

*The Debellation  
of Salem and Bizance*

Sir Thomas More

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Spelling standardized, punctuation modernized, and glosses added  
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**Punctuation**

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

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*The Declaration of  
the Title*

*The Debellation of Salem and Bizance*—sometime two great towns, which, being under the great Turk, were between Easter and Michaelmas last past (this present year of our Lord, 1533) with a marvelous metamorphosis enchanted and turned into two Englishmen by the wonderful inventive wit and witchcraft of Sir John “Some Say,” the Pacifier... and so by him conveyed hither in a dialogue, to defend his *Division* against *The Apology of Sir Thomas More, Knight*. But now—being thus, between the said Michaelmas and Halloweentide next ensuing, in this debellation vanquished—they be fled hence and vanished, and are become two towns again... with those old names changed, “Salem” into “Jerusalem” and “Bizance” into “Constantinople”... the one in Greece, the other in Syria... where they may see them that will, and win them that can. And if the Pacifier convey them hither again, and ten such other towns with them, embattled in such dialogues: Sir Thomas More hath undertaken to put himself in the adventure alone against them all. But and if he let them tarry still there: he will not utterly forswear it... but he is not much minded as yet, age now so coming on and waxing all unwieldy, to go thither and give the assault to such well-walled towns, without some such lusty company as shall be somewhat likely to leap up a little more lightly.

*The Preface*

*Sir Thomas More to the Christian Readers*

If any man marvel (as I ween some wise men will) that ever I would vouchsafe to bestow any time about making answer to the Pacifier’s *Dialogue*, considering his faint and his feeble reasoning: I cannot, in good faith, well excuse myself

1 *declaration*: explanation      3 *debellation*: conquest  
 5 *Michaelmas*: the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel (September 29)  
 6 *marvelous*: amazing      8, 17 *Pacifier*: Peacemaker; Appeaser      9 *hither*: to here  
 9 *dialogue*: i.e., *Salem and Bizanze*, by Christopher St. German  
 9 *his Division*: i.e., *A Treatise concerning the Division between the Spirituality and Temporality*, by St. German // *division*: discord; dissension      10 *apology*: apologia; defense  
 12 *hence*: away from here      14 *Bizance*: Byzantium      16 *may*: can // *will*: wish to  
 19 *put* . . . *adventure*: put himself in the venture; stick out his own neck  
 20 *and if*: if // *tarry*: remain      21 *forswear*: swear not to do  
 22 *waxing*: (he) becoming // *unwieldy*: infirm; feeble // *thither*: there  
 24 *lusty*: vigorous      28 *ween*: suppose // *wise*: sensible      29 *vouchsafe*: bother  
 29 *bestow*: spend      30 *faint*: weak      31 *in good faith*: in all honesty // *excuse*: defend

therein. For as I suddenly went in hand therewith and made it in a braid: so when I since considered how little need it was, I marveled mine own self, and repented, too, that I had not regarded the book as it was worthy, and without any one word let it even alone. 5

Howbeit, good readers, what one thing or twain specially moved me to make answer to it, and how it happed me to fall in hand therewith and to spend and lose a little time about it, to make the matter the more plain unto you: that thing shall I show you. 10

As soon as mine *Apology* was once come out abroad, anon heard I word that some were very wroth therewith. And yet in my mind had there no man cause, neither preacher nor pacifier, no, nor no heretic neither. For I had but spoken for myself, and for good folk, and for the Catholic faith—without reproach or reproof to any man's person, or willing any man any harm that were willing to amend. And whoso were willing to be naught still, had cause to be wroth with himself, you wot well, and not with me. 15

But all this would not serve me; for *very* wroth were they with me. Howbeit, their causeless anger did not greatly grieve me. For I was not so far unreasonable as to look for reasonable minds in unreasonable men. 20

But then heard I shortly that thick and threefold the pens went to work, and answers were a-making, divers, by divers very great cunning men. And of this travail of such great, mountainous hills, I heard much speech made almost every week—so far forth that at last it was told me for truth that unto one little piece one great cunning man had made a long answer of twelve whole sheets of paper, written near together and with a small hand. 25

But in good faith, I could but laugh at that. For as for that piece, I was very sure that the cunningest man that could come thereto, neither in twelve sheets nor in twelve quires neither, write as near as he could, should never answer it well. 30

For that piece was the answer that in mine *Apology* I make, as 35

1 *suddenly*: on the spur of the moment // *made*: wrote 1–2 *in a braid*: on impulse  
 5 *let it even alone*: just let it alone 6 *howbeit*: however; but be that as it may  
 6 *twain*: two 10 *show*: tell 11 *anon*: within a short time  
 12 *wroth*: angry 18 *naught*: wicked 19 *wot*: know 22 *far*: extremely  
 23 *minds*: attitudes 25 *divers*: several; various 26 *cunning*: learned  
 26 *travail*: labor 29 *made*: written  
 30 *near together*: with the letters and words compressed 31 *hand*: handwriting  
 34 *quires*: sets of four sheets, each sheet yielding four leaves

you see there, unto certain sermons wherein my *Dialogue* was touched for writing against Tyndale's false translation; and wherein was also defended, against my *Confutation*, Tyndale's wise chapter in which, against my *Dialogue*, he laboreth to prove that the Word was before the Church—and in all his chapter never toucheth the point; and the sermon that defended him walketh as wide as he. 5

It was told me, as I say, that answer was made to that place; and what shift there was found to the remnant, that could I not hear. But to the first point I heard say that there was devised that whereas I rehearse that the preacher spoke of "poisoned bread," I rehearsed him wrong, for he spoke but of moldy bread. And this piece, it was told me that in that new answer it was reasoned at length, and set forth very lustily. 10

But come the book abroad once, I shall soon abate that courage. For first, since he taketh record that he said but "moldy bread": if I bring witness also that he said "poisoned bread," then can *his* witness stand him in none other stead but for to prove for him that he said both. 15

Secondly shall I prove that he said "poisoned bread" by such means that men shall see by reason that though the other were possible—yet was it far unlikely. 20

Finally shall I further prove that though the man had said not "poisoned bread" but only "moldy bread"—yet shall I prove, I say, that as the case stood, that same not "poisoned bread" but "moldy bread" was yet, for all that, a very poisoned word. 25

Hearing, therefore, that this gay book was made of the twelve sheets of paper, and lacked but overlooking, and that many more were in hand that shortly should come out: like as a husband whose wife were in her travail hearkeneth every handwhile and fain would hear good tidings—so since I so much heard of so sore travail of so many, so cunning, about divers answers, I longed of their long labor to see some good speed, and some of those fair babes born that they travailed on. 30

And when these great hills had thus travailed long, from the week after Easter till as much before Michaelmas: the good 35

1 *Dialogue*: the *Dialogue concerning Heresies*    2 *touched*: criticized  
 2 *Tyndale's false translation*: i.e., Tyndale's translation of the New Testament  
 3 *Confutation*: the *Confutation of Tyndale's Answer*    4 *wise*: brilliant // *laboreth*: endeavors  
 5 *the Word*: the word of God // *was before*: preexisted; came first, before  
 6 *toucheth*: discusses    7 *walketh as wide*: misses the point by as wide a margin  
 8 *answer*: i.e., an answer    9 *shift . . . to the remnant*: tactic . . . for dealing with the rest  
 11 *rehearse*: relate    12 *rehearsed*: quoted    14 *reasoned*: argued  
 14 *lustily*: vigorously    15 *courage*: vigor    16 *taketh record*: has witnesses who claim  
 22 *far*: extremely    26 *poisoned*: poisonous // *word*: expression    27 *gay*: fine  
 28 *overlooking*: looking over; proofreading    30 *travail*: labor  
 30 *hearkeneth every handwhile*: is on the alert at every moment    31 *fain would*: is anxious to  
 31–32 *so sore*: such hard    33 *speed*: outcome

hour came on as God would, that one was brought abed, with sore labor at last delivered of a dead mouse. The mother is yet but green, good soul, and hath need of good keeping; women wot what caudle serveth against her afterthroes.

Now, after that the book was out and came into my hands... 5  
and that I saw the manner and the fashion thereof: two things only moved me to write and meddle with it. One, that I saw therein followed and pursued the selfsame shrewd, malicious intent that was purposed in his first book, of *Division*: that is to wit, to make the ordinaries, with fear of slander and obloquy, leave their duties undone and let heretics alone... 10  
and over that, with an evil new change of good old laws, labor to put heretics in courage, and thereby decay the faith.

This was indeed the very special point that made me write yet again. And yet found I so little reason in his reasoning that methought it should not need. For this wist I very well: that whosoever had wit, and would confer and compare together the words of his answer with the words of mine *Apology*, should soon perceive that his answers were even very dull and dead. 15 20

But then was there another thing that I considered in it—which point unprovided for might soon deceive the reader. For albeit the Pacifier hath in some places put in mine own words where it pleased him, yet hath he for the most part used a pretty craft: to misrehearse my matter and leave my words out. Yea, and besides this, the man hath in some places left out some of his own, and misrehearsed them... to make the reader ween that in the reproving them, I had written wrong. 25 30

Now had I supposed to remedy those things, and make him an answer, in three or four leaves, with only pointing the reader to the places, with writing in what leaf he should find the matter. For the words once read—the trouble should show itself. 35

But while I was thus minded and went thereabout—his answer

1 *as God would*: i.e., as God would have it    3 *green*: inexperienced / sickly-looking  
4 *caudle*: medicinal drink    7 *meddle*: deal    8 *shrewd*: wicked  
10 *ordinaries*: bishops; Church authorities // *slander*: vilification    11 *obloquy*: ill repute  
12 *over*: besides // *evil*: bad    13 *labor*... *courage*: work to embolden heretics  
13 *decay*: cause a decline of; erode    17 *need*: be necessary // *wist*: knew  
18 *wit*: good sense // *confer*: put side by side; juxtapose    20 *even*: fully  
26 *pretty craft*: clever tactic // *misrehearse*: misquote // *my matter*: what I said  
29 *ween*: think // *reproving them*: proving them erroneous  
33 *the places*: i.e., the places in the *Apology* // *with*: by  
33–34 *the matter*: i.e., the text he was supposedly quoting

in his *Dialogue* had found such a way, with walking  
to and fro, keeping no manner order, and therewith making me  
seek so long for some one place, that I saw well I should sooner  
answer him all anew than find out for many things the place  
that I should seek for. 5

I made, therefore, in few days, this answer that you see. And  
some such places yet as I had happed to find, I have remitted  
the reader unto in mine *Apology*... where for his ready finding,  
I have numbered him the leaf. And yet have I for some folk 10  
done somewhat more, too. For I see well, surely many men are nowadays  
so delicate in reading, and so loath to labor, that they  
fare in other books as women fare with their primer... which  
though they be content to say sometimes the fifteen psalms, and  
over that, the psalms of the Passion, too, if they find them all fair  
set out in order at length—yet will they rather leave them 15  
all unsaid than turn back to seek them out in other parts  
of their primer.

And therefore, lest some readers might hap in this book to  
do the same, some places of the *Apology* much necessary and  
not long, that with much seeking I fortun'd to find out, to 20  
ease the reader's labor and make all open unto him I have put in  
also into mine answer here. Yea, and yet over this, in the things  
of most weight I have put into this book his own words too.  
And so shall you, good readers, without any pain of seeking,  
have all the matter plain and open before your eyes, that ye shall 25  
well see that I love the light no less than this Pacifier would  
fain walk in the dark. For as the dark is in this matter all his  
advantage: even so is verily the light in like wise mine.  
And whereas there are some that commend his answer for  
the compendious brevity thereof and shortness: I nothing 30  
therein envy the man's praise. For like as no man can make a  
shorter course than he that lacketh both his legs: so can no  
man make a shorter book than he that lacketh as well words as  
matter. And yet when, by the places conferred so well together, the  
feebleness of his answer shall appear: then shall he lose the 35  
praise of shortness, too. For when it shall well be seen that he saith  
nothing to the purpose: then shall every wise man think his

1–2 *walking to and fro*: going back and forth 7 *remitted*: referred

11 *delicate*: fastidious; particular 12 *fare*: do // *in*: with // *primer*: prayer book

13 *content*: willing

13 *the fifteen psalms*: the Gradual Psalms, or Songs of Ascents; Psalms 120–134.

14 *psalms of the Passion*: the Penitential Psalms (Psalms 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, and 143)

14 *fair*: nicely 15 *at length*: in full 21 *open*: manifest

26–27 *would fain walk*: is desirous of walking

book too long by altogether. And that ye may well perceive that so it is indeed, let us now leave off the preface and fall unto the matter.

*The First Chapter*

In his first chapter he toucheth two things. One, that I have  
deceived his hope, in that I have not in mine *Apology* “devised  
some convenient ways” to reform and redress the division  
between the temporalty and the spirituality; to which point  
I will answer after, in the touching of his second chapter.  
The other point is that since he never found any fault in any  
work of mine (of which for “other lets” he “never read” none!),  
he marveleth much, therefore, that I make such objection  
against his... and namely in that work which I would name an  
“apology,” which name signifieth, as he saith, “an answer or a  
defense.”

Now, where this good man declareth what thing an apology  
is, and saith that it is an answer or a defense... for which cause  
he the more marveleth that I would in that book write against  
any treatise of his who never had anything written against  
any work of mine... as though that therefore my writing  
against his work would in no wise agree with the name of my  
book: I might answer him that the touching of his book was  
but an incident (as I show in the 100<sup>th</sup> leaf of my said book), and  
not my principal matter; and therefore of many naughty  
things I touch there but a few, and such as were in no wise  
to be dissembled. But now marvel I much more wherefore he  
should so marvel that I would in the work which I name an  
answer or a defense write against his work which nothing  
wrote against mine. For if the thing that I write against his  
words be an answer or a defense indeed: then though it be  
not a defense for myself, yet is the cause of all his marvel  
gone. For in that book that is called mine *Apology*, it is not  
required by the nature of that name that it be any answer or  
defense for mine own self at all—but it sufficeth that it be of  
mine own making an answer or defense for some other.

1 *altogether*: the whole thing      5 *toucheth*: criticizes  
6 *deceived his hope*: disappointed him      7 *convenient*: suitable  
7 *division*: discord; dissension      8 *temporalty*: laity // *spirituality*: clergy  
11 *for*: because of // *lets*: hindrances; things that got in his way  
13 *namely*: especially      16 *declareth*: explains      21 *agree*: be consonant  
23 *an incident*: something incidental      24 *naughty*: bad; reprehensible  
26 *dissembled*: ignored; passed over // *wherefore*: why  
28–29 *his . . . wrote*: the work of someone who wrote nothing  
35 *some other*: someone else



And as these titles *Calvitium Synesii*, *Moriae Erasmi*, be names convenient for those books of theirs, though the matters in those books signified by those names do not only pertain unto Synesius and Erasmus, or peradventure to neither of them both at all: so may my book well bear the name of an answer or a defense if it be an answer or a defense made by me, though it were all made for other folk, and not one piece thereof made for me. 5

So is it now that mine *Apology* is an answer and a defense, not only for my former books, wherein the new brethren began to find certain faults... but over that, in the selfsame part wherein I touch the book of *Division*, it is an answer and a defense for many good, worshipful folk against the malicious slander and obloquy so generally set forth, with so many false “some say”s, in that seditious book. 10 15

The selfsame piece is also an answer and a defense of the very good old and long-approved laws, both of this realm and of the whole corps of Christendom... which laws this Pacifier in his book of *Division*, to the encouraging of heretics and peril of the Catholic faith, with warm words and cold reasons oppugneth. 20

And finally, forasmuch as many good, virtuous folk began upon that ill book of *Division* to have a right evil opinion of the maker himself, whom I, for his plain confession of the true faith, took and take yet for a man good and Catholic: therefore I in many places of mine *Apology* lay the fault from the man himself unto some wily shrews that deceived him. And so was mine *Apology* an answer also, and a defense, for the person of the Pacifier himself. 25

And where he goeth about now for to confute it—there is not in all the remnant of his answer one piece that anything impaireth any point of mine *Apology*. Howbeit, of truth, in this point he goeth most near me. For this answer hath he made in such manner wise that I shall have now much more ado than I then had to make any wise man ween that ever himself meant well. And yet will I not leave it so... but 30 35

1 *Calvitium Synesii*: *Synesius’ (In Praise of) Baldness*

1 *Moriae Erasmi*: *Erasmus’ (In Praise of) Folly* 4 *peradventure*: perhaps

10 *new*: modern 13 *worshipful*: reputable 14 *obloquy*: bad-mouthing

17 *long-approved*: long-established 20 *warm*: heated 21 *cold reasons*: lame arguments

21 *oppugneth*: assails 23 *right evil*: very bad 24 *maker*: author

26 *from*: away from 27 *shrews*: scoundrels 31 *anything*: at all; in any way

33 *goeth most near me*: comes the closest to getting me; strikes his best blow at me

still will put it from him to some false, wily shrews, though the man do, as he doth, say contrary thereto himself.

And the more the man denieth that thing himself—the more he maketh it likely to be true. For when in the things that so plain appear so naught, he rather taketh the matter all whole upon him than suffereth any part to be laid from him— but if the man have an importunate pride, as by God’s grace he hath not, else is it a sure sign and a good token that he is such a good simple soul as soon may be deceived... while we see that his wit serveth him no better but that he would rather appear malicious than unwise.

But now that I have proved him that the name of “apology” may serve very well for every piece of my book—now will I somewhat see how the matters of *his* book agree well with the name thereof. I mean not here his book of *Division* (for of that book the name and the matter agree together well), but I mean of his new book that we be now in hand with, which book, as appeareth in the first front of the first leaf, is named *Salem and Bizance*. And therein, of a hundred and six leaves (for so many be in the book), there are scant fully fifteen that anything agree with the name.

Now, if he will say that the communication between Salem and Bizance is but a by-matter beside, and that all the remnant between their talkings is the very book: then is it worse; for then hath his book never a name at all.

Moreover, if it so were: then should none of the three last chapters bear the names that they do—that is to wit, the 22<sup>nd</sup>, the 23<sup>rd</sup>, and the 24<sup>th</sup> chapter—but likewise as he calleth the beginning of their communication, before his matter, an introduction, so should he have called those three chapters after his matter an extraduction.

And yet I wot not well what I may say thereof. For in the beginning of the book, their first communication is called an introduction; and so is it entitled upon the leaves. And yet in the very end of that introduction, before the first chapter, the man saith himself—in the person of Bizance—that he hath made as yet none introduction at all. What he meaneth by this

1 *false*: lying / treacherous    6 *suffereth*: allows    7 *importunate*: inopportune; ill-advised  
 8 *token*: indication    9 *soon may*: can easily // *while*: when  
 10 *wit*: mental ability    18 *front*: recto    20 *scant fully*: barely a whole  
 22 *communication*: conversation    23 *a by-matter beside*: an insignificant extraneous thing  
 24 *very*: actual    31 *extraduction*: i.e., a lead-out, as an introduction is a lead-in  
 32 *wot not well*: don’t really know

can I not tell... but if he mean to make men ween that Salem and Bizance were two Englishmen indeed, and spoke those words themselves without any word of his.

But now—because he showeth himself so cunning in Greek words that upon this word “apology” he findeth the aforesaid fault with mine *Apology*, as though I were overseen and observed not the nature of an apology—let us see how well himself, that in the beginning calleth his book a dialogue, observeth the nature and property of a dialogue. 5

In the third leaf, when Salem showeth himself desirous to see the Pacifier’s answer, Bizance answereth: 10

I shall cause it to be written hereafter in this dialogue, word for word, as it is come to my hands; and then thou shalt with good will have it. And thou shalt understand that his answer beginneth at the next chapter hereafter ensuing, and continueth to the place where I shall show thee that it endeth. 15

Consider, good readers, that this introduction he doth not bring in as a rehearsal of a communication had before, but as a communication present. And then let him show me where ever he hath heard in his life any two men, in their talking together, divide their present communication into chapters. This is a point not only so far from the nature of a dialogue, but also from all reason, that a very child would not, I ween, have handled the thing so childishly. 20

Also, that Bizance telleth Salem that the Pacifier’s answer shall be written into their dialogue, that is to wit, into their communication—who saw ever the like? Who saw ever anything *written* into a *communication*, and writing planted in among words spoken? 25

And what reason hath it to tell him whereabout in their communication the Pacifier’s words shall begin and where they shall end? As though Salem, talking with Bizance, had not the wit to perceive when Bizance speaketh himself and when he readeth him the Pacifier’s words written! 30

4 *cunning*: knowledgeable    6 *overseen*: out of line  
 12 *cause it to be written*: have it written // *in*: into  
 13 *with good will*: with cheerful consent (on my part); i.e., be welcome to  
 18 *rehearsal*: relating // *communication*: conversation  
 30 *what reason hath it*: what sense does it make

Also, what a strange, monstrous beast maketh Bizance to Salem  
the Pacifier's answer, while he maketh as though Salem  
could neither perceive the head nor the tail but if himself  
pointed him to them both with a stick!

Then stand they both still thereas they first meet; and that 5  
is in the street by likelihood (for there folk most commonly meet,  
that meet at adventure as they do); and there is all the answer  
perused—the reading whereof standeth them, at the least,  
four or five hours, I trow. Howbeit, there I was a little overseen.  
For they stand not there still about the reading... but 10  
there stand they still, both twain, all the while that Bizance is,  
as you see, into their talking and communication *writing* it.  
And that is, but if Bizance write fast, I warrant the work of a  
week. Now, then, at the week's end, when all the twenty-one chapters  
are written—Bizance in the twenty-second chapter giveth Salem warning 15  
that there is the answer of the Pacifier ended. And this  
was by the Pacifier full prudently devised. For else would Salem  
ween that their own talking together in the other three chapters  
by mouth had been still nothing else but only Bizance's  
writing... and else would also Salem have thought that his own 20  
words of exhortation against the great Turk, and his own  
rehearsing of that exposition of the Apocalypse, had been still  
the Pacifier's words against mine *Apology*.

And finally in the very end, to show that he could write not in  
only prose, he endeth all the whole book in this wise: with a 25  
glorious rhyme—"And thus the glorious Trinity / have in his keeping  
both thee and me"... and maketh Bizance pray for no more but for  
them two, after the manner of the good man Grime, a mustard  
maker in Cambridge that was wont to pray for himself and  
his wife and his child, and grace to make good mustard, and no more. 30

And thus you see, good readers, that whereas this man is so cunning

3 *but if himself*: unless he himself    5 *stand . . . still*: they both keep standing  
5 *thereas*: right there where    7 *at adventure*: by chance // *all the*: the whole  
8 *perused*: gone through; examined // *standeth*: takes    9 *trow*: suppose  
9 *was a little overseen*: made a little mistake    11 *both twain*: both of the two  
13 *I warrant*: I'm sure    15 *giveth Salem warning*: notifies Salem    17 *full*: very  
21 *against*: with regard to  
22 *exposition of the Apocalypse*: commentary on the Book of Revelation  
25 *all the whole*: the whole entire

in Greek words that he can shortly find the fault where I fail in the nature of an apology—himself in his own dialogue so well conserveth the property of a dialogue, and expresseth it so naturally, that it could never be done more naturally, not though he that wrote it were even a very natural indeed. 5

But where he seemeth to have marveled, when he read mine *Apology*, that I would make objections against his work while he never wrote anything against no book of mine: in good faith, if he had, I would never have been the more hasty, but somewhat, peradventure, the less, lest it might have seemed that some desire of revenging mine own displeasure had excited me thereto; whereas now, no worldly profit growing to me thereby, there is much less cause for any good man to think that I would take the labor to write against a work I wist not whose, but if that it had at the leastwise seemed to myself that there were such things therein as God would give me thank to give men warning to be well wary of them. 10 15

And where he saith he will not touch everything “particularly,” but take another order (all out of order) in answering thereunto—I cannot let him in his own book to use what order that best may serve his purpose. But me thought, and yet think, that I myself took a very plain, open way, when the chapters of his which I would answer to, I perused always everything in order. Which order while he followeth not with me—how you shall find it, yourselves shall, good readers, judge upon the end. But yet in the meanwhile, at the first face, it seemeth not that with leaping out of order, he meaneth to make you the matter very plain. 20 25

Nor *all*, he saith, he will not answer neither... for “avoiding of tediousness.” And of truth if he have (as he seemeth to signify) any other business—I think it be somewhat tedious to him to answer altogether. 30

Finally, where he saith that he supposeth to make it appear by his “answers,” and by his “considerations” and his “declarations,” that mine “objections” are “little to be pondered”: first, for his arguments made against the laws whereby the faith is preserved and heresies kept under, those arguments all his 35

3 *conserveth*: observes; stays true to // *property*: nature 4 *though*: even if  
 5 *natural*: born idiot 7 *while*: when 9 *hasty*: hotheaded  
 11 *displeasure*: offendedness 12 *growing*: coming 17 *thank to give*: credit for giving  
 20 *let . . . to use*: prevent . . . from using 25–26 *upon the end*: in the end; ultimately  
 26 *at the first face*: at first glance 30 *tediousness*: irksomeness  
 30 *of . . . have*: if he does actually have // *signify*: indicate 33 *supposeth*: expects  
 34 *declarations*: explanations 35 *for*: as for 37 *under*: suppressed

answers will never be able to maintain. And as to the remnant—  
 in good faith, the better that he may make you his innocent  
 mind appear, the gladder a great deal will I be thereof;  
 nor nothing purpose I therein, by this present book, to do  
 further than to make you clearly perceive that how well soever 5  
 himself here declare his good meaning, myself was not  
 causeless there moved to find fault in his writing.

### *The Second Chapter*

In the second chapter, beginning in the fifth leaf, he bringeth  
 forth the first “consideration,” which is that I in the 89<sup>th</sup> leaf of 10  
 mine *Apology* “confess that ‘murmur and dissension against the  
 clergy’” was then already “far ‘gone onward in its unhappy  
 journey’”... and that afterward, in the 106<sup>th</sup> leaf of the same book, I  
 bring in “a very dark sentence whereby it appeareth” that I mean  
 “that the displeasure and grudge between them ‘is indeed neither 15  
 so great as [he] maketh it... and yet grown to so great as it is, but  
 even now, of late.’” But whoso look there in that place shall, I  
 suppose, find it nothing dark... but if it be such a man as  
 list not to understand it.

And where I say there that this division *such as it is*, which 20  
 is nothing such as this man maketh it, is not “grown to so great  
 as it is but since that Tyndale’s books and Frith’s, and Friar  
 Barnes’, began to go abroad”: therein he would seem to say the  
 contrary, and biddeth me look better upon the matter and I shall  
 find it otherwise. And indeed, with better looking thereon, I 25  
 find it somewhat otherwise. For I find the time of such increase  
 as I speak of, much shorter than I there assign, and that by a  
 great deal. For it was grown the greater by the occasion of the  
 selfsame book of the *Division*—though the maker, as himself  
 saith and as I trust too, intended it not of purpose. And therefore 30  
 where he saith that since I confess that there was division at the  
 time of the making of mine *Apology*, it appeareth that I have  
 no mind to have it ceased, because that I seek not out the  
 causes and devise the remedies—verily, good readers, I never  
 took and accounted myself for a man meet and able to make a 35

1 *maintain*: support; hold up    2 *in good faith*: really and truly    3 *mind*: intention  
 6 *declare*: make known    11 *confess*: admit; acknowledge    12 *unhappy*: unfortunate  
 14 *dark*: obscure // *appeareth*: is made obvious    15 *grudge*: ill feeling  
 15 *them*: i.e., the clergy and the laity    17 *even*: just // *whoso*: whoever  
 18 *nothing*: not at all    19 *list not*: does not want  
 23 *go abroad*: get out there; be circulated    24 *biddeth me*: tells me to  
 24 *look . . . matter*: take a better look at the thing    27 *assign*: specify    33 *mind*: wish  
 35 *meet*: suitable

reformation of such two great parties as the spirituality and  
 the temporalty of this whole realm be. And verily, if I knew  
 some such great causes as this man setteth forth for true,  
 which I know for false... and that I then knew the ways to  
 reform them to: I would use other ways toward it than seditious 5  
 slanderous books. For as I have expressly declared  
 in mine *Apology*, neither never did I, nor never intend  
 to do, put out abroad in print, under color of  
 reformation, faults that were hateful and odious to hear,  
 either of the one party or of the other... and especially so many 10  
 at once as, if they were all true, were not all likely to be remedied  
 at once... but the more part for the while remaining  
 little remedied, should but make either party to the other more  
 odious, and both parties more infamous among such  
 others (if any such anywhere be) as would be glad and rejoice 15  
 to hear much evil spoken of them both.

And this I say although that all were true. And now  
 would I much less use that manner in making rehearsal of those  
 things whereof many be false and untrue, and many others also  
 very trifles... and the very chief things that this Pacifier desireth 20  
 to have reformed be laws already well made, which  
 he would have made worse. For where they have been by wise  
 men well devised for the repressing of heresies, some by Parliament  
 in this realm, some by the general council of Christendom:  
 those deviseth he so to be changed now as the 25  
 change which he desireth, though by God's grace he  
 desireth not that it so should, yet out of doubt indeed should  
 turn to the encouraging of heretics and increase of heresies,  
 with the diminishment and decay of the Catholic, Christian  
 faith. Whereupon would not fail to fall, which Almighty God 30  
 keep from us, his grievous indignation upon us. And therefore  
 God keep us from such reformations!

Now, to lay to me therefore as a great fault that I blame his  
 book in those untrue "some say"s that under color of ceasing  
 division, excite and set forth division, but if myself could 35  
 cease it, when such books make it—is much like as if he would

8 *put out*: put in circulation // *abroad*: out there; at large // *color*: pretext  
 12 *more part*: majority (of them) 17 *say*: i.e., would say // *although*: even if  
 18 *manner*: mode of procedure; approach // *rehearsal*: mention  
 19 *untrue*: unjust 22 *worse*: less good 24 *the general*: an ecumenical  
 29 *decay*: falling-off

say that there ought no man to blame him that would burn up  
another man's house, but he that would build it again.

And therefore, with this good reason of his, he putteth me in  
remembrance of an answer that a man of mine made  
once much after the same fashion. I had sometime one with me 5  
called Cliff, a man as well known as Master Henry Patenson.  
This Cliff had been many years mad; but age had taken  
from him the rage, so that he was meetly well waxen harmless  
among folk. Into Cliff's head came there sometimes in his  
madness such imaginations against images as these heretics 10  
have in their sadness. For like as some of them, which after  
fled and ran away (and some fell to theft and were  
caught), pulled down of late upon London Bridge the image of the  
blessed martyr Saint Thomas: so Cliff upon the same bridge  
upon a time fell in talking unto an image of our blessed Lady... 15  
and after such blasphemies as the devil put then in his  
mouth (and nowadays bloweth out by the mouths of many  
heretics, which, seem they never so sad, be yet more  
mad than he)—he set hand upon the Child in her arm  
and there broke off the neck. And afterward when honest men, 20  
dwellers upon the bridge, came home to my house and there  
blamed Cliff before me, and asked him wherefore he broke off  
the Child's neck in our Lady's arm—when Cliff had heard  
them, he began to look well and earnestly upon them... and like a  
man of sadness and gravity, he asked them, "Tell me this, 25  
among you there: Have you not yet set on his head again?" "No,"  
quoth they, "we cannot." "No?" quoth Cliff. "By the Mass, it is the more  
shame for you. Why speak you to me of it, then?"  
And even thus answereth me now this good man... which  
where his seditious "some say"s set forth division, and break 30  
the Child's neck, reckoneth it a shame for me to find any fault  
with him for the breaking but if myself could glue it  
together again.  
And therefore where he saith that I should have proved that  
all the causes that he layeth as causes of division be no causes of 35  
division, or else I should have devised the remedies—albeit I

2 *again*: back up    3 *reason*: reasoning    4 *man*: servant  
5 *sometime*: at one time    8 *meetly*: fairly // *waxen*: become  
10 *imagination*s: opinions / designs    11, 18, 25 *sad(ness)*: sober-minded(ness)  
11 *which*: who // *after*: afterward    13, 15 *image*: statue    15 *upon a time*: one day  
15 *fell in*: started    20 *honest*: honorable; upstanding  
22 *blamed*: made accusation against    24 *well and*: good and; very  
26 *set . . . again*: put his head back on    27 *quoth*: said  
33 *together again*: back together    35 *layeth*: puts forth; alleges



have answered him therein already, yet this I say therein further:  
 that I have proved well and clearly that the very chief cause that he  
 layeth is laid very untruly; that is to wit, the mishandling  
 the people to their destruction upon suspicion of  
 heresy. Which cause if it were as true as it is false, were so 5  
 weighty that it were well worthy to be laid for a matter of  
 division. And while it is not true—yet by such books being  
 blown about in every part of the realm for true, may well  
 mishap to *make* a division... while the dwellers in  
 every quarter about, by credence given to the book, may at the 10  
 first face ween that though it be not so thereas they dwell themselves,  
 yet ween, I say, that it were so in all other places. Whereof  
 though they shall by leisure perceive the contrary with  
 search—yet they that ask no further question shall believe it  
 still. And so a rumor once begun and spread abroad is not 15  
 after soon removed.

Now, as for his other causes of this division: divers I have  
 touched and showed sufficiently that they be not sufficient.  
 But as for me to peruse his whole book of *Division* through,  
 was no part of my purpose. For if those things that I did 20  
 touch had seemed to me tolerable, I would in good faith  
 have been loath to have touched them either. In which  
 while with his “considerations” and “declarations” he goeth about  
 now to show that he then meant no harm, I will not therein  
 much hinder him, but be glad rather to further him in the excuse 25  
 of his meaning; and so did I, as I have said, even in mine  
*Apology* too. But though I be glad to excuse his own mind in the  
 meaning—yet can I not excuse his unwise following of false, wily  
 counsel in the doing.

### *The Third Chapter* 30

The third chapter, containing his second consideration,  
 read and consider it whoso list; for I can see nothing in it to be  
 considered by me. For in effect it containeth nothing else  
 but that he would the clergy should, as much as they may,

3 *untruly*: untruthfully / unjustly    5 *were so*: would be so  
 6 *well worthy to be*: well deserving of being    8 *blown about*: proclaimed  
 9 *mishap*: happen by misfortune    9, 23 *while*: since    11 *thereas*: there where  
 14–15 *believe it still*: go on believing it    15 *abroad*: around  
 21 *in good faith*: in all sincerity    25 *excuse*: defending    27 *excuse*: exculpate  
 27 *mind*: mentality    32 *list*: wants to    34 *would . . . should*: would have the clergy

avoid all occasion of murmur and grudge... of the temporalty toward them, but if it be pharisaical grudge; yea, and though the deed that they should forbear were good; in which point, because that one point would wax a long work, I will fall in no dispicions. But in as far forth as he giveth any man good counsel and wisheth allthing well, so far forth shall he and I not vary... but and he call me to him, I will sit and pray for it with him. 5

But yet where he saith, in the end of the chapter, that I “endeavor” myself “very much to oppress all them that will show such things of the spirituality”: indeed, some such as have made such lies, I have told it them. But as for any oppression, let him prove one, and let him call that one twenty. And if he can prove none, as I wot well he cannot—then, good readers, let him be believed thereafter. 10 15

Moreover, where he saith that I in my mind prove it an “intolerable default in the people,” for misjudging the clergy where I think they have “no cause so to do”; and that therein I “leave them as though all the whole cause and principal default were in [the temporalty],” wherein he saith that my “judgment” is “far deceived”: in this point, good reader, he saith somewhat to me if he said true. And surely if he thought that he wrote herein true... then wisdom would he should have written mine own words in. And if he feared that it would be found false: then honesty would that he should have left his own words out. But verily, good readers, and he seek this seven years, he shall in all mine *Apology* find you no such words of mine. But he shall find far the contrary. For I do there, I wot well, in such places as I show that men were unreasonable that would take this thing or that thing (such as I rehearse of his bringing forth) for any reasonable cause of division—there I say, in those places, that the Pacifier *missaith* the people, and that the people be much more reasonable than to take it so. And therefore here he belieth me again. 20 25 30

And also let him show you forth any one place in which I say that all the whole fault, or the principal fault either, is in the 35

1, 2 *grudge*: ill feeling    5 *fall in*: get into // *dispicions*: disputations  
 7 *vary*: disagree // *and*: if    10 *show*: tell / state    11 *of*: about  
 15 *thereafter*: accordingly    17 *intolerable*: exceedingly great // *default*: fault; defect  
 21 *far deceived*: extremely erroneous  
 21–22 *he . . . me*: he would be giving an answer to me that was worth something  
 22 *if he said true*: if what he was saying was true  
 23–24 *would . . . written*: would have had him write    25 *honesty*: honor; decency  
 32 *missaith*: slanders    34 *belieth*: tells lies about

temporalty; and then believe him the better in another matter.  
 And in the meanwhile till he bring it forth, or else that you  
 find it yourselves, ye may with reason, at the leastwise in this  
 matter, believe me better than him; and I will never desire you  
 to believe me one day longer. For I have neither laid the principal  
 fault in the one nor the other. And thus hath he  
 made you of me three lies in one chapter. 5

#### *The Fourth Chapter*

In his fourth chapter, beginning in the eighth leaf, he first  
 showeth a diversity between the example that I put in the 94<sup>th</sup> leaf  
 of mine *Apology*, of a pacifier between a man and his wife,  
 and the thing that I there resemble it unto—that is to wit, his  
 own book, that maketh a like pacification between the temporalty  
 and spirituality. 10

But surely the difference that he putteth seemeth to my poor  
 wit greatly to impair his part. For if it be as he saith it is—that,  
 whereas the husband would be loath to hear any evil spoken of  
 his wife and therefore will can such a pacifier no thank  
 that will tell him such tales of her before his neighbors, the  
 temporalty will be glad to hear harm spoken of the  
 spirituality—then was it so much the worse done to write  
 openly to the temporalty such things of the spirituality to  
 feed and nourish any such evil delight; or openly to the  
 spirituality... being (as he said) likewise affectionate... the  
 faults of the temporalty, either. Howbeit, I cannot in good  
 faith say, but if I should belie him, that on that side willingly  
 he greatly passed his bounds; but of oversight, unawares, he hath  
 in some things slandered the temporalty too. 15 20 25

Then showeth he farther wherefore he wrote those things in  
 English, though Jean Gerson wrote them but in Latin;  
 wherein, to say the truth, he layeth a cause sufficient wherefore  
 that Jean Gerson wrote them in Latin. But whether he lay  
 cause sufficient wherefore himself should not rather have  
 let them alone than write them in English, against the counsel  
 of Jean Gerson himself, as I touched in mine *Apology*— 30 35

4 *desire*: ask    7 *made you of*: told you about    10 *diversity*: dissimilarity; unlikeness  
 12 *resemble*: liken    15 *putteth*: posits    16 *wit*: mind // *part*: side of the argument  
 18–19 *can . . . will*: not at all appreciate having such a pacifier tell    19 *before*: in front of  
 24 *affectionate*: disposed    25–26 *cannot in good faith*: really cannot say  
 26 *willingly*: deliberately    27 *of oversight*: inadvertently    35 *touched*: mentioned

that I leave yourselves, good readers, to consider. For I will not  
 much strive against his excuse. For I greatly shall not need, I  
 think, since all his excuse amounteth to no more but that he  
 meant that some laymen reading the priests' faults in English  
 might put them in remembrance to amend them; especially 5  
 because he saith even in the same chapter, a little before, that the  
 temporalty so much delighteth to hear of them.

Then goeth he farther in the same chapter... and whereas in his  
 book of the *Division* he would have seemed between the temporalty  
 and the spirituality to have spoken indifferently and to 10  
 have told them their faults on both parts equally, here (in the  
 second side of the leaf) he telleth us the cause wherefore  
 he did *not* so, and saith in this wise:

I have spoken of defaults and abuses in the spirituality more than  
 of defaults in the temporalty... because the spirituality ought to be 15  
 the guiders and givers of light by their doctrine and good examples to  
 the temporalty; and if their light be darkness, where shall the temporalty  
 then fetch their light? Truly I wot not where. And I doubt  
 that then they both shall walk still in darkness. And therefore it is that  
 John Chrysostom saith upon Matthew, the twenty-first chapter: that if 20  
 priesthood be holy and sound, all the Church flourisheth; and if it be  
 corrupt, the faith and virtue of the people fadeth also and vanisheth  
 away. Let this, therefore, as to this point, be the final conclusion  
 for this time: that whosoever proveth defaults to be in the 25  
 temporalty, he proveth also defaults to reign in the spirituality; and  
 therefore the defaults in the temporalty will never be voided till the  
 defaults in the spirituality be first reformed; and therefore have I  
 first spoken of some defaults that be in the spirituality.

Surely, good readers, I like well these words. For they be very  
 good and they prove very well, and very true it is—nor I never said 30  
 the contrary, but have in mine *Apology* plainly said the same—  
 that every fault in a spiritual man, though the thing were of itself  
 all one, is yet by the difference of the person far worse and  
 more odious, both to God and man, than it is in a temporal

2 *strive*: argue // *greatly shall not need*: won't much need to

5 *in remembrance*: on notice 6 *because*: since

6 *even . . . chapter*: in the very same chapter 10 *indifferently*: impartially

11 *parts*: sides // *in*: on 17–18: See Matthew 6:22–23. 18 *doubt*: fear

19 *walk still*: keep walking 20 *upon*: on the basis of

20–23: This is actually from Pseudo-Chrysostom; see the section on Matthew 21:16 in  
 Saint Thomas Aquinas' *Golden Chain*. 26 *voided*: gotten rid of

30 *prove*: pan out; work out 32 *spiritual man*: member of the clergy

33 *all one*: entirely the same // *by*: on account of 20/34—21/1 *temporal man*: lay person

man. But yet the worse that every private spiritual man's fault is, so much is it the more harm to defame the corps of the spirituality openly in the face of the temporalty in such manner as the book of *Division* doth—of which I have proved those that are weighty false, and could (if I would now lose time about it, while that that I have touched is sufficient) show the substance of all the remnant to have little substance too. 5

And therefore the words of Saint Chrysostom which he layeth for his book were in part the very cause that made me write against his book. For surely, as Saint Chrysostom saith, if the priesthood be corrupt, the faith and virtue of the people fadeth and vanisheth away... which is without any question very truth, for though Saint Chrysostom had never said it, our Savior saith as much himself: “Ye be,” saith he to the clergy, “the salt of the earth, and if the salt wax once fresh and wearish, wherein shall anything be well seasoned? And you be the light of the world. And therefore if the light that is in the world be dark—how dark shall then the darkness be itself?” 10 15

But now say I, since that the priesthood being corrupted, it must needs follow that the faith and virtue of the people fadeth and vanisheth away; and upon Christ's words it must follow that if the spirituality be naught, the temporalty must needs then be worse than they: thereupon I conclude upon the other side, against the Pacifier's book, that since this realm hath (as, God be thanked, indeed it hath) as good and as faithful temporalty, and (though there be a few false brethren in a great multitude of true Catholic men) as hath for the quantity any other country christened—it must needs, I say, follow that the clergy, though it have some such false, naughty brethren too, is not in such sore manner corrupted as the book of *Division* goeth about to make men ween... but as good for their part as the temporalty for theirs. 20 25 30

And therefore in like wise I say that—upon the selfsame words of Saint Chrysostom and of our Savior Christ—the 35

1 *private*: individual    3 *openly*: publicly    14–19: Matthew 5:13–14.  
 16 *fresh*: not salty // *wearish*: flat; savorless    23 *naught*: bad  
 27 *false*: no-good / sham    28 *true*: upright / true-blue    30 *naughty*: evil-minded  
 31 *sore*: terrible

said book of the *Division*, in defaming the spirituality,  
 defameth the temporality much more; which is the thing  
 that, as I said, seemeth me neither honorable nor profitable, in  
 open-printed books, for any Englishman to do; nor, verily, I  
 think the maker would not have done, if he then had thought  
 so far. 5

But now goeth he farther and saith:

And though Master More cannot deny these faults [I suppose  
 you have heard me deny such as were the chief, and proved  
 them, I ween, untrue], yet all the amendments that he allayeth in his  
*Apology* is only in punishment of heresies, as is said before; 10  
 whereunto he specially moveth the ordinaries not to be “slack nor the  
 more remiss” for “fear of evil words and slander of the people.”  
 And if they be therefore “the more slack in calling, attaching, and  
 examining, and farther ordering of heretics,” he saith, “God will 15  
 not fail to make fall in their necks the double slander of that from  
 whence they fled.” And in another place he moveth the temporality to  
 join with the spirituality, “each with other lovingly,” to “repress and  
 keep under” those “ungracious folk,” by whom he meaneth heretics.  
 Upon which motion I shall somewhat show my mind, as hereafter 20  
 followeth, in the next chapter.

Here he complaineth again that I devise no remedies, as  
 though the whole provision for allthing lay upon mine  
 hand. I do somewhat for my part when I pray God to give us  
*all* the grace—spiritual and temporal both—to keep well and observe 25  
 such provisions as God hath given good men the grace to  
 make already. For if we keep them well—I ween there are  
 meetly many made. And if we break the old—so will we by  
 likelihood break these as well, that he would have me now devise and  
 study new. And somewhat I do better for my part, while I 30  
 labor to have the good old provisions kept, than this  
 Pacifier doth for his, while he laboreth to have them broken,  
 and namely those laws that are of the very best, and made for  
 the faith against heresies.

But then laboreth he, as methinketh, to make the brethren 35

4 *open-printed*: publicly printed    9 *proved*: found    10 *ween*: expect  
 10 *allayeth*: cites    12 *moveth*: urges; exhorts    13 *slander*: opprobrium  
 14 *calling*: subpoenaing // *attaching*: arresting    15 *ordering*: correcting  
 16 *in their necks*: around their necks; on their shoulders  
 16 *the double . . . of*: twice as much . . . as // *slander*: discredit; shame  
 19 *ungracious*: ungodly; wicked    20 *upon*: on // *motion*: proposal // *show*: speak  
 23 *allthing*: everything    24 *somewhat*: something  
 25 *spiritual and temporal*: clerical and lay    30 *study*: work up // *new*: from scratch  
 35 *methinketh*: it seems to me

angry with me... and rehearseth and inculcateth into their ears that I exhort both the spirituality and the temporalty too, those to whom the matter appertaineth, not to be anything the more slack in repressing of heresies for fear of infamy.

Surely, good readers, whatsoever I wrote in that behalf, I will require every man to have it even here... for written and repeated again. For when we see that the words of his writing which I have in mine *Apology* rehearsed you, how well soever he meant therein (as I trust he meant but well), have yet that plain, open appearance in them that they were well likely to put such as should see to the repressing of heresies in doubt and fear of infamy, and to be had among the people as folk suspect of mishandling good folk and of cruelty: I reckon it the part of every good man, that any zeal hath to the conservation of the Catholic faith, to encourage them on the other side—to the doing of their duty therein—and not to set the respect of their estimation among men (which yet they shall also much the better conserve among all the people save those few that are naught) before the saving of their souls and keeping the favor of God; namely since the keeping of people from heresies and putting the scabbed heretics out of the clean flock is one of the special things that the Apostle gave the bishop warning of. Let him find out any word of mine wherewith I would any harm to any man that would amend, and then let him lay it to me. And whosoever intendeth never to be good—I am well content that the Pacifier make him not my friend.

### *The Fifth Chapter*

In the fifth chapter he toucheth punishment of heresies, and divideth the matter into four sorts of people; wherein, forasmuch as he nothing saith that toucheth me, I let them pass, all four.

After those four sorts perused—he speaketh of the fifth, which he very earnestly dispraiseth, that are those which take and hold contrary ways... to the true faith indeed. But then, in

1 *inculcateth*: drums    6 *require*: invite // *even*: right    12 *had*: held  
 12 *mishandling*: mistreating    16 *respect*: consideration    17 *estimation*: reputation  
 20–23: See Titus 3:10–11.    21 *scabbed*: leprous    22 *special*: specific  
 22 *the Apostle*: Saint Paul    23 *warning of*: instruction to do  
 23 *find out*: find by searching for    24 *would*: (show that I) wish  
 25 *lay it to me*: level that charge against me    25–26 *intendeth . . . be*: has no intention of being  
 31 *toucheth me*: hurts my case    34 *dispraiseth*: deprecates

that part, he much misliketh in me both that I call them any evil name, as the “naughty brethren,” or “heretic brethren,” and also that I call them good names too, as the “blessed brethren” and “evangelical brethren.”

And for the first—in calling them any such evil names—he saith I do not as I “would be done to”... as “appeareth,” he saith, in mine *Apology*. Surely I suppose he may therein find that I force not what such as they be call me. And I can write no worse word by them, I wot well, than they write many by me. 5

And, too, as for to give evil names to such folk as are so evil indeed—let him call it “railing” at his pleasure... but howsoever it be in me, I wot well that some others have done so that yet were no railers... except Saint Paul were a railer when he called his churlish keepers “dogs,” and when he called the chief priest a “whited wall,” which was a spiteful word among them; and except Saint Polycarp railed when he called the heretic Marcion “the devil’s eldest son,” and except our Savior railed when he called the scribes and the Pharisees “hypocrites.” 10 15

But then that I call them again good names—this thing, lo, this good man reckoneth a very monstrous manner: to make them both good and bad. But this is a monster, lo, of every man’s making. For so call not I them alone, but the whole people too, in such manner of speaking as every man useth when he calleth one self naughty lad both a “shrewd boy” and a “good son”—the one in the proper, simple speech, the other by the figure of irony, or antiphrasis. And by a like manner figure Saint Jerome against the old heretic Vigilantius calleth him sometimes Vigilantius, and sometimes again Dormitantius; and so he calleth that heretic two contrary names, as well as I do these. 20 25

And where he cannot tell what I mean by “the new-broached brotherhood”—that am I content to tell him: I mean that they be a barrel of poison, that the devil hath late set abroach, and laboreth by them to poison other men. 30

And where he cannot bear it that they, being such, should be called by the name of “evangelicals”—I well allow the good 35

1 *misliketh*: dislikes    2 *evil*: bad // *as*: such as    6 *appeareth*: is evident  
 8 *force*: care    9 *by*: about    13–16: See Philippians 3:2 and Acts 23:3.  
 15 *spiteful*: insulting // *word*: term    16–17: See Eusebius, *Church History* 4:14.  
 17–18: See Matthew 23:13, 23, 25, 27, 29.    20 *monstrous*: absurd  
 20 *make them*: i.e., make them out to be    24 *self*: same // *shrewd*: naughty  
 25, 26 *figure*: figure of speech  
 26 *antiphrasis*: the use of a word to express the opposite of its literal meaning  
 26–29: See Saint Jerome, *Against Vigilantius* 1.  
 32 *set abroach*: tapped; opened so that the contents can pour out



mind of the good man that he therein showeth himself so to bear to the faith that it grieveth him to hear heretics called by such a good, gracious name. But he must consider that it is now, and some years already past hath been, the name by which they have been as commonly called, in all the countries Catholic, 5  
 as by their own very name of “heretic.” And the occasion thereof grew first of that that themselves took that name “evangelical” arrogantly to themselves, both by the “evangelical liberty” that they pretended, as folk that would live under the Gospel and under 10  
 no man’s law beside, and because they would also believe nothing further than the very Scripture, all which they take now under the name of “the Gospel.” For the New Law they take for nothing else but for the declaration and perfection of the Old.

Now, when they had taken this name commonly upon themselves, the Catholics, telling them that they neither lived nor believed 15  
 according to the Gospel, letted not, yet, to call them by the same name too; and that not to their praise, but to their rebuke and shame. And some turned in writing that name of theirs in scorn, and instead of “evangelicals” wrote them “pseudo-evangelicals.”

Now, if this man cannot bear it that I call them as the old folk 20  
 do—though I would myself leave it for his pleasure, that would make, ye wot well, but a small change. For other folk will call them still yet by what name they list, and neither I nor he can let them.

But to the intent he may be somewhat the less discontent with 25  
 me for calling heretics by a good name—he shall understand that upon such occasion and such manner, it is no new-begun thing so to do. For a certain sort there were of the heretics that were the Manichaeans which were first among themselves called by the name of “Catharistae”—that is to wit, pure and clean—and 30  
 afterward the Catholics called them by the same name. And so doth Saint Augustine also call them in his writing. But yet he declareth both their false heresies and their secret shameful living for such that, though he call them by the name of 35  
 pure and clean, as we call now these brethren evangelical, yet he meant that they were neither pure nor clean indeed, no more

3 *gracious*: godly    6 *very*: true    9 *pretended*: laid claim to  
 10 *beside*: in addition    13 *declaration*: elucidation  
 16 *letted not*: did not forbear    18 *turned*: altered    21 *leave*: drop; desist from  
 21 *for his pleasure*: to please him    23 *what*: whatever    24 *let*: stop  
 28 *sort*: subset; variety    33 *declareth*: shows // *false*: contemptible

than these folk in living or belief follow the very Gospel indeed.

But then cometh he forth upon me somewhat solemnly with a very folly and with a solemn lie. For lo, good readers, these are his words, I warrant you wise and true: 5

And now will I say somewhat further concerning this matter, and that is this. I marvel much how Master More durst, for offense of his conscience, and for dread of the King's displeasure, and of the whole realm, bring up such a slanderous name in this realm, and put it in print, that may lightly touch not only many of the common people, but also of the greatest of the realm—as well spiritual as temporal—if he and others of his affinity list to call any of them one of the “blessed brethren,” or of the “good brethren.” And in this point it seemeth that he forgot the honor of the realm, which he seemed much to regard when he said he could not think it to the honor of the realm that other realms should ween that the whole clergy of this realm should be “so far fallen into the grudge and indignation of the whole temporalty” as he saith it is spoken to be in the said treatise which he calleth “the book of *Division*”; for certainly it is more dishonor to the realm to have it noised that the realm is full of heretics than that the temporalty grudgeth against the spirituality; and so he escheweth and fleeth the less slander, though it were all true that he saith, and runneth headlong into the greater. 10 15 20

And now will *I* say somewhat further concerning this matter, and that is *this*. I marvel much how this man durst, for offense of his conscience and displeasure of God, bring up such a slanderous lie upon me, and write it in his book, that I should write in mine *Apology* that the realm is full of heretics! 25

If the case were now no better upon my part, nor no worse upon his, but that in mine *Apology* there could no such saying be found—what rebuke were it yet unto him, if he were a man openly known by name? As now the shame cleaveth not on his cheeks, but he soon shaketh it off, while his name is 30

3, 4 *solemn(ly)*: ceremonious(ly)    4 *a very folly*: something really ludicrous  
 5 *warrant*: guarantee // *wise and true*: in all seriousness    6 *somewhat*: something  
 7 *durst*: dared    9 *bring up*: bring into fashion    9, 27 *slanderous*: disgraceful  
 10 *lightly*: well // *touch*: taint; give a black eye to    12 *affinity*: affiliation; circle  
 12 *list*: choose    17 *grudge*: ill feeling    20 *noised*: reported; spread around  
 21 *grudgeth*: grumbles; complains // *against*: about    22 *escheweth*: avoids  
 22 *less slander*: lesser disgrace    27 *upon*: about    32 *rebuke*: disgrace    34 *while*: since

not at his book. But, now, since that in mine *Apology* I plainly write the *contrary*—what words will there serve to say to this man the things that he were in this point very well worthy to hear!

Read, good Christian readers, the forty-seventh chapter of mine *Apology*, 5  
beginning in the 260<sup>th</sup> leaf, and there shall you plainly see that I say plain the contrary. For whereas this Pacifier did in his book of *Division*, under the name of “some” others, belie of likelihood some of the spirituality then, surmitting that they “as of policy” noised “that the realm is full of heretics more than it is indeed,” as he now belieth me here, surmising that I do say the same: ye shall there see that I show it to be unlikely that any politic spiritual man would so say for policy... since so to say were for them, for the cause that I there show, very far against good policy. And there I further show that some *heretics* have falsely made that noise, and there I tell for what cause. 10  
And afterward, in folio 268, I show that for all their busy bragging, they be yet indeed but a few. 15

Now, good readers, when I thus have written there, in both the places, so open and so plain, that the realm is *not* full of heretics, nor hath therein but a few, though that few be indeed over many... and grown more also, by negligence in some part, than there hath been in some late years past—how may this man find in his heart, for shame, to write in this wise? And, as it were, with such authority so solemnly check me falsely, for writing that the realm is full, and then excuse his like fault by mine... and yet in the comparison make mine the greater, too? But now is all the craft of that comparison discovered, and the glory of that argument defaced, while you see that his fault is true, and that mine he feigneth and findeth not in my book, but plain and expressly the contrary; and that he spinneth that fine lie without flax, fetching it out of his own body as the spider spinneth her cobweb. And thus is my fault fair wiped away, and his lieth still in his neck, and another now laid unto it. 20  
25  
30

Now, as this was no little folly—for him to lose his credence with

1 *at*: on    7 *plain the contrary*: the exact opposite    9 *surmitting*: falsely charging  
9–10 *as of*: out of    10, 13, 14 *policy*: expediency    11 *surmising*: falsely alleging  
16 *show*: state    20 *over*: too    22 *late*: recent // *may*: can  
23 *find* . . . *shame*: i.e., be so devoid of shame as to be able to find it in his heart  
24 *check*: reprove    25, 28, 32 *fault*: offense    27 *craft*: guile; deceitfulness  
28 *while*: when // *true*: actual    29 *feigneth*: fabricates    32 *fair*: completely  
33 *in his neck*: on his shoulders // *laid*: added    34 *folly*: idiocy // *credence*: credibility

that open lie, that might be so soon and so plainly controlled  
 and reprov'd—so is his first point also no less folly than that,  
 wherein he marveleth so much that I dare, for my conscience,  
 and for displeasure of my prince, “and of the whole realm,”  
 bring up that “slanderous name” in the realm, to call these 5  
 heretics the “brethren”... considering that it “may lightly  
 touch not only any man of the common people, but also of the  
 greatest of the realm, as well spiritual as temporal,” if either  
 myself or any of mine “affinity” “list to call them one of the  
 ‘blessed brethren,’ or of the ‘good brethren.’” 10

This is, forsooth, one the most simple, sought-out folly that ever I  
 yet saw set out with high words so solemnly. For first, as for  
 to call them by the name of the “brethren,” is nothing of my  
 bringing up, but a word walking in every man’s mouth  
 (which thing I cannot believe but this man well knoweth himself, 15  
 as strange as he maketh the matter) and begun by the  
 good, blessed brethren themselves—as well appeareth upon their  
 own letters, enough to be showed, at sundry seasons sent between  
 them.

Now, touching the great fear and peril that he putteth lest I 20  
 or some of mine “affinity” may slander any of the greatest of the  
 realm if we list to call any such man one of the “good  
 brethren”: the good man may take his rest, I warrant him, and  
 shall not need to break his sleep therefor. For first, as for  
 mine affinity, is not very great. For I have none affinity but as I 25  
 think himself hath and every other man: that is to wit, either  
 by gossipred or by marriage; except he mean to call all the  
 true Catholics mine affinity, and all the others his own. And  
 then, which way soever he mean, a lewd slanderous word  
 were as likely to happen in one of his affinity as in one of mine. 30  
 And as for myself, the Pacifier himself is (as his “some say”’s  
 show) somewhat more set upon an appetite of slandering  
 than am I, which bear a little more reverence to the great men  
 of the realm, spiritual and temporal both, and more honest  
 mind unto the small also, than wrongfully to defame either 35

1 *open*: obvious // *might*: could // *soon*: easily // *controlled*: subjected to verification  
 2 *reprov'd*: disproved // *no less folly*: no less of an idiocy 4 *prince*: sovereign; king  
 11 *one . . . folly*: one of the most ridiculous, far-fetched idiocies 12 *high*: lofty  
 13 *is*: i.e., this is 14 *bringing up*: bringing into fashion // *word*: usage  
 14 *walking*: running; in operation 16 *strange*: uncommon  
 16 *maketh the matter*: makes the thing out to be 20 *touching*: concerning  
 21 *slander*: bring into discredit 23 *warrant*: guarantee 24 *therefor*: over it  
 27 *gossipred*: godparenthood 29 *lewd*: common // *slanderous*: derogatory  
 29 *word*: expression 34–35 *honest mind*: fair-mindedness 35 *wrongfully*: inaccurately  
 35 *defame*: denigrate; cast aspersions on

great or small by calling either the one or the other any of the blessed, bicched, new-broached brotherhood... except only such as by their own open writings, or by their open words, be plainly proved heretics.

But yet consider well, good readers, what a wise reason this is that he bringeth forth. For what peril is there, of such slander, more by this name of "the good brethren" than by the other name of "heretics"? Is not the old name of "heretics" as slanderous as this new name of "the blessed brethren"? What name can this good man devise us himself to call them by, in which name the same peril of slander may not fall as well as in this? Men may by this wise reason call them by no name at all, for fear lest I or mine affinity might, if we list, call not only any of the people, but also the greatest lords, both spiritual and temporal, by the same name, and so bring them in slander. For the slander is all one whatsoever the name be, when the thing is all one that is meant and signified thereby.

And this man useth himself in this place, therefore, very circumspectly for this point in this chapter, where he speaketh of heretics after his four sorts of folk before. For he calleth them there by no name at all himself, but saith of the fourth sort:

These be the worst sort of people before all others, except only another sort of people which Sir Thomas More in his *Apology* calleth sometimes "desperate wretches," sometimes "stark heretics," and sometimes "the blessed brethren," and sometimes "the naughty brethren" [etc.].

So that this good man himself here, like a true-faithful man, affirmeth them naught... and such and so naught as there be none worse. But name (as it seemeth), for fear of occasion of slander, he durst here none call them himself, but saith they be they whom *I* call thus and thus.

Well, I will make no vow thereof as yet... but I will peradventure at a leisure hereafter, upon better advisement, use the same circumspection and policy that I learn of his example here...

2 *bicched*: accursed; execrable // *new-broached*: recently launched  
 3 *open*: publicly disseminated / publicly spoken 5, 12 *wise reason*: brilliant argument  
 6, 8, etc. *slander(ous)*: disgrace(ful) 12 *by this*: according to this  
 14 *people*: commoners 15 *in*: into 18 *useth*: conducts; comports  
 25 *desperate*: hopeless // *stark*: arrant; out-and-out  
 33 *at a leisure*: with opportunity for deliberation // *advisement*: consideration  
 34 *policy*: prudence // *of*: from

and when I speak of such manner folk, give them no name at all myself... but for a token, that men may wit whom I mean, I shall say, “those fellows, I mean, that Saint Paul, pardie, calleth heretics so... and that be all they that obstinately hold any self-minded opinion contrary to the doctrine that the common-known Catholic Church teacheth and holdeth for necessary to salvation.” 5

After all this, in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> leaf he asketh me, with a solemn driven process, whether I would not think it good and well done... that all such as have authority to punish heretics should, before they punish them, amend first their own faults. And I think yes, in good faith, that it were very well done; and I would that every man would so do indeed, that either should correct heretic or any malefactor else. 10

But then again I ask him, that though this were well done—if every man would wax as good as another good man would wish him, and as himself would wish another man to be—yet if there were some that were not so suddenly so well disposed as to amend their own faults so soon as the duty of their office would require of necessity that they should do correction upon the faults of some other folk: should they not yet do it, for all that, in the meanwhile, and other folk to whom it appertained... be bound to assist them therein, though their own faults were not all amended yet? 15 20

To this question, lo, he hath in the same place answered me yes, as I have him to the other. And thus, good readers, this good man and I, after our sore conflict in the other matter, have yet in these two points struck hands again and be, God be thanked, meetly well agreed together, God hold it. 25

### *The Sixth Chapter* 30

His sixth chapter beginneth in the 16<sup>th</sup> leaf, wherein he showed that I in mine *Apology* “mistake the letter” of his “said treatise”... and he telleth which words. But he telleth neither in what place of his book his words are nor in what place of my

2 *token*: hint    3 *pardie*: by golly    9 *solemn . . . process*: dramatic drawn-out discourse  
 9–10 *good and*: very    14 *any malefactor else*: any other evildoer    16 *wax*: become  
 28 *struck hands*: shaken hands    29 *hold it*: keep it that way    32 *showed*: stated  
 32 *letter*: literal meaning

book you may find mine. Those two things he leaveth out, because he would, as he said in the beginning, not follow the order of my chapters, but take that way that should be best to the plain “opening of the truth.” But forasmuch as meseemeth that to the plain opening of truth the readier way is to read first both the places, and then this his answer after: ye may therefore, good readers, find both his words and mine in mine *Apology*—his in the leaf 123; and mine against which he now reasoneth in his answer, ye shall find folio 127. And now, good readers, if you read and consider those two places first, and then compare well the words of mine *Apology* there with the words of his answer here—it shall suffice for this matter. For there shall you see well that I mistake not the letter of his words. For I say not nay but that his *words* go only against spiritual men... but his *reason* runneth out against every kind of men, spiritual and temporal too. And there I show also the reason wherefore and why. And therefore I ween it will appear plainly that I mistake not the letter of his treatise at all... and that his reason runneth out indeed against every kind of men. For there is neither spiritual man nor temporal but he may take harm by abundance. But so is there, as I there say, neither spiritual man nor temporal but he may with abundance do good.

But now the declaration of his mind in this answer mendeth all the matter. For here he declareth that by these words of his “in a manner strangling” he meaneth the diminishing of some fervor. As though a man would say that by “almost killing with a club” he meant the giving of a fillip in the forehead with his little finger!

But since that in this sixth chapter of his, his great, mortal “strangling” is now straggled away, and turned into venial sin, we shall for this matter trouble you no longer... but every man may take holy water and go home to dinner, for service is all done here for today.

The counsel of Saint Bernard (that he there speaketh of) to the pope Eugenius is in good faith, as methinketh, very

9 *reasoneth*: argues    15 *reason*: argument    17 *wherefore*: on account of which  
 24 *declaration*: explanation // *mind*: intent  
 31/35—32/1: See Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, *On Consideration* 1:5–6.

well brought in. And I would advise every spiritual man to follow it, and to take good temporal men to him and let them do all his temporal business for him. This think I good as for mine own mind, but if there be in any part any laws made already to the contrary, by such folk as it cannot become me to control. Howbeit, I suppose that much part of their temporal business *is* done by temporal men indeed. 5

As for his act of Parliament that he speaketh of, I suppose verily that the clergy would not be against it. And such acts are there already made more than one, good and sufficient... but if he mean to set an addition thereto: that the King's Grace should expressly be bound by the act that if he gave any license of mortising into the Church, it should be void... except such cases as this good man list to limit and give him leave. Since His Highness is now moved by this good man here thereto—His Grace may agree to it when it pleaseth him. 10 15

As for the great matter that he maketh of that I never, in all the time that I was conversant in the Court, could perceive any of the noblemen above the number of seven, and yet not now so many, that ever thought it good that any possessions of the Church should without a lawful cause be taken away therefrom: I marvel much what he meaneth, and what subtle conceit he conceiveth in his wise breast, that he so muttereth and mumbleth upon that word... as though such communication, either on the one side or the other, were of such high importance that it were either felony or some heinous misprision, either in telling the tale again or else in keeping it counsel so long. For I wot ne'er, in good faith, in which of the twain this good man findeth the fault, or whether he find any or none. But if he find any—in which of the twain soever he find it, he findeth but his own folly. For now shall you, good readers, see what little insight the man hath in anything that he readeth. First he rehearseth a part of my words written in mine *Apology*, folio 139, where I say that I “never found in all the time while I was conversant in the Court, of all the nobility of this land, above the number of seven that ever I perceived to be of the mind that it were either 20 25 30 35

2 *temporal men*: laymen    3 *temporal*: secular; worldly    4, 10–11 *but if*: unless  
 6 *control*: challenge    10 *good and*: quite    13 *of*: for  
 13 *mortising*: mortmain; a transference of land as a perpetual, inalienable possession  
 14 *list*: should choose // *limit*: specify    15 *moved*: exhorted  
 17 *great matter*: big deal // *of that*: i.e., of the fact that  
 18, 35 *conversant*: spending a lot of time    19–20 *yet . . . many*: now not even that many  
 22 *subtle*: abstruse // *conceit*: notion    24 *word*: statement  
 24 *communication*: talk    26 *heinous misprision*: high crime bordering on felony  
 27–28 *keeping it counsel*: keeping it in confidence    28 *wot ne'er*: have no idea  
 30–31 *in . . . it*: in whichever of the two he finds it    31 *folly*: foolishness  
 32–33 *insight . . . in*: understanding . . . of    33 *rehearseth*: quotes



right or reasonable, or could be to the realm profitable,  
without lawful cause to take any possessions away from the  
clergy.”

Now upon these words ye shall see what he gathereth, by  
which ye shall see what wit and what learning the man hath. 5  
These are his words, lo:

Since Master More saith that he hath not known above seven  
(whereof, he saith, three are dead) that were of the mind that it were  
reasonable without cause to take possessions from the clergy—in  
which words it is included that he knew seven of that mind, 10  
whose opinions it liketh him to rehearse and put in writing and in  
print also . . .

This man hath a special insight in inclusives and exclusives,  
when he weeneth that in my words it were included that I knew  
seven of that mind that it were reasonable to take away possessions 15  
from the Church without cause. My words were, you wot  
well, that I never knew above seven that without lawful cause  
to take away from the Church thought either right  
or reasonable, or that it could be to the realm profitable. What  
include these words, now? Do they include, as he saith, that I say 20  
that I knew seven that thought it reasonable? This man is so cunning  
in his inclusives and exclusives that he discerneth  
nothing between copulatives and disjunctives. This man,  
I see well, never learned the rule that almost every boy can: that to  
the verity of a disjunctive, it sufficeth any one part to be true. 25  
Let him now learn it, therefore... and then shall he perceive  
that my words include no farther but that I say that I knew  
seven which, among them all, thought some one of those three  
things—that is to wit, either some of them some one, and some  
of them some other, or else all seven some one of those three 30  
things; that is to wit, *either* right *or* reasonable *or* profitable,  
without any determination which of the three. And neither  
includeth those words of mine that I say all seven thought it  
right, nor that all seven thought it reasonable; no, nor yet that  
all seven thought it profitable. But it hangeth not upon his 35

5 *wit*: intelligence    11 *liketh*: pleases // *rehearse*: relate

14 *included*: contained as an implication    21 *cunning*: well versed

22–23 *discerneth nothing*: perceives no difference

23 *copulatives*: conjunctions (such as *and*) that express addition of the meanings of the words  
or phrases they connect // *disjunctives*: conjunctions (such as *either* and *or*) that express an  
alternative or opposition between the meanings of the words or phrases they connect

24 *can*: knows    34 *yet*: even    35 *hangeth*: rests

determination, but upon mine own declaration, which of  
 these three things which of those same seven thought or  
 which one of the three they all thought; and never one of  
 those three things is determinately included to any one of the  
 seven. For if I would say that I never knew in all my life any  
 man above the number of seven that had been either at El-Kahirah  
 or at Salem or at Bizance—do these words include that I say  
 that I have known seven that have been at Salem? That am I  
 sure they do not. But I may well stand by those words if I  
 said after, that I have known seven persons that have been all  
 seen at Bizance. . . . but as for El-Kahirah or Salem, I never knew any one  
 that had been at any one of them both.

And in like wise will I well stand by mine other words and  
 verify them with a good excluding of this man's including.  
 For I say, and very truth it is, that I never found any  
 nobleman above the number of seven that without lawful  
 cause to take away possessions from the clergy thought it  
 either right or reasonable or that it could be for the realm  
 profitable. I found not, I say, above seven that thought any  
 one of all these three—is not this true but if I found seven that  
 thought all three? Yes, forsooth, true enough though I never  
 found any one that ever thought any two of the three. And now,  
 therefore, though I never found any nobleman so unrighteous,  
 or so unreasonable, as to think it right or reasonable  
 without lawful cause to take away any possessions from the  
 clergy: yet have I found seven that have thought, if right  
 and reason would bear it, they could tell how that as for  
 worldly policy, some of the possessions taken away might be  
 to the realm profitable. And some one hath thought that  
 it would be peradventure profitable to the realm that the  
 lords had the lands whose ancestors had mortised  
 them. And peradventure he that so thought should not have  
 lost a groat by it. And some other hath thought that it would be  
 more profitable to put it into hospitals of some certain new-fashioned  
 foundation, and thereof neither make priests the

1 *declaration*: clarification    3 *never*: not a    4 *determinately*: definitively  
 6, 11 *El-Kahirah*: Cairo    20 *is . . . if*: is this not true unless    27 *bear*: support  
 28 *policy*: expediency // *some . . . away*: the taking away of some of the possessions  
 30–31 *the lords . . . ancestors*: the lands should be had by the lords whose ancestors  
 31 *mortised*: given them to the Church as perpetual, inalienable possessions  
 33 *groat*: a coin roughly equivalent to a nickel

masters nor no laymen neither, but some good sad, honest,  
 virtuous widows that would be tendable and tender to sick folk,  
 and that should yearly yield an account unto the ordinary. And  
 some others have thought it better to divide and cant it among  
 good poor husbandmen that should till the ground their own  
 hands, and take the land for their labor; with divers other  
 devices more, every man after his own mind. And what harm  
 was there now in any of all their minds, that this good,  
 wise man would have my words seem so heinous upon a  
 sentence that himself includeth in them... and which sentence  
 of his, reason excludeth from them... and in which, as  
 you plainly see proved, this man wot ne'er what he meaneth.  
 And to the intent that he should well know that the matter is nothing  
 fearful, *therefore* wrote I that three were dead—because he should  
 well wit that there were yet the more part alive. And therefore,  
 if the good man think any great, heinous offense in the  
 matter—let him come to me himself, and I shall bring him  
 to some of them, that shall not make it strange to say again  
 the same to himself; and then he may use it at his pleasure, as  
 his high wisdom shall think convenient.

Then saith he farther, in the second side of the 18<sup>th</sup>  
 leaf, that he cannot tell what cause I would think a cause reasonable  
 to take any possessions from the Church. But yet—since it is implied  
 in my words that some cause lawful and reasonable  
 there may be—he thinketh, he saith, that peradventure if I “were  
 asked the question therein by them that have the authority to do it,” I  
 “would show what” I “meant thereby.” There shall in good faith need  
 no great, solemn examination of me by men of authority for  
 that matter. For I will not stick to tell it unto himself... but have  
 told it already to him, and every man else that list to read it,  
 a good while ago in my book of the *Supplication of Souls*;  
 and there may this good man go seek it if it please him, and  
 then use it as it like him.

But finally, after his heart somewhat eased, he cometh to himself  
 again and endeth the chapter very well, wishing  
 the clergy the grace that the apostles had... and declaring that

1 *sad*: settled; firmly established in condition // *honest*: chaste 2 *tendable*: attentive  
 4 *cant*: apportion 5 *husbandmen*: farmers 7 *devices*: ideas // *mind*: way of thinking  
 10 *sentence*: meaning 12 *wot ne'er*: has no idea 14 *because*: so that  
 15 *more part*: majority; greater number 18 *make it strange*: be reluctant  
 20 *think convenient*: see fit 27 *show*: state 27–28 *need no*: be no need of any  
 28 *solemn*: formal 29–33: See Thomas More, *The Four Last Things, The Supplication of  
 Souls, A Dialogue on Conscience* (Scepter Publishers, 2002), 109.  
 29 *stick*: hesitate 30 *list*: cares

he “never desired” them the apostles’ poverty nor would them no less than they have... and exhorting “them that have abundance of possessions to be well wary” so to use it as it be not a let of the devotion “that they should have to God” and the charity that they should show to their neighbor. In these three things he saith, as methinketh, very specially well. And I pray you heartily, good readers, every man the rather at my poor request, whatsoever he wrote before, think now that he meant then but thus. 5

*The Seventh Chapter* 10

His seventh chapter beginneth in the 19<sup>th</sup> leaf, and therein, upon a six leaves... he argueth against a little doubt that I moved upon the beginning of his first chapter of his *Division*; which words of his and mine thereupon begin in mine *Apology*, folio 101. And the same point is touched again there, folio 106. When you have read there what I say, then may you read here his answer, wherein he declareth the matter, and argueth it by cases of law, much after the manner of a mootable case—full well-favoredly, in good faith—and with long labor proveth at last that it must be taken in such wise as he seeth that among other constructions I construed his mind myself... though I was loath to do so, because that way was the worst for himself. But now he remedieth that with a line or twain wherein he declareth that he meant not to prefer every secular priest before those that are in religion. Wherein I would have trusted him as well upon his word as upon the reason that he layeth for it now—which, save for the trust that I have to his word, I would ween he never thought on when he wrote the *Division*... but rather ended the clause in such wise as it happened; without any respect, peradventure, to the increase and growing of the sentence in the end. 15 20 25 30

I was once half in mind here to have kept schools with him yet in this point once again, even all of pleasure... and to have

1–2 *would them no less*: i.e., wanted them to have any less  
 3 *well wary*: very careful    3–4 *a let of*: a hindrance to    6 *saith*: speaks  
 6 *pray*: beseech    7 *the rather*: the more    12 *upon a*: on some  
 12 *doubt*: problem    13 *moved*: brought up // *upon*: concerning  
 18–19 *a mootable case*: a hypothetical case debated, as an exercise, by law students  
 19 *full well-favoredly*: quite nicely    21 *constructions*: interpretations  
 25 *religion*: i.e., religious orders    26 *reason*: argument    27 *layeth*: presents  
 27 *to*: regarding    29 *clause*: passage; section    30 *respect*: consideration  
 30–31 *to . . . sentence*: of what the meaning would add up and amount to  
 32 *kept schools*: engaged in academic disputations  
 33 *even all of pleasure*: all just for fun

brought it yet again in question whether the circumstances  
of his words were able to prove that he meant  
otherwise than he now argueth that it must needs be taken. And  
then if the circumstances so did, whether common usage and  
acceptance of a word should against the circumstances of 5  
the matter have like strength in all other things as it hath in  
matters of law; and whether the reasons used in the courts in  
matters of law be of like strength in every other thing as they  
be when they be made in matters of law... and of like vigor and  
force in every place abroad as they be in the courts in which 10  
they have been long received and accepted for sure and stable  
grounds.

And whether in this point between him and me—being no  
matter of the law nor pertaining to the judgment of any court,  
but to be considered by the whole people in every man's reason 15  
at large—the cases of the law of this realm that he  
bringeth in, which be judged and sure and should serve the  
one party in the law though the matter were the weight of a  
thousand pounds, should because we be Englishmen, and our  
matter written in England and in English words, stand for a 20  
sure and an insoluble argument though the laws both civil  
and canon that are called the common laws of all Christendom  
besides us were, as peradventure they be in the selfsame cases,  
fully and wholly to the contrary.

And yet would I besides this a little have assayed so to shake 25  
his cases of London and Michaelmas that peradventure to many  
a man in London between this and Michaelmas should they never  
have seemed like unto our matter, by that time that I had once  
declared them the difference.

These points, and haply more too, was I when I read his 30  
answer half minded, as I say, to have brought in and  
disputed with him upon this matter. For I was waxen with the  
reading of his answer very merry, and waxen, methought, a young  
man again... and seemed set at a vacation moot with him in some  
Inn of the Chancery, because of his common intendment, and 35  
his proper cases of law.

5 *against*: with regard to    7 *reasons*: arguments

10 *abroad*: out there; i.e., outside of the courts    21 *insoluble*: irrefutable

21 *though*: even if    25 *assayed*: tried; attempted    29 *declared*: showed

34 *moot*: debate of a hypothetical case, engaged in by law students for practice

35 *common intendment*: (rule) of common understanding

But then I considered that as I was in the reading of his answer merry—so was himself, I saw well, in the writing weary; and other readers, that were no lawyers, would in the reading wax almost as weary. Then saw I also that when himself had all said, he liked not his own all the best... but after all his pain taken in the answering, seeing that his answer liked him not, he was fain to fall to another way, and telleth me that there needeth none answer to that point at all, because that there is no fruit, he saith, in that objection. 5

Now, therefore, if the objection be fruitless, and therefore the answer needless, and verily fruitless too: now to reply thereto were labor half lost and more. And therefore, good readers—forasmuch as to the answer made by the manner, no law putteth us further to reply—the matter is at a demurrer in this point, and we at your judgment, wherein ye may use your wisdom and judge it even as you find it. Wherein the best that he can ask is but to be dismissed, and judged that he meant not to prefer the state of chantry priests before the state of religious priests... but meant as he now declareth his mind (which very few folk could before, as I suppose, have guessed)—that the variance between priests and priests, that is to wit, between secular priests and secular priests, is more to be lamented than between other priests and religious, or between religious and religious, because the variance between priests and priests is more marked and more notable than any of the others, because the secular priests go more abroad. 10 15 20 25

Now, if this exposition of his mind may serve to acquit him now (which I am content it do)—it is all, I promise you, that it may do. For it will never serve him to recover damages. For he can never blame no man that perceived not that before, that is scant credible yet. 30

But yet, because he so much inculcateth the lack of fruit in many of mine objections, and that they be no matters of no moral virtue—I will not answer him with the like... and say that in many of his pretended causes of division is no fruit at 35

7 *was fain to*: was obliged to // *fall to another way*: take another tactic

8 *needeth none*: is no need of any 9 *fruit*: profit; avail

10 *fruitless*: unavailing; unproductive 12 *lost*: wasted

13 *to . . . manner*: as for the making of an answer according to standard protocol

14 *demurrer*: standstill 16 *even*: just

18 *chantry priests*: secular priests specially dedicated to saying Masses for deceased persons

21 *variance*: dissension; conflict 25 *marked*: noticed; observed // *notable*: conspicuous

26 *go more abroad*: get out more 27 *exposition*: explanation // *mind*: intent

28 *may*: can 32 *inculcateth*: harps on 35 *pretended*: claimed; professed

all, nor no moral virtue neither... as in procuring the people to believe untruly that the prelates handle men uncharitably, and for heresies vex them wrongfully, and give occasion that some perish both in body and soul... which if the ordinaries had handled them charitably, had been in both 5  
 twain saved... and that it will be very hard to find so much as any one spiritual man such as himself deviseth and adviseth that none but such should be suffered to be judge in heresy; and laboring also the good laws of this realm and of all Christendom to be changed, to the ease of heretics, that have been made for the repressing of heresies; with such other things like (that are in his book of *Division*), more than I ever wrote word of yet, in which (as I have often said), forasmuch as I see that he professeth himself to hate and abhor these heresies that these folk now hold whom Saint Paul calleth heretics (I dare not now for him, but when I forget myself, call them by none other name), I would with good will that men should think he meant no hurt. But in the *words* of the writing, taken after the “common usage and acceptance” of speaking, as he will in this his seventh chapter have me take them, there is neither moral virtue nor fruit, but full unfruitful vice. 10 15 20

But as I said, I will not in defense of mine answer him with faults of his. For mine were never the better though his be naught too. But I say that mine objections in mine *Apology* be *not* fruitless, because they defend the truth and make good folk perceive both what harm it were to believe such evil lies, and what damage it were to put away such good laws... and how unreasonable it were in other men’s faults to take small things for very heinous and great... or for them that in a fellowship are faulty, not to bear displeasure only to their persons, but to be at division in general with the whole company. And this fruit is there also: that though that book say the contrary, strangers such as are here and can read English, which are not, ye wot well, a few, may yet perceive by plain proofs in mine *Apology* that not only there is no such great general *causes* of division as the book of *Division* saith that there is, but also that there is no such great general division 25 30 35

2 *untruly*: erroneously / unjustly      5 *had*: would have  
 6 *twain*: of the two (i.e., body and soul)      9 *laboring*: endeavoring (to get)  
 17 *would with good will*: wish heartily; would be happy      18 *hurt*: harm  
 19 *after*: according to      21 *unfruitful*: unavailing      23 *faults*: errors; mistakes  
 27 *put away*: abolish; do away with      28 *in*: with regard to // *faults*: misdeeds  
 29 *for them*: on account of those      30 *faulty*: guilty (of certain misdeeds)  
 31 *at division*: at odds; in conflict      33 *strangers*: foreigners

through the realm indeed. These fruits are there in many of mine objections against his book in mine *Apology*.

Now, whereas some of mine objections peradventure lay but either lack of learning in him or lack of natural wit: since his name is not at his book, but he speaketh himself unknown, this profit is there in such objections—that without his rebuke or shame, the readers may by those faults perceive that the writer was not of any such special qualities as the book wherein so much evil was contained should be much leaned unto for credence and authority of the man.

Finally, the very self objection whereof he speaketh in that seventh chapter of his in his new book, and saith there is no profit in that objection, and that therefore it needed none answer... but he might grant me all that ever I say therein, and yet none effectual matter were there for all that: thereto I say that look, whoso list, what I say therein, and he shall find that if this man grant all that, he shall grant in himself much more oversight, and much more lack of learning, too, than were requisite in him that would put out books abroad; and therefore his writing the less to be regarded while his person is unknown... whereas if his person were known, he might be peradventure perceived, for all that, for such a special man beside, that his approved wisdom and learning, well known otherwise, might for the estimation of his book more than counterpoise some such oversights as at a time might haply to escape a right wise man that would write by candlelight while he were half asleep.

But then I say further yet... that in that objection was a matter of no little effect. For, taking that he meant as himself saith he did, his words seemed plainly to show that he reckoned the state of chantry priests to be a state of more perfection than the state of religious priests. And therefore the objection contained matter of great effect, and which he much needed to answer and to declare that he meant not so... but that he meant as he now declareth: that division is between secular priests more lamentable than between religious, because the secular priests be more abroad, and thereby their variance more

3 *whereas*: since; given that    3–4 *lay* . . . *in*: impute . . . to    4, 18 *learning*: education  
 4 *natural wit*: native intelligence    5 *at*: on // *himself unknown*: i.e., anonymously  
 7 *faults*: errors; mistakes    10 *credence*: credibility    11 *self*: same    15 *effectual*: valid  
 15 *matter*: case    18 *oversight*: inadvertence    20, 21 *person*: identity  
 23 *beside*: otherwise // *approved*: established    24 *counterpoise*: balance out; compensate for  
 25 *oversights*: slips // *haply*: A humorous example of such slips that can elude detection!  
 26 *right wise*: very intelligent    31 *chantry priests*: See note for 38/18.  
 32 *religious*: i.e., religious-order    35 *division*: discord    37 *be more abroad*: get out more  
 37 *variance*: dissension



known. Which exposition few men, I ween, would have thought upon before. But now that he saith he meant so—I am very well content therewith, and would that all folk should take it so too; and yet is it, ye wot well, but very winter ware, and an excuse as cold as a key.

5

### *The Eighth Chapter*

His eighth chapter beginneth in the second side of his 25<sup>th</sup> leaf, and pretendeth to answer my words written against his, in the nineteenth chapter of mine *Apology*, which beginneth folio 116. And now he saith that I say there that I wot not well what he meaneth in that he saith that the spirituality call the worldly honor of the Church and of spiritual persons the honor of God. And therefore he saith here that he will, and so doth, declare therein what he there meant thereby.

10

But here is now the craft. Whereas I did there show what I thought he meant thereby, and therefore made answer to those things that I thought he there meant: now—the matter being changed here, by his new declaration—he bringeth in mine answers made *there*, and confuteth them for insufficient *now*, when his new declaration hath made a change in the matter; as though I had then meant to answer this that I was not then aware that he would now say, nor, I ween, himself neither.

15

20

But read first, good readers, the nineteenth chapter of mine *Apology*, beginning folio 116, and there shall you see those words of his sufficiently answered, for the thing that methought he meant. And then, after that done, consider his answer here... in which, for all his holy piece of a sermon, what doth he tell me? He telleth me that honor is “only due to virtue,” and that no man may “covet honor without offense... except it be to the honor of God”; and that “inordinate appetite of honor is deadly sin”; and that “if a spiritual man would accept honor by reason of any spiritual dignity,” and that “God were thereby dishonored,” then that honor were “not to be called honor but dishonor”—and that “yet some laymen say” that spiritual men “call it an honor to God.”

25

30

35

1 *exposition*: explanation    2 *upon*: of    4 *excuse*: defense  
 4 *winter ware*: off-season (i.e., low-quality) produce    5 *cold*: nonviable  
 8 *pretendeth*: claims    10–11 *I wot not well*: I don’t really know; I’m not sure  
 11 *spirituality*: clergy    12 *spiritual persons*: members of the clergy    14 *declare*: explain  
 15 *craft*: trick (he plays) // *show*: say    18, 20 *declaration*: explanation  
 29 *offense*: sin    30 *appetite*: desire    31 *deadly*: mortal  
 31 *spiritual man*: member of the clergy

All this whole tale, for all this holy sermon, is yet to the matter,  
 in maintenance of his former words which he would  
 here seem to defend, utterly told in vain. For first, in all this  
 tale he telleth us not well what he calleth worldly honor which  
 he saith the spiritualty calleth the honor of God, and which was 5  
 the thing that I said I wist ne'er what honor he meant. For  
 where he would seem to declare it—there is his declaration both  
 very bare and yet against him, too. For in the second side of the  
 26<sup>th</sup> leaf, he dribbleth in a word of spiritual dignity... and thus  
 he saith: 10

Then I mean further, that if any spiritual man would accept a worldly  
 honor by reason of any spiritual dignity, and God were thereby dishonored,  
 as it may be by many circumstances, as if for such worldly  
 honor charity be in any manner broken or denied, justice delayed,  
 any of the seven sacraments not duly administered—or the people not 15  
 diligently and plainly instructed—that then it is not to be called  
 honor to God, but rather dishonor; and that yet, some laymen say,  
 they call it an honor to God. And surely the truth is that many laymen  
 say that for the maintenance of such worldly honor,  
 spiritual men both religious and secular be negligent sometimes in 20  
 such things as be before rehearsed, and that yet they call such worldly  
 honor the honor of God.

Here he hath told us that if any spiritual man would “accept” a  
 “worldly” honor “by reason of any spiritual dignity,” whereby God  
 were dishonored, that honor were not honor. But yet he 25  
 telleth us not what manner of “worldly” honor it is that he meaneth  
 to be accepted “by reason of a spiritual dignity”... nor yet what  
 manner *thing* such worldly honor is; nor, touching that  
 spiritual dignity, he telleth not whether he mean a desire in any  
 man to attain any spiritual dignity *for* some kind of worldly  
 honor he thinketh should follow thereon, or else some worldly 30  
 honor by reason of any spiritual dignity that the man hath  
 already.

I let pass his cold and unsavory told tale of charity “denied,”  
 and justice “delayed,” and some of the seven sacraments “not duly 35  
 administered,” for “maintenance” of such “worldly” honor as some

2 *in maintenance*: for the supporting    4 *telleth us not well*: doesn't really tell us  
 6 *wist ne'er*: had no idea    8 *bare*: poor; flimsy  
 9 *dribbleth*: shoots in (as though it were an arrow), in such a way that it falls wide of the mark  
 13 *as if*: such as if    14 *broken*: violated; sinned against    20 *negligent*: remiss  
 21 *rehearsed*: mentioned    28 *touching*: regarding  
 34 *cold*: unpersuasive // *unsavory*: bland // *told tale*: itemized account

spiritual men, both secular and religious, by reason of spiritual dignities “accept,” as “some laymen” say. A poor tale and a cold, by my faith, to be told for a cause of a heinous universal division. For this were an endless division, if every such fault of some should upon every “some say” be laid for a cause of division against the general body. 5

And yet besides all this, I say that his first words are nothing maintained with all this matter. For his first words spoke of a consent and agreement wherein secular priests and religious, for all the variance between themselves for other things, yet agree together about the maintenance of that worldly honor that they call the honor of God. And *here* he speaketh but of another matter: that is to wit, that for the maintenance of worldly honor spiritual men both religious and secular be negligent sometimes, and in some manner break or deny charity, delay justice, and do not duly administer some of the seven sacraments, nor diligently and plainly instruct the people. 10 15

All *this* tale, as you see, toucheth the private faults of *some*: such as for the maintenance of that worldly honor which they call God’s honor thus misuse themselves. But this tale is nothing sib to his other tale that he told and I touched before. For that spoke of such agreement all in one—that is to wit, a holding together which signifieth a maintaining each of other against other men—in maintenance of that worldly honor that they call the honor of God, in like wise as for matters of their own they be one against another among themselves. 20 25

And thus you see plainly, good readers, that this manner of maintaining of his former words is a clean going from them, and a leaving of them unmaintained. . . and (because he cometh upon me before, in another place, with cases of law) were in the law a very plain departure, and should in any of the King’s courts, if I demurred upon it, utterly mar all his matter. 30

And so it appeareth that some other “some” have said this unto him since, to gloss his first words with. And yet I marvel 35

3 *heinous*: grievous      8 *nothing . . . matter*: not at all upheld by all this stuff  
 10 *variance . . . for*: disagreement . . . about      11, 13, etc. *maintenance*: upholding  
 15 *negligent*: remiss // *break*: sin against      21 *misuse*: misconduct      22 *sib*: similar  
 22 *touched*: discussed      30 *clean going*: complete departure  
 34 *demurred upon it*: entered an objection // *mar all his matter*: destroy his whole case  
 36 *gloss*: put a spin on

that he could think their saying worth the rehearsing  
 again. For who can believe that any spiritual man would be so  
 mad as to call worldly honor used to God's dishonor the  
 honor of God! I can scant believe that any layman would so tell  
 him; at the leastwise not with that addition that he now  
 putteth new thereto. 5

But, now, if it so be that, on the other side, all spiritual men  
 would with one voice together call the honor of God that  
 worldly honor that worldly folk do to the Church and unto  
 spiritual persons for the devotion that good laymen bear to 10  
 God and unto spiritual persons for God's sake, by reason of  
 their Holy Orders and honorable rooms that they bear in  
 Christ's church; though some of them, as this man saith,  
 sometimes do not their duty therein, but leave some part of  
 their duties toward God's honor undone therefor: yet, for 15  
 the devotion of the temporal persons that for God's honor  
 do it, they may all well call it God's honor indeed. And  
 therefore is this good man in that point fully answered, as solemn  
 a matter as he made thereof.

But now, concerning his former words—of the agreement 20  
 of all spiritual folk together in the maintenance of their  
 worldly honor, for all their private displeasures and  
 dissensions in other things among themselves—with which  
 he cometh in after here again, and referreth him to the “common  
 opinion of much part of the people both spiritual and 25  
 temporal”: whether laymen so say or not, *I* say that though *all*  
 men so said, yet is no man at division with them therefor.  
 For there is no cause wherefore any man should. For it is none  
 unreasonable thing that since those things which this man  
 speaketh of—that is to wit, those spiritual dignities to which he 30  
 saith such worldly honor appertaineth—are lawfully their  
 own, each of them should in all lawful ways, and such as are by  
 no law prohibited, help and assist other to keep them, though  
 there be for private matters of their own, variance and suit  
 between them. And this may they with better conscience do 35  
 each for other than each of them for themselves. For in this,

1 *rehearsing*: relating      8 *with one voice*: unanimously  
 12 *honorable rooms*: prestigious positions // *bear*: hold  
 15 *therefor*: i.e., on account of those honors      16 *temporal*: lay  
 17 *well*: rightly      18 *solemn*: dramatic      19 *matter*: thing      26 *though*: even if  
 27 *at division*: at odds // *therefor*: on that account  
 32–33 *each of them should* . . . *other*: they should . . . each other  
 32 *lawful*: legitimate      34 *variance*: discord // *suit*: litigation  
 36 *each for other*: for each other

that they do for other, is there not the sin of ambition that  
 this man here speaketh of. And this is the part not only of  
 spiritual men, religious and secular both, but of every good  
 temporal man too; and not only to do so for them, but every  
 man also for other. And therefore what reason had those same  
 “some” that so told this man (if there were any some such indeed)  
 to take this thing for any cause of division? Or why did  
 not he so rather tell them than put their fond tale in his  
 book? 5

But then one pretty piece he hath of two parts, by which he  
 weeneth that the spirituality can in no wise escape but that they  
 must needs be betrayed in the one. For when he hath said  
 that the people say that spiritual men be sometimes negligent  
 in keeping or granting charity, or in speedy doing of  
 justice or in duly administering some of the seven sacraments,  
 or in plain and diligent instructing of the people—then with a  
 proper piece of two parts thus he concludeth the matter: 10 15

And if it be not so as the people say: then are the spiritual rulers  
 bound to help the people out of that judgment, or else they be not  
 without offense themselves. And on the other side, if it be as the  
 people say: then are spiritual men bound to reform it. 20

As for this two-handed sword, some young, lusty friar would  
 boldly beat off with a two-handed staff, and tell this man  
 again that if “the people,” as he putteth for the one part, said in  
 such things not true: then seeth he not, nor no man else neither,  
 what the spiritual rulers could do to put them out of  
 that judgment but tell them, “Nolite iudicare et non iudicabimini”;  
 and so will that side of the sword do this man little  
 service. And then on the other side, if the people in these  
 things say true, as it is well likely they do: then true it is  
 that the spiritual men be bound to reform it. But then is it  
 as true again that the thing being but such as this man  
 rehearseth—that is to wit, negligence but in some, in doing of  
 some part of their duty, and that also but sometimes—is no 25 30

1 *ambition*: inordinate seeking of distinction    8 *fond*: idiotic    10 *pretty*: ingenious  
 12 *the one*: either the one or the other    17 *proper*: fine    20 *offense*: fault  
 22 *two-handed*: very large, and two-edged // *lusty*: vigorous  
 23 *beat off*: i.e., beat it off    24 *again*: in reply  
 27: Luke 6:37 (“Judge not, and you will not be judged”).

cause of division to set the whole temporalty against them all; and that side of the sword the friar would with this end of his staff beat hard unto this man's own head.

Now goeth this man farther, folio 27, and showeth that mine answer to his words which you read in the nineteenth chapter of mine *Apology* be "very dark," by the reason that I use therein so often this word "some say," which is, he saith, done after a railing fashion. But as you know well, good readers, I have taken that word "some say" of his book, in which I read it so often... that it falleth sometimes into my pen ere I be aware. 5 10

And as for the railing fashion, if I durst be bold to tell so sad a man a merry tale, I would tell him of the friar that, as he was preaching in the country, spied a poor wife of the parish whispering with her pewfellow; and he, falling angry therewith, cried out unto her aloud, "Hold thy babble, I bid thee, thou wife in the red hood!" Which when the housewife heard, she waxed as angry again... and suddenly she started up and cried out unto the friar again, that all the church rang thereon: "Marry, sir, I beshrew his heart that babbleth most, of us both! For I do but whisper a word with my neighbor here, and thou hast babbled there all this hour!" And surely, good readers, save for letting of the word of God in this good man's sermon—I durst well in the *same* word, "some say," beshrew him, and beshrew him again, that most hath railed therewith, of this good man or me. For read my words there when ye will, and you shall find that I with that word do but in a manner play with him. But by Saint Mary, he, how well soever he meant, *his* words with his many "some say"s bring good men in slander and obloquy of the people, and peradventure in peril, too, with untrue, surmised tales of mishandling folk for heresy... and all colored under "some say"s to make the lies seem somewhat likely. Such shrewd "some say"s, lo, be no merry sporting, but be sad and earnest rude railings indeed. 15 20 25 30

Then he toucheth mine answer made in the said chapter of mine *Apology*, and doubly confuteth it—that I say that he hath heard some laymen say the contrary. For first he saith he 35

3 *unto*: on    4 *showeth*: says    6 *dark*: obscure    7, 23, 26 *word*: expression  
 9 *of*: from    12, 33 *sad*: serious    12 *merry tale*: funny story  
 17 *waxed* . . . *again*: got as angry in return // *started*: jumped  
 17–18 *cried* . . . *again*: shouted back to the friar  
 18 *that* . . . *thereon*: so loudly that the whole church reverberated with the sound thereof  
 18 *marry*: indeed    19, 23 *beshrew*: accurse    21 *all this*: this whole  
 21–22 *letting* . . . *God*: i.e., the insertions of Scripture    22 *durst well*: would well dare  
 22 *in the*: with regard to the    28, 29 *in*: into  
 28–29 *slander and obloquy of*: discredit and ill repute with    30 *surmised*: trumped-up  
 32 *likely*: plausible // *shrewd*: devious // *sporting*: poking of fun  
 34 *toucheth*: brings up

never heard layman say to him the contrary... but that *all* the spiritual men, religious and secular, hold together in the maintenance of the worldly honor that they call the honor of God, and of the riches of spiritual men.

Now, you wot well I speak, in the said nineteenth chapter, that of the spirituality such as are fallen from the faith unto heresy hold not at all with that honor that I thought he there had meant—that is to wit, with building and garnishing of churches—but be both against that and tithes, and offerings, and obits and trentals, and purgatory and Mass and all. And I had went, in good faith, that of so great a thing, and so much spoken of, it had happed him to hear some laymen speak; but he saith nay. Well, we can no farther, then, but stand unto his word, and take an oath of his honesty therein; and yet I ween, as honest as he is, whatsoever he be, his own honest friend... will be loath to swear with him therein.

But then saith he farther, that though it were so—that would not yet answer his saying. It would not, to say the sooth, in very deed, taking his word as I ween he meant it. But taking his word to the worst (as he taketh always mine) and yet but even as he wrote it (but if it be printed false), it *is* a confutation to it. For if those spiritual persons, both religious and seculars, that are fallen from the faith to heresies hold not with the remnant—then, pardie, though they were fewer than they be, it is not all true that he saith: that in the maintenance of such honor they hold together all. And yet, as I have already showed you, it would not help his part of a penny though they did every one—seculars and religious, Catholics and heretics too. And therefore can he not say but he *is* in this point answered, even to the very full.

Then, in the 28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> leaf, he subtly findeth a fault that I say that there are some such of the spirituality so fallen unto heresies that it is pity that ever they were thereof; because, he saith, we should not despair of them... but they may repent and amend. And also though they do never amend—yet I should not say so. For men may not say by the devil that “it is

4 *richesse*: wealthiness    7 *hold*: accord    8 *garnishing*: adorning  
 10 *obits*: annual memorial Masses  
 10 *trentals*: sets of thirty Masses said for the soul of a deceased person  
 11 *had went*: would have thought    13 *can no farther*: can do nothing more  
 13–14 *stand unto*: go by    14, 15 *honest(y)*: upstanding(ness)    18 *his saying*: what he said  
 18 *to say the sooth*: to tell the truth    19, 20 *word*: statement  
 20 *to the worst*: in the worst possible way // *even*: exactly    21 *but if*: unless  
 21 *false*: wrong    23 *hold not*: do not side    24 *remnant*: rest // *pardie*: by golly  
 24, 35 *though*: even if  
 27 *help* . . . *penny*: give his side of the argument a penny’s worth of help // *though*: if  
 31 *subtly*: cunningly // *findeth a fault*: finds fault with the fact    33 *thereof*: i.e., of the clergy  
 36 *so*: that // *by*: about

pity that ever he was created,” because God’s justice is showed on him. We will in this matter keep no long schools. But this every man knoweth: that whoso use a common word spoken among the people is reckoned so to mean therein as the common people mean that use it. And therefore, since the people that so speaketh meaneth not to speak against amendment, but against the present wretched state that the man standeth in at the time: that word may by God’s grace be borne meetly well enough. And as touching the devil, though men may not grudge against God’s just punishment—yet peradventure a man might say without peril of damnation that it was pity that he so misused himself; as in them that are for their heinous offenses put unto painful death, though we say they were served as they well deserved, yet we let not to say it was pity that they guided themselves no better. And Saint Chrysostom pitieth also the devil. And our Savior himself pitied Jerusalem, and for the pity wept also thereon, for the punishment that should fall thereon; and yet was it the just punishment of God.

And though the parties afterward may amend and do good again: yet for the time *till* they amend—yes, and after, too—we may pity that they were in such case as to hurt them whom they have already remediless destroyed, by their false doctrine dead in the damnable heresies that they learned of them, and lie therefore buried in hell. And therefore the thing that I may not absolutely pity: yet in some respects I may.

Finally, he saith that I should not call any heretics desperate wretches. This is a sore point, I assure you: to call a wretch such as he showeth himself to be—to call him desperate whose living showeth no manner hope of amendment. Saint Cyprian, I see well, was sore overseen, which in the seventh epistle of his first book, for less things than these are, calleth some folk desperate. And yet was Saint Polycarp farther overseen, which calleth Marcion the first-begotten son of the devil. This man hath here, as he weeneth, found out proper fantasies, wherein I had liefer leave him in the liking than lose much time in answering of such blunt subtle trifles.

2 *keep no long schools*: engage in no long academic disputations

8 *that word*: that statement (i.e., that it is a pity that those heretics were ever ordained)

9 *as touching*: as for; as regards 10 *grudge*: protest 12 *misused*: wrongly comported

13 *offenses*: crimes 14 *let*: forbear 15 *guided*: conducted 16–19: Luke 19:41–44.

23 *remediless*: irremediably

23–24 *by . . . dead*: i.e., those who on account of their false teaching have died

24 *of*: from 27, 29 *desperate*: hopeless 28 *sore point*: bad trait

30 *living*: way of life 30–33: See Saint Cyprian, “To Epictetus and to the Congregation of Assurae, concerning Fortunatianus, Formerly Their Bishop,” 5. 31 *sore*: terribly

31, 33 *overseen*: out of line 31 *which*: who 32 *less*: lesser

33–35: See Eusebius, *Church History* 4:14.

35–36 *found . . . fantasies*: come up with excellent ideas 36 *had liefer*: would rather

37 *lose*: waste // *blunt*: pointless // *subtle*: pedantic



But to the matter, good readers, concerning the former words of his *Division*, albeit that I have here more than fully confuted this chapter of his, for any defense that he hath for his said former words, whereabout is all our matter: read yet the eighteenth chapter of mine *Apology*, wherein you shall see divers other like words of his; and apply me mine answer there to those other words of his which he defendeth here; and ye shall see that he shall have more work than enough to defend them well, and to make them serve him to purpose.

### *The Ninth Chapter*

His ninth chapter beginneth in the 30<sup>th</sup> leaf. And his former words which he therewith defendeth, and mine answer also thereto, ye shall see in the nineteenth chapter of mine *Apology*, folio 119. Which when you have, good readers, there once read over... then forthwith, while it is fresh in remembrance... return again unto this, the ninth chapter of his *Dialogue*... and then judge whether it anything touch the point or not. For all this chapter is spent in preaching of restitution, full well and full truly, forsooth... and which in my poor mind I very well allow... and would have allowed in like wise his first book very well, if there had been no worse words in it than such. But now the matter standeth all in this: that this man maketh there as though the spirituality were very busy to procure men—and to “induce the people”—“to give money to trentals, to found chantries and obits, and to obtain pardons, and to go upon pilgrimages,” leaving their debts unpaid, and restitution unmade, which things should be done first; and that this is the manner of the “multitude” of the spirituality. In this standeth the question. And therefore is now the point, not whether debts be first to be paid, and satisfaction of wrongs first to be made, before all these other things, wherein this man saith here surely full well; but whether (as he would have it seem by his book of *Division*) that the multitude of the spirituality (that is to wit, either all save a few, or at the leastwise far the most part) do solicit and labor lay people to the contrary manner:

6 *divers*: several // *like words*: similar statements // *me*: i.e., for me  
 19 *of*: about 19, 20 *full*: quite 20 *truly*: correctly 21 *allow(ed)*: commend(ed)  
 22 *worse*: less good 24 *procure*: entice; get  
 26 *chantries*: chapels endowed for the daily singing of Masses for certain souls  
 26 *pardons*: indulgences 35–36 *far the most part*: the vast majority  
 36 *labor*: urge; try to push

that is to wit, to do those other things *rather* than to pay their debts or make restitution of their wrongs. This is, I say, the point. And of this point, wherein all the matter standeth, this man, in this ninth chapter of his, speaketh not one word. And therefore in this thing standeth mine answer made in the said twentieth chapter of mine *Apology* clean and clear untouched, as every man may perceive that readeth it. And therefore where, in the second side of his 32<sup>nd</sup> leaf, this man saith thus— 5

And to the intent I would have this matter the better looked upon, I would here advertise Sir Thomas More, not by way of argument, but for clearness of conscience, to consider whether is the more charitable way first to make restitution and pay debts, and relieve extreme poverty, and then to do the other, if he have to do both; or else to do the first and let the other pass . . . 10

—for this his good advertisement I very heartily thank him... and answer him as himself would wish I should: that surely methinketh as he doth, that the more charitable way of the twain were that that himself here moveth. 15

But then, lo, by and by, he giveth me another good lesson, wherewith he would I should amend mine own fault that he would it should seem I had in mine *Apology* made against him. For then, lo, thus goeth he further forth: 20

And if he think that this way that I move be the more charitable way, that then he help it forward, rather than the other... and then not to blame any man that maketh that motion, as though he were against trentals, obits, and such other. For he is not against them directly... but only intendeth to have them changed into a more charitable order. For though prayers be right expedient and healthful to the soul—yet they serve not in all cases as to discharge debts or restitutions, where there is enough to pay them with; no more than there can be found any one salve that can heal all manner of sores. 25 30

I neither have done, that I wot of, nor willingly intend to do, blame him for any part of this charitable motion... but think his motion right good, and that the fruit thereof, if it be followed, will be more yet than himself saith he mindeth. For 35

6 *clean and clear*: completely and absolutely // *untouched*: unimpugned  
 10, 15 *advertise(ment)*: admonish(ment) 13 *have*: i.e., has the means  
 18, 23 *move(th)*: propose(s) 19 *by and by*: right away 20 *fault*: transgression  
 21 *would it should seem*: would have it seem (that) 24 *forward*: go forward  
 25, 34 *blame*: rebuke; chide 27 *directly*: per se; as such  
 27 *only intendeth*: is only endeavoring 28 *right expedient*: very advantageous  
 31 *all manner*: every kind 33 *willingly*: deliberately 34, 35 *motion*: proposal  
 35 *fruit*: benefit; profit 36 *mindeth*: has in mind; is aiming at

he saith, as you see, that he mindeth but to change obits and  
 trentals and those other things into “a more charitable order”—  
 that is to wit, into paying of debts and recompensing of  
 wrongs, in them that have not of their own besides; and in  
 them that have, then to pay the debts and recompense wrongs 5  
 first and do the other after. But methinketh there will come  
 yet a further profit of this order, too. For whereas here we speak  
 but of him that payeth his debt and recompenseth his wrongs—of  
 which folk many a man is able well to do the other when both  
 those twain be done—there is the other sort of men also, 10  
 besides, to *whom* those wrongs are done, and those debts  
 owing, of which sort there be many that if their wrongs  
 were once recompensed them, and their debts paid them, were  
 able and would do those other things also themselves, which  
 now, for lack, be not able; and so should there of likelihood be the 15  
 self things that bring (as his first book saith) riches into the  
 Church, by this good order increased. And therefore not only  
 have I no cause to blame this good man for the motion of this  
 good “charitable” order... but also no more have the multitude  
 of the priests, which might of likelihood win as much by 20  
 this way as by the other, and more, except the multitude of  
 priests would, for the readiness to take it where it is already, move  
 them that have it to do these other things first and leave their  
 debts unpaid and their wrongs unrecompensed—which that the  
 multitude of priests do, I never heard yet any honest layman 25  
 that would for very shame say. For I think it were hard to  
 meet with a priest that were so wretched but that if he were asked  
 in that point his advice and counsel, he would in so plain a point,  
 though it were but for very shame, well and plainly counsel the  
 truth. And if percase there were some found so shameless 30  
 that they would give counsel contrary—yet am I very sure they  
 should be far the fewer part... and not, as this good man’s  
 first book saith, the more part and the “multitude.”  
 And therefore, since this order that this good man here moveth  
 is so good and so charitable—I never blamed him for the motion. 35  
 But though this motion in this book be good—I might well,

4 *have not*: i.e., do not have means      10, 12 *sort*: group; set  
 16 *self*: very same // *richesse*: wealth      19, 21, 25 *multitude*: majority  
 20 *which . . . win*: who could probably get      21 *except*: unless  
 22 *move*: exhort      25 *honest*: honorable  
 26 *that . . . say*: not consider an utterly shameful thing to say  
 26 *were*: would be      27 *meet with*: encounter; come across // *that were*: who was  
 29 *well and*: good and; quite      30 *percase*: by chance

and so I did, blame his other book... not for this motion, but for  
 another matter, that is because it labored under pretext of an  
 untrue report to bring the spirituality in slander and  
 obloquy among the temporalty by making men ween that of  
 this charitable order which he now moveth, the multitude of  
 the spirituality induced men to the contrary. 5

This is, lo, the thing that I blamed. And therefore, like as this  
 good man saith that one plaster cannot heal all sores—so  
 surely this same salve of this good, charitable motion cannot  
 serve this good, charitable man to salve and heal well this  
 uncharitable sore. 10

In this motion, of this charitable order, this good man  
 waxeth so warm that of a good zeal he falleth in remembrance  
 of the soul (which our Lord pardon) of the most noble prince  
 of very famous memory King Henry VII, father to the  
 most excellent prince our sovereign lord the king that now  
 is; wherein, after mention made of obits and chantries letting  
 the due examination requisite for restitution, suddenly  
 thus he saith: 15

Howbeit, the right noble prince of blessed memory King Henry VII,  
 father of our sovereign lord the king that now is, willed  
 restitutions to be made. But how his will was performed I cannot tell.  
 Howbeit, whatsoever was done therein, I suppose his good intent  
 sufficeth to him. 20

What if this good man cannot tell? By likelihood there is  
 nothing owing to him thereof. For if there were—then were it  
 likely that he could tell. For he could tell then that all the will  
 were not performed. I have heard, I wot well, that the king our  
 sovereign lord delivered great substance into the executors'  
 hands to fulfill the will with. Which how they have bestowed,  
 this good man may, if he have the authority, call them  
 to the reckoning. And if he neither have authority to call for  
 the account nor have nothing owing to him neither—the  
 matter then toucheth not him so near, nor so specially pertaineth  
 unto him, that he should greatly need to give all the 25  
 30  
 35

1 *blame*: find fault with    2 *that*: which // *labored*: endeavored  
 3 *report*: rumor    3–4 *in slander and obloquy*: into discredit and ill repute  
 8 *plaster*: medicinal application bandaged on    8, 11 *sore(s)*: wound(s)  
 13 *waxeth so warm*: gets so heated // *in*: into    14, 16, 20 *prince*: monarch  
 16–17 *the king that now is*: the current king    17 *letting*: obstructing  
 25 *what*: i.e., so what

world warning thus, that himself is not made of counsel  
how the King's will is performed.

But here will this good man say that I do but mock him; wherein  
I will not greatly stick with him. But surely, for my poor wit,  
methinketh it somewhat more civility, in some such points as 5  
this is, a little merrily to mock him than with odious earnest  
arguments seriously to press upon him. Which I would  
also be very loath to do for charging of mine own conscience.  
And therefore in all things that methink are of great weight,  
though I touch his words, I accuse not his own mind and 10  
intent. For in good faith, I have of the man good trust that he  
meaneth no worse, but would allthing were well himself; but  
evermore my mind giveth me that some wily shrews abuse the  
good man's simplicity.

*The Tenth Chapter* 15

His tenth chapter beginneth in the 33<sup>rd</sup> leaf, wherein he  
toucheth certain words of mine written in the twenty-seventh chapter  
of mine *Apology*, that beginneth folio 162, wherein he varieth  
not much with me, saving in that I say that if the prelates of the  
Church would withdraw from their worldly countenance, as is 20  
keeping of honest laymen in their service, and keeping of a  
good, worshipful table, and would bestow their plate and the most  
part of all their movables at once upon poor folk, and yearly  
after, the most of their yearly revenues too—of which mind I  
said I durst warrant well that some prelates be, if that would, 25  
as I say there, amend all these grudges—that I durst be  
bold to warrant as well also that if the prelates so did, “the  
selfsame folk that now grudge and call them proud for their  
countenance would then find as great a grudge, and call them  
hypocrites for, their alms, and would say that they spend 30  
upon naughty beggars the good that was wont to keep good  
yeomen, and that thereby they both enfeeble and also dishonor  
the realm.”

Upon these words of mine this good man maketh me, forsooth,

1 *warning*: notification    4 *stick*: argue // *wit*: mind    6 *merrily*: jocularly; jovially  
8 *charging*: (fear of) burdening    10, 17 *touch(eth)*: criticize(s)    12 *worse*: harm  
13 *shrews*: scoundrels    18 *varieth*: disagrees    19 *saving*: except  
20 *withdraw from*: cut back on // *countenance*: bearing  
21 *honest*: honorable; upstanding    22 *worshipful*: respectable // *plate*: gold and silver  
23 *movables*: portable possessions    25 *durst warrant well*: well dared guarantee  
26 *grudges*: resentments    26–27 *be bold*: venture    28 *grudge*: grumble  
29 *a grudge*: an offense    31 *naughty*: worthless // *good*: money

a full goodly sermon, in the 35<sup>th</sup> leaf of his book... where he begetteth it with these words “I cannot see.” And verily, if he had there left and gone no further, it had been well enough. For as for the thing that he speaketh of, it appeareth by his words he cannot see very well indeed. 5

Because Christ commandeth in the Gospel that we shall not judge... and that Saint Paul saith also, “Who art thou that judgest another man’s servant?”... and again biddeth us that we “judge not before the time”—all which places are understood of judging certain and determinate persons to do evil in the things that we see them do, where the things be but indifferent of themselves and may be done not evilly only but well also—this good man therefore layeth these texts to touch me for judging that some folk whom I neither assign by name nor as yet know not who they be will do evil hereafter by misjudging other men. 10 15

I ween verily that Saint Paul himself, at the time when he forbade us to judge before the time, did even then judge that some would after that misjudge, and judge before the time, too.

And albeit that our Savior saith that whoso call his brother “fool” is guilty to the fire—yet he meant not of him that would say that there were some fools abroad in the world. For if he so meant—then would there not ten fires be pain enough for him that wrote these words in the Scripture: “There are of fools an infinite number.” 20 25

And because this good man useth sometimes this figure of examination, “I would wit of Master More this and that,” I would now wit this one thing of this good man. Such faults as he findeth with the spirituality, written in his book of *Division*—whether did he then judge that some of the spirituality would fall in them anymore after, or not? If he judged that all their fantasies toward those faults were already past before, and that none of them would never do more so: then had he little cause to write all that work upon them. 30

And on the other side, if he judged that some of them would 35

1 *full goodly*: quite sizable    3 *there left*: there left off; left it at that  
 4 *appeareth by his words*: his words make it evident that  
 6–9: Luke 6:37; Romans 14:4; 1 Corinthians 4:5.    10 *determinate*: specific  
 11 *indifferent*: neutral    13 *layeth*: cites // *touch*: criticize  
 14 *assign*: specify    18 *even*: right    20–21: Matthew 5:22.  
 21 *guilty*: liable // *meant not of*: did not have in mind    22 *abroad*: out there  
 24–25: Ecclesiastes 1:15.    31 *fantasies*: inclinations  
 34 *all that*: that whole // *upon*: about    35 *side*: hand

afterward do some such things again, either but if he gave  
 them warning or else though he did—as I dare say, whatsoever  
 himself say, in some of those things he did—then, since  
 the time in which he judged in his mind, and made himself thereof  
 sure, that some of them would do some such evil things afterward 5  
 as were at the time of the same judgment of his mind  
 not common, himself fell, as you see, by his own argument, in the  
 danger of that prohibition that himself bringeth in, by  
 which Saint Paul forbiddeth, and saith, “Nolite ante tempus  
 iudicare” (“Judge you not before the time”). 10

Now, if he say that I *tell* whom I mean, though not by name,  
 yet by a sign and a token, in that I say even “the same” will then  
 call them hypocrites for their alms that now call them  
 proud for their worldly countenance: he must consider  
 that I neither tell nor *can* tell who be they; nor, though I say “the 15  
 same,” I say not yet “all the same.” And therefore I no more misjudge  
 any man determinately and in certain than he that  
 would say thus, as many men say indeed: “Even they that go  
 now full fresh in their guarded hose and their gay golden,  
 riven shirts, and in their silken sleeves, that naught have to 20  
 bear it out but gaming, will once, I warrant you, fall from  
 gaming to stealing, and start straight out of silk into hemp.” Thus  
 saith and thus judgeth, ye wot well, many a man—and yet  
 meaneth not that it shall so mishap them all, but that some  
 shall amend and do better... and that yet his word will be 25  
 verified in many; and so doth it prove indeed; and he that so  
 saith before is far enough from the danger of all those  
 texts which this good man preacheth to me.

But then he saith further, that he trusteth that those prelates  
 whom I say I durst warrant to be of such mind “will not 30  
 defer their good purpose for no such suspicion that haply  
 will never come, nor yet for no such uncharitable words  
 though they were spoken indeed.” And thereupon he descendeth  
 to the making of acts of Parliament.

If those prelates that I mean of reckoned themselves very sure that 35

4–5 *made . . . sure*: assured himself thereof    8, 27 *danger*: jurisdiction    12 *even*: exactly  
 17 *determinately*: specifically // *in certain*: in particular    18 *even they*: those very ones  
 19 *full fresh*: all decked out // *guarded*: trimmed // *gay*: showy  
 20 *riven*: ornamentally slashed    21 *bear it out*: support it    21, 22 *gaming*: gambling  
 21 *once*: one day    22 *start*: suddenly go // *hemp*: i.e., a noose    25 *word*: statement  
 33–34 *descendeth to*: goes into    35 *mean of*: have in mind

all the wit and the learning that is in the world, or within this realm either, were either in their own heads or in this good man's and mine—which, peradventure, for mine own mind, could agree well with this good man in this point, and advise those prelates that I speak of to follow their own mind therein, and out of hand even so to do—then have I little doubt but that they would even so do indeed. But some of them have offer been, as I suppose, than once where they have heard both wise and good folk too—and peradventure yet should hear again if it were, as this man would have it, spoken of in the plain, open Parliament—that would not fail to dissuade it, and lay no little causes why. 5

But I will not at this time with this good man enter in this matter into serious, earnest arguments. But I shall show him a good merry cause wherefore that though I be of his mind therein, yet I dare not advise them thereto. The cause is that I see them have so great desire and fervent concupiscence toward it that I am afraid to counsel them follow it, because of the Scripture that saith, “Post concupiscentias tuas ne eas” (“After thy concupiscences go thou not”). 10 15 20

I will make no longer tale upon this matter. For if you read my twenty-seventh chapter, in which my words are that we now dispute upon, I trust you shall not think them so very far out of the way but that they may be written without offense of Christ's Gospel well enough. 25

And also, concerning this word “proud worldly countenance,” whereof we speak here—vouchsafe, good readers, to read my thirtieth chapter of mine *Apology*, which beginneth in the leaf 174.

### *The Eleventh Chapter* 30

His eleventh chapter beginneth in the 36<sup>th</sup> leaf... wherein first he showeth that I rehearse right and construe amiss this word of his “And therefore.”

You shall find my words, good readers, upon these whole

1 *wit*: intelligence    3 *for mine own mind*: as I see it    5 *mind*: inclination  
 6 *out of hand*: then and there    6, 7 *even so (to) do*: (to) do just that    8 *offer*: more often  
 9 *wise*: sensible    15 *merry*: humorous    19–20: Sirach 18:30.    21 *tale*: discourse  
 24 *offense*: violation    26 *word*: term    27 *vouchsafe . . . to*: be so good . . . as to; please  
 32 *showeth*: claims // *rehearse right*: quote correctly // *amiss*: incorrectly  
 32 *word*: phrase    34 *upon*: regarding



words that he rehearseth here, in the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth chapters of mine *Apology*; of which the one beginneth folio 183, and the other beginneth folio 184.

Here this man declareth that the words of his book, which here also he well and truly rehearseth, do not import that himself saith the thing which I by those words (and among others, by this word “therefore”) affirm there that he saith, as of himself; but he saith that the words prove plainly that he saith it but only of the report of much other folk’s thinking, and not as of his own saying. 5  
10

Surely neither now nor in any place of mine *Apology*, I neither have done nor intend to charge this man that his mind and purpose was such in his intent as the great likelihood of his words would give men occasion to think. But, on the other side, that the words have given me good occasion and sufficient to say as I there have said... whoso read the said two chapters of mine *Apology* shall by the whole circumstance of the matter very well, I suppose, perceive. And you shall, over that, if after those two chapters read, you return to his own declaration here in his eleventh chapter, well perceive also that to cover slyly that oversight of his (for surely I think it was none other), he leaveth out properly in one place this word “therefore” whereupon a good piece of all the matter hangeth. For in the end of the 26<sup>th</sup> leaf, lo, thus he handleth wilily the matter: 15  
20  
25

And in that he saith that I say plainly those words myself... he saith plainly against the letter of the said treatise... which is that “they have punished many persons, which *much people* have judged them to do upon will”; and not that I said so myself.

Now, good readers, in *this* rehearsal of his own words, he rehearseth his own words wrong. For here he leaveth out, as I told you, the word that maketh the matter. Which he rehearsed himself in the whole context before. For his words were not that “they have punished many persons, which much people have judged 30

1 *words*: expressions    4 *declareth*: explains    5 *well and truly*: quite accurately  
5, 31 *rehearseth*: quotes    5 *import*: imply    9 *much*: many  
12 *charge this man*: make against this man the charge    13 *mind*: thinking  
13 *likelihood*: indication    19 *over*: besides    20 *declaration*: explanation  
21 *oversight*: slip    22 *none other*: nothing else // *properly*: specifically  
23 *piece*: amount // *all the matter*: the whole issue // *hangeth*: depends  
27 *letter*: literal meaning    29 *upon will*: arbitrarily; just because they wanted to  
33 *context*: section

them to do upon will,” but that “therefore they have punished many persons, which much people have judged them to do upon will,” etc. Now, when he saith *himself* that they have punished many “therefore,” that is to wit, for the same cause; and hath before also showed a cause of his own divination too, and hath used the same word “therefore” in the same fashion before; and this word “therefore,” which signifieth “for the same cause,” hath here in his last clause no necessary place to the complement of the sentence following: it appeareth that he saith therein two things— both that they therefore (that is to say, for the same cause next before spoken of, the cause that himself there imagineth) have punished many... and also that (as he saith it so) much people judged the same.

And this shall you the more clearly mark if you turn these words “And therefore they have punished many, which much people,” etc., into these words (whereof the sentence is all one): “And for that cause they have punished many, which much people,” etc.

And therefore—that is to say, for that cause which I before told you (that is to wit, that you should not perceive this point)—this man in his last rehearsal, as you have heard, bringing the thing to the trial, left his “therefore” out. But read my said two chapters... and then as for the sentence of his open words, I trust you shall believe me. As for the secret meaning of his mind, I pray you believe him. For so that you believe not the shrewd words of his book, I would, too, choose you should believe well of the good man himself.

Now, where he saith in the 37<sup>th</sup> leaf that he thinketh I change his matter because I would be loath to have it “reported that much people take it so”—verily, I change not his matter. But truth it is that I *am* loath to have that thing so reported about. For truly the report abroad is naught although it were not untrue.

And whereas for the farther maintenance of his matter, he saith that if I make “search therein to know the truth,” I shall

8 *place to the complement*: role in the completing      9 *appeareth*: is evident  
 10 *next*: immediately      16, 23 *sentence*: meaning      16 *all one*: entirely the same  
 21 *rehearsal*: quoting      22 *trial*: examination      25 *pray you*: beseech you to  
 25 *so*: provided // *shrewd*: wicked      29, 31, 34 *matter*: text      32 *naught*: bad  
 32 *although*: even      34 *maintenance*: support

“find” that “much people” take it so—that many which have been  
 punished for heresy, the spirituality have done it of no love,  
 but of will, for such evil mind as in the book is there  
 imagined of them—he hath of likelihood himself made search  
 to find it so. For as for me, though I go not about to search 5  
 that point of purpose—yet I have talked with many one in  
 this meanwhile, and yet, I thank God, it is not my fortune to find  
 out that same “much people” that take it so. And if there were  
 much people that so did, it were their own fault; wherein I  
 cannot devise what the spirituality might do to change them, 10  
 but only pray God to amend them. And as for me, if there  
 were much people that so took it, as I trust in God verily there  
 is not—I would, as my duty were, be surely very sorry for them;  
 but in this cause of truth, truly I would not flatter them. For  
 though that sort of people were never so much indeed—yet is 15  
 the truth in that point so clear against them that if their  
 minds were such, it were both great shame for them to say  
 it and also great sin to think it.

And surely that their saying is false and naught in his  
 own secret judgment... you may see, good readers, by this: that he 20  
 laboreth so sore to put it from himself and would be so loath  
 to have it taken for his own. And therefore, while himself  
 thought their saying so false, he should not have told it after  
 them. Nor now should he not send me to search and seek  
 them, but to save his own honesty—lest men might think 25  
 he feigned—he should seek out and bring forth some of those  
 shrewd sayers himself.

Another thing this man toucheth in the same chapter,  
 concerning that second sort of people whom I say, in some  
 places of mine *Apology*, that this man calleth politiques. And 30  
 here he declareth that he doth not so... and proveth it by like  
 words spoken of a good man’s mouth by a hypocrite, of  
 whom a man may say, “This man useth himself as he were  
 a virtuous man”... and yet call him not virtuous. And so might  
 this man say that they spoke heresies “as of policy,” and yet call 35  
 them not politic.

3 *of will*: at their pleasure // *mind*: intent 4 *imagined*: supposed  
 4 *of likelihood*: probably 6 *of*: on // *many one*: i.e., many a one 7 *yet*: as yet; so far  
 14 *truth*: (preserving) orthodoxy 15 *much*: many 19, 23 *saying*: assertion  
 19 *naught*: wicked 21 *laboreth so sore*: tries so hard // *put*: displace 22 *while*: when  
 25 *honesty*: honor / good name 26 *feigned*: fibbed; made this up  
 27 *shrewd sayers*: bad-mouthers 28 *toucheth*: criticizes 32 *spoken of*: spoken by  
 32 *by*: about 33 *useth himself as*: acts as if 35 *policy*: prudence; i.e., self-protection

But here must he now consider that whoso speak such words  
 in such fashion by a hypocrite saith it in his dispraise and in  
 detestation of such hypocrisy... and therefore he that so  
 saith showeth that by such words he taketh not that hypocrite for  
 virtuous. And therefore read, good readers, this man's whole  
 process of his three sorts of people together, which you shall  
 find in the twenty-first chapter of mine *Apology*, folio 123... and then  
 if you find his words of their speaking such heresies "as of  
 policy" in like manner spoken by him in dispraise of heretics  
 as he putteth here his example of those words spoken by a  
 good man in dispraise of hypocrites... and not spoken by a way  
 of giving them by that word "as of policy" a colorable excuse  
 for defense of sowing their heresy: then am I content that  
 every man take it that I misreport him shamefully. And  
 else, I trust, look in all the places in which I speak thereof, and  
 you shall soon judge that upon his words used to such purpose  
 as he there useth them, I may well use the words of "his  
 politiques" in such wise as I use it.

And as for the tinker and the tiler, that he speaketh of in the  
 end of the chapter, and saith, "God forbid but that they were  
 dismissed and went home about their business, if they can  
 by any reasonable and true allegiance so order themselves  
 that it may appear that they ought to be dismissed of justice":  
 therein hold I well with him and God-forbid else too... for else  
 might they lose between them, the one the price of his  
 trowel, and the other of his clouted kettle. But look, good readers,  
 in mine *Apology*, the forty-eighth chapter, which beginneth folio  
 272... and that done, I doubt not but you shall find for the  
 tiler and the tinker... for heresy there called in of office, this  
 good word so spoken here but a very vain word of office...  
 and that the tinker would have tinked out of his pan's  
 bottom a reason that would at the leastwise ring a little better  
 than this.

2 *by*: about    3 *detestation*: denunciation    6 *process*: discussion  
 12 *word*: expression // *colorable*: plausible    16 *upon*: on the basis of  
 19 *tinker*: a repairer of pots and kettles // *tiler*: a person who lays or makes tiles  
 22 *allegiance*: citation of evidence // *order*: comport    23 *appear*: become obvious  
 24 *hold*: side    26 *clouted*: patched    29 *of office* (usually expressed in the Latin—"ex  
 officio"): by virtue of the very nature of the bishop's duty    30 *good word*: pious expression  
 30 *word of office*: handy expression    32 *reason*: argument

*The Twelfth Chapter*

His twelfth chapter beginneth in the 38<sup>th</sup> leaf... which because  
it is a good, sweet sermon and a short, made unto myself,  
to put me in remembrance how I should bear the like light  
faults of other men as I sometimes fall in myself—I shall take his  
chapter in here even whole. Lo, good readers, thus it saith: 5

Master More, in the 217<sup>th</sup> leaf of his *Apology*, speaking of defaults  
that, as he thinketh, should have been laid for causes of this division,  
concludeth thus: “If there be such a division”—whereby it appeareth that  
he doubteth whether there be any division or not; for this conjunction 10  
“if” purporteth always a doubt. And after, in the same *Apology*,  
folio 241, he confesseth plainly that there *is* a division... and maketh  
no doubt at it—and he calleth it there the “late-sprung division.” And  
so, in one place to make a doubt whether there be such a division or  
not... and in another to agree that there is such a division... 15  
seemeth to be a variance and contradiction in itself. Howbeit,  
surely I do not intend to lay that variance to him as for any notable  
default; for a like thing may soon happen in any man by a light  
oversight. But the cause why I speak of it is this: to put him in remembrance  
that he hereafter ought the rather to bear such light 20  
defaults of others the more charitably... since he himself hath likewise  
been overseen. For we be all frail, ignorant, and unstable... though  
we be esteemed, and taken, as angels in our conversation. And therefore  
is it said in the First Book of *The Following of Christ*, the sixteenth  
chapter, that no man is in this world without default, no man without 25  
burden, no man sufficient to himself, no man wise enough of  
himself. Wherefore it behooveth each one of us to bear the burden of  
other, to comfort other, to help other, to inform other, and to  
instruct and admonish other in all charity. And if we will note well  
the said words, we shall the sooner learn this lesson: to do in all 30  
things as we would be done to; and to do nothing that we would not  
have done to us. And that is, as I take it, one of the most sovereign  
doctrines that is... to instruct a man how he shall in everything  
concerning his neighbor keep himself in a clear conscience,  
learn it whoso may. 35

5 *in*: into    6 *even*: quite    7, 21, etc. *default(s)*: fault(s); failing(s)  
8, 9, etc. *division*: discord; dissension    9 *appeareth*: is made evident  
13 *late-sprung*: recently arisen    16 *variance*: inconsistency    17 *lay*: charge  
18, 20 *light*: slight; little    19 *oversight*: inadvertence  
22 *overseen*: in inadvertent error    23 *conversation*: behavior  
33 *that is*: i.e., that there is

Lo, good readers, first he bringeth forth mine oversight, in contradiction used between mine own words... and after, with good words and fair, excuseth my fault, by such oversight of frailty as may soon happen in a man. And then he putteth me after in remembrance that I must bear such things the more charitably in other men, since I am overseen likewise myself. He fareth, in all this tale, as though we sat together playing at post. For first he casteth my contradiction as a vie, to wit whether I would give it over with a face. And because that will not be, falleth after to entreaty, and would fain part the stake and divide all such oversights between us. But all this is in vain; for I am as sure of this game, and there lay twenty pounds upon it, as he that hath three aces in his hand.

For look, good readers, in his own first chapter of this book of his, and there shall you see the thing that shall serve me sufficiently showed even by his own words—that there is no such contradiction in mine. And then look mine answer to the same... and then shall you see it yet more clearly. Or else, if any man be loath to turn the leaves and look back—ye shall need to take no business in turning back at all. For he assoileth his argument himself against himself, even in the making thereof, and all with one word unawares.

For now read it again... and you shall see that he saith himself, in the one place I say “If there be any such division.” And so, because this conjunction “if,” he saith, importeth always a doubt—therefore he saith that, folio 217, I doubt whether there be any such division or not. And after, he saith that in the other place I confess that there *is* a division... and call it there the “late-sprung division.” Lo, now he forgetteth this little, short word, this monosyllable “such,” which he rehearsed first in bringing forth my first place... and then by and by, either of forgetfulness or else of wiliness, leaveth out in his illation that he maketh upon the same words of mine.

Now, good readers, you see well that to say there is a division, and to say there is no *such* division, be nothing contrary at all. For I did indeed not deny but that some division there

2 *used*: carried out    3 *fair*: nice    4 *soon*: easily

8 *post*: a card game, in which a hand consists of three cards // *casteth*: throws down

8 a *vie*: a bet on the goodness of his own hand // *wit*: see    9 *give it over*: concede it

9 *face*: bluff    10–11 *would* . . . *stake*: would like to split the stakes

11 *oversights*: blunders    16 *even*: just    17 *look*: i.e., look at    20 *business*: trouble

21 *assoileth*: refutes    25 *importeth*: implies    29 *forgetteth*: leaves out    31 *place*: text

31 *by and by*: immediately after    33 *illation*: inference // *upon*: on the basis of

35 *nothing*: in no way

was—that is to wit, some little variance in some place begun, and by some few naughty folk blown forth too far (for a little way is too far in such a thing). But then mean I a division such as it is, not such a division as this man by his book maketh it. I may well without contradiction say to him, “There is a division”... and yet say that there is no such division as he speaketh of. For it is not all one to say there is a division and to say there is such a division. 5

Now, if I would stick with him upon trifles, I could prove him that “if” doth *not* always purport a doubt, as he saith that it always doth, but is sometimes used to confirm a certainty. As if a man say, “He that dieth in deadly sin shall go to the devil, if God’s word be true,” doubteth not of the truth of God’s word... but *by* the truth thereof, meaneth to confirm the damnation of them that die in deadly sin. 10 15

But I say not this as though it should be like in mine. For I do not indeed take “if” there in such fashion. And therefore I will not do here by “if” as this man doth by “as,” in his chapter next before, in heresies spoken “as” of policy... using the example of words spoken by a good man in reproaching of hypocrisy, to be like his own words spoken in the diminishing of their blame that under such pretext of policy... would speak, and sow about, plain and open heresy. I need here no such ways for my words. For here have you seen yourselves, by his own words, that there is in my words no contradiction at all. 20 25

### *The Thirteenth Chapter*

His thirteenth chapter beginneth in the 39<sup>th</sup> leaf; and by the rehearsing of divers words of his own in divers other places of his book, here he declareth his mind that he intended not in his book of *Division* to bring in among the people any hatred against the spirituality. 30

Now indeed, I do myself declare expressly, in many places of mine *Apology*, that whatsoever words I speak therein, yet I meant evermore the intent of his *book*, and not of his person. And 35

2 *naughty*: bad    5 *maketh it*: i.e., makes it out to be    7 *all one*: one and the same  
 9 *would stick*: wanted to bicker    12, 15 *deadly*: mortal  
 13 *doubteth* . . . *truth*: does not doubt the trueness    18 *next*: right; immediately  
 19 *in*: regarding    19, 22 *policy*: prudence; i.e., self-protection    29 *divers*: several  
 29 *words*: statements

although that in some places I say “the Pacifier here doth this or that to this evil purpose or that”—yet I mean ever the *deed* his, the malice of the purpose some other wily shrews’ . . . which, not being fully of so good Catholic mind as I think always this man is himself (which openly dispraiseth these new-broached heresies, and with detestation of them rehearseth them by name), have abused his plain simplicity . . . making him ween, good soul, that while he did put in, of his own good mind, these good words which he rehearseth here, and with them here and there in some sundry places prettily powder the book, it could not be taken that there were any hurt meant in the whole work together, how evil words and how malicious soever the subtle shrews made him stuff up the book with besides. Was not that a sinful wily way of them, to beguile a good simple soul so? For it is easy to see that if the good man were not of himself very simple and plain, those double, wily shrews could never deceive him so as to make him ween that these words which he rehearseth here in his thirteenth chapter were any manner token that his book of *Division* meant not to bring the clergy in hatred among the people.

For who were there that, so intending, would yet for shame utterly say that there were *none* good . . . and not rather, to keep his credence in slandering the body, would cast in sometimes an exception of some? In such craft is no great sleight. It is but a common, plain point, and as easy to spy as a long nose upon a little face; especially while, as clearly as he saith that there be many good, yet, as you may see, folio 238 of mine *Apology*, he saith plainly that it is hard to find any one without that point that (if he say therein true) the very best is very naught, and as bad as a very beast. And for the further proof of this point, read mine answer to his seventeenth chapter in this book.

And whereas he speaketh here of the fear that he would every man should have of “the least censures of the Church” as though he therein meant much the favor of spiritual men—consider the place even here in his new book where he speaketh of inquisitions of heresies, in the eighteenth chapter, and you shall well perceive

3, 13, 16 *shrews*: scoundrels; creeps    5 *which*: who // *dispraiseth*: deprecates  
 6 *new-broached*: newly launched // *detestation*: denunciation // *rehearseth*: mentions  
 7 *abused*: wrongly taken advantage of; exploited // *plain*: manifest    8 *while*: when  
 10 *prettily powder*: nicely besprinkle    11 *hurt*: harm    12 *subtle*: insidiously sly  
 14 *iwis*: certainly    16 *double*: duplicitous    18 *manner*: kind of  
 19 *token*: evidence // *in*: into    21 *for shame*: i.e., be so shameless as to  
 23 *credence*: credibility // *the body*: the bulk (of the clergy) // *cast*: throw  
 24 *craft*: deviousness // *sleight*: trickery    25 *plain*: ordinary // *point*: instance  
 26 *while*: since    28–29 *that point that*: that trait on account of which  
 29 *naught*: wicked    35 *even*: right  
 35–36 *inquisitions of*: judicial investigations concerning



that they that made him there put those words in meant  
 little good to the clergy. For it is there laid in a matter full  
 childishly to their charge... as though they would have all the  
 justices of the peace and all the juries of the realm accursed  
 for inquiring of heresy. 5

But yet is it of all things a very special pleasure to see how he  
 useth here for a plain, apparent proof of his good mind toward  
 the spirituality that he wisheth well for them and  
 prayeth God to "send" them, "abundantly," "zeal of souls, pity,  
 good doctrine, and devout prayer." And saith that "then a new  
 light of grace should shortly shine," etc.; and that he saith also  
 that it is "great pity," and much "to be lamented," that the  
 spirituality do not fast and pray, and do other good deeds, to  
 cease the division with... but that "all that ever they do therein,  
 most commonly, is that they take it that they that find default at  
 their abusions and disorder love no priests, but do all of  
 malice that they do, to destroy the Church and to have their  
 goods and possessions themselves," and that "therefore the clergy  
 think it a good deed to see them punished," and "therefore"  
 (that is to say, for that same cause) "have they punished many  
 persons, which much people judge to have been done of will," etc.  
 And saith also that they do "continue still after their old  
 course, pretending by confederacies, worldly policy, and  
 strait corrections to rule the people." Whereas he useth these  
 things (which I have here rehearsed out of his thirteenth chapter of  
 this his new book, and somewhat made them more plain with  
 adding thereto his own other words written in his *Division*) as  
 you may read in mine *Apology*, folio 158, in the twenty-sixth chapter  
 (and answered there at length, in the same chapter and divers  
 others, in order there ensuing, of which this man hath answered  
 to some very little, and to the most part, and the chief part,  
 nothing), now is he so simple that he useth the same things  
 for a proof that he beareth the clergy very good will and mindeth  
 not to bring them in obloquy... which he would we should  
 take for a thing plainly proved because he pitieth and lamenteth  
 them therein, and so bitterly prayeth God to make them  
 good and amend them. 35

2-3 *laid* . . . *charge*: very childishly leveled against them as a charge in a case  
 4 *accursed*: excommunicated    5 *inquiring of heresy*: holding heresy inquests  
 7 *apparent*: clear // *mind*: attitude    9 *of*: for // *pity*: compassion; mercy  
 15 *default at*: fault with    16 *abusions*: wrongdoings // *disorder*: mismanagement  
 21 *of will*: just for their own gratification    23 *pretending*: attempting  
 23 *confederacies*: conspiracies // *policy*: craftiness; cunning  
 24 *strait corrections*: severe punishments    32 *simple*: dim-witted  
 33-34 *mindeth not to*: does not intend to; is not out to    34 *in obloquy*: into disrepute  
 34 *would we should*: would have us    36 *so . . . to*: prays so hard that God

This good man many times taketh record of his own conscience  
 that he meaneth well, in such things as his words  
 make many good men ween that he meant very naught. And  
 therefore will I now be bold in this point to take record of his  
 own conscience, whether himself, if one that knew his  
 name would write such a work so touching him as his  
 work of *Division* toucheth there the clergy... and would therein, 5  
 under so many “some say”s, say that he were as evil as he saith  
 there that they be (for worse could lightly no man say), would  
 himself hold him satisfied and think that that writer meant 10  
 him no harm because he powdered his shrewd slanderous  
 “some say”s with lamenting and pitying that the man  
 is no better. And would he ween, by his troth, that the  
 writer meant not to call him graceless, because he prayed God  
 abundantly to send him grace? Nor to call him witless, 15  
 because he prayeth God send him wit? Surely if he can think  
 so—then shall he well show himself so simple a soul as men  
 may well see that some wily shrews beguile him. And, on the  
 other side, if he be wiser than to think so—then he well  
 showeth himself more wily in this same thirteenth chapter of his 20  
 than to mean so well in his work of *Division* as he would here  
 make men ween.

Now, where he saith these words—

Also I say not, in all the said treatise, that the spirituality make  
 confederacies against the temporality... but I say that they “continue  
 still after the old course” in not doing good deeds, but “pretending  
 by confederacies, worldly policy, and strait corrections to rule the  
 people” . . . 25

—who could write thus but either he that were a man of very  
 innocent simpleness or he that intendeth to mock of a  
 shrewd, wily doubleness? For (saving that his word “pretending” 30  
 signifieth not indeed the thing that he, for lack of language,  
 pretendeth here thereby) to go about not to do good to the  
 people, but by confederacies with wiliness and strait corrections  
 to rule the people—what thing calleth he this but confederacies 35  
 against the people?

1, 4–5 *take(th)* . . . *conscience*: calls his own conscience to witness      3 *naught*: ill  
 4 *be bold*: venture      5–6 *if* . . . *would*: i.e., if someone who knew who he is were to  
 6 *touching*: censuring      8 *so*: as      9 *lightly*: probably      10 *hold him*: consider himself  
 11 *powdered*: interspersed      11, 31 *shrewd*: cunning      13, 22 *ween*: think  
 13 *by his troth*: upon his word; in all seriousness      14 *graceless*: not in the state of grace  
 17 *simple*: naïve      19 *wiser*: more intelligent      30 *simpleness*: mental deficiency  
 31 *doubleness*: duplicity      33 *pretendeth*: professes

Howbeit, since this chapter goeth but to the discharging of his own personal intent, that he meant not himself maliciously whatsoever his book speak—I will not, therefore, wrestle against it much, but would he were well believed in that thing. But yet if you read the places of mine *Apology* and compare them with such parts of his book as I there speak of—ye shall well and clearly see that, though the man in his own mind meant it not himself, yet the thing that I say *was* the meaning of his *book*. 5

*The Fourteenth Chapter* 10

His fourteenth chapter beginneth in the 42<sup>nd</sup> leaf. In the beginning thereof he laboreth to prove that he did not (as I in mine *Apology* say that he did) go about in his book of *Division* to make men ween that the spiritual judges in this realm handled men for heresy so cruelly that all the world had cause to wonder and grudge thereat; which thing that I should so say, this good man much marveleth at. 15

For I said no more [saith he] but that it were pity it should be so, and that it should be true that is reported, that there should be such a desire in spiritual men to have men abjure, or to have men have extreme punishment for, heresy... as it is said that there is. 20

Read, good readers, the forty-fifth chapter of mine *Apology*, beginning folio 243, and then shall you find this answer of his a very bare, naked thing. This man answereth here as though he trusted that all the world were woodcocks save himself... and that his fair figure of “some say” were so wilily found that men had not the wit to see thereby what his book meaneth, and what work it goeth about. But this I doubt not, but that if either himself or such another man would devise me such another book either against the nobility of the realm or against the judges of the same, or against the high court of Parliament itself—which were soon done if a man in like wise list to slander and to belie them... nor it could not, I wot well, whatsoever he said therein, be lightly worse or more false than that 25 30

1 *goeth but to*: goes about only // *discharging*: exonerating    5 *places*: (relevant) passages  
 7 *well and*: quite // *though*: even if    12 *laboreth*: strives    14 *spiritual*: ecclesiastical  
 16 *wonder*: look aghast // *grudge*: take offense    20 *abjure*: recant  
 24 *bare*: uncamouflaged // *naked*: transparent; easily seen through  
 26 *fair figure*: euphemism // *found*: contrived    32 *were soon done*: would be easy to do  
 32 *list*: chose    33 *belie*: tell lies about    34 *be lightly*: well be

book of his *Division*, concerning the point that we speak of,  
 that is to wit, this false slander of the spiritual judges in mishandling  
 men for heresy (as it hath offer than once, before  
 the lords of the King's most honorable Council, upon  
 like false bills and complaints of particular persons, by good 5  
 examination been proved)—and then if he that would make, I say,  
 of the nobility, the judges, or the Parliament such another  
 book would bring in all his false tales against them under the  
 selfsame figure of “some say,” and “many say,” and “they say”...  
 and then say that himself would say no piece thereof, but only 10  
 that it were pity that it should be true, that it were so as many  
 folk report it is so, and then preach and pray God send them  
 the grace that they do not so: I dare be bold to say that there is  
 no wise man but he would both soon see and say that the man  
 with such false leesings went about to defame and slander 15  
 them, and make the people ween that it *were* so.

Then, after this thing so feately excused, he declareth his  
 words again which he spoke in his *Division* of speaking  
 heresies of lightness, or of a passion. And because I answered  
 him in mine *Apology* that if such things should be excused by 20  
 lightness and by passions, then might there pass by much  
 lewdness and much mischief too... the beginning whereof  
 groweth of lewd lightness and of evil passions: herein he  
 showeth that there is difference in deeds, and that some be more and  
 some be less. And because I did put for examples manslaughter 25  
 and adultery, which he thought was too high to be likened to  
 speaking and talking heresy, he bringeth it somewhat again to  
 base and putteth other examples, of one speaking an angry word  
 and yet would not kill one... and one that hath a passion of adultery and  
 yet doth not the deed... and saith that his treatise meant not obstinate 30  
 deadly passions, but passions of ignorance and of frailty, and  
 done for lack of good advisement.

As for his passion of ignorance, he may put up again. For,  
 whatsoever he say, he shall not find, I dare warrant him,  
 while he liveth, but that the things that heretics are 35  
 punished for be such things as be well and openly known for

2, 15 *false*: despicable    2 *slander*: slandering // *spiritual*: ecclesiastical  
 2 *in*: concerning    5 *bills and complaints*: indictments and accusations  
 6–7 *make . . . of*: write . . . about    9 *figure*: figure of speech    14 *wise*: intelligent  
 15 *leesings*: lies    17 *feately*: deftly // *excused*: defended // *declareth*: explains  
 19 *of*: out of    19, 21, etc. *lightness*: unthinkingness // *passion(s)*: strong feeling(s)  
 22, 23 *lewd(ness)*: wicked(ness)    22 *mischief*: harm    23 *groweth*: comes  
 24 *showeth*: points out // *more*: i.e., more serious    25 *manslaughter*: murder  
 26 *high*: serious    27–28 *bringeth . . . base*: kind of brings it back to the starting point  
 28 *one*: someone    29 *kill one*: kill anyone // *one that*: someone who  
 29 *a passion of*: a strong desire to commit    31 *of*: (stemming) from    32 *done*: acted on  
 32 *advisement*: deliberation    33 *may put up again*: can put it back aside  
 35 *while*: as long as

heresies, and to have been before condemned for heresies by the common-known doctrine of the whole Catholic Church.

Now, as touching his passions for frailty and for lack of good advisement: doth there no man kill another even suddenly upon a passion of anger, for lack of good advisement? Doth never none unthrifths upon a passion of lechery suddenly fall together in adultery for lack of good advisement? 5

“Yea,” will this man say, “but these folk do the deed.” That is very truth indeed. But yet they do the deed but of a passion of frailty, for lack of good advisement. In that adultery, the malice is the lack of goodness in the will to the keeping of God’s commandments. 10

And yet even in those passions, too, though the further deed be not done (no man neither killed nor struck, nor none adultery done in deed), though the laws of the world, for lack of power to look into the heart, cannot punish the bare intent of such things—yet our Savior saith himself very sore words therein, and saith that himself taketh their wills for their deeds. 15

But, now, in *heresy* the words *be* the work. For not only the speaking but also the defending thereof is in words too. 20

“But a man,” saith he, “may speak heresy of lightness, and of a passion of frailty, and yet not intend to fall from the faith.” So may a man speak very lewd and right traitorous words by his prince, too, of a passion and of a frailty, without an inward intent and purpose to procure his destruction. But then will this man peradventure say that then be such words yet no treason, without some manner of overt and open actual deed therewith. Whether they be treason or not, yet in any English book that I would put in print, I would, as thus advised, advise every man, for fear of treason, beware of all such lewd language; and not, under color to teach the judges their part, go tell the people without necessity that though they talk traitorous words, yet it is no treason, as this good man in his book of *Division* telleth them that to talk heresies is no heresy. 25 30 35

3 *as touching*: as regards    4 *even*: quite    6 *unthrifths*: dissolute individuals  
 16 *bare*: mere    17–19: See Matthew 5:28.    20 *work*: deed    24, 31 *lewd*: wicked  
 24 *by*: about    25 *prince*: sovereign    32 *color to teach*: pretext of teaching  
 32 *their part*: what they should do    33 *though*: even if

Now, as I said before, concerning heresy—which is the treason to God—the outward *act* thereof, by which men must judge whether the man fall from the faith or not, standeth in the *words*. And therefore both wisdom and reason will that folk well be wary, upon the peril of heresy, that they forbear all such talking of heresy as may declare their mind that they believe such heresy. 5

“That I will well agree,” will this good man say. “But then I would that they should be wary by means of charitable warning given to their persons.” I would verily ween that in a matter so heinous and of such weight, whereof so much harm may grow by the sufferance, the spiritual law that giveth him leave to abjure at the first, and in so great a crime saveth once his life, giveth him a warning as charitable and as large as, in a crime so perilous, reason can well bear. And that should we soon feel if we would give the like liberty for once-warning to every less crime than that... and shall shortly feel it in heresies if, besides that, we give them less fear and more liberty in bold talking and teaching without other peril than warning. 10 15

For as for the order of warning that this man here provideth in this fourteenth chapter of his new book, taking a color and a pretext of the Gospel of Christ, that speaketh of an order of monitions, requiring a tract of time before any open denunciation: I will not much stick upon. For I purpose not to make a long process upon every fond piece of his devices wherein this good man is content to lose time and spill paper. But I will say this and say truth: that the ordinaries of this order that he speaketh do use indeed as much as may well be borne, and sometimes, I fear me, more too. 20 25

For this must this good man understand: that this good soft, slow, sober order that he describeth here may not all, and always, be kept, neither in heresy nor treason, nor some other great crimes neither, without great hurt and damage to the commonweal, and utter loss and destruction of many a good simple soul that should, by this order always kept, perish in the meanwhile. 30 35

3 *standeth*: consists    4–5 *will that folk*: call for folk to  
 5 *of heresy*: i.e., of being taken and punished as heretics    6 *their mind*: their thinking to be  
 9–10 *to their persons*: to them personally    11 *grow by*: come of  
 12 *sufferance*: toleration // *spiritual*: ecclesiastical // *abjure*: recant    14 *large*: generous  
 16 *less*: lesser    20 *order*: procedure    21 *color*: semblance of justification  
 22 *of the*: from the // *that*: which    23 *monitions*: admonitory counsels  
 23 *requiring*: calling for // *tract*: span    24 *stick upon*: dwell on (that)  
 25 *process*: discourse // *fond*: idiotic    26 *content*: willing // *spill*: waste  
 27 *ordinaries*: bishops

Nor our Savior meant not in his words that if I wist one that  
 were walking about mischief, that would go give such  
 drink about as should poison them that drank thereof... that  
 then I should use all that tract of time, rather than cause him  
 be taken up betimes, at the first sup that I see him give any man 5  
 to sip upon. Nor that tract is not, therefore, to be used with  
 them that speak and boldly talk heresies about, and thereby do  
 plainly teach them, though they bid not the hearers learn them.  
 For, as Saint Paul speaketh of such heresies, “evil communication  
 corrupteth good manners.” Which words though the 10  
 Greek poet Menander meant by the communication of other,  
 fleshly lewdness—yet the blessed Apostle used them and applied  
 them specially to the lewd communication of heresies,  
 which with such bold naughty talking creepeth forth and  
 corrupteth, as Saint Paul also saith, “like a corrupt canker.” And 15  
 therefore, as I say, such a long, sober tract before their calling  
 by the ordinary course of the law is not always to be used of  
 necessity with every such manner man, and let them poison  
 other good simple souls in the mean season, which they may  
 do, percase, with such communication though they neither 20  
 minded in their own heart to make any other men heretics  
 nor to be heretics themselves.

And yet would there, besides this, some such as well wist  
 their mischievous dealing to be such, and so well able to be  
 plainly proved as the ordinary could not without God’s 25  
 displeasure let them after pass unpunished—they would, at the  
 first word spoken by the ordinary to him at large, fly out  
 of that place... and, as I have in mine *Apology* said, and as we see  
 it often proved, go keep like schools in another.

But yet, because I have heard say, even while I was writing 30  
 this, that the mild, sober order which this good man hath here  
 in this chapter devised is very well liked, and hath been well  
 praised, with some such folk as myself have had some communication  
 with ere this—I will therefore not hide it nor keep it  
 away from you, but give you, good readers, here even his own 35  
 words, folio 45. He saith:

1 *one that*: someone who      2 *walking about mischief*: going about the committing of a crime  
 4–5 *cause* . . . *taken up*: have him seized      5 *betimes*: in good time  
 8 *bid not* . . . *learn*: do not tell . . . to learn      9–10: 1 Corinthians 15:33.      9 *evil*: bad  
 9, 11 *communication*: association      10 *manners*: ways  
 10–11 *which words* . . . *meant by*: by which words . . . meant      10–12: Menander, *Thais* 218.  
 12, 13 *lewd(ness)*: wicked(ness)      12 *the blessed Apostle*: i.e., Saint Paul  
 14 *naughty*: bad      12–15: 2 Timothy 2:16–17.      15 *canker*: gangrene  
 16, 31 *sober*: unhurried      16 *calling*: summoning      19 *mean season*: meantime  
 20 *percase*: by chance      21 *minded*: intended      24 *mischievous*: criminal  
 24 *dealing*: conduct      25–26 *without God’s displeasure*: without offending God  
 26 *after*: afterward // *pass*: go      27 *at large*: i.e., while he (the heretic) was still at liberty  
 32 *liked*: approved of      35 *even his own*: his own exact

And now will I say a little farther in this matter... concerning such words; that is to say, that if any man now in this dangerous time, while this division continueth, will show unto the ordinary that he heard any speak words that, as he thought, stood not with the Catholic faith... and the ordinary misliketh the words also: I would then think... that if he upon whom the information is made be such a man that he that complaineth of him may conveniently speak to him without danger, that then the ordinary shall advise him to keep the matter secret, if it be yet secret... and not openly known; and that he shall then charitably ask of him... what he meant by these words. And then, when the question is asked him, if he make so reasonable an answer... that it soundeth to no heresy... then is the matter answered. And if he avow the words... and yet they be indeed against the Catholic faith: then it seemeth good... that he that accused him follow the Gospel... and take witnesses with him... and eft charitably give him monition thereof. And if he will yet stand still opinatively in his opinion... and not accept the good monition of the other: then I think it good that he again inform the ordinary thereof... and then it seemeth to be convenient that the ordinary send for him... not as for a man yet notoriously known or detected for a heretic... but to know farther, whether it be true as the other hath reported or not; and if he find it true by sufficient proof... or by his own confession, and he will not be reformed, then it seemeth convenient... that he upon the witness of the other... be punished as he hath deserved. And if he *will* be by the ordinary secretly reformed: then it seemeth good that he depart without any open penance; but what were convenient to be farther done in that matter, I will commit it to others.

Consider now, good readers, the commodity of this order. You see that he speaketh of one that speaketh such words as to the hearers seem heresy. For both he so taketh them that informeth the ordinary of them, and so doth the ordinary too. Now may you perceive, by the progress of his device, that though there were more than one that heard him, or more than twain, or ten

3 *show*: say    4 *any*: anyone // *speak words*: make statements  
 4 *stood not*: were not consistent    5 *misliketh*: disapproves of    5, 13 *words*: statements  
 7 *of*: about // *may*: can // *conveniently*: suitably  
 12 *soundeth to no*: does not smack of any    13 *answered*: resolved; taken care of  
 13 *avow*: stand by; maintain    15 *eft*: a second time  
 16, 17 *monition*: admonitory counsel    17 *opinatively*: with an obstinate opinionatedness  
 19, 24, 27 *convenient*: appropriate    20 *notoriously*: very well; commonly  
 20 *detected*: informed on    26 *open*: public    29 *commodity*: advantageousness  
 29 *order*: procedure    30 *speaketh such words*: makes such statements



either—yet would he not that the ordinary should send for him... but  
 first assay by some such as heard him what he will say thereto  
 when he is asked the question what thing himself meant  
 thereby. And then if he have the wit to say he meant in his  
 words but such a thing as that meaning soundeth to no 5  
 heresies (which wit heretics enough have), then is all the matter  
 answered. For then, ye wot well, a wily heretic by this wise  
 order may be bold, with glosses readily provided, to say what he  
 will and where he will. For the ordinary may not send for  
 him to lay those heretical words to his charge, and to 10  
 consider upon the circumstance of his dealing in such talking  
 (peradventure in divers places used) whether he meant as  
 himself declareth or meant to teach the thing that he  
 spoke and to keep his declaration in store for an excuse. This first  
 point alone of this good man's order, if it were surely observed, 15  
 were enough to fill a whole town shortly full of  
 heresies.

Then goeth he farther to a second point: that if he that spoke  
 heresies will when he is asked the question avow them—yet  
 shall not he that heard him resort unto the ordinary, but go fetch 20  
 witnesses first, before whom if the fellow be so foolish to confess  
 them, and so frantic as to avow them, then this good man  
 giveth them leave to go tell the ordinary the tale and accuse  
 him. But, now, if he have the wit before the witnesses to  
 lie and say that he never said them, or to say that he will say 25  
 so no more—then is all the matter yet safe enough again; it  
 shall never need that ever the ordinary hear any more word of  
 him... but let him go forth and use that fashion still, in as many  
 companies as he cometh. For that, ye wot well, can do no hurt.  
 But and if every man to whom he speaketh heresy secretly, and 30  
 secretly would make more heretics, should secretly inform  
 the ordinary... and that he should upon twenty such secret informations  
 afterward call him forth openly, and after, upon  
 their open depositions, openly make him abjure and bear a  
 faggot, or accurse him for his obstinacy; and after a whole 35  
 year's sufferance finally, for his immedicable malice, as a desperate

2 *assay by*: find out by way of 4, 6, 24 *wit*: (good) sense  
 5 *soundeth to no*: does not involve any 7 *wise*: brilliant 8, 15 *order*: procedure  
 8 *glosses*: specious explanations; spins 11 *circumstance*: circumstances; context  
 12 *used*: engaged in 13 *declareth*: explains 14 *declaration*: explanation  
 16 *were*: would be 20 *resort*: betake himself; go 21 *to*: as to  
 21 *confess*: admit; acknowledge 22 *frantic*: insane // *avow*: stand by 23 *tale*: report  
 27 *need*: be necessary 29 *cometh*: i.e., comes into // *hurt*: harm 30 *and if*: if  
 33, 34 *open(ly)*: public(ly) 33 *after*: later 34 *bear*: carry  
 35 *faggot*: bundle of sticks // *accurse*: excommunicate 36 *for*: on account of  
 36 *immedicable*: irremediable // *desperate*: hopeless

wretch deliver him to the secular hands, where a faggot should bear him: this were a cruel dealing of the ordinary, and a mishandling of a good, honest man for heresy.

And yet goeth he farther a little: that though he hold it and avow his heresies before the witnesses—the ordinary should not yet, for all that, proceed against him openly, but speak with him secretly. And though he avow them before himself too—yet should he not, by this good man’s advice, proceed against him by ordinary means openly, but let him depart without open penance, if the fellow be so wise as at last (rather than he would come thereto) say that he will amend and will say such things no more. 5 10

But then after all this, what were convenient to be farther done, he will, he saith, remit unto other men. And so were it much need indeed. Howbeit, if this order that he deviseth here were well observed for so far forth as he goeth—I ween all the world could not well devise farther, sufficiently to reform and remedy the mischief that his charitable device would do. 15 20

Howbeit, the best is, therein, that he deviseth not this order for a thing to stand forever, but for this time “now,” he saith, which is, he saith, a “dangerous time, while this division continueth.”

But now so is it, good readers, that whether this time be so dangerous as he speaketh of or no, or whether there be in this time such division as he maketh or no—sure it is, I say, that even in this same time heresies begin to grow a great deal faster than they have been wont in some other times past... and therefore is *this* time so much the *worse* to use such order in than were another time wherein there were many fewer. For if this Pacifier will now be so peaceable as to devise such an order that all mischievous, factious folk should be suffered in peace, he shall with his peaceable order (if it were observed) bring the world in that case that good peaceable folk that fain would live in peace should not, for such unquiet and unrestful wretches, without some ruffle live in peace long. 25 30 35

1 *deliver . . . hands*: hand him over to the civil authorities    2 *were*: would be  
 2 *dealing*: behavior    3 *mishandling*: mistreating // *honest*: honorable  
 5 *hold it*: i.e., stick to what he previously said    8 *secretly*: in private  
 8 *himself*: him (i.e., the bishop)    11 *wise*: sensible    12 *thereto*: i.e., to public penance  
 16, 21, etc. *order*: procedure; system    28 *even*: precisely    33 *mischievous*: injurious  
 35 *in that case*: into such a situation    36 *fain would*: would like to  
 37 *unrestful*: agitative; contentious // *ruffle*: disturbance

Were it not a wise order, ween you, if he would in like wise devise  
 for thieves the same soft, charitable fashion that he deviseth  
 here for heretics—that is to wit, that men should to him that had  
 stolen a horse, or robbed a house, go give him a monition  
 first, and then if he say that he did it not, or that he would do so 5  
 no more, take all the matter for safe—and then say that he would  
 not have that order always kept, but only in such dangerous  
 times as many folk would fall to theft; for then were  
 it good to spare them and speak them fair, and suffer  
 them till they would wax fewer of themselves... and then, after 10  
 that, use against them the laws and the old order again. Would  
 not this wise way, trow you, do well in theft? Forsooth, it were  
 a way as far unwise and as far against reason in heresy as  
 either in theft or murder or any other manner crime.

And surely meseemeth that where he calleth this a “dangerous” 15  
 time, he useth a very dangerous word... and to fear the ordinaries  
 with, would make the world ween that heretics  
 were here so many and so strong that the ordinaries might not  
 now do their duties in subduing heresies without great  
 danger. Wherein there is as great danger yet—and shall, I 20  
 doubt not, in the King’s Grace’s days that now is, and long mote  
 be—as there is in the paring of an apple. Howbeit, I will not  
 deny him this indeed, but that if such dangerous  
 words of his *Division* may make the ordinaries afeard of their  
 own shadow a while—it may grow to some danger at the last. 25

But then goeth he farther, with another remedy that I trust  
 in God shall never need. For I trust in God there never shall in  
 this realm any such great personage fall into heresy as the ordinary  
 “dare” not “proceed according to the law against him.”  
 Howbeit, in case it should happen—then this good man provideth 30  
 for the remedy (to say the truth) very well: that is to wit,  
 that the ordinary should have recourse unto the King, that His  
 Highness, upon petition made unto him and information  
 given him, may (as no doubt were there but he would) with his  
 royal assistance provide a means sufficient that the course of 35  
 the law might proceed.

6 *safe*: taken care of    9 *speak them fair*: talk nicely to them // *suffer*: tolerate  
 10 *wax*: become // *of themselves*: on their own    11 *against*: with regard to  
 11 *order*: system    12 *wise*: brilliant // *trow you*: don’t you suppose  
 16 *fear*: frighten // *ordinaries*: bishops    18 *strong*: militarily powerful  
 18 *might*: could    19 *subduing*: suppressing    20 *yet*: as yet  
 21–22 *the . . . be*: the days of the one who is now king, and long may he be  
 27 *need*: be needed

This is well devised. And herein he playeth the good cow,  
and giveth us a good gallon of milk. But then shall you see how he  
playeth the shrewd cow again, and turneth over the pail  
even by and by with his heel. For upon this good device, he  
forthwith addeth this shrewd saying to it: 5

But as long as there is an opinion among the people... that the  
ordinaries and their officers will give light credence upon informations  
made to them of heresy... and that they will noise them that  
be complained on as heretics... before due examination in that  
behalf: so long will the people grudge and peradventure the King not 10  
give his assistance so readily to have them attached as he would do if  
he heard that the ordinaries noised no man to be a heretic without  
due examination, as is before rehearsed.

If this good man had as much wit as I see well he lacketh, I would  
wax evil-content with him that he should once conceive any 15  
such opinion of the King's gracious Highness as that His Grace  
would anything be the more remiss to give royal assistance  
unto the ordinaries about the attaching of such as are suspect of  
heresy as long as His Grace heard that the ordinaries  
noised that any man were a heretic without such due 20  
examination as this man before rehearsed. For the King's high  
prudence very well perceiveth that if he should forbear till that  
time that he should hear no such thing said by them—it  
were almost as much to say as he should give no assistance  
against heretics till all heretics were gone. For never shall 25  
there lack such a false, seditious fame against the ordinaries  
as long as there are heretics here and there to sow  
it, and such seditious books of division, with such untrue  
“some say”s, to blow it farther abroad.

The untruth of such false fame hath been before the King's 30  
honorable Council of late well and plainly proved already,  
upon sundry such false complaints by the King's  
gracious commandment examined. And albeit that  
this is a thing notoriously known, and that I have also myself  
in mine *Apology* spoken thereof, and that since that 35  
book gone abroad, it hath been in like wise before the lords well

3, 5 *shrewd*: bad    4 *even by and by*: literally right away    5 *saying*: statement  
7 *give . . . upon*: readily give credence to; readily believe // *informations*: accusations  
8–9 *noise . . . heretics*: spread rumors that those complained about are heretics  
10 *grudge*: murmur    11 *attached*: arrested    12 *noised*: reported  
13 *rehearsed*: described in detail    15 *evil-content*: ill-content    17 *anything*: at all  
18 *attaching*: arresting    22 *forbear*: hold back; wait    23 *by*: about    26 *fame*: rumor  
26 *against*: about    30 *fame*: report    32 *complaints*: accusations  
34 *a . . . known*: a matter of common knowledge    36 *gone abroad*: got out; was published

and plainly proved in more matters afresh; and albeit that this water washeth away all his matter: yet goeth ever this water over this goose's back... and for anything that any man can do, no man can make it sink unto the skin that she may once feel it... but ever she shaketh such plain proofs off with her feathers of "some say" and "they say" the contrary. Is not this a pretty, proper way? And therefore thus you see, good readers, that this man's devices in his order to be taken with such as speak heresies be very vicious, and have they never so fair a fleering at the first face, yet when they be considered well, they be found far worse than naught. And yet was I not minded, as you may see, to have examined them so far, saving that even while I was in writing of this chapter, and about to leave off—word was brought me that this device of his order for heresy was with some folk whom myself have known, so specially well commended.

But yet will this man say, and in effect so he doth, "Master More will not say, for all this, that everything that a man speaketh which if he obstinately would hold, he were a heretic, is enough to judge every such man a heretic as doth in any manner speak it."

I will not at this time vary with this good man for that, nor dispute with him upon the truth of that tale, there be so many manner ways of speaking. For a man may speak thereof in dispraise thereof. But this will I say to him: That tale and such others like, were they never so true, were yet, as meseemeth, much better out of his English-printed book than in it.

For if he think it necessary to write it because of any folk whom he thinketh necessary to learn it: either he meaneth that they need it which are the spiritual judges, or else the common people. Now as for the judges, verily I have known and do know many of them, and yet knew I never none so simple of wit, nor so far unlearned, but for any wit or learning that I perceive in this man, the worst of them wist a great deal better what pertained unto their part and their duty in such points as these are, than doth this good man here.

Then if he say he putteth it in because that though they

1 *matters*: cases // *afresh*: anew    2 *all his matter*: his whole case  
 6–7 *a pretty, proper way*: an ingenious, excellent tactic    9 *vicious*: immoral  
 9 *fair*: nice-looking // *a fleering*: an obsequious appearance  
 10 *at the first face*: at first glance    11 *naught*: worthless    15 *order*: system  
 22 *vary . . . for*: quarrel . . . over    23 *dispute . . . upon*: argue . . . about  
 24 *manner*: kinds of    30 *spiritual*: ecclesiastical  
 32–33 *simple of wit*: lacking in intelligence

know it they misuse it, and do the contrary and so do  
 thereby mishandle the King's people, and put them to cruel  
 punishment unjustly: then I ask him how he proveth that lie  
 to be true. Thereto, ye wot well, he will bring forth for the  
 plain proof of his plain truth in the matter his old three 5  
 worshipful witnesses which stand yet all unsworn: that is to  
 wit, "Some Say" and "They Say" and "Folk Say." And then hath he now  
 brought forth another two, whom he maketh, as meseemeth, both  
 as witnesses and judges too: that is, the good seely soul Simkin  
 Salem and his right honest neighbor Brother Bizance. Well, I 10  
 am content, I, that all his five witnesses be sworn and well examined,  
 how they know the things that they report; and then those  
 spiritual judges of whom they shall so speak and prove, let it be  
 laid unto their charges. And if you find of such so many,  
 and their dealing so cruel or unjust, as this man maketh 15  
 it, or anything well toward it: then am I content that ye shall  
 for them belie all the remnant the worse. And yet is that iwis  
 somewhat with the most. And then am I content that you  
 believe also that this man had for that cause a necessary occasion  
 and a profitable, to put that tale in his bate-making book. 20

But in the meanwhile, I lay against him for that point, and  
 against all his five worshipful witnesses too, the deed and the  
 report of the greatest and the most honorable temporal lords  
 of the King's most honorable Council, and other right  
 worshipful temporal men of the same with them, which by 25  
 the gracious commandment of the King's Highness have  
 examined divers such complaints at the suit of the parties  
 themselves and their friends, and have thereupon found the  
 same complaints false, and that the ordinaries have done  
 them but right, and that with great favor, too. 30

And therefore as for this point, the truth being so substantially  
 proved upon this side, by all his five forenamed  
 witnesses on the other side set I not five straws. And therefore,  
 good readers, as for this point, his putting of that piece in  
 his book of *Division* had neither necessity nor profit... except 35  
 it were either necessary or profitable to sow an evil seed

1 *misuse it*: carry it out wrongly    2 *mishandle*: mistreat    6, 22, 25 *worshipful*: reputable  
 9 *seely*: simple // *Simkin*: Simple Simon    10 *honest*: honorable  
 11 *sworn*: put under oath    17 *for them*: on their account // *belie*: slander  
 17 *remnant*: rest // *that*: i.e., the rest // *iwis*: certainly    18 *somewhat*: something  
 18 *with the most*: i.e., that is the majority    20 *bate-making*: strife-causing  
 23 *temporal*: secular    27 *suit*: supplication    28 *friends*: relatives and friends; loved ones  
 30 *favor*: kindness    35 *except*: unless    36 *evil*: bad

against good folk, of untrue, reprobable slander, in his own writing, under the color of some other men's unproved words.

Then resteth there, as far as I can see, but one cause behind, that should excuse him. And that is that it was a thing profitable for the people, to know that though a man of a lightness, or of a passion growing of ignorance, or of frailty, speak and talk heresies at liberty—yet but if he defend it opinatively, he should not be taken for a heretic thereby. Verily, good readers, if this tale were true—yet would I ween, as I said, this tale unto the people as good unwritten as written, and a great deal better too. 5 10

As for this good man or any man else, I cannot let them to write what they list, and say they think it good be it never so bad indeed. But I durst in my conscience no more use this fashion of writing concerning heresy than I would use it in writing any book whereof I would speak of either treason or any other felony... except some other necessary occasion should haply drive me thereto, as no good occasion in his book of *Division* drove this good man thereto. 15 20

If I were again to read in Lincoln's Inn, and *there* were in hand with a statute that touched treason and all other felonies—I would not let to look, seek out, and rehearse whether any heinous words spoken against the prince were for the only speaking to be taken for treason or not. 25

Nor I would not let in like wise to declare if I found out any cases in which a man, though he took another man's horse against the law, should yet not be judged for a felon thereby. And this would I not only be bold there to tell them, but would also be bold in such French as is peculiar to the laws of this realm to leave it with them in writing, too. But yet would I reckon myself sore overseen if all such things as I would in that school speak in a reading, I would in English into every man's hand put out abroad in print. For there is no such necessity therein as is in the other. For in the places of court these companies must needs be taught it... out of which companies they must after be taken that shall be made judges to judge it. But as for the common people to be told that tale, shall, as far as I see, do many folk little good, but rather very great harm. For by perceiving 30 35

1 *reprobable*: disprovable    2 *color*: disguise    4 *resteth*: remains    6, 7 *of a*: out of a  
 7 *lightness*: unthinkingness // *passion*: strong feeling // *growing*: coming  
 7 *or of*: or out of    8 *but if*: unless    9 *opinatively*: with an obstinate opinionatedness  
 13–14 *let . . . say*: prevent them from writing what they please, and from saying  
 15 *durst*: would dare    22 *touched*: concerned; had to do with    23, 26 *let*: forbear  
 23 *rehearse*: state    24 *heinous*: highly criminal    32 *sore overseen*: terribly imprudent  
 34 *abroad*: at large    35, 36 *companies*: assemblies    38 *shall*: i.e., that will

that in some things were nothing the peril that  
 they feared, some may wax therein more negligent... and by  
 less fearing the less danger, may soon step into the  
 more. And therefore have I wist ere this, the judges of a great  
 wisdom in great open audience, where they have had occasion 5  
 to speak of high misprision or of treason, forbear  
 yet the saying of some such things as they would not have  
 letted to speak among themselves.

If any man would haply think that it were well done that  
 every man were taught all... and would allege therefore that 10  
 if he know surely what thing would make his behavior high  
 treason or heresy, then though he would adventure all that  
 ever were under that, yet would he be peradventure the more  
 wary to keep himself well from that—as many a man, though he  
 believe that he shall abide great pain in purgatory for his 15  
 venial sins, doth, for all that, no great diligence in forbearing  
 of them, and yet, for the fear of perpetual pain in  
 hell, taketh very great heed to keep himself from those  
 sins that he surely knoweth for mortal . . .

As for such venial sins as folk, of frailty, so commonly do 20  
 fall in that no man is almost any time without them: though  
 the profit would be more if men did ween they were mortal,  
 so that the dread thereof could make men utterly forbear  
 them—yet since it will not be that men will utterly forbear  
 them, the knowledge of the truth is necessary for them... lest 25  
 every time that they do such a venial sin indeed, weening  
 that it were mortal, the doing of the deed with the conscience  
 of a mortal sin might make it mortal indeed.

But of any such kind of venial sins as be not so much in  
 custom, and may be more easily forborne—I never found 30  
 any wise man, to my remembrance, that would either write or  
 teach the common people so exactly as to say, “Though you do thus  
 far, yet is it no deadly sin”... but will in such things, since  
 the venial sin itself is a drawing toward the deadly, rather  
 leave the people in doubt, and in dread of deadly sin, and 35  
 thereby cause them to keep themselves far off from it... than by  
 telling them it is but a venial sin, make them the less

1 *nothing*: not at all    2 *negligent*: careless    3 *the less*: the lesser    4 *more*: greater

4, 20 *of*: out of    6 *high misprision*: a serious crime bordering on felony

8 *letted*: forborne    12 *adventure*: venture upon    21 *in*: into    23 *so*: provided

26 *a venial sin indeed*: a sin that is objectively a venial one

27–28 *the conscience of*: i.e., their conscience telling them it is    33, 34, 35 *deadly*: mortal



afear'd to do it... and so come so much the nearer to mortal  
 sin, and assay how near he can come to it and not do  
 it, till he come at last so near the brink that his foot slippeth  
 and down he falleth into it. For as the Scripture saith, “Qui  
 amat periculum, peribit in illo” (“He that loveth peril shall perish  
 in it”). 5

Now, as for heinous words speaking against the  
 prince, or talking of heresy against the known Catholic  
 faith—these are no things like these common venial sins...  
 but be things, both twain, which they that do them may 10  
 much more easily forbear them. And therefore were it more  
 profit unto the people to think rather the more peril  
 therein than the less.

The judges’ part is to see that the punishment pass not the  
 gravity of the offense. And therefore shall the common people 15  
 take no harm though themselves, concerning treason  
 or heresy, fall not by such books to the mincing of such  
 matters, and dispute how far they may go forward in  
 them without the extreme danger and peril of them... but  
 shall the better keep themselves from the greater if for fear of 20  
 greater they keep themselves well from the less.

But surely such tales told unto the people, and given every  
 man and woman at adventure in printed English books  
 abroad, as may give them such boldness in talking as this  
 man here in this fourteenth chapter doth—and to tell them that 25  
 there is not therein so much peril as many men would ween—  
 may be much harm, both unto themselves and unto others too.  
 To themselves, for with a little less fear than they had before,  
 they may soon fall further than they did before, or ever would  
 have done. And then should he in whom it so should 30  
 happen find that it were (as holy Saint Jerome saith) better  
 to leave some things unknown than with peril to learn them.

To other men also may a man do thereby much harm. For  
 some man with boldness talking heresies, whereby he maketh

2 *assay*: see 4–6: See Sirach 3:25–27. 16 *take*: suffer 23 *at adventure*: at random  
 30–32: Possibly a reference to Saint Jerome’s *Commentary on Ephesians* (4:17), which is  
 quoted in *Summa Theologica* II–II, q. 167, art. 1.

other men first to take them for light, and little and little  
 after to believe them, too (while they hear him so boldly speak  
 them, and hear him nothing reprove them), may do much more  
 harm by making many others fall from the faith, though he were  
 not fallen from it himself, than he should do if he held his  
 tongue though secretly in his heart he were a stark heretic  
 indeed. 5

And therefore surely, good reader, whatsoever the man meant  
 in his own secret mind, the fashion of his doctrine is yet, in  
 my mind, plainly a thing to the people much more perilous  
 than profitable... and in his book of *Division* very evil  
 put in, and here evil repeated again. 10

Now, whereas he referreth the remnant of the matter concerning  
 heresy unto them that can better skill... of whom he  
 desireth me to ask what were to be done with such as speak  
 heresies and are no heretics in their heart: surely if ever  
 any such case should happen as I should need to make search  
 for that point, I would with good will so do. But I look for no  
 such necessity. For it is enough for me, if I should hap to  
 hear any talk heresies, then to declare it unto their ordinaries—  
 to whom the further charge appertaineth to make thereupon  
 further search, such as he may; and thereupon, as he may  
 further find thereof, so further do therein. 15 20

And as for this man himself, as he canneth therein, for anything  
 that I see, very little skill, so would I that he had less  
 meddled therewith than to tell and teach the people, first by his  
 book of *Division* and afterward by this book again, that  
 they may speak and talk heresies well enough, without the  
 danger or peril to be, for such speaking, lawfully taken for  
 heretics. With which tale though it were true, he doth  
 them yet little good. For the using of such speaking of heresies,  
 if it fully prove not a man a heretic, yet may it make him, ye  
 wot well, of heresy in his heart very right sore suspect. For  
 as our Savior saith himself, “Ex abundantia cordis os  
 loquitur” (“The mouth speaketh such things as in the heart be  
 plenteous and aboundeth”). And therefore I say that though  
 he neither defend it obstinately nor can be precisely 25 30 35

1 *light*: innocuous // *little and little*: little by little

3 *nothing reprove*: not at all express disapproval of 6 *stark*: arrant; out-and-out

11, 12 *evil*: ill 14 *can better skill*: are more knowledgeable 18 *with good will*: happily

18 *look for*: anticipate 21 *charge*: responsibility // *appertaineth*: belongs

24–25 *canneth* . . . *skill*: has . . . expertise 26 *meddled*: involved himself

31 *using of*: engaging in; carrying on of 33 *right*: rightly; properly // *sore*: strongly

34–36: Luke 6:45.

proved a heretic in his secret heart—yet may his open words be such (though they were spoken of I cannot tell you what manner passion) that for the sore suspicion that his own words hath brought himself into, he may well and with good reason be compelled to abjure. And therein were there, iwis, no great honesty nor no very great profit neither. And yet is it all the profit that I see can come of this good man's doctrine. 5

And this is the thing, lo, that this good man boasteth in this chapter (the second side of his 44<sup>th</sup> leaf) that I do not deny—as though he had gotten thereby a great overhand on me in the matter. But yet would I, good readers, save for the length, let him perceive his oversight and ignorance in another manner touching the thing that he so boasteth that I deny him not... and would make him look a little better even upon *Summa rosella*, whom he so much allegeth here himself. 10 15

And whereas in the same leaf and side, he maketh a certain certificate (as though I were a bishop, and had sent him a commission to inquire) that he knoweth not one heretic in all this realm in word nor deed: marry, I would marvel much if he did. For it must needs be very long ere he can know any, while the man is so little suspicious in matters of heresy that though he should hear them talk heresy by him, yet because, though he hear what their mouths speak, he cannot yet, pardie, lo, look into their hearts there and see what they think—nor knoweth not also whether, if they were asked where they were well afeard, they would hold it opinatively or else (rather than be burned or bear a faggot) say that they said it all but of a passion of ignorance or frailty—he cannot, therefore, lightly know any one heretic (as he saith he doth not), neither in word nor deed, in all this whole realm. 20 25 30

And then, for hearing by report, therein goeth he farther and saith:

For howbeit that I have heard sometimes reported that there be many heretics... yet I never heard so far proof therein that I might with conscience judge or report... that this man or that man is a heretic. 35

3 *what manner passion*: what kind of strong feeling // *for*: on account of // *sore*: strong  
 6 *honesty*: honor 10 *overhand*: edge 12 *oversight*: blunder 14 *even upon*: right at  
 14–15 *Summa rosella*: A manual for confessors, completed in 1483 by Baptista Trovamala.  
 17 *certificate*: attestation 18 *inquire*: investigate  
 19 *marry*: indeed // *marvel much*: be very surprised 21 *while*: as long as  
 22 *by*: near 23 *pardie*: by golly 28 *passion*: fit 29 *lightly*: likely 31 *for*: as for

And to every light word a man may not give full credence in  
 that behalf... nor report it lightly... that any man is a heretic, by  
 such light tales. And surely this point is much to be noted of all  
 men... but most especially of them that daily administer the sacraments  
 of the Church, lest haply through such reports they administer  
 them sometimes in deadly sin, and yet would not think so  
 themselves. 5

It would have done very well that this good man had given  
 as light a credence to such reports in mishandling  
 of heretics as some have made him of the spirituality 10  
 (if himself therein say true) as he seemeth to have given to  
 them that have reported unto him that there are many heretics.  
 For then—since, after his own preaching here, a man  
 ought to be so well wary how he lightly report again any  
 evil light reports that he hath heard to the slander of any 15  
 one man—himself would not of likelihood so lightly have made  
 such evil report in that point, to the slander and obloquy of  
 the prelates of the spirituality, thereby to bring them in  
 grudge of the whole temporalty, upon such light reports  
 made unto him by some light, simple persons... whereas by 20  
 the King's honorable Council the truth hath been so  
 plainly proved to be contrary.

But yet, whereas he confesseth that he hath heard it sometimes  
 reported that there be many heretics: I would fain wit  
 of him whether that such report have been made unto him by 25  
 any of the temporalty. If he say nay, but that all that so told  
 him were spiritual men: then may they believe him that think  
 his answer likely. For I would ween, in my mind, that between  
 him and spiritual persons were not so much familiar company  
 as to come to tell him that tale. For he seemeth not very 30  
 meet for spiritual men in that matter to make their moan  
 unto. And then if he heard it either of temporal men besides  
 or of temporal men only and no spiritual men at all: then did  
 he not very well when he wrote in his *Division* that spiritual  
 men make that noise for a policy. And yet also would I 35  
 farther wit, whether he have heard any speak heresies in any  
 place where himself was present in company. If he answer

1 *light*: spontaneous; unconsidered 2, 14, 16 *lightly*: readily; without good cause  
 3, 15, 19 *light*: unreliable 3, 4 *of*: by 6 *deadly*: mortal  
 11 *say true*: is telling the truth 13 *after*: according to 15, 17 *evil*: bad  
 15, 17 *slander*: discredit 17 *obloquy*: disrepute 18 *spirituality*: clergy  
 18–19 *bring* . . . *temporalty*: turn all the laity against them 20 *light*: unthinking  
 20 *simple*: dim-witted 24–25 *would* . . . *of*: would like to know from  
 27, 33 *spiritual men*: clergymen 31 *meet*: suitable 32, 33 *of*: from  
 32, 33 *temporal men*: lay people 35 *make that noise*: spread that rumor // *policy*: tactic

me nay: then will I press no farther upon him, but let every man, as I said before, believe it that thinketh it likely. But on the other side, if he answer me yea: then would I fain farther wit, whether ever himself went so far with them as to prove whether he should, by his own rule in this chapter, have cause to show their ordinary of them, that he might send for them... or else that, hearing folk so speak heresies by him, he took all to the best always, of his own special goodness... and, lest he might with questioning hap to find it worse, followed ever in that matter the good counsel that Saint Paul gave in another matter, “Nolite interrogare, propter conscientiam” (“Ask no question, lest you bring a scruple into your conscience”). If he used any diligence in questioning: then were it well likely that he found, in all this long while, somewhere, at the leastwise some one.

But, now, if he heard them speak heresy and found no fault therewith, nor no question asked: then is it, as I said, little marvel though he never nowhere in all England found one. And that is even one of the very things, while many folk now fall to the same fashion (to hear heresies talked and let the talkers alone) which yet will, if they be brought into the Court before the judge, tell then the truth, and will not be so false as to be forsworn—this is, I say, one of the very special things for which in crime of heresy the suit *ex officio* (which in the next chapter following he laboreth sore to destroy) may, whatsoever this man say, in no wise be forborne but if we would have the streets swarm full of heretics, which very likely were to follow, though he say nay forty times. And that have I, against his book of *Division*, well declared in mine *Apology*. And he hath again here in this book defended in that point his book of *Division* (as yourselves shall anon see), God wot, with much work full feebly.

4 *prove*: find out; ascertain    6 *show . . . of*: tell their bishop about    9 *worse*: less good  
 10–13: See 1 Corinthians 10:25–30.    18 *marvel*: wonder // *though*: if  
 19 *even*: precisely // *while*: given that    20 *fall . . . fashion*: go in for the same behavior  
 22 *false*: dishonest    23 *be forsworn*: commit perjury  
 24 *ex officio*: See the note for 60/29.    29 *declared*: explained    31 *anon*: soon  
 32 *wot*: knows // *full*: very

## The Second Part

### *The Fifteenth Chapter*

His fifteenth chapter, concerning the suit *ex officio*, beginneth in the 48<sup>th</sup> leaf of his book, and holdeth on into the 54<sup>th</sup>.

And forasmuch, good Christian readers, as it may well appear that this point is the special thing that he fain would bring about—that is to wit, to sow an opinion in men’s heads that it were good to change and put away that suit—toward which purpose all his book of *Division* bendeth... laboring first, with his so many “some say”s, to bring the spiritual judges in suspicion and obloquy and make the people ween that they marvelously did, with much wrong and cruelty, mishandle men for heresy: therefore I shall in this point here confute his arguments so plainly, and in such wise, that whoso list indifferently to read both the parts shall find here causes good and sufficient why by his unreasonable reasons never after to set a fly. 5 10 15

And first, because ye shall well see that I will not wrestle in the dark, but bring the matter into light open and plain at your eyes... I will in this matter leave you not out one word of this his fifteenth chapter, but bring forth his words with mine. And then—while you read the one first and the other even afterward—there shall neither he nor I... by any sly sleight deceive you. 20

But two things for this matter will I require you first: one, that you reject one wily sleight of his, with which he goeth about even from the beginning to corrupt our judgment that are temporal men, and in the reading to blind us with affection. 25

For in all this matter he maketh as there were two parties. The one he maketh the spirituality. And this cause he so maketh theirs as though the commodity of that suit to be kept were a thing that pertained only unto them. The other party he maketh us of the temporalty, whom he would have put that same 30

6 *fain would bring*: is bent on bringing    11 *marvelously*: terribly    12 *wrong*: injustice  
 12 *mishandle*: mistreat    14 *such wise*: such a way // *whoso*: whoever  
 14 *list*: cares; chooses // *indifferently*: impartially; without bias  
 16–17 *by . . . set a fly*: for . . . have the least regard  
 16 *unreasonable reasons*: irrational arguments    18 *because*: so that  
 22 *while*: when // *even afterward*: right afterward    23, 26 *sleight*: trick  
 25 *require*: ask of    26 *reject*: refuse to go along with; not let yourselves be taken in by  
 27 *even from the*: from the very    27–28 *our . . . men*: the judgment of us laypersons  
 28 *affection*: bias    29 *as*: as though    30 *spirituality*: clergy  
 31 *the . . . kept*: i.e., the benefit of having the suit *ex officio* kept in force  
 33 *temporalty*: laity

suit away. For though that in the Parliament be spiritual men also—yet all were they all upon one side sure, he seeth well they were too few.

But it is necessary that we consider in this point that though the judges be spiritual, yet if that suit be necessary for preservation of the Catholic faith, then is the profit not the spiritual men's only, but that profit and advantage is our own too. And if by the change of that suit *ex officio* the decay of the Catholic faith shall follow in this realm: then is not the loss and damage unto the spirituality alone, but the harm is importable unto the whole realm. 5 10

Therefore have this point in this matter ever before your eyes: that the change of that law if that law be good, but if he change it into a better, or at the least as good, is a common harm to the whole realm. And that harm happeneth in the greatest thing that we could possibly take harm in, if we be (as I wot well we be and ever intend to be) faithful, true Christian people. 15

Look, therefore, good readers, both to his reasons and mine, and if you find by his reasons that the putting away of that law be better for the keeping of the Catholic faith in this land—yea, or better otherwise for this land, without the diminishment of the faith in the same—then am I well content that ye account this good man both for very wise and for very faithful too. 20 25

But, now, if you find by mine answer on the other side, that all his reasons in this point are not worth one rush toward the proof of any necessary cause of change... but his reason and his arguments always such therein that either they be built upon a false ground... or else, if he make any that happen to be true, if ye find it yet but such as by the selfsame reason, if men would unwisely follow it, there might no law neither long last nor yet no law be made—if you find, I say, his reasons against this law but such—ye will then, I doubt not, think it but good reason, for all his royal reasoning, to let the law stand. 30 35

1 *spiritual men*: clergymen    2 *all were they all*: even if they all were  
 2 *upon one side sure*: firmly on the same side    3 *were*: would be  
 5 *spiritual*: of the clergy    8 *decay*: decline; falling-off    11 *importable*: communicable  
 19 *to*: at    19, 20, etc. *reasons*: arguments    20 *putting away*: abolishing  
 27 *rush*: straw    28, 31 *reason*: reasoning    33 *yet*: even  
 34 *good reason*: good sense; something that well accords with reason

But then if ye find further yet, as I wot well ye shall, that the change that he would make under a needless pretense of preserving innocents out of danger and peril, and cannot prove that this hundred years anyone was wronged with it, should cause heretics to be bold, take courage, and increase, and for lack of this law the Catholic faith to decay: then will you not, I wot well, let to tell this man that he lacketh in this matter, how gay soever he make it, either wit or (which worse were) love to the Christian faith. 5

The other thing that I require, you shall yourselves see reasonable. For it serveth to the clear perceiving of us both, how both he and I bear ourselves in this matter. And I shall not require therein partially for my part, but a request indifferent and equal for us both, since ye shall the clearer thereby perceive whereabout we both go, and where any of us both swerve aside from the matter and, to hide the truth out of sight, slink into Lurkies' Lane. 10 15

My request is no more but that it may like you to take the labor and pain, for perceiving of the truth, from the beginning to peruse the whole matter as far as pertaineth to the change of this law. 20

Read first his own words in his own book of *Division*. And after, read mine answer in mine *Apology*, which you shall find in the fortieth chapter, the 218<sup>th</sup> leaf; and his words too, therewith. And when those two things be both fresh in your mind, read then this his fifteenth chapter of this book, with mine answers everywhere added thereunto... and then have I when this is done little doubt of your judgment, ye shall see the matter prove against this good man so plain. 25 30

In his fifteenth chapter, good readers, he would make men ween that he sufficiently proveth three things. The one is that it were no hurt to change now this old law. The second thing is that it were great hurt to keep it. The third, that such examples of the laws of this realm as I resembled unto the suit *ex officio*, I resemble against reason, they be so far unlike. 35

2 *pretense*: professed aspiration      4 *it*: i.e., the suit *ex officio*  
 6 *decay*: suffer a decline; wane      7 *let*: forbear // *matter*: thing  
 8 *how . . . it*: no matter how good he makes it look // *wit*: intelligence      10, 12 *require*: ask  
 10 *see*: i.e., see as      13 *part*: side // *indifferent*: impartial      15 *any*: either  
 17 *Lurkies' Lane*: a back alley      18 *like*: please      20 *peruse*: examine  
 33 *were no hurt*: would do no harm      35, 36 *resemble(d)*: liken(ed)



Into these three points, therefore, will I divide this chapter, that the reader may the better see in what part he is.

I shall rehearse you first here his whole words together, that he bringeth for the first point. Lo, good readers, these they be:

Then to the conventing of men before spiritual judges *ex officio*, 5  
 and whereupon Master More saith in his *Apology*, folio 219, that if it  
 were left, “the streets were likely to swarm full of heretics”—verily I  
 marvel right much at his saying therein, and that for this cause: it is  
 certain that no man may, after the law, be detected of heresy but  
 that there is some man that knoweth the cause before, why he ought so 10  
 to be. For if it be secret in his own breast, none can be his judge but  
 God only, that is the searcher of man’s heart. And if any will avow  
 that he knoweth the cause, and will denounce him as a heretic  
 therefor: then it is reason that he be taken as his accuser. And if he  
 will not avow to be his accuser, it is to think that he doth it of some 15  
 malice or craft, rather than for the truth of the matter. And if he say  
 he dare not for fear of his life avow it, I have showed a means, in  
 the seventh chapter of the said treatise, how the witnesses may be saved  
 from danger, as by showing the matter to the King and his Council,  
 and that then it is not to suppose nor so to think but that they 20  
 will provide sufficiently for the indemnity of the witnesses in that  
 behalf. And this remedy Master More denieth not to be convenient  
 for this realm. And yet he will not assent that a law be made  
 that it shall be so. And then if the witness will not avow it, but another  
 will give credence to *him* and avow it: then it seemeth reasonable that 25  
 they that will give credence thereto, and will report it... be taken as accusers—  
 taking those witnesses for their warrant, if it be denied.

In these words, lo, good readers, you see how he proveth his  
 first point: that of the change of this law by putting away  
 this suit *ex officio* (wherein without any special accuser offering 30  
 himself as party, the suspect may be called in before  
 the judge *ex officio*; that is to wit, by reason of his office) there  
 could no harm grow at all.

5 *conventing*: summoning    7 *left*: done away with    9 *may*: can // *after*: according to  
 9 *detected*: formally accused    12 *avow*: assert    14 *therefor*: on account of it  
 14 *it . . . he*: reason calls for him to    15 *avow*: agree    16 *craft*: guile  
 19 *showing*: presenting    21 *indemnity*: security; protection against retaliation  
 22 *convenient*: suitable    29 *putting away*: abolishing    30 *special*: particular  
 33 *grow*: come

And how doth he now prove us this point? He proveth it, as you see, first by a certain reason put and presupposed for a ground... and then, after that, by a certain order that himself shortly deviseth and setteth up upon the same. His ground and his foundation is this:

5

It is certain [he saith] that no man may, after the law, be detected of heresy... but that there is some man that knoweth the cause before, why he ought so to be.

Very truth it is that no man can be detected, except a man detect himself, but if some other see something in him wherefore he should seem naught—some one thing or other that they which perceive it suspect him therefore themselves. And therefore, as for this ground, this good man and I will not greatly strive.

10

Then followeth his order that he deviseth and buildeth up thereupon thus:

15

And if any will avow that he knoweth the cause, and will denounce him a heretic therefor: then is it reason that he be taken as his accuser.

This is a right good reason... and the spiritual law will not refuse so to take him and accept him for an accuser if he will... and then will they not in that case use the suit *ex officio*. For in that case it needeth not. But, now, what if he that knoweth it, and secretly detecteth it, peradventure four or five and sometimes more too, and yet not one of them all will openly be called an accuser, but will be content to be taken and known for a witness, called in by the Court and sworn, and to tell the truth as of a necessity, and not as accusers of their neighbor of their own offer, willingly—what shall the ordinary do then?

20

25

Against this peril this good man giveth us this remedy:

30

If they will not be his accusers, it is to think that they do it of some malice or craft, rather than for the truth of the matter.

I ween, good readers, that there is no man but when he heareth

2 *reason*: consideration    3, 15 *order*: procedure    10 *but . . . other*: unless someone else  
 18 *is it reason*: it is in accord with reason    20 *reason*: argument  
 20 *spiritual*: ecclesiastical; Church    23 *needeth not*: is not necessary  
 24 *detecteth it*: reports it (to the bishop)    26 *content*: willing  
 28 *of their own offer*: on their own initiative // *willingly*: voluntarily

this answer, he would ween there were yet for the farther remedy  
 some other more matter behind. For what madman would  
 think that this were a sufficient remedy, so fully provided  
 for this matter, that if there were any heretics, they  
 could not fail so fully to be detected by this way of accusation 5  
 that there should need no suit *ex officio*, because they that  
 know it may either hold their peace if they list, or else, if  
 they will algates detect any man, may be taken and accepted  
 for accusers... and if they will not openly be taken so, then be  
 taken for malicious and crafty, and therefore believe them 10  
 not, but bid them like false harlots hence and go get  
 them home!

But how shall we do yet for one thing? For though that  
 their refusing to become open accusers were a conjecture to  
 lead us somewhat to believe them false or malicious—yet were it 15  
 not so great a conjecture on that side, nor so sure, but that we  
 might be therein deceived and they both charitable and true,  
 and the man they detected a very perilous heretic in  
 very deed. And then, for aught that this man deviseth yet, we  
 should need the suit *ex officio* to bolt out this matter better... 20  
 or else that man that they detected shall (if he be such as they  
 said he was) teach heresies still, and do much harm a great  
 while.

Also, good readers, this good man hath no such cause so sore  
 to mistrust such a denouncer only because that he refuseth 25  
 to be taken of his own offer for a party and an open  
 accuser, considering that he refuseth not to be brought in by  
 process and depose in the party's own presence as a witness,  
 and will be content that his depositions, himself standing by,  
 be published and read openly before the world. And therefore any 30  
 wise man would ween that this good man to prove that we should  
 not need the suit *ex officio*, if he would make his suit by  
 way of accusation sufficient to serve in the stead, he had need  
 to have devised some farther thing than this. But this good host  
 of ours prayeth you for this feast to be merry with such as you 35  
 have, for here is all your fare... saving that to make us like this

2 *matter*: thing    5 *detected*: made known    8 *algates*: at any rate  
 8, 18, 21 *detect(ed)*: report(ed); inform(ed) on    10 *crafty*: fraudulent  
 11 *false*: contemptible // *hence*: vamoose; scam    13 *though that*: even if  
 14, 16 *conjecture*: indication; basis for judgment    15 *false*: dishonest  
 17 *deceived*: mistaken // *true*: truthful    18 *perilous*: dangerous    19 *aught*: anything  
 20 *bolt out*: sift out; investigate    22 *teach heresies still*: go on teaching heresies  
 26 *offer*: accord    30 *published*: given public notice of    35 *merry*: happy  
 36 *here . . . fare*: i.e., this is all you get

meat the better, and fill our bellies somewhat the better therewith,  
 he giveth us one little mess of sauce to it, in showing us a  
 cause... wherefore it is good reason that we should give them no  
 credence that detect a man of heresy and yet will refuse to  
 become his open accusers. And the cause that he giveth us is  
 this: 5

For if he say [saith this good man] that he dare not for fear of his life  
 avow it, I have showed a means, in the seventh chapter of the said  
 treatise, how the witnesses may be saved from danger, as by showing  
 the matter to the King and his Council... and that then it is not to  
 suppose nor to think but that they will provide sufficiently for the  
 indemnity of the witnesses in that behalf. 10

Now, good readers, heard any man any reason made for  
 sufficient, by any man that any reason had in his head—and  
 handled so insufficiently? By this wise reason he maketh as  
 though no man detecting any man of heresy, except he surmised  
 the matter of falsehood and malice, would refuse to be his  
 open accuser for anything save for only fear; nor for no less  
 fear, neither, than only the fear of death. And then for that fear,  
 he hath, as he saith, devised sufficient remedy. 15 20

Now, that none other thing can let a man to make himself a  
 party and an open accuser but only fear, I ween there will no  
 man grant him; and that, no less fear than only fear of death—  
 and add fear of all bodily harm thereto—that will, I ween, every  
 wise man less grant him. 25

But now let us consider whether the fear that himself  
 granteth to be sufficient to let a detector from taking upon  
 him to be an accuser be so sufficiently provided for by  
 this good man that it must needs be that by his provision  
 that fear shall be quite gone. For if that it may be that all his  
 provision notwithstanding, the man's fear may still remain  
 in his heart—then may it also be, pardie, that be his  
 detection never so true, yet he may for that fear refuse to  
 make himself a party and become an open accuser. 30

Consider now, therefore, what is the remedy that he hath  
 devised in his seventh chapter. He rehearseth it here again: 35

1 *meat*: food    2 *mess*: serving // *showing*: telling  
 3 *is good reason*: makes good sense    12 *indemnity*: protection  
 15 *wise reason*: brilliant argument    16 *except*: unless  
 16–17 *surmised* . . . *falsehood*: trumped up the charge out of treachery  
 21 *let* . . . *to make*: deter . . . from making    25 *wise*: sensible    27 *let*: deter  
 32 *pardie*: by George    33 *never so true*: no matter how truthful    36 *rehearseth*: repeats

that upon complaint made to the King and his Council, “it is not to suppose nor think but that they would provide sufficiently for the indemnity of the witnesses in that behalf.”

I am content to grant him, for the while, that they will sufficiently provide for the indemnity of the witnesses. But first, all this provision is in our case here very needless. And his provision in the seventh chapter of his *Division* is brought in for another manner of matter: that is to wit, against a provision made in the *spiritual* law, by which it is there devised that in some cases, for dread of peril that may fall to the *witnesses*, the ordinary shall not suffer the party that is detected to know who hath *witnessed* against him. And now would this good man beguile his readers in this chapter, and make them ween that that special provision in that one special case, which provision, I ween, was yet in England never put in ure, were a common order in every man’s case. But consider, good reader, that our case is now that the man refuseth not to be a witness... but is content both to be sworn when he is as a witness called in and to avow then his deposition true, before the judge, in the party’s own presence... and if he may so be used, as a witness, will neither be afraid nor ashamed, nor desire to put the King’s Council to any business about the provision of his indemnity at all. And therefore in our case, this good man’s provision devised for witnesses shall not need for our witnesses, if he let the suit *ex officio* proceed, and receive them as only witnesses.

But on the other side, if this good man put away that suit, and will receive no man first for a denouncer secretly, and after that for a witness too, that will refuse at the beginning to make himself a party and become an open accuser; but, though they were such twenty, will take them all for false shrews and put them to silence except some one of them will take upon him the name and person of an accuser: I say that his provision doth not suffice, not even in his own case of fear, to make every true man content to accuse a heretic... but that we must either let that heretic alone and

6 *needless*: unnecessary    8 *manner*: kind    9 *spiritual*: Church  
 10 *dread* . . . *fall*: fear of danger that could come    11 *suffer*: allow    15 *in ure*: into use  
 16 *order*: carried-out procedure    25, 28 *receive*: admit; accept    27 *put away*: get rid of  
 31–32 *false shrews*: lying scoundrels    32 *except*: unless    35 *true*: right-believing  
 35 *content*: willing

let him go make more, or else must we use the suit *ex officio* still.

“That is not so,” saith this good man. “For if he become an accuser I have devised a remedy for his indemnity.” That is well and properly said. But we speak not of his loss, but of his fear. “Why, what should he need to fear when he can take no loss?” Hath this good man never heard in his life that some man hath been worse afeard than hurt? A man may fear, pardie, though he fear causeless. And if he so do still, then will he not become the accuser and anger him whom he feareth, though the man be bound—and right good sureties with him—that he shall do his accuser no bodily harm at all. 5 10

His fear is also, for all the provision that can be made by sufficient surety, not all causeless yet. For he may well and with good reason fear that he that is bound may by some secret shrews of his acquaintance murder him; and that in such wise as when he doth it, he may ween and have hope that it shall never be known for his deed, nor he thereby lose forfeiture of his bond. 15

There can no man (ye wot well) also kill another but with the peril of his own life. And yet is there daily many a man that standeth, for all that, in dread that another man will for evil will and malice destroy him. And the common laws of this realm so far forth allow and approve his dread, for all that his enemy is upon loss of his own life bound to the contrary, that upon his own oath, they compel the party to be bound, with other sureties for him, in certain sums of money, that he shall not. And yet the man that feared before may peradventure be full feared still, that his enemy will as well adventure the forfeiture of his friends’ money, as he before feared that he would adventure his own life. But yet because it may be that his respect unto friendship will temper his respect of malice and make him loath, for hurting of one whom he hateth, to hurt twain whom he loveth—the man is content, since he can go no farther, to take that may be gotten, and so to sue for such surety to live thereby, though not in full surety, nor clean out 20 25 30 35

5 *well and properly*: quite rightly    10 *though*: even if  
 11 *bound*: obligated by legal authority    11, 27 *sureties*: guarantors; bond posters  
 14 *surety*: guarantee    16 *secret*: clandestine; underground    18, 30 *forfeiture*: the fine  
 20–21 *but . . . life*: without putting his own life in jeopardy    22 *evil will*: ill will  
 24 *allow and approve*: condone and sanction    29 *full*: quite    29, 31 *adventure*: risk  
 32 *his*: i.e., that enemy’s // *respect*: consideration; regard  
 35 *that may be gotten*: what he can get // *sue*: take legal action  
 35–36 *such surety*: such security    36 *full surety*: complete safety

of fear, yet in surety somewhat the more, and in fear somewhat the less.

But, now, this man that doth detect this heretic, against whom he feareth to make himself an open adversary and accuser, is not in the case before he become his accuser, but may sit still, you see well, and hold his peace, and needeth not to make that heretic his adversary by his willful accusation; which if he should once do, he will never after, haply while he liveth, reckon himself so sure from bodily harm that he may after hap to have by him and by his means, as he will reckon to be in if he accuse him not, nor by such open accusation give him an open occasion of displeasure; no, not for all the provision that all the world can imagine for his surety—except only such surety as a poor man devised once for himself, when he came to a king and complained how sore he feared that such a servant of his would kill him. And the king bade him, “Fear not, fellow, for I promise ye, if he kill thee he shall be hanged within a little while after.” “Nay, my liege lord,” quoth the poor soul, “I beseech Your Grace let him be hanged for it a great while *before*. For I shall never live in the less fear till I see him hanged first.”

Now will this good man haply say that this manner of reasoning should prove not only that a man for fear would refuse to be an accuser, but also to be a witness... and then were it against myself, too.

That is not so in every case. For commonly no man is in such wise angry with them that are in a matter witnesses against him, and may seem to witness against their wills, for the necessity of their oaths whereto they may be or may seem to be compelled, as with him whom he seeth willingly, no man calling him, come forth of his own offer to accuse him. And therefore the cases be very far unlike. But yet in some cases when the party that is detected is known for mighty, and for so malicious therewith that he will of likelihood hate and mischief any man by whom he taketh any harm, though the other man do it never so much against his will: in such cases the fear may be such indeed that it may peradventure cause some that

5 *case*: legal action    7 *willful*: voluntary    8 *haply while*: perhaps as long as  
 9 *sure*: safe    13 *imagine*: think up; devise    15 *such a*: such-and-such a; a certain  
 26 *matter*: court action    27 *for*: on account of // *necessity*: constraining power  
 29 *willingly*: voluntarily // *calling*: subpoenaing  
 33 *mischief*: do physical harm to; inflict injury on

else would tell the truth, if he should never know them, for dread of his displeasure to be forsworn rather than abide the adventure, whatsoever provision any man should devise for their surety.

And for such case, if it happened, was the law made which in his seventh chapter this man so sore complaineth of: that the party detected should in such case be kept from the knowledge of the witnesses... and as (with the provisions that are in that law made farther) very good reason is that he should. And therefore is even here that point of his seventh chapter of his *Division*, and all that ever he can farther devise for the farther defense thereof, fully answered here by the way. 5 10

But now saith this good man thereto, that I deny not in mine *Apology* that “remedy” of his device to be “convenient for this realm”... and yet I will not, he saith, “assent that a law be made that it shall be so.” 15

In this tale this good, honest man saith untrue. The words in mine *Apology* whereupon he taketh hold to say that I deny not his device to be convenient for this realm be these:

His device, though peradventure it would serve in some one land, would yet not serve in some other. And they that made that law of the Church made it as it might serve most generally through Christendom... whereas this device, though it might serve in England, might not have served in many places of Almaine that are perverted since; not even while that matter was in a mammering, before the change was made. 20 25

But surely that same law and others of old made against heresies, if they had been in Almaine duly followed in the beginning, the matter had not there gone out at length to such an ungracious ending.

These be, lo, the words of mine *Apology*, the forty-second chapter, folio 232, whereof this man taketh hold to say that I deny not in mine *Apology* that his device is convenient for this realm. For in these words indeed I do not deny it... but then, you see well, I do not grant it, neither. 30

But afterward, in the selfsame chapter, the very next leaf after, against the sufficiency of his device write I these words following: 35

And on the other side, the remedy that he deviseth for the surety of the

2 *be forsworn*: commit perjury    2–3 *abide the adventure*: sustain the risk  
 9 *very good reason is*: it very much stands to reason    14, 19, 31 *convenient*: suitable  
 17 *honest*: honorable    23 *though*: even if    24, 27 *Almaine*: Germany  
 24 *perverted*: become apostate    25 *in a mammering*: not yet settled; up in the air  
 28 *ungracious*: ungodly / unfortunate    37 *side*: hand



witnesses should not peradventure make the men so bold as in a cause of heresy to meddle in the matter against some manner of man... but that they rather would for their own surety keep their own tongues still than, with all the surety that could be found them beside, have their persons disclosed unto the party.

5

Lo, good readers, the thing that he saith I deny not, because that in the first words I neither said yea nor nay (for I said not that it might serve in England... but that *though* it might serve in England, yet might it not serve in Almaine; which words I might have said though I had, in the next line before, expressly said that it might not serve in England)—that thing do I (as you see) forthwith in the next leaf well and plainly deny. And yet you see that he saith here again in this book that I deny it not. This good man seemeth not very shamefast, lo, but if his logic lead him to think that this were a good argument: “In these words he denieth it not: ergo, he denieth it not.” Which argument is even as good as this: “He denieth it not in one place: ergo, he denieth it not in no place.”

10

15

Now, where he saith that though I deny not his device to be convenient, yet I will not assent that a law be made that it shall be so: surely as much of his device as I think convenient for the realm, so much thereof will I not be against that a law be made that it shall be so. For where this good man thinketh it convenient for this realm that he which is detected or accused of heresy should be bound, and find sureties, that he shall not hurt neither accuser nor witness: I will not be against it that a law be made that it shall be so. But yet, though that law were made (since, for all that law, there would remain a fear behind in the men’s hearts for whose safeguard such sureties should be found, and peril and danger, too, sufficient to make them draw back from making themselves in heresy open accusers, and in some cases from bearing witness also, but if they thought their names should from the person against whom they should witness be surely kept close and unknown), I would not assent, for my part, to put away the said law that he speaketh of in his seventh chapter of his *Division*, for chances that might hereafter happen. And much less would I grant to

20

25

30

35

2 *meddle*: involve themselves // *matter*: court action 4 *beside*: otherwise  
 4 *persons*: identities 8, 10 *though*: even if 10 *might*: could  
 10 *next line before*: line right before 14 *shamefast*: decent 14, 32 *but if*: unless  
 15, 17 *good*: sound 17 *even*: just 34 *surely*: securely // *close*: secret  
 35 *put away*: do away with 36 *for*: because of // *chances*: misfortunes  
 37 *grant*: agree

put away the suit against heretics *ex officio*, into his device  
of only open accusers, for the harm that would undoubtedly daily  
grow by the increase of heretics and hindrance of the Catholic  
faith—no more than, though I blame not the law by which  
he that is afeard of killing shall have his adversary bound to 5  
the peace, I would yet, when the other is so bound by recognizance,  
have that law stand instead of the other by which  
he shall if he kill that man fall thereby further into the danger  
of hanging.

And yet this his gay, glorious device, that he devised in his 10  
former book and here now repeateth again, no man needeth to  
give him any great thank for. For who knew not that always—that  
whosoever be afeard may desire and have surety for the peace,  
if he fear himself of his life or bodily harm, and may ask it of  
course upon his oath as soon as he is afeard (and sooner, pardie, 15  
this man deviseth it not), of the King's ordinary justices, without  
any other, further suit to trouble the King's Grace or his Council  
with.

But yet will all this surety-finding, as you see, never so take  
away the fear of harm from men's hearts but that they will 20  
rather forbear to be accusers than by the becoming of an open  
accuser run in the deadly malice of that man by whom, for all  
his bond and all his sureties found, they fear still always that they  
shall take hurt.

But here will haply this good man tell me now that I 25  
am a man importunate, and one whom no reason can satisfy... and bid  
me therefore go devise some further thing mine own self for  
help of the matter, and assay also what further thing any other  
folk can find therein. And if neither mine own wit nor no  
man's else can find no further remedy, wherefore should I then 30  
blame him when he deviseth as full a remedy as any man's  
reason can find? Forsooth, I can, with any wit that I have—nor, I  
ween, no more can no man else—find no further remedy than he  
findeth here himself. But yet, since the furthest that he can find  
is very far insufficient with change of the suit *ex officio* to keep 35  
heresies from great increase and preserve the Catholic faith, I  
can therefore find at hand a much nearer remedy than this that he

1 *into*: in favor of    4 *blame not*: find no fault with; have nothing against  
5 *of killing*: i.e., of being killed    10 *gay*: brilliant // *glorious*: impressive  
12 *thank*: credit    13 *desire and have*: request and obtain  
13 *surety for the peace*: a protection like a peace bond or restraining order  
14–15 *of course*: by standard procedure    22 *run in*: incur  
26 *importunate*: vexatious; exasperating    26, 32 *reason*: reasoning    28 *help*: remedy  
28 *assay*: see    29, 32 *wit*: mental ability    31 *blame*: find fault with  
98/37–99/1 *this . . . far*: i.e., this one that is so far-fetched

fetcheth so far: that is to wit, to let his new devices pass and let the old law stand still.

And thus you see, good readers, that this piece, wherein he so boasteth the provision that he hath devised so sufficient to deliver the accusers from fear, leaveth them so in dread and fear still, that though there were no let but the fear of bodily harm—yet of many true men that will detect and bear witness, ye should find but very few that would become accusers. 5

But, now, though there were found provision good and sure to drive out of the accuser's heart all fear of bodily hurt—yet are there many that dare secretly detect, and by whom the ordinary shall know who can tell more, and will also, if they be called and sworn, and will not uncalled and unsworn tell no tale at all... and they themselves, also, will neither accuse nor yet bear witness neither, nor so much as have it known that ever they spoke word therein. And that not for any fear of their life, for which this good man findeth, as he saith, a "remedy"... but for loss of their living, for which he findeth none, nor never once thought thereon. And yet is the living to some folk as lief almost as the life. And their living they fear utterly to lose (that they get, peradventure, by them whom yet of charity, for their amendment, they detect) if they were once perceived anything to meddle in the matter. 10 15 20

And yet, as I said before, every wise man well wotteth there are many other affections besides all such fear that let men to become accusers in heresy, and yet letteth them not to do otherwise truly and charitably their duty, both in secret detecting of them and also in open bearing witness against them, when they be called forth and commanded by the Court to depose, that will never, as I said, of their own offer make themselves a party and openly become their accuser. 25 30

Now, what if there were but two witnesses of the matter, such as were well able plainly to prove the thing? If neither of both may be heard but if the one should become the accuser—when the one were made party, then were the proof lost. But we shall not need much, I warrant you, to care for this case. For of them both, you shall have neither nother that will. 35

2 *stand still*: remain in effect    6 *let*: deterrent    7 *true*: orthodox; right-believing  
 9–10 *good and sure*: quite certain    13 *called*: subpoenaed // *sworn*: put under oath  
 14 *yet*: even    20 *lief*: dear    23 *anything to meddle*: to have any involvement  
 24 *wise*: sensible    25 *affections*: feelings // *let men*: make people unwilling  
 27 *truly*: uprightly    36 *care for this case*: worry about this situation

Howbeit, yet hath this good man at last found a good way for that. For lo, sir, thus he saith:

And then if the witness will not avow it, but another will give credence to *him* and avow it: then it seemeth reasonable that they that will give credence thereto, and will report it, be taken as accusers—  
5 taking those witnesses for their warrant if they be denied.

If he think it likely that none of them will become accusers that were present and heard it themselves—then is it yet less likely that he will become the accuser that heareth it but at a second hand. And therefore methinketh that this device is  
10 not much wiser than the device that a good fellow devised once for his neighbor, that had a great hillock in his close... which for planing of the ground he counseled him to have it away. “Marry,” quoth his neighbor, “I must carry it, then, so far that it were less loss to me to give away the close and all.” “Marry,  
15 neighbor,” quoth the other, “I shall soon find a way for that. For I shall devise a provision that it shall be had away and yet never carried hence. For even thereas it lieth, lo, dig me a great pit, and carry it never further, but bury it even in that.” “Where shall I then lay that heap,” quoth his neighbor, “that cometh out of  
20 the pit?” At that the other studied a little. But when he had well bethought him—“Marry,” quoth he, “even dig another great pit under that, and bury me that heap there.”

So this man will in any wise, lo, have away this hillock, this suit *ex officio*, that he saith doth here much hurt. “How  
25 shall we have it away,” say we, “without yet much more hurt?” “Good remedy,” saith this good man, “shortly shall I devise. Put accusers in the stead of that suit, and they shall do much better.” “Who shall be the accusers?” say we. “Marry,” saith he, “they that hear them.” “They will not,” say we, “become accusers in no manner case.”  
30 “No will they,” saith he, “then be they but false shrews.” “What remedy, then,” say we, “to supply the said suit?” “A ready way,” saith he: “Take some other that heareth the other that heard the heretic speak.”

1, 16 *for that*: i.e., to take care of that    11 *wiser*: more sensible    12, 18, 22 *great*: large  
12, 15 *close*: enclosed field    13 *have it away*: get rid of it    14, 15, etc. *marry*: indeed  
18 *hence*: away from here // *even thereas*: right there where    19 *bury it even*: just bury it  
22 *even*: just    31 *no will they*: if they will not // *false shrews*: lying scoundrels

“He will much less become accuser,” say we, “than they that  
 heard it themselves.” What hath this good man farther to say  
 than bid us take then another that will? And ever we follow  
 still and say we shall never find him; and that word he denieth  
 not, but always biddeth us go get one. And now if the  
 second man were content, or the fifteenth after—yet hath this  
 man marred all this matter with one thing. For you wot well  
 that if the witness that saith he was present and heard it his own  
 ears will refuse to become the accuser himself—this good man  
 will that the ordinary shall take him for malicious or false.  
 Now, then, if we get, with long labor, some other man to accuse—  
 yet him that heard it and would not be the accuser himself,  
 since the bishop must take him always for malicious or  
 false in the matter, he may never accept him therein for a witness.  
 For if we take him for fraudulent and malicious to the  
 party... this man’s credence is ten times less, in all reason,  
 than his is that afterward deposeth to his harm where he was  
 first forsworn while he would fain have done him good;  
 and that man would not this good man believe after, in no  
 wise.

And thus both for the one cause and the other, for lack of  
 an accuser and credence of the witness, you see plainly, good  
 readers, that by this man’s device, if we dig up and bury this  
 hillock *ex officio*, we shall when we have all done, say he what he  
 list, make and leave that never will then be voided, as great a  
 hillock of heretics in the stead.

And this you see, good readers: that this good man showeth us  
 yet no let, but that for anything that he saith here, if the suit *ex  
 officio* were changed as he would have it, and instead thereof  
 trust all unto accusers—of which, for anything that he deviseth,  
 we were likely to find few, and as I fear me, verily rather  
 none at all—it were well likely to come to pass, as I said, that the  
 streets should swarm full of heretics ere ever they were  
 convented and repressed by his way. Of which saying of mine  
 as much marvel as he saith he hath, yet showeth he nothing  
 (as you see) wherefore he should marvel of it; nor to the things

3 *follow*: keep on    4 *word*: statement    6 *content*: willing  
 7 *marred all this matter*: ruined this whole case    8 *heard it*: i.e., heard it with  
 10, 14 *false*: dishonest    11 *accuse*: i.e., do the accusing  
 17–18 *was first forsworn*: first perjured himself    22 *credence*: credibility  
 25 *voided*: gotten rid of    28 *yet*: so far // *no let*: i.e., nothing to keep this from happening  
 34 *convented*: summoned // *repressed*: suppressed  
 34–35 *of . . . hath*: as surprised as he says he is at this claim of mine  
 36 *wherefore*: on account of which // *marvel of*: be surprised at

that I prove it with... he no more answereth than though he never heard them.

Which dealing of his you may clearly perceive even by the very same leaf wherein I wrote those words of which he marveleth so much and hath so little cause. For there, lo, my words be these: 5

For surely if the conventing of heretics *ex officio* were left, and changed into another order by which no man should be called, be he never so sore suspected nor by never so many men detected, but if some man make himself party against him as his accuser: the streets were likely to swarm full of heretics before that right few were accused, or peradventure any one, either. 10

These were, lo, my words in mine *Apology*, against which you have heard what he saith. Then, because he should *not* need to marvel at the matter, I show by and by what maketh me so to say. For there it followeth thus: 15

For, whatsoever the cause be, it is not unknown, I am sure, that many will give to a judge secret information of such things as, though they be true, yet gladly he will not, or peradventure dare not, be openly known that the matter came out by him. 20

Consider here, good readers, that as to become open accusers, I speak here of two lets. One, that men *will* not; another, that some men *dare* not. And yet that they dare not... I put as the more rare and more seldom. Now cometh this good answerer, and for the more seldom, that is to wit, where they dare not, he deviseth a “remedy” which seldom yet, or never, sufficiently shall serve the matter. And the other cause, that I call most common, as in very deed it is—that cause he neither denieth nor any one word speaketh of it, but softly slinketh beside it, as though he had never read it. What manner of answering, good readers, call you this? 25 30

Moreover, lest he might deny me that I said true therein, I laid there for the proof the plain, common experience, which this good man himself, I am very sure, but if he be a recluse and have been all his life, knoweth well to be true; and, indeed, he saith not nay. 35

Then go I there farther yet, and I declare what profit there

8 *order*: procedure; system // *called*: subpoenaed    9 *sore*: strongly // *detected*: reported  
 14 *because*: so that    15 *show by and by*: state immediately    19 *be*: i.e., have it be  
 22 *lets*: hindrances // *will not*: do not want to    26 *serve*: take care of  
 37 *declare*: explain

cometh to the commonweal to give such folk hearing—such folk, I say, as this good man would have rejected back, and taken for false or malicious, because they come secretly and will not themselves openly become accusers. Therein, lo, these are my words: 5

And yet shall he sometimes give the names of divers others... which being called by the judge, and examined as witnesses against their wills, both know and will also depose the truth, and he that first gave information also; and yet will never one of them willingly make himself an open accuser of the party, nor dare, peradventure, for his ears. 10

This thing, good readers, every man everywhere findeth true that any order of justice hath in his hand. And in these words, you see well, I told him there once again not only that some dare not, but that though men dare they *will* not (except the thing do privately touch themselves), for the causes of the commonweal become open accusers. And as I again there told it him—so he here again forgetteth it. 15

Then go I yet forth a little farther, and these are there my words: 20

And this find we not only in heresy, but in many temporal matters among ourselves... whereof I have had experience many a time and oft, both in the disclosing of felonies and, sometimes, of much other oppression used by some one man or twain in a shire, whereby all their neighbors sore smarted—and yet not one durst openly complain. 25

Lo, thus I there declared, good readers, by common experience, that if men should do as this man here deviseth—reject every man for malicious and crafty that will give secret information, but if he be content to become an accuser openly—there should much harm grow thereof... not in heresies only, but besides that, in much other mischief too. To all this gear you see, good readers, that this good man playeth as though he came in in a mummery, for any one word he saith; which should not so have escaped him, ye may be very sure, but that he saw full surely that he could never answer them. For though he would have denied all that I speak of mine own experience, yet in the like 30 35

9 *willingly*: voluntarily    10–11 *for his ears*: for fear of serious harm  
 13 *any . . . hand*: presides over any legal proceeding    15 *except*: unless  
 16 *do . . . themselves*: affects them personally    18 *forgetteth*: disregards  
 25 *sore smarted*: suffered greatly    26 *declared*: showed    30 *grow*: come  
 31 *mischief*: wickedness // *gear*: stuff    32 *mummery*: mime show  
 33 *which*: i.e., which things    33–34 *escaped him*: gotten by him; gone unmentioned by him  
 34 *full surely*: quite certainly    35 *though . . . denied*: even if he had wanted to deny  
 36 *all . . . of*: everything I say from

things so many men of worship daily do prove the thing  
 true that I tell it for, that he could nothing win in his cause  
 by all that denying. And yet did I not mine own self my  
 business in such wise but that I can, if need require, prove it  
 plain enough. But of this gear, as I said, he denieth nothing, 5  
 nor answereth nothing neither thereunto. And sure may you be  
 that if he had could, he would not have failed to have done the  
 one.

And therefore, good readers, my words stand still so sure that  
 this good man hath not yet, nor never shall while he liveth, be 10  
 able to void them with all the craft he can, but that if men  
 would be so far overseen as in this matter to follow his device—  
 to put away this old law, the suit *ex officio*, and trust that all  
 would be well helped by means of open accusers—it would at  
 length come to pass, the thing that I have said: that the streets 15  
 were well likely to swarm full of heretics ere ever that right  
 few should be thereof accused, or peradventure any one heretic  
 either.

And now, good Christian readers—since you see so clearly that by  
 such changing of that law, the Catholic faith should decay—I 20  
 care not now greatly what he say for his second part, since he  
 hath so foul an overthrow in the first, upon which first  
 part all the matter hangeth. For though he could in his second  
 part make you now good proof not only that there might, but  
 also that there did and hath done, great harm grow by that 25  
 suit (which he shall never prove you while he liveth; but at  
 sundry times and that of late, where it hath been so surmised, it  
 hath always been proved the contrary): yet since you see well that  
 by this change that he deviseth, while we would help these  
 harms that he speaketh of (that is to wit, that no man should be 30  
 convented of heresy causeless), we should by the providing for  
 that harm be the cause of far more hurt and harm in the  
 stead—that is to wit, that when that suit were so changed, the  
 Catholic faith should decay, and heretics so should increase  
 that (by such insurrections as they have herebefore 35  
 made, not in other countries only, but in this realm of England

1 *worship*: high standing // *prove*: find by their own experience    5 *gear*: stuff  
 7–8 *the one*: either the one or the other    9 *words*: statements // *sure*: indisputably true  
 10, 26 *while*: as long as    11 *void*: nullify // *craft he can*: trickery he knows  
 12 *far overseen*: very imprudent // *follow*: go along with // *device*: idea  
 14 *helped*: remedied    20, 34 *decay*: fall off; erode    22 *foul*: disgraceful; shameful  
 22 *overthrow*: defeat    23 *all the matter*: the whole case    25 *grow by*: result from  
 27 *surmised*: alleged    29 *help*: remedy  
 31 *convented* . . . *causeless*: hauled in for heresy without cause



have also attempted the same) put it upon the peril and  
 assay to rob, despoil, and *kill*, also, much innocent people  
 openly, and turn folk from the faith by force, and work  
 other manner of masteries many more, such as my heart abhorreth  
 so much as to rehearse or name—since every man may see, I 5  
 say, that such harm were in peril to fall by this change of his,  
 there will, I ween, no wise man follow his fond device in  
 putting this law away, although he proved well in his second  
 part that there were harm in the keeping... while he cannot  
 defend the contrary but that there were incomparably much 10  
 more harm in the leaving.

But by what way he proveth that there is great hurt in the  
 keeping, that shall we now consider. After which well examined...  
 I shall again return, good readers, eftsoons unto the  
 first: that this suit *ex officio* taken once away, the streets were 15  
 likely to swarm full of heretics. And as clear as you see that  
 point already—and that this man hath therein neither answered  
 nor once touched such things as yourselves see that I said therein  
 before—yet shall I make it you anon, with the farther folly of his  
 device, doubly (ere we depart) so clear. 20

Concerning the second part, thus, lo, this man beginneth:

But to put the party that is complained on to answer, and to  
 condemn him if he say contrary to that the witnesses have said,  
 not knowing who *be* the witnesses, nor who be his accusers: it seemeth 25  
 not reasonable to be accepted for a law. For as I have said in the said  
 treatise, if he that is accused knew their names that accused him, he  
 might percase allege and prove so great and so vehement cause of  
 rancor and malice in them that accuse him, or bear witness  
 against him, that their sayings by no law ought to stand against 30  
 him. As if there were two men that had sworn the death of another... and  
 because they cannot bring it about, they imagine how they may  
 bring him to all the shame and vexation that they can, and thereupon  
 they appeach him of heresy—if he in this case knew their names,  
 he might prove their rancor and malice. And because he knoweth 35  
 them not, he cannot prove it. And also the witness may be such as shall

1 *put* . . . *peril*: take the risk    2 *assay*: make bold // *much*: a lot of  
 3–4 *work* . . . *more*: use many more kinds of strong-arm tactics    5 *rehearse*: relate  
 5, 32 *may*: can    6 *were* . . . *by*: was in danger of resulting from  
 7–8 *follow* . . . *away*: go along with his idiotic idea of getting rid of this law  
 8 *although*: even if    9 *while*: when    11 *the leaving*: the doing away with (it)  
 14 *eftsoons*: a second time    18 *touched*: mentioned    19 *anon*: within a little while  
 19 *folly*: foolishness    24 *condemn*: convict // *that*: what  
 27 *their names that*: the names of those who    28 *percase*: by chance  
 28 *vehement*: serious // *cause*: a case    30 *sayings*: statements  
 30 *stand*: count    31 *as*: such as    32 *imagine*: plot    34 *appeach*: accuse

have his lands by escheat after his death. And if it be said that these cases fall so seldom that it ought little to be pondered—so may it be said likewise that it falleth but seldom that the witnesses in heresy stand in any fear of them that they accuse. And then to make a general law to prohibit all men that they should not have knowledge of the witnesses in no case, it is not reasonable. 5

Now, good readers, one thing opened unto you which is truth, which this man of wiliness hideth from you and would make you ween the truth were contrary—divide, after that known, all this mischief and unreasonableness that he telleth us here into twenty parts... and with the bare knowledge of that one truth, nineteen and a half of all his false, feigned mischiefs are gone. 10

The truth is, good Christian readers, that except only one case, whereof he speaketh in his seventh chapter of his *Division*, where to let the party know the witnesses were peril—to which I have answered him both in mine *Apology*, first, and since even in this same chapter before—else, in all other cases, the witnesses whose depositions shall be taken and laid against him to prove him a heretic, and upon which deposition sentence of condemning him for a heretic shall be given against him, he shall see them and shall hear their depositions too. So that if there be any such great causes as this good man here imagineth that might happen, of enmity, or hope of lucre, or any much less either, the judge both may and will consider them before the sentence. 15 20 25

“But why shall he not know them forthwith, when he is first convented?” For it were not well done he should, no more than the King’s Council, that many times call malefactors before them upon secret information first, use always there by and by to disclose who told them the matter and what; which if they should, and by and by bring him forth, then though the suspect would confess haply something thereby the sooner—yet should it be but that thing which he thought the other knew. Whereas while the thief knoweth not who hath given the information, 30 35

1 *have*: get // *escheat*: forfeiture 2, 3 *fall(eth)*: occur(s) 7 *opened*: explained  
 8 *of*: out of 9 *contrary*: the opposite 10, 12 *mischief(s)*: harm(s) 11 *bare*: mere  
 12 *feigned*: fabricated 16 *the witnesses*: i.e., who the witnesses are  
 16 *were peril*: would be dangerous 21 *sentence of*: the verdict with regard to  
 22 *against*: about 25 *lucre*: monetary gain 26 *the sentence*: i.e., giving the verdict  
 28 *convented*: summoned // *for . . . done*: because it would not be good that  
 29 *call*: summon // *malefactors*: criminals 30 *use*: make it their practice  
 30, 32 *by and by*: immediately 33 *haply*: perhaps 35 *while*: when

and yet thinketh by his examination that among his many fellows,  
 though they be thieves all, yet some false shrews there be,  
 he misguesseth among and weeneth it were one where indeed  
 it was another... and so instead of one felony, to light there  
 cometh twain. 5

But at another time and in another place, before he shall have  
 any judgment thereupon, he shall commonly see them sworn  
 and hear them speak, too.

And here I say “commonly” because that sometimes, perchance, in  
 point of judgment, he shall not have them brought forth and 10  
 sworn in his presence, nor peradventure never hear them  
 speak in the matter. For they may happen to be some that deposed  
 and died, too, before himself were taken; and some haply that  
 were his fellows confessed his felonies at the gallows, when they  
 were on the ladder. And some peradventure became approvers 15  
 when they were cast, and called for a coroner... and the law,  
 keeping no store of him but hanging him up forthwith, useth  
 yet his information and all these others’ too, which may happen to  
 come so many together and so likely to be true that his life  
 may go therefore, and be well worthy to, and yet neither himself 20  
 nor the inquest never hear any one witness sworn, neither  
 the first nor the second, neither at the indicting nor at  
 his arraigning neither.

Now may it so fortune in like wise, and sometimes so doth it,  
 too, that folk some good and honest depose in cause of heresy 25  
 against some one man that is detected thereof. And haply  
 there depose also some others of his own affinity... and in  
 deposing against that one man, detect by their depositions another  
 man, of the selfsame company, that is then walked far off  
 (no man can tell where), that appeareth plainly, upon all their oaths, 30  
 peradventure the very chief heretic of all. If he hap long  
 after, when these witnesses be dead, to come again into the  
 country and teach heresies afresh, and one or twain detect  
 him—they shall now be sworn and shall be brought  
 forth face to face before him, that he shall object against 35  
 them what he can before his judgment pass. But yet those

1, 14 *fellows*: accomplices    2 *false shrews*: double-crossing scoundrels  
 3 *misguesseth*: guesses wrong // *among*: now and then // *indeed*: actually  
 4 *felony*: crime    6 *have*: receive    7 *commonly*: ordinarily  
 7, 11, 34 *sworn*: put under oath    9 *perchance*: perhaps    9–10 *in point*: at the time  
 12 *in*: on    13 *himself were taken*: he was arrested    14 *felonies*: crimes  
 15 *approvers*: sworn informants on their accomplices    16 *cast*: convicted  
 16 *coroner*: an officer of the Crown (to enter his accusations against his accomplices)  
 18 *information*: accusation    20 *be well worthy to*: well deserve to    24 *fortune*: happen  
 25 *folk . . . honest*: some quite honorable folk    26 *detected*: accused  
 27 *affinity*: companionship    28 *detect*: make known (to be a heretic)    29 *walked*: gone  
 32 *again*: back    33 *detect*: report

old depositions shall not serve for naught, but are *adminicula probationis*, though the men be dead. And against all reason were it that it were otherwise. Howbeit, what they said he shall hear... and also who they were.

Lo, this is, good Christian readers, the manner of that suit, whereof this good man would here make us ween the contrary, and that men were commonly condemned of heresy by depositions of those men whom he should never know. And therefore, since the truth is indeed that all the wrong which he speaketh of, he groundeth upon a plain untruth, though he make not this lie wittingly himself, but, hearing some folk say so, weeneth that it were true: yet is, as I said before, all his reason spilt... and, as I told you, the harm that he layeth in that point, if he should divide it into twenty parts, nineteen parts and a half were now clearly gone. For there remained but that one case which he would have here seem common, and yet in his seventh chapter of his first book he declareth himself that the case is but special; that is to wit, where the witnesses are kept away for fear. Else, in all the remnant, this man's harms that he layeth here against the law be very clearly gone.

And therefore his two gay cases of swearing a man's death and winning a man's land by escheat have place but in the special point of that one special law. And yet are his two cases such as, well considered, are of no great effect. For if we should regard those two cases—the publishing of the witnesses' names would seldom remedy the matter. For it might then as well hap that such folk might hire others that should bear such false witness as do the thing themselves, and of likelihood so would they rather do.

But seeing that his cases, for the far fetching and likelihood of so seldom fortuning, were likely to be taken for fond—yet, for the favor of his own devising, he was loath to scrape them out, but excuseth the devising of them thus:

And if it be said that these cases fall so seldom that it ought little to be pondered—so may it be said likewise that it falleth but seldom that the witnesses in heresy stand in any fear of them that they accuse.

1–2 *adminicula probationis*: aids to proof    7 *condemned*: found guilty  
 7 *by*: on the basis of    9 *wrong*: injustice    11 *make*: tell // *wittingly*: knowingly  
 12 *so*: that // *weeneth*: supposes    12–13 *all* . . . *spilt*: his whole argument ruined  
 13 *layeth*: claims that there is    18, 22 *special*: exceptional    20 *layeth*: alleges  
 21 *gay*: brilliant    22 *escheat*: forfeiture    23 *special*: particular  
 25 *publishing*: making publicly known    27 *hire*: bribe    29 *rather do*: do instead  
 31 *fortuning*: occurring // *fond*: foolish    34, 35 *fall(eth)*: occur(s)  
 36 *in heresy*: concerning heresy

Now, if this answer of his were good and true, that it happeth as seldom that the witnesses stand in any such fear: then he assoileth his own reason himself. For then hath he no cause to complain, for the law to keep the witness close is made but for to serve in that special, seldom case where it happeth such fear to fall. 5

And therefore is his last cause verily not very shamefast, where he maketh as though the law were made general, “to prohibit all men that they should not have knowledge of the witnesses in no case.” 10

And as for in this point of his, whereupon all his whole matter hangeth, to show you that he saith plain untrue, and groundeth all this gear, of always keeping witnesses close, upon a plain, open lie: I will for this time take none other witnesses against him but his own plain, open words. For in his seventh chapter of his *Division*, lo, thus, good readers, he saith: 15

And in the chapter there that beginneth “Statuta quaedam,” it is decreed... that if the bishop or other inquirers of heresy see that any great danger might come to the accusers or witnesses of heresy by the great power of them that be accused: that then they may command that the names of the accusers or witnesses shall not be showed but to the bishop or inquirers... or such other learned men as be called to them, and that shall suffice... though they be not showed to the party. And for the more indemnity of the said accusers and witnesses it is there decreed... that the bishop or inquirers may enjoin such as they have showed the names of such witnesses unto... to keep them close upon pain of excommunication, for disclosing that secret without their license. And surely this is a sore law: that a man shall be condemned... and not know the names of them that be causers thereof. 20 25 30

Now, good Christian readers, here you see plainly, by his own words, that the cause of that law is special, and serveth but whereas there is fear that the witnesses might stand in danger by reason that the person detected were a man of great might and power, which happeth very seldom, and almost never till it be well nigh past remedy. And therefore now you see by these 35

3 *assoileth*: refutes 4, 13, 28 *close*: secret 5, 33 *special*: exceptional  
 5 *seldom*: infrequent 6 *fall*: occur 7 *shamefast*: respectable  
 11–12 *all . . . matter*: his whole entire case 13 *gear*: stuff // *of*: about  
 14 *open*: obvious 18 *there*: i.e., of canon law 19, 23, 26 *inquirers*: investigators  
 23, 25, 27 *showed*: disclosed; made known 24 *called*: summoned  
 25 *more*: further // *indemnity*: security 27 *enjoin*: order // *such as*: those whom  
 29 *license*: permission 30 *sore*: sorry; terrible // *condemned*: convicted  
 33 *whereas*: wherever

words of his own that those other words of his are too shameful—  
 where he now saith, here, that the law is general and forbiddeth  
 “all men that they should not have knowledge of  
 the witnesses in no case.” Upon my faith, except this good man see  
 better how to salve this sore than I see—I would not have written 5  
 such another point in my book, for more than all the paper  
 cost, and the printing too.

But now, as I say, since you see that all these griefs of his be  
 gone save in this one only case of so great probable fear, while  
 he groundeth all the remnant upon a great, open untruth— 10  
 it is, you see well, a very seldom grief that is left. For I never  
 saw, nor to my remembrance read, nor, trust in God, never  
 shall see the need, that ever any great man whom folk needed to  
 fear was condemned in this realm for heresy, save only Sir  
 Hugh Oldcastle once (in the time of King Henry V), that was 15  
 then Lord Cobham; nor yet he neither, till that through his  
 heresy he fell to treason too, and would have been the captain  
 of heretics in a sudden traitorous insurrection.

And therefore as for this harm that this good man telleth us  
 here, that ariseth by the suit *ex officio* in heresy, this point is, 20  
 as you see, both reasonable if it happed, and in law sufficiently  
 provided for... and yet, besides that, so seldom happeth here in this  
 realm that it was folly for him to speak thereof... and yet no more  
 toucheth indeed the suit *ex officio* than if the suit were 25  
 begun and pursued by some great man that would and feared not to  
 profess himself for accuser. And thus is this case utterly nothing  
 to purpose... and all the remnant is (as you see also by his own  
 words proved) grounded upon great untruth. And therefore,  
 all this that he hath said set aside for naught—let us now see what  
 other harm the good man findeth further. Lo, good readers, 30  
 therein thus he saith:

Also Sir Thomas More denieth not but that by reason of the law *Ex. de*  
*hereticis, ca. Ad abolendam*, which is recited in the seventh chapter of the  
 said treatise, that a man may be driven to a purgation without any  
 offense in him, or be accursed, as if he be notably suspected, and yet 35  
 not guilty, as it may well be; and yet he will not condescend that that

8 *griefs*: beefs; grievances    9 *while*: since    10, 27 *remnant*: rest  
 10 *great*: big // *open*: obvious    11 *seldom*: infrequent // *grief*: hardship  
 12 *trust*: i.e., I trust    15 *that*: who    17 *would have been*: aspired to be  
 24 *toucheth indeed*: actually puts in a negative light    25 *would*: wanted  
 27 *to purpose*: relevant    29 *naught*: worthless    32 *law*: i.e., canon law  
 33 *recited*: quoted    34 *purgation*: compurgation; process by which he can get himself  
 cleared of suspicion by having others attest to his innocence  
 34–35 *without . . . him*: without his being at all guilty    35 *accursed*: excommunicated  
 35 *notably*: glaringly    36 *condescend*: concede

law should be changed, but saith, in fortifying thereof, that “verily”  
 he thinketh that “he which cannot be proved guilty in heresy, and yet  
 useth such manner of ways that all his honest neighbors ween he  
 were one... and therefore in their conscience dare not swear that he is any  
 other... is well worthy to do some penance.” Truly this is a marvelous  
 persuasion: that a man should be put to his purgation... because his  
 neighbors dare not swear that he is no heretic. 5

Now, good readers, because this good man beginneth here to  
 fortify his word with that that I did not in my said fortieth chapter  
 of mine *Apology* deny “that a man may be driven to a  
 purgation without any offense in him, or be accursed, as if he  
 be notably suspected, and yet not guilty”: I will first bring you forth  
 mine own words written in the said chapter; and afterward,  
 then, shall we see whether he can take such great hold upon  
 my words as he would it should seem. Lo, good readers, these  
 are my words (folio 220): 10 15

It may be sometime (albeit very seldom it happeth) that in heresy, upon other  
 vehement suspicions, without witnesses a man may be put to his purgation,  
 and to penance also if he fail thereof; which thing why so many  
 should now think so hard a law as this Pacifier saith there do, I cannot  
 see... nor those wise men, neither, that made the law. And yet were they many  
 wise men... and not only as wise, but peradventure many more also in  
 number, than those that this Pacifier calleth many now, that, as he saith,  
 now do find the fault. For though it be alleged in the *Extra. de hereticis*—  
 yet was that law *made* in a general council. And verily methinketh  
 that he which cannot be proved guilty in heresy, and yet useth such  
 manner of ways that all his honest neighbors ween he were one indeed,  
 and therefore dare not swear that in their conscience they think  
 him any other... is well worthy to do some penance for that manner of  
 behavior whereby he giveth all other men occasion to take him for so  
 naughty. 20 25 30

Now, good readers, where this man taketh me that I say a man  
 may be driven to his purgation without offense: you see well I  
 say not so... but I say that he *doth* a *great* offense, and well worthy  
 were to be driven to his purgation and to do penance, too, if he be  
 not able to purge himself... but have used himself so like a 35

1, 9 *fortify(ing)*: back(ing) up    2, 26 *in*: of  
 3, 26–27 *useth* . . . *ways*: acts in such kinds of ways    3, 27 *honest*: upstanding  
 3–4, 27 *ween* . . . *one*: think he is one (i.e., a heretic)  
 5, 29 *is* . . . *do*: well deserves to have to do    5 *marvelous*: astonishing  
 9 *word*: assertion    18 *vehement suspicions*: strong grounds for suspicion  
 20 *hard*: oppressive    24 *alleged*: cited    25 *general*: ecumenical    31 *naughty*: bad  
 33 *without offense*: i.e., without having done anything wrong    34 *so*: that  
 34–35 *well worthy were*: would well deserve    36 *purge*: clear // *used*: conducted

heretic in all good folk's opinion that he can find no good folk that dare in their conscience swear that they think otherwise. This, say I, is a great offense and worthy to drive him to this point. And this good man saith that I deny not but that he may by the law be driven to it without offense! 5

And whereas he saith I deny not that he may be driven thereto without witness: wherefore not, I pray you? For the suspicions being proved by witnesses to be notable and vehement, will they not be cause sufficient to drive him to purge himself of that infamy, or else to do penance for bringing himself thereinto, but if there be witnesses of his express heretical words? *No*, saith this good man, and marveleth that I could think this any reason. But why he should so marvel at the matter, or why I should be ashamed to think so, thereof telleth us this good man no tale at all, but only saith... 10 15

Truly this is a marvelous persuasion: that a man should be put to his purgation because his neighbors dare not swear that he is no heretic.

Marvelous God, where was this man's mind when he wrote these words? Do I say that he shall be put to his purgation *because* his neighbors will not swear with him? Nay, I say that when there be, by witnesses sworn before his face, suspicions of heresy proved upon him—*then* may the ordinary put him to such purgation, to prove whether they will swear with him or no. For when they will not, but refuse it, what madman would say that he shall be put to that purgation *then*, when he hath failed thereof, and it already past? This man speaketh here as one that perceived no piece of the matter. 20 25

For whereas I declare that he is in great offense that so useth himself that none of his honest neighbors dare swear that in their consciences he is any other than a heretic: this man taketh it as though they that should swear with him in his purgation should precisely swear that he *were* no heretic; whereas their oath shall not be what he is indeed, but what themselves think of his oath; they shall not swear that he is no heretic, but that they believe that he hath sworn true in denying the articles 30 35

7 *wherefore*: why // *pray*: ask    8 *notable*: widespread // *vehement*: cogent  
 11 *but if*: unless    13 *any reason*: at all reasonable  
 17, 20, etc. *purgation*: See note for 110/34.    24 *prove*: test out  
 28 *perceived*: understood    29 *useth*: conducts    30 *honest*: upstanding  
 36 *true*: truthfully



laid unto his charge. Like as in the wager of a law,  
they shall not swear that the defendant oweth not the money,  
but that they believe that he sweareth truth.

I marvel, in good faith, that this good man handleth this  
matter in this manner, and without any telling why, marveleth so 5  
much that I would think that law reasonable. But surely, though he  
could make me a proper reason for his part, and myself  
another for the same side also—yet would I think myself right  
unreasonable if I should upon his reason and mine advise and counsel  
this realm, in a matter concerning the conservation of 10  
the faith, to alter and change that law that was made, by so great  
advice, by a whole general council of all Christendom...  
wherein there were (I doubt it not) men that had as good zeal to  
keep innocents out of trouble as any of us twain... and much  
more reason also than we both have, too. But that point that I 15  
showed him in my *Apology*—that the same provision that is  
made in the law *Ad abolendam* was also made in a general council—  
that tale he letteth go by, as though he heard it not.

But then he cometh forth with a word or two of a further  
fault in the law, which either the man understandeth not what it 20  
meaneth, or else is it hard for any man to think that he meaneth  
well. These are his words, lo:

And verily the law is that their oath in that case should not be accepted—  
for the said chapter *Ad abolendam* is that if a man be notably  
suspected of heresy, that he shall purge himself after the will of 25  
the ordinary or be accursed; and so the purgation of his neighbor  
will not serve. Let every man therefore consider whether the said  
law be indifferent or not. And if it be not, let them put to their  
hand to have it broken. And I think, verily, they shall deserve great  
thank of God if they turn it to a more indifferent way than it is at 30  
now. For under this manner the most innocent man that is may of  
malice be reported to be suspected of heresy and be not so indeed,  
and so be driven to his purgation or be accursed; and then there is  
another law, that if he in that case of an indurate mind stand so  
accused a year, he shall be punished as a heretic, and that is by the 35  
law *Extra. de hereticis, ca. Excommunicamus*.

1 *wager of a law*: a form of trial in which the defendant could gain acquittal by producing  
eleven witnesses who would swear to belief that what he or she had said under oath was  
said truthfully 3 *sweareth truth*: is swearing truthfully 6 *though*: even if  
7 *proper*: fine // *part*: side 14 *any*: either 17, 36 *law*: i.e., canon law  
18 *tale*: bit of information 19 *word*: statement 24 *chapter*: i.e., canon  
25 *after*: according to 26 *ordinary*: bishop 26, 33, 35 *accursed*: excommunicated  
26 *purgation of*: compurgation of; character witness given by  
28, 30 *indifferent*: impartial; unbiased 28–29 *put . . . broken*: set about having it changed  
29–30 *deserve . . . of*: merit a great reward from 33 *purgation*: compurgation  
34 *indurate*: obstinate

This provision, good readers, that he speaketh, which is in the law *Ad abolendam* (recited in the fifth book of the decretals, in the title *De hereticis*)—that such as were suspect should purge themselves at the arbitrament and discretion of the ordinary—was, as I before have said, afterward looked upon and allowed in the general council called Concilium Lateranense, as every man may soon perceive that will well consider the paragraph “Excommunicamus” afterward in the same title. For whereas that law there saith, “Qui inventi fuerint sola suspicione notabiles, nisi statim innocentiam suam congrua purgatione monstraverint,” these words “congrua purgatione” be referred unto the other law (*Ad abolendam*) thereof made before, as both appeareth by such doctors as write upon the laws... and also, to him that will consider it well, it well appeareth by the self text. For in the paragraph “Excom.” be rehearsed part of the very words of the law *Ad abolendam*, whereby we may see that the council there looked upon that law. And so was, I say, that provision which this man calleth so unreasonable not only made by Pope Lucius III, but after also made again, by ratification, by Pope Innocent III in a whole general council. And read the stories whoso will, and he shall find, both by Platina and *Cronica cronicarum* too, that both this Pope Lucius and this Pope Innocent were very virtuous men. And here had it been reason now, therefore, that this good man, since he findeth in this point so great a fault in the wits of both these good popes, and in all them that were members of that general council, and in all the wits of all Christian regions that have used and allowed that law for good ever since—reason would, I say, that he should at the least have laid some reason here wherefore the law cannot please him that he which, though he be not proved guilty of the deed, is yet proved suspect, should purge himself after the arbitrament of the ordinary; that is to wit, in such manner wise as the ordinary should think convenient, upon the qualities of the person and circumstances of the cause considered.

Suppose, now, that there were none other manner of purgation but by his neighbors’ swearing with him, and that those words

1 *speaketh*: mentions    2 *recited*: quoted // *decretals*: papal decrees concerning canon law  
 2–3, 8 *in the (same) title*: under the (same) heading    3, 31 *purge*: clear  
 4, 31 *arbitrament*: determination; choice of means    5, 16 *upon*: at    5 *allowed*: approved  
 6 *Concilium Lateranense*: i.e., the Fourth Lateran Council    7, 14 *paragraph*: article  
 11 *be referred*: have reference    12 *doctors*: theologians    13 *upon*: about  
 14 *the self text*: the text itself    15 *rehearsed*: quoted    20 *stories*: historical accounts  
 23 *had it been reason*: would reason have dictated    27 *approved*: taken  
 28 *would*: i.e., would dictate // *laid*: given    29 *wherefore*: why // *which*: who  
 32 *manner wise*: kind of way    33 *convenient*: appropriate  
 33–34 *upon . . . cause considered*: upon consideration of . . . case

“ad arbitrium episcopi” were not written in the law: were it yet  
 reason to accept his oath in whatsoever manner the man would  
 himself devise it? And with as few hands as himself list  
 appoint? And with what manner folk soever himself would  
 bring? 5

Nay, sir! For it may so be that there shall be good cause why,  
 sometime and in some place, that the ordinary should not put  
 some man to that kind of purgation which if he did,  
 were he never so naughty, he should be sure of compurgators,  
 peradventure more than enough. 10

For it hath been seen in many countries ere this, and sometimes in  
 England too, that some evil preacher, preaching plain, open heresies,  
 should yet, if he might have been put to such purgation,  
 have lacked no hands to lay on the Book with him, that he  
 never spoke such words. Howbeit, where the words are open 15  
 and plain heresy, the law hath provided another way for the remedy  
 good enough.

But then have there been some preachers such ere this, that teaching  
 plain heresies to their familiars secretly, would preach in  
 such wise abroad that their words should have two senses, and 20  
 one boot serve for either leg, like a shipman’s hose... and so should  
 be tempered as the people should have occasion always to take  
 them to the worst... and himself if he were examined would say  
 before the ordinary, and swear too, that he never meant but the  
 best. 25

Now, when it should by good witnesses appear that his manner  
 was such the people took much harm thereby, and always took his  
 words so that they thought he so meant them that he purposed  
 by them to set forth and advance those things that were stark  
 heresies indeed: if the ordinary should then appoint him with 30  
 other compurgators to purge this suspicion—were these suspicions  
 never so vehement, he should lack no compurgators to  
 purge himself every week, and then do as he did before. And  
 many good simple folk, taking him even as he meant, should fall  
 into his heresies the while... and ween while he preached so still, that 35  
 to believe that way were no peril.

1 *ad arbitrium episcopi*: at the determination of the bishop

3–4 *as . . . appoint*: i.e., as he himself arranges to have put on the Bible on his behalf

9 *naughty*: wicked 12, 15 *open*: obvious / publicly witnessed 14 *Book*: Bible

15, 20 *words*: statements 19 *familiars*: close associates 20 *abroad*: in public

21 *shipman’s hose*: very loose-fitting trousers worn by sailors

23 *to the worst*: in the worse way 26 *appear*: be made evident 30 *appoint*: arrange for

32 *never so vehement*: no matter how cogent 33 *purge himself*: clear himself (of them)

34 *even*: just

And therefore those wise men that made the law left the thing in the ordinary's discretion to assign him that is proved suspect of heresy such kind of purgation as the circumstances of the person, and the people and the time, shall most require.

And therefore will the ordinary, to some man so suspect, sometimes assign him (to purge his suspicion that with his lewd manner of preaching he is fallen in, to the great hurt of his hearers) that he shall openly confess that those heresies that the people took him to mean be very false heresies indeed... and openly shall detest them and swear that he so believeth them to be... and swear that he neither meant to teach them nor never was minded that any man should take him so, nor never would afterward teach nor hold heresies, but abjure them for ever.

And yet for the further purgation of such suspicion, the ordinary might also enjoin him some certain things to do such as may declare the more clearly that he is not of such mind—as open preaching against the selfsame heresies, and the doing of some such things as those heresies did stand against.

And now, by this purgation, this good shall he do—that if he would after preach the same things again, though he used again such another wily fashion, yet would his audience then think thus (as many as had any mind to be good): “Either this man meaneth not now by his words to teach us that point that himself hath abjured, and then let us not learn the thing of him that he would in no wise we should; or else he meaneth to teach it us still, for all his abjuration. And then wherefore should we be so mad to believe a false wretch that would make us believe now that that thing were true... which himself hath openly confessed and sworn to be false?”

But then will haply this good man say that this abjuration is perilous, for jeopardy of the relapse. The peril of death by relapse is not upon every abjuration. But of truth, he that is abjured upon such things proved as maketh him not slightly but very vehemently suspected, if he fall after into

6 *lewd*: bad    7 *hurt*: harm    8, 9 *openly*: publicly    8, 30 *confess(ed)*: admit(ted)  
 9 *false*: despicable    10 *detest*: denounce    15 *enjoin*: assign; impose on  
 16 *declare*: show    17 *as*: such as // *open*: public    23 *mind to be*: intention of being  
 25, 29 *himself*: he himself    25 *of*: from    26 *in . . . should*: not at all want us to  
 27 *wherefore*: why    28 *so mad*: so crazy as // *false*: dishonest / sorry  
 33 *upon*: attached to    35 *vehemently*: seriously

heresy, putteth himself in peril to fall into the fire. And very good reason it is that it be so. And a man may sometime be so suspect of felony by reason of sore presumptions, that though no man saw him do it, nor himself never confess it, but say and swear too that he never did it, yet may he be found guilty of it, and thereupon hanged for it, and have no wrong at all. 5

And thus this provision for purgation at the discretion of the ordinary is not, I trust, so unreasonable, nor they so unreasonable that made it, nor they so unreasonable that ratified it, nor all they so unreasonable that this two or three hundred years have accepted and allowed it, but that it may now stand by this good man's leave at this day as well as it hath stood all this while before. But yet is there one thing that he taketh for a thing very sore. "For then is there," saith he, "another law: that if he that is so proved suspect refuse to purge himself at the discretion of the ordinary, and be for his contumacy excommunicated—that in that case if he of an obdurate heart stand, so accursed, a whole year, he shall be punished as a heretic. And that is," as he saith, "by the law *Extra. de hereticis, capitulo Excommunicamus.*" 10 15

This provision was made, as I told you, in the said general council. And whereas he bringeth it forth as though it were a very sore thing and a cruel—it is indeed very favorable. For, saving that I will not do as he doth—go find faults in their doings that were so many so much better and had so much more wit than I—else could I lay a little better cause to prove that provision over-favorable than ever this good man shall find, while he liveth, to prove that provision too sore. And surely he that being proved suspect, and refuseth in such reasonable manner to purge himself thereof as his ordinary shall by his discretion assign him—which must both by law and all reason be his judge, and not himself—showeth himself little to force or care though folk ween he were a heretic: which thing sore aggrieveth the suspicion that he verily is one indeed. And then when he will rather be once accursed than of such suspicion yet to purge and clear himself: he yet increaseth that suspicion twice so sore. But finally, when rather than to purge 20 25 30 35

2 *reason it is*: sense it makes    3 *sore presumptions*: strong presumptive evidence  
 6 *have no wrong*: be done no injustice    11 *allowed*: sanctioned    14, 22, 27 *sore*: harsh  
 16 *contumacy*: willful contempt of court    17, 34 *accursed*: excommunicated  
 22 *indeed*: actually    23 *will not*: do not want to  
 23–24 *their . . . many*: the doings of people so many of whom were    25 *wit*: sense  
 25 *lay . . . cause*: make . . . case    27 *while*: as long as  
 30 *which*: who (referring to the ordinary)    32 *force or care though*: care or worry if  
 32 *ween*: think    33 *sore*: strongly // *aggrieveth*: increases    34 *once*: at some point  
 36 *so sore*: as badly

that suspicion, he continueth excommunicated all the whole  
year, and never will be purged in the while but if he may have  
it accepted in such a faint fashion as himself list to offer:  
the suspicion of his heresies from sore and vehement turn  
by such dealing into plain, open, and violent, so that he can in 5  
reason be none other reckoned but a plain heretic indeed,  
whom to tolerate so long doth sometimes little good. And  
then since the law is that such as the favor of the Church shall  
preserve from the temporal hands should by the law be only  
those which, upon their detection, turn of their own offer 10  
meekly by and by, and show good tokens of right hearty repentance—  
I will let no man from the inclination toward pity, in  
preserving the life of any man... whensoever he seem penitent.  
But yet surely when the Church receiveth again that  
man that, by his obstinate dealing, with abiding excommunicated 15  
and contemning the great curse all the whole year rather  
than he would purge the suspicion of his heresy but if he  
may purge it after his own sweet will, proveth himself at last  
to have been a heretic so long, and all that while would not  
return but evermore draw back—if the ordinary, for 20  
all that, receive him to grace again, and keep him still and  
preserve him from the secular hands—I will not say that he  
doth wrong; but finding him yet repentant, fain would I  
see him saved.

But yet without doubt, as far as I can see, the ordinary to save 25  
the man's life of pity stretcheth out with his teeth the law and  
reason both so far that even scantily can any of the both  
hold.

And therefore, these laws being such as they be, made and  
ratified by whole general council, accepted and used so 30  
long through all Christendom... when this good man cometh  
now forth, and upon his own bare reason (as bare as ever I heard  
yet in all my life!), because only that an innocent may sometime  
take harm (which may happen upon any law that ever all  
the world can make whereby there shall be devised any 35  
punishment for the evil folk), he biddeth every man consider  
now whether the law be just or not, and if it be not, biddeth  
every man put to their hands to have it broken and make a  
better, and saith that he thinketh they shall have great thank

1, 16 *all the whole*: the whole entire    2 *while*: interim    3 *list*: cares    4 *sore*: serious  
4 *vehement*: strong    5, 15 *dealing*: behavior    5 *violent*: raging; full-blown  
9 *temporal*: secular    9, 22 *hands*: authorities    10 *detection*: being reported (to the bishop)  
10 *turn . . . offer*: repent on their own initiative    11 *by and by*: right away  
11 *tokens*: indications    12 *let*: dissuade    14 *receiveth again*: takes back  
15 *abiding*: staying; remaining    16 *contemning*: pooh-poohing    18 *after*: according to  
23 *fain would I*: I would be glad to    26 *of pity*: out of compassion  
27 *even scantily*: just barely // *any*: either    30 *used*: kept in effect  
38–39 *put . . . better*: set about having it abrogated and getting a better one enacted  
39 *have great thank*: receive a great reward

of God therefor—his request is now no better, but in effect even  
 this: that against every wise man's reason well approved  
 hitherto, every man should in this matter now, either trust unto  
 his, or else at the leastwise every man to his own... and instead of a  
 better old law, make a new much worse. For if his device were  
 followed, it appeareth plainly so there should... and heresies  
 should grow up on height, and the Catholic faith decay. And  
 then God save us from that thank of God that shortly we should  
 with such dealing deserve!

Thus have I, good readers, as you see, clearly confuted this good  
 man's answer in both the principal points, of  
 which the one was wherein he minded to show that in heresy  
 the suit of office might be left, and that by the leaving there  
 should no harm follow to the Catholic faith... because heretics  
 might as well come to correction by the way of open  
 accusers as by that manner suit.

But in this point you have seen clearly that his device would  
 never so serve the matter... but that it were very likely so to  
 diminish in this realm the Catholic faith with increase of  
 heresies that the indignation of God were sore to be feared thereby  
 to follow thereon—and the realm to fall in trouble and business,  
 with insurrection of the same rebellious heretics that by the  
 change of that law had so been suffered to grow, as other countries  
 have been of late, and this realm was, ere this, so near  
 likely to have been... that for the avoiding of the like peril to fall  
 afterward, it was provided by Parliament of great policy...  
 for the better repressing of heresies, to fortify that law and  
 give the ordinaries yet greater power to maintain it... and with  
 temporal assistance to make it more strong.

His second point was to show that of the keeping of that  
 law there should grow great harm... because the law is so  
 unreasonable, he saith, that innocents may come to trouble  
 thereby without offense.

This part how properly this good man hath proved, that  
 have you seen also... and that he therein is so fully and wholly  
 confuted that when he readeth it again, I suppose he will not  
 now greatly like it.

1 *of*: from // *therefor*: for that // *even*: just 3 *hitherto*: to this point  
 7 *grow up on height*: rise to ascendancy // *decay*: suffer a decline  
 8 *thank of*: reward from 9 *dealing*: conduct // *deserve*: earn 12 *minded*: intended  
 13 *of office*: i.e., *ex officio*; see note for 60/29. 13, 15 *might*: could  
 13 *left*: done away with 18 *serve*: take care of 21 *in*: into  
 21 *trouble*: civil unrest // *business*: turmoil 23 *suffered*: allowed  
 23 *grow*: increase in number 26 *of*: out of // *policy*: prudence 31 *grow*: come  
 32 *come to*: get into 33 *without offense*: without having done anything wrong  
 34 *properly*: admirably

Now, these two thus handled, he cometh to the third point, which though I granted him altogether, yet were he never the nearer. For that point is such as if I win it, then it maketh my part more plain; but on the other side, if I lost it and he won it, yet were mine plain enough. And strong enough were my part with the first point alone. For if by the leaving of the suit of office should follow the increase of heretics— as every man, I think, that wit hath may well see that there would—then though there would some other harm happen sometime thereof, yet must that other harm in reason rather be borne than that. 5 10

But now to come, good readers, unto the third point, which if he won altogether could very little serve him—ye shall see him yet, by God's grace, win him never a piece.

The third point, good readers, in mine *Apology*, you see well yourselves intendeth nothing else but by example of the common laws of this realm to show that the same spiritual law which this man would prove unreasonable is not indeed proved unreasonable by this thing that he here putteth for the proof: that is to say, because that by that law sometime it might hap that a man might fall in peril of a crime which he committed not. For if it so were, now, that in all the cases that I rehearsed of the common law, there could never no man that had not done the deed take any harm so much as a fillip—yet though I had missed in those examples, the thing might yet be true. For there might be, for all that, other examples enough, both in other good laws and in the same too, that a law were not unreasonable, nor to be put away, though there might hap sometime some man take some harm that never did the deed that were laid to his charge. And of truth this conclusion is so clear that it needeth no proof at all. And therefore though he won all that point... yet had he lost the matter. But let us now a little see whether he win this point or no. 15 20 25 30

And because the effect of all his answer lieth always in this—that he saith always that the example of the common law that I lay is not like the thing that I resemble it unto in the 35

2, 9, etc. *though*: even if 2–3 *were* . . . *nearer*: would he have gotten nowhere

4, 6 *part*: side of the argument 4, 5 *plain*: clear

7 *leaving*: getting rid; abolishing 8 *that wit hath*: who has any sense // *may*: can

21 *fall in peril of*: incur the penalty for 23 *rehearsed*: mentioned

28 *put away*: abolished 32 *all that*: that whole 33 *matter*: case 37 *resemble*: liken



spiritual law—I shall first rehearse you mine own words in mine *Apology*... and then shall I rehearse you his words here, that when you have heard both twain, whether they be like or unlike ye may the more surely judge. These were, lo, good readers, my words:

5

And verily methinketh that he which cannot be proved guilty in heresy, and yet useth such manner of ways that all his honest neighbors ween he were one, and therefore dare not swear that in their conscience they think him any other... is well worthy, methinketh, to do some penance for that manner of behavior whereby he giveth all other folk occasion to take him for so naughty.

10

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

15

20

25

30

To this piece, lo, good reader, this is this good man's answer:

Then he goeth further for maintenance of the said suit *Ex officio*, and resembleth it to arresting for suspicion of felony, and to the surety of good abearing, and to indictments—whereupon men be put to answer at the common law. And how far these resemblances

35

1, 2 *rehearse*: quote    4 *surely*: accurately; unerringly  
 7 *useth such manner*: acts in such kinds // *honest*: upstanding    8 *ween*: think // *were*: is  
 9 *is . . . do*: well deserves, it seems to me, to have to do    11 *naughty*: wicked  
 13 *fame*: reputation // *the man*: i.e., the person suspected of having violated the common law  
 14 *lieth*: is kept // *till the return*: i.e., till the reports come back    15 *purged*: cleared  
 16 *delivered*: released    17 *use the judges*: the judges are wont  
 17 *bind . . . abearing*: put him under a peace bond    18 *sureties*: bond posters  
 19 *lie still*: i.e., go on being kept in prison    20 *spiritual*: ecclesiastical  
 21 *consistory*: Church tribunal    22 *faggot*: bundle of sticks (carried by a convicted heretic as a punishment)    28 *nocents*: guilty people    33 *for maintenance*: in support  
 34 *resembleth*: likens // *felony*: a crime such as murder or theft  
 35 *surety of good abearing*: peace bond    36 *put to answer*: put on trial

vary from the suit *Ex officio*, he in some place openeth  
 it himself. But yet, for a more plain declaration therein, I shall say a  
 little farther in that matter. First, as to the arresting for suspicion of  
 felony, it is indeed an old law of this realm that for suspicion of  
 felony a man may be arrested, so that he that doth arrest him 5  
 upon a reasonable cause doth suspect him; but it is a general rule  
 that he shall never be put to answer upon that arrest, but proclamation  
 shall be made that if any man will lay anything against him that  
 is so suspected, that it shall be heard; and if none such come, he shall be  
 delivered, without fine or any other punishment, with a good exhortation 10  
 of the judges that he shall take good heed how he ordereth himself  
 in time to come. And then Master More likeneth the penance  
 of such a man that hath been in prison upon suspicion of felony,  
 and so delivered by proclamation, to the bearing of a faggot for  
 heresy. For he saith that the one of them shall come “as openly to the 15  
 bar as the other to the consistory.” And that sometimes his fetters  
 shall “weigh a good piece of the faggot, besides that they lie longer on the  
 one man’s legs than the faggot on the other man’s shoulder”; but  
 he rehearseth not how they lie many times longer in prison for heresy  
 than they do either for suspicion of felony or for good abearing. 20  
 And over that, I dare say that there are but few but that they had well  
 liefer abide the pain to be thrice acquitted by proclamation, and  
 peradventure offer, than once bear a faggot for heresy.

How goeth now, good readers, this answer of this good  
 man unto the purpose: to prove the trouble of him that is arrested 25  
 upon suspicion of felony to be unlike to the trouble of  
 him that is sued *ex officio* for heresy, touching the point  
 that I resemble them for?

The point, ye wot well, for which I speak of the arresting for  
 suspicion of felony is to show that, likewise as it may happen 30  
 a man for heresy to fall in trouble sometime though he were  
 no heretic indeed, so may it happen a man sometime to be  
 troubled upon suspicion of felony though he be no felon indeed—  
 and yet both the one law necessary and the other too...  
 and neither of both may be forborne. Hath this good man 35

1 vary: differ // openeth: explains 2 declaration: clarification  
 2 therein: i.e., on it (the subject) 3 in that matter: on that subject  
 4, 5, etc. felony: a crime such as murder or theft 5 so: provided  
 7 put to answer: put on trial 8 lay anything: make any accusation  
 10, 14 delivered: released; set free 11 of: from // ordereth: conducts  
 16 consistory: Church tribunal 19 rehearseth not: does not mention  
 20 good abearing: (a breach of) good conduct 21 over: besides  
 21–22 had well liefer: would much rather 23 offer: more often (than that)  
 27 touching: concerning 29 wot: know 35 forborne: dispensed with

proved us the contrary of this? That, you see well, he hath not. And then hath he not, pardie, proved them unlike.

He weeneth he saith somewhat when he telleth us that upon the arresting upon suspicion of felony, he shall not be put to answer till he be indicted. What is his trouble the less for that? If he lie in prison till the session, as he may hap to do, were it not more his ease to be put to answer before and acquitted, if he be not faulty (for of such folk we speak), than for lack of putting to answer lie still in prison the longer? 5

As for that that in conclusion, if no man lay naught to his charge at the sessions, he shall be delivered by proclamations—so shall he that is suspected of heresy, too. For if there be nothing found against him, he shall neither be driven to abjuration nor purgation, but delivered quite, howsoever that either this man mistake or would make other men mistake the matter to the contrary. 10 15

And as to that that the one shall pay no fine—no more shall the other neither.

If this man will peradventure say, “Since that the ordinary findeth the man not suspect in the end, why did he take and arrest him for suspect in the beginning?”—because that in the beginning the man seemed upon good considerations suspect, and seemed likely to flee; and upon his examination, the matter fully searched out, the causes of suspicion so well voided that the ordinary declareth him for discharged without any other purgation. 20 25  
“But yet hath it mishapped him to have some harm the meanwhile”—and so hath it him also that was arrested upon suspicion of felony, that never was after indicted, but delivered forth free upon the proclamation.

I see no great difference between these two men in all this matter yet, save that the one lieth at his own finding, the other at the bishop’s cost. 30

For whereas this man saith that he which is delivered by proclamation hath always given him by the justices a good lesson at his departing: if the bishop give not the other a good lesson at his departing too, then is he somewhat to blame indeed; 35

2 *pardie*: by George    3 *somewhat*: something    6 *lie*: remain // *session*: court session  
7 *were* . . . *answer*: would it not be more to his advantage if he were put on trial  
8 *faulty*: guilty    14 *delivered quite*: completely set free    24 *voided*: refuted  
25 *purgation*: clearing of the defendant from suspicion    31 *lieth*: is kept in prison  
31 *finding*: provision; i.e., expense    36 *to blame*: at fault

but in good faith, I hear say that he doth so too. And therefore where is this difference yet? I look always for that. For as for the shame of open bringing forth, is both one, as I said—saving that the session hath commonly much more people present to gaze upon the one than in the consistory looketh upon the other. 5

And where this man saith that they lie longer in prison for heresy than they do either for suspicion of felony or for good abearing—if he speak of those which are in conclusion found in no more fault concerning heresy than those that are delivered by proclamation be found at the session concerning felony... I dare be bold to tell him nay. And I am very sure the truth will prove so too. But, now, if he speak of those that appear upon the end in such fault that by the law they be bound to abjure... then is it good reason that they lie longer indeed. And so lie there, as reason is, sometimes some for felony, too, reprieved upon causes from one session to another, and sometimes kept, you see well, all the whole year and more—and that, sometimes, such as are in conclusion never indicted neither, but, after all that, delivered by proclamation; and yet good causes in the meanwhile why they were kept so. And, therefore, whereas this man saith that they be in worse case that bear a faggot: very truth it is somewhat, and so is it reason they be. For they be not faultless, but *convicted* of the fault. And our dispicions is of *innocents* that happen by the law, the one law or the other, to take harm *without* their fault. For if he would compare the faulty with the faulty, then must he compare the one bearing the faggot with the other at the very first time borne up with the rope. 10 15 20 25

And therefore I did in that place not only show that he that is innocent may by arresting for felony hap to have as much harm as he that is innocent and arrested for heresy, but that he may happen to have sometime also as much harm as he that for the first time is found *faulty* in heresy and plainly convicted thereof. And surely, save for the further peril upon his further fault, so may it hap indeed; and yet, as I said in my *Apology*, the law must needs be kept, but if 30 35

3 *is both one*: i.e., that is the same in both cases

9 *good abearing*: (a breach of) good conduct 10, 14, etc. *fault*: guilt

15 *is it good reason*: it well stands to reason 16 *as reason is*: as is reasonable

17 *reprieved*: remanded 22 *whereas this man saith*: as regards this man's claim

22–23 *they . . . faggot*: those who (have to) carry a faggot are in a worse situation

24 *faultless*: guiltless 25 *dispicions*: discussion // *of innocents*: about innocent people

26–27 *their fault*: their being guilty 27 *faulty*: guilty

28 *the other*: i.e., the thief or murderer 29 *at . . . time*: i.e., for the very first offense

29 *borne up with the rope*: i.e., hanged 30 *show*: point out

31 *by arresting*: i.e., through getting arrested // *have*: receive 34 *faulty in*: guilty of

35 *the further peril*: i.e., that of being burned at the stake 37 *but if*: unless

you will by the change have five thieves for one. And thus, as for this piece, of arresting for suspicion of felony, the case hath he not proved unlike, touching the purpose that I put it for, but for my part very strong. And so hath this good man, in this first piece of the third point, a very great fall. 5

Then cometh he next unto another case that I spoke of also: that is to wit, arresting upon good abearing. And whereas in mine *Apology* that piece is the third, that piece in his answer he maketh the second; and I see why well enough. For since himself seeth that he answereth it so slenderly, he wrappeth it up in the midst because it should be the less marked, and would end with another piece wherein himself weeneth that he saith somewhat better. 10

Now, as for this good abearing, to the end that ye may see the better how gaily this good man answereth it, I shall first rehearse you the words of mine *Apology* that he maketh this answer to. 15

After that I have showed there that the judges of the spiritual court be not so foolish but that they had liefer not meddle with any man save only upon some such open inquisition as are indictments of felony, for avoiding of obloquy, saving that necessity compelleth them to take this way, for fear that with sufferance of heresies to go forth and grow, all might at length through God's displeasure very far grow to naught... I say there farther thus (folio 225): 20 25

Necessity sometimes causeth also both the temporal judges and the King's Council to put some folk to business, or dishonesty sometimes, without either jury or bringing of the accuser to the proof of the matter in the party's presence.

For if the judge know by sure information that some one man is of such evil demeanor among his neighbors that they may not bear it; and yet that the man is, besides, so violent and so jeopardous that none of them dare be known to speak of it: will there no judges upon many secret complaints made unto them, without making the party privy who told him that tale, bind that busy, troublesome man to good abearing? I suppose yes, and have seen it so, too; and wrong would it be sometimes with good, poor, peaceable folk in the county but if it were so done 30 35

3 *touching*: concerning // *put*: posed 4 *part*: side of the argument  
 7 *upon good abearing*: with reference to good conduct; i.e., for disturbance of the peace  
 10 *slenderly*: ineffectively 11 *midst*: middle // *because*: so that // *marked*: noticed  
 12 *saith*: speaks 15 *gaily*: brilliantly 16 *rehearse*: quote 18 *spiritual*: ecclesiastical  
 19 *had liefer*: would rather // *meddle*: concern themselves  
 20 *inquisition*: judicial investigation 21 *obloquy*: ill repute 23 *sufferance*: allowing  
 23 *grow*: spread 24 *grow to naught*: come to ill 26 *temporal*: secular  
 27 *business*: trouble // *dishonesty*: disgrace 28 *proof*: trial // *matter*: case  
 30 *sure*: trustworthy 31 *evil demeanor*: bad behavior // *may not bear it*: cannot endure it  
 32 *jeopardous*: dangerous 34 *making the party privy*: giving the party knowledge of  
 35 *bind . . . abearing*: put that pesky, troublemaking man under a peace bond

among. And myself, when I was Chancellor, upon such secret information have put some out of commission and office of justice of the peace, which else, for much money, I would not have done, and yet if I were in the one room still and they in the other again, but if they be amended (whereof I neither then saw nor yet hear any likelihood), I would put them out again, and never tell them who told me the tales that made me so to do. 5

Lo, good readers, here you see that in this piece I mean nothing else but that whereas this good man findeth a fault that the spiritual judge should meddle with any man for heresy without an open accuser complaining to him, or an open presentment in the beginning... I show there that necessity is the cause, and forthwith afterward I prove it, which this good man dissembleth here and inverteth here the order for the nonce. And I show that necessity (lest much more harm should grow thereon) causeth the temporal judges and the King's honorable Council, too, to put some man to business sometimes and some to dishonesty, both without either indictment or open accuser, or suffering him to make answer either... and thus be they fain to do, but if they should suffer many great harms to grow. Now mark well, I require you, how substantially this good man answereth this. These are his wise words, lo: 10 15 20

And then as to the arresting for good abearing, truth it is that a man by commandment of the justices may so be arrested, but he shall never be put to answer upon that arrest, but only bound, and sureties with him, of his good abearing. And if he can no such surety find, and he have lain there long in prison, then the judges by their discretion may send a writ to inquire of his fame, and of his behavior, which is called a writ *De gestu et fama*, whereof Sir Thomas More maketh mention in his *Apology*; and if it be found for him, upon that writ, that he is of good fame and behavior, then he shall be delivered. Whereby, Master More saith, he is "in a manner purged"; and by that saying it seemeth that his meaning is that that delivery should be resembled to his purgation upon the suspicion of heresy, as is said before. But how far they be unlike, it appeareth thus: when a man is delivered upon the said writ *De gestu et fama*, 25 30 35

1 *among*: now and then    4 *room*: position; office    5 *likelihood*: indication  
 12 *presentment*: lodging of charges, made by a grand jury, a justice of the peace, or a parish official    14 *dissembleth*: ignores; turns a blind eye to  
 14–15 *for the nonce*: on purpose; i.e., for the purpose of having my proof bypassed  
 16 *grow thereon*: i.e., come of leaving the situation alone    19 *suffering*: allowing  
 20 *fain*: obliged    21 *require*: ask of    22 *wise*: brilliant  
 23 *for good abearing*: with regard to good conduct; i.e., for disturbance of the peace  
 25 *to answer*: on trial    25–26 *bound . . . of his good abearing*: put . . . under a peace bond  
 26 *sureties*: (other) bond posters    28 *of*: about    28, 31 *fame*: reputation  
 29, 36 *gestu*: behavior    32, 36 *delivered*: released    33 *purged*: cleared  
 34 *delivery*: release // *resembled*: likened    34 *purgation upon*: getting himself cleared of

he is delivered as a man proved to be of good honesty and to be cleared by his neighbors of that he was suspected of. And when he is purged upon the suit *Ex officio*, or for suspicion of heresy, he is put to penance by the ordinary, as a man suspected, whereof he is not cleared, and so shall he be taken among his neighbors as a man worthy to do that penance for his offenses; wherefore it appeareth evidently that they be nothing like. 5

In this answer, good reader, one piece he answereth with an untruth, another piece he leaveth half unanswered, and to another piece he maketh none answer at all. 10

For whereas he saith that he that is purged of heresy in the suit *ex officio* is put unto penance by the ordinary as a man suspect, whereof he is not cleared: this man saith untrue, and wotteth not, also, what he meaneth. For the spiritual judge not only (as I have said), though he were sore suspected in the beginning, when he took him, yet if he find in the examination those suspicions cleared he putteth him to no further business at all; but also, if it be not so fully cleared but that there remain some tokens of suspicion, of which he think it good to purge him by the oath of himself and some other compurgators with him, he putteth him after that purgation unto no penance neither. But, now, if it so be that there be well proved such suspicions as are so vehement that, though they prove not precisely the deed, yet make every man that heareth them, that he can none otherwise think: there will the ordinary cause him to abjure... and the rather to purge him of the suspicion that he were still naught, and afterward still would be naught, than that he was not such before. And then, for using himself in such wise before: though he do penance he hath but right. 15 20 25

But in all those other cases of suspicion purged, he saith untrue; for they do no penance at all. 30

Now, concerning the good abearing awarded by the justices: he answereth that it is true... but it is, he saith, unlike unto this matter, because the justices (saith he), when he hath long lain in prison, may by their discretion (if he can find no sureties) award a writ *de gestu et fama*. 35

1 *honesty*: repute    2 *that*: what; that which    6 *worthy to do*: deserving of having to do

7 *evidently*: plainly; manifestly

14 *wotteth* . . . *meaneth*: also doesn't know what he's talking about    15 *sore*: strongly

16 *took*: arrested    19 *tokens*: traces    23 *vehement*: cogent

25–26 *cause him to*: have him    26 *purge*: clear    27 *naught*: wicked

28 *using*: conducting    29 *hath but*: is done nothing but    32 *good abearing*: peace bond

35 *sureties*: bond posters    36 *de gestu et fama*: of behavior and reputation

This is but half an answer, nor scant so much neither. For first himself saith that this writ they may send out after that the man hath long lain in prison... so that then the man, yet without presentment or open accuser, hath had that long lying in prison in the meanwhile for his evil demeanor at home among his neighbors, whereof they durst not openly make complaint. And this doth, as you see, this good man not deny, which is for my purpose enough. 5

But then saith he further for me, in that he saith they *may* award that writ *if they will*. Wherein he implieth that if they will not, they may upon good discretion let him yet lie still and let the writ alone. And so hath he therefore put in one point further for me. 10

But yet hath this good man one stopgap for me still, to prove always that my example is not like... and that is that whereas in the suit *ex officio*, men be put to answer, upon this arrest and imprisonment upon good abearing, the man shall never be put to answer. 15

For answer of this evasion I will ask this good man this: that he which is in prison upon good abearing shall never be put to answer, whether is it his profit or his loss? If his loss: then his not putting to answer maketh the matter of my resembling much the more strong for me. And if this good man dare answer me that it is his profit: then will I no more but pray him to put the fellow in choice, and then if himself choose it for the better, let him lie still for me. 20 25

This you see, good readers: that this man saith not nay but that upon good abearing, by discretion of the justices, for all the writ *de gestu et fama*, a man may lie long in prison and some peradventure ever; howbeit, of truth I trow it happeth not so. 30

And yet can neither this good man say, nor, I suppose, no man else, but that it may sometime hap by possibility that all that information were wrong. But that is a thing not likely to hap so often but that if we should for such may-haps put away that order which order very necessity brought up—there 35

5 *evil demeanor*: bad behavior    6 *durst*: dared    7 *make complaint*: file charges

10 *will*: want to    14 *stopgap*: argument (to put up) in defense of the attacked point

16, 18, 20–21 *to answer*: on trial

17, 20, 28 *upon good abearing*: i.e., for disturbance of the peace

21 *is . . . loss*: this is to his advantage or to his disadvantage

22 *his . . . answer*: the not putting him on trial    24 *pray*: ask

25 *put . . . choice*: let the fellow choose    26 *lie . . . me*: stay in prison for all I care

27 *saith not nay but*: does not deny    30 *peradventure ever*: perhaps forever

30 *howbeit . . . so*: however, I really feel sure that does not happen    34 *for*: on account of

35 *put away*: do away with // *order*: procedure; system // *brought up*: gave rise to



would much mischief grow, and many great harms would there then hap indeed.

Now, as touching that I said that the King's Council used also sometimes upon great secret information to put some folk to business and to some dishonesty too... and I letted not to lay some example in mine own deed while I was Chancellor myself, by putting some out of commission in their counties... which dishonesty, save for such secret information, I would not for a hundred pounds have done them, and dare yet upon such secret information very well avow the doing... and doubt not but that if I should declare the cause openly, both good men and wise men would allow my deed: to all this point, lo, this good man saith nothing at all, but letteth it go by his ears as though he never heard it.

And thus, as I told you, concerning this piece of good abearing—this good answerer hath here borne himself so well that some part he answereth with untruth, some part he answereth a great deal less than half, and some part never a deal. If men be content to take this fashion for answering—let any man make then against me as many books as he will, and put in what matter he list, and I shall never need to study much for an answer, but may make answers to them all shortly and short enough, and answer a long book in space of one paper leaf.

But now let us see how he handleth this third piece, of indictments at the sessions. For that piece he setteth in the rear ward, to stay therewith all the field. But now, that you may see what strength he hath in that ward—I shall first bring you forth that ward against which it fighteth. In mine *Apology*, folio 222, these are my words, lo:

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

For, now, if a man be indicted at a sessions and none evidence given

1 *mischief*: evil // *grow*: come    3 *as touching*: as regards    5 *business*: trouble  
 5, 8 *dishonesty*: disgrace    5–6 *letted* . . . *in*: did not forbear to use for an example  
 6 *while*: when    7 *by*: in    10 *avow*: stand by    12 *allow*: approve of  
 15, 25 *of*: on    16 *borne*: conducted    18–19 *never a deal*: not any amount  
 20 *make*: write // *will*: wants to    21 *what* . . . *list*: whatever stuff he chooses to  
 27, 28, 29 *ward*: guard    27 *stay*: defend // *all the field*: the whole battlefield  
 31 *sore*: sorry; terrible    31, 33 *spiritual*: Church    34 *had we*: we would  
 34 *temporal*: civil    36 *but if*: unless    37 *evidence*: testimony

openly at the bar (as many be, and many may well be; for the indicters  
 may have evidence given them apart, or have heard of the matter  
 ere they came there, and of whom be they not bound to tell, but be,  
 rather, bound to keep it close, for they be sworn to keep the King's  
 counsel and their own), shall, then, the party that is indicted be put  
 unto no business about his acquittal? And who shall tell him there the  
 names of his accusers, to entitle him to his writ of conspiracy? This  
 Pacifier will peradventure say that the same twelve men that are his  
 indicters are his accusers, and therefore he may know them. But what  
 helpeth that his undeserved vexation if he were faultless? For amends  
 the law giveth him none against any of them, nor it were not well done he  
 should; but may when he is after by other twelve acquitted, go get him home  
 and be merry that he hath had so fair a day—as a man getteth him to the  
 fire and shaketh his hat after a shower of rain. And, now, as it often  
 happeth that a man cometh into a shower by his own oversight,  
 though sometimes of chance and of adventure: so surely, though sometimes it  
 hap that a man be accused or indicted of malice, or of some likelihood  
 which happed him of chance and not his fault therein... yet happeth it in  
 comparison very seldom but that the party by some demeanor of himself  
 giveth occasion that folk have him so suspected.

In this piece my purpose is, good readers, as you see, to show  
 that likewise as a man shall in the suit *ex officio*, for heresy, not  
 know his accuser—so may it also happen, many times, that no  
 more he shall neither, when he is at the common law indicted  
 of felony. And I show also therein, as you see, that though it  
 may sometime hap either of malice or chance—yet it seldom  
 happeth, for all that, that the party so falleth in trouble  
 without some default of himself; and that the common,  
 general law may not for such seldom, special haps be  
 forborne. To this piece, lo, this good man answereth me thus:

And then Master More saith yet farther, that upon indictments  
 at sessions, the indicters use not to show the names of them that gave  
 them information. And he saith farther, that they *may not* show  
 their names; for they may not disclose the King's counsel nor their  
 own. But as I take it, that prohibition of opening of the counsel  
 in this case is only to be understood of their own counsel among

2 *evidence*: testimony    3 *of*: from    3, 4 *bound*: obliged    4 *close*: secret  
 5, 34, etc. *counsel*: confidential knowledge    10 *faultless*: not guilty    13 *merry*: happy  
 13 *fair*: good    15 *oversight*: heedlessness    16, 18 *of chance*: by misfortune  
 16 *of adventure*: by chance    17 *of*: because of // *likelihood*: similar thing  
 19 *demeanor*: comportment    25 *of*: with    27 *falleth in*: gets into  
 28 *default of himself*: fault of his    29 *for*: on account of // *seldom*: infrequent  
 29 *special*: exceptional // *haps*: occurrences    30 *forborne*: dispensed with  
 32 *use not*: are not wont    32, 33 *show*: disclose    35 *opening*: revealing

themselves, after that they be sworn; but for opening of the names of them that gave them information before they were sworn, I know no prohibition. And if they will not show their names, they be not bound to do it... for they be not bound to help the party to his writ of conspiracy, but as they list to do in conscience.

5

Now, good readers, all this pretended defense is nothing else in effect but a fair confession that it is indeed true, the thing that I said myself: that he which is indicted of felony may be (as for any advantage that he can take thereby) as ignorant sometimes who be his accusers as he shall in the suit *ex officio*. And thereby may happen sometimes that he which is faultless shall not be all saved harmless... and when he hath had his harm, shall be remediless. And yet, for all that, the law not unreasonable, nor, for avoiding of much more harm, may not be forborne. And therefore, as for my purpose, even at that point might I have left, and needed to go no farther. And then, as you see, this good man had been quite answerless.

10

15

But yet went I farther, where me needed not, and that this good man saith that I did of necessity whereof for this matter I had of truth no need. And yet would I not now but I so had done indeed. For I have thereby the better brought to light what lack this good man hath of any sufficient answer. For these are there, lo, good readers, therein my farther words:

20

Now, if this Pacifier say that yet here is at the leastwise in a temporal judge an open cause appearing, whereupon men may see that the judge calleth him not but upon a matter brought unto him; whereas the spiritual judge may call a man upon his own pleasure if he bear the party displeasure: this is very well said as for the temporal judge. But what saith he now for the temporal twelve men? For ye wot well, they may do the same if they were so disposed; and then had I as lief the judge might do it as they. For in good faith, I never saw the day yet but that I durst as well trust the troth of one judge as of two juries. But the judges be so wise men that for the avoiding of obloquy, they will not be put in the trust.

25

30

35

And I dare say the ordinaries be not so foolish neither but that they

1 *after that they be*: after they are    1, 2 *sworn*: put under oath    1 *opening*: revealing  
 2 *know*: i.e., know of    3 *will not*: do not want to // *show*: disclose  
 3, 4 *bound*: obliged    5 *list*: choose // *conscience*: i.e., good conscience  
 6 *pretended*: alleged    7 *effect*: fact; actuality // *a fair confession*: an open admission  
 12 *faultless*: not guilty // *harmless*: unharmed    13 *had*: suffered  
 15 *forborne*: dispensed with    16 *even*: right // *might*: could // *left*: left off  
 17 *had*: would have    19–20 *that this . . . necessity whereof*: this . . . necessity that of which  
 21 *of truth*: in actuality // *would . . . but*: I would not now have it any other way but that  
 26, 29, 30 *temporal*: secular    27, 28 *call(eth)*: summon(s)    28 *spiritual*: ecclesiastical  
 31–32 *had* . . . *they*: I would as soon have it done by the judge as by them  
 32 *in good faith*: in all honesty    33 *troth*: uprightness; integrity    34 *obloquy*: ill repute  
 36 *ordinaries*: bishops

would as fain avoid it too, if they might... saving that very necessity,  
lest all should fall to naught, compelleth them to take this way.

Here you see that I mean in these words that though the  
Pacifier would tell me that the temporal judge hath by such  
indictment at the leastwise an open cause appearing, 5  
whereupon a man may see that the judge calleth him not of his  
own mind, but upon a matter brought unto him—I would  
then grant him that this is indeed a good ease to the temporal  
judge, to keep him out of obloquy. And the spiritual  
judges be not so unwise but that they would be glad of such another 10  
pavis, saving that they be bound to take the other  
way, and suffer themselves evil people's obloquy, for avoiding  
of the harm that else would follow, by the decay of Christ's Catholic  
faith. Which thing I there prove well too, as you shall  
after see. This, as I say, would I have granted always this good 15  
man. But then I would always therewith have told him too that  
yet all that tale of his had nothing touched the point...  
but that always, for all this tale, the man that was indicted, if  
the matter were indeed untrue, was never the nearer the knowledge  
who were his accusers, to get any amends thereby, no 20  
more than he that is called of office for heresy before a  
spiritual judge. And hear now what he saith to this, and  
whether we be by his answer, for the point that was meant by me,  
any one inch yet the nearer. Lo, good readers, this is his proper  
answer: 25

And then because he can none otherwise do but confess a great  
diversity betwixt them that be put to answer *Ex officio* and them  
that be put to answer before the King's justices upon indictments  
at the common law—for there the judges have sufficient and  
apparent matter to put them to answer upon, and in the other there 30  
is none, but that the spiritual judge upon a displeasure may do it *ex  
officio*, if he will—therefore he goeth yet farther and saith that  
the twelve men may yet do the same, and make a man to be called that is  
not guilty, if they were so disposed. And truth it is, they may indict a  
man that is absent, and that is also not guilty, and be untrue, if they 35  
will; but yet in such case the twelve men be known that do it, and be

1 *as fain*: be as glad to    2 *fall to naught*: come to ruin    8 *ease*: advantage  
9 *obloquy*: ill repute    11 *pavis*: a large shield protecting the whole body from harm  
11 *bound*: obliged    12 *evil*: bad // *obloquy*: bad-mouthing  
13 *decay*: falling into decline; erosion    15 *after*: later    17 *all that tale*: that whole speech  
17 *had . . . point*: had no relevance at all    19 *matter*: charge  
21 *of office*: See note for 60/29.    22 *spiritual*: ecclesiastical    24 *proper*: excellent  
26 *confess*: acknowledge (that there is)    26–27 *a great diversity*: a big difference  
27, 28 *put to answer*: put on trial    30 *apparent*: discernible    33 *called*: summoned  
35 *untrue*: unjust

also *compelled* to be upon the inquiry—for they *may* not be upon it, but they be thereto *assigned*—and also, the party upon their verdict shall not be put to answer before *them*, as it is upon the suit *Ex officio*, but before the King’s judges, before whom the indictment is no attainder to the party... but that he may be found not guilty, notwithstanding that indictment. And though Master More say that he never saw the day yet but that he durst as well trust the troth of one judge as of two juries—I think the judges will can him but little thank for that praise; for surely juries must needly be believed and trusted. And therefore it is not the manner of the judges to lay untrouth upon a jury, nor yet to commend them that do it, but it be proved before them of record after the order of the law.

Here you see, good readers, that touching the point that we spoke of, all this tale helpeth nothing, but goeth all about another matter: to prove another difference between the suit of office and indictments, as though I had said there were no difference between them at all. But I was never yet so mad to be of that mind. For then must I say they were both one. And then were every indictment a suit of office, and every suit of office an indictment, if there were no diversities between them at all.

And therefore if his diversity shall serve aught for the purpose, he must make it appear that the suit of office *because* of *that* difference, and because it is not like indictments in *that* point, is therefore in heresy either very clearly naught or else that at the leastwise it were somewhat better that they should never put any man to answer in heresy but either upon open accusation or presentment had before. For else if he ween to win this point of me with showing forth a difference—if his difference prove me no such thing as I tell you—he may for the matter as well bring us forth any verse difference, at adventure, that he learned at grammar school.

Now, when he hath laid all his diversities on a heap, and would thereupon conclude that because of those diversities, the suit of office were naught and unreasonable: I say that followeth nothing; for it proveth yet no farther, at the farthest, but that the order

1 *inquiry*: inquest    3 *put to answer*: put on trial  
 5 *is no attainder*: has no legal consequence    7 *troth*: uprightness; integrity  
 8–9 *can* . . . *thank*: offer . . . thanks    9 *needly*: necessarily  
 10–11 *lay* . . . *jury*: accuse a jury of a lack of integrity    11 *yet*: even // *but*: unless  
 12 *of record*: on record // *after*: according to // *the order of*: the procedure called for by  
 13 *touching*: concerning    14 *all this tale*: this whole speech    18 *one*: the same  
 20, 33, 34 *diversities*: differences    22 *ought*: at all  
 23 *make it appear*: make it evident; show    25, 35 *naught*: bad    26 *were*: would be  
 27 *to answer in*: on trial for    28 *else if he ween*: if he otherwise think    29 *of*: from  
 31 *at adventure*: at random    35 *followeth nothing*: does not at all follow  
 133/36—134/1 *order of*: procedure prescribed by

of the common law were better, and not that the other were naught. For it might well be, for all that, that the common law might be good enough though they that secretly or openly come now and inform the inquest came either secretly or openly and likewise informed the Court. 5

And now saw I well that to this point was there none answer for this good man again... but to tell me that in such things as they now trust the inquests, it were peril instead of juries so much to trust the Court, because the judges might then feign matter against men, and say they were secretly informed. To this, since I saw what trust the realm must needs put in the judges' hands, so far above the weight of the first indictment, that serveth for nothing but for an information; and seeing also what manner of men they be that be chosen to be judges, so that there is nothing of so great weight but that it well may be put in their hands—I reckoned them of such troth that, save for evil folk's obloquy to-themselves-ward... else to the people there should come no harm though the trust that we put in the indicters were instead of them put in the judge himself. This I there said, lo, and this I think indeed. For as I said there, I never saw yet the day but that I durst as well trust the troth of one judge as I durst trust the troth of two juries. What hath this good man answered me now to this? To all this gear here is, lo, his worshipful answer: 10 15 20

I think the judges will can him but little thank for that praise. For surely juries must needs be believed and trusted. And therefore it is not the manner of the judges to lay untruth to a jury... nor yet to commend them that do it... but it be proved before them of record after the order of the law. 25

This answer of truth is not worth a straw. For as for that he saith the judges will for that praise can me little thank: that word were somewhat if I had said it for their thank. But I said it, in good faith, not for their thank at all, but because it is very truth that I never saw the day yet indeed, nor never, I trust in God, I shall, but that I may well, and so will I do indeed, trust the troth of one judge as well as the troth of two juries. I would here wit of this good man, what dispraise is this to any 30 35

1 *naught*: bad    8 *were peril*: would be dangerous  
 8–9 *so* . . . *Court*: to trust the Court as much    9 *feign matter*: trump up charges  
 17 *evil*: bad // *obloquy*: verbal abuse // *to-themselves-ward*: (coming) toward them  
 24 *gear*: stuff // *worshipful*: impressive    30 *of truth*: truly  
 32 *that* . . . *somewhat*: that statement would have some merit; he would have something there  
 33 *in good faith*: in all honesty    37 *wit of*: (like to) know from

jury? What untruth is there here laid unto them, or to any one  
 man of them? I will use one word now, this once, which this  
 good man useth often. For now will I “say a little farther, and  
 that is this” (though this man may hap to think the saying  
 strange): I will not let to believe the troth of some one man, of 5  
 whose troth I make myself sure and doubt nothing at all, even as  
 well as the troth of a great many at once, though they be  
 all such as I believe every one of them as well as I believe himself.  
 And I also believe some one judge alone, not in cunning  
 but in truth, as well as I will believe both himself and all his 10  
 fellows too. For some one man may be such that if he should tell  
 me a tale as of his own perfect knowledge—I would so little doubt it to  
 be true that I could believe it no better though all the town told it  
 with him. Lo what a great untruth I lay here to the juries!  
 And this I say for myself. And now will I, with this good 15  
 man’s leave, say yet a little farther, and I ween I shall not say so  
 alone. I suppose verily that there be very few but so that it  
 might make a final end in their matter—except haply  
 some such as trust more in the favor of the county than in the  
 troth of their cause—they would rather be content to put it 20  
 wholly into the judge’s hands than trouble the county  
 with calling up of the juries; whose troth yet many times  
 deceiveth them that in an evil cause have very great trust unto  
 them.  
 And yet in all this say not I that the common order and long-continued 25  
 law of this realm, to try the matters by juries and in  
 felony or treason never to proceed but upon indictments, is  
 not good; nor that the contrary way were better. Marry, two  
 things I say: that in treason and felony this ordinary law of  
 indictments is many times fain to be helped forth by another 30  
 means much like in many things to the suit *ex officio*;  
 and that is by diligent, politic search and examinations  
 besides, both by the King’s honorable Council and the  
 judges, and justices of peace, every man for their part in every  
 part of the realm; and else would there many such mischiefs pass 35  
 by, and by indictment never would be found. And some

1, 14 *untruth*: lack of integrity    1 *laid*: ascribed    2 *word*: turn of phrase  
 5 *let*: forbear // *believe*: believe in    5, 6, 22 *troth*: integrity  
 6 *make . . . all*: feel confident and have no doubt at all // *even*: just  
 9 *cunning*: deviousness    11 *fellows*: colleagues; fellow judges    14 *lo*: look  
 14 *lay*: ascribe    18 *make . . . matter*: put a definitive end to the charge against them  
 18 *haply*: perhaps    20 *troth*: uprightness    23 *deceiveth*: disappoints  
 23 *evil*: meritless; not legitimate    26 *matters*: cases    28 *marry*: indeed  
 30 *is . . . be*: many times has to be    32 *politic*: sagacious    35 *mischiefs*: crimes  
 36 *found*: established as having been committed

great and clearly proved felonies before divers and right  
 worshipful of the King's Council... have I wist, ere this, that  
 never could be gotten to be found by indictment in their  
 counties, for all that. Howbeit, such examinations hath  
 caused yet many mischievous people to be brought to their  
 punishment... and have put also many such other unthrifths  
 in fear, and made them refrain from thieving and draw themselves  
 to thrift... or else, notwithstanding that there are yet thieves  
 enough, there would be without doubt many more. 5

The other thing that I will say is this: that all these  
 differences and diversities that this good man putteth here between  
 indictments and the suit *ex officio* prove yet nothing  
 that the suit *ex officio* is not good... but only, at the very uttermost,  
 that the order not to proceed without an open presentment  
 were better. For as I said before, though this law by  
 indictments be better in felony now—yet were not the other  
 way naught: if the law were so that the judges might proceed  
 and put felons to answer without indictments... as in treason  
 is used in this realm, by the law martial, upon war  
 reared, as we saw by experience in Captain Quintyn, Captain  
 Genyn, Corbet, and Belke. And yet is *that* law not evil, though  
 that our own common law be better; and that though we trust  
 the juries never so well, yet might we trust the judges as well.  
 And this may I say, methinketh, without any dispraise or  
 fault finding in the juries at all. For let him assign me two  
 juries of very well-known good men... and then if he will ask me,  
 “What fault find you, sir, in these men?”—I will answer him, “Marry,  
 sir, no fault at all, I. I take them all for good men and true,  
 and think they will not say but truth; nor I never said nor  
 thought otherwise.” But then would I assign him by name one of  
 our judges again... and say, “Now, sir, that I trust the troth of  
 your two juries well, what fault is that that you find in this  
 judge's troth, that maketh you to check me so because I will  
 trust him no worse than I will trust them?” For that is, ye wot  
 well, all that ever I said: that I would trust the judge *as* well, and  
 not that I would trust him better. And yet if I had said I would 35

1–2 *great* . . . *worshipful*: serious crimes clearly proved before several very prestigious members  
 2 *wist*: known    5 *mischievous*: evil-doing    6 *unthrifths*: profligates; dissolute people  
 7 *draw*: betake    8 *thrift*: decent occupation    11 *diversities*: dissimilarities  
 11 *putteth*: posits    12 *nothing*: not at all  
 14 *order not to proceed*: policy of not proceeding // *presentment*: formal lodging of charges  
 15 *were*: would be // *though*: even if // *by*: i.e., of proceeding by way of  
 16, 18, 20 *in*: with regard to    16 *felony*: a crime such as murder or theft    17 *naught*: bad  
 17 *so*: such    18 *to answer*: on trial    21 *evil*: bad    21–22 *though that*: even if  
 25, 30 *assign*: present to    27 *marry*: indeed    28 *true*: honest    31, 33 *troth*: integrity  
 34 *worse*: less well



of the both trust the judge better—I had not by that word,  
 neither, dispraised the troth of juries. For he that saith he  
 will better believe twenty-four than twelve dispraiseth not the troth of  
 the petit juries, but believeth them well also, save such as be  
 found false. And thus I have showed you that I may well 5  
 say the words that I said without any finding of any fault in  
 any juries. And it appeareth also meetly well that himself cannot  
 well say the contrary—that is to wit, that he will not trust a judge  
 so well—this can he not say without some manner of distrust in  
 their troth. And yet since their Worships be so well known 10  
 that this good man’s distrust cannot impair it—they will, I  
 dare say, forgive him. Howbeit, since the judges would (as this  
 man saith, and as I dare also say they would) be sore discontent  
 with me if I distrusted the troth of the juries, the juries may  
 now no less do again of courtesy than for his worse opinion 15  
 of the judges’ troth somewhat be angry with him.

Now herein see I none other shift for this good man but, for the  
 maintenance of his matter, to say that in the common law, the  
 law would be good enough in felony, though the trust were put  
 in the judges, to put traitors and felons to answer 20  
 without indictment... but in heresy it could not be good  
 before an ordinary; and would lay for his cause a diversity  
 between the one judge and the other, and say that our *judges*  
 be good men and worshipful, and ever have been and ever shall...  
 and that the *ordinaries* be, and ever have been and shall be, very 25  
 false and naught. Other shift hath this man none, that I see, than  
 even to say thus. And verily his book of *Division*, save that it  
 saith nothing to the praise of temporal judges, that I now  
 remember, yet to the dispraise of the spiritual (for those, algates,  
 that be now) saith even, in effect, as much—yea, and rather yet 30  
 worse too, save that the color of “some say” saveth him from  
 saying it himself.

But, now, if he defend himself with that fashion again—  
 what the juries will say, that can I not tell; for the panels  
 be not yet called. But as for our judges, I know their Wisdoms 35

1 *had not*: would not have // *word*: statement 2 *dispraised*: cast aspersions on  
 5, 26 *false*: dishonest 7 *meetly*: fairly 10 *Worships*: Honors  
 18 *maintenance of his matter*: support of his case 24 *worshipful*: respectable  
 26 *naught*: wicked 27 *even*: just 29 *algates*: at any rate 30 *even*: quite  
 31 *color*: subterfuge

and their Worships such, that I am very sure in his so saying and his so lying upon the spiritual judges, they would can him no thank at all.

And verily, that the spiritual ordinaries be not at these days likely to be such, the temporal judges being so good as they be, there is among many other one likelihood this—that he hath chosen the one that hath chosen the other: the King’s gracious Highness himself; which, having on both sides very good to choose of, hath, I dare say, been as circumspect in choosing of the ordinaries as of the judges. And yet, lest in their absence the officers of their own choice might hap to disorder the matters—His Grace keepeth not two bishops of all the realm out of their dioceses, nor, to say the truth, not so much as one. For he whose attendance His Grace useth most is far the most part of the year in his own diocese every day.

And therefore, as I said before, all these verse differences, and all these diversities, which this good man layeth between the suit *ex officio* in heresy and the not proceeding without indictments upon treason or felony, proveth at the very furthest not that the suit *ex officio* is naught, but that not to proceed but upon a presentment were the better a way. And then I say that it is a poor tale and a cold, if a man would come forth and labor us to break every old law long used in this realm, which he could not prove but that it were good enough... but yet would needs have it changed because that if it were now to make, himself could, he saith, make it better.

But now will I come a little nearer unto this good man, with the other point that I touched before; that is to wit, that it is not in this matter enough for this good man to prove us that not to proceed without open accusation or presentment is the better way both upon treason and felony, but if he prove us further, that the same way were also better in heresy.

But then have I showed before, in mine *Apology*, that in heresy that way will not serve. And that have I there proved by the plainest proof that in such manner things any man can

2 *upon*: about    3 *can . . . thank*: give . . . thanks    6 *likelihood*: indication  
 6–7 *he . . . other*: i.e., the same person has chosen both the one and the other  
 8 *which*: who    9 *good*: i.e., good ones    9, 10 *of*: from    11 *misorder*: mismanage  
 22 *tale*: speech // *cold*: unpersuasive    23 *labor us to break*: try to get us to change  
 28 *touched*: touched upon

make: that is to wit, by common, open experience... whereunto this good man of policy would give none ear, but in his answer he hath left it quite out.

And therein he fareth, lo, like a guest that maketh his reckoning himself, without his host... which is therefore 5  
after fain to reckon again... as I shall now bring in here one penny more into this good man's reckoning which I perceive well himself would very fain forget. Lo, thus wrote I further, good readers, touching this point in that selfsame chapter of mine *Apology* (folio 226): 10

But yet will peradventure this Pacifier say that sometime, in some very special case, he could be content that the spiritual judge should upon his discretion call one for suspicion of heresy *ex officio*; but he would not have men commonly called but either by accusation or presentment in their senes or indictments at the common law. I had as lief, for anything that I see, that this Pacifier should say thus: "By this way that they be called I would not have them called; but I would have them called after such an order as they might be sure that then should they never be called." For as for accuse folk openly for heresy, every man hath experience enough that ye shall seldom find any man that will... but if the judge should set an officer of the Court thereto, without any peril of expenses; and then were this way and that way all of one effect. And as for presentments and indictments, what effect would come of them concerning heresy, ye see the proof, I trow, meetly well already. 15

For this is a thing well known unto every man: that in every sene, every session of peace, every session of jail delivery, every leet through the realm, the first thing that the jury have given them in charge is heresy. And for all this, through the whole realm how many presentments be there made in the whole year? I ween in some seven years not one. And I suppose no man doubteth but that in the meantime some there be. I will not be curious about the searching out of the cause, why it is either never or so very seldom presented, not five in fifteen years. But this I say: that since some will not, some cannot, and none doth... if he should put away the process *ex officio*, the thing should be left undone; and then should soon after, with heretics increased and multiplied, the faith be undone; and after that, through the stroke of God revenging their 25 30 35

1 *common*: general    2 *of policy*: out of expediency    4 *maketh*: writes up  
4 *reckoning*: (hotel) bill    5-6 *which . . . again*: who therefore has to redo the billing  
8 *very fain forget*: very much like to leave out    9 *touching*: concerning  
11, 16 *Pacifier*: Peacemaker; Appeaser    13, 14, etc. *call(ed)*: summon(ed)  
13 *one*: someone    15, 25 *sene(s)*: ecclesiastical visitation(s)  
15 *had as lief*: would just as soon  
17-18 *after such an order*: in accordance with such a procedure  
19 *for heresy*: of heresy    20 *but if*: unless    21 *thereto*: i.e., to do this  
21 *peril of expenses*: danger of having to pay the court expenses if the defendant is acquitted  
22 *one*: the same    24 *trow*: suppose // *meetly*: fairly  
26 *session of peace*: sitting of the justices of the peace  
26 *of jail delivery*: concerning a release from jail // *leet*: session of a misdemeanor court  
29 *ween*: think    31 *curious*: solicitous; studious  
32 *presented*: formally charged against a person    33 *will not*: do not want to  
33-34 *put away*: do away with

malice and our negligence, should by sedition, and trouble, and dearth, and death, in this realm many men, both good and bad, be undone. And therefore, for conclusion of this piece, my poor advice and counsel shall be that for heresy—and *especially* now, this time—men shall suffer the processes *ex officio* stand; and for as many other sins also as are only reformable by the spiritual law, except there be any such sins of them as ye think were good to grow. 5

What hath this good man, good readers, said unto this piece? What shall we, good readers, say now to this good man, that in this goodly answer of his (which he would were taken for so strong), unto this piece—upon which great part of the matter hangeth—saith not so much as mum... but letteth it slip even by, as though he were one that had for this point been born deaf and thereby dumb! 10

And now, concerning this point, I will yet say a little further: that in places more than one, good evidences have been given unto inquests of plain and open heresy, which yet would not find it... that would upon much less evidence have shortly presented felony. 15

And one of these matters, with the priest that preached it, when I was Chancellor was brought unto me by right worshipful folk, that before me avowed it in his face. And yet could not all they cause the inquest to present it, but some folk began to fall to favor him; and had he not been taken by good worshipful temporal men, many would have flocked after him, and have followed him about, for pleasure of his new-fashion preaching. And yet, for all that flocking, though they had made two or three hundred (as they should haply within a while if a few good men had not letted it), they had been yet but a handful to their good Catholic neighbors; and yet, by such flocking together, and following on a plump, they should have seemed in folk's eyes far the more part; and at length, peradventure, if they went on and were not letted, they might grow to it indeed. 20 25 30

That priest I delivered unto his ordinary, and that with good and plain proof of his heresy... which was indeed, soon after that, abjured. But for this I tell it you: that the jury would not find 35

1 *trouble*: civil unrest // *dearth*: scarcity 5 *stand*: i.e., to remain in effect  
 6 *spiritual*: ecclesiastical // *except*: unless 7 *were*: would be // *grow*: cultivate  
 10 *goodly*: sizable 12 *mum*: hmm // *even*: right  
 17 *find it*: i.e., find the defendant guilty of it  
 18–19 *presented felony*: formally charged someone with a crime such as murder or theft  
 20 *matters*: cases (concerning plain and open heresy) 21, 24 *worshipful*: respectable  
 23 *present*: file charges of // *fall*: come 24 *taken*: seized 25 *temporal men*: laymen  
 26 *about*: around 27 *though*: even if 29 *letted*: prevented // *had*: would have  
 29 *to*: compared to 31 *on*: in // *plump*: band; cluster  
 32 *far the more part*: the vast majority // *at length*: eventually // *peradventure*: perhaps  
 33 *letted*: hindered

it, for all the good folk that gave them open evidence. And that this is not in one case, nor a thing that happeth seldom, as I said in mine *Apology*, plain experience proveth. Whereby you may see that in heresy, if the judge should not *ex officio* proceed, till the matter were presented by the juries—heretics might be bold to proceed on apace, and so they would, I warrant you, and multiply full fast. 5

And thus you see, good readers, that concerning this piece, this good man hath in every point a great overthrow.

And therefore, now, the last clause of this fifteenth chapter of his is clearly wrested awry. For as though he had all proved (whereas all is disproved!)—he finisheth his chapter thus: 10

And thus it appeareth that Master More can neither prove the suit *Ex officio* to be like to the arresting of men for suspicion of felony or for good abearing, to putting of men to answer upon indictments, nor yet to them that may be accused by twelve men and know not of it; and that for the causes before remembered. Wherefore it seemeth that though it were clearly put away, the streets should not swarm full of heretics never a whit. 15

This good man saith here I cannot prove any of all these things like. But every man may well see, that list to look back and read it, that there is not any one piece, of all these that he speaketh of, but I have very plainly proved it very like, for the purpose and intent that I resemble it for. And this shall every man clearly see that will advise piece by piece. 20 25

And therefore—while upon differences and diversities that he putteth between them such as let them not to be like in the thing that I liken them for, he boasteth in conclusion that I cannot prove them like—I shall show you what thing, now, this boast of his is like. 30

If it had come in this good man's head to devise a law, and write a book therefor, to kill up all the bandogs throughout all the realm (wherein his time, as unwisely as it were bestowed, had not yet been so ill spent as it hath been in this), and then would lay for the cause that bandogs do spend victual, and will sometimes bite folk, too: if I would then write against his wise 35

10 *clause*: section 13 *appeareth*: is evident

15 *good abearing*: i.e., disturbance of the peace // *to answer*: on trial

17 *before remembered*: previously mentioned 18 *though*: even if

18 *clearly put away*: completely done away with 21 *list*: cares 24 *resemble*: liken

25 *advise*: consider (all this) 27 *let . . . like*: do not keep them from being similar

31 *in*: into 32 *therefor*: for it // *up*: off 32, 35 *bandogs*: guard dogs

33 *were bestowed*: would be spent 34 *had not yet*: would yet not have

35 *lay for the cause*: give as the reason // *spend victual*: consume food 36 *wise*: brilliant

book and say that he might by that reason kill up hounds and  
 greyhounds and all, for they must eat too, and will sometimes bite  
 children too... but likewise yet as they may not yet, for all that, be  
 forborne, both for the pleasure that they do and also for that  
 they help to take us some such beasts of venery as men eat, 5  
 and hunt and kill also such other beasts and vermin as else  
 would destroy much victual... so the bandogs may not be  
 forborne neither, for they both defend husbandmen's  
 houses from thieves and help folk home, with their beasts too, sometimes,  
 such as would not else come home—now might this good 10  
 man, by this reason that he useth here, write again and defend his  
 politic device against bandogs... and therein answer me thus.  
 First, that for defense of folk's houses there shall need no bandogs  
 at all... for men may make their servants watch,  
 or make fast all their doors... and when thieves would break in, 15  
 defend their houses themselves. And as for such beasts as would  
 not come home, if they be not over heavy they may bear them  
 home... and those that be too heavy to be borne home, tie ropes to  
 their tails and draw them home. And then might he say yet  
 a little further... and that is this: that he marveled much that I could, 20  
 for shame and fear of mine own conscience, resemble and liken  
 together gentle hounds, or goodly greyhounds, to such ill-favored  
 mastiffs. And then, to prove them very far unlike,  
 put his differences and his diversities and say, "A mastiff hath,  
 you wot well, a great jolt head, and a great muzzle and a thick, 25  
 boistous body... whereas a greyhound hath a proper head, with  
 a goodly small, long snout, and fair long, slender sides; and the  
 hounds yet much less like, too."  
 And thereupon might he there conclude as he now concludeth  
 here... and say thus: 30  
 "And thus it appeareth that Master More can neither prove the  
 mastiffs to be like to the greyhounds nor to the other gentle  
 hounds neither, and that for the causes before remembered.  
 Wherefore it seemeth that though all bandogs and mastiffs  
 were clearly put away, yet men's houses should be defended 35  
 well enough, and their beasts brought home well enough too, so  
 they should, lo."

1, 11 *reason*: reasoning    1 *up*: off    4, 8 *forborne*: dispensed with    4 *do*: give  
 5 *venery*: game    6 *vermin*: birds injurious to game or to crops  
 8 *husbandmen's*: country folks'    12 *politic device against*: sagacious expedient regarding  
 13 *need*: be needed    14 *watch*: keep vigil; stand guard    17 *over*: too // *may*: could  
 17 *bear*: carry    18 *borne*: carried    19 *draw*: pull    21 *resemble*: compare  
 22, 32 *gentle*: noble; of an excellent breed    22 *goodly*: handsome // *ill-favored*: ugly  
 24 *put*: state    25 *great*: big // *jolt*: clumsy    26 *boistous*: bulky  
 26 *proper*: fine    27 *goodly*: nice-looking // *small*: narrow // *fair*: attractive  
 31 *appeareth*: is evident    33 *before remembered*: previously mentioned  
 35 *clearly put away*: completely done away with

Now, if he royally triumphed upon this, and thought he had avoided me well—I could no farther go therein, in good faith, but let him take that glory to him. And surely with any wise man that readeth over, here in this chapter, both his words and mine, and one after another considereth wherefore I resemble them together... shall find, I dare boldly warrant, that with his differences and his diversities he winneth like worship in this. 5

But now to turn again, as I promised, to the first point; that is to wit, his device of open accusers. Consider well this, good Christian reader: that whereas this good man in his book of *Division*, where he would have the suit *ex officio* left off—he then reserved us yet both open accusations and presentments, to put heretics to answer upon. But now, in this fifteenth chapter of his in his book of *Salem and Bizance*, for favor toward the Catholic faith he deviseth no more against heretics but open accusers alone... and saith that open accusers shall sufficiently serve the matter. And unto that here that I say, and that every man seeth—that no man will in heresy make himself a party by way of open accusing—thereto saith this good man nothing. 20

He seeth, pardie, very well that in many things forbidden by sundry statutes for the common weal—as against the great excess of apparel, and some such other things—the law doth invite and hire every man to the accusing of the breakers of the same by giving them the one half of the forfeiture. And yet for all that—as long and as many laws, and as sore, as have been made against such excess of apparel, and as much as some men might have won by the suit—yet how few folk have been found that have taken those actions and thereby accused those offenders, the King’s courts can declare, and the little amendment may show. 25

Riots be open things and inquirable, with pains also set upon the concealers, yet many great riots go by unfound and the concealers never spoken of; and a statute was there fain to be made that it might be pursued and punished by the King’s Council without presentment, and that even by suit in manner *ex officio*, too. For though the parties that made the riot and the party upon whom it was made were so well agreed 35

2 *avoided*: refuted    3 *wise man*: sensible person    5 *wherefore*: why  
 5–6 *resemble them together*: liken them to one another    7 *worship*: honor  
 12 *left off*: dropped; discontinued    18 *serve the matter*: take care of the problem  
 21 *pardie*: by golly    22 *common weal*: common good    24 *hire*: bribe    26 *sore*: harsh  
 30 *declare*: make known    31 *may*: can    32 *inquirable*: subject to investigation  
 32 *pains*: penalties    33 *great*: large-scale  
 33 *unfound*: i.e., with no one ever being found guilty  
 34–35 *a . . . made*: there had to be made a statute    35 *pursued*: prosecuted  
 37 *though*: even if    143/38—144/1 *agreed again*: reconciled

again that neither nother would by their wills have the  
 matter moved or any more spoken of it—yet may the King’s  
 Council, upon secret information, cause the King’s attorney  
 to make a bill of the riot, and put the parties to answer, and  
 send for what witnesses they will. 5

Now this man will not be so mad, I trow, to lay me for a  
 difference that in the suit *ex officio* there is none accuser, and  
 that here, the King’s attorney is. For as I have said before, if the  
 spiritual court should assign in like wise an officer of  
 their own without either peril or cost—what would it  
 avail the party? 10

If this good man had, therefore, devised rewards for accusers,  
 and great pains of forfeitures for them that would conceal  
 and hide—yet would not all that have helped well the matter  
 in heresies. And weeneth he then that his bare device of open accusers  
 alone, neither compelled nor hired, will help it? Nay—  
 not and take indictments and presentments to them, with  
 pains set upon the concealers, too. 15

And this hath all Christendom, good Christian readers, perceived;  
 and therefore in every good Christian country do they  
 use the same suit of office which upon a light reason this  
 man calleth unreasonable, and have used many long years.  
 This law also which this good man thus impugneth upon his  
 own unreasonable reason was thought a law right reasonable,  
 as I told you, in a general council at Rome there held  
 by Pope Innocent III, and many great, wise, and well-learned  
 virtuous men thereat. There were the ambassadors of  
 all the realms and countries christened... and among the others,  
 the ambassadors of England. There were the ambassadors of  
 both the emperors; that is to wit, of Almaine and Greece. There were  
 also the four great patriarchs; that is to wit, the patriarch of Antioch  
 and the patriarch of Alexandria by their deputies... and the  
 patriarch of Constantinople and the patriarch of Jerusalem in  
 their own proper persons. In this great full and whole council of  
 Christendom was this law agreed and approved. And from the 30  
 35

1 *nother*: the one nor the other    2 *moved*: brought to trial  
 3–4 *cause . . . to make*: have . . . write up    4 *a bill of*: i.e., a bill of indictment for  
 4 *to answer*: on trial    9 *spiritual*: ecclesiastical  
 10–11 *what would it avail*: what good would it do    16 *hired*: bribed  
 17 *not and take*: i.e., not even if you add    18 *pains*: penalties    21 *light*: not weighty  
 28 *realms . . . christened*: Christian realms and countries    30 *Almaine*: Germany  
 33–34 *in . . . persons*: in person; their own very selves    35 *agreed*: agreed on



first making, all Christian countries received it... and have by the  
 continual use ever since allowed it. And this realm hath found it  
 so necessary that by statutes it hath strengthened it. And all true  
 Christian countries to this day still observe it... nor no country  
 hath there anywhere left and forsaken it except such places 5  
 only as have left and forsaken the faith of Christ withal...  
 whose examples I trust this realm is too faithful to follow,  
 upon such good reason as this good man here bringeth... whereof  
 the very whole sum, when it is gathered together, amounteth  
 to no more but that it may sometime happen that an innocent 10  
 may take harm thereby—a reason that, once received, may  
 suffer no law to stand. For what law can he give so made in all  
 this world, whereby none innocent can possibly take hurt? But  
 here you see plainly proved against this good man that by the  
 changing there would surely follow another manner of peril: 15  
 the decay of the Catholic faith by the encouraging of heretics...  
 which would be well content that we made laws to burn  
 them twice when they be proved heretics, so that the good  
 counsel of this good man be followed, that the suit *ex officio*  
 may be changed into such open accusers as in seven 20  
 years shall never one come forth, nor one heretic of likelihood  
 once be put to answer; with another good counsel of this  
 good man's also devised for their farther safeguard against  
 arresting of them, whereof we be to speak afterward, in another  
 chapter. Say this good man what he will, if we break this law 25  
 so long approved through Christendom, and take his device in  
 the stead—his word will never so stay the thing but that after  
 his ways once taken, and by his new, evil counsel the good  
 old laws broken, men should shortly see, without any doubt,  
 great increase of heretics... which, whereas they were wont 30  
 but to creep together in corners and secretly skulk together  
 in lurkies' lanes, shall soon wax bold and put out their horns  
 and flock and swarm together so thick in the open streets that  
 such mischief would finally follow thereon as woe will  
 every good man be that should live to see it. And yet would God, 35  
 of his goodness, turn at length the chief harm upon their

1 *received*: accepted    2 *allowed*: sanctioned    5, 6 *left*: dropped  
 5, 6 *forsaken*: abandoned    6 *withal*: therewith    8, 11 *reason*: reasoning  
 11 *received*: accepted as valid    12 *suffer*: allow    16 *decay*: diminution; erosion  
 17, 30 *which*: who    18 *so*: provided    22 *to answer*: on trial    25 *break*: change  
 28 *evil*: bad    29 *broken*: changed    32 *lurkies' lanes*: back alleys // get  
 34 *mischief*: harm

heads. But better folk should first feel so much thereof that it were better for both that, by these good laws well kept which this good man would break, these heretics be well repressed and kept under betimes.

*The Sixteenth Chapter*

5

His sixteenth chapter beginneth in the 54<sup>th</sup> leaf, wherein he first reciteth again his own words written in his book of *Division* wherein he disputed against the law in the chapter “Accusatus,” paragraph “Licet,” whereby it is ordained that though one being accused and sworn confess nothing, and yet afterward he confesseth, both of himself and others, such things as it may well appear that if he were not forsworn in the second, he was forsworn in the first... and yet that law there admitteth him for a witness in that same court and in that matter of heresy, if there appear manifest tokens that he doth it not of lightness of mind, nor of hatred, nor for other corruption; which he saith is therefore “a dangerous law, and more likely to cause untrue and unlawful men to condemn innocents than to condemn offenders.”

And you shall understand, good readers, that in his book of *Division* he not only did impugn the law that he speaketh of here... but also another chapter, “In fidei favorem,” because that thereby such as are accursed, and such as are parties to the same offense, shall be witnesses in heresy.

This reason of his, good reader, albeit that me then thought and yet think so unreasonable that I reckoned it little worth the answering, as a reason reprovved by the common law and by the course and usage of all realms christened, and in other crimes besides heresy plainly reprovved, and the contrary well used in this realm here also—yet in the forty-first chapter of mine *Apology*, folio 228, in this manner wise I answered him:

This piece, concerning the testimony of known evil persons to be received and taken in heresy... I have somewhat touched in the third chapter of the Third Book of my *Dialogue*; where since they may read it that will, I will make here no long tale again thereof. But well he wotteth

3 *break*: change    4 *betimes*: in good time    8, 22 *chapter*: i.e., chapter of canon law  
 8 *disputed*: argued    9 *paragraph*: article // *ordained*: decreed  
 10 *sworn*: put under oath    12, 13 *forsworn*: perjured    14 *matter of heresy*: heresy case  
 15 *tokens*: indications // *lightness*: unsteadiness    18 *untrue*: unjust  
 23 *accursed*: excommunicated    25, 27 *reason*: reasoning  
 27, 29 *reprovved*: proved erroneous    28 *course*: custom  
 28 *usage*: practice // *realms christened*: Christian realms    29 *used*: kept in force  
 31 *manner wise*: kind of way    32 *known evil persons*: persons known to be bad  
 33 *received*: accepted // *heresy*: i.e., heresy cases  
 33 *somewhat touched*: to some extent discussed    35 *tale*: speech // *thereof*: about it

that heresy, whereby a Christian man becometh a false traitor to God, is in all laws, spiritual and temporal both, accounted as great a crime as is the treason committed against any worldly man. And then why should we find so great a fault that such witnesses should be received in a cause of heresy as are received not only in a cause of treason, but of murder also, and of other more single felony; not only in favor of the prince, and detestation of such odious crimes, but also for the necessity which the nature of the matter worketh in the proof. For since evil folk use not to make good folk of counsel in doing of their evil deeds... those that are done should pass unpunished, and more like be committed afresh, but if they were received for records to their condemning that were of their counsel and partners to the doing. Which kind of folk will not let to swear twice nay before they confess once yea; and yet their one yea more true upon their bare word than their twice nay upon a solemn oath; and yet confess they not so simply but that it is commonly helped with some such circumstances as make the matter more clear.

Now, as to those things that I wrote in my *Dialogue* concerning great criminous witnesses to be taken in great criminal causes, he answereth with no word at all. Howbeit, to say the truth, he the less needed. For he giveth over here all that fault that he found in the chapter “In fidei favorem,” as a thing wherein himself seeth now that he was overseen then, and therefore he letteth that here pass by, as though he had never spoken thereof, and sticketh only upon that one case of him that is once forsworn.

But now let us see what he saith here concerning this selfsame case. First he saith that the laws, though they must devise such ways as evil persons may be punished—yet the makers of the laws must “as much as in them is” provide that innocents shall be saved harmless. This is very true—“as much as in them is . . .”—the other point being provided for too: that offenders may be punished. But then say I that it is not in all the wits of the world, for punishment of mischievous wretches, to devise a law in such wise that men may be sure that none innocent can take harm thereby. And then if he grant me this

1 *false*: despicable; sorry    2 *spiritual and temporal*: ecclesiastical and secular  
 3 *worldly*: earthly    4, 11 *received*: accepted    5 *cause*: case // *of*: concerning  
 6 *single*: solitary; not committed in the presence of many witnesses    7 *prince*: sovereign  
 8–9 *use not*: are not wont    9 *make . . . of counsel*: take . . . into their confidence  
 10 *should pass*: would go    11 *but if they*: unless those  
 11 *for records*: as givers of testimony  
 12 *were . . . to*: were taken into their confidence and were accomplices in  
 13 *let*: forbear    14 *true*: trustworthy // *bare word*: mere statement  
 15 *so simply*: in such an unadorned way  
 19 *great criminous witnesses*: witnesses who are guilty of great crime  
 19–20 *great criminal causes*: cases concerning great crime  
 21 *giveth . . . that*: here drops that whole    22 *in the*: with the  
 23 *overseen*: in error    25 *sticketh*: dwells    26 *forsworn*: perjured  
 30, 31–32 *as much as in them is*: to the best of their ability  
 31 *saved harmless*: kept free from liability to punishment    34 *mischievous*: evil-doing

(which whether he grant or no, yet very true it is), then say I that his only reason against the suit *ex officio* and against this law too—that is to wit, that innocents may take harm thereby—is such a reason that if it were followed in every law whereby misguided folk are punished, there should no law stand for their punishment at all, but lest it might mishap that some innocent might take harm, we should let all mischievous folk alone, and thereby suffer many more good innocent men take harm. 5

But then goeth this good man further and saith that the punishment of an offender must be by a due and reasonable order. 10  
And that is very true also... and therefore we shall agree well in that. But then goeth he further and saith:

I cannot see what due or reasonable order of trial it is that he that upon his oath hath first cleared himself and his neighbor of heresies should after, contrary to his first oath, be received again as a witness to condemn him that he cleared before, and that in the same court, and in the same matter. 15

Though this good man cannot see it—other men can see it... and have seen it, and daily do see it too, well enough. I have seen such things as this is myself proved, I cannot tell how often—that in the excuse of a thief, some have taken an oath that the felon was with him in his own house at such time as the felony should be done in another place. And a man would have went he had been credible and said truth. And yet afterward hath himself confessed that the felon and himself also were at the robbery, both twain; and his bare word then more true than before was his solemn oath. And every man that hath meddled much with such examinations hath a sure experience that this is a common fashion of murderers and thieves and such as are thieves' receivers... of whom at the first face some seem honest men, and are so sometimes reputed, and come forth for declaration of them that are suspected and in trouble, and depose for them... and yet after, upon some other occasion in examining of the matter, begin to be suspected themselves, and afterward confess it too, both of themselves 20 25 30 35

2, 4 *reason*: argument    4 *followed*: gone along with // *in*: with regard to  
4 *misguided*: ill-behaved    6 *mishap*: unfortunately happen    7 *mischievous*: evil-doing  
8 *suffer*: let    10, 13 *order*: procedure    15 *received*: accepted    17 *matter*: case  
20 *proved*: borne out by experience    21 *excuse*: defense    23 *went*: thought  
24 *credible*: worthy of being believed // *said truth*: told the truth  
26 *bare word*: mere statement    27 *true*: trustworthy  
28 *meddled much*: had much involvement    29 *sure*: soundly established  
30 *receivers*: receivers of stolen goods    30–31 *at the first face*: at first glance  
31 *honest*: honorable    32 *declaration*: clearing

and them whom they came to clear by their perjury before.  
And I am very sure there be not a few that have heard such  
evidence given in causes of felony divers times to the jury.

But hereupon, because I spoke in mine *Apology* of such  
witnesses in felony: this good man maketh here a doubt what  
manner witnesses I mean—whether I mean the twelve men that  
are the jury, or other witnesses that are brought into the court  
for to inform them. And then first, if I mean the twelve men, then  
he answereth me certain things to show that he can skill of the  
law. But verily as for me, I shall put him out of that doubt that I  
meant not them. For I never took the twelve men for witnesses in  
my life. For why should I call them *witnesses*, whose *verdict* the  
judge taketh for a sure sentence concerning the fact without  
any examination of the circumstances whereby they know or  
be led to believe their verdict to be true? 5

And also, wherefore should I mean to call them witnesses,  
whom I see desire witnesses at the bar to inform them in the  
matter as witnesses inform a judge? He might therefore have  
spared his labor in that piece well enough. For I neither  
meant the jury nor never took them for witnesses. 10

If he will ask me what they be, then: I say they be the *jury*!  
And if he will wit furthermore what person they represent of  
those that are usual in other courts, wherein there be no juries  
used: that can I meetly well tell him too, if the tale were as necessary  
as it would be long. 15

But then cometh he to the other part, and saith:

And if Master More by that term “witness” mean such witness as  
be sometimes brought into the King’s courts to give evidences to an  
inquest, then is that witness no such witness as the witness be  
in the spiritual court, that shall acquit or condemn the parties;  
for of those witnesses so brought into the King’s court to give evidence  
to an inquest at the common law, no mention shall be made in  
the records, nor the jury be not bound always to follow those witnesses. For  
if the jury, of their own knowledge or otherwise, know the truth  
against the saying of such witnesses, they be bound to find 20

3 *causes of felony*: murder or theft cases // *divers*: several  
5 *maketh here a doubt*: expresses here a doubt as to 9 *can skill*: has knowledge  
13 *sentence*: pronouncement 15 *true*: correct 16 *wherefore*: why  
17 *desire*: ask 18 *matter*: case 24 *tale*: telling 28 *evidences*: testimonies  
30 *condemn*: convict 31 *evidence*: testimony 33 *follow*: go along with  
35 *against* . . . *witnesses*: to be contrary to what such witnesses have said

according to the truth, and let those witnesses go. And yet if it happened that such collateral witnesses first testified upon their oath that the party were not guilty; and after it were informed the judges that they revoked their first saying and would say that the party were guilty: I cannot think that the judges would anymore call them to hear their saying therein. And though they would, yet, as I said before, it were far unlike to this case. For their saying there is but as an evidence, which the jury should not be bound to believe, but as the truth is. I cannot see, therefore, how Master More can prove his saying that such witnesses—that is to say, such as be perjured in the same court—should be afterward received as witness in any of the King's courts.

Now, good readers, evermore remember this: that it is not enough for him that will avoid a resemblance between two things—it is not enough, I say, for him to prove that in *some* point those two things are unlike (for so must every two things needs be, for else were they not two but one), but he must prove that they be unlike in the selfsame point wherein, and to the selfsame purpose wherefor, they were so resembled together.

And now I say that in that point, for that purpose for which I resemble them, I say that they be like. I did not say that they were like in the manner of the examination, and putting of their names and their depositions in the record, in which things this man saith and I confess that they be unlike; but I said that they were like in this point: that like as he that hath been sworn, and cleared one (as far forth as in him was) of heresy, may yet be received, sworn again, and heard, and by his new, contrary deposition may hurt the same party whom he did clear, before the same spiritual judge, which lawfully may give credence unto him upon certain circumstances by his wisdom well weighed—so may in like wise he that hath been sworn, and by his oath cleared a man (as much as in him was) of felony, be yet received and sworn again and heard, and by his new, contrary deposition may hurt the same party whom he did before clear in a temporal court, before the selfsame

2 *collateral witnesses*: witnesses coming from the same pool as the jurors, but not serving on the jury 6 *though*: even if 7–8 *an evidence*: a testimony 14 *will*: wishes to  
 14 *avoid*: disprove 19 *wherefor*: for which 27, 28, etc. *sworn*: put under oath  
 27 *one*: someone // *as far . . . was*: to the extent that he could  
 33 *as much . . . was*: as much as he could

judges... by the reason that the jury may lawfully believe him in the second oath, upon certain considerations by their wisdoms wisely weighed, notwithstanding his former oath in the same court to the contrary.

And albeit that herebefore I thought upon no further than upon such witnesses taken before the King's Council, or justices of the peace, men of worship in the county, and afterward those depositions with such contrary oaths and all the circumstances therewith given in evidence to the jury at the bar, in the face of the King's ordinary court, sitting upon the deliverance of the prisoner: yet since this good man dissembleth that point and draweth me forth before the judges, I am well content to wait upon him thither. And I nothing doubt but that even there he should—the case might so fall—find it true that I tell him.

“That is not so,” saith this good man. “For if it happened that such collateral witnesses first testified upon their oath that the party were not guilty; and after it were informed the judges that they revoked their first saying, and would say that the party were guilty: I cannot think that the judges would anymore call them to hear their saying therein.”

Here you see, good readers, that he proveth this point by none other thing than only by his own thinking. Now, albeit that against his thinking that they would not, it were enough for me to say that I think they would: yet will I not leave it so bare, but I will show you some cause wherefore in some case they should; and I will also put you some such case which, if the case happed, I nothing doubt but they would.

First, the cause wherefore a person once perjured is repelled from bearing witness again is because the law presumeth that he setteth not so much by an oath but that his oath notwithstanding, he were likely enough to lie.

Now, since this presumption is the general let, and therefore the reason of the general law: if the case happen that this presumption be more than counterpoised with a contrary presumption

7 *worship*: high standing    11 *the deliverance of*: consideration of what should be done with  
 11 *dissembleth*: turns a blind eye to    13 *thither*: there  
 13–14, 28 *nothing doubt*: doubt not at all    14 *even*: right  
 14 *the . . . fall*: this could turn out to be the case    24, 32 *were*: would be  
 29 *repelled*: debarred    31 *setteth . . . by*: has not so much regard for    33 *let*: deterrent  
 34 *of*: for    35 *counterpoised with*: balanced out by

upon the other side, there is the contrary presumption  
a reason sufficient to make in that case a contrary law, or a  
law that shall be for that case an exception out of that general  
rule.

Now, sir, as he that on his oath cleareth himself and his fellow too 5  
(either in heresy or in felony), doth after confess and swear also  
the contrary—if we would not believe him in the second oath because  
we find him thereby perjured in the first... then, in that we judge  
him in the first to have sworn false, it implieth that even thereby  
we judge him in the second to say true. 10

If we will refuse his second oath, and not think him worthy to  
be believed, because that he swore the contrary before, and  
thereby presume him a false shrew when he should by the second  
oath prove himself once perjured, and then we could  
not tell in whither oath of the twain—here I say that the first 15  
presumption is overborne with the second. For it is another  
presumption that no man will cast away his soul for naught.  
And yet a greater presumption that no man will cast away his  
soul to do hurt either to his own body or to his friend's.

Now look me, then, upon this man's two oaths, his first oath 20  
and his second. And though there be a common presumption  
therein also, whereupon the credence of all oaths resteth; that is to  
wit, that a man reputed good and honest will not for his friend's  
body nor for his own, neither, cast his soul away by perjury:  
yet when himself after showeth upon his second oath that 25  
he was perjured in the first, the presumption of his  
troth in his first oath is taken away by the second.

Now, the second, if it be to the accusing of himself and his  
friend both, whom his first oath excused, hath these other 30  
two presumptions for to bear against the first presumption  
general of his untruth for his perjury: the one, that though it  
be presumed in the law that he would be false and forsworn for  
somewhat—yet is it presumed that he will not be forsworn for  
right naught. And yet, as I said, it is more strongly presumed  
that he will not be forsworn to the hurt of himself and his 35  
friend. And therefore hath his second oath enough to bear it

5 *fellow*: accomplice    10 *say true*: be telling the truth    13 *false shrew*: lying scoundrel  
15 *whither*: which // *twain*: two    16 *overborne with*: removed by  
17, 18, 24 *cast*: throw    17 *naught*: nothing    20 *me*: for me // *upon*: at  
23 *honest*: honorable    27 *troth*: truthfulness    29 *excused*: defended  
31 *untruth*: untruthfulness // *for*: on account of    32 *false*: dishonest  
32, 33, 35 *forsworn*: perjured    33 *somewhat*: something  
34 *right naught*: absolutely nothing    36 *bear*: sustain



against the first, since in the first he swore for his friend's  
 advantage and his own, for which (since he now appeareth  
 false in the one oath or the other) he was then likely to be  
 forsworn. And in the second if he were forsworn, it  
 were to their both harm. And therefore is that oath presumed to  
 be true, though the man himself be presumed false. 5

This is, I trow, to no man any doubt, but that though a man had  
 been openly perjured thrice—yet if the world might (as it may  
 not) be sure that in another matter he would, for all that, swear  
 true, the world would receive his oath. Now, forasmuch as of  
 no man's oath any man can be so sure but that he may be by  
 possibility deceived: the law goeth as far forth as it can, and  
 taketh their oaths for a proof which are in that case by presumption  
 likely to swear true. And since that he, therefore,  
 whom the respect of his friend's safeguard and his own gave  
 occasion to be forsworn in the first, in the second sweareth  
 contrariwise to their both peril and harm—therefore in that case  
 reason beareth the law that in such heinous crimes his second  
 oath should be received. 10 15

Here have I showed you a reason which seemeth me sufficient  
 that both in heresy and felony, the judges should be content,  
 notwithstanding the first oath, in some case to suffer him  
 swear the contrary. 20

But now for the temporal courts let us put some case for an  
 example, to see whether the judges would, if the case happed so, hear  
 the witness again or not. 25

I will not put the case in treason, wherein there would, I ween, be  
 no doubt... but that if, after his evidence given upon his oath in  
 clearing there the prisoner, he happed even suddenly there at  
 the bar to repent himself, and say that he was hired to be  
 forsworn, and that he was forsworn indeed, and then would tell  
 another tale far contrary to the first, ere ever he went from the  
 bar: would his tale not be heard, trow you? Yes, and (the jury  
 so desiring, as peradventure they would) the judges would swear  
 him, too, I suppose; and very good reason would bear it that they  
 should. 30 35

But, as I say, let treason go, and come but even unto felony. If

2–3 *appeareth false*: is shown to be untruthful 4, 16 *forsworn*: perjured  
 5 *were* . . . *harm*: was to the detriment of them both 6 *true*: truthful // *false*: untruthful  
 8 *might*: could 8–9 *may not*: cannot 12 *deceived*: mistaken  
 13 *their* . . . *which*: for a proof the oaths of those who 15 *respect of*: regard for  
 15 *safeguard*: safety 17 *their* . . . *harm*: the peril and harm of them both  
 18, 35 *bear(eth)*: support(s) 22 *suffer him*: allow him to 24 *temporal*: secular  
 28 *evidence*: testimony 29 *even*: quite 30 *repent himself*: have a change of heart  
 30 *hired*: bribed 30–31 *be forsworn*: commit perjury  
 31 *was forsworn indeed*: had indeed committed perjury  
 34–35 *swear him*: put him under oath 37 *even*: just

two or three witnesses would at the bar excuse upon their oaths  
 some one man of felony... and afterward, when they were stepped  
 from the bar, happed to be heard round and rejoice together  
 that they had given good evidence for acquittal of their fellow,  
 with whom themselves had been at the same robbery: if they 5  
 were suddenly brought again to the judges, the jury not yet  
 departed from the bar; and, being severally questioned in that  
 sudden abashment, seeing that God had so uttered their falsehood,  
 began to have remorse and came forth with the truth, and  
 agreed in the circumstances and told all one tale, confessing 10  
 both the prisoner and themselves guilty, and would be content to  
 swear that this tale were true, contrary to the oath that they swore  
 there before—would not the judges, trow you, give them the  
 hearing? Yes, yes, I doubt not, and the jury too.

And thus you see clearly, good readers, that in this point if this 15  
 man had wisely wrought, he should have given it over.

And now, albeit that here I might end this chapter, and have  
 no need at all to go any further—yet to the further opening how  
 little hold there is in the causes that he layeth of dissimilitude  
 and unlikeness between the witnesses brought into a spiritual 20  
 court and the witnesses brought into the temporal for information  
 of the jury... I marvel much if himself know not that like  
 as the jury may, if they see cause why, weigh the witnesses at light  
 and acquit the prisoner for all the witnesses' words, so may the  
 ordinary do too. For in his estimation the power lieth to 25  
 weigh and consider the qualities of the witnesses... and all such  
 other circumstances as may diminish or increase their  
 credence.

Yea, and unto the other side, the witnesses are not in the  
 temporal courts weighed and esteemed so light but that the jury 30  
 shall if they believe them not, be sometimes driven to yield a good  
 reckoning why. For though the words of the witnesses be not  
 entered in the record, yet in attaint they shall again be given in  
 evidence against the petit jury, and be testified by the court  
 and by the oaths of them that before heard them depose. 35

1 *excuse*: exculpate    3 *round*: whisper    4 *evidence*: testimony  
 4 *fellow*: companion    6 *again*: back    7 *severally*: separately  
 8 *abashment*: embarrassment // *uttered*: exposed    10 *circumstances*: details  
 10 *told all one tale*: all told the same story    11 *content*: willing  
 16 *wisely wrought*: acted wisely // *given it over*: conceded it    17 *might*: could  
 18 *opening*: making clear    19 *hold*: substance // *layeth*: alleges  
 23 *weigh . . . light*: regard the witnesses as unreliable    24 *for*: despite  
 24, 32 *words*: statements    25 *ordinary*: bishop // *estimation*: judging  
 28 *credence*: credibility    29 *unto . . . side*: on the other hand  
 31–32 *driven . . . reckoning*: made to give a good accounting as to  
 33 *attaint*: the attempt to convict the jury of having given a wrongful verdict, and to get the  
 verdict reversed

And then if it appear unto the grand jury in their conscience  
that the petit jury willfully, of some corrupt mind,  
regarded not the witnesses, and therefore in the giving of their  
verdict passed against their own conscience: every man  
well wotteth that they shall be attained. 5

And necessity hath also driven the King's Grace and his Council,  
for the sure punishment of felons, to provide that if the jury  
likewise regard the witnesses so slightly that the judges think  
they acquit the felon against their own conscience—they bind  
them sometimes to appear before the King's Council. And 10  
there have divers juries been proved so to have misused  
themselves therein that they have been punished therefor.

Now will I, good readers, come unto that piece which (as a  
thing already confuted and of itself unworthy to be touched) I  
would have passed over and not once vouchsafed to write one word 15  
therein, saving that I see him to have taken such labor thereabout that  
he seemeth to ween that he hath defended it well—which whether  
he have well defended or not, yourselves shall, good readers,  
judge. These were his words in his book of *Division*:

This is a dangerous law, and more likely to cause untrue and unlawful 20  
men to condemn innocents than to condemn offenders. And it  
helpeth little that if there be tokens that it is not done of hatred, nor  
for corruption of money, that it should be taken; for sometimes a wolf  
may show himself in the apparel of a lamb. And if the judge be  
partial, such tokens may be sooner accepted than truly showed. 25

To this piece these were my words in mine *Apology*  
(folio 229):

Since evil folk use not to make good folk of their counsel in doing  
of their evil deeds... those that are done should pass unpunished, and more  
like be committed afresh, but if they were received for records to their 30  
condemning that were of their counsel and partners to the doing.  
Which kind of folk will not let to swear twice nay before they  
confess once yea; and yet their one yea more true upon their bare word  
than their twice nay upon a solemn oath; and yet confess they not so

4 *passed*: went    11 *misused*: misconducted    12 *therefor*: for that  
14 *unworthy to be touched*: not worth discussing    15 *vouchsafed*: bothered  
20 *untrue*: unjust    22, 25 *tokens*: indications; signs    22 *of*: out of    25 *truly*: truthfully  
28 *use . . . doing*: are not wont to take good folk into their confidence in the doing  
29 *should pass*: would go    30 *but . . . received*: unless those were accepted  
30 *for records*: as givers of testimony  
31 *were . . . to*: were taken into their confidence and were accomplices in  
33 *true*: trustworthy // *bare word*: mere statement  
155/34—156/1 *so simply*: in such an unadorned way

simply but that it is commonly helped with some such circumstances  
as make the matter more clear.

Now see you well that, as himself showeth, the law provideth well  
against all light receiving of such confession. And yet this Pacifier  
saith that all that helpeth little, because the judge may be “partial,” and the  
witness may be a “wolf” showing himself appareled “in the apparel  
of a lamb”—which appearing in apparel poor men that cannot  
apparel their speech with apparel of rhetoric use commonly to call a wolf  
in a lamb’s skin. 5

But what order may serve against such objections? What place is  
there in this world, spiritual or temporal, of which the judge may not  
have some say that he is, or at the leastwise (as he saith here) may be,  
partial? And therefore not only such witness should be by this reason of  
his rejected in heresy, treason, murder, or felony; but also, by his other  
reason of a wolf in a lamb’s skin, all manner of witness in every matter. 10  
For in every matter may it happen that he that seemeth a lamb may be indeed a  
wolf... and be naught where he seemeth good... and swear false where he  
seemeth to say true. And therefore this patch of this Pacifier concerning  
witness—every wise man may bear witness that there is little wit  
therein... and less good would grow thereof if folk would follow his  
invention and make of the laws a change. 15 20

Now that you have, good readers, heard what we say both  
before: now shall you see how substantially this man defendeth  
his first words again. These are, lo, in this sixteenth chapter of his  
new book, his words: 25

Now, by reason of this objection, I will speak somewhat farther in this  
matter than I did in the said treatise. And first I will say thus: that  
it is to me a great marvel to see Master More so far overseen—or  
else, if he be not overseen therein, that then he would, if he could,  
deceive others and make them so far overseen—to believe that it  
should be one like reason of a perjured witness, that will look like a  
lamb and say contrary to that he hath deposed before, and of  
a witness that cometh to depose in a matter that he was never yet  
sworn upon. For when a witness is brought in that was never  
sworn upon the matter before... the judge may not by the law refuse  
him, nor judge any default in him... unless he know a sufficient 30 35

3 *himself showeth*: he himself points out    7 *poor*: intellectually inferior  
10 *order*: procedure    18 *say true*: be telling the truth  
18 *patch*: i.e., section of the patchwork argument    20 *grow*: come  
20–21 *follow his invention*: go along with his plan    22 *we say both*: both of us say  
28, 29, 30 *overseen*: in inadvertent error    30 *to*: as to  
30–31 *it . . . reason*: the same reasoning holds true    32 *that*: what; that which  
34, 35 *sworn upon*: put under oath with regard to    36 *judge*: i.e., judge there to be  
36 *judge*: i.e., judge there to be // *default in*: defect in; i.e., problem with

cause himself in that behalf... or that the parties do allege it; but he must believe... that he is honest, good, and indifferent... till the contrary be showed... as every man is in charity bound to do of his neighbor. But when a witness hath deposed in the court... and then will offer himself to depose to the contrary that he said before: the judge may with good conscience mistrust and think that he doth it of lightness of mind, hatred, or for corruption of money. 5

If I were in this point overseen, I need not greatly to be ashamed of the oversight. For then hath there been many such other men overseen also, as I would not wish to be wiser. And I no more intend to deceive other men in this matter than many others have intended that used and allowed this thing that I defend now before—such men as, with the condition that I were never worse, I would never wish to be better. This man maketh as though it were great shame for me to liken together a person once perjured and a person that was never yet once sworn. I would indeed be ashamed to liken them together in every point, although there were no more difference between them but that the one had a long nose and the other a short. But I am not much ashamed to say that for some purpose, where he speaketh of the one I may speak of the other, and liken them well enough together. For I may say (as I said) that likewise as he that hath forsworn himself may feign himself to say true, and look like a lamb, and yet be a wolf indeed—even so, I say, may he that never was sworn before. 10 15 20 25

“Yea,” saith this man, “but yet these two be not like. For he that was never sworn, there is no cause to mistrust nor presume that he will play the wolf in a lamb’s skin. But he that hath been forsworn is of reason to be mistrusted... and it is to be presumed that he will play the wolf in a lamb’s skin.” 30

Mark yet, in the meanwhile, that if I could make no farther answer—yet had I won and he lost. For his first words were, in his book of *Division*, that he that confesseth himself forsworn should in no case be received to swear again the 35

2 *honest*: honorable // *indifferent*: impartial 5 *offer himself*: volunteer  
 7 *lightness*: unsteadiness 13 *allowed*: approved of 18 *once*: ever  
 18, 26, 29 *sworn*: put under oath 19 *although*: even if 24, 31, 36 *forsworn*: perjured  
 25 *feign* . . . *true*: make himself appear to be telling the truth 33 *mark*: note

contrary... because that though there seem a good cause to believe him in his second oath, yet it may be that he doth but feign; and I said so may he too feign and dissemble that never was sworn before. And then if the only power and ability to feign were a cause sufficient to put any one man from bearing witness upon his oath—*every* man were by that reason repelled... for every man is able to feign. This was, as you see, the thing that I then said. Which thing neither this man nor any man else is able to confute, nor prove the forsworn man and the man unsworn unlike in the point that I likened them; that is to wit, in power and ability to feign. And farther than that went not I. For I had no farther cause in answering him there, while he went no farther there, nor said none other, but that he that was forsworn may feign. And now read yourselves his words, and look whether I say true.

But now, this being proved, as it is proved plain—that he hath a fall in those words which he spoke before—let us a little see whether with this leisure after, his matter again considered afresh, he hath caught any better hold now. And surely methinketh not one whit.

For where his new reason resteth in this—that he which confesseth himself once forsworn is by reason mistrusted, as one not only to be *able* to swear false, and wilily cloak his falsehood under a color of truth, but also presumed that he so *will* do indeed—to this I say that he saith truth, as long as there is no greater presumption on the other side to serve for his second oath. But when the case happeth that there *is*, as it happeth in the case of this law—then is the presumption that he will swear false gone, as I showed you before. And then—that presumption by a greater presumption being purged—this man forsworn and the man unsworn are, in the thing that I resembled them for, waxen well like again. And that the said presumption *is* purged—I showed you before, in that it is now a greater presumption for his second oath, that he will not forswear himself to the peril of his friend and himself too.

4 *the only*: the mere; just the    5 *put*: bar    6 *were*: would be    7 *repelled*: debarred  
 13 *while*: since    15 *look . . . true*: see if I'm telling the truth    24 *color*: semblance  
 30, 33 *purged*: removed; cleared away    32 *waxen*: become    35 *forswear*: perjure

Then goeth he farther, and enforceth his reason with the reason of the law before that paragraph “Licet” was made. And therein thus he saith:

. . . insomuch that before that paragraph “Licet” was made, the judge might none otherwise have done of justice but to have refused to have taken any farther examination of him. And if he had, and the other had said contrary to that he had said before—his saying had been void in the law.

5

And this thing wherewith he thinketh his reason made the stronger maketh his reason a great deal feebler. For while the general rule of refusing such witness in all cases was made so long *before*—it appeareth plainly that necessity found the fault, and caused out of the general rule this case to be made an exception. . . and so the law made by better deliberation.

10

And in such other horrible crimes, the same law is used in temporal courts, and was also before that law made by the Church.

15

But against all this yet, this man maketh me this reason:

What the makers of the said paragraph meant, to put into the discretion of the judge that if he saw by evident tokens that it is not done of lightness of mind, nor of hatred, nor for corruption of money, that his saying shall stand as well against himself as against others: I cannot tell. For I cannot see how there can be any evident token in any such case, but that there might be in such a perjured witness sometimes inward hatred or corruption that the judge cannot know, so that he cannot judge of certainty that there is none.

20

25

Consider now, good readers, that all the strength of this reason hangeth in this: that the judge cannot surely see sometimes whether the perjured witness do it for the truth, or have a hatred in his breast so secret that the judge cannot see it; and therefore he cannot certainly judge that he hath none. Consider here, now, that he saith not that it is presumed, or must be presumed, that the perjured witness hath so (for if he so said, he should say to

30

1 *enforceth*: reinforces 1, 2, etc. *reason*: argument  
 2, 4, 20 *paragraph*: i.e., article of canon law 7 *that*: what // *had*: would have  
 10 *while*: given that 17 *made*: i.e., was made 22 *lightness*: unsteadiness  
 34 *hath*: i.e., has done // *should say*: would be saying it

no purpose; for, as I have showed you how, that presumption  
 may be outweighed with greater presumptions to the contrary);  
 but he saith that it *may* be indeed that the forsworn  
 witness hath so. And then say I yet again, if we go to the  
*possibility* of the deed, and not unto the presumption and  
 likelihood... he that was never sworn before *may* have a secret  
 hatred which the judge cannot see, as well as he may that was  
 twice sworn before. And thereon I say also yet again that if  
 the judge were charged to give no sentence but such as he knew  
 of certainty sure to be true, he could never upon any  
 witnesses in this world give any sentence at all. For no witness  
 were there but he might swear false and the judge might ween he  
 swore true.

Now, if this man would say that he meaneth no farther  
 certainty than only a sure thinking in the judge's own conscience,  
 and that therefore he moderated all his other words with  
 this word "conscience," saying that the judge could not with  
*conscience* judge of certainty that there were no hatred: this  
 meaning were a very marring of all that he goeth about there to  
 prove. For though the perjured witness might have (and haply  
 had indeed) a secret hatred in his own breast, as another  
 witness might have (and haply had indeed) that never was  
 sworn before—yet might the judge, being induced by certain  
 tokens and likelihoods, have a sure and a certain persuasion and  
 belief in his own conscience that neither the one nor the other  
 had any hatred at the time, but only deposed the truth. And  
 therefore if he would say that he meant thus: he marred all his matter.

But it appeareth plainly that he meant in the other manner, upon  
 which there must needs follow (if he were not in his  
 saying deceived) that every judge in every sentence that he should  
 give upon any witnesses, were they never so honest in appearance,  
 were in a danger inevitable. And that he meaneth in that  
 manner—that the belief of his own conscience induced reasonably  
 thereto could not excuse the judge if he were deceived  
 and the thing otherwise indeed—he declareth farther by the  
 words that next ensue, where he goeth farther thus:

4 *hath*: has done      9, 11, 30 *sentence*: verdict      10 *true*: correct  
 10, 31 *upon*: on the basis of      12 *ween*: think      16 *moderated*: qualified  
 19 *were a very marring*: would be a real destroying  
 24 *tokens and likelihoods*: signs and indications  
 27 *marred all his matter*: ruined his whole case      30 *deceived*: erroneous  
 31 *honest*: honorable      34 *deceived*: mistaken      35 *declareth*: shows



And therefore meseemeth that the makers of the said paragraph laid  
 over great a danger to the judges, that they should have liberty to  
 accept, if they would, the saying of him that so offereth himself against  
 his first oath... forsomuch as the judge cannot be sure to save his  
 conscience therein but if he clearly refuse to accept anything that  
 the witness would say contrary to his first oath. For if the judge did  
 otherwise, and thereupon the witnesses testify against the party, and yet  
 the party not guilty indeed: I suppose verily that the judge were party to  
 the same offense. 5

And I suppose not the contrary, but am very sure of the contrary. 10  
 For I am very sure that where the judge seeth such  
 tokens as seem unto him manifest and open tokens to prove  
 that his second oath is not offered of any corrupt affection, but  
 of remorse of his perjury and of a mind to amend his fault  
 and say true: he falleth in no danger of conscience, 15  
 though the truth be otherwise indeed. For if there never  
 had law been made at all to refuse any witness because he  
 was once perjured: the judge had been clear at liberty, upon reasons and  
 likelihoods leading his conscience, to have received him again  
 without any peril of his own conscience at all, wheresoever himself 20  
 had thought greater likelihood that he would say truth at  
 the second oath than he did before at the first. And then, since  
 he was now letted to receive him, and his liberty therein restrained,  
 but by a law made: what peril can he more fall in  
 when a second law hath set him at large, than if the 25  
 former law had never made the restraint?

And where the law there provideth that the judge shall still  
 reject that witness which offereth to tell the truth upon a second  
 oath contrary to his first, but if there appear manifest  
 tokens that he do it not of any corrupt affection: it meaneth 30  
 none other but that if the tokens seem such unto the judge that  
 they induce him in his conscience so to believe and think—and not  
 that he shall be certain and sure that the thing is so indeed, by  
 looking into the secret corners of the man's heart... no more  
 than the King's judges at the common law, by what words soever 35  
 they give the inquest an oath, nor by what precise words soever

1 *makers*: authors // *paragraph*: article (of canon law)

1–2 *laid* . . . *danger*: gave too great a power 4 *forsomuch*: inasmuch 5 *but if*: unless

5 *clearly*: completely; utterly 8 *were*: would be 13 *of*: out of

13, 30 *affection*: motivation 14 *of his*: for his // *a mind*: an intention

14 *fault*: wrongdoing 15 *say true*: tell the truth 16 *though*: even if

16 *otherwise indeed*: actually otherwise 18 *had*: would have // *clear*: completely

18–19 *upon* . . . *likelihoods*: on the basis of reasonings and indications

23 *letted to receive*: prevented from accepting 27 *still*: always 29 *but if*: unless

36 *give* . . . *an*: administer to . . . an; put . . . under

they receive their verdict, mean not to charge them upon  
 peril of their souls to say none otherwise than the truth  
 of the thing shall be indeed... but as the truth shall seem to  
 them to be, upon such things as they shall perceive  
 either by the evidence given them at the bar or otherwise 5  
 ere they came there. Nor the judges themselves, in the judging  
 of a matter of law, never mean precisely that the law *is* so. For  
 then if other judges after reversed that judgment or judged  
 the same case otherwise in another time between other men,  
 the one judges or the other had put their souls in peril, 10  
 doing both twain their best to judge as well as they could.

But since no man can see farther than his eyes will serve him;  
 no, nor no man can see farther than his own reason can upon the  
 matter thoroughly debated perceive: if either the twelve men or the  
 judges, neither negligent nor corrupt, judge as they think true, 15  
 their souls are safe enough—as safe as is the soul of the  
 carpenter that putteth in his frame no timber but such as  
 is good and sound as far as men can see... and yet some of it  
 secretly may be such in very deed as soon after shall fail and  
 fall down all the roof. His soul is safe enough, though his 20  
 purse may hap to sweat, if he bound himself to provide  
 the timber at his own peril. But so bindeth himself neither  
 judge nor jury for the witness on peril of their own souls,  
 that the other shall swear true.

And thus you see, good readers, that the judge is out of peril 25  
 using diligence and troth, though the witness be false and  
 have hatred in his heart... where the judge weeneth none, upon  
 tokens that he thinketh manifest, although the witness were  
 forsworn before. And thus is this good man in this matter all  
 gone quite awry. 30

But yet being sore troubled with the wild wolf, that  
 may swear false and seem true, nothing mistrusted because  
 he cometh lapped in a lamb's skin—this good man goeth  
 further yet, and therein thus he saith:

And where I said in the said treatise, as before appeareth, that sometimes 35  
 a wolf may show himself in the apparel of a lamb, and that if  
 the judge be partial, such tokens may sooner be accepted than truly  
 showed—it is evident enough that by those words I note no judge to  
 be partial, but I say that *if* the judge be partial, such tokens may be

4, 27 *upon*: on the basis of    5 *evidence*: testimony    8 *after*: later  
 10 *one*: i.e., one set of // *had*: would have    11 *doing both twain*: both of the two doing  
 11 *well*: rightly    12 *serve him*: allow him to    14 *debated*: pondered    15 *true*: correct  
 21 *sweat*: suffer loss    22 *peril*: risk    26 *troth*: uprightness    26, 28 (*al*)*though*: even if  
 26 *false*: dishonest    27 *weeneth*: supposes (there to be)  
 28–29 *were forsworn*: committed perjury    32 *true*: truthful // *nothing*: not at all  
 37 *truly*: truthfully    38–39 *note . . . to be*: accuse . . . of being

sooner accepted than truly showed. As who saith, the judge may accept such a token to be true though there appear some suspicion of untruth in the witness. In which acceptance he shall more liberally and without offense of the law do wrong to the party that is accused... than he could do by accepting of any other witness against the law, that were never sworn before. For if he accept any such witness contrary to the rules of the law, it appeareth to all them that know the law that he doth against the law therein; and that will sound somewhat to his rebuke, and that will make him the more loath to do it. But if the judge accept such a perjured witness where there is no sufficient token to prove that he doth it not for lightness of mind, hatred, corruption, nor such other: yet he breaketh no law therein. For all is committed to his discretion. And that may haply give a boldness to some judge to accept such a perjured witness where he ought not to accept him. And though the said paragraph say that *if* there *be* such tokens as before appeareth, that *then* in favor of the faith his witness shall be taken—yet I cannot see, if the party accused be guiltless indeed, as he may be for all that witness, how it can be taken in favor of the faith to accept the witness. For it cannot be said in favor of the faith to condemn an innocent.

All this tale, when it is all told, weigheth unto no more but that if the judge be partial, then he may abuse the law, and then that law in that case may do harm in heresy.

Now, besides that the inquest hearing the same witness sworn first, and after contrary, may, if they be partial, do like harm in felony—what law was there ever made wherein the judge could do no harm if he would be partial? What laws may there serve, if the ministers would be false? This man is content that to a man's condemnation, the presumption shall serve that the witnesses will swear but true—such witnesses, at the leastwise, as are not proved false before; and yet may they mar all if they be false and partial. And when he presumeth such indifference in a witness—why feareth he so sore partiality in a judge? If he say he mistrust the judges because of “some say”s—then must he mistrust witnesses, juries, and judges, and altogether. For such “some say”s there lack not that can say well by no man.

- 1 *as who saith*: that is to say; in other words      3 *untruth*: untruthfulness  
 3 *more liberally*: more freely; with less constraint      7 *appeareth*: is obvious  
 8 *doth*: acts; goes // *sound*: have repercussions      9 *rebuke*: shame // *loath*: reluctant  
 11 *he doth it*: i.e., the witness does not offer to change his testimony  
 11 *lightness*: unsteadiness      15 *paragraph*: article (of canon law)  
 18 *guiltless indeed*: in fact not guilty      19 *taken*: i.e., taken as being  
 20 *said*: i.e., said to be // *condemn an innocent*: convict an innocent person  
 21 *all this tale*: this whole speech // *weigheth*: amounts  
 22 *abuse*: take a wrong advantage of      23 *heresy*: i.e., heresy cases  
 26 *felony*: i.e., murder or theft cases      28 *the ministers*: i.e., those administering it  
 28 *would be false*: wish to be dishonest  
 29 *to a man's condemnation*: toward the convicting of someone  
 32 *may they mar all*: they can wreck everything // *false*: dishonest  
 33 *indifference*: impartiality  
 33–34 *why . . . judge*: why is he so afraid that a judge will be biased  
 37 *say well by no man*: speak well of no one

This reason of his doth but put a suspicion in men's heads against the judges for everything that is put in their discretion. But surely (as I have often heard that great, wise, and right worshipful man Sir John Fineux say, late Chief Justice of the King's Bench), whoso taketh from a justice the order of his discretion taketh surely from him more than half his office. If this realm should mistrust justices—it must in the laws then make many such changes as I never saw need yet, nor trust I never shall. What harm might any justice of the peace do, if he were disposed to be false and partial? And ever shall be able to do, make what laws men will, but if men would utterly put away that office. And then instead of one harm that *may* hap, we shall have a hundred hap in very deed.

Consider also, good readers, that by the laws before made, there was not only forbidden to bear witness he that appeared to be once forsworn, but also many other manner of criminous persons, for the general presumption that they were unworthy credence; and yet have been, by other laws after made, received to bear witness against themselves and their fellows in heresy and in treason both, for the necessity, as I have said, and upon presumptions more probable that they were in that case well likely to swear true.

Now, if this good man, for fear of such harm as may by possibility fall upon an innocent, will put one of these from witnessing—he must repel them all. For as the latter laws have since received all—so the former laws generally did first refuse them all. For the general rule is naturally before its particular exceptions.

And then if he would in like wise repel them all, then for one harm that may hap—and haply never shall—he should have many mischievous people very bold, while they might be sure they must needs pass unpunished, because their privy mischief could never well be proved but if they would, when they went about it, take honest men with them to bear record of it.

1 *reason*: argument    4 *right worshipful*: very reputable    7, 13 *office*: competence  
 12 *put away*: do away with    17 *forsworn*: perjured    18 *unworthy*: undeserving of  
 20 *fellows*: accomplices    25 *put*: bar    26, 30 *repel*: debar    28 *refuse*: reject  
 28 *is naturally before*: naturally preexists    32 *mischievous*: crime-committing  
 32 *while*: given that // *might*: could    33 *pass*: go // *privy mischief*: clandestine crime  
 34 *but if*: unless    35 *honest men*: honorable people // *record of*: witness to

And thus you see, good readers, very clear and plain, that this good man hath hitherto brought you forth no reason. And I think he saw that himself... and therefore he thought he would say better at last, and not leave it so. For then goeth he further and saith:

5

And furthermore, it appeareth also that the words of the said treatise extend no further but to such as be judges where there is before them such a perjured witness, and not to all judges. And in like wise those words that “a wolf may show himself in the apparel of a lamb” stretch only to such a perjured witness. For there is no other witness spoken of in the said treatise in that place.

10

This man goeth to his words and forgetteth what I say—which is that though his *words* go no further, yet the *reason* of his words (if it were reason, as I have proved it none) would stretch so far farther that it would mar all. And this point have I proved you very clear and plain.

15

And thereby is meant that such a perjured witness may haply show himself to deny that he said before of a compunct heart and of a new knowledge of the truth, and of a very zeal unto the faith—and yet do it indeed of covetousness, falsehood, rancor, and malice to the party. And so, as the Gospel saith, he may hap outward to appear in the apparel of a sheep, and withinforth be a ramping wolf. And such one may that perjured witness be, that is spoken of in the said treatise. And of such a witness in heresy the said treatise speaketh only there, and of none other witness, as to the readers will appear. And therefore, as meseemeth, Master More findeth default in this behalf where he had no cause reasonable so to do.

20

25

Now, good readers, whereas this man saith that he meant that such a forsworn witness may haply play the wolf in a lamb’s skin: I grant that he meant so. But as I grant it to him—so must he grant this again to me: that so may he play, too, that was never sworn before. And then while he goeth no further but that the one haply may, and cannot himself

30

2 *hitherto*: thus far 13, 14 *reason*: reasoning 15 *mar all*: bring everything to ruin  
 18 *that*: what; that which 18, 19, 20 *of*: out of 19 *very*: true  
 20 *do it indeed*: actually do it // *falsehood*: dishonesty  
 24–25 *and of . . . only there*: and of only . . . there  
 26 *appear*: be obvious // *default*: fault 32 *while*: since

say nay but that the other haply may so too—there followeth  
 upon that the thing that I said before, which this man saith  
 he marveleth much that I would say: that is to wit, that by that  
 wise reason there should be received in such criminal  
 causes no manner witness at all! 5

Now, if he leave his “may haply” and say that it is *likely* that  
 the forsworn witnesses will say false, and the other true that  
 never was sworn before... and that the witness once forsworn  
 before is, in his second oath contrary to his first, more likely to  
 play the wily wolf in the lamb’s skin than such a plain, 10  
 simple man as was never sworn: I will be so bold for  
 this once as in some case to tell him boldly nay. For whereas he  
 said a little before that he could not see how there could be any  
 such evident token in any such case but that such a perjured  
 witness might do it of a secret hatred, and seem charitable, 15  
 and so play the wily wolf in the simple lamb’s skin: *I can see*  
*well enough that in some case there may be an evident token that*  
*some such witness as was so first forsworn were after, in*  
*his second oath swearing the contrary, less likely to lie and play*  
*the wily wolf in the lamb’s skin than were another that* 20  
*never was in his life before neither forsworn nor sworn.*

For if he that was before, upon his oath, examined both of himself  
 and his son, or himself and his father, or his other special-known  
 friend, and on his oath cleared them all, do at another  
 time upon a new oath confess them all guilty, and himself 25  
 also... and where peradventure himself must to the fire, because  
 he was abjured before, and they may turn yet in time and be  
 but abjured: were not this an evident token that he doth it not of  
 any secret hatred, nor playeth not the wily wolf in a lamb’s  
 skin? For *iwis*, to confess himself guilty in such case, and 30  
 putting himself in worse case than his fellows, were but a  
 poor point of a wily wolf. And as I put this case for example—  
 so may there be many others. For the tokens might be plain  
 enough though they were less plain than thus. And therefore,  
 to conclude in this matter, this man hath no reason in this world 35  
 to defend his first book with.

And therefore where he spendeth a patch in the end about

1 *say nay but*: deny    4 *wise*: brilliant    4, 35 *reason*: reasoning    5 *causes*: cases  
 6 *leave*: drop    26 *must*: i.e., must go    30 *iwis*: indeed // *case*: a situation  
 31 *worse case*: a worse situation // *fellows*: accomplices // *were*: would be  
 32 *point*: characteristic  
 166/37—167/1 *spendeth* . . . *declaration*: tacks on in the end his explanation

his declaration that it may be lawful for him to find default  
 at laws made by the Church, so that he find them upon a  
 sufficient reason: because all that point nothing helpeth him  
 here in this law—against which he showeth no reason reasonable,  
 but a reason as unreasonable as ever reasonable man heard—I 5  
 shall, I say, therefore let that piece pass by, and here make an  
 end of his sixteenth chapter.

### *The Seventeenth Chapter*

His seventeenth chapter beginneth folio 62. In the beginning  
 whereof, he marveleth that I speak so often in mine *Apology* of his 10  
 using this word “some say.” And he showeth that in a tale told  
 him by other folk, there is good reason that he so should say...  
 and that I use the same word myself too sometimes, and telleth  
 two places where: folio 77 and folio 100. I neither did nor will  
 find fault that he use this word “some say”; nor I will not let 15  
 (where the case requireth) to say myself that “some say” this or  
 that. For I know well it is English. But the fault that I found,  
 and yet find, is that his book of *Division* abuseth the  
 figure of so many “some say”s to the seditious slander of the  
 clergy... and especially of the ordinaries in the punishment of 20  
 heresy, to bring them in obloquy of the people thereby. And  
 whereas upon complaints made, the matters have late been  
 examined, and the truth hath been plainly proved contrary—yet  
 hath he never one “some say” thereof in all his book, neither in the  
 one book nor the other... but all his “some say”s evermore say 25  
 evil, and never a “some say” well. This is the fault that I find. For  
 if he made a book with five times as many good “some say”s as  
 his “some say”s in that book be naught—I would find in his “some say”s  
 no default at all. For “some say” is, as I say, good English.  
 But when a book is full of shrewd “some say”s—there do some 30  
 men say that “some say” is as shrewd English as any Deutsch  
 woman speaketh.

But now, to show that in all his “some say”s he meaneth none

1–2 *default at*: fault with    2 *so*: provided // *them*: i.e., the faults  
 3 *all . . . helpeth*: that whole point does not at all help  
 4 *showeth . . . reasonable*: presents no rational argument    11, 13, 15 *word*: expression  
 11 *showeth*: says // *in*: with regard to // *a tale told*: something said to    15 *let*: forbear  
 16 *case requireth*: situation calls for it    17 *English*: i.e., good English  
 19 *figure*: figure of speech    20 *ordinaries*: bishops    21 *in obloquy of*: into disrepute with  
 22 *complaints made*: the filing of charges // *late*: of late; recently    25–26 *say evil*: speak ill  
 27 *made*: wrote    28 *naught*: wicked // *in*: with    29 *default*: fault  
 30, 31 *shrewd*: bad    31 *Deutsch*: German

harm, he goeth further, and for an example he bringeth forth  
 one which is in very deed a very malicious, naughty, pestilent  
 “some say,” whereof the pretense is the safeguard of innocents,  
 the effect is the decay of the faith by the emboldening of heretics,  
 the instrument is a false, imagined slander against the ordinaries. 5  
 And as wilily as those shrews that beguile him have  
 helped him to involve and intricate the matter—I shall use so plain  
 and open a way therein that every man shall well see the truth.  
 Lo, these are this good man’s words:

And one of the “some say”s that he findeth default at is this. I say in 10  
 the eighth chapter of the said treatise thus: “And here some say that  
 because there is so great a desire in spiritual men to have men  
 abjured or to be noted with heresy; and that some, as it were, of a  
 policy do noise it that the realm is full of heretics, more than it is  
 indeed: that it is very perilous that spiritual men should have 15  
 authority to arrest a man for every light suspicion or complaint  
 of heresy, till that desire of punishment in spiritual men be  
 ceased and gone; but that they should make process against them to  
 bring them in upon pain of accursing—and then, if they tarry forty  
 days, the King’s laws to bring them in by a writ of *Excommunicato*  
*capiendo*, and so to be brought forth out of the King’s jail 20  
 to answer.” And it followeth in the said eighth chapter thus: “But surely, as  
 it is somewhat touched before in the seventh chapter, it seemeth that the  
 Church in times past have done what they could to bring about that  
 they might punish heresy of themselves, without calling for any help 25  
 therein of the secular power. And therefore they have made laws that  
 heretics might be arrested and put in prison, and stocks if need  
 were; as appeareth in *Clementinis de hereticis, Cap. Multorum querela*.  
 And after, at the special calling on of the spirituality, it was enacted  
 by Parliament that ordinaries might arrest men that preach, hold, 30  
 teach, or inform others in heresy, there prohibited, or that thereof  
 hold any conventicles or schools. For some men think that the said  
 Clementine was not of effect in the King’s laws to arrest any man for  
 heresy. But if a man were openly and notably suspected of heresy,  
 and there were sufficient record and witness against him, and 35  
 there were also a doubt that he would flee and not appear, whereby he

2 *naughty*: wicked // *pestilent*: pernicious    3 *pretense*: pretext  
 3 *safeguard*: keeping safe; protection    4 *decay*: erosion    5 *imagined*: invented  
 6 *shrews*: wretches    7 *involve*: entangle    10 *default at*: fault with  
 12, 15, 17 *spiritual men*: clergymen    13 *noted*: branded  
 13–14 *a policy*: an expediency    14 *noise it*: spread the rumor    16 *light*: slight; trivial  
 16 *complaint*: accusation    18 *make process*: initiate legal proceedings  
 19 *accursing*: excommunication    22 *answer*: be put on trial    23 *touched*: discussed  
 29 *calling on*: appeal; request    30 *ordinaries*: bishops // *might*: could  
 32 *conventicles*: clandestine heretical meetings  
 36 *doubt*: fear // *appear*: i.e., show up in court



might infect others, it seemeth convenient that he be arrested by the body; but not upon every light complaint that full lightly may be untrue. And that it will be right expedient that the King's Highness and his Council look specially upon this matter, and not to cease, till it be brought to more quietness than it is yet; and to see with great diligence that pride, covetousness, nor worldly love be not judges, nor innocents be punished, nor yet that willful offenders go not without due correction." 5

And when Master More in his *Apology* hath recited the said words of the said treatise, then he endeavoreth himself very much to make it appear that the motions that be made in the said treatise in the place before-rehearsed be unreasonable and cannot be brought about; or else that if they were brought about, they should do hurt and no good. And to make his sayings the more acceptable... he layeth sometimes default in my sayings and saith that I thereby defame the judges spiritual, where I defame them not... but say only that it is expedient that the King's Highness and his Council see that "pride, covetousness, nor worldly love be no judges." And whether those words amount to that effect... that Master More saith they do—that is to say, that I defame all spiritual judges—it appeareth evidently they do not. 10 15 20

Now, good readers, to the intent that you may the more plainly perceive both the good mind of this good man's first book of *Division*, and also his second book here in defense of the same: take the labor to read the forty-sixth chapter of mine *Apology*, folio 232. And then shall you think, I suppose, that all his defense is so faint that I little need to reply. 25

For first, where he saith that I say that in those words he defameth the judges spiritual: I would he had rehearsed my words with which I say so. For I am sure enough my words be no larger than the truth. But that is his usual craft: to leave out, for the more part, both my words and the place, because men might ween it were in some part of my book though they remember not where. 30

But now, because he saith that it is evident that those words of his do not amount unto the defamation of the spiritual judges: I have showed and proved indeed, in one or two places 35

1 *convenient*: appropriate    1–2 *by the body*: bodily; physically    2 *light*: trivial  
 2 *complaint*: accusation // *full lightly*: very well    11 *motions*: proposals    13 *hurt*: harm  
 14 *layeth*: alleges    15 *default*: error // *sayings*: assertions    22 *mind*: intent  
 24 *labor*: trouble    26 *faint*: weak    28 *would*: wish // *rehearsed*: quoted  
 29–30 *be no larger than*: do not exaggerate    31 *more*: most // *because*: so that

of mine *Apology*, that all the great matter of his complaint  
upon the cruelty of the spiritual judges in handling men  
for heresy, since there hath been very few troubled therefor in  
any diocese in England or Wales... by the space of these twenty years  
or thirty last past... except only Lincoln and London... 5  
and that therefore the false complaint of mishandling  
could have little color any farther than those two dioceses... and  
yet, to say the truth, never complaint brought forth by any  
such man but in London diocese, nor yet not but in London  
and some piece of Essex alone... and the complaints, upon 10  
examination had by the King's honorable Council, always  
found causeless and false—since this is, I say, so clear that no  
man can say the contrary but that this is true—I declare and  
show in my said *Apology* that where with his false “some say”'s  
he defameth and laboreth to bring in obloquy of the 15  
people *all* the spiritual judges in the realm... of wrong and  
cruel handling men for heresy... all the men that his false “some say”'s  
(if they were true) did touch were yet indeed so few that  
he might in a manner as well speak of them by name. And in  
very deed so few they be. For they be as few or fewer than are 20  
the judges either of the one bench or the other.

And therefore when he cometh now forth under shadow of a  
shrewd “some say” and showeth that the spiritual men have a  
great desire to put men to abjuration, and to have men noted of  
heresy, and that therefore till they leave that condition, it were 25  
well done they should have less authority... and that it will be  
“right expedient” that “the King and his Council look specially  
upon this matter,” and “to see with great diligence” that “pride,  
covetousness, nor worldly love be not judges,” nor innocents punished,  
nor yet that offenders go not without due correction: 30  
is not this a lewd colored slander and (without any such  
thing proved) a shameless defamation?

If this good man would in like wise write and put in print  
another book, and therein speak first of justices in general, as  
it might seem to touch all the judges of every base court and 35  
justices of the peace too... and then, by some certain circumstances,  
restrain it in such wise that every man may see that he  
meaneth only the King's judges at Westminster, and say that some  
say that, especially of late, the matters of common pleas be evil-handled

1, 6, etc. *complaint*: accusation; charge    2 *upon*: concerning    7 *color*: plausibility  
11 *had*: held    23 *shrewd*: cunning; devious // *showeth*: says    24 *noted of*: branded with  
25 *leave that condition*: cease to have that disposition    31 *lewd*: vile  
31 *colored*: camouflaged    35 *touch*: be referring to // *base*: lower  
36 *circumstances*: details    37 *restrain*: restrict    39 *evil-handled*: handled badly

by the judges... and that in writs of error and in pleas of  
 the Crown the judges mishandle the people sore and do  
 much wrong... and that some say that they have this evil desire, and  
 that... and that till they have left them, it were well done that they had  
 less authority; and then, after such a false, foolish “some say,” 5  
 come forth with *his* saying, and in approbation of his other saying,  
 conclude and say thus much farther—“It will be right expedient,  
 therefore, that the King’s Highness and his Council  
 look specially upon this matter, and to see with great diligence  
 that pride, covetousness, nor worldly love be not judges,” etc.—were this 10  
 wily, foolish handling no false defamation at all?

And now, when he handleth the spiritual ordinaries with  
 like words for heresy and his “some say”s’ false, imagined lies—  
 and... though his book of *Division* laboreth to draw that false  
 suspicion farther... yet himself seeth by experience that while 15  
 there hath in long while but in two dioceses very few been  
 punished for heresy, the slander that he soweth toucheth  
 some very few, no less than though he wrote in their names—  
 how can he, therefore, for very shame, say that it is no defamation?  
 Weeneth he the readers of his work were all such fools that 20  
 he might void his plain, open deed with his bare, bold  
 word?—where he saith it appeareth evidently nay, where every  
 wise man that readeth it seeth well himself that it well  
 appeareth evidently yes!

Now goeth he farther with another piece, and saith: 25

Nor yet my words prove not that I would have all spiritual judges  
 changed. For the spiritual judges that be now may be judges still,  
 and have all the properties before-rehearsed, as well as others, for anything  
 that I have said. And yet Master More taketh it otherwise, and  
 saith... I would have such judges as have no spice of any of the said 30  
 points. And he saith that till such judges may be found, heretics  
 may “make merry for a little season... while men walk about and seek  
 for such judges”... which he weeneth will not be done in a “week’s work.”

Here he leaveth out again the place of mine that he toucheth.  
 For when that is once read, all his gay tale is gone. For 35  
 there shall you see that I consider his words, and declare two

2 *mishandle*: mistreat // *sore*: terribly    4 *left them*: ceased to have those bad desires  
 11 *false*: untruthful / despicable    13 *imagined*: fabricated    15 *while*: since  
 23 *wise*: sensible    30 *spice*: trace    31 *points*: characteristics // *may*: can  
 34 *place*: text; passage // *toucheth*: is referring to  
 35 *all his gay tale*: his whole fine speech    36 *declare*: set forth

ways that the good man might mean... of which twain he  
 taketh here the one, and the other he letteth slip. And yet in  
 taking his words as he would now seem, my words which  
 he dissembleth here turn up all his tale; and that the  
 man saw full well... and therefore winked at them. But I shall 5  
 bring them in again here, and repeat them for him. Lo,  
 good readers, in the forty-sixth chapter, folio 253, after his words rehearsed  
 at length, thus I begin mine own:

In this process, lo, good readers, this Pacifier declareth that he would  
 have the King's Highness and his Council so specially look upon this 10  
 matter that neither innocents should be punished nor yet willful offenders  
 go without due correction. Who could end and conclude all his  
 matter more fruitfully?

But, now, the special ways whereby he deviseth that the King's  
 Highness and his Council should bring this thing about be twain. 15

The one is if they provide that neither men that be proud nor  
 covetous, nor have love to the world, be suffered to be judges in any  
 cause of heresy.

The other is that the bishops shall arrest no man for heresy till  
 the desire that spiritual men have to cause men abjure heresies, and to 20  
 punish them for heresies, be ceased and gone.

And surely I think that his two devices will serve sufficiently for the  
 one part—that is to wit, that none innocents shall be punished. But I  
 fear me very sore that they will not serve half so sufficiently for the  
 other part—that is to wit, that willful offenders go not without 25  
 correction.

For now, to begin with his first device, that none be suffered to be  
 judges in cause of heresy that are proud or covetous, or have love to the  
 world: if he mean of such as have none of these affections with notable  
 enormity, then till he prove them that are already, worse than he 30  
 proveth them yet—that is to say, till he prove it otherwise, by some of their  
 outrageous deeds in the dealing and mishandling of men for  
 heresy that he here defameth them of, than he hath yet proved, and that he  
 prove their cruel, wrongful dealing otherwise than by "some say"s, or by  
 his own saying—the King's Highness and his Council can see, for all his 35

4 *dissembleth*: ignores // *turn up all his tale*: overthrow everything he's said  
 5 *winked at*: turned a blind eye to 7 *his words rehearsed*: quoting his words  
 9 *Pacifier*: Peacemaker 12–13 *all his matter*: his whole case 14 *special*: specific  
 17 *suffered*: allowed 18, 28 *cause of heresy*: (a) heresy case 20 *cause*: make  
 24 *fear me very sore*: am very much afraid 29 *affections*: dispositions  
 30 *enormity*: departure from moral rectitude  
 30 *them that are already*: the ones already in office; the current ones  
 32 *outrageous*: grossly immoral

wholesome counsel, no cause to change those judges that are already,  
but to leave them still; and then serveth that device of naught.

And on the other side, if he mean that the King's Highness shall suffer  
none to be judges in cause of heresy that hath any spice at all either of  
pride or of covetousness, or any love at all unto this world: heretics may sit  
still and make merry for a little season, while men walk about and seek for  
such judges. For it will not be less than one whole week's work, I ween, both  
to find such and to be sure that they be such.

5

Here have you heard, good readers, a reasonable cause why that I  
should take him that he would have the spiritual judges  
such as should have no spice of pride, covetousness, nor worldly  
love. For either he must mean so... or else (as I said) he must  
mean on the other manner which I rehearse first, and which he  
would now seem to mean. But then (as I have said), if he meant in  
the first fashion, as he would now seem—all his tale is overturned.  
For then had he no cause of any such complaint. For he  
neither had himself when he wrote, nor any man else,  
proved by any of them the contrary. And then needed he not to  
spend out his profound wisdom in making such exhortations  
to the King's Highness and his Council to see with  
so great diligence (as though they had been so long negligent!) to  
the thing that himself could not say nay but that it was meetly well  
enough already. And thus you see, good readers, that he left out  
and dissembled that first part of my words because he  
wist ne'er what to say thereto. And therefore, since except he  
meant in the first manner (which he could not do without the  
marring of all his matter)—you see well that himself drove me to  
think that he would have the King's Grace and his Council see  
diligently that there should be no spiritual judges but they that  
had no spice of pride, covetousness, or worldly love at all. And then  
might heretics, as I said, while such judges were in  
seeking make merry for a little while. And I kept myself  
meetly well within my bounds. For whereas I said it would be a  
week's work to seek them—I ween it would be fortnight full  
ere we found them.

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2 *of naught*: for nothing    4 *cause of heresy*: a heresy case    4, 11, 30 *spice*: trace  
15 *all his tale*: everything he has said // *overturned*: invalidated  
16 *of any such complaint*: to make any such accusation    24 *dissembled*: ignored  
25 *wist ne'er*: had no idea // *except*: unless  
26–27 *without . . . matter*: without his whole case being destroyed  
31–32 *in seeking*: being sought    34 *fortnight full*: a whole two weeks

But then goeth he farther, somewhat about, to show that I have mishandled his words and, with joining mine own unto his, have made it seem that he saith much worse by the spirituality than he either said or meant. But when you have heard all his tale and mine too, you shall well see, good readers, that he shall never while he liveth convey this gear so clean. For these are, first, his words here: 5

And he saith... that it will be the “more hard” to find such judges. For he saith that I have “put” that matter “out of doubt” that “whereas men would have went soonest to have found them, that there” I say “it will be marvelous hard to find any one of them”—either “prelates, secular priests, or religious persons.” For he saith that I say “plainly” that, “have they never so many virtues beside,” that yet I say “it will be hard to find any one spiritual man... but that he is so infected with desire and affection to have the worldly honor of priests exalted... that he is through such pride far from such indifference and equity as ought and must be in such judges” which, as he saith, I “assign” to be such that they “must have no spice of pride, covetousness, nor love toward the world.” 10 15

As to this last-rehearsed sentence of Master More, this is the truth therein: I say in another place of the said treatise, other than that... that Master More hath rehearsed here... that is to say, in the seventh chapter of the said treatise, that “though many spiritual men may be found that have many great virtues and great gifts of God—as chastity, liberality, patience, soberness, temperance, cunning, and such others—yet it will be hard to find any one spiritual man that is not infected with the said desire and affection... to have the worldly honor of priests exalted.” And there my sentence endeth, as to this purpose. But then, as it appeareth before, Master More, in his said *Apology*, addeth immediately to those words of mine, words of his own putting in... which be these: “that he is, through such pride, far from such indifference and equity... as ought and must be in the judges” which he saith I assign. And he combineth those words to mine... in such manner as though I spoke them myself. So that they that shall read them can none otherwise take them but as my words; whereby he perverteth clearly my meaning and my sentence 20 25 30 35

1 *about*: circuitously    4 *spirituality*: clergy    5 *all his tale*: his whole speech  
 6 *while*: as long as // *convey*: make off with // *gear*: stuff    7 *clean*: completely  
 10 *went*: thought    11 *marvelous*: terribly    11, 26 *any*: so much as; even  
 13 *beside*: otherwise    15, 27 *affection*: liking    17, 32 *indifference*: impartiality  
 17, 32 *equity*: fairness    18, 33 *assign*: designate    19 *spice*: trace  
 25 *as*: such as // *liberality*: generosity // *cunning*: erudition  
 36 *perverteth clearly*: completely distorts

therein. For my sentence, nor yet my meaning therein... is not but that judges spiritual may have some spice of pride, covetousness, and worldly love, and yet be meet judges in heresy... as the frailty of man suffereth. For we be no angels but sinners, that lightly may fall and be deceived. Nor I mean not, nor yet my words amount not to it, but that a man may have a desire and affection... to have the worldly honor of priests exalted... and yet be a meet judge in heresy. For I suppose... that a man may have that desire in some degree, and to some intent... and not offend therein... especially deadly. Howbeit, he may also lightly offend therein, if he be not right well wary.

If this good man here say true in these aforesaid words of his “And there my sentence endeth as to this purpose,” then am I content to confess that he saith well, and I wrong. But on the other side, now, if he say not true, but that in the defaming and slandering of the spirituality his sentence ended not there, but went there much farther forth, and so far forth also... as amounted unto as much as I say that he said, and unto much more too: then will every man bear me record that I misreport not him but he me.

Now shall you, good readers, soon see this tried between us. For his whole words as they lie there together, I shall now rehearse you here. Lo, these they be as you shall find them both in his book of *Division* and in mine *Apology*, folio 237:

And though many spiritual men may be found that have right many great virtues and great gifts of God, as chastity, liberality, patience, soberness, temperance, cunning, and such others... yet it will be hard to find any one spiritual man that is not infected with the said desire and affection to have the worldly honor of priests exalted and preferred; and therefore if any layman report any evil of a priest... though it be openly known that it is as he saith—yet they will be more diligent to cause the layman to cease off that saying... than to do that in them is to reform that is amiss in the priest that it is spoken of... taking, as it were, an occasion to do the less in such reformations... because laymen speak so much against them. But surely that will be none excuse to spiritual rulers

3, 7 *meet*: fit    4 *suffereth*: allows    4, 10 *lightly*: easily    4 *may*: can  
 5 *deceived*: mistaken    6, 28 *affection*: liking    9 *offend*: sin // *deadly*: mortally  
 11 *say true*: tells the truth    13 *content*: willing // *confess*: admit    18 *record*: witness  
 29 *preferred*: advanced    31 *cause*: get    32 *that in them is*: their best  
 32 *that is*: what is

before God... when he shall ask account of his people... that were committed unto their keeping.

Now you see, good readers, how untrue it is that this man telleth you. For here you see that his sentence leaveth not where he saith it left as to that purpose; but you see that it goeth forth farther 5  
about that purpose still, to show that it will be hard to find any one spiritual man just and indifferent, but that the desire and affection to have the worldly honor of priests exalted and preferred hath so far infected them that if a layman report any evil of a priest, though it be openly known that it is as he saith, yet they will not only rather put the layman to silence 10  
than anything amend the priest—but that they will also do the *less* to the amendment of the priest *because* the laymen speaketh of it. Which affection cannot be but a very proud, damnable frowardness. 15

And therefore while this good Pacifier there saith that all the priests be so far infected with such a proud, damnable desire of their worldly exaltation that it will be hard to find any one of them any other, and then a little before those words (as you may see in his said chapter in mine *Apology*, folio 235) he saith 20  
under the figure of “a great rumor among the people” that spiritual men punish heresies “rather to oppress them that speak anything against their worldly honor and riches,” etc., than for “zeal of the faith”: these words of his being there such, judge now, good reader, whether I might not well say that 25  
this good man saith it will be hard to find any one spiritual man but that he is so infected with the desire and affection to have the worldly honor of priests exalted that he is through such pride far from such indifference and equity as ought and must be in such judges as himself assigneth 30  
to be such as they must have no spice of pride, covetousness, or love toward the world. I am very sure that his words maintain mine and more too.

4 *leaveth not*: does not leave off    5 *left*: left off    7 *any . . . man*: even one clergyman who is  
7 *indifferent*: impartial    8, 28 *affection*: liking    9 *preferred*: advanced  
12 *anything*: at all    14 *affection*: attitude    15 *frowardness*: perversity    16 *while*: when  
21 *figure*: figure of speech    22 *spiritual men*: clergymen    23 *richesse*: wealth  
25 *well*: rightly    29 *indifference and equity*: impartiality and fairness    30 *assigneth*: calls for  
31 *spice*: trace    32 *maintain*: support



Nay [saith he], for I do not mean that they should have *no* spice thereof. For they may have some spice thereof—and yet may be judges in heresy well enough. For they may have that desire in some degree and some intent, and not offend therein, especially deadly.

But I have against that proved before that he must mean so—  
or else must have left his tale untold. For if he meant to be  
content with folk of mean conditions without notable  
enormities, such they were already, and then had his great  
exhortation little place. 5

Also, this pride with which his words say that they be all so  
sore infected that it will be very hard to find any one other... is  
a very pestilent pride... and in a high degree, and such as he  
could not well devise a more deadly defamation of the whole  
spirituality... than those words be, which if they were true (as  
they be false) plainly proved that in all the whole clergy it were  
hard to find any one good, honest man, or meet to be a judge,  
either in heresy or in anything else. And so would he by this  
device of his take away, as I said, from examination of heresy,  
all the spiritual judges, and leave them none at all. 10 15

And yet, good readers, to the end that you may the better  
perceive what those words of this man amount unto... which  
he would make you ween here that I both misrehearse and  
misconstrue: vouchsafe to read my words that I write  
upon them in mine *Apology*, folio 238. 20

But now, this good Pacifier perceiving that it will be hard  
to bear it but that his words clearly take away from the clergy all  
such indifference and justice as himself assigneth to be required  
of necessity in every man that should be suffered to be  
judge in heresy—he falleth to another shift to save the matter  
upright. And therein thus he saith: 25 30

And furthermore, though it were as Master More taketh it to be—that  
my words should sound to that effect that the judges that were then were  
through such pride far from the indifference and equity that I  
assign—yet that proveth not... but that they be now indifferent and

4 *offend*: sin // *deadly*: mortally    6 *tale untold*: speech unsaid    7 *mean*: tolerable  
7 *conditions*: dispositions    8 *enormities*: departures from moral rectitude  
12 *pestilent*: pernicious    16 *honest*: honorable // *meet*: fit    17 *in*: regarding  
22 *misrehearse*: misquote    23 *vouchsafe*: be so good as  
32 *that were then*: who were then in office    34 *but that they be*: i.e., that they are not

rightwise. For they might since the making of the said treatise  
 become through grace indifferent, rightwise, meek, liberal, and  
 loving to God and their neighbor... though they were not so then.  
 And if they be so, then heretics shall not make merry for lack of  
 judges a week, nor yet a day. For the same judges may sit still without  
 changing... to hear and examine them when need shall be. Thus, as  
 meseemeth, it appeareth every way... that the exception that Master  
 More taketh of changing of spiritual judges is but of small effect. 5

This reason hath, lo, some subtlety; but it hath no substance.  
 For if they were all so naughty so late as this good man  
 saith they were, it will be but hardly believed that so many of  
 them, upon so short a sermon of this poor preacher, should be  
 so well changed so soon but that, as I said, heretics were well  
 likely yet one week longer to make merry, before men might  
 have so sure experience as to put them so soon in trust to be  
 judges in heresy whom this Pacifier had persuaded to be so  
 far unmeet for the matter so lately. And therefore it appeareth  
 every way that this good man's invention is toward evil of  
 very great, toward good of very small, effect. 10 15

Then goeth he forth on with the matter, and thus he saith: 20

Then saith Master More further, that "if 'some say' be no sufficient  
 proof," then is my "tale" all "lost." And to these words I will answer thus.  
 I will agree that my saying that some say this or this... is no proof...  
 neither to prove that some say so... nor yet to prove that it is so. For in  
 every proof must be two witnesses at the least. But if two will say it is  
 so, then it is a proof. 25

And surely if Master More will inquire for the truth in this matter,  
 he shall find that there be many more than two that say so. And verily if  
 many men say so, though the truth be not so, yet the tale is not all  
 lost to say that some men say so. For then it shall put the bishops  
 and rulers spiritual in mind that they are bound in conscience to  
 help them that say so all that they can, from the danger that they  
 run in by that saying. And if it be true, then may the spiritual  
 rulers order the matter as they shall see cause, and reform it in such 30

1 *making*: writing    2 *liberal*: generous    5 *yet*: even // *sit still*: continue to preside  
 6 *changing*: i.e., being switched out for others    7 *exception*: objection  
 8 *taketh of*: makes regarding the    9 *reason*: argument // *subtlety*: craftiness  
 10 *naughty*: wicked // *late*: recently    16 *persuaded*: argued    17 *unmeet*: unfit  
 17 *lately*: recently    18 *invention*: plan    24 *say so*: say that  
 27 *inquire for*: go in search of    29 *though*: even if  
 29-30 *the tale is not all lost*: the telling is not entirely in vain  
 32 *help . . . can*: do as much as they can to help those who are saying that, to get away  
 33 *run in by that saying*: incur by so saying    34 *order*: correct // *cause*: reason (to)  
 34 *in such*: into such a

charitable manner that none shall say so hereafter but they will of malice do it, and run into the slander of the Pharisees. And that would charitably be examined, whether it be so or not.

This is a pretty piece, and such as I have seldom seen the like come out of any wise man's mouth. For though that in judgment, men must presume a thing is true which two good, honest persons sworn and examined depose and testify, that themselves have seen the deed, or heard the words spoken by the mouth of the person which for such deed or saying is accused—yet saith no man, for all that, that because two men say it and swear it too, therefore it is so. For as to the necessary consequence of the deed... this argument is very faint that this man maketh: Two men say it is so; ergo, it is so. 5 10

Then, upon this argument such as you see, he sendeth me to inquire, and then I shall, he saith, find that there be many more than two that say so. That may well hap now, by occasion of his book of *Division*. But what if I inquired of them, and I should hap to find not only many more than two, but also many more than two hundred, that would say that the spiritual men for such evil affections as this good Pacifier surmiseth have great desire to abjure men or note them of heresy? Yet while all they could, among them all, lay no proof at all... but always the truth proved contrary—both by that that in far the most part of this realm, and take Wales thereto, there have not been before his book of *Division* five men abjured in fifteen years, and in those that have been... rigor hath not been used more than necessary, but there hath been used more than necessary favor... and that this hath been already proved ofter than once before the King's honorable Council—I would not esteem the babbling of two hundred (no, not though they were two thousand, and yet many more) to the mountenance of two straws, for anything that I would regard any good man the worse. But I would for their own parts be sore ashamed to hear them, and clearly perceiving that they so lewdly lied—I would be sore ashamed to tell the tale again after them. And this, I say, if I should with inquiry 15 20 25 30 35

1 *but*: unless    2 *run into the slander*: incur the ill repute  
 4 *pretty*: fine    5 *wise*: sensible    6 *judgment*: a trial    7 *honest*: honorable  
 7 *sworn*: put under oath    8 *themselves*: they themselves    9 *for*: of    10 *because*: since  
 12 *faint*: weak    19 *spiritual men*: clergymen    20 *affections*: dispositions  
 20 *surmiseth*: alleges    21 *note them of*: brand them with // *while*: when  
 22 *all they*: they all // *lay*: put forth    23 *far the most*: by far the largest  
 24 *take . . . thereto*: add . . . to that    26 *rigor*: severity; harshness    28 *favor*: leniency  
 28 *ofter*: more often    29 *esteem*: rate    31 *mountenance*: value  
 31–32 *for . . . worse*: i.e., toward my thinking the worse of any good person  
 32–33 *for their own parts*: as for their own selves    33, 34 *sore*: terribly    34 *lewdly*: evilly

thus hap to find, as I verily trust I should not if I did inquire.

But, now, his “some say” being so false as it is, it is a world yet to see what a fond shift he findeth, that he would not yet by his will have that lie lost. For he saith that “though the truth be not so, yet the tale is not lost to say that some men say so”; for he saith that “then it shall put the bishops and spiritual rulers in mind that they are bound in conscience to help them that say so all that they can, from the danger that they run in by so saying.” 5

What good, I pray you, can this false “some say” do? For what can the spiritual men do for their help that so belie them, any other than advise them to leave such lying? And that had been a better part for this good Pacifier to have played himself, and so to have told them upon whose tale he wrote it, than to the reproach and rebuke of so many good, worshipful men make a book of division, and therein write every lewd word that any lewd folk or any false shrews would tell him. Whose evil tongues the spirituality can never appease... but if to please them, they should displease God... and without letting heresies grow and go forth, should themselves rather *do* evil than let lewd folk *speak* evil. 10 15 20

And now, to the intent, good readers, that you may the more clearly see to how little purpose the Pacifier hath in this point answered me—ye shall understand that my words in mine *Apology* which he would seem to answer well here were these (folio 257): 25

But yet is this Pacifier not so favorable toward folk suspected of heresy as to take away the power of the bishop forever, of arresting them, and to drive the ordinaries forever to sue citations against heretics and process of excommunication; but will have, he saith, the bishops’ power of arresting no longer suspended than as long as spiritual men have that great desire to cause men abjure or to have them punished for heresy—as though he had well proved that they have so, because he saith that some men say so. 30

But, now, if “some say” be no sufficient proof... then is his tale lost. For then he showeth no cause why that power of theirs should in any case be more suspended now than in any time herebefore. And on the other 35

1 *thus hap to find*: i.e., find it to be the case that thousands of people were telling this story  
 3 *world*: marvel    4 *fond shift*: silly tactic    4–5 *by his will*: willingly; if he can help it  
 5 *lost*: wasted    11 *their . . . them*: the help of those who thus slander them  
 12 *leave*: cease; desist from // *had*: would have    14 *upon*: on the basis of  
 15 *worshipful*: respectable // *make*: write    16 *of division*: about dissension  
 16, 17, 20 *lewd*: vile    17 *false shrews*: lying scoundrels    18 *spirituality*: clergy  
 18 *but if*: unless    19–20 *letting . . . forth*: preventing heresies from arising and advancing  
 29 *sue*: seek to obtain // *citations*: subpoenas    32 *spiritual men*: clergymen  
 32 *cause*: make    34 *so*: that    35 *tale lost*: talk in vain

side, if “some say” be a good proof... then the suspending will be as long as a depriving forever, since there shall never be any time in which there shall lack one or other “some say” to say more than truth.

Lo, good readers, here you see that unto the second part of these words of mine, he answereth nothing at all. And then have you seen before that unto the first, his answer is so feeble that it had been better for him to have done therewith as he doth with the other, leave it unanswered too. 5

But now goeth he further and saith:

Then saith Master More yet further, that “which is a light suspicion and which is a heavy,” and “which witness be sufficient and which not,” must “be weighed by the spiritual judges”; and “upon their weighing of the matter for light or heavy,” to “follow the arrest of the party or the leaving of the arrest.” Now, verily in this point methinketh that Master More maketh a right good motion—that is to say, that the matter should be examined before the arrest. For it hath been said in times past that in such case the arrest hath many times gone before the examination. Nevertheless, under what manner the examination and the arrest should be made in such case, I will make no device at this time: for haply Master More would anon find a default at it; and therefore I will leave it to them that have authority, to treat further of it, and to devise how to avoid the “maze” that Master More speaketh of in his said forty-sixth chapter. 10 15 20

Now, good readers, this man maketh here as though I had given him in my words some great advantage to ground some great matter upon. And therefore I shall rehearse you what my words were, that yourselves may see how sore I oversaw myself therein, and what he meaneth by the “maze” that he nameth here. These are, lo, my words in mine *Apology* (folio 257): 25

Yet is he content at the last, lest every man might spy the peril of his device, to temper his device in such wise that till the spirituality have left their cruel desire of abjuring and punishing folk for heresy, they should not be suffered to arrest folk for every light suspicion, or every complaint, of heresy. Howbeit, he granteth that where one is openly and notably suspected of heresy, and sufficient record and 30 35

1 *good*: valid    11 *heavy*: weighty; serious    14 *leaving*: leaving undone  
 15 *motion*: proposal    17, 19 *case*: i.e., cases    17 *gone*: come  
 19 *make*: formulate; come up with    19, 31 *device*: plan; arrangement    20 *anon*: soon  
 20 *default at*: fault with    25 *ground*: base    26 *matter*: thing // *rehearse*: relate to  
 27 *sore*: badly // *oversaw myself*: blundered    28 *nameth*: mentions  
 30 *peril*: dangerousness    31 *temper*: modify // *spirituality*: clergy    32 *left*: given up  
 33 *suffered*: allowed    34 *complaint*: accusation    35 *one*: someone // *record*: testimony

witness against him, and besides all that, a doubt that he would flee, whereby he might infect others: then he granteth it convenient that he should be arrested by the body. And therein he bringeth in the Clementine and the statute by which the ordinaries have power to arrest folk for suspicion of heresy; and would, as far as I perceive, have the King reform them after his device. But yet, since which is a light suspicion and which is a heavy, and which is a light complaint and which is a heavy, and which is an open suspicion and which but a privy, and which suspicion is notable and which is not notable, and which witnesses be sufficient and which be not sufficient, be things that must be weighed by the spiritual judges; and upon their weighing of the matter for light or heavy must follow the arresting of the party or the leaving of the arrest: we be come again, as in a maze, to the point where we began—that, be the matter great or small, lest all the while they be cruel they should judge light heavy and small great, their arresting of any at all must be suspended from them, and send them to sue by citation, till men see that same mind of theirs of desiring men's abjuration and punishment utterly changed and cease; that is to say, till there be no man left that will so much as say that some men say that they have not left that mind yet, and make a lie again of them then as those "some" have done that have so said already to Sir John "Some Say" now. And long will it be, I warrant you, ere ever all such folk fail.

And therefore—since in the mean season, by this Pacifier's good device, heretics may go unarrested—I cannot believe that if his way were followed, it would be any good means to make that willful offenders in heresy should not pass unpunished, as fast as, both in the end of this chapter and the other before also, he calleth upon the King's Highness and his Council, and his Parliament, to look upon this matter after his good advertisement, and never cease till they bring it to effect.

Here you see, good readers, because this man with his devices bringeth himself into a maze out of which he cannot see how to get, he would now set other folk to study thereabout. And would make them very careful about a thing little needful. For it hath well appeared, and well been proved too, that the spiritual judges have yet hitherto, in arresting for heresy, right well examined and considered first both the cause and the necessity, and have been rather therein many times too slow... than any

- 1 *doubt*: fear    2 *convenient*: (to be) appropriate    3 *by the body*: bodily; physically  
 3 *the Clementine*: canon "Ut inquisitionis" from the *Constitutiones Clementinae*  
 6 *after his device*: according to his plan    7 *complaint*: accusation  
 8 *open*: public // *privy*: private    12–13 *leaving of the arrest*: leaving the arrest not done  
 14 *cruel*: severe; rigorous    15 *judge . . . great*: i.e., be judging a slight offense to be a serious one, and a small one to be a great one    16 *sue*: proceed // *citation*: subpoena  
 17 *mind*: mentality    19 *left*: given up; ceased to have    20 *make*: tell // *of*: about  
 22 *warrant*: guarantee // *fail*: are lacking    23 *mean season*: meantime  
 23, 30 *device(s)*: arrangement(s)    26 *pass*: go // *fast*: earnestly  
 28 *upon*: at // *matter*: thing // *after*: according to    29 *advertisement*: instruction  
 33 *careful*: solicitous    34 *spiritual*: ecclesiastical    35 *hitherto*: up till now

time over hasty. And therefore I may and will say here again as I said there, that I little doubt but that if the King's Highness do as I doubt not but His Highness will do—maintain and assist the spirituality in executing of the laws, even those that are already made against heresies... and command every temporal officer under him to do the same for his part—though there were never more new laws made therefor, yet shall both innocents be saved harmless well enough and offenders punished too. 5

To this cometh forth this good man in this wise:

Now, verily, to those words of Master More I dare say thus: that Master More, ere he had spoken those words, had occasion by reasonable conjecture to have doubted more at the matter than he hath done, and to have thought it very likely that if the same laws should stand as do now in every point concerning heresy, that many innocents that be not guilty might upon suspicion of heresy be driven to purge themselves after the will of the ordinary—and yet be not guilty. Yea, and over that, Master More might have reasonably doubted, and, as I suppose, in conscience he ought to have doubted more than he hath done, that sometimes innocents might happen upon the suit *Ex officio*, or upon light complaints by favor of officers, or upon malice or displeasure, be arrested before examination, and yet Master More himself assenteth that the examination should be before the arrest. And he might have doubted also that some innocents might by such perjured persons as be above rehearsed in this chapter be sometimes condemned. And therefore the said words of Master More whereby he taketh upon him to say, as it were in his own authority to perform it, that innocents by the same laws as be already made for heresy shall “be saved harmless well enough” might happen to be of small effect to help an innocent man or woman that should happen to be wrongfully troubled in time to come against his words before rehearsed. 10 15 20 25 30

Now, verily, to all these words of this good man I dare say thus: that I when I wrote the words had, and yet have, very good conjectures to put little doubt therein. For though I might think

1 *over*: too    3 *maintain*: support    4 *spirituality*: clergy // *even*: precisely  
 5 *temporal*: secular    8, 28 *saved harmless*: kept unharmed  
 11–12 *by reasonable conjecture*: on reasonable grounds  
 12 *doubted more at*: had more fear about    16 *after the will*: at the discretion  
 17 *over*: besides    18, 23 *doubted*: feared    20 *light complaints*: trivial accusations  
 20 *favor*: aid; support    21 *be*: i.e., to be    24 *by*: by means of  
 24, 31 *rehearsed*: mentioned    25 *condemned*: convicted; found guilty  
 26–27 *as . . . perform it*: as if he had the authority to make it be the case  
 30 *troubled*: gotten into trouble    31 *against*: with respect to    34 *conjectures*: reasons

that this harm and this harm might hap: yet since I have well  
 seen it proved that the spiritual judges have used themselves in  
 these matters not only so truly, but, over that, so favorably, that  
 no man can prove in this realm such harms to have happed  
 yet—but whereas such things have been of late surmised, 5  
 the truth hath been well proved contrary before the King’s  
 honorable Council—I had and have very good cause to think  
 that as they have done well hitherto, so shall they well do  
 hereafter.

And since all this good man’s ground is no more, to take 10  
 away well-approved laws with, but that harm may hap sometime  
 to some good man thereby—which reason he may make  
 against the best law that all the world can make—I dare be  
 bold to warrant that that cold reason so fervently set  
 forth in such a weighty matter is not well worth a rush. 15

And if men would go about to change these old long-approved  
 laws: I would, as my duty is, pray God give them the  
 grace to make the changes good; but for that little wit that I  
 have, I verily believe and think that if any changes be  
 made rather more slack than straiter—then shall the changes 20  
 be made rather far worse than better. And thus end I, good  
 readers, this good man’s seventeenth chapter.

### *The Eighteenth Chapter*

His eighteenth chapter beginneth folio 69. Wherein he beginneth  
 first with the *ca. Ut inquisitionis negotium* (and 51.6), “whereby it 25  
 appeareth that . . . all lords and rulers temporal be prohibited  
 that they shall not in any manner take knowledge or judge upon  
 heresy.” And upon this, himself addeth unto it in his book of  
*Division* that “he that inquireth of heresy taketh knowledge of  
 heresy,” and that himself saith not so alone, but that *Summa* 30  
*rosella* saith so too; and hereupon he concludeth that it should  
 seem that “all the justices of the peace be excommunicated,” and “all  
 stewards in leets,” and all inquests too, as many as meddle withal.  
 For whether in leets they may or may not—that, he saith, he doubteth,

2 *used*: conducted    3 *truly*: justly // *favorably*: kindly    5 *whereas*: wherever  
 5 *surmised*: alleged    8 *done well*: acted rightly // *hitherto*: up till now  
 11 *well-approved*: well-established    12, 14 *reason*: argument    12 *may*: could  
 13–14 *be . . . warrant*: venture to guarantee    14 *cold*: lame    15 *rush*: straw  
 16 *long-approved*: long-established    20 *straiter*: more rigorous  
 29 *inquireth of*: investigates    30–31 *Summa rosella*: See note for 83/14–15.  
 33, 34 *leets*: misdemeanor courts    33 *meddle withal*: deal therewith



but he saith that I say they may; but he telleth not where I say so, nor, as I verily think, he never found it in any book of mine. I say in mine *Apology*, folio 227, that in every leet they *do* so; whether they lawfully so may do or not, thereof speak I nothing—albeit I think they may well enough, both without offense of the King’s law or peril of accursing either. 5

For I little doubt but that there were of the clergy at the making of the statute more men than one that understood *Summa rosella* as well as this good man doth, if *Summa rosella* were then made and in men’s hands. 10

And I doubt also as little but that there were at those days in the clergy more than one, that were of counsel in the making of the statute, that understood the chapter *Ut inquisitionis* as well as this man doth, and as well as he that made *Summa rosella*, too. And that they well understood that the said chapter meant of such inquisitors, and such inquisitions as they make, that are in the corps of the law called *inquisitores haereticae pravitatis*... of which there are in some places special officers to inquire, proceed, and do therein as the ordinaries do; and meant not of such inquirers and such inquisitions as do none otherwise inquire but only by way of information to bring the matter to the ordinaries’ knowledge. 15 20

For as for the minor of this good man’s argument—that he that inquireth of heresy taketh knowledge of heresy—so doth every denouncer, every accuser, and, in a manner, every witness too, take upon them knowledge of heresy in some manner wise: for they take upon them, as they well may, that this thing or that thing is heresy. But this is not the knowledge that the law forbiddeth; but the knowledge that we call “holding plea” upon it, which our inquisitions do not—but only serve to bring the matter to the ordinaries’ hands, which else should peradventure not have heard thereof. 25 30

And for this cause, to be sure that by these inquisitions no man should fall in danger of any excommunication, it was substantially provided in the said statute that the inquisition and 35

6 *offense*: violation // *peril of accursing*: danger of excommunication

10 *were then made*: was already written at that time

13, 15 *chapter*: i.e., chapter of canon law 14 *he that made*: whoever wrote

15 *meant*: was speaking

17–18 *inquisitores* . . . *pravitatis*: investigators of heretical depravity

19 *ordinaries*: bishops 20 *meant not of*: was not referring to

23 *minor*: i.e., minor premise 24 *inquireth of heresy*: holds heresy inquests

27 *manner wise*: kind of way 29–30 “*holding plea*” *upon*: taking jurisdiction over

31–32 *ordinaries*’ . . . *peradventure*: the hands of the ordinaries, who otherwise would perhaps

34 *in*: into // *substantially*: thoroughly

the indictment of heresy should serve the ordinary  
nothing to the proceeding in the matter, but that he should  
begin his process against the party afresh, without  
laying that indictment unto his charge.

And therefore whereas this good man, by the high authority of  
*Summa rosella*, denounceth here all the justices of peace accursed, 5  
I dare be bold by the high authority of *Summa angelica*  
to denounce them all assoiled again. And therefore  
whereas this good man, weening that he had well won his  
spurs in this point, triumpheth upon me and saith— 10

And to this law Master More answereth not, but passeth it over, as  
a thing that, as it seemeth, he little regardeth... but only that he saith  
that the laws of this realm and of holy Church in heresies “may well  
stand together” for aught that he seeth. And yet it appeareth that  
upon this law they do not agree nor stand together. And therefore 15  
methinketh it would not be so lightly passed over as Master More  
doth pass it over. For it is a dangerous thing to fall into the least  
censure of the Church . . .

—there were two causes for which I answered him not: one a  
general cause, concerning all his matters of laws of the 20  
Church wherein he findeth faults, of which I shall speak  
afterward. Another special cause there was concerning this  
excommunication. And that was that me thought, and yet think,  
that he spoke therein so childishly that I was ashamed on his  
behalf to meddle with it... and to make open his childish 25  
handling thereof.

But now since I see him count for so great a conquest that  
he put me to silence therein—what purpose can he devise for  
which I *should* have answered anything to that point? Had I  
made any profession to prove every word wrong that he said 30  
in all his book? He knoweth that I said not that I would meddle...  
but with those certain things that I there speak of.

But now suppose that there were in that law such fault as he  
allegeth—what could mine answer amend the matter, or his  
book of *Division* either? If men were accursed, as he mistaketh 35

2 *nothing*: not at all; in no way      6, 8 *denounce(th)*: declare(s)

6, 35 *accursed*: excommunicated      7 *be bold*: venture

7 *Summa angelica*: A dictionary of moral theology, titled *Cases of Conscience* by its author,  
Blessed Angelo Carletti.      8 *assoiled*: absolved from excommunication

9 *weening*: thinking

13–14 *may well stand together*: are quite compatible; can harmoniously coexist

14 *appeareth*: is evident      22 *special*: specific      23 *yet*: still      25 *meddle*: deal

25 *open*: obvious      28 *devise*: come up with      30 *profession*: promise

186/35—187/1 *mistaketh it*: erroneously says they are (for holding heresy inquests)

it, could my book or his book take away the curse? “No, but we may put the Parliament in mind to make a law.” His book alone is as able to put them in remembrance thereof as his and mine together. And yet for that point neither needeth mine nor his neither. For the Parliament hath made already a law for these inquisitions. Which if they might lawfully make in such form as they have (as I am sure they might), then am I sure that they fall not in excommunication for it. Now, if they might not lawfully make it, and thereby fell therein, what could the Parliament farther add unto it, that might deliver them of it? And therefore I cannot, in good faith, see to what purpose he wrote of that point himself. 5

“No, but this law is one great cause of division between the spirituality and the temporality.” That would I very fain wit how. For temporal men be not, I wot well, so far overseen as to be angry with the spiritual men here now, for that law that a pope made at Rome ere they were born. And the spiritual men have also as little cause again of any grudge against the temporality for the matter. And therefore why he should put it in his book of *Division* for a cause of division, I can devise no reason. For as for that that he would should seem a cause here, is too unreasonable, where he saith: 10 15 20

As long as that law standeth so, unrepealed... some priests that see it will say that they that do against it... be accursed; and so may lightly fall thereby into a wrongful and untrue judgment... which though it be no great offense (unless it be of pride... by despising of the temporal power in that behalf), yet it would be eschewed. And also, if they that be so noised to be accursed hear of it, they will be discontented. And so grudges and variances may rise and increase by occasion of it. 25

This is a very cold tale, and as dead as ever was doornail. For before himself brought in this babbling of his own about that law (which babbling is yet, as I have showed you, to no purpose at all), I never heard any man talk any such word of that law in my days, nor, in good faith, no more I ween did he neither. 30 35

1 *curse*: excommunication    4 *needeth*: is needed    6, 7 *might*: could  
 8 *fall not in*: do not incur    10 *deliver . . . of*: release . . . from  
 11 *in good faith*: in all honesty    13, 20 *division*: discord    14 *spirituality*: clergy  
 14, 19 *temporality*: laity    14–15 *very fain wit*: very much like to know  
 15 *wot*: know // *overseen*: gone wrong    16, 18 *spiritual men*: clergymen  
 18 *grudge*: complaint    19 *for*: over    21 *devise*: think of  
 22 *is*: i.e., it is // *unreasonable*: irrational    24 *they that do*: those who act  
 24, 28 *accursed*: excommunicated    24 *lightly*: easily    25 *wrongful*: erroneous  
 25 *untrue*: unfair    26 *offense*: sin // *despising*: scornful bypassing  
 27 *be eschewed*: i.e., would be better to avoid    28 *so noised*: thus rumored  
 28 *discontented*: unhappy    29 *grudges and variances*: resentments and conflicts  
 30 *cold tale*: unpersuasive speech

Nor, I dare say, he heareth nowhere yet any priests say that the justices of the peace be accursed for inquiring against heresies—none, I dare say, but such priests as be heretics. And therefore this whole tale of his, save for the malice that it meaneth... is even a very trifling. 5

For as for the motion that he maketh so often to have that law repealed because it is, he saith, against the laws of the realm: except he mock, I wot ne'er what he meaneth. For if the realm here may repeal it—then by that the law is here made to the contrary (if it were contrary, as it is not), it is repealed already. 10  
And if he think that the realm here cannot repeal it—then whereto writeth he and printeth that piece in his book of *Division*, as a thing for which the temporalty and the spirituality of this realm should fall in variance for, where neither the making nor the repealing lieth in neither nother of their hands? 15

But surely the repealing, though it be the thing that is spoken of, is not yet the thing that is meant in this matter, as it appeareth in these words:

And therefore methinketh it would not be so lightly passed over as Master More doth pass it over. For it is a dangerous thing to fall into the least censure of the Church. And if it be said that the said law “is void, because the Church had no authority to make it”; and that it “is therefore not to be feared.” And I will yet say thereto, that though it *were* void, that yet as long it standeth so, not repealed, it were good to eschew it, and not to fall willfully into the danger of it; and therefore it were better to repeal it than to let it stand still and rather do hurt than good. 20 25

Here you may see, good readers, that whereas otherwise to repeal that law than it *is* repealed lieth not in our hands if our law were against it; and whereas of truth it needeth no repealing at all (but the law of the realm standeth therewith well enough), he maketh as though all the justices of peace were accursed thereby, as often as they give the juries in charge to inquire of heresy: therefore, lest *they* should willfully fall into 30 35

6 *motion*: proposal    8 *mock*: is joking // *wot ne'er*: have no idea    9 *may*: can  
9 *that*: the fact that    12 *whereto*: to what purpose    13 *temporality*: laity  
14 *spirituality*: clergy // *in variance for*: into dissension over  
23, 25 *void*: not legally binding    25 *though*: even if    26, 27 *were*: would be  
26 *eschew*: steer clear of    26, 35 *willfully*: deliberately    27 *stand still*: remain in effect  
28 *hurt*: harm    32–33 *standeth* . . . *enough*: is plenty compatible with it  
34 *accursed*: excommunicated    35 *inquire of*: investigate // *they*: i.e., the juries

the censures of the Church (whereof, as he saith, the least is a dangerous thing), ye may plainly see that these wily shrews which abuse his labor mean in all this matter nothing else but that *they* would not have heresies inquired of. And yet they need not so greatly to care therefor, for any great things that by such inquisitions are in heresies presented. But yet thus declare they their good wills, these wily shrews that thus deceive this good simple soul and set him so evil a work. 5

If he fear so much the censures of the Church as he maketh for, and understand and believe *Summa rosella* so surely as he pretendeth: it had been better for him to examine well his book of *Division*, and this his second book also, by the titles of *Summa rosella*, and see well whether himself vary not from *Summa rosella*, and be by the sentence of *Summa rosella* fallen in the censures of the Church himself, by some such manner of writing as his said books have. 10 15

But now cometh this good Pacifier forth with a goodly piece; and to declare himself indifferent, and to show also a great oversight used upon my part—thus the good man “Some Say” saith: 20

And therefore it seemeth right expedient that the said law be repealed. And in like wise it were good to repeal all such laws spiritual as be made contrary to the King’s laws and the custom of the realm. And if it be said that it were good also... that such statutes and laws... as be made and used by the temporal power to the grief of the people were also reformed... and that if I were indifferent... I would make some motion so to have it—and so, it seemeth, Master More doth partly move that I ought to have done, and to have found as well default in the temporal law as in the spiritual law; howbeit, because he would bear no blame of the temporal law in that motion, it seemeth that he somewhat mitigateth his sentence therein and saith... that if *I* do so... and that then I “handle them” (that is to say, the temporal laws), and find defaults at them, as “truly” as I do at these (that is to say, at the spiritual laws): that then I should “make two lies for one”; and yet, as I suppose, I have assigned some 25 30 35

2, 7 *shrews*: scoundrels    3 *which abuse*: who exploit    4 *they*: i.e., the scoundrels  
 4 *inquired of*: investigated    5 *care therefor*: worry about that    6, 18 *declare*: show  
 8 *simple*: naïve; gullible    10 *maketh for*: makes himself out to    11 *pretendeth*: claims to  
 11 *had*: would have    12 *by*: in the light of    13 *titles*: chapters  
 13–14 *vary not from*: is not in conflict with    14 *sentence*: judgment    15 *in*: into  
 18, 26 *indifferent*: impartial; unbiased    18–19 *great oversight used*: big omission made  
 21 *right expedient*: very advisable    22, 24 *were*: would be  
 22–23 *laws spiritual*: Church laws    26 *grief*: harm    27, 31 *motion*: proposal  
 28 *move*: submit; claim    29 *default*: fault // *in*: with    29, 30, 33 *temporal*: secular  
 29 *spiritual*: Church    30 *bear*: tolerate // *blame*: criticism    31 *sentence*: dictum  
 33 *defaults*: defects    33, 34 *at*: in    33 *truly*: truthfully    35 *assigned*: pointed out

defaults in the spiritual law... which Master More cannot tell  
how they should be excused.

As to his repealing, I see, as I have said, no substance in his  
words. For we repeal them as far as I see we can, when we  
keep them not but make our own laws to the contrary. And  
therefore, as far as I see, all that he speaketh of these repealing,  
save only for setting forth of his division, is else but a very  
vain tale. 5

But, now, where he saith that I would have him, and seem to  
move him, to find faults in the temporal law too: I wot ne'er  
whether his words have herein more falsehood or more folly;  
but surely they have both twain, and either the one or the  
other double. 10

For first, every man may see by his own words even here,  
that I move him not to use as for indifference to find faults  
in the temporal laws as he hath done with the spiritual  
laws, when himself here showeth that I say that if he so  
did, he should make double lies. This showeth that he useth in  
this saying plain and open untruth. And since his own  
untruth appeareth upon his own showing, this showeth  
also that he useth open folly. 15 20

And where he saith that he hath assigned some defaults in  
the spiritual laws which I cannot tell how they should be  
excused: I answer him again that unto *all* laws, or *all* matters  
that he list to babble of, am I not bound to meddle with; but  
of these spiritual laws that were made for the repressing of  
heresies, with which our temporal laws are also conformable  
and concurrent, with which this good, wise man, for the  
ease of heretics, hath now found such "faults" as a wise  
man may be ashamed to speak of, I have clearly declared that  
they need not to be excused... but that, for the finding of such  
"faults," his folly to be much accused. This have I proved so  
plainly that he can find no great cause of glory when he  
looketh back upon it. 25 30

1, 22 *defaults*: defects      1, 23, etc. *spiritual*: Church      2, 24, 31 *excused*: defended; justified  
6 *speaketh of*: says about      7 *setting forth*: promoting      10 *move*: exhort  
10 *wot ne'er*: don't know      11, 21, 32 *folly*: foolishness      12 *both twain*: both of the two  
14 *may*: can // *even*: right      15 *move him not*: do not exhort him // *use*: make it a habit  
15 *indifference*: impartiality      16, 27 *temporal*: civil      17 *himself*: he himself  
17 *showeth*: states      19, 20 *untruth*: untruthfulness      20 *showing*: telling  
22 *assigned*: pointed out      24 *again*: back      25 *list*: wants // *of*: about // *meddle*: deal  
27 *conformable*: compatible      28 *concurrent*: consistent      29 *ease*: advantage  
30 *declared*: shown

But now, to the intent you may, good readers, see that either this man is not so simple in himself as he seemeth or else that some wily shrews shamefully do deceive him: I beseech you consider a little either the folly or the craft that the man useth here.

5

He hath brought you forth words of mine which I speak, he saith, of the laws, whereas of truth I speak them not of the laws at all, as yourselves shall well see. For though he dissemble the place because he would not have you read it—yet have I sought it out for you, in the 99<sup>th</sup> leaf of mine *Apology*; and there, lo, these are my words:

10

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

15

20

Lo, good readers, consider here, I beseech you, the manner of this good man. To the first piece of these words of mine—in which case is also the law that we be now in hand with, *Ut inquisitionis*, wherewith he would in his book of *Division* aggrieve the clergy of this realm, which never made the law—he answereth not in all his book one word. And yet in his such manner of aggrieving he useth a very sinful, and in his not answering, a very shameful, way.

25

30

Then in the remnant you see, good readers, yourselves, that I speak not of the laws. For when I say thus—“If he will say that he blameth but their abuses thereof: yet since he proveth that point but by a ‘some say’... he might by the same figure lay like faults in the temporalty too, concerning the laws of this realm”—

35

2 *simple*: dim-witted    7 *of the*: about the // *of truth*: actually  
 8 *dissemble*: omit mention of    12 *aggrieveth*: attacks // *in him lieth*: he is able to  
 16 *might*: could    19 *indifferent*: impartial; unbiased    20 *side*: hand  
 21 *truly*: truthfully    25 *Ut inquisitionis*: See 184/25–28.    31 *remnant*: rest

is it not here plain that I lay blame in *him*, for his belying of the *ministers* of the spiritual laws under a figure of “some say,” as though they *abused* the spiritual laws in mishandling of heretics (whereof I speak more after)? And I say that by a like figure of “some say” he might defame all the temporal ministers too, and bring them in grudge and obloquy of the people with like lies of abusing the temporal laws too. 5

Now consider, good readers, either how falsely this honest man hath himself, or else how foolishly he hath suffered false shrews, to make him turn and change the sentence of my words from the men to the laws, to bring in his matters upon, and say that I move him to find faults in the temporal laws and put them in print abroad as he doth in the other, whereas you plainly see I speak not of the laws but of the ministers... nor yet advise him to use such fashion with the temporal ministers neither, lest he make two lies for one. 10 15

Is not now this change of my sentence that he maketh here a very shameless dealing, either of himself or of some shrewd counsel of his? 20

And now knitteth he to this handling the remnant of the said eighteenth chapter, and showeth that he speaketh first of the spirituality because the causes of the division specially be grown by them... and layeth forth a sort of griefs, some part very trifles, and some part remedied before his book of *Division* made, and some part very foolish, and some part, for all his “some say”s, undoubtedly very false. 25

He hath there two leaves, in the end of that chapter, which any wise man that readeth them shall, I suppose, judge a very dreaming tale. And therein it seemeth that as he hath begun with the spiritual laws, so he will after proceed in the temporal laws too. And fain would the man make me so fond as to be his fellow therein... and saith if I know any such made as “the Parliament had none authority to make,” or whereupon “the people have just cause to complain,” it were “well done” that I should “show them.” And so he thinketh “verily” that “charity should compel” me to do, seeing that I am, he saith, “learned in the laws of the realm.” 30 35

Verily if I knew any such—yet would I not follow neither this

1 *belying*: slandering 2, 5, etc. *ministers*: judicial officers 2, 3, 30 *spiritual*: Church  
 5 *might*: could 5 *temporal*: secular 6 *in grudge*: into the ill will  
 6 *obloquy*: vituperative speech 7, 30 *temporal*: civil 8 *falsely*: dishonestly  
 8 *honest*: honorable 9 *suffered*: allowed 9–10 *false shrews*: lying scoundrels  
 10, 17 *sentence*: focus 11 *matters*: allegations 12 *move*: exhort  
 13 *in print abroad*: out there in print 19 *shrewd*: devious / malicious // *counsel*: adviser  
 21 *showeth*: claims 22 *spirituality*: clergy 22, 25 *division*: discord  
 22–23 *specially*... *them*: come from them in particular 23 *sort of griefs*: set of grievances  
 25 *made*: was written 28 *wise*: sensible 29 *dreaming*: illusive; out of touch with reality  
 29 *tale*: speech 31 *fain would the man*: the man would much like to // *fond*: idiotic  
 32 *fellow*: accomplice 34 *were*: would be // *well done*: i.e., a good thing to do  
 35 *show*: tell



good man's holy exhortation nor his godly example  
neither, to do in the one as he hath done in the other, but if I  
liked his doing a little better than I do.

And if I be learned in the temporal laws, the less will I  
follow his counsel. For the better that I were learned in them, 5  
the less would I ween it would become me to print and put  
abroad among the people a slanderous book of them to  
shame them.

And unto this point, good readers, I have answered and showed  
my mind in mine *Apology* before, whereto this man giveth a 10  
deaf ear always. And here, upon a sought occasion, with a  
fond wily change of my words, exhorteth me to the thing to  
which I made answer already. And what I before said therein—  
that he dissembleth, and saith not one word thereto. But in  
mine *Apology*, good readers, the 159<sup>th</sup> leaf, these were in 15  
this point my words:

His other murmurs and grudges that he saith he cannot now rehearse,  
he rehearseth after many of them in his other chapters... which I will pass  
over untouched, both for that the more part of them be such as every  
wise man will, I suppose, answer them himself in the reading, and 20  
satisfy his own mind without any need of my help therein, and for  
that some things are there also therein that are very well said; and some  
also that be they good or bad, I purpose not to meddle much with, as  
are the things that touch any laws or statutes already made, be they of the  
Church or of the realm; defend them I am content to do, if I think them 25  
good. But on the other side, if I think them naught... albeit that in place  
and time convenient I would give mine advice and counsel to the change,  
yet to put out books in writing abroad among the people against  
them, that would I neither do myself nor in the so doing commend  
any man that doth. For if the law were such as were so far 30  
against the law of God that it were not possible to stand with man's  
salvation... then in that case the secret advice and counsel may become  
every man; but the open reproof and redargution thereof may not, in my  
mind, well become those that are no more spiritual than I. And surely if the  
laws may be kept and observed without peril of soul, though the 35  
change might be to the better: yet out of time and place convenient to put  
the defaults of the laws abroad among the people in writing, and

2 *but if*: unless    6 *ween*: think    7, 28, 37 *abroad*: out there    7 *of*: about  
8 *shame*: discredit    9–10 *showed my mind*: made known my thinking    12 *fond*: foolish  
14 *dissembleth*: ignores    17 *grudges*: complaints    17, 18 *rehearse(th)*: relate(s)  
18 *after*: later    19 *untouched*: (leaving them) undiscussed    19, 21–22 *for that*: because  
19 *more part*: majority    23 *meddle*: involve myself    24 *touch*: concern; have to do with  
25 *content*: willing    26 *naught*: bad    27, 36 *convenient*: appropriate  
31–32 *it* . . . *salvation*: i.e., it would be a mortal sin to obey it    32 *secret*: private (giving of)  
33 *reproof*: criticism // *redargution*: reprehension; censure    34 *mind*: opinion  
35 *though*: even if    37 *defaults*: defects

without any surety of the change give the people occasion to have the laws in derision under which they live—namely since he that so shall use to do may sometime mistake the matter and think the thing not good whereof the change would be worse—that way will I not, as thus advised, neither use myself nor advise no friend of mine to do. And therefore I will, as I say, leave some things of his book untouched, whether he say well or evil. 5

Here you see, good readers, mine answer to this point concerning the finding of faults and putting them abroad in print; which answer he dissembleth, and again provoketh me to the same, as though he had never heard it; which answer I will therefore be had as repeated in every place where he provoketh me hereafter to the same point. And thus you see, good readers, that whereas he hath not in any one chapter of his brought forth any reason yet—yet hath he brought forth least in this his eighteenth, in which he boasteth most. For by this hath he plainly declared that he neither understandeth the law *Ut inquisitionis*, that he allegeth, nor so much as the poor summa called *Summa rosella*, neither. For that good man that made it undoubtedly never meant of such inquisitions as ours are, of which manner he had haply never known none. And as for the law, the very first words thereof, to him that understandeth them and considereth them well, sufficiently do declare that that law forbiddeth laymen to meddle with such manner knowledge of heresy as should be a let and impediment to the ordinaries, or other the spiritual inquisitors; and not such knowledge as we take by our inquisitions, that only serve to help the other forth and bring the matter to their hands. 10 15 20 25

And therefore, since I see well that this man in the Latin laws and summas hath so little understanding, I shall be the more content in his laws and his summas so much the less to dispute or meddle with him. 30

### *The Nineteenth Chapter*

In his nineteenth chapter he declareth what he meaneth by “confederacies” of the spirituality... and saith he meaneth “confederacies

1 *surety of the change*: i.e., assurance that they will be changed  
 1–2 *have . . . derision*: hold in derision the laws    2 *namely*: especially // *use*: be wont  
 4 *advised*: considered    6 *untouched*: undiscussed // *evil*: badly    8 *abroad*: out there  
 9 *dissembleth*: ignores    9–10 *provoketh me to the same*: issues to me the same challenge  
 11–12 *provoketh . . . to*: challenges . . . on    13 *whereas*: while    14 *reason*: rationality  
 15 *boasteth*: proudly claims    16, 22 *declare(d)*: show(n)  
 16 *Ut inquisitionis*: See 184/25–28.    17 *allegeth*: cites (as his authority)  
 18 *Summa rosella*: See note for 83/14–15. // *made*: wrote    19 *meant of*: had in mind  
 20 *haply*: perhaps    23 *meddle*: concern themselves    24 *let*: hindrance  
 25 *ordinaries*: bishops // *other the spiritual inquisitors*: the other ecclesiastical examiners  
 31 *meddle with*: concern myself    33 *declareth*: explains    34 *spirituality*: clergy

whereby spiritual men pretend to maintain” some  
 such “laws of the Church,” and some such constitutions provincial,  
 as are “against the King’s laws and the old customs  
 of the realm”... and putteth for an example the putting of priests  
 to answer before temporal judges, and the statute made *De silva* 5  
*caedua*, and the statute of mortuaries.

As for conventing of priests before secular judges, truth it  
 is that one time the occasion of a sermon made the matter come in  
 communication before the King’s Highness. But neither any  
 times since nor many years before, I never heard that there was 10  
 any business about it. And yet was that matter ceased long  
 before any word sprang of this great general division, that  
 his book maketh as though there were such, in a manner general  
 through the whole realm.

And divers statutes have there since been made, concerning 15  
 the same point. And many priests convented as they were  
 wont to be before; and no business made by the spirituality  
 therefor, that I heard of, nor, I trow, himself neither.

And in like wise, men cut down their woods every year, in  
 one place and other of the realm... and either is there not asked the 20  
 tithe against the statute... or if some parson would with good will  
 get it, and therefore ask it, he getteth it not yet indeed.

For where he saith that if I would “remember” myself “well  
 how often the . . . constitution provincial made [against the statute  
*De silva caedua*] hath been put in execution . . . of late days, to the 25  
 grief of many laymen,” I would “not have said so generally  
 that there is not any one constitution provincial,” that he  
 speaketh of, “to any man’s grief or grudge put in execution in  
 the time of any of the prelates that are now living”; and affirmeth  
 that the same “constitution hath of late . . . in the time of 30  
 divers of the same prelates that now be, been put in execution,  
 to the grief and grudge of many persons within this realm”:  
 first, as touching mine own remembrance—in good faith, I  
 cannot remember one. And as to his own remembrance, upon  
 which he affirmeth it to have been done so lately, to the grudge 35  
 and grief of so many: he shall pardon me though I believe him  
 not till he prove it, or at the leastwise name them that have had  
 the winning, and them also that have borne the loss... so that I may  
 myself prove whether it be true or not. For except he do the

1 *pretend*: attempt // *maintain*: uphold; keep in force

2, 24, 27 *provincial*: pertaining to an ecclesiastical province 5 *to answer*: on trial

5–6, 25 *De silva caedua*: “About Cut Wood” (about the tithing of timber). 6 *of*: about

6 *mortuaries*: gifts customarily claimed by the parish priest from a deceased person’s estate

7 *conventing*: summoning 8–9 *in communication*: under discussion

11, 17 *business*: commotion; to-do 11 *yet* . . . *ceased*: that thing was even over with

12 *sprang*: arose // *division*: dissension 15, 31 *divers*: several

17 *spirituality*: clergy // *therefor*: over that 18 *I trow*: I’m sure

21, 24 *against*: with respect to 21 *with good will*: happily

23 “*remember*” *myself*: recollect 25 *of late*: in recent 28, 32, 35 *grudge*: objection

31 *prelates that now be*: current prelates 33 *as touching*: as regards 36 *though*: if

38 *winning*: gain 39 *prove*: establish // *except*: unless

195/39—196/1 *the one*: either the one thing or the other

one, else have I good cause, in the meanwhile, in this point to give no great credence to him.

For first, I can scantly believe that upon the parson's bare word, for allegation of the constitution provincial, his parishioner would let him have it. And if there happed any man that would—yet am I sure they were so few that it were double folly to lay that for any cause of division... which were done both but by a few and also not without the party's will, and rather of his own private devotion than for any fear of compulsion. 5

Now, if the parson would take it of his parishioner by force—I see the common experience therein such that I dare boldly say the whole parish would not suffer him. And yet if it were taken indeed—neither should the parson enjoy the profit nor the parishioner bear the loss... but should at the King's common law recover a right large amends. For well ye wot his damages should be taxed him, not by twelve priests, but by twelve temporal men, and his costs by the King's judges, that are no priests neither. 10 15

Now, if this man will say that many of the parsons have in the time of the prelates that now be living, or that were living at the time that himself wrote those words, recovered in any of the spiritual courts the tithe of such woods, against the statute, by force of that provincial constitution: I will see this man prove it ere I believe him in it. For the danger of that suit may be peradventure more than I suppose the parson will put in peril for his tithes. And also, the parishioner may soon stop the suit in the beginning by the King's prohibition... whereby the King's judges shall see whether the parson sue for such tithes or not, and will not therein suffer him to proceed. 20 25

And therefore till this good man make me better proofs of this matter than his own bare saying, he giveth me no cause, against so many lets to the contrary, therein to believe his word. But I durst well warrant it that if he come once to the naming of the parties, so that the specialties of the matters may be sought out and made appear: you shall surely find it untrue. 30 35

Now, then, to maintain, withal, his great word of "confederacies"—he bringeth forth that some priests say still that

3 *scantly*: scarcely    3, 31 *bare*: mere    4 *allegation*: invoking    6 *were*: would be a  
 7 *lay*: allege // *division*: discord    10 *of*: from    12 *suffer*: let  
 15, 17 *his*: i.e., the parishioner's    16 *taxed*: assessed against // *him*: i.e., the parson  
 17 *temporal men*: laymen    22 *spiritual*: ecclesiastical // *against*: in virtue of  
 26 *put in peril*: take a chance on    26, 34 *may*: can    26 *soon*: readily    27 *stop*: block  
 27 *by the King's prohibition*: i.e., by obtaining a writ of prohibition    29 *suffer*: allow  
 32 *lets to the contrary*: contraindicating impediments  
 33 *durst well warrant*: would well dare guarantee    34 *specialties*: particulars  
 34 *matters*: cases    35 *sought*: searched // *made appear*: brought to light  
 36 *maintain*: defend // *withal*: along with the rest

those tithes and mortuaries also, for all the statutes, be their duties still, and that they which pay them not be accursed. I have espied this good man is a man of sadness, and no great gamer. For if he were, he would never be angry for an angry word spoken by a man that is on the losing side. It is an old courtesy at the cards, *pardie*, to let the loser have his words. And in good faith, in this matter I hear no such talking at all. And verily this device of his, to put this for a cause of division, is in my mind a very childish thing. 5

But then goeth he further: that priests make “particular confederacies” to “maintain” obits and priests’ wages, and to “have more at burials” than they have been wont to have, “or else to show themselves not content”; that is to say, to ask more than they can get... and because they cannot get it, show themselves not content... that is to wit, *lour* and look angrily, and say they be not pleased. Be not these high matters and meet for that heinous name of “confederacies”? 10 15

And yet goeth he further, with another heinous confederacy—that “if a priest have a business to do in some counties, other priests will, as it is said, so confederate with him at arbitrations and other meetings... or else make them such friends privily, that the other party, though he be of right good substance and have also good right... yet shall he sometimes have much ado to obtain it.” 20

Is not here, good readers, a wonderful heinous work, and well worthy the name of confederacies of the spirituality... that but in some counties—nor there, neither, of any certainty, but as some say—some priests in the business of another priest will, and yet but sometimes neither, at arbitrations confederate with their good word to help forth their fellow, or else to make him friends? Yea, and then what a mischief he showeth that ensueth thereupon! The other party hath, he saith, much ado to obtain his right; and yet that but sometimes neither. But as for *lose* his right by their means, he saith not that any man doth. Be not these heinous confederacies, and things meet for this man to make a book of division for? And yet, as though 25 30 35

1 *mortuaries*: See note for 195/6. // *be their duties*: are debts owed to them  
 2 *accursed*: excommunicated 3 *sadness*: sedateness // *gamer*: gamester  
 6 *pardie*: by George 6–7 *have his words*: have his say; say whatever he wants to  
 8 *device*: scheme 9, 35 *division*: discord 9 *mind*: opinion  
 11 *obits*: annual memorial Masses 12 *have more*: receive more 15 *lour*: scowl  
 16 *high matters*: serious things 16, 34 *meet*: fit 20, 28 *arbitrations*: arbitrations  
 21 *privily*: secretly 22 *be of right good substance*: have quite good resources  
 24 *wonderful*: terribly // *work*: business 25 *worthy*: deserving of // *spirituality*: clergy  
 29 *fellow*: colleague 30 *mischief*: calamity

he had very well acquitted himself, he knitteth it up with these words:

And these be some of the confederacies of priests that I meant of; and not the gathering together of the clergy at the convocations.

In good faith, I saw not how he should mean any other thing, nor that neither well. For the name of “confederacies” taken to an evil part, as this man taketh it, doth signify a meeting and gathering together and a determination of certain evil folk, conspiring together about an evil thing to be done, with a covenant and promise by each of them made unto other, each to stand with other therein. Now, whereas at convocations good men come together to do good, and therefore he could not call them confederacies, as he now saith he meant not to do—yet I doubted somewhat whether he so meant or not, because the convocations be at the leastwise common assemblies together, whereof he might hap, I thought, to give a good thing an evil name. But these matters that he now speaketh of, I could not imagine that ever he meant to call *them* confederacies, wherein he neither seeth assemblies nor can assign and prove any conspiracy and mutual promise in assisting each other about the procurement of anything at all, good or bad. For whereas he saith that these be “some” of the confederacies that he meant, I am sure no man doubteth but that these be either *all* the confederacies that he findeth, or else at the leastwise the greatest. And then are those that he calleth here “particular confederacies” so childish that, in good faith, I much marvel that his heart could serve him for very shame to speak of them. And then the others, that he taketh for general confederacies—he neither seeth nor assigneth so much as any assembly about them, or promise or abetment to procure and pursue them. And therefore—though some priests would here or there speak of them as their own affection leadeth them—this is far from the nature and name of confederacy.

And yet, when he hath altogether done, while he proveth nothing at the uttermost (though all that he layeth were as

1 *knitteth it up*: finishes it off    3 *meant of*: was referring to  
 7 *to an evil part*: in a bad sense    9, 17 *evil*: bad    14 *doubted*: wondered  
 16 *whereof*: for which reason    19, 29 *assign(eth)*: pinpoint(s)    27 *serve*: permit  
 27 *for very shame*: i.e., to be so shameless as    31, 35 *though*: even if  
 32 *affection*: inclination    34 *altogether*: the whole thing  
 34 *while*: since    35 *layeth*: alleges

true as it is not) but that they would fain have the tithe of timber still, and that they would fain have the mortuaries still, and that some would fain have greater wages, and some would fain have more money at the burials, than for all their fain willing they can get; when they would only *fain* have it, and yet indeed get naught of it, nor other folk nothing lose: to make now so great a matter of this and call it a heinous name of “confederacies” is, as meseemeth, somewhat like to him that would needs have an action against his neighbor because his neighbor’s horse stood and looked over his hedge. For he said that he saw by his countenance that he would have eaten his grass if he could have gotten to it. For as for that that the hedge letted him, was little thank to him; for his will was never the less. And thus his nineteenth chapter, you see, good readers, how little reason is in it.

### *The Twentieth Chapter*

His twentieth chapter, beginning in the 76<sup>th</sup> leaf, hath so little effect and substance in it, and so faintly defendeth his former matter which it pretendeth to defend, that I purpose to make no long work about it.

For if you read first his words as they lie in mine *Apology*, folio 159 (in the second side, beginning at these words “And here methinketh I might say”), ye shall there, good readers, find that I rehearse those words of his even whole, with those words in them which he would in the beginning of this his twentieth chapter make men believe that I had withdrawn—as though they were words of such substantial effect that I would not have it appear in my book that he had written so pithily.

Afterward, in another place where they be rehearsed again (folio 162), the printer of likelihood left them out of oversight and haste. And surely they be not of so great weight but that if the author had himself left them out in his book of *Division*, it had made little matter. And if he had, over that, left out the whole clause—then had he left in his book one lie the less, and his

1, 2, 3, 4 *fain*: love to    5 *fain willing*: strong wanting  
 6 *indeed get naught*: actually don’t get any    7 *so great a matter*: so big a deal  
 8 *meseemeth*: it seems to me    11 *his countenance*: the look on his face  
 13 *that that*: the fact that // *letted*: prevented  
 13–14 *was . . . him*: he didn’t deserve much credit for that    14 *never*: not at all  
 19 *pretendeth*: professes    24, 29 *rehearse(d)*: quote(d) // 24 *even*: quite  
 28 *appear*: be shown    30 *of oversight*: due to carelessness  
 32–33 *had . . . matter*: would have made little difference    33 *over*: beyond  
 33 *clause*: passage

book the better by so much. For whereby proveth he that the spiritual rulers pretend themselves to be so clean and pure that there is no default in them, but all in the people alone, and in themselves no manner fault at all? Where heard he ever any spiritual man say this, by the whole spirituality or by any one man thereof? 5

They confess themselves to be men and sinners. And they confess and acknowledge also that the very cause of this chief mischief that now beginneth to make division—that is to wit, the execrable heresies which mischiefs this good man’s evil devices with change of good laws were likely to maintain, if men would follow them—did both begin, and is also set forth and advanced forward, by those ungracious folk that are such among the spirituality as Judas was among the apostles; and this not in this realm only, but in other countries too. As by Friar Luther, and priest Pomerane, Otto the Monk, and Friar Lambert, Friar Huessgen, and Zwingli; and here in England Tyndale, Friar Barnes, George Joye, and some others such as with the seed of seditious heresy have sown and set forth division. 20

This thing the spirituality both knoweth and acknowledgeth. And therefore they do *not* pretend, as this Pacifier saith they do, that there hath been no fault among them, but all among the people. And therefore this good man, where he saith that I left out three words in that clause of his (which yet I did put in indeed)—himself had somewhat amended his matter, with leaving in of one lie the less, if he had left out the whole clause altogether. 25

As to that that he saith I changed his words in the end from these words, “the light of grace that is spoken of before will not appear,” into these words, “the light of grace that is spoken of before be with you now and evermore, amen”: therein he saith very true. For since he was fallen into preaching, I not only in the first place rehearsed him as he spoke himself, but afterward also in the second place I took the pain for him 30 35

1 *whereby*: how    2 *spiritual*: Church    2, 22 *pretend*: profess    3 *default*: fault  
 5 *spiritual man*: clergyman // *by*: about    5, 14, 21 *spirituality*: clergy  
 8 *very*: real; actual    9, 10 *mischief(s)*: evil(s)    9, 20 *division*: discord    11 *evil*: bad  
 11 *were*: would be    12 *follow*: go along with    13 *ungracious*: ungodly; wicked  
 16 *Pomerane*: Johannes Bugenhagen, who was from Pomerania; Luther called him “Doctor Pomeranus.”    17 *Otho the Monk*: Otto Brunfels. // *Huessgen*: Johannes Oecolampadius.  
 25, 27 *clause*: passage; section    33 *was fallen*: had gotten    34, 35 *place*: (quoted) passage  
 34 *rehearsed*: quoted    35 *pain*: trouble



to amend his collation in that point and make it end somewhat more like a sermon, with a good, gracious prayer.

Then goeth he forth, and in the same leaf and the next following, he maketh a suspicious matter, and “cannot tell” what mind I was of in changing his word “spiritual rulers” into this word “prelates.” But look, good readers, upon the place, and you shall see that I did it of good cause. For I do not there say that he *saith* “prelates,” but I say there that peradventure he *will* say so. And also, besides this—that there is no very great difference between these words, the “prelates” and the “spiritual rulers”—the change from this word the “spiritual rulers” into this word “prelates” seemed me the more meet and more proper for the matter that the Pacifier speaketh in that place, where he speaketh of authority that they pretend, and obedience that they claim. 5 10 15

Howbeit, rather than I would give any cause of division against me, to him that useth to make great divisions upon small grounds... I shall be content to give him his own word again. And therefore I pray you, good readers, every of you amend your books... and in the stead of “prelates” in that place, put in “spiritual rulers.” And when you so have done, the change shall for the matter not be very great... and yet so much as it shall be, shall more serve me than him. 20

But yet, to make me sorry that ever I was so far overseen as to take away his gay golden word of “spiritual rulers” from him, he beginneth, as it were, with a great threat, and saith: 25

What Master More meaneth, to change these words “spiritual rulers” into “prelates,” I cannot tell. But now, by occasion of the words that Master More hath spoken, I will say farther in the matter than I had thought to have done. 30

How happy was I, lo, that I had not the grace to let his own word stand! For now will he say farther in the matter than ever he had thought to have done! “And that is,” saith he, “this”:

... that I think verily that if so great an oversight fell into prelates and spiritual rulers that they would take upon them to preach heresy, that they would that the people should believe them therein... and to 35

1 *collation*: discourse    2 *gracious*: godly  
 4 *maketh* . . . *matter*: makes something out to be suspicious    5, 6, etc. *word(s)*: term(s)  
 5, 10, etc. *spiritual*: ecclesiastical; clerical    6 *upon the place*: at the passage  
 7 *of good cause*: for good reason    8 *peradventure*: perhaps    9 *so*: that  
 12 *me*: i.e., to me // *meet*: fitting    14 *pretend*: claim to have  
 15 *claim*: demand as their due    16, 17 *division(s)*: dissension(s)    17 *useth*: is wont to  
 18 *content*: willing    19 *again*: back // *pray you* . . . *every*: ask of you . . . that each  
 24 *overseen*: out of line    25 *gay*: brilliant    26 *great*: big  
 31 *happy*: fortunate    35 *oversight*: obliviousness to what is right  
 37 *would* . . . *believe*: would have the people believe

take it to be Catholic that they preached. For who would preach anything but such as they would have their audience believe?

Believe me, good readers, that this man weeneth he saith well-favoredly in this point... wherein he taketh such pleasure that afterward (folio 79) he falleth into the same again, and saith thus: 5

[Master More] goeth about only to prove that all my tale is lost because prelates pretend not to be believed if they preach heresy, as he taketh it that I should say they do. And yet I said not so indeed. And if I did say so... I said but truly. For if they did preach heresy, it is certain that they would look to be believed, as I have said before; yea, and if they would preach and say that if they preached heresy, that they would the people should not believe them— yet if they *did* after preach heresy indeed, they would look that the people *should* believe them. For they would say that they were no heresies that they preached. For who will confess that he preacheth heresy? 10 15

Now, good readers, here have I joined you together this good man's gay words in two places wherein I perceive he pleaseth himself right well. But to the intent that you may see whether he have so good cause as he weeneth, consider well his words and mine before, whereupon he cometh to this point. For he maketh as though I without occasion given of his words had written that the prelates pretend not to be believed if they would preach heresy. Wherein whether he say true or not you shall see by his own words, which are these: 20 25

The light of grace will not come as long as the spiritual rulers pretend that their authority is so high, and so immediate of God, that the people are bound to obey them, and to accept all that they do and teach, without arguments, resistance, or grudging. 30

Now, good readers, first consider well here, in these words of his, what wisdom the man hath showed in making such a mumbling of changing "spiritual rulers" into "prelates." For when he saith here that the "spiritual rulers" pretend that their

1 *Catholic*: orthodox 3, 21 *weeneth*: thinks 3 *saith well-favoredly*: speaks handsomely  
 7 *all my tale is lost*: all I've said is in vain 8, 24 *pretend not*: do not aspire  
 16 *confess*: admit 19 *gay*: brilliant 23 *of*: by 28, 34 *pretend*: claim  
 28 *immediate of*: straight from 29 *bound*: obliged 30 *grudging*: grumbling  
 33 *mumbling of*: muttering about

authority is so *high*—what doubt is there but though he mean other rulers more besides, whom he calleth no prelates, yet he meaneth prelates too... yea, and prelates *especially* too. And then when he saith that the prelates and the other spiritual rulers pretend this or that—may I not well say that he saith the prelates pretend this? Yes, verily that I may. And yet in so changing his word—I change it to his advantage and not into mine, in that I make his odious saying much less, and nothing more. And thus first you see, good readers, this man’s much oversight in finding of that fault.

Now consider farther, good readers, that he saith in those words, not that the spiritual rulers (that is to say, both the prelates and all the remnant too) pretend their authority to be so high and so immediately derived from God that the people are bound to obey them in this thing or that thing, one, or twain, or ten, or twenty... but utterly to accept and obey not only all their teachings, but also all their doings, too... and neither argue, resist, nor grudge at any manner thing that they would either teach or do.

This general thing he saith. And therefore—though I deal, as you see, so favorably with him in my twenty-seventh chapter of mine *Apology* as to divide the matter and ask whether he meant it by their whole authority or part—I might well upon these words of his have taken it that he had very shamefully belied them, and had said that they had pretended to have their whole authority immediately of God, every whit. For if I would so have said... his general words would well have warranted mine. Also, since his saying is so general, and extendeth utterly not only to all their teachings, but also to all their doings, too... and saith that they pretend that by God’s immediate ordinance the people should accept altogether both all that ever they say and all that ever they do—by how many manner things might I have confuted his saying, and have proved it false?

But yet, his saying being such, I took but one thing... and that was such as, for the matter that we both specially spoke of, was next at

4, 5, 13 *pretend*: claim    5, 6 *may*: can    5, 23 *well*: rightly; justifiably  
 8 *nothing*: in no way    9 *much*: great // *oversight*: heedlessness; lack of consideration  
 13 *remnant*: rest    14, 25, 30 *immediate(ly)*: direct(ly)    14 *derived*: obtained  
 18 *grudge at*: grumble about    20, 27, 28 *general*: sweeping; generalizing  
 22 *matter*: thing // *it by*: by it    23 *upon*: on the basis of    24 *belied*: lied about  
 25, 30 *pretend(ed)*: claim(ed)    26 *of*: from  
 35 *specially spoke of*: were speaking specifically about // *next*: nearest

hand. And therefore I said that they pretend not to have such an authority that men should obey them in *all* things... for they pretend not to have authority to bind men to believe and obey them if they would preach heresies; but they plainly profess that if they so would, men should not believe them nor obey them therein. 5

Here you see that where he saith that he meant not that the prelates *would* preach heresy, he speaketh all beside the purpose. For I said not that he either so said or so meant. But I said, and yet say, that in those words he said that *if* they would preach heresies, they do now pretend that by the authority which God hath given them, the people were then therein bound to believe and obey them. And in his so saying I there said and yet say that he saith very far untrue, and that they pretend it not, but plainly pretend the contrary. 10 15  
And thus in this point that he maketh a matter without ground or cause, and that himself with his own words gave me good occasion to write the thing that I wrote—this you see, good readers, proved very plain.

But now consider his other words wherein he liketh himself so well, and weeneth that he proveth that the spiritual rulers of the realm pretend that if they would preach heresy, the people were by God's ordinance bound to believe and obey them therein, because they would then say that it were no heresy. In this point his reasoning hath, I promise you, a little more subtlety than substance... and yet but simple subtlety neither. 20 25

First, as for his case, that if all "the spiritual rulers" would preach heresy—if he had meant of the spiritual rulers of all Christendom, I would have admitted his case none otherwise but as men put and admit a case impossible, to see what might ensue thereon if it were possible; as Saint Paul putteth the case that if an angel came from heaven and preached a contrary gospel, yet the same angel should not be believed. But, now, since he putteth it but by the spiritual rulers of one realm, I admit the case as possible... but yet as such a case as I trust in God this good man shall see the sky fall first and catch larks ere it happen, though 30 35

1, 3 *pretend not*: do not claim    8 *he . . . purpose*: everything he says is beside the point  
11, 15, 22 *pretend*: claim    16 *in . . . that*: i.e., that in this point // *a matter*: an allegation  
21 *weeneth*: thinks    21, 27, etc. *spiritual*: ecclesiastical; clerical    26 *subtlety*: craftiness  
26 *simple*: foolish    28 *meant of*: meant    31–33: See Galatians 1:8–9.

it may be likely enough to happen in some one or twain, or some few, against whom the remnant shall preach and teach the truth.

But now saith this good man thus: “*If* it so happened in them all—*then* would they all pretend that by their authority given them of God, the people were bound therein to believe and obey them. For they would then say that their heresies were no heresies.” 5

I am content, lo, to grant him all this... and I ask him now, what then? For all this, good readers, proveth (you see very well) no more but that if that case happened that they all so preached, they would then all so pretend. But all this proveth never a whit that the spiritual rulers either now do, or at any time have done, pretended their authority such. Now consider, then, for what purpose he speaketh of such pretending. He layeth (you wot well) their pretending of their authority to be so great that the people should obey them without argument, grudge, or contradiction in all that ever they either say or do. This he layeth, I say, for so sore a cause of this division which he maketh in his book, that he saith the light of grace will not come to cease it till they cease so to pretend. 10 15 20

And therefore, good readers, since this is the thing that he saith, and the purpose that he saith it for—making it a cause of division present—how can he maintain his saying with a case feigned, whereby it *may* be that they *will* so pretend hereafter... whereas ever hitherto himself saith not nay but that they both *have* pretended and *yet* pretend the contrary? Can he maintain that the temporalty is at division with the spirituality now, already, because it may peradventure hap hereafter, by a far-fetched possibility, that they may then, no man wotteth when, pretend peradventure a thing whereof they presently pretend the contrary... and protest also that if the case should so mishap hereafter, they desire now for then that no man should therein then believe them? Saw you ever, good readers, any man with such a simple subtlety cast all his matter in the dust so shamefully? 25 30 35

2 *remnant*: rest 5, 12, etc. *pretend*: claim 6 *of*: by 9 *content*: willing  
 10 *what then*: so what 12–13 *never a whit*: not one bit 15 *layeth*: alleges  
 16, 30 *wot(teth)*: know(s) 18 *grudge*: grumbling 19 *sore*: serious // *division*: discord  
 20 *maketh*: postulates 24 *maintain*: defend // *saying*: assertion  
 24–25 *case feigned*: hypothetical case 26 *ever hitherto*: always up till now  
 26 *not nay*: i.e., not otherwise 27 *yet*: still 28 *temporalty*: laity // *spirituality*: clergy  
 35 *simple subtlety*: foolish craftiness // *cast all his matter*: throw his whole case

Now, where he saith, to maintain his matter here with, that  
 “it is not to suppose that spiritual rulers will pretend that such  
 authority as they have of the grant of princes is immediately . . .  
 of God”: I say that therein he saith truth, and that I suppose that  
 they will not. But yet let himself look well in his own book of  
*Division*, and he shall find that himself saith the contrary there  
 of that he now saith here. . . and showeth some things which he  
 both saith that they have but by the means of princes and the  
 good mind of the people, and yet saith also that they pretend  
 to have the same things immediately of God. As, for example,  
 both their authority to have the tenth part for tithe, and the  
 thing which they enjoy by the name of the liberties of the  
 Church, whereby their persons be in many things privileged  
 in this realm before the person of a layman. These things  
 himself saith that they have but by a mean and not immediately  
 of God. And yet he saith in this same twentieth chapter that the  
 things which they call the liberties of the Church, they pretend  
 to have immediately of God; and for all that, he saith now  
 that it is not to suppose that they will pretend so. And thus you  
 may see, good readers, that for the defense of this place, he is  
 driven to a shrewd narrow strait, when to defend one fault  
 he is fain to make twain.

Now, whereas he saith I might have satisfied myself well  
 enough, and that the letter of his words were plain—you see that in  
 the rehearsing again of his own words (folio 80), he is fain to  
 suppress and steal away these his own general words, “all that  
 they do or teach,” to make his words *seem* plain. For as you see,  
 they standing still, his words are plain against him. For  
 himself now confesseth that they pretend not to do by authority  
 immediate from God such things as they do by authority given  
 them by princes.

But because I would fain fully satisfy him—I shall now show  
 you that with his new declaring that his words were well enough, he  
 hath made his matter out of all measure worse.

For now read his words again (folio 80), and there you shall see  
 that he saith that he meaneth only of such authority as the spiritual

2, 9, 17, 19 *pretend*: claim    3, 8, 31 *princes*: sovereigns  
 3, 10, etc. *immediate(ly)*: straight; directly    4, 10, 16, 18 *of*: from    7 *showeth*: mentions  
 15 *mean*: intermediary    21 *shrewd narrow strait*: tough tight predicament  
 22, 25 *is fain to*: is forced to; has to    24 *letter*: literal meaning(s)  
 25 *rehearsing*: quoting    26 *general*: sweeping; generalizing  
 28 *standing still*: remaining in effect    29 *confesseth*: acknowledges  
 29 *pretend not*: do not claim    32 *would fain*: would like to; wish to  
 33 *declaring*: explaining // *well*: proper    34 *matter*: case  
 34 *out of all measure*: immeasurably    36 *meaneth*: speaks

rulers pretend to have immediately of God. And yet after, he  
 declareth it further and better, on the second side of the same leaf,  
 in the fourteenth line, that he meaneth only such authority, not as they  
 pretend to have, but as they have indeed, immediately of God.  
 And to the intent men might see that he meaneth not of authority 5  
 falsely pretended, but truly had immediately of God, he putteth  
 for the example their authority in administration of the  
 sacraments.

This is his own exposition of his own words, which he  
 would have taken for so plain that he is angry with me that I 10  
 could not spy it, and so satisfy myself before.

Well, go to, now: let us rehearse his own words again as himself  
 for his own advantage (folio 80) rehearseth them, and let  
 us plant in his own exposition with them, to make his sentence  
 the more clear... and then shall we see to what good conclusion he 15  
 bringeth all in conclusion. For then cometh his whole tale to  
 this:

“As long as the spiritual rulers will pretend that their authority  
 is so high and so immediately derived of God, in such things as they  
 have their authority immediately of God indeed (as in the administration 20  
 of the sacraments and such other things like), that the people  
 are bound to obey them without argument or resistance: so long the  
 light of grace will not appear.”

Now, good readers, here be now his own words, with his  
 own exposition therein. And how like you them now? For now 25  
 the sentence hath he brought at last, with much work, to  
 none other but that the light of grace will not appear as long  
 as the spiritual rulers pretend to be obeyed and not resisted in  
 the administration of the sacraments, and such other things  
 like, because they have their authority therein immediately of 30  
 God indeed. But then on the other side, whensoever they will  
 not pretend their authority so high therein, nor so immediately  
 derived of God, as to be obeyed therein, but will be content  
 that men grudge and argue and resist them therein, and

1, 4, etc. *pretend*: claim // *immediately of*: straight from    1 *after*: afterward  
 2 *declareth*: explains    9, 14, 25 *exposition*: explication    12 *go to*: come on  
 12, 13 *rehearse(th)*: quote(s)    14, 26 *sentence*: meaning    16 *tale*: speech  
 19 *derived of*: obtained from    28 *pretend*: aspire    34 *grudge*: grumble

pull them from the altar, and suffer them to administer no sacraments  
nor any such other things like—then shall, by this good  
man’s new declaration, the light of grace appear by and by.  
Hath not this Pacifier here, good readers, with much labor  
at last brought this matter to a wise conclusion? 5

If he will now go from this again, and put in his other general  
words again... which for his advantage he left out in  
that place: then is all gone again that he goeth about... and all  
mine answer made (as I have showed you) good, and all his  
own words naught. 10

In the leaf also 81 these are his words:

... where I say that as long as the spiritual rulers will pretend that  
their authority is so high and so immediately derived of God that the  
people are bound to obey them without argument or resistance, etc.  
By these words I confess that they have authority immediately 15  
derived from God. But as I said before in the seventh chapter, Master  
More hath a right great and a right inventive wit, whereby he can  
lightly turn a sentence after his appetite. And so he doth here [etc.].

What high wit or inventive I have to turn a sentence, let  
the readers judge. But surely the height of my wit cannot reach so 20  
high as to perceive in those words of his the sentence that  
himself turneth them to... nor, I trow, no man’s else... till these  
words, “They have authority,” and these words, “They pretend  
to have authority,” be both one thing, which they were  
never yet. And therefore *before* his confession that he now 25  
maketh here *new*, I might *then* well take that exception which I  
have brought there, to a little better effect than he doth his here,  
which, with all his wrestling and all his new declarations,  
bringeth altogether ever the longer unto the worse conclusion.

For now, to color this his oversight with, he telleth us 30  
which manner of pretenses he meant in those words which he  
would here so fain defend. And then, instead of “pretending  
to be by God’s ordinance believed and obeyed in all things as  
well words as deeds,” he bringeth forth here a few amounting  
in a sum total to the infinite number of four. 35

1 *pull*: remove // *suffer*: allow    2 *by*: according to    3 *declaration*: explanation  
3 *by and by*: immediately    5 *wise*: brilliant    6 *go from this again*: go back on this  
6–7 *in . . . again*: his other generalizing words back in    9 *made . . . good*: proved . . . valid  
10 *naught*: worthless    12, 23 *pretend*: claim    17 *wit*: mind    18 *lightly*: readily  
18, 19 *turn*: alter    18, 19, 21 *sentence*: meaning  
18 *after his appetite*: as he pleases; to suit himself    24 *one*: the same  
25 *confession*: admission; acknowledgment    26 *new*: for the first time // *well*: rightly  
28 *which*: who // *declarations*: explanations    30 *color*: cover  
30 *this his oversight*: this blunder of his    31 *manner*: kind // *pretenses*: aspirations  
32 *pretending*: aspiring



The first is that the order and disposition of the “things that are to be disposed of the Church” be to be disposed by the priests: which point to put as for a matter that hath made division between them and us is a point of small reason, as far as my reason can give me. For I remember not of any variance that ever arose between them and us for that point. 5

The second is that all “princes must subdue their executions to bishops’, and not to prefer them above them.” I cannot tell you whether there be any such law made or not. But I can tell you well that though there be, this point will not serve his purpose the value of a blue point. For I am sure he never saw in his days any bishop in this realm use that pretense against the king, or that ever there arose any division thereupon. 10

The third is that “no charge should be set upon clerics by lay power.” I never heard yet any division rise upon this point in my days; nor he neither in his, I dare say. For I never saw the day yet, nor he neither, but that when any need of the king and the realm required it, they have evermore been ready to set taxes upon themselves, as liberally and as largely as any man well might with any good reason require. 15 20

The fourth is, he saith, that “if a secular judge be negligent in doing of justice,” that then, after “monition to amend it” given to the judge, “if he will not, then the spiritual judge may compel him to it, or else supply his room and hear the cause.” 25

If I should look now for these four laws, it might peradventure happen that I should find that this man had mistaken some of them, as well as he hath misunderstood some of the others that he hath spoken of before. But since that I never knew grudge or division rise here upon any of them, me needeth never to look more for the matter. For since this man never saw that any spiritual judge hath enterprised in default of justice to give any such monition or to supply the room: were that law never so unreasonable, yet to say that upon that law the temporalty hath here conceived such grudge as it hath been a cause of division, this pacifier of division may be much ashamed that ever he devised it. For I dare say that as well this fourth cause as many of all his others be such as the people 30 35

1 *disposition*: regulation    2 *disposed*: regulated // *of*: by  
 3–4 *made division*: created dissension    4 *of small reason*: that makes little sense  
 5 *remember not of*: can’t think of    6 *variance*: conflict // *for that point*: on that score  
 7 *princes*: sovereigns // *subdue*: subject    8 *executions*: administrative actions  
 8 *prefer them above*: put them ahead of    10 *though*: even if  
 12–13 *use that pretense*: exercise that claim    13, 16, etc. *division*: dissension  
 21 *reason*: reasoning // *require*: ask them to    22 *negligent*: remiss  
 23, 33 *monition*: admonitory counsel  
 25 *supply his room*: discharge as a substitute his office; take his place // *cause*: case  
 27–28 *mistaken some of them*: gotten some of them wrong    30, 35 *grudge*: ill feeling  
 31 *for the*: i.e., into the    32 *enterprised*: undertaken  
 32 *default*: (a case of) failure    34 *never so*: no matter how // *upon*: on the basis of  
 36 *pacifier*: appeaser    37 *devised*: came up with

never neither talked of nor thought upon... nor, before his own book, had never read nor heard of. And therefore by the putting in of such things, every child, as I said in mine *Apology*, may soon perceive that his books labor and intend not to quench but rather to kindle division. 5

And therefore verily—with his laying here, even in the end and conclusion, such causes of his division which causes but by himself the people never heard of—I may well say once again, good readers: is not this gear by this good Pacifier brought unto a wise conclusion? 10

To those words written in mine *Apology* (the 169<sup>th</sup> leaf), this good man answereth thus:

And now to this conclusion of Master More I will say thus: that I beseech Almighty God that the end of all these matters may come to this conclusion—that the very groundly causes of these divisions that now be not only in this realm, but also, in manner, through all Christian realms, may come to perfect knowledge. For surely I do not take it that they began either by heresies or apostasies, as Master More in his *Apology* meaneth that they should do. 15

Here you may see, good readers, that this good man would be loath that it should appear that the division, peril, and harm have anywhere sprung upon heresies begun and set forth by false apostates, wedded friars and monks, as clearly as it is known that by the occasion thereof, there have been slain in *Almaine*, within these very few years, above eighty thousand persons in one summer, and yet since among the Swiss, when Zwingli was slain, many thousands killed too... and the war begun by the heretics, and the lash by God's great goodness laid in their own necks—as falsely as Frith belieth the Catholics and, against the plain and open-known truth, would with shame enough to himself make men ween that the Catholics began the war. 20 25 30

But then goeth he further and saith:

And if Master More will needly endeavor himself to hide the truth therein, as it seemeth he hath done in this chapter and divers other places of his *Apology*, by keeping secret such abusions and pretenses 35

1 *upon*: about    9 *gear*: business    10 *wise*: brilliant    15 *very*: real  
 15 *groundly*: root    16 *in manner*: very nearly    19 *meaneth*: imagines  
 20 *may*: can    22 *false*: despicable    24 *Almaine*: Germany  
 27 *begun*: i.e., was begun    28 *in their own necks*: on their own shoulders  
 29 *falsely*: abominably // *belieth*: slanders    31 *ween*: believe  
 33 *needly*: painstakingly    34 *divers*: several    35 *abusions*: wrongdoings  
 35 *pretenses*: pretensions

as in my conscience have been most principal causes of this  
division, whereof part be recited in the said treatise and part in this  
answer, but not all . . .

Of these there had need indeed to be more, and some more true,  
and some of a little more substance, too, than be the most part 5  
of these that this good man hath laid forth yet.

Now, here he saith that I keep secret such abusions and  
pretenses as be the principal causes of the division,  
whereof himself hath, he saith, showed some—either he meaneth 10  
that those which I kept secret be those that himself hath  
written, or others besides them. If he mean others: then either  
himself knoweth them or not. If he know them not: how  
knoweth he that I know them, or that there be any such at all? If  
himself know them and show them not: then he hideth 15  
them and keepeth them secret himself as well as I. Now, if he  
mean but those that himself hath written: how can I keep  
those secret that he hath written? Can I both gather up all his  
books and go hide them, and also make them that have read  
them go unread them again, or forget what they have read?

But now after this, likewise as he is wont, when reason 20  
faileth him, to fall to preaching—so here, because reason faileth  
him, he falleth to praying . . . and therein thus he saith:

I beseech Almighty God that he have no power to do it, but that the  
truth may come to light therein, though he resist it all that he can.  
For if it were known . . . and the faults charitably reformed—all these 25  
divisions would shortly have an end.

Nay, pardie, this man seeth well enough that though the faults  
of the spirituality were never so fully reformed, yet could not  
all that suffice to bring all divisions to an end but if one 30  
thing be done which will never be done, whereof (which he  
forgetteth) I gave him warning in the 116<sup>th</sup> leaf of mine *Apology*,  
in these words:

But now if this Pacifier, to cease and quench this division, *could*  
find the means to make all the whole clergy good: yet for all that—since

2 *the said treatise*: i.e., the *Division*    2–3 *this answer*: i.e., the *Debellation*  
27 *pardie*: indeed    29 *but if*: unless    31 *forgetteth*: disregards  
30–31 *whereof* . . . *I gave him warning*: to which . . . I called his attention

he layeth for causes of this division that some men say this by the clergy,  
 and some men say by them that—were all the clergy never so good indeed,  
 and served God never so well, this division, by his own tale, yet  
 could not for all that cease... except he could provide farther that no  
 piteous Pacifier should, in lamenting of division, put forth a book 5  
 and say that some laymen say that some of the clergy be naught, and  
 love their ease and their wealth... and that some say that those that seem  
 best and take most labor and pain be but hypocrites for all that, and  
 serve God but for vainglory, to get themselves laud and praise  
 among the people. 10

Also, if defaults should be *charitably* reformed, as this man  
 saith he would have them—it would be need, then, to set a little  
 more charitable folk about it than those have been that have  
 beguiled this good man with evil counsel in his books... and  
 have made him, under pretext of pacifying division, set 15  
 forth and increase division with devising and spreading  
 abroad causes of murmur and grudge, making in some  
 of them an elephant of a gnat, and for old grudges bringing  
 forth some such as the people never had heard of till they  
 read his books; and some of the very worst, which were most 20  
 effectual causes if they were true, bringing forth by heaps  
 with a figure of “some say,” and very plain lies indeed. Is this the  
 way, good readers, for a pacifier to make peace with, and put  
 away divisions? 25

And now, himself handling the matter thus... he taketh of 25  
 his charity great thought lest I go about to hinder his holy  
 purpose. And therefore saith:

I doubt me very sore that Master More goeth about rather to mar  
 all than to endeavor himself to make all well.

Which be the likelihoods now, good readers, that lead this 30  
 good man into this great fear? Because I make open the shrewd  
 mind of his demure countenance, and the harmful intent  
 and purpose of his holy, wholesome words. Because I would  
 have the temporalty and the spiritualty as the body and the  
 soul of one man love well together and agree, and neither of 35

1, 3, etc. *division(s)*: dissension(s)    1, 2 *by*: about    3 *tale*: account    4 *except*: unless  
 5 *piteous*: pious / plaintive    6 *naught*: wicked    11 *defaults*: failings    14 *evil*: bad  
 15 *pacifying*: settling    17 *grudge*: ill feeling    18 *grudges*: grievances  
 20 *were*: would be    21 *effectual*: valid    22 *figure*: figure of speech  
 28 *doubt me very sore*: very strongly fear    28–29 *mar all*: bring everything to ruin  
 30 *which be the likelihoods*: what are the indications    31 *open*: manifest  
 31–32 *shrewd mind*: devious purpose    32 *countenance*: demeanor  
 35 *love well together*: have a good mutual love // *agree*: live in harmony; get along

them be glad to hear evil of other, nor to give ear to false,  
 seditious slander, but the good folk of either party draw  
 both by one line, according to both the laws, to repress and  
 keep under the bad... and, among other vices, especially such  
 pestilent heresies as else would oppress the Catholic faith, 5  
 and provoke the displeasure of God, and first sow division, and  
 afterward rear rebellion in the realm, as they have done before  
 this time both here and in other places; and that I to this intent  
 give mine advice to keep still those good laws that both this  
 realm and all the corps of Christendom have long used and 10  
 approved. Because I thus do—lo, therefore this good man  
 feareth that I go about to mar all.

But while his books go about, on the other side, to make the  
 world ween that heresies be no causes of division; and, to have  
 heretics live in the less fear, with many malicious “some say”s 15  
 falsely slandereth the ordinaries of cruel, wrongful  
 handling of the people, to drive them, by dread or by shame or  
 other tedious business, to let heretics alone; and go about  
 with bald reasons, the best not worth a rush, to put away the  
 good laws that have been made against them; and under color of 20  
 a fervor to the faith, exhort men to go win the Holy Land...  
 and in the meanwhile yet, with such wily ways, labor with  
 heretics to fill up the streets at home, and by the decay of the  
 Christian, Catholic faith, provoke the wrath of God upon all our  
 heads, which our Lord rather turn upon theirs that so 25  
 would have it: his books busily going about this gear, himself  
 goeth about (ye see well, pardie) to make allthing well.

But now will I finish up his twentieth chapter, wherein he goeth  
 forward thus:

And in this chapter Master More layeth divers other objections to 30  
 prove the said letter unreasonable, which were very tedious to  
 rehearse at length. And therefore I shall as shortly as I can... touch  
 some of them.

Ye know well enough why they be tedious to rehearse. Surely 35  
 because they be very tedious to answer. But whereas he saith he  
 will rehearse some of them—he beginneth first to show that I had no

2 *slander*: vilification    3 *both the laws*: i.e., civil and ecclesiastical  
 6, 14 *division*: discord    10 *all the*: the whole    12 *mar all*: bring everything to ruin  
 13 *side*: hand    14 *ween*: believe    16 *slandereth*: accuses    18, 31, 34 *tedious*: irksome  
 18 *business*: trouble    19 *bald reasons*: flimsy arguments // *rush*: straw  
 19 *put away*: do away with    20 *color*: pretext    23 *decay*: erosion    26 *gear*: stuff  
 27 *pardie*: by George    31 *letter*: text (see 201–202) // *were*: would be  
 32, 34, 36 *rehearse*: relate    32 *shortly*: briefly // *touch*: discuss

cause to doubt of his words wherein he saith that the spiritual rulers pretend their authority to be so high and so immediately derived from God, etc. I had, saith he, no cause to doubt of what authority he meant. For he saith that his words were plain enough, that he meaneth only of such authorities as they pretend to have immediately from God. 5

To this I say plainly that then are his words plain false. For his words be that they “pretend that their authority is so high and so immediately derived from God that the people are bound to obey them, and to accept all that they do and teach, without argument, resistance, or grudge.” Now knoweth every man very well that they do *not* pretend to have authority immediately from God to do allthing that they now lawfully do and may do in which the people are now bound to accept and obey them. For as I said in mine *Apology*, in many such things they pretend and claim their authority derived from princes. And therefore ye see that and he labor about it this seven years, he can never defend his words, but that I answered him truly... and, with the necessary distinction that I there made, answered every part. And this himself seeth well enough... 10 15 20  
and therefore in the 80<sup>th</sup> leaf, in the beginning of the second side, where he rehearseth his words again, he leaveth out these words of his own: “and to accept all that they do and teach.” Upon which words the point of the matter hangeth. And therefore here you see now that, whereas in the beginning of this chapter, he would make it seem that I steal two or three words of his (which I neither did nor needed for any strength that was in them), here was himself fain to steal away his own words, to beguile the reader upon the reading of the place, and make him pass over his fault for the while unmarked. 25 30

And thus, good reader, you see that to save his own words upright, and to impugn mine—in those two leaves 80 and 81 he bestowed his labor in vain.

1, 3 *doubt of*: be in doubt about    1 *spiritual*: ecclesiastical  
2, 6, etc. *pretend*: claim; profess // *immediately*: directly  
3, 9, etc. *derived*: (to be) obtained    5 *meaneth*: is speaking    10, 14 *bound*: obliged  
11 *grudge*: grumbling    17 *princes*: sovereigns // *and he*: if he    19 *truly*: rightly  
22 *rehearseth*: quotes    26 *steal*: surreptitiously remove    28 *fain*: constrained  
30 *fault*: error    32–33 *save his own words upright*: make his own statements stand

But then goeth he farther and toucheth these words of mine  
*Apology*, written in my said twenty-seventh chapter, folio 165:

Surely in such things as the whole clergy of Christendom teacheth and ordereth in spiritual things, as be divers of those laws which this Pacifier in some places of this book toucheth, being made against heretics... and albeit that they be, and long have been, through the whole corps of Christendom, both temporalty and spirituality, by long usage and custom ratified, agreed, and confirmed, yet he layeth some lack in them, calling them very sore: in those things I say that—since I nothing doubt in my mind but in that congregation to God’s honor graciously gathered together, the good assistance of the Spirit of God is, according to Christ’s promise, as verily present and assistant as it was with his blessed apostles—men ought with reverence, and without resistance, grudge, or arguments, to receive them. And if a provincial council err... there are in Christ’s church ordinary ways to reform it. But in such things as any spiritual governors, after a lawful order and form, devise for the spiritual weal of their souls that are in their charge, and which things are such as good folk may soon perceive them for good: in these things, at the leastwise, should the good not give ear to the bad folk and froward, that against the best thing that can be devised can never lack a fond froward argument.

To these words this good man answereth me thus:

Then to show my mind in some things that Master More hath touched yet farther in the said chapter: I will first agree with Master More... that in such things as the whole clergy of Christendom teacheth and ordereth in spiritual things... and which of long time have been by long usage and custom through the whole corps of Christendom, spirituality and temporalty, ratified, agreed, and confirmed, ought with reverence to be received; but yet if the same things, through long continuance and through abusions that rise by occasion of them, prove hurtful and over grievous to the people to bear—then may the people grudge and complain lawfully to their superiors... and desire that they may be reformed... as lawfully as they may do to have temporal laws reformed when need requireth.

1 *toucheth*: discusses    5 *toucheth*: criticizes    7, 28 *temporalty*: laity // *spirituality*: clergy  
 8 *layeth*: alleges // *lack*: defect    9 *sore*: sorry / harsh    10 *nothing doubt*: have no doubt  
 11 *graciously*: piously; devoutly    14 *grudge*: grumbling // *receive*: accept  
 15 *ordinary*: regular; conforming to order and rule    16 *after*: according to  
 17 *weal*: well-being // *their souls that*: the souls of those who  
 20, 21 *froward*: perverse; contrary    21 *fond*: foolish    24 *touched*: discussed  
 30 *abusions*: abuses    31 *over*: too    32 *grudge*: grumble    33 *desire*: request  
 34 *temporal*: civil

As unto this, because he is so genteel to agree with me, I shall as  
 genteelly agree with him again; but yet he getteth naught thereby.  
 For since the laws against which he writeth, made for the  
 correction of heretics, as I have in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth  
 chapters plainly proved against him (and reprov'd his  
 objections therein), be good and very reasonable; and that abusions  
 (by occasion whereof he would make it now seem that in  
 long continuance they become hurtful) he proveth not one in  
 this world but by false, slanderous “some say”s surmised  
 against the ordinaries, and divers times found false before  
 the King’s honorable Council: this answer here of his  
 helpeth nothing his matter.

Then goeth he farther and saith in this wise:

I will also agree that in the congregation of the clergy, to God’s  
 honor graciously gathered together, the good assistance of the  
 Spirit of God, according to Christ’s promise, will be as verily  
 present and assistant with them as it was with his blessed apostles—  
 if they order themselves in meekness and charity and put all their  
 trust in God, as the apostles did. But if they will trust in their own wit  
 and in worldly policy—then may they lightly lose the Spirit of God.  
 And whether it were so at the making of the laws which Master  
 More speaketh of concerning heresy or not, I cannot tell; but this will  
 I say: that if they were not good and reasonable in themselves at the  
 first making, that they were never made by the assistance of the  
 Spirit of God. And surely I cannot then see how the usage and long  
 continuance of them can ratify or confirm them. For as it is of an  
 evil custom, that the longer it is used, the greater is the offense: so is  
 it of an evil law. And like as an evil custom is to be put away, so it  
 is of an evil law.

Of what strength the general councils be, and whether we  
 may in any of them by lawful order gathered together put any  
 diffidence or mistrust—and if we may, then in what manner  
 things, and in what wise they bind, and whom, and how long—I shall  
 not need for this matter to dispute with this good man. And all  
 his doubt concerning the said laws, whether they be reasonable  
 or not, and whether the continuance of them be good or

1 *to*: as to    2 *again*: in return // *getteth naught*: gains nothing  
 4 *correction*: punishment    5 *reprov'd*: proved erroneous    6 *abusions*: abuses  
 8 *hurtful*: harmful    9 *surmised*: trumped up  
 12 *helpeth nothing his matter*: in no way helps his case    18 *order*: conduct  
 20 *policy*: cunning // *lightly*: well    26, 28, 29 *of*: with    27, 28, 29 *evil*: bad  
 28 *put away*: done away with    30 *general*: ecumenical



not: in all these things have I so confuted this good man already,  
 that these words of his can serve of naught. But yet, to  
 make it seem that he said somewhat... and that no law of the  
 Church which he hath here impugned, made against heretics,  
 was either ratified or approved in this realm—ye shall  
 hear how properly he proveth. Lo, good readers, these are his  
 words: 5

And the laws affirmed by usage and agreement of the people be the  
 laws of fasting and keeping of holy days, and such others as the  
 people of their free agreement accept and agree unto; but these laws  
 made for punishment of heresies were never agreed by a common  
 assent of the people, but that some particular persons—whereof some  
 have been guilty... and some peradventure not guilty—have been  
 punished thereby right sore against their wills. And that cannot  
 be a confirmation of them that so agree against their will. But as to  
 them that do the correction, it is a confirmation; for they do it with their  
 good will. And though that correction were a sufficient confirmation  
 as against them that be so punished—yet it cannot be a confirmation  
 to make the law approved for all the residue of the people. 10 15

I cannot see, therefore, that any ratifying, agreeing, or confirming of  
 the people can be proved in those laws concerning the correction for  
 heresy. 20

Did ever any man, good readers, hear such another reason as  
 this is? He denieth not but that the suit *ex officio*, and the  
 order taken in the general council, and the other farther  
 proceedings against heretics according to the common-received  
 spiritual laws, have been, usually, long accustomed in  
 this realm; and by the princes of the same and generally by all the  
 people by common usage accepted—and over that, by plain Parliament  
 laws and orders made for all temporal officers to assist  
 the ordinaries therein, and to put the offenders in execution  
 thereupon—and knowing well all this, he dissembleth it  
 every whit, and saith not one word thereto... but argueth that it  
 was never ratified in this realm, because the heretics that are  
 for heresy punished be burned against their will, and 25 30 35

2 *serve of naught*: be of no use    3 *said somewhat*: said something; i.e., had something there  
 6 *properly*: admirably    11 *agreed*: acquiesced to    14 *right sore*: quite strongly  
 15, 20 *of*: by    15 *agree*: acquiesce    16, 17, 21 *correction*: punishing  
 16–17 *with their good will*: quite willingly    17 *though*: even if  
 18 *as against*: with respect to    23 *reason*: argument    27 *usually*: generally speaking  
 28 *princes*: sovereigns    31 *in execution*: into the legal system; i.e., under arrest  
 32–33 *dissembleth it every whit*: ignores every bit of it

agree not themselves thereto. This reason will I never labor to confute. For if any man be so mad to like it, I were almost as mad as he if I would reason with him.

After this he resorteth again to the unreasonableness of the laws... and proveth them unreasonable by the sentence of his own conceit. For these are his words: 5

And then whether the laws in themselves be good and indifferent or not, I will remit the judgment in that behalf to them that have authority. But to show my conceit therein, I shall with good will, even as my conscience moveth me to; and that is, that I could never see that it was reasonable to be accepted as a law... that a man should be accused and know not his accuser. And that it is yet more unreasonable that a man should be condemned... and know not the witness that condemned him. Also, that a man upon suspicion should be driven to make his purgation at the will of the ordinary or be accursed; or that a perjured witness should condemn him that he had cleared before; that a great offender and a less offender should have one like punishment, if they renounced, or be alike arrested and put in prison: I never saw no indifference in it. 10 15

Now, good readers, as for the “conceit” that the good “conscience” of this man hath conceived, is of very truth but even a very poor conceit... as in the said chapters the fifteenth, the sixteenth, and the seventeenth every man may soon perceive. 20

Howbeit, in the last point that he findeth so great a fault—that a greater offender and a less offender should have one like punishment—this man looked not well about him when he wrote that word. For when the thing is well looked on... the weight of his reason will fall upon the wrong side, and all against his mind. For wheresoever a greater offender and a less offender be both punished alike: if the greater offender have no more pain than the less hath deserved, there is the order somewhat less sharp than it should be... but yet not unrighteous. For if it were, then were the laws of this realm unlawful that hang up him that doth but rob a man as 25 30

1 *reason*: reasoning // *will I never labor*: I will make no effort  
 2 *to like*: as to approve of // *were*: would be 5 *sentence*: verdict  
 6, 9, etc. *conceit*: thinking 9 *show*: make known  
 9 *with good will*: quite willingly (do) // *even*: just 15 *accursed*: excommunicated  
 19 *indifference*: impartiality; lack of bias 21 *is*: it is // *even*: only  
 27 *word*: assertion 28 *reason*: argument 31 *have . . . pain*: get no more punishment  
 32 *order*: established procedure // *sharp*: severe

well as him that robbeth him and killeth him too. Now, so is it in the spiritual law that when two do both renounce their heresy, and abjure and bear faggots both, if the one held ten heresies and the other but twain, the greater offender hath no more pain than the less deserveth. And therefore if this man in that case complain—this complaint (as I said) turneth on the other side... and findeth the fault in that that where the less offender beareth one faggot, the greater beareth not five, if their bodies be like of strength. 5

Howbeit, good readers, all this tale of his is to no purpose at all. For in the spiritual law, they weigh the offenses... and consider the circumstances, and enjoin the penance after the weight or gravity of the trespass... and for imprisoning, use to put no man to it but where good reason would not suffer him walk abroad. And therefore I suppose... that when the man was writing this... his wit was walking toward the Holy Land. For if he would say that he meaneth by the less offender and the more offender such twain as abjure both, and bear faggots both, where the one was worthy and the other not worthy at all: I say that neither his words will maintain any such meaning (for he speaketh generally of the less offender and the more), nor also he proveth none such but by his slanderous “some say”s, which have been plain proved false. 10 15 20

Then goeth he further and knitteth up all the chapter with this goodly conclusion: 25

And if any man will say that these reasons will give a boldness to heretics—truly, I will not fully make answer thereto. But this will I say: that I think verily that they will give a boldness to truth and true men. And verily I have heard say that it were better to suffer an offender go unpunished than to punish him unrighteously and against due order of justice. 30

Mark, good readers, here, for our Lord’s sake, what manner of reason this is. The thing that himself very well perceiveth to be the very weight and pith of all the matter, and therefore at last objecteth it against himself, as a thing that had need to be assoiled: what answer doth he make unto it? He saith he will not 35

12 *after*: according to 14–15 *suffer him walk abroad*: allow him to be at large  
 19, 20 *worthy*: deserving (of this punishment) 20 *maintain*: support  
 24 *knitteth up*: finishes off // *all the*: the whole 26, 33 *reasons(s)*: argument(s)  
 27 *truly*: actually 28 *truth*: orthodoxy; right thinking / truthfulness; honesty / uprightness  
 29 *true*: orthodox; right-thinking / truthful; honest / upright 30 *unrighteously*: unrightly  
 36 *assoiled*: refuted

answer it “fully.” In faith, that is spoken very dully. Well, since so great weight hangeth on it, if he would not answer it fully, he should have answered at the leastwise half. If not half, a fourth part yet, or a fifth part at the least. For this that he saith answereth no part at all. For two things he saith: one, that though he cannot say nay but that his reasons, if they be followed, shall give a boldness to heretics—yet he thinketh they shall also give boldness to troth and true men. And by my troth, I think verily on the other side—that if heretics have boldness given them, and (as they thereby soon shall) take courage and much increase, they shall make the troth shrink, and many true men afeard. And if the giving boldness to falsehood shall give boldness to troth—assay, then, and give boldness to thieves... and then look whether true men shall wax the bolder by it.

The second thing that he saith is this—which yet he doth not affirm, but saith he hath heard it said—that “it were better to suffer an offender go unpunished than punish him unrighteously and against due order of justice.”

This were somewhat prettily said, if this good man had proved that heretics might not be punished by those laws but unrighteously and against the order of justice. But then how hath he proved that? By no means in this world but twain. The one, that it is not righteous nor indifferent that a greater offender and a less offender should be punished, imprisoned, or arrested alike; which unreasonable reason oppugneth plainly, in all criminal causes almost, all the laws of this realm, and yet helpeth not his matter, but impaireth it much, as a little herebefore I have well and clearly proved.

His other reason is his general reason that is his whole ground whereupon he buildeth against all those laws all his whole matter: that is to wit, that by those laws which are made for punishment of heretics, it may sometime fortune that a man may be punished which is no heretic indeed.

1 *dully*: inexactly; imprecisely    7 *followed*: gone along with  
 8, 13 *troth*: uprightness / right thinking    8, 12, 14 *true*: upright / right-thinking  
 8–9 *by my troth*: upon my honor    11 *troth*: right thinking; orthodox belief  
 13 *assay*: go ahead    14 *look*: see    15 *wax*: become    18, 22 *unrighteously*: unrightly  
 20 *were*: would be // *prettily*: aptly    21 *might*: could    24 *righteous*: right  
 24 *indifferent*: fair    26 *unreasonable*: irrational    26, 30 *reason*: argument  
 26 *oppugneth*: assails    27 *causes*: cases    28, 32 *matter*: case    29 *well and*: quite  
 31 *all his whole*: his whole entire    33 *fortune*: happen

Now is this reason so unreasonable to be laid for a reason to  
 take away a law, that if it were admitted for reason, it  
 could suffer neither in this realm nor in any realm else any  
 law stand in this world that all the wits in this world could  
 imagine or devise for any manner punishment of ungracious 5  
 folk. And albeit that of such laws some may be reformed  
 from the worse unto the better... though never fully to such  
 point but that an innocent may take harm: yet, both by reason  
 and experience, it appeareth plainly that these laws which he  
 would have changed and made more easy can never have any 10  
 good change but by making them more strait.

And thus hath this good man sore overseen himself more, I  
 trow, than twenty times in his twentieth chapter.

### *The Twenty-first Chapter*

In his twenty-first chapter (beginning in the 84<sup>th</sup> leaf), because 15  
 I said in mine *Apology* that there be few parts in his book of  
*Division* that shall, if they be well considered, appear so good at  
 length as they seem to some men at the first sight and at  
 superficial reading, he provoketh me to show what other  
 faults I find therein. And then, to prick me forward, he 20  
 bringeth forth two or three things which he saith it seemeth  
 most likely that I should mean. But wherefore it should be most  
 likely that I should mean those things... thereof showeth he nothing...  
 but leaveth folk occasion to think that his own  
 mind misgiveth him in those things. For me hath he never 25  
 heard make any business of them.

And afterward, in the leaf 91, again he provoketh me to the  
 same. And there he reciteth how many chapters of his I meddle  
 not with; wherein he might have made a shorter work if he  
 would have let them stand that I touched not... and have spoken 30  
 of them only that I touched—for they were very few—as he that  
 was very unwilling to have touched any one at all, save for the  
 much evil that covertly was cloaked in them. And for the withdrawing  
 of that cloak, that men might the better see what it  
 meant, I touched the first chapter for a show, and the seventh and 35

5 *ungracious*: wicked    10 *easy*: soft    11 *strait*: severe  
 12 *sore overseen himself*: badly blundered    13 *trow*: think    19 *provoketh*: challenges  
 19 *show*: tell    20 *faults*: flaws // *prick me forward*: egg me on    22 *wherefore*: why  
 23 *thereof showeth he*: on that he says    25 *misgiveth him in*: makes him apprehensive about  
 26 *business of*: to-do about    27–28 *provoketh* . . . *same*: issues to me the same challenge  
 28 *reciteth*: lists // *meddle*: deal    30, 31, etc. *touched*: discussed    35 *a show*: an example

the eighth for that they labored, to the great decay of the Catholic  
 faith, to put away or change into worse the most especially  
 good laws, both of the whole Church and of this realm, that  
 have been made and observed long for the preservation  
 thereof. And the first chapter was in effect nothing 5  
 else but by false, slanderous surmises against the ordinaries  
 (as though they mishandled men for heresy) a shrewd preparative  
 to it. And therefore, leaving his other trifles alone—I  
 answered in effect only these, of which so much harm might  
 grow. Which things if they had been out of his book, all the 10  
 remnant, good and bad together, should have gone forth for  
 me; and therefore yet so shall they. For I purpose not to embusy  
 myself with confuting of every fault that I find in every  
 man's book. I should have then overmuch ado.

Nor I will not dispraise or deprave anything that I think 15  
 good either in his book or in any man's else. And therefore I  
 have in mine *Apology* said expressly that he saith some  
 things well. But forasmuch as there be many things naught,  
 too: I give therefore the reader warning not to walk away  
 with them over-hastily, but read them with judgment and 20  
 advise them well... and not believe every spirit, but prove  
 whether it be of God or not... and that that is good, take... and that  
 that is evil, let it go to the devil.

I well allow, therefore, and like not a little, the great good mind  
 of Salem toward the vanquishing of the great Turk... and 25  
 conquering of the Holy Land, wherein he spendeth the other  
 three chapters of his book. But I mislike much, again, that as  
 he would dilate the faith by force of sword in far countries  
 hence—so he laboreth to change and take away the good and  
 wholesome laws whereby the faith is preserved here at home. 30

I like also marvelously well that such points of the Catholic  
 faith as heretics now labor to destroy, as  
 praying to saints, pilgrimage, and purgatory, and the sacraments,  
 and especially the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar,  
 whereof in the 86<sup>th</sup> leaf he speaketh so well that, as help me 35

1 *for that*: because // *decay*: detriment    2 *put away*: do away with  
 7 *shrewd*: devious; cunning    10 *grow*: come    11 *remnant*: rest  
 11–12 *for me*: for all I cared    13 *fault*: flaw    15 *dispraise*: deprecate  
 15 *deprave*: disparage    18 *naught*: bad    21 *advise*: consider; reflect on  
 21 *prove*: test    23 *evil*: bad    24 *allow*: approve of    27 *mislike*: dislike  
 28 *dilate*: spread    28–29 *far countries hence*: countries far away from here  
 31 *marvelously*: extremely    35 *as*: so

God, it did me good to read it—this, I say, liketh me marvelously well: that the right faith of these points, he confesseth so well and so fully for his own person. But the better opinion that I have of his own person therein, the more sorry am I to see that his books are, by some shrewd counsel, handled in such wise as if they were followed... would make the faith decay and perish in many other folk. This is the great thing that in his books grieveth me. 5

For as for the point that he speaketh of in the leaf 91, of that that the priests should eat no flesh from Quinquagesima to Easter: I take it for a matter as small as he doth. But then he asketh me wherefore in the thirty-first chapter of mine *Apology*, beginning in the 175<sup>th</sup> leaf, I make so great a matter of it. Whoso list to read the chapter shall see that I wrote it not all in vain, nor show myself unwilling that the priests should do it, neither, though they be not bound to it. But the less that the weight of the matter was... the more cause this man gave me to speak thereof. For the more was he to blame to put that, and other such small matters as that is, for causes of so great a division as he surmiseth that this is. This was, lo, the cause that made me to speak thereof. Which cause this man gave himself... and therefore needeth not to marvel as he doth, wherefore I spoke thereof. 10 15 20

And therefore thus have I, good readers, now replied to every chapter of his book by row, save only the last three, which go about a good voyage into the Holy Land, a great way far off from me. And I have not leaped to and fro, now forward, now backward, in such manner as he playeth in his answer made unto me, without either order kept or cause appearing wherefore, save only the cause that every man may spy: that he would not have it seen what places he left untouched. Which is, in a manner, the most part of altogether that in my book is touched of the three chapters of his. And I have, on the other side, not left any one piece unproved that myself spoke of before, or that anything pertained unto me. 25 30

And therefore whereas, in the beginning of the twenty-second chapter, Simkin Salem giveth his sentence upon the said answer 35

1 *liketh*: pleases    2 *faith of*: belief concerning    5 *shrewd*: bad  
 6 *followed*: gone along with    7 *decay*: disintegrate    10 *flesh*: meat  
 10 *Quinquagesima*: the Sunday before Ash Wednesday    12, 22, 28 *wherefore*: why  
 13 *whoso list*: whoever cares    16 *though*: even if    19 *division*: discord  
 20 *surmiseth*: alleges    24 *by row*: in order, one after another    30 *places*: passages  
 30 *untouched*: undiscussed // *in a manner*: as it were    31 *most*: greater // *altogether*: all  
 31 *touched*: discussed    32 *side*: hand    33 *unproved*: unexamined // *anything*: at all  
 36 *Simkin*: Simple Simon // *sentence*: pronouncement

to the said apology, and alloweth the said answer well:  
methinketh that if he considered not only how much he hath  
left unanswered, and how much of his own words undefended  
which he nothing hath touched at all... but over that,  
how feebly he hath defended those things that he hath touched 5  
here—Salem being indifferent had been like to have allowed it  
but a little.

For, setting aside for the while all the remnant, if he go  
but to the very principal point alone—wherein he laboreth to  
change and put away those good laws... the change whereof 10  
(such as he deviseth) the decay of the Catholic faith and the  
increase of heresies would follow—in that point alone, I say we  
lay against him the common consent of this realm. And he  
layeth his own reason against it. We lay against him the consent 15  
of the general council. And against this he layeth his own  
reason. We lay against him the general approbation of all  
Christian realms. And against this he layeth his own reason.  
And what is his own irrefragable reason that he layeth  
against all this? Surely no more, as you see, but that by those laws  
an innocent may sometime take wrong. Against this reason we 20  
lay him that if this reason should stand, then against malefactors  
there could no law stand. We lay against it also that by  
his devices, if they were followed, by the increase of heresies  
many innocents must needs take much more wrong.

To this answereth he that he will not answer that. And now, 25  
when Salem seeth that he *cannot* answer that, and seeth that all  
the weight of the matter hangeth upon that: then Sim Salem  
giveth sentence that he hath answered very well. But surely if  
such answering be well... I wot not which way a man might  
answer ill. 30

And therefore whereas Simkin Salem saith that if this good  
man will, he will cause a friend of his answer all the  
remnant—he may do this good man a much more friendly  
turn if he make his friend answer this better first, that this  
good man hath answered already. Howbeit, if they list thus to 35

1 *alloweth*: accepts    2 *methinketh*: it seems to me    4 *nothing*: in no way  
6 *indifferent*: impartial; unbiased // *had been like*: would have been likely  
6 *allowed*: praised    8, 33 *remnant*: rest    10 *put away*: do away with    11 *decay*: decline  
14, 16, etc. *reason*: reasoning    18 *irrefragable*: irrefutable    20, 24 *take*: suffer  
20, 24 *wrong*: injustice    21 *malefactors*: evildoers    23 *followed*: gone along with  
28 *sentence*: pronouncement    27, 31 *Sim(kin)*: Simple Simon    29 *wot*: know  
31–32 *if*. . . *man will*: if this good man wants (him to) // *cause*: have  
33 *may*: can    35 *list*: choose



give over this, and assay what they can say better to any other piece—let them in God's name hardily go to, for me. And if they say anything meetly to the matter, I will put no friend to pain to make them answer... but at leisure convenient shall answer them myself. And where they say well... I will not let to say so. And where they say wrong... I will not let to tell them. But on the other side, if they go no better to work, nor no nearer to the matter, than this man hath done—I shall peradventure let them even alone... and let them like their writing themselves, and no man else. 5 10

But now letting pass all the special points—I shall answer the generalities that this good man speaketh of. For in the leaf 90 these are his words:

And now shall I say somewhat farther in a generality, as Master More hath done... and that is this: that all that I speak in the said treatise was to *appease* this division... and not to begin any, nor to continue it. And therefore how they can salve their conscience that say I did rather intend a division than agreement, I cannot tell; their own conscience shall be judge. And I intended also somewhat to move that might be occasion to put away abusions, evil examples, and heresies—and not to increase them or maintain them, I dare boldly say. 15 20

To this I answer that it neither was nor is my mind that men should think that he meant evil himself, as I have in many places of mine *Apology* testified. But verily I thought, and yet think, that by some wily shrews his book was so mishandled that *it* meant naught though *he* meant well. For whereas he saith that with his book of *Division* all his purpose was to appease division—I will not contend with him upon his own mind. But surely this will I say: that if I had been of the mind to sow and set forth division—I would have used even the selfsame ways to kindle it that he used (as he saith) to quench it. 25 30

Then goeth he farther and saith:

1 *assay*: see 2 *go to*: get to work; have at it // *for me*: for all I care  
 3 *meetly*: fairly 3, 8 *matter*: point 4 *pain*: trouble  
 4 *convenient*: suitable 5, 6 *let*: forbear 9 *let them even*: just let them  
 11 *special*: specific 14 *somewhat*: something 16, 28 *appease*: settle  
 16, 18, etc. *division*: discord 19–20 *somewhat to move*: to propose something  
 20 *put away*: put an end to // *abusions*: abuses // *evil*: bad 21 *maintain*: support  
 24 *evil*: ill 26 *shrews*: scoundrels 27 *naught*: badly  
 28 *all his purpose*: his whole intention 31 *even*: exactly

And farther, as Master More knoweth better than I, “Mentire est contra mentem ire”; that is to say, “To lie is when a man saith against his own mind.” And in good faith, in all that treatise, I speak nothing but that I thought was true.

To this I answer that indeed such a thing I have read, 5  
and, as I remember, in Aulus Gellius. Which thing though I  
have now no leisure to look for, yet two points I remember  
thereof. One, that it is there “mentiri,” and not “mentire”... which  
infinitive mode in what book of grammar this good man hath  
found, I cannot tell. I was afeard it had been overseen in the 10  
printing. But I have looked the corrections, and there  
find I no fault found therein.

The other point I remember: that there is a difference  
put between “mentiri” and “mendacium dicere”; that is, as we might  
say, between him that wittingly lieth and him that telleth a 15  
lie weening that it were true. And there it is said, “Wittingly  
not to tell a lie pertaineth to a good man. And not to tell a lie  
unawares is the part of a wise man.” And surely, since the Scripture  
saith that he that shortly believeth is over light: this good  
man to believe so many lies so soon, and with so many “some say”s 20  
to set them forth in print, to the rebuke and slander of  
the spiritual judges, and make men ween they mishandled  
men for heresies—though the man’s innocent mind made the  
sin the less, yet was the thing at the least no less than a  
very great lightness; yea, and also a great proof toward the 25  
reproof of his words that follow next, where he goeth farther  
thus...

And farther, I will ascertain Master More, as far as in me is, that I  
neither had any “subtle shrews’ counsel” nor *any* evil counsel at  
the making of the said treatise which he calleth the “book of 30  
*Division*” (as is said before).

To this I answer that albeit this good man and I be at  
much variance here in divers things—yet for the good and  
plain profession of the Catholic faith that I find in him,  
in good faith I much better love him than in that point to believe 35

3 *all that*: that whole    10 *overseen*: i.e., a mistake made    11 *looked*: checked  
15 *wittingly*: knowingly    16–17 *wittingly not to*: not to knowingly  
17 *pertaineth to*: is a part of being    18 *part*: province  
18–19: See Proverbs 14:15; 2 Thessalonians 2:1–3; 1 John 4:1.  
19 *shortly believeth*: is quick to believe // *over light*: too unthinking    21 *slander*: vilification  
22 *spiritual*: ecclesiastical // *ween*: think // *mishandled*: mistreated  
25 *lightness*: unthinkingness    26 *reproof*: disproof; refutation    28 *ascertain*: assure  
33 *variance*: disagreement    35 *in good faith*: in all sincerity

him. For if he said therein true, then were all the faults only his own... in which, as I have often said, I much rather think that some subtle shrews have deceived him.

And besides sundry other things that lead me so to think, one very strong thing is this, that every man may well see by his book: that all such as have resorted to him to tell him any such things as under “some say”s he put out again, have always told him evil... and never told him good. And of mishandling for heresies have ever told him lies, and never told him true. For whereas the punishment for heresies hath been very little anywhere, save even here at hand—and here but right done to them, and that with much favor, too—they have made him, good, seely soul, believe that ordinaries mishandle men for heresy in manner throughout the realm.

Also, whereas such slanderous clamor hath been sundry times of late, in all that ever complained, plainly proved false before the King’s most honorable Council, not one man came to tell him nothing thereof, nor not one “some say” thereof written in all his book; and over this, whereas mine own self have plainly told him the same things in mine *Apology* by writing—yet (which most marvel were of all, save for such wily shrews) every man may well see that he never read it. For he saith not one word thereto. And therefore it is easy to perceive, whatsoever himself say, which is loath of his goodness to put other folk in fault, that there be some wily shrews so much about him that they neither suffer him anything to hear but that themselves list to tell him, nor yet anything to read but where themselves list to turn him.

And now, since I have here answered these generalities of his—I will not long encumber you with any generalities of mine own, but generally I would that all were well. And so help me my Savior, and none otherwise, but as I would wish no heretic one halpworth harm, that had clearly left his heresy and were well turned to God. But on the other side, whoso stick still therein: rather would I wish him sorrow to his sin, whereby there are many folk many times amended, than prosperously to proceed in his mischief to the loss of his own soul and

6 *resorted*: gone    11 *save even here at hand*: except right here close by    13 *seely*: simple  
 14 *in manner*: practically    15 *slanderous*: defamatory    16 *complained*: filed charges  
 19 *over*: on top of    20 *by*: in    21 *most marvel were*: would be the most amazing thing  
 22 *may*: can    24–25 *other folk in fault*: blame on other folk  
 26 *suffer . . . that*: allow him to hear anything but what they    27, 28 *list*: choose  
 27 *yet*: even    33 *halpworth*: halfpenny’s worth (of)    33 *clearly*: completely  
 33 *left*: given up    35 *sorrow to*: physical suffering for    37 *mischief*: evildoing

other men's too. And toward that point, against all malefactors  
 in the spirituality and the temporalty too, would I wish all  
 good folk of both parties to agree, and each love other well, and  
 stick fast to the faith, which were likely sore to decay by the  
 change of these good laws that this good man goeth about to  
 destroy. For whose unreasonableness therein the better to be  
 perceived, with the danger and peril that would ensue  
 thereon: I will desire you, good readers, to resort to mine *Apology*...  
 and beginning at the leaf 270, read unto the leaf 287,  
 wherein you shall, I trust, be well and fully satisfied. And  
 unto all that ever is in all that spoken—this man hath nothing  
 said. 5

And whereas in confuting the faults that this man findeth  
 in the suit *ex officio* and the laws made against heretics, I  
 have used some examples of the common law, which this man  
 hath labored to prove unlike... and I have therein clearly confuted  
 him afresh: it may peradventure happen that he will  
 now take another way therein, and say that in such points  
 those spiritual laws may be reformed, and those temporal,  
 too. 15 20

Howbeit, if he so say: but if men forget what hath been  
 said before, else shall they see that his saying will not serve  
 him.

For first, as I have said ofter than once already, the same  
 things in the common law be not to be changed. For if  
 they be, there shall come thereof more harm than good. And  
 if it happen one innocent to take harm by the law—there shall  
 five for one take more harm by the change. 25

Moreover, if we should for that cause change those temporal  
 laws—that is to wit, because some innocent may sometime  
 take harm by them—we must change, by the same reason,  
 all that old-used law that a man may be arrested, and remain  
 in prison till he find sureties for the peace, upon the bare  
 oath of his enemy that saith he is afeard of him. For by that law  
 may sometime an innocent take harm too. And yet must that  
 law stand if we do well. For else shall there, by the change,  
 more innocents take more harm. 30 35

1 *malefactors*: evildoers    2 *spirituality*: clergy // *temporalty*: laity  
 4 *were* . . . *decay*: would likely be badly eroded    8 *desire*: ask // *resort*: go  
 10 *well and*: good and; quite    19 *spiritual*: ecclesiastical    19, 29 *temporal*: civil  
 21 *but if*: unless    22 *saying*: assertion    24 *ofter*: more often  
 27, 28, etc. *take*: suffer    31 *reason*: reasoning  
 32 *all* . . . *law*: that whole law in force from of old    33 *sureties for the peace*: bond posters  
 33 *upon the bare*: merely upon the

What trouble have there many men in Wales, by that they be compelled to be bound to the peace, both for themselves and for their servants and other friends too? And yet is the order there so necessary that in many lordships it may not be forborne. 5

And surely if we fall to changing laws upon that simple ground—we must then change so many that it would not be well.

Besides this, if men should reform and change a law because that an innocent may sometime take harm thereby— then must they when they have changed it, change it yet again... and after that change, yet change it again... and so forth, change after change, and never cease changing till the world be all changed at the Day of Doom. For never can all the wits that are in it make any one penal law... such that none innocent may take harm thereby. 10 15

Howbeit, if a new law were drawn and put forth to be made against any such mischief as would else do much harm: good reason it were to take an exception to the bill, and show that innocents might be much harmed by this point or that... and therewith provide the remedy and put it in the law, and stop as many such gaps as then could be spied. Yea, and if after the law made, men found notable harm, that good folk were much wronged by it... and the law such that it either might be forborne or else the means found to be changed to the better: good reason would it to make provision for it. 20 25

But surely to come forth as this man cometh here, against so good laws, so well made, and by so great authority, so long approved through the whole corps of Christendom, in this realm ratified specially by Parliament (and that upon a proof not without great ground and cause), ever since found so profitable for preservation of the faith, and proved so necessary, upon this man's own devices, that without great increase of heresies they cannot be forborne... nor never can be changed but either to the straiter or else to the worse—to come now forth and, for appeasing of division, sow first a 30 35

2 *bound to the peace*: served with restraining orders    3 *friends*: acquaintances  
 3 *order*: established procedure    6 *fall to*: start    6–7 *simple ground*: sole basis  
 10, 16 *take*: suffer    14 *the Day of Doom*: Judgment Day  
 19 *good reason it were*: it would make good sense // *take an exception*: add a caveat  
 19 *show*: state    23 *made*: i.e., was made    25, 34 *forborne*: dispensed with  
 26 *good reason would it*: good sense it would be    30 *specially*: expressly  
 35 *straiter*: more severe    36 *appeasing of division*: settling of dissension

slander that may *make* division; and then labor to change those laws, upon none other ground but only that an innocent may hap to take harm by means of false judges; and then prove not any wrong done... but by false “some say”s only, against which false “some say”s the truth is proved contrary, both by just examination before the King’s Council and, over that, plainly by this one point also, which no man can deny... that there is no law provided against so great a crime, by which lawless people have in this realm been punished—therefore to come now thus, as this good man doth, and procure the change of these laws so old, so good, and so necessary, and to make them more easy, wherewith heretics would wax bold, which thing himself (as you see) denieth not in the end: what is this, good Christian readers, but to procure that the Catholic, Christian faith might fade and fall away? 5 10 15

And yet, as for this man himself, to tell you for conclusion what I think: albeit there are, as you see, right evil and perilous things in his books, with devices that would make heresies increase—yet since he professeth so plainly the Catholic, Christian faith, and by his exhortation also toward the conquest of the Holy Land, declareth his mind zealous and fervent toward it, I rather believe, though himself thereto say nay, that in those things which he writeth so perilous and so naught, some wily shrews beguile the good, innocent man, than that himself in his own mind mean all that harm. 20 25

But yet, forasmuch as in this point, without sight of man’s heart, we can but go by guess... and whoso goeth by guess may be deceived (for, as himself saith, a wolf may look simply, lapped in a sheep’s skin), I shall therefore trust the best, and leave the truth to God. And concerning such evil writings, since it must needs be that he wrote them either deceived by some shrews or else but of himself... I can no more do for him but heartily pray for him thus. If shrews deceive him: God send them shortly from him. If he wrote them of his own mind: then, since the things be naught, he wrote them 30 35

3 *false*: corrupt 8–9 *a crime*: i.e., that of making slanderous allegations  
 12 *easy*: soft 13 *wax*: grow 22 *declareth*: shows 25, 37 *naught*: bad  
 25, 35 *shrews*: scoundrels 26 *mean*: intend 29–30 *be deceived*: make a mistake  
 30 *look simply*: have a guileless appearance 31 *trust*: believe 32 *evil*: bad  
 37 *mind*: accord

either of evil will or of oversight. If he wrote them of malice:  
 God give the evil man more grace. If he wrote them of folly:  
 God give the good man more wit.

And thus I beseech our Lord send us every one, both the  
 spiritual and the temporal too, both wit and grace to agree together 5  
 in goodness, and each to love other, and each for other to  
 pray... and for those that of both parties are passed into purgatory,  
 and there pray for us as we pray here for them, that  
 they and we both, through the merits of Christ's bitter Passion,  
 may both with our own prayers and the intercession 10  
 of all holy saints in heaven, avoiding the eternal fire of  
 hell, have pity poured upon us in the very fire of purgatory,  
 which in those two places verily burneth souls. And finally,  
 for our faith and good works, which his grace (working with  
 the wills of those that wit have) giveth each good man here: 15  
 God give us in heaven, together, everlasting glory.

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 our Lord  
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*Cum privilegio* . 25

1, 2 *evil*: bad    3, 15 *wit*: sense    5 *agree together*: get along with one another  
 25 *cum privilegio*: with due authorization