, that all be it some were there alwaye that preyued well their dutye, yet were the cõmen people of the children of Israell by custome of synne soo darked in their natural knowledge, that thei lacked in many thynges the right perceyuynge, that reason (had it not bene by H euill custome corrupted) might verely well haue shewed theim. ¶ For the remedy wherof God of his endlesse mercy, by the lawe wryten with his owne synger vnto Moyses in the tables of Exo. 34. stone, by the .x. commaundementes, put in remembraunce agayne certayne cõclusions of the lawe of nature, whiche (their reason ouer whelmed with sensualyte) hadde than forgotten. And to the ende that thei should keye his byhestes the better, he gaue theim a great hepe of the lawes, and ceremonyes into, to kepe them in straytely for strayenge abrode in ryot. And wrought great wõders that thei shoulde well se, that those thynges were his owne dede, wherby

why god gaue
vnto the
Jewes hepes
of lawes.

A thei might haue the more drede to trãs-
gresse theim. And there in wrytynge
he gaue a warnyng also of Christ, that
god wolde once sende theim springyng
of theim selfe, to whom thei sholde geue
hyrynge in stede of Moyses. Of whom
also as well before as after by Patriar-
kes and prophetes, by figures and pro-
phesyes, God ceased not in such wise to
foreshewe his comyng, his cause, his li-
uyng, his dyenge, his resurrection, and
his holy actes, that if pryde and enuy
hadde not letted it, the figures and pro-
phesyes set and compared with his cõ-
B myngc, conuersacion & doynges might
well haue made all the Jewes to know
him. And for the perceyuyng and good
vnderstandynge of the lawe written, he
sent alwaie some gwd men, whose wor-
des, well lyuynge, and sometyme also
manifeste miracles shewed therewith,
neuer lefte them destitute of sufficient
knowledge that longed to lerne the
lawe. Not to plete it & for glory to dis-
pute it, but to teche it agayne mekely.
And as mannes frayltie coulde suffre
it, specially to fulfill it and kepe it.
¶ Yet after all this, when the worlde
C was in a more decaye and ruine of all
vertue, than came our sauiour Christe
to redeme vs with his death, and leue
vs his newe lawe, wherof was long be-
Hie.31. fore pphecied by the prophete Hieromy.
Lo the dayes be commynge saide our
lorde, whan I shall orderze and dispose to
the house of Israell, and the house of
Juda, a newe couenaunt or testament.
I shall gyue my lawe in their myndes.
And I shal wryte it in their harte. And
I will be their lord, and thei shall be my
people. This lawe wryten in mennes
hartes, was accordynge to the wordes
of the prophete first brought by our sa-
D uyour to the house of Israell, and the
Unto whome Christ was specially sent. Mat. 15. house of Juda, to whome as him selfe
saith he was specially sent. I am not
sent saith our lorde, but vnto the shepe
that are perished of the house of Israell.
And also he said, it is not good to take
the brede fro the borde of the children, &
cast it to dogges. But yet not onely the
redy towardnes of some paynyms, cau-
sed them to be partakers of that brede,
but also sone after the stubburnes and
obstynate infidelite of the Jewes, cau-
Act.13. sed sainct Paule and the apostles to say
vnto their face, The gospell of Christe
was ordeyned by god to be first preched
vnto you. But syth that ye refuse it, Lo
we departe from you to the gentiles.

And so was in their stede, the churche
E gathered of all the worlde abrode. All
whiche notwithstandinge, both were
there at that tyme out of the Jewes con-
uerted and made many a good christen
man, & many of the same people tour-
ned vnto Christe sence, and in conclu-
sion the time shall come, when the re-
menaunt that shall be than lefte, shall
saue theim selfe by the same faithe.
¶ This is called the lawe of Christes
faith, ẏ lawe of his holy gospell, I mene
not onely the wordes written in the
bookes of his euangelistes, But much
more specially the substaunce of our
F faith it self, which our lord said he wold
write in mennes hartes, not onely by-
cause of the secrete operacion of God &
his holy spirite, in iustifyenge the good
christen, eyther by the workynge with
mannes good will, to the perfection of
faithe in his soule, or with the good in-
tente of the offerers, to the secret infu-
sion of that vertue in to the soule of an
innocent enfant. But also for that he
firste without wrytynge reueled those
heuẽly misteries by his blessed mouth,
thorow the eares of his apostles & disci-
ples in to their holy hartes, or rather as
G it semeth it was inwardely infused in
to sainct Peter his harte, by the secrete
inspiracio of God, without either wri-
tynge or any outwarde worde. ¶ For
which cause when he had vpõ Christes
question demaundynge, of whom saye
you that I am, answered & saide: Thou
arte Christ the sonne of the liuyng god,
which arte commen in to this worlde.
¶ Our sauyour said agayne vnto him.
Thou arte blessed Symon the sonne of
Johã, for neyther flesshe nor blonde hath Mat.16
reueled and shewed this to the, but my
father that is in heuen. And thus it ap-
H pereth that the faith came in to sainct
Peter his harte as to the prince of the Peter prince of the apostles
apostles without hyrynge by secrete in-
spiracion, and in to the remenaunt by
his cõfession and Christes holy mouth.
And by theim in like maner, first wout
writyng by onely wordes & prechynge, The lawe of euer it was written in the bokes, was written in mens hartes.
so was it spredde abrode in the worlde,
that his faith was by the mouthes of
his holy messengers put in to mennes
eres, and by his holy hande written in
mennes hartes or euer any worde ther-
of almost was written in the boke. And
so was it conueniẽt for the lawe of life,
rather to be writtẽ in the lyuely mindes
of men, thã in the dead skindes of beastes.
And I nothynge doubte, but all had
it so

A it so ben, that neuer gospell hadde ben
written, yet shoulde the substaunce of
this faith neuer haue fallen out of chri-
sten folkes hartes, but the same spirite
that planted it, the same shoulde haue
watered it, the same shoulde haue kepte
it, the same shoulde haue encreased it.
¶ But so hath it lyked our lorde, after
his hye wisdoome to ꝓuide, that some of
his disciples haue writtē many thinges
of his holy life, doctrine & faith, and yet
far frō all, which (as sainct Johā saith)
the worlde couldе not haue cōprehēded. Joan.21.
B ¶ These bokes are tēpred by the secrete
coūsaile of the holy gost so plain & sim-
ple, that euery mā may finde in thē that
he maie ꝑceiue. And yet so highe againe
& so harde, that no man is there so con- The difficul-
nyng, but he may finde in them thinges of scripture
farre abouе his reche, farre to profoūde
to perce vnto. Now were to the christen
people ỏ pointes of Christes faith (with
which pointes our lord would haue thē
charged) knowen, as I saye and plāted
before, & by reason therof thei farre the
better vnderstods those bokes. And all
though there myghte happely be some
tertes, which were not yet of necessitie
C for them to perceyue, yet by the pointes
of their faith were thei warned, that no
terte might there be cōstrewyd cōtrary
to their faith. ¶ And none Euange-
list was there nor none Apostle, that by
writtyng euer sente the faith to any na-
cion, but if thei were firste enformed ỏ
worde, & that god had begon his church
in that place.
¶ And for my parte I woulde lytell
doubte, but that the euangelistes and
apostles bothe, of many great and se-
crete misteries spake much more opēly,
and muche more plainly by mouth a-
D monge the people, than euer thei put it
in wrytinge, for as much as their wry-
tynges were lykely ynoughe at that
time, to come into the hādes of paganes
and paynyms, such hogges and dogges
as were not metely to haue those pre-
cious perles put vpon their nose, nor
that holy foode to be dashyd in their
teeth. For which cause sainct Peter in
his firste sermon vnto the Iewes, ab-
stayned frō the declaracion of Christes
godhed and egalytee with his father, as
our sauyour him selfe (when the Iewes
that were vnworthy to hyre it, were of-
fended. With that he tolde them plain-
ly that he was the sonne of God) with-
drewe the doctrine from them agayne,
and couered it with the verse of the pro-
phete, I haue said ye be goddes & sonnes
E of the hye God all, as though he woulde
saye, what greueth it you that name in
me, which name God by the prophete
hath geuen to all good men. In which
demeanoure he denyed not the trouth
that he hadde saide of him selfe, but he
blynded their wylfully wynkyng eies,
in hydynge and puttynge vp agayn the
iewell, that he began to bryngе forthe
and shewe thē, the bryght lustre where
of their bleryd eyes might not endure to
beholde. ¶ And what maruell though
the apostles thus did in their speche a-
fore infidels, or wrytyng that myghte
F come into pagans handes, whan it ap-
pereth vpō the epistles of sainct Paule,
that among the christen flocke where he
taught them by mouthe, he tolde them
not all the trouthes at one tale, Not
onely for that it were to longe, but also
for that in the begynnynge, thei couldе
not happely well abyden it. And ther-
fore as Christe saide to his disciples, I Joan.16.
haue more to say to you, but ye be not a-
ble to be are it yet, which ones appered,
what tyme that vpon the disclosynge of
the great mistery of the holy sacrament
the holy flesche of his body, the hyers G
saide, who can abyde this harde worde,
and there with wente almosle all theyre
waye, so dyd sainct Paule I say by the
Corinthians, not teche thē all at ones, 1.Cor.3.
And therefore he saith in his Epistle to
them, I haue geuen you hetherto but
milke and not stronge meate. And wil-
some speke we (saith he) among folke
that be parfit. Nor I mene not this that
there were any pointes of the substaūce
of the faith, whiche he shewed to the
clargy that he kept from the lay people,
or shewed vnto one man, that he kepte
frō a nother, but that to no man lightly H
he shewed all at ones. But bycause
some cam frō the Iewes, and some cam
of the gentils, therfore as thei were, so
were thei handelyd, not onely by grace
but also by wysdom, and not onely in
the pointes of the faith, but also in the
rightes and ceremonyes, either of the
church or of Moses lawe: wherof some
ceremonyes were forthwith abolyshed,
some not by and by, and some taken in
to the churche of Christe and obserued
styll. But in conclusyon when they
were mete therefore, they were all
taught, all that God woulde haue them
bounden to beleue. And than doubte
I nothyng, but that many thynges that
nowe be very darke in holy scripture,

The sōnes of the hye god. Psal. 81.

A were by the apostles (to whom our lord opened their wittys, that thei mighte vnderstande scripture) so plainly declared, that thei were by the people well & clerely vnderstanden. I say not all the hole scripture, in which it maye be that many a secret mistery lieth yet couered, concernyng the comyng of Antechrist, and the daie, maner and fassion, of the finall iudgement. wiche shall neuer be fully disclosed, till the tymes appointed by goddes hye prouidence mete and cōuenient for them. And frō tyme to tyme as it liketh his maiestie to haue thinges knowen or done in his churche, so is no B doubt, but he tēpereth his reuelacions, & in such wise dothe insumate & inspire thē into the hrestes of his christen people, that by the secrete instynete of the holy gost thei cōsent and agre together in yne, except heretikes that rebell and refuse to be obediēt to god & his church. Who be therby cut of from the lyuely tre of that vyne, and waryng withered braunches, be kepte but for the fyre first here and after in hell, excepte thei repēt and call for grace, that may graft them into the stocke againe. But as it nay be that many thynges be there not all at ones reueled and vnderstanden in the scripture, but by sondry times and ages C mo thinges and mo by God vnto his churche disclosed, & that as it shall like his high goodnes & wisdome to dispēce & dispose, so in thinges to be done maye fall in his churche variete mutaciō and chaūge, so am I very sure that the holy gosse that God sente into his churchē. And Christ him selfe that hath promised vnto the ende of the worlde to perseuer and abyde in his church, shal neuer suffer his catholike churche neither to agree to the makynge of any lawe that shal be to God damnably displesaunte, nor of any trewth that god would were D beleuyd to determine or byleue the contrary. For than hadde Christ which is all trouthe broken his promise, and (whiche were blasphemy and abhominable to thinke) were wāren vntrewe. And therfore ouer this as it may be that as I said before, some thinges in holy scripture be not yet fully perceiued and vnderstanden, so am I very sure, that the churche neither doth nor can do dānably conster it wrong, which it should if thei shoulde conster it so as it shoulde make an article of mysse byleue, and of a false erronyous faith. As if thei shold by mysse construction of the scripture

The name of the finall iudgement doth lye couered.

Heretikes.

bringe vp and beleue that Christ were E oue God, and egall with his father and with the holy goost, if the trouth were otherwise in dede. And therfore sith the church (in which Christ is assistent and his holy spirite) can not to goddes displeasure, and their damnacion fall in any false byleue, in any such substāciall point of the faith, it must nedes be therfore, that Arrius and al other heretikes be drowned in damnable errours. The contrary oppinion of whose execrable heresies, the churche was in the begynnynge taught, by the mouthe of Christ him selfe. And after of his blessyd apostles, which redde and declared the scriptures amonge the people in their time, F shewyng then what wise the wordes of holy scripture proued the trouth of such articles of the faith, as thei taught thē by mouth. And how such textes as semed the contrary, were not conerary in dede. And therwith declared them of those textes the right vnderstaddinge.

¶ And albe it that our sauyour shewed and plainly proued that in the scripture was geuen good tokens and sufficient knowlege of him, yet to the entent we should well knowe that is owne worde and ordenaunce nedeth none other authoritie but him selfe, but is to be byleued and obeyed, be it written or not G written, some thinges dyd he therfore byd to be done, and some thinges also to be byleued, whereof we haue in holy scripture no wrytinge in the worlde. Sainct Paule commaūdeth the people of Thessalonica in his epistle, to kepe ÿ 2. Thes. ii. tradicions that he toke them either by his wrytinge or by his bare worde. For the wordes that he said among thē, our lord had tolde them him for them. And therfore he wrytetb vnto ÿ Corynthies, that of the holy howsyll the sacramēt of the awter he had shewed them the matter & the maner by mouth, as our lorde had him self taught it to him. And therfore no doubte is there, but that by the apostles was the churche more fully taught of that matter, than euer was written in all the scripture. There was lerned the maner and forme of cōsecraciō. There was lerned much of the misticall gestures and seremonies vsed in the masse. And if any mā doubte therof, let him consider, where shoulde we els haue the begynnynge of the water put with the wyne in to the calyce, For wel we wote that ÿ scripture biddeth it not. And euery wise man maye well wytte, than

There was mo thinges taught of the sacramēt than was written. 1. Cor. ii.

H

Of the water put with the wyne in the calyce.

A than whan the gospell sheketh onely of wine, there durske no mã in this worlde haue bene so bolde to put any thinge els therto. For when the gospell sheketh of wyne onely tourned into his precious blode, what man woulde aduenture to make any mixture of water? And now is ý church so well acertened of goddes pleasure therin without any scripture, that thei not onely dare put in water, but also dare not leue it out. And wherby knewe the church this thing, but by God & his holy apostles, which taught in their time? And so wente it forth frõ age to age, continued in the church vntyll this day, begonne by God in the begynnynge, without any mencion made in holy scripture.

B

¶ How be it Luther saith because it is not cõmaunded by scripture, we maye chose therfore whether we will do it or leue it. For this one poynt is the very fond foundacion and ground of all his greyt heresyes, that a mã is not bounde to beleue any thing but if it may be proued euidently by scripture. And there vpon goth be so farforth, that no scripture can be euident to proue any thing that he lyst to deny. For he will not agree it for euident he it neuer so plain.

The grounde of al Luthers heresies.

C And he will call euident for him that terte, that is euident against him. And somtime if it be to playne against him, than will he call it no scripture, as he plaith with the pystle of sainct James. And because the olde holy doctours be full and hole against him, he settyth thẽ all at nought. And with these worshipfull wise ways he proclameth him selfe a conquerour, where besides all the remenaunt, wherin euery childe may se his proud frantike foly, he is shamfully put to flight in the first point that is to wyt that no thing is to be byleued for a sure trouth, but if it appere proued and euident in holy writ. And yet had that point at the firste face some visage of probabilite. How be it, to say tho trouth, he were a lewde lorell that wolde nothing do that his maister would byd hym, nor nothyng byleue that his maister would tell him, but if he take it him in wryting, as Luther playth with Christ. Of whose wordes or actes he will beleue nothynge, excepte he finde it in scripture, and that playne and euidẽt. Now must he by that meanes condemne the church of Christ, for that thei saintifie not the saturdaye, which was the sabbaoth daie institute by God among the Iewes, cõmaunding the sabbaoth daye to be kepte holy. And albeit the matter of the precepte is moral and the daie legall, so that it maie be chaũged, yet wil there I wene no man thinke, that euer the churche woulde take vpon them to chaunge it without speciall ordinaũce of God, wherof we find no remẽbraũce at all in holy scripture. By what scripture is euidẽtly knowen that euery mã and woman hath power to minister the sacramẽt of baptesme? Let it be shewed, either by commaundement, consaile, licence or example expressed in scripture.

D

E Of the chaungynge of the sabbaoth dais

¶ Many thinges are there like, which as holy doctours agree, were taught the apostles by Christ, and the churche by the apostles, and so comen down to our dties by cõtinuall succession fro theirs. But I will let all other passe ouer and speke but of one. ¶ Euery good christen man I doubte not beleueth ý our blessyd lady was a perpetuall virgyn, as wel after the bythe of Christ as before. For it were a straunge thinge that she should after blessyd bythe, be lesse minded to clennes and puryte, and set lesse by her holy purpose and promise of chastyte, vowed & dedicate vnto God, then she dyd before. For surely who so considereth the wordes of the gospel in saint Luke, shall well perceyue that she had vowed virginite. For when the aungel had said vnto her, Lo thou shalte conceiue in thy wombe and bryngе forth a childe, & thou shalte call his name Iesus, she answered him, how may this be? for as for man I know none, which though it be spoken but for the time thã present, yet must it nedes signifie that she neuer woulde knowe none, after the maner of spekynge, By which a nonne myght say, as for man there medeleth none with me, signifienge that neuer there shall. And in cõmon speche is that figure much in vse. By which a womã saith of one, whõ she is determined neuer to mary, we maye well talke together, but we wedded not together, meanyng that thei neuer shall wedde together. And in such wise men our lady when she saide, how may this be for I knowe no man, meanynge that she neuer would medle with man. Or els had her answere nothynge ben to purpose. For the aungell said not, Lo thou art conceyued, whiche if he had saide, she might well haue meruayled onely for that she knewe no man all redy. But when he said thou shalte conceyue this

G Luke. ca. 1. Mary vowed virginite.

H

coulde

A coulde be no meruaile vnto her, for that
she knew no man all redy. And therfore
sith she meruayled how it might be that
euer she should conceyue & haue a child,
it must nedes be that her answere ment
that she neuer would medle with man.
And therfore she meruailed, because he
said it sholde be and she knewe not how
it coulde be, but the wayes by which she
was at full point with her selfe that it
shoulde neuer be, so that then he shewed
her howe it should come aboute, by the
holy gost commynge in to her, and the
power of god on highe shadowyng her.
B And then she assented and said, Lo here
Luke.i. the hāde maide of God, be it done to me
after thy worde as thou tellest me. And
thus appereth it euidently, that she had
than a full determined purpose of vir-
ginite. And that as it semeth such as she
thought not lawfull to chaūge. For els
whan the aungell did the message, she
might haue enclined therto thoughe she
had before ben in another minde. Now
whā she had then so full & fast a purpose
of perpetual virginite before the byrthe
of her blessed childe, which came amōge
i C his other heuenly doctrine to call and
exorte the worlde frō all pleasure of the
flesche to the puritie and clennes of the
body and soule, and from the desire of
carnall generacion to a gostly regene-
raciō in grace, more were it then won-
der if she should haue then more regard
of fleshly delite, or cure of worldly pro-
creacion, than euer she had before her
celestiall cōception of her maker, made
mā in her blessed wombe? Or what mā
coulde thinke it that euer God woulde
suffre any erthly man after, to be con-
ceyued in that holy closet taken vp and
cōsecrate so specially to God? This re-
uerent article of our ladyes perpetuall
D virginite, the church of Christ beynge
taught the trouth by Christ, ppetually
hath byleued sence the time of Christ.
And yet is there no worde thereof in
Christes gospell written, but rather di-
uers textes so sowning to the contrary,
that by the wronge vnderstandynge of
them, the heretike Eluydius toke the
Eluidius er-
roure. occasiō of his heresy, by which he wolde
that our lady after the byrth of Christe
had other children by Joseph. How can
we than say that we could without the
lernyng of the faith before, finde out all
the pointes in the scripture, when there
be some that all christendome beleue,
wherof the scripture gyueth no playne
doctrine, but rather semeth to say the cō-
trary. C But as I began to say, the ho- C
ly apostles beinge taught by their great
maister Christ, did teche vnto ȳ church
as well the articles of the faith, as the
vnderstandyng of such textes of scrip-
ture, as was mete and cōuenient for the
matter. Wherby it is not vnlikely that
the gospell of saint Iehan, & the epistles
of saint Paule, were than better vnder-
standen among the cōmon people, than
thei be peraduenture now with some,
that take them selfe for great clerkes.
And as the apostles at that time taught
the people, so did euer some of them that
herde thē teche forth, and leue their doc-
trine and tradicions to other that came F
after. By reason wherof, not onely cant
the rytes and sacramentes and the arti-
cles of our faith from hande to hande,
from Christ and his apostles vnto our
dayes, but also the great parte of the By whome came the vnderstandynge of scripture.
right vnderstandynge of holy scripture
by good and godly writers of sundry ti-
mes. By whose good & holsome doctrine
set forth by their vertue with goddes
good inspiracion grace and helpe of the
holy gost, we haue also the knowledge
and perceyuyng what was the faith of
Christes churche in euery time sence.
And therby perceyue we that these here- G
tikes be not onely barkers against the
faith that nowe is, but also that hathe
ben euer sence Christ dyed. C And ther-
fore is holy scripture as I said the hyest
and the best lernyng that any man can
haue, if one take the right way in the
lernynge. C It is (as a good holy saint
saith) so meruaylously tempered, that a
mouse may wade therin, and an Oly-
phaunt be drowned therin. For there is
no man so lowe, but if he will seke his Howe a man maie wade thorow scripture.
way with the staffe of his faith in his H
hāde, and holde that fast and serche the
way therwith, and haue the olde holy
fathers also for his gydes, goyng on w
a good purpose & a lowly harte, vsynge
reason and refusyng no good lernyng,
with calling of God for wisdome grace
& helpe that he maie well kepe his way
and folowe his good gydes, than shall
he neuer fall in parell, but well & surely
wade thorowe, and come to such ende of
his iourney as him selfe woulde well
wyshe. But surely if he be as longe as
Longyus, and haue an hye harte & trust
vpon his owne witte (as he dothe) loke
he neuer so lowly (that setteth all ȳ olde
holy fathers at nought) that felowe shal
not fayle to synke ouer ȳ eres & drowne.
And of al wreches worst shal he walke,
that

A that forsyng lytell of the faith of Christes churche, cōmeth to the scripture of God, to loke & trye therin whether the church byleue a right or not. For either doubteth he whether Christe teche his churche trewe, or elles whether Christ techeth it at all or not. And thā he doubteth whether Christ in his wordes dyd say trewe, whan he said he woulde be with his church till the ende of ý world. And surely the thyng that made Arrius Pelagius, Faustus, Manicheus, Donatus, Eluidius and all the rable of the olde heretiques to drowne them selfe in those damnable heresies, was nothing B but highe pride of their lerning in scripture, wherin thei folowed their owne wittes and lefte the cōmon faith of the catholike church, preferryng their own gay gloses before the ryght catholike faith of all Christes church, which can neuer erre in any substāciall point that God would haue vs bounden to beleue. And therfore to ende where we began, who so will not vnto the study of scripture take the poyntes of the catholike faith as a rule of interpretacion, but of dyskydens and myskrust study to seke in scripture whether ý faith of the churche C be trewe or not, he can not faile to fall in worse errours & farre more ieoperdous than any man can do by philosophy, wherof the reasons & argumentes in matters of our faith haue nothing in like authoritie.

The thynge that made heretikes to erre

¶ The. xxvi. chapiter.

¶ The mellenger sayenge that him semed he shoulde not beleue the church, if he sawe the church say one thyng, & the holy scripture another thinge, bycause the scripture is ý worde of god, D the author sheweth that the faith of the church is the worde of god as wel as the scripture, and therfore as well to be byleued. And that the faith and the scripture well vnderstanden be neuer contrary. And further sheweth that vpon all doubtes risynge vpon holy scripture concernyng any necessary article of the faithe, he that can not vpon all that he can byre in the matter on both the sides percepue the better and trewer parte, hath a sure and vndoubtable refuge puided him by the goodnes of God to bryngе him out of all perplexite, in that God hath commaunded him in all such doutes to byleue his churche.

TRuely syr quod he, me thinketh it is wel said that ye haue said. And in good faith to say the truthe I see not what I shoulde answere it withall. C And yet whan I loke backe agayne vpō holy scripture, and consyder, that it is goddes owne wordes, whiche I wote well ye will graunt, I finde it harde in myne hart to beleue all the men in the hole worlde, if thei wold say any thing, wherof I shold se that the hole scripture saith the contrary, sith it is reason that I byleue God alone far better thā them all. ¶ In that q̄ I, ye say very trouthe. But now I put case that God woulde tell you two thinges whether of them F would ye beleue best. ¶ Neyther other quod he, but I would beleue theim both firmely & bothe a like. ¶ What if neyther other q̄ I, were likely to be trewe, but semed bothe twayne impossible. ¶ That sholde quod he make litell force to me. For that ones knowen, that god telleth them, semed thei neuer so far vnlikely, nor neuer so far impossible, I neither shold nor could haue any doute, but that thei were bothe twayne trewe. ¶ That is well said quod I. But nowe and it so were, that those two thinges semed the one to ý other clene contrary, G what would ye than thinke, and which wold ye thā byleue. ¶ Yet couldе I not q̄ he doute any thynge, but ý thei were very trew both, but I wold verely thik, that I did not wel vnderstande ý one of thē. ¶ What wold ye than do q̄ I, if he bad you beleue thē bothe. ¶ Mary quod he, than would I pray him tell me first how he vnderstandeth them bothe. For though I beleue that thei be both trew, in that sense and purpose that he takyth his owne wordes, and may in that maner vnderstanden, well stande & agree H together, yet can I not beleue thē bothe in that sense & vnderstandyng, wherein thei repugne & be direcly contrary eche to other. ¶ That is q̄ I so wel said, ý in my minde no man can amende it. ¶ But now would I wit quod I, whether that the faith of the churche be the worde of God, and by God spoken to the churche or not. ¶ Yes quod he, God speketh to his churche in the scripture. ¶ And is nothing goddes wordes q̄ I, but scripture? ¶ The wordes that God speake to Moyses, were thei not goddes wordes all, till thei were wryten? And the wordes of Christ to his apostles were thei not his wordes till thei were wryten?

Yes

A ¶ Yes than quod he. But nowe syth he hath perfyted and finished the corpus of holy scripture, all thyng that he would christen people should beleue, & all that he would the church shoulde do, and all that he woulde the churche shoulde eschew, al this hath he lefte thē his minde sufficiently in holy scripture. ¶ And none otherwise quod I beside: I had wente we had ben at another pointe, in that ye se the sabboth daie chaunged into sonday without any worde of scripture, gyuyng any cōmaundemēt of the chaunge in the newe testament, frō the B cōmaundement geuen for the satyrday in the olde. And also for the pointe that we spake of, touchyng the ypetuall virginite of our lady, wherof is no worde wrytten in scripture. But syth I perceyue that the great affection and reuerēce that ye bere to the scripture of god, not without great cause but without any measure, maketh you in the case that ye take all authoritie and credence from euery worde of God spoken beside the scripture. ¶ I would aske you therfore this question. If god in holy scripture tell you two thinges that seme the C one contrary to the other, as for ensample if he tell you in one place he is lesse than his father and in another place that he and his father be all one, which of these wyll you beleue. ¶ Mary quod he bothe twayne. For thei maie stande together wel ynoughe. For he was lesse as men, & was all one & egall as God. ¶ Very truthe it is quod I that ye saye. But nowe if ye hadde bene borne in the daies of Arrius the heretike, he woulde not haue receyued nor holde him selfe rōtēt with this answere, But he would haue agreed you the first parte and put you further to proue the seconde parte. D And vnto that terte he wold haue made you a glose, that his father and he were one not in substaunce but in will. And that glose he would haue fortified and made somewhat semely with an other worde of Christ, in which he prayed his father sayenge, as thou and I bothe one so make thou that thei and we may be made one, menyng by his christen people which shall neuer be one with him in substaunce. So that for the inequalite of Christ by reason of his mānhode, ye must agree with him. But for vnyte of godhedde, he will not agree with you but put you alwaie to proue it. ¶ Well quod he and thoughe he so did, yet if I were prouided therfore, there be textes ynowe that plainly proue it. ¶ That is E quod I very truthe. But yet is there none but he shal alwaie set you another against it, and a glose as false for yours as ye shall haue an answere for his in such wise as he maie abuse a right wise and well lerned man, as he did in his owne dayes, and many daies after many a thousande. Than if it so were, that in that dispicions ye coude not make your audiēce to discerne the truthe, nor peraduenture persuade them to beleue the truth, bycause the false parte might happe to haue to the myndes of many a more face of truth, as it had at ý time to F many that thā were of ý secte, what way wold ye winde out: Mary q̃ he I wold beleue well my selfe the truthe and go to God, and let theim that wolde beleue the false parte, go to the deuill. ¶ Ye should quod I haue taken therin a good sure way. But nowe if ye had bene in that tyme (albe it ye be nowe fast & sure in the truthe) ye myght haue happed whyle the matter was in question, and many great clerkes and wel scriptured men, and some semyng right holy, set on the wronge syde, ye might haue happed I say so to haue bene moued with G the reasons on bothe the sydes, that ye shoulde not haue wysse on which parte to determine your byleue. And what would ye than haue done: ¶ Quod he ye put me nowe to a pynche, and I shall answere you as I haue herd say that Doctor Mayo doctor Mayo, sometyme almoygner to king Henry the seuenth, answered ones the kyng at his table. It happeth that there was fallen in communicaciō the story of Joseph how his maisters Putiphers wife a great man with the kyng of Egypte, woulde haue pulled him to bedde, & he fled away. ¶ Nowe maister H Mayo (quod the kynges grace) ye be a tall stronge man on the one syde, and a connynge doctor on the other side, what woulde ye haue done if ye had bene not Joseph, but in Josephes stede: ¶ By my trouthe syr quod he & it like your grace I can not tell you what I woulde haue done, but I can tell you well what I shoulde haue done. ¶ By my trouthe quod the kyng that was very well answered. And sythe that answere serued him well there, I shall make the same serue me here. For surely if I had bene in Arrius daies in ý point that ye spake of, what I would haue done that wote I nere. But what I shoulde haue done that can I wel tell you and surely truth

A I wold haue done so to. ¶ What is that quod I. ¶ Mary I would haue bylcued the best quod he. ¶ The best quod I: That were beste in dede, if ye wyst which it were. But ȳ cause is put, that the reasons grouñded vpon scripture semed vnto you in such wise, eche to impugne and answere other, that ye stode in suche a doute; that ye coulde in no wise discerne whether syde sayd best.

¶ By god quod he I had forgotte that, well than were it best quod he, and so would I haue done I thinke, knele me downe and make my speciall prayour

B to God, that it might please his gwdnes in so great a parell not to leue me perplered, but vouchesafe to encline myne assent vnto that side that he knewe very trewe, and would I should beleue to be trewe, and then would I boldely beleue the one which God shoulde haue put in my minde. Had not this bene the beste wayes? ¶ If it were not quod I the best, it might peradueñture serue for a secõde.

Two secõdes ¶ A seconde quod he, than ye take it for nought. ¶ Nay quod I, there be two secondes after two maner countynges. One nerte vnto the worst another nerte vnto the best. And your way is surely

C farre fro the worst. But yet dare I not assent that it were the best tyll I vnderstande it better. And therfore I pray you tell me this. If after your speciall prayours made, ye wrote the one parte in one paper, and the other parte in an other, and laide theim bothe on the grounde, and then set vp a staffe betwene them bothe, woulde ye be then indifferent to take the one syde or the other after, as it shold happe your staffe to fall? ¶ Why not quod he. Or els put it vpon two lottes, & than at aduenture drawe the one and take it. For when I

D haue done as much as mine owne witte will serue, & haue herde therto all that I can of other men, and yet by neither can percepue the better oppinion, what shoulde I do or what coulde I do further than praye for grace to gyde my choyce, and so at aduenture boldely take the one and holde it fasse, doubtyng nothyng but God assisted my choyce, if I haue a ferme faith in his promise, by which he promiseth that if we aske we shall haue askyng as saint James saith without any doubte. And why shoulde not I in such perplered case after helpe called for of God, take the one parte at aduenture by Lot as did the apostles in

Act. 1. the chosyng of a new, to fulfill the place of the traitour Judas? ¶ Lottes quod I

E be well lawfull in the choyce of suche Lottes. two thinges as be bothe so gwd that we be likely to chose wel ynoughe whether so euer we take. But nowe if ye were in the case that I haue herde my father merryly say euery man is at the choyce of his wife, that ye shold put your hãde in to a blynde bagge full of snakes and eles together. vii. snakes for one ele, ye wold I wene reken it a perillous choice to take vp one at aduenture thoughe ye had made your special prayour to spede well. Nor ye ought not in such case to aduenture it vpon your prayour & trust in God without necessytie. ¶ That is

F peradueñture trouthe quod he. But in our case there is necessitie. For there were none other waye to auoyde ȳ perplexite, but euẽ take the one by prayour and ferme truste in God, whiche neuer deceyued theim that truste in him. ¶ If there were ȳ I none other waye somewhat were it than that ye say. But now consider your case agayne. And whan it soo were, that ye coulde not vpon that ye herde the Arryans and the catholike part argue together, percepue whether parte were the better. And therefor of

G those two tales tolde you by god in many textes of holy scripture, some semynge plainely to say that Christ was not egall with his father, some semyng as plainely to say the cõtrary, ye coude in no wise finde any reason, wherby ye coulde finde your selfe moued to take the one parte for more probable thã the other. I put case than that God woulde him selfe say to you, I haue shewed the trouthe of this matter to such a man, & how my scripture is to be vnderstanden concernynge the same. Go thy wayes therfore to him. And that thing that he shall tell the that thinge beleue thou.

H Would ye say nay good lord I wil aske no man but thy self, and therfor tell me thyne owne mouth, or els I will take the one parte at all aduẽtures, & thinke that thou wold haue it so, or els wold ye thinke that God were your good lord, & had done much for you in that it liked him so graciously for your surty to bryng you out of such a great pplexite, wherby ye should for your owne minde haue remayned in an insoluble doute in a matter of the faith, wherin it is damnable to dwell in doute, or (whiche yet much worse were) haue declined peradueñture into an inuincyble errour?

Verely quod he great cause shoulde I haue

A haue had hyghly to thanke God. ¶ Ye would not than quod I first make your prayour and than with good hope (that grace shall guyde your fortune) take the one parte at aduenture by Lot, but ye would in your prayour thanke God for that prouision. And then wouldе ye get you to that man as fast as ye could. ¶ Very trouthe quod he, Than if that man shoulde tell you that Arrius & his company were heretikes all, and toke textes of scripture wronge ye would beleue him? ¶ Ye verely q̃ he that wold I. I put case quod I that ye had not douted before, but had bene in your selfe at B clere pointe, that the Arrians oppinion were the trouthe, yet ye would against Arrius and al his, & against your owne mynde also leue vnto his worde whom God had beden you beleue. ¶ What els quod he? ¶ What if ye asked him quod I whether god haue sufficiētly shewed that pointe in scripture, so that it maie by the wordes of holy wrytte well and euidently be proued, that he tolde you? yea. And that therupon he would bring in all the textes that ye had well in remembraunce all redy, and that ye layed against them all that you coulde lay for C the contrary, so ferforth that whan eche of you hadde layed all your textes and all your gloses, that eyther of you bothe coulde bryngе forthe, tyll ye both confessed, that neither of ye bothe coulde any further thing finde therein, he sayenge still that his waye were the truthe, and that he had by scripture wel proued it vnto you, and your self on the other syde for all that euer ye had herde him saye, perceyuynge in your owne mynde none other, but that ye had by scripture better proued the other parte, which would ye now beleue, that way D that as far as ye se God saith him selfe in holy scripture, or els that mā whom god sent you to and hadde you beleue? ¶ Nay verely q̃ he I wold beleue him. ¶ Well said q̃ I. But whether wouldе ye onely beleue him that the trouth of the matter were against the Arrians, or els would you beleue him further, in that he said he hadde soo proued it vnto you by scripture. ¶ I wold quod he beleue him therin also. For sith God so had cōmaunded me, and had shewed me that he had him selfe instructed ý man, in what sense the scripture were to be vnderstanden, I coulde none otherwise thinke, but that were trewe, & thoughe it appered to myne owne reason the cōtrary. ¶ Very well said quod I. Nowe E if God had said vnto you that ye should beleue that man cōcernyng the matter selfe, and of scripture had nothyng spoken, than wouldе ye haue bylеued hym yet in the matter? Wouldе ye not although he should haue told you that he vnderstode no scripture at all? ¶ That is trewe quod he. ¶ Nowe if he shoulde then haue tolde you that the Arrians were heretikes in that pointe, and their oppinion erronyous and false, ye wold haue bylеued him? What els quod he. What if he had told you therwith q̃ I, that he wyst nere whether it might be F well proued by scripture or not? ¶ Yet wouldе I quod he neuertheleſſe bylеue to be trewe the matter selfe that he had tolde me. What would you than thinke quod I of those textes, that ye did reken before well and plainly to proue the cōtrary. ¶ I wouldе quod he than reken, that thei were mente some other wayes than I coulde vnderstāde. For I coulde not doubte but beyng truely vnderstāden, thei coulde neuer witnes against the trouthe. ¶ In good faith quod I ye say meruaylously well. Do ye not q̃ I, take it for al one, whether God bid you G do a thyng his owne mouthe, or by holy scripture? ¶ Yes quod he sayenge that I take the byddyng by scripture for the more sure. For there wot I well God speketh & I cān not be illuded. ¶ Nowe quod I this man that God byddeth you go to, and in all thing bylеue him, will it make any chaūge in the matter whether it be man or woman? ¶ No chaūge at all quod he. ¶ What if it were a certaine knowen cōpany of men & women together quod I, would that make any difference? ¶ Neuer a whit quod he. ¶ Than quod I in case it appere vnto you, as I suppose it dothe, to you and to euery christen man els, ý in all pointes H of faith, bothe in thynges to be bylеued aboue nature, and in thinges also that are of necessitie to be knowen and bylеued, which may be perceyued by reason geuen vs with nature. God gyueth vs in cōmaundement that we shall bylеue his church, than are ye full answered. For than haue ye the man that ye must nedes resorte vnto, for your finall answere and soluciō of all pointes and doubtes, in any wise concernynge the saluacion of your soule. Of whiche pointes no man can deny, but one of the most especiall pointe is to take in holy scripture alway the right sense. Or els

In all doubtes bylеue the church.

if

A if we can not attayne the right vnderstandynge, yet than at the leste wyse to be sure, that we shall auoide & eschewe all such mysletakyng, as might bryngе vs into any damnable errour.

¶ The. xxvii. chapiter.

¶ The author proueth that god hath cōmaunded vs in all thinge necessary to saluacion to geue firme credence and full obedience vnto his churche. And a cause why God will haue vs bounden to beleue.

B THat is trouth quod he, if this may appere. But where shall it appere that God commaūdeth vs in all such thinges to beleue the churche? For first me thinketh that were a very straunge maner of commaundynge. For of the church be all we ý shoulde (as ye say) be by God cōmaūded to beleue the church, & all we together make the hole church. And what reason were it than to commaunde vs to beleue the churche. Whiche were no more in effecte, but to byd vs all beleue vs all, or eche of vs to beleue other. And then if we fell at diuers oppinions, why shoulde that one C parte more beleue the other, than be beleued of the other, sith bothe the partes be of the churche and make the churche amonge them? saynge that alway that parte semeth to be beleued whiche best & most clerely can alledge the scripture for their oppinion. For the wordes of God muste breke the strife. He is onely to be beleued & his onely sonne of whom him selfe commaunded. *Ipsum audite*, hyre him saide the father at the tyme of his baptisme. And therfore the man that ye speke of whom God sendeth me to, and whom he byddeth me hyre and beleue, is our sauyour Christ onely, & not any D congregacion of men. Whose wordes if we beleue before the wordes of God, and in the stede of the scripture of God put our truste and confidēce in the doctrine and ordenaunce of the churche, it were happely to be fered, lest we fall in the reprofē that is touched in the gospel where is said, in vayne worship thei me with the doctrine of mē, and where our sauiour also reproueth the Scribes and the Phariseyes saynge vnto them, wherfore do you breke and transgresse the cōmaundemēt of god for your tradiciōs. ¶ I trust quod I yet at last we shall agre. But much a do me thinketh it is to come to it. But sith we muste as ye say & truthe it is, hyre our sauyour Christe E & beleue him, is it ynough to hyre him and beleue him, or be we besydes that also bounden to obey him? ¶ To obey him also quod he. For els were he better vnherde. ¶ Wel said quod I. But whether are we bounden to hyre him & obey him in some thinges or in all thinges? ¶ In al thinges quod he without excepcion that he commaunded vs to do. ¶ Than if Christe quod I bydde vs beleue & obey his church, be we not bounden so to do. Yes quod he. ¶ Than may we quod I no more doubte to be trewe, what so the churche byddeth vs beleue, Note. than the thinge that our sauyour him F selfe byddeth vs beleue, if he bydde vs hyre his churche as his father bad vs hyre him. ¶ That is trouth q̃ he if he so do, but me thinketh it were a straunge byddyng as I saide to bydde eche of vs beleue other. ¶ It semeth not quod I so straūge a thing to saint Paule. For he meruaylous effectually besecheth christen people to agre together all in one 1. Cor. 1. mynde, and in the faythe to tell one tale, suffering no sectes or sysmes amōg them. Which agremēt and consent can neuer be where no man geueth credēce to other. But among christen people it will sone be, if euery man gyue credēce G to the church. ¶ But yet quod he sith all be of ý church, of diuers parties, which shall beleue which? ¶ Ye take that q̃ I for a great doubte and a thing very perpler, which semeth me very plaine. For either first the churche hath the truth & beleue al one way till some one or some fewe begynne the chaunge, and than thoughe all be yet of ý church, till some by their obstinacy be gone out or put out, yet is it no doubte but if I wil beleue the church I must beleue thē ý still beleue ý waie, which al ý whole beleued before. ¶ Or els if there were any thig H that was peraduenture such, that in the church sometyme was doubted and reputed for vnreueled and vnknowen, if after ý the holy churche fall in one cōsēt vpon the one side, either by common determinacion at a generall counsaile, or by a perfyte persuasion and beleue so receiued throughe christēdome, that the christen people thinke it a damnable errour to beleue the contrary, than if any woulde after take the contrary waye, were it one or mo, were it fewe or many, were thei lerned or vnlerned, were thei ley people or of the clergie, yet can I nothing doubte which parte to beleue

A if I will beleue the churche. ¶ That is trouth quod he, but ye prouе me not yet that god hath bode me beleue ꝑ church. ¶ Ye somwhat interrupted me quod I with your other subtelte, by which ye would it shoulde seme an absurditie to bid vs beleue the church. For as much as therby ye said it should seme that we were commaũded nothing els, but eche to beleue other, and than in diuers opinions take, we coulde not wyt which parte should beleue which. Wherof sith I haue shewed you the cõtrary, and remoued that blocke out of the waye for stombling, we shall I thinke sone se the B other point, that Christ cõmaundeth vs to beleue his churche. For as his father said of him selfe bye to him, so said he of his church whan he sent it abrode to be spred forthe. ¶ For whan he had gathered his churche of his apostles and his disciples, & therupon sent them forth to preache, said he not vnto them, he that hyreth you hyreth me? Did he not also cõmaunde that who so would not hyre the church should be reputed and taken as paynyms & publicans? ¶ That was quod he, where men would not amende C their lyuyng. Was it not quod I generall where a man wolde not amẽde any damnable faute? Yes quod he. Is misbeleue quod I none suche? Yes mary quod he. Than is quod I the church his Iudge vpon his beleue, to shewe him whether it be trewe or false. So it seemeth quod he. Hath his lyuyng quod I nothinge a do with faith? Howe mene yon that quod he? ¶ Thus quod I, as if Luther late a frere & hauyng now wedded a Nonne, were cõmaũded to amẽde his lewde lyuynge and put away that harlot, whom he abuseth in continuall incest and sacrilege vnder the name of D a wife, and he would say that he did wel ynoughe, and that their vowes coulde not bynde them, were he not bounden to beleue the church and obey therto as well concernynge his beleue as his lyuyng? ¶ Yes verely quod he. Than appereth it quod I that we be by Christe commaunded to hyre, beleue and obey the churche, as well in matters of faith as of maners. Which thing well appereth also by that our lorde woulde that who so were disobedient should be taken as a paynyme or a publicane. Of which two the one offended in misbeleue the other in lewde lyuyng. And thus it appereth that not onely Christ is the man that ye be sent vnto & cõmaũded by god

Math. 18.

to beleue and obey, but also the churche ¶ is the person whom ye be by Christ cõmaunded to hyre and beleue and obey. And therfore if ye will in faith or lyuynge or auoydynge of all dãnable errour (that ye might fall in by mysseunderstandynge of scripture) take a sure and vnfallyble way, ye must in all these thinges hyre beleue & obey the churche, which is as I say the persõ whõ Christ sendeth you to for the sure solucion of all such doubtes, as to the mã in whose mouth he speketh him selfe, and the holy spirite of his father in heuen. ¶ And surely this is much to be marked. For it R is the perpetuall order which our lorde hath continued in the gouernaunce of good men from the begynnynge, that like as our nature first fell by pride to the disobedyence of God with inordynate desire of knowledge like vnto god, so hath God euer kepte man in humilite, straynyng him with ꝑ knowledge of confession of his ygnorauncе, & bynd- A sure & vnfallible way.
dynge him to the obedience of beleue of certayne thinges, where his owne wit woulde verely wene the contrary. And therfore are we bounden not onely to beleue agaynste our owne reason, the poyntes that God shewed vs in scrip- G ture, but also ꝑ God techeth his churche without scripture againste our owne mynde also, to gyue diligent hyrynge, ferme credẽce, and faithfull obedience to the church of Christ, cõcernyng the sense & vnderstandinge of holy scripture, not doubting but sith he hath commaunded his shepe to be fedde, he hath prouided for them holesome mete and trewe doctrine. And that he hath therfore so farre inspired the olde holy doctours of his churche with the lyght of his grace for our instruction, that the doctrine wherin thei haue agreed, and by many ages consented, is the very trewe faith and right way to heuen, beyng put in their Y myndes by the holy hande of him, *Qui facit vnanimes in domo*, that maketh the churche of Christ all of one mynde.

Beleue the churche without scripture.

¶ The. xxviii. chapiter.

¶ The messenger ofte sonys obiected against this, that we shoulde beleue the churche in any thynge where we finde the wordes of scripture sempng playnly to say the contrary, or beleue the olde doctours interpretacions in ani necessary article, where thei seme to vs to say ꝛtrary to ꝑ terte, shewing that we may percepue the scripture

A as well as they mygbt. And the auiswere of the authoure prouyng the authoritie of the old interpreters and the infallible authoritie of the church in ý god techeth it euery trueth requisite to ý necessitie of mans saluacion. Which he proueth by a deducciõ partly dependyng vpon natural reason.

IT semeth me q̃ he, that all this goeth well ý we should beleue the church as Christ, as long as thei say as Christ saith, for so me thinketh mẽt our Lorde. ¶ But nowe yf they tell me tales of their owne, wherof B Christ neuer spake worde nor mencyon made therof in holy scripture, I mai thã say with the prophete Hieromie: *Non misi eos prophetas, & ipsi currebant. Non loquebar ad eos, & ipsi prophetabant.* Those prophetes (q̃ our lorde) rãne forth of thei own head and I set them not, & prophesyed of their own heades whan I spake nothyng to them. And than how much may I more say so, yf they saye me a thing, whereof Christ or holy scripture saith the cõtrary, shal I beleue ý church aboue Christ? Wer that a good humilitie to be obedyent more to men thã to god? More ought I me thinketh to beleue god aboue speaking in his holy scripture hymself, than all the olde fathers, if they make a glose against the tert. ¶ Nor they doo not themself for their oppinions say and write, ý they haue them by inspiracion or by reuelaciõ, or by miracle. But by wisdom, study, diligence, and collacion of one tert with another. By al which meanes men may nowe perceiue the sentence of scripture as well as thei mygbt than. And yf ye will paraduenture saye that grace holp thẽ whiche I wil wel agree, than wyll I say againe that gods grace is not so farre worne out yet, but that it may as well helpe vs as it holpe them, & D so may we be for ý right vnderstanding of scripture equall with them, and paraduẽture one ace aboue them. Wherby when we perceiue that they went wrõg and other after them, shall we than cal it humilitie so to captiue and subdewe oure vnderstandyng, whereby God hath happelye geuen vs lyghte to perceyue their errours, that wythoute thanke geuen hym therefore, we shall so sette hys gyfte at noughte, that we shall beleue them before hym selfe, and tell hym that hym selfe badde so? And therefore me thynke where the olde doctours or the whole churche telleth me the tale that God dothe, there he bydeth me beleue them. But where God sayeth one thyng in scripture and they tell me an other, it thynketh me that I shoulde in no wyse beleue them. ¶ Wel quod I than in somewhat ye say, ye wil beleue the churche, but not in all. In anye thyng beside scripture ye wyl not, nor in the interpretacion of scripture ye wyll not, and so where ye sayde that ye beleue the church in somewhat, in very dede ye beleue ý church in right nought. For wherein wyll ye beleue it yf ye beleue it not in the interpretacion of scripture? For as touching the tert ye beleue the scripture selfe and not the churche. F ¶ Me thynketh quod he the tert is good ynough and playne ynough nedyng no glose yf it be well considered and euery parte compared with other. ¶ Harde it wer quod I to finde any thing so playn that it should nede no glose at all. ¶ In faith quod he thei make a glose to some tertes, that be as plaine as it is, ý twise two make four. ¶ Why quod I, nedeth that no glose at al? ¶ I trow so quod he. Orels the deuil is on it. ¶ I wisse q̃ I, & yet though ye would beleue one ý wold tell you, that twise two ganders made alway foure gese, yet ye would be aduised ere ye beleued hym, that wouldе tell you that twise two gese made all waye foure ganders. For therein might ye be deceiued. And him would ye not beleue at al, ý wold tel you, that twise two gese wold alwai make foure horse. ¶ Tut q̃ he, this is a mery matter. They must be al the twise twaine alway of one kinde. But gese & horse be of diuerse. ¶ Wel q̃ I, than euery man ý is neither gose nor horse seeth wel ý there is one glose yet. But now q̃ I, the gese & the ganders bee bothe of one kinde, & yet twyse two gese make not alway. iiii. gãders. A swete matter q̃ he, ye wote what I meane wel ynough. I think I do q̃ I. But I thik if ye bring it forth, it wil make another glose to your tert, as plain as your tert is, and ye will in al holy scripture haue no glose at all. And yet wyll ye haue collacion made of one tert with another, & shew how they may be agrred together, as though al that were no glose. Ye q̃ he but would you that we should beleue the churche if it set a glose that wyll in no wise agree with the terte, but that it appeareth playnlye that the terte well considered saieth cleane the contrarye? To whom doth that appeare quod I so

A plainly, whan it appeareth one to you, and to the whole church another. ¶ Yet yf I see it so quod he, though holye doctours and all the whole churche would tell me the contrary, me thinketh I wer nomore bounden to beleue them al, that the scripture meneth as they take it, thã yf they woulde all tell me that a thynge were white which I see my self is black. ¶ Of late quod I, ye wouldē beleue the churche in some thyng. And nowe not only ye would beleue it in nothing, but also wher as god wold the church shold B be your iudge, ye would nowe be iudge ouer the churche. And ye wyll by your wit be iudge whither the churche in the vnderstanding of holy scripture ý God hath written to his church, doo iudge a right or erre. As for your white & black neuer shall it be that ye shall see ý thing black that all other shall see white. But ye may be sure that if al other se it white and ye take it for blacke, your eyen bee sore deceiued. For the church will not I thinke agree to call it other than it seemeth to them. And much meruaile wer it if ye should in holy scripture se better than the old holy doctours and Christes whole church. ¶ But fyrste quod I ye C must consider that ye and I do not talke of one doctour or twayne, but of the cõsent and comen agrement of the olde holy fathers. Nor that we speake not of ý doctrine of one mã or two in the church but of the comen consent of the church. We speake not also of anye sentence taken in any text of holy scripture, wherby riseth no doubt or question of any necessari article of our faith, or rule of our liuing (For in other bye matters may there be takē of one text. r. senses peradventure, and all good ynough withoute warantise of the best.) But we speak of such two diuers and contrary senses ta D kē, as if ý one be true, ý other must nedes be false, & ý as I say concerning some necessary point of our faith or rule of oure liuing, whiche is also depending vppon faith & reducible therto. As if one wolde boldly breke his vow for ý he thought ý no man wer boundē to kepe any. Such pointes, I say let vs consider, they bee ý we speake of. And this remembred betwene vs, thã wyl we somwhat se what your saying doth proue. ¶ I shall not much nede quod I to stycke with you in disputing, by what menes the scripture is vnderstanden, sith ye be agreed with nature and diligence the grace of God musse nedes go, or els no diligence or helpe of nature cãn preuaile. Nor I wil E nothing denye you, but that god maye & wyll also, geue ýis grace nowe to vs, as he gaue of olde to his holy doctours, yf there bee as muche towardnesse and no more let or impediment in our self than was in them. I will also graunt you ý we maye nowe by thesame meanes by which they might than vnderstande the scripture as well as they did than, and I will not much sticke with you for one ace better. And wer it not for the sinnes that we sinke in, we might percase vnderstande it better by quater tre deuce, hauing their labours therein & our own therwith. But sithe I am so gentle to F graunt you so many thinges, I trust ye wyl grant me this one, that yf any such point of our faith, as god wouldē haue men bounden to beleue, they did vnderstande the scripture one waye and we a nother beig the one to the other so clene contrarye, that yf the one were true, the other must nedes be false, ye wyll than graunt I saye, that eyther they erre or we. ¶ That must nedes be quod he. Ye wyll also graunt quod I, that in suche poyntes as we speake of, the errour wer dãnable. For we speake of those pointes onely, to the belief wherof god wil haue vs bounden. I graunt & he. For dam- G nable wer it ĩ such case to beleue wrõg. And wrong should they or we beleue yf they or we beleued a wrong article, because they or we thought that the scripture affirmed it. And as damnable wer it and yet muche more, if we beleued a thyng wherof we beleued that the scripture affirmeth the contrary. For thẽ beleued we that the scripture were false. This is & I very well said. But for the more playnnesse let vs put one example or twaine. And what point rather than the article touching the equalite in godhead of our sauior Christ wõ his father. H For yf the contrary belief were trewe, than wer this alway damnable & plain ydolatrie. Very trouth quod he. May not quod I the other example be the matter that we haue in hande, concernyng sainctes reliques, ymages, and pilgrymages, which thinges if it be (as ye say many recken it) ydolatrye, than is it yet worse to doo therein as we doo, than yf oure belief were wronge in the other poynte. And that as muche worse, as the saintes or ý ymages either, be worse than the holy manhead of Christ. That is quod he very true. Than quod I let the fyrst poynt alone because therin we

bee

I be all agreed, and speake of the seconde, if the old fathers tooke the scriptures one waye and we the contrarye. Though it might be that we wer able to vnderstād the scriptures as well as they, yet if thei so vnderstode thē that they thought this kynde of woorship not forbidden but cōmaunded and pleasaunt to god, and we newe men on the other syde thoughte it vtterly forbidden and holden for ydolatrie: the one parte did not in dede vnderstande the scripture right, but were in a damnable errour. That will no man deny quod he. I doubt not now quod I but that your self seeth verye well howe many thinges I might here lay for them to proue you that thei erred not so. First their wittes as much as our new mens, their diligence as great, their erudicion greater, their studye feruent, their deuocion hotter, their nomber farre greater, their time continued longer by many ages perseuering, the contrary oppiniōs in fewe and those alway sone faded, thei taken alway for catholike, the contrary part for heretiques. Here might I laye you the holines of their life and the plenty of their grace wel appearing therby, and that our lord therfore opened theyr eyen and suffered and caused them to see the trouth. And albeit he vsed therein none open myracle nor sencyble reuelacion, whereof as ye say thei none allege or pretende for the proke of their oppinions in their interpretaciōs of holy scripture, yet vsed he the secret supernaturall meane, by which his grace assistente wō good men that labour therfore, by mocions insencible to thēself, incline theyr assent vnto the true side, and that thus ȳ olde holye fathers dyd in the point ȳ we speake of, and in such other, perceiue the right sence of holy scripture so farforth at the leastwise, as thei wel knewe that it was not contrary to their belief. And here might I laye you also that if it had bene otherwise and that they had therin damnably bene deceiued, than liuyng & dying in damnable error they could not haue bene saintes, as God hath shewed them to be by many a thousand myracle both in their liues & after their deathes. With this might I also lay & verye well conclude, that sythe those holy doctors and the churche, bee (as by their bookes plainly appereth) al of one fayth in this poynte and suche other, that therby wel appeareth that the church is in ȳ trueth, and is not in the vnderstandyng of the scripture that speaketh of the matter any thyng deceiued, but thei clearely deceiued that do vnderstand those textes of holy scripture to the contrarye. These thinges as I say, & yet many other more might I saye. But sithe ye did pour self put the church and thē both in one case, and so thei be in dede: I wil rather proue you the trueth of them by the trueth of ȳ church, than the trueth of the church by the trueth of thē. And so semeth me good reason. For surely sithe they were but members of his church, god had his speciall cure vpon them moste especiall for the profite of his churche, by whose hole corps he more setteth than by any member therof, sainct, apostle, euangelist, or other. And therfore must I yet aske you againe whither the church may haue any damnable errour in the faith by mistaking of scripture or otherwise. That is quod he somewhat harde to tel. Now quod I somewhat I meruaile that ye remember not that your selfe hath agreed all ready, that these woordes of Christe spoken vnto Peter, I haue prayed ȳ thy faith shall neuer faile, were not oneiye ment by the faith in Peter his owne person, but also by the faith of the churche. For to him was it spoken as head of the church. Yes I remember ye he right wel that I agreed it. But I remember also ȳ notwithstanding mine agremēt ye wer content that we should ensearche again and again the matter otherwise beside, wherin mine agrement should not bind me. Lo quod I that had I forgotten again. But let it than alone for the while and tell me this. Did not Christ entend to gather a flock & congregacion of people that should serue god and be his special people? Yes ye he ȳ is very trouth. For so saith plain scripture of Christ in sondrie places. As where the father of heauen saith vnto Christ in the psalme. *Postula a me & dabo tibi gentes hereditatem tuam*, ask of me and I shall geue the paynim people for thine inheritaunce, and many other places. And els vndoubtedlye his whole cōmyng had bene in maner frustrate and in vaine. That people quod I whiche should be an inheritaunce did he entende shoulde endure for his owne dayes onely whyle he liued here, or els that it should go forth & continue long after. Nay quod he that shall contynue whyle the worlde lasteth here tyll domes daye, and after in heauen eternally. Shall this people quod I haue among them the knowledge and vnderstandyng what he woulde they shoulde

The differēces betwene the olde doctours and the new.

Luke.22. Peter head of the church.

A do to please God with all? Ye quod he.
Whither shall they quod I, haue thys knowledge for a while in the beginning and than lese it, or shall they haue it styl as long as they continue? Here he begã a litle to stagger. Why quod I, can ye call them his people anye longer yf they lese the knowledge howe to serue hym & please hym? if thei for slouth to doo their duetie as slacke seruantes sometime do, yet may thei mende and doo better another time. But if they lese the knowlege of their duetie, thã wote thei nere which
B way to amend, as he that knoweth fornicacion for synne, may fall by frailtye to fornicacion. But sith he knoweth it for nought, though he synned more in ẏ doyng, than if he had not knowen ẏ prohibicion, yet dothe the knowledge geue him warning and occasiõ of repẽtance & amendement, which must nedes lacke if he had lost the knowledge. Upõ this he graunted that it must nedes be ẏ thys people must nedes haue alway ẏ knowledge how to serue and please our Lord, or els they ceased to be his people. Is not this people quod I called ẏ churche? Yes quod he. Than the church ẏ I alway hath and alway shal by your reasõ haue the knowledge and vnderstãding,
C how god maye be serued and pleased.
Trouth quod he. Is quod I that knowledge fully had wythout the knowledge of such thinges as god bindeth vs to beleue? Nay quod he. What if we knew them in suche wise quod I as we coulde rehearce them on oure fingers endes, & yet beleued thẽ not to be true, wold this knowledge serue? In no wise ẏ he. For if ye beleued them to be false, though ye so knew them that ye could rehearce thẽ by rowe, ye could take no warning by them to please and serue god with them,
D which is the cause wherfore the church should of necessitie know them. This is quod I very well sayde. Than sythe ye grant ẏ the church shal euer ẽdure, and that it could not endure wont the knowlege of such thinges as may please god, nor those thinges can bee all knowen yf knowledge lacked of those thinges that god byndeth vs to beleue, nor the knowledge of thẽ any thyng serue to ẏ knowledge and warnyng geuen vs of goddes pleasure, but yf we not onely can tel thẽ but also beleue them, whiche beliefe ye graunte is called faith, of this it consequentlye foloweth that the churche all wayes hath and all wayes shall haue the knowledge and belief of such thiges as God will haue it bounden to beleue. E
That is trouth quod he, because God hath lefte holy scripture to the churche, and therein is all, and the churche beleueth that to be true. And therfore therein and thereby hath the churche all that warning and learning of goddes pleasure that ye speake of, without whiche it can not endure. Are ye there yet agayne quod I? We haue sondry wayes proued & agreed betwene vs, that this knowledge and faith was before scripture and wryting, and many thinges of necessitie, to be bothe beleued and done, that are not in holye scripture. And yet F after al this to long to bee repeted ye retourne agayne to the firste pointe so often confuted, that nothing is learned nor knowen but by holy scripture. But nowe go to and suppose it were so, what shoulde ye winne thereby? For what if God quod I hadde lefte the scripture to the churche locked vp in a close chefte, & that no manne shoulde looke therein, would that haue serued? Nay parde ẏ he. What if he hadde lefte it open and written in such wise that no man could read it? That were all one quod he. What if euery man quod I could reade it and no man vnderstande it? As litle G wold it serue quod he as the other. Thã ẏ I sithe it serueth the churche to learn goddes pleasure therein, and that can it not as ye grant your self, but if ẏ church vnderstande it, it foloweth of this that ẏ churche vnderstandeth it. And thus euery wayes for the fayth and knowledge of goddes pleasure, yf it bee as ye saye all knowen by the scripture, and no part otherwyse. yet alwaye to this poynte ye bring it in the end, that the church hath the sure knowledge thereof. And then if that be so, ye shall not as ye lately said ye should, in any diuerse textes of scripture seming to make a doubtous article H of our fayth, & to bring in question what we be bounden to believe, after ye haue read in scripture al that can be readde and heard on bothe sydes all that can be sayde, than take whiche part semeth to your self most profitable.

Faith bee fore scripture.

The church hath the sure knowledge of scripture.

Nor if ye stande still for all that in a doubte, than after your bytter prayers made to god for his grace and gyde in ẏ choyce, go take you the one part at aduenture and cleue therto, as though ye were sure by your confidence in god, that hys grace had enclined your assent to the sure syde. But sith he hathe shewed you playnly by reason that he hath geuẽ his

church

A churche in all suche thinges knowledge of the trouth if ye will take the sure wai and put your self out of all perplexite in the point it selfe, and the scriptures that touche it, ye shall take for the truth that way that the churche teacheth you therin howe so euer that matter seme beside vnto your self or to any man els.

The.29.Chapiter.

¶ The authour proueth by scripture that God instructeth the churche of Christe, in euery trouth necessarilye requisite for our saluacion.

B TRuly quod he ye wynde it well about. But yet ye made as though ye woulde haue shewed that God had in scripture tolde me, that he had and euer would tell hys churche ý trouth in al such maters. And now ye bring it to the poynt, not the holye scripture telleth me ý tale but mans reason. And surely as I shewed you before, I dare not wel trust reason in matters of faith and of holy scripture. I began quod I to proue it you by scrypture, and ye than putte me out in the beginning. Howbeit this reason hath scripture for his foundaciõ and groũd.

C And though it somewhat bylde further thereon, yet is not reason alwaye to bee mistrusted where fayth standeth not againste it, nor god sayeth not the cõtrarye. Excepte reason bee so farre out of credence with you, that ye wyl not now beleue him yf he tell you ý twise twaine make foure. I wene you will fare by reson as one did once by a false shrewe. He sware that he would not for.xx.li. heare hym say his crede. For he knew him for suche a lyer that he thought he shold neuer beleue his crede after, if he hearde it once of his mouth. Howbeit quod I let vs yet se whither god hiself in scripture tell you the same tale or no. God telleth

D you in scripture that he would bee with his churche to the ende of the worlde. I thinke ye doubte not thereof, but those woordes he spake to the whole churche that than was and euer shall bee from the apostles dayes continued till ý ende of the world. That in good faith quod he must nedes bee so. Than were this in good faith ynough ꝙ I for oure purpose, syth no man doubteth, wherfore he will be with his church, except we shold think that he would be therwith for nothing, wherfore should he be with it but to kepe it and preserue it w̃ the assistence of his gracious presence from spiritual mischiefe specially, and of all other specially frõ infidelitie and frõ ydolatrye: which was the special thyng frõ which he called his churche out of the gentiles which els as for moral vertues and politicall yf they had not lacked the ryght cause and ende of referryng theyr actes to god, were many of them not farre vnder mani of vs. Let vs go further. Doth he not in the.xiiii.xv.&.xvi. Chapiter of sainct John againe and agayne repete, that after his going he will come again to them. And saith he will not leue them orphanes, as fatherlesse children, but wil come again to them himself. Let vs adde now therunto ý woordes before rehersed, that he will be with them till the worldes ende, and it appeareth playn ý he mẽt all this by his whole church that should be to the worldes end. Than he said vnto them I call you frendes, for al that I haue heard of my father I haue made knowen to you, he spake as to hys perpetuall churche and not to the Apostles alone, but if he saide to them alone these woordes also, I commaund that ye loue eche other, so that none should loue eche other after but only they. Now lest the thinges that he taught them shold by the church after be forgotte, which was more to bee doubted than of themselfe ý heard it, he said vnto them also. These thynges, quod he, haue I spokẽ to you abiding here with you. But the comforter whiche is the holy ghost (whome my father shall sende in my name) he shall teache you al thing, and he shal put you in minde and remembrance of al thyng that I shal haue saide vnto you. So that here ye see that he shall againe allways teache the churche of new, the old lessõs of Christ. And he said also to them, that this comforter, this holy gost, the spirit of trouth, should be sent to abide w̃ thẽ for euer, which cannot be ment but of ý whole church. For the holy ghoste was not sent hither into ý earth here to dwel with the apostles for euer, for thei dwelled not so long here. Now if the spirit of trouth shall dwel in the church for euer, how can the churche erre in perceiuing of the trouth, in such thinges I mene as god wil binde them to knowe or shall be necessary for them to know? For onely of such thinges ment our lord, whan he said that the holy ghost shal teach them al thing. For as saint Poule saith, the manifestacion and shewyng of ý spirit, is to the vtilitie and profite. This holye

E

F

G

H

John.14

John.15

John.16

The churche cannot erre.

A spirite also was not promised by our sa-
Iohn.8. uiour Christe, that he should onely tell
his church again his words, but he said
further, I haue quod he, besides al thys
many thinges to saye to you, but ye bee
not able to bere them nowe. But whan
he shal come that is the spirit of trouth,
he shal lede you into all trouth. Lo oure
lorde saide not that the holy gost sholde
write vnto his churche all trouth, but ý
he should lede them by secrete inspirac-
ion and inclinacion of their heartes into
all trouth, in which must nedes be con-
ceiued both informacion and ryght be-
B lief of euery necessary article, and of the
right and true sense of holy scripture, as
farre as shall bee requisite to conserue ý
church frō any damnable errour. Now
whan the holy ghoste shall by gods pro-
mise, bee for this purpose abiding in the
Iohn.14. churche for euer, and Christe hymself
hath also sayde that he wyl not leue hys
church as orphanes, but wil com hiself,
and be with it vnto the ende of ý worlde
and sayth also that his father is in hym,
and he is in his father, and ý his father
and he be bothe one thing, not bothe one
parson, but both one substaunce, ¶ with
C the holy ghost bothe one god, than must
The whole Trinitie is re sident with the churche. it nedes folow that to the wordes ende,
ther is wō the church residēt ý whole tri-
nitie. Whose assistēce being to ý church
perpetuall, howe can it at any time fall
from true faith to false errours and he-
resies?

The.30. Chapiter.

¶ Wheras the messēger had thought
before, ý it wer hard to beleue ani thig
certainly saue holy scripture though
the scrypture did agree therein and
commaunde it, the authour sheweth
D that sauing for the authoritie of the
churche, menne coulde not knowe
what scripture they shoulde beleue.
And here is it shewed that God wyll
not suffer the churche to bee deceiued
in ý choyse of ý very scripture of god
from any counterfeit.

NOwe is it I suppose well and
clerelye proued by scripture
the thyng that I promysed,
that is to wytte that ý church
can not erre in any such sub-
stauncyall article as God wyll haue vs
bounden to beleue. But yet for as
muche as ye regarde nothing but scrip-
ture onelye, this woulde I fayne wytte
of you, whyther ye beleue that Christe
was borne of a virgine. What els ¶ E
he. Why beleue you that quod I? The
ghospel sheweth me so quod he. What
yf it dyd not quod I, were than youre
Crede out of credence, but yf he bryngе
wytnesse with hym? The Crede quod
he is a thyng by it self. Yet is it quod
I no parte of the ghospell as the Pater
noster is. And yet I thynke, yf ghospell
hadde neuer bene written, ye wold haue
beleued your Crede. So thynke I too
quod he. And wherefore quod I, but
for because the churche should haue she-
wed you so? But lett our Crede alone
a whyle and go we to the ghospell selfe.
Whiche ghospel telleth you that Christ F
was borne of a virgin? The ghospell
of sainct Luke, quod he. Howe know
you that quod I? For I reade it so ¶
he in the boke. Ye reade quod I such
a booke. But howe knowe you that sait
Luke made it? Howe know I quod he
other bookes, but by that they beare the
names of their authors writtē vpō thē.
Knowe you it wel therby quod I? Ma-
ny bokes be ther that haue false inscrip-
cions, and ar not the bokes of them that
they be named by. That is trouth quod
he. But yet though men did peradven-
ture erre and faile in the name, as yf he
shold repute a boke of stories to be made G
by Titus Liuius, which he neuer made
but some other honest conning man. yet
wer the bokes neither lesse eligaunt nor
lesse true therfore. Nor in likewise if the
churche dyd mistake the verye name of
some Euangelist and ghospel, yet were
the ghospell neuer the lesse true. That
is quod I well said. But how be ye sure
that the matter of the boke is true? Ma-
ry quod he for I am. That is quod I
the reason that a mayde layeth for her
owne knoweledge of her maydenhead.
But she could tell another how she kno-
weth she hath it, sauing that she is lothe
to come so nere as to bee a knowen ý she H
could tel how she might lese it. But here
is no suche feare. Tel me therfore wher-
by wot ye that the matter of that boke is
true? I thinke quod he that god sheweth
me so. That is well thought ¶ I. But
he tolde it you not mouth to mouth. No
quod he. But he hath tolde it to other in
the begynnyng or els it was wel know-
en in the begynnyng whan he wrote it.
And he was knowen and beleued by his
lyuyng, and the myracles that god dyd
for him. And after that it was once
knowen, the knowledge wente forth
fro manne to manne. And God hath so

wrought

A wrought with vs that we beleue it because the whole Churche hath alwaye done so before our dayes. Nowe come you quod I to the very poynte. For many thinges hath bene true, that in processe after hath lefte to be beleued. And many a thing hath in ÿ beginning been knowē for false, and yet hath after happed to be beleued. But the gospels & holy scripture, god prouideth that though ÿ case some of it may perishe and bee lost, whereby they might haue harme, but not fall in errour (for the fayth shoulde stand though ÿ scriptures wer all gone) yet shall he neuer suffer his church to be deceiued in that poynte, that they shall take for holye scripture any booke that is not. And therefore saieth holye sainct Austine, I shoulde not beleue the ghospell, but if it were for the churche. And he sayeth good reason. For were it not for the spirite of God keppng the trouth thereof in his church, who could be sure whiche were the very ghospels? There were many that wrote the ghospel. And yet hath the churche by secrete instructe of god, reiected the remenaunt and chosen out these fowre, for the sure vndoubted trewe. That is quod he sure so. This is ÿ I so sure so, that Luther himselfe is C driuen of necessitie to graunt this, or elles he perceiueth that there were none holde nor suretie in scrypture it selfe, yf ÿ church might be suffered by god to be deceiued in that pointe, and to take for holy scripture that writing that in dede wer not. And therfore he confesseth that this must nedes be a sure ifallible groūd that God hath geuen this gifte vnto his churche, that his churche can alway discerne the worde of god from the word of mēne. In good faith quod he, that must nedes be so, or els all would faile. Quod I than ye that would beleue the church in no thing, nor geue sure credence to D the tradicion of the church, but if it wer proued by scripture, now see it proued to you, that ye coulde not beleue the scrypture, but if it were proued to bee scrypture by the iudgement and tradicion of the church. No quod he, but whē I haue learned once of the church, that it is holy scripture and the worde of God, than I beleue it better than I beleue all the churche. I might by a light person somtime knowe a muche more substanciall man. And yet whan I know hym, I wil beleue him muche better than hym, by whom I knowe him, if thei daryed in a tale and were contrary. Good reason ÿ I. But the chuecche biddeth you not beleue the contrarye of that the scripture sayeth. But he telleth you that in suche places as ye would better beleue ÿ scripture than the churche, there ye vnderstande not the scripture. For what so euer wordes it speaketh, yet it meaneth not the contrary of that the churche teacheth you. And the churche can not bee deceiued in any suche weightie poynte. Whereby shall I know quod he? Why be we at that point yet quod I: haue we so sone forgotten the perpetual assistēce of the Trinitie in his churche, and the praiour of Christ to kepe the faith of his churche fro fayling, and the holye ghost sent of purpose to kepe in the church the remembraunce of Christes wordes and to lead them into all trouth? what wold it haue profited to haue put you in remēbraunce of the assistence of god with the F children of Israell walking with them in the cloude by day, and in the piller of fyre by night in their earthly viage, and therby to haue proued you ÿ much more special assistence of god with his christē churche in their spiritual viage, wherein his especiall goodnes well declareth his tender diligence, by that he dothe vouchsafe to assist and comfort vs with the continuall presence of his precioule body in the holye sacrament? All this would not help, if manifest reason that I made you, and euident scripture that I reherled you, cannot yet print in your heart a perceiuing that the assistence of god in his churche must nedes preserue his churche from all damnable errours in the faith, and geue his church so farre forth the vnderstanding of scripture, ÿ thei may wel perceiue that no part therof well vnderstande, standeth against any article that the church beleueth, as parcel of their christen faith. Nay quod he I perceiue it well whā I remēber it, but it was not ready in remembraunce. G

The preface of Christes bodye in the sacrament.

Fayth dothe stand without scripture.

Inguler or gifte.

The. 31. Chapiter.

¶ In that the churche can not erre in the choise of the true scripture, ÿ authour proueth by the reason whiche the kinges highnes in his noble and moste famous booke obiecteth against Luther, that the church cannot erre in the necessarye vnderstanding of scripture. And finallye the authour in this chapiter doth briefely recapitle certaine of the principall pointes that be before proued. And therewith endeth the first booke.

A Let would I quod I aske you one thing, wherefore thynke you, wil not, Christ suffer his churche to bee deceiued in the discerning of holye scripture from other writing, and suffer them to take a booke of holy scripture, that wer none in dede: Leste men might quod he, of some false boke reputed of holy scrypture, haue greate occasion geuen them to conceiue the wronge doctrine and wronge oppinions of the faith, yf God woulde suffer his church to take a false deuised booke for holye scripture and for his owne holye woordes. Ye saye quod I verye trouthe. Nowe what yf in B the verye scripture he shoulde suffer his churche mistake the verye sentence in a matter substaunciall of oure faith, wer they not in like parell to fal by false vnderstanding in to like errours, as thei myght by false wrytinges? Yes that they were quod he. Forsooth quod I, so were thei and in muche more. For in a false booke mistetaken for scrypture, though thei hadde it in neuer so high reuerence for some good thinges that thei founde in it, and thereby shoulde haue great occasion to beleue false errours written in thesame, yet hauing as the C churche alway shal haue, the true faith, The churche that alway haue the true faith. firste in hearte, thei shoulde finde many shiftes to kepe out ỳ errours. But nowe yf we falselye shoulde vnderstande the true scripture, there were no waye to scape fro damnable errours. And therefore maye I saye to you, as the kynges highnesse most prudẽtly layed vnto Luther, sith god wyll not suffer his church to mistetake a booke of scripture, for perill of damnable errours that might ensue thereon, and like perill maye there ensue by the misseconstruing of the sentence as by the mistetaking of the boke, Note. it musse nedes folowe that God will in thynges of oure faith no more suffer thẽ to take a false sentence for true, than to D take a false booke for scripture. And with this reason his hyghnesse concluded hym so clerelye, that he durste neuer since for shame touche that poynte againe, nor any colour couldе laye, but that vpon his own confession in al substanciall pointes concerning the fayth or knowledge of vertue pleasant to god the churche hath so right vnderstãdyng of scripture, that it wel and truely perceiueth, that no terte therein cã be right vnderstanden, against any article that the churche beleueth for thing to bee beleued of necessitie. And this point durst E he neuer since touch nor make aunswer thereto, albeit that the kinges hyghnes with this one pointe alone plainely turneth vp and destroyeth the grounde and foundacion of all heresies that Luther would haue beleued. And therefore of al thinges had Luther gretest cause to answer this pointe earnestlye, and would vndoubtedly if he had wist how. Surely ye your frend I meruayle not though he did not. For this pointe is so clere he couldе not, And I am herein fully satisfied. Than bee you quod I satisfyed in this also, that the faith of the churche F is a right rule to cary with you to ỳ study of scripture, to shape you ỳ vnderstãdyng of the terte by, and so to take thẽ as they maye alwayes agree ther withall. Be it quod he. Than are ye quod I, also fullye aunswered in this that where ye saide ye shoulde not beleue the churche telling a tale of their owne, but onely telling you scripture, ye now perceiue that in suche thinges as we speake of, that is to witte necessarye pointes of our faith, if they tell you a tale whiche if it were false were damnable, ye musse beleue and maye bee sure that sythe the churche can not in suche thinges erre, it G is very true all that the churche in suche thinges telleth you. And that it is not their owne woorde, but the woorde of god though it bee not in scripture. That appeareth well quod he. Than are ye quod I, as fullye satisfied that where ye late lye saide that it were a disobedience to god and preferryng of the church before himselfe, if he shal beleue the churche in suche thinges as god in his holye scrypture sayeth hymselfe the contrarye, ye nowe perceiue, it can in no wyse bee so. But sithe his churche in suche thynges as we speake of cannot erre, it is impossible that the scripture of God can be c- H trary to the faith of the church. That is very true quod he. Than it is as trewe quod I, that ye bee further fullye aunswered in the principall poynte that the scriptures layed agaynste ymages and pilgrymages and woorship of sainctes, make nothing agaynst them. And also that those thinges, ymages I meane & pilgrymages, and prayng to sainctes, are thinges good and to bee hadde in honoure in Christes Churche, sythe the churche beleueth so. Whyche as ye graunte and see cause why ye shoulde graunte, can in suche poyntes not bee suffered for the speciall assistence of god and

F Thy: faith of the churche is a right rule to the study of scrytture.