

¶ Not the other, as he would haue made & contrary choyle, if he had foreseene in the the contrary chaunce.

The. 12. Chapter.

¶ The author inueheth against the moste pestylente secte of these Lutheranes, whiche ascribe our saluacion and damnacion and all our dedes to destiny.

But no lve for to say as that heretike sayd after al his whistes at last that al þ̄ shall be saued, shall be saued onely because þ̄ god from the beginnyng hath chosen them, and because of that choyle all their dedes be good, or yf they be euyl yet God for cause of his eternall choyle taketh them wel in woꝝth and imputeth no blame vnto them, and that all other people whō god hath created shall be damned only because he wold not chole th̄, & that all theiꝝ dedes epyther be noughte or not wel accepted, because god list not in the beginning to chole them, and that he woꝝketh both in the one soꝝt and in þ̄ other all their dedes himself alone, and they do nothing therein themselves, and so that god whose goodnes is inestimable, doth damne so houghe a nūmber of people to intollerable & interminable toꝝmentes onely for his pleasure, and for his owne dedes woꝝought in them onely by himselfe, this false oppinion is as the kiges highnes most vertuously woꝝteth in his epistle to Luther, the most abhominable heresy that euer was. And surely it is so farre agaynst al holy scripture well vnderstanden, so farre agaynst all naturall reason, so vtterly subuerting all vertue and all good order in the woꝝrde, so hyghely blasphemynge the goodnesse and maiestye of almyghtye God in heauen, that it is moꝝe than wonder hoꝝe anye manne earthely, that hath epyther one sparke of wytte in his heade, or towarde God or manns one droppe of good wyll in his hearte, shoulde not abhoꝝre to heare it. For thys erecreable heresys maketh God the cause of all euyl, and suche cruell appetyte, as neuer tyꝝante and tourmentour hadde, ascribys they to the benygne nature of almyghtye God. For where as oure Sautoure Chꝝyſt tooke bypon hym selfe all oure synne, and of his endelesse pytye, bare the

payne of them for oure sake, thys damnable herespe holdeth, that God shoulde bee syꝝte so vntrewe that he shoulde lay vnto vs the wite and blame of his own faultes, that is to wytt, the euyl woꝝkes whiche as they saye, bee not woꝝought by vs, but in vs by God; and thereunto they make hym so dyspytuuous and cruell, that for his owne dedes so done, he shall haue a perpetuall delyte and pleasure to toꝝmente vs. Howe tourne they the tryacle of holpe scripture quite into payson. For this false errour once taken for trouthe, wherof shoulde all scripture serue? Wherof shoulde serue the exhortacions to good woꝝkes yf menne neyther any dooe, nor any canne dooe, neyther of them selfe, nor with helpe of grace? or yf anye bee done by them whiche be not chosen, their dedes bee not accepted of God, because he hath not chosen theyꝝ parsons, wherof shall serue the preachinges and exhortacions to the faith, yf the hearers haue no libertie of their owne wyll, by which they maye together with Goddes grace labour to submytte and subdue the rebellion of theyꝝ reason to the obedyence of faith and credence of the woꝝde of god? Wherof shall serue al the dehortacions and compnacions & thꝝets in scripture, by whiche God calleth men from synne and euyl woꝝkes, yf the woꝝrld wer once of the mind that they believed after Luther, that no manne doth any euill dede hym selfe, but God dothe them all himselfe. And that euery man is either chosen or vnchosen. And if we be of the chosen soꝝte, none euill dede can damne vs. And yf we bee of the vnchosen soꝝte, no god dede can auail vs. He that thus belieueth, what careth he what he doth, excepte for the feare of tempozall lawes of this woꝝrld. And yet if his false faith be fronge, he foꝝceth lytle of them also. For he shall thynke dyng in his bedde, or on the galowes, cometh not after his deseruing but hangereth al vpon destiny. And therefore all lawes they sette at nought. And thei holde that no man is bounden to obey any, but wolde be at libertie to belieue what they list, and doe what they list, as thei say that god dothe with vs, not what we deserue, but what himself list. Wherof shall reason serue if man had no power of himself towarde þ̄ direccio of his owne woꝝkes, but yf al our woꝝkes wer brought foꝝrth of vs wout our wil, woꝝle thā þ̄ woꝝkes be in dede, out of a byzute beaste, by yf appetite of his sensuall

A sensuall motion? For ours shoulde bee by this oppinion brought forth, as the leaues come out of the tree, or as a stone falleth downwarde, and the smoke vprwarde by the power of nature, so shoulde I say al our dedes good or badde, ascend or descende by the violent hande of God, magre our mindes, and thus the beastes be not ashamed to say, whan they pzeue howzly bytheir own experience in them selfe, that whan they wil do a thing thei do it. And whan thei list thei leaue it. I say not by themself alone without god.

Which his assistance is alway at hande, yf we be willing to worke therwith, as the light is present with the sunne, if we list not wilfully to shut our epen and winke.

Wherof shoulde serue all lawes? And where were become al good or dre amog men, if euery misordred wretche inyght alledge that his mischicuous dede was his desfeny. If frewil serue for nought, and euery mans dede is his desfeny, whi do these men complayn vpon any man? Except they wpll say they do it, because it is their desfeny to do so: And why wil thei be angry with them that punish heretikes, except they wpll saye because it is their desfeny to be so: For if they wyl holde them to their own sect, and say me de them wzong to burne them for theyz heresies, because it was their desfeny to be heretikes, they may be then wel answered with their owne wordes, as one of their sect was serued in a good towne in Almayn, whi: h when he had robbed a man and was brought befoze y iudges he could not deny the dede, but he sayde it was his desfeny to do it, and therefore thei might not blame hym, thei answered him after his owne doctrine, that yf it were his desfeny to steale, & that therfoze they muste holde hym excused, than it was also their desfeny to hange hym, and therfoze he must as well hold them excused agayn. And vndoubtedly amog men these takers away of freewil, may neuer auoyde that answer by reason.

But than fall the wretches to the desperate wayes of deuils and dāned soules. Than fall thei to railing and reproving the iustice of god and sai that himself he brought their euil woakes, and wzongfully punished them, & cruellpe created them to wretchednes. Our mother Cue layd the wit of her sinne to the serpent, & God was offended that she toke not her own part to her self. But these wretches excuse themself and the deuil and al, and lay bothe their owne faultes and the de-

uils to, to the blame of almighty God. **B**ut sythe what so they saye, they lyttle care in dede of hel or heauen, but would in this worlde live in lewd libertie, and haue all runne to ryot. And sith they see that thei cannot so bee suffred, no: theyz secte allowed in iudgement, they deuyse by all the wayes thei can to geat so many to fall into their sorte, that they may be able to tourne the world by so down, and defende theyz soly and falle herselfe by force. And this thei call the liberty of the ghospell, to be discharged of al ordre and of all lawes, and do what they list, which be it good, be it badde, is as they say nothig but y woakes of god wrought in the. But thei hope that by this meane god that for the whyle worke in the many mery pastimes. **W**herein if theyz heresy were once receiued, and the worlde chaunged therby thei shoulde finde them self soze deceiued, for the lawes and orders among me, w searc of punishment once taken away, there were no man so strong that could kepe his pleasure log, but that he shoulde finde a stronger take it from him. But after that it were once come to that pointe, and the world once ruffed and fallen in a wilbenes, how log would it be, and what heapes of heauye mischicues would there fall ere y waye were founden to set the worlde in order and peace againe?

what the Lu
theranes call
the libertie of
the ghospell.

The assistance
of God is al-
way at hande.

A convenient
answer.

The 13. Chapter.

The authour sheweth his oppinon concerning the burning of heretikes and that it is lawfull, necessarye, and wel done, and sheweth also y the clergy doth not procure it, but onely the good and politike prouision of the tēporaltie.

The fere of these outrages and mischicfes to solow vpo such sectes and heresies, with the prose that menne haue had in some countreys therof, haue bene the cause that Princes and people haue bene contrayned to punishe heresy by terrible death, where as elles moze easy waies hadde been taken with them. And therefore here wpll I somewhat (sayde I to youre frende) answer the poyntes whyche ye moued at youre fyrste metynge, when ye sayde that manpe menne thoughte it an harde and an uncharitable waye taken by

A by the clergy, to put men convict of heresy sometime to shame, sometyne to death, and that Christ so farre abhorred all such violence, that he would not any of his flocke shoulde fyght in any wyse, neither in the defence of himselfe or any other, not so muche as in the defence of Christ himselfe, for which he blamed saint Peter, but that we shoulde all liue after hym in sufferance and pacience; so farforth that folk thought as ye sayde, that we shoulde not fight in defence of our selfe against the Turkes and infidels. These obieccions be sone answered. For neither dothe the clergy therein any suche thyng as is laide and imputed vnto the, nor the temporaltie neither, albeit with good reason thei might yet, had they neuer in dede fallen so soze to force and violence against heretikes, if the vpolente crueltie fyrst vbled by the heretikes them self against good catholyke folke or ieuē good princes therto, for preferuaciō not of the sayth only, but also of the peace among their people. For albeit that forthwith vpon the death of Christ in the beginning of the church many sectes and heresies began (as wel appeareth by the Apocalyps of saint John the euangelist, and the epistles of the apostle Poule) after almoste continuallye diuers heresies sprāge in diuers places (as we plainly see by the woꝝ of h church by h boke of saint Hierome, saint Augustine, saint Eusebie, sainte Basile, sainte Ambrose, saint Gregoꝝ, Nazianzenus, sainte Chrysostome, and many other doctours of h church) yet in al this time by a lōg space of many yeres was ther neuer other punishment done vpon them in effect, but onely redargucio and repprouing by dyspycions, either in woꝝdes or wyꝝting, or condemnacions of their opinions in synodes and counsailes, or finallye excommunicacions & putting out of Christes flocke sauyng that they wer putte sometime to silence vpon paine of forfeiture of certain money. But as I sayd before if the heretikes had neuer begon w vpolence, though they had vbled al the waies thei couid to allect h people by preaching, though they had therewith done as Luther dothe nowe, and as Machomete dyd before, byng by oppynions pleasaunt to the people, geuig them libertie to lewdnes yet yf they had set violence aside, god chryssen people had peraduenture yet but to this daye, vbled litle violence towarde the than thei do now. And yet wer heresie wel woꝝthy to be as soꝝe as any other

fault sith there is no fault that maye offendeth God. Howbeit while they soze bare violence, there was litle vpolence done to them. And surely though God be able against al persecucio to preferue and encrease his sayth amonge the people, as he dyd in the begynnynge for all h persecucio of the Paynims and the Jewes, yet is it no reason to loke h chryssen princes shoulde suffer the catholyke chrysse people to be oppressed by Turkes or by heretikes woꝝle then Turkes. By my soule quod your frende, I woulde al the woꝝde were all agreed to take al violence and compulsion awaye vpon all sydes chryssen and heathen, and that no manne were constrained to helicne but as he could be by grace, wysedom, & good woꝝkes enduced, and the he that would go to god go on a goddes name, and he that wyll go to the deuill, the deuill goe with him. For soth quod I, & if it so wer yet would I litle doubtē but that h good seide being soluen among h people, shold as wel come by and be as strong to saue it selfe as the cocle, and God shoulde alway be stronger then the deuill. But yet be heretikes and heathen men in two diuers cases. For in case the Turkes Saracins and Paynims woulde suffer the sayth of Christ to be peaceibly preached among them, and that we chryssen men shoulde therfore suffer in lykewyse all their sectes to be preached among vs, & violence taken away by assent on bothe the sides, I nothing mistrust h the sayth of Christ shoulde muche encrease than decaye. And albeit that we shoulde fynde among vs, that would for the lewd libertie of these sectes drawe to the deuill yet so shoulde we finde I doubt not among them also many a thousand, that shoulde be content to leue that beastly pleasure and come to the sayth of Christ, as came in the beginning to chryssendome out of the Panimes, that liued as voluptuously as the Turkes do now. But syth violence is vbled on that parte, and Christes faith not there suffred to be preached & taken, he that would now suffer that secte to be preached or taught among chryssen men and not punish and destroy h doers wer a playn enemy to Christ, as he that wer content to suffer Christ lese his woꝝshipp in many soules on this syde, withoute anye one wonne in theyr seide on the other syde. But nowe yf vpolence were withdrawen on that syde, then this waye that ye speake of, were peraduenture betwene Chryssendome and

Mat. 26.

A fault offendeth god more than heresie.

What thinges
we ought
most to regard

And Turkye or Pagane^r yf the wo^rlde were assented therunto and could holde it none euil way. For sth we should no thing so much regarde as the honour of god, and encreasynge of the chryste faith, and winnyng of mens soules to heauen we should seme to dishonour god, yf we mistrusted that his faith preached among other indifferently without disturbance should not be able to prosper. And belieuynge that it were, we should hynder the profit if we would refuse the condicion, where there be many moe to be wone to Christ on y^e syde, than to be lost fro hym on this side. But yet as for heretykes rⁱsynge among our selfe, and springing of our self, be in no wyse to be suffered, but to be oppressed and ouerwhelmed in the beginning. For by any couenaunt with them, chrystendom can nothyng winne. For as many as we suffer to sal to them we lese fro Christe. And by all them we cannot winne to Christe one the moe, though we wanne them al home again, for they were our owne before. And yet as I sayde for all that in the beginning, neuer were they by any tempo^ral punishment of their bodies any thing sharpely handled, til that they beganne to be violent themself. We read that in the tyme of saint Austine the great doctour of the churche, the heretykes of Affrike called the Donatistes, sel to force and violence, robbing, beating, tormenting, and kyllynge, such as thei toke of the true chrystien flock, as the Lutheranes haue done in Almayn. For auoyding wherof that holy man saint Austine, which longe had with great pacience bozne and suffered their malice, onely wytyng & preaching in the reprove of their errours, and had not only done them no tempo^ral harme, but also had letted & resisted other that would haue done it, dyd yet at the laste for the peace of good people bothe suffer and exhort the counte Boniface & other, to represselle them with force and feare the with bodily punishmente. Whiche manner of doyng holpe sainte Hierome and other vertuous fathers haue in other places allowed. And synce that tyme hath thereupon necessitie perceyued by greate outrages committed against the peace and quyetie of the people in sondry places of Christendom, by heretykes rⁱsynge of a small begynnynge to an hygge and vnrulye multitude, many soze punishmentes bene deuised for them, and speciallpe by fyze, not onely in Italye and Almayne, but also in Spayne, and

in effecte in euerye parte of Chrystendome. Amonge whiche in Englande as a good catholyke realme, it hath bene long punished by death in the fyze. And speciallpe for as muche as in the tyme of that noble Prince of moste famous memorye King Henrye the fifth, while the Lorde Cobham mainteined certayn heresies, and that by the meanes thereof, the number so grewe and encreased, that withi a while though hymself was fledde into Wales, yet thei assembled themselfe together in a fielde nere vnto London, in suche wise and suche number, that the King with his nobles wer faine to putte harness on their backs for the repressellion of them, wherup^o thei wer distressed and many putte to execution, and after that the Lorde Cobham taken in Wales and burned in London, the King his nobles and his people therupon considerynge the greate peryll and ieopardie that the realme was lyke to haue fallen in by those heresies, made at a parlamente very good and substancious all p^rouisions beside all suche as were made before, as wel for the withstanding as the repressell and greuous punishment of any suche as should be founden faultie thereof, and by the clergye lest vnderstand that it is not the clergye that laboreth to haue the punished by death. Well may it be that as we see all men & not angels, some of them may haue som time either ouer feruent mynd or vndiscrete zeale, or percas an angrye & cruell heart, by whiche they may offende God in the self same dede, wherof thei should elles greatly merite. But surelpe the order of the spirituall lawe therin is both good, reasonable, piteous, and charitable, and nothing desiring the death of any man therin. For at the first faulte he is abjured, forswereth all heresies, doth such penance for his fault as the Bishop assigneth him. And is in such wyse graciously receiued again into the fauour & suffrages of Christes church. But if he be taken estones with the same crime againe, than is he put out of the chrystien flock by excommunicacio. And because that being such, his conuersacion were perilous among chrystien men, & church refuseth him, and thereof the clergie geth knowledge to the tempo^ral tie, not exhorting the prince or any man els ether to kyl him or punishe hym, but onely in the presence of y^e tempo^ral officer, the spirituall tie not deliuereth hym, but leaueth

Lord Cobham.

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The order of
the ecclesiastical
call lawes as
gainst heretikes.

leaveth him to the secular hand, and so forsaketh hym as one excommunicate and removed out of the chrylten flocke. And though the churche be not lyght and so daine in receyving him again, yet at the time of his death vpon his request with tokens of repentaunce, he is absolued & receiued again.

The. 14. Chapter.

W The anthur somewhat sheweth y^e the clergy doth no wrong in leauyng heretikes to secular hande, though their death sole to theron. And he sheweth also that it is lawfull to resyste the Turke, and suche other infidels, and that princes be bounden thereto.

M Arpe quod your frende, but as me thinketh the bishoppe doth as muche as though he killeth him, whan he leueth him to the secular hande, in such time and place as he woteth wel he shal sone be burned. I will not here enter into the question quod I, whyther a priest might for any cause, and yf for any, whither thā for heresie wout blame of irregularitie put or commaunde any man to death, either by expresse wordes or vnder the generall name of right and iustice. In whiche matter I coulde not lack both reason, authoritie, and exāple of holy men. But in this matter that we haue in hand, it is sufficient y^e the bishop neither dothe it, nor commaundeth it. For I thinke there wil no reason beare it, that whan the heretike if he wente abroad woulde with the spreading of hys error infect other folke, y^e bishop shold haue such pitie vpon him, that he shold rather than other men shoulde punyssh his body, suffer him to kil other mennes soules. In dede quod I, there be some as ye saye that either of highe pretended pietie or of a fained obseruaunce of the counsailes of Chryl, would not no mā shold punyssh any heretike or infidell eyther, nor though they inuaded vs and dyd vs all the harme they possible coulde. And in this opinionion is Luther & his folowers whiche among their other heresies hold for a plaine conclusion, that it is not lesfull to anye chrylten manne to fighte agaynst the Turke, or to make agaynst him anye resisfence, though he come in to Chrylten dome with a greate armye and labour to destroye all. For they say

that all Chrylten menne are bounden to the counsailes of Chryl, by whiche they saye that we be forboden to defende oure selfe, and that saint Peter was as ye heard, reprocued of our sauiour, whan he strake of Malchus eare, all be it that he did it in the defence of his owne mayster, and the moit innocente man that euer was. And vnto this they laye as ye saide in the beginning, that syth y^e time that chrylten menne first fel to fighting, it hath neuer encreased, but alway mynished and decayed. So that at this daie the Turke hath estreated vs verpe nere, and brought it in within a right narrow compace, and narrower shal be saye they as long as we go about to defend Chrylten dome by the sword. Whiche they shoulde be as it was in the beginning created, so bee continued and preserued onely by pacience & martirdome. Thus holily spake these godlye fathers of Luthers secte, laboring to procure y^e no mā shoulde withstand the Turke, but let him winne all. And whan it shoulde come to that, than woulde they as it semed wyne al again by their pacience, high vertues, and martirdome, by whiche nowe they can not suffer to resist their beaustli voluptuousnes, but breake their vowes, & take them harlots vnder the name of viues. And where they maye not fighte agaynst the Turke, arise by in greate plumpes to fight agaynst their euen chrylten. It is I trowe no great maistry to perceiue whome they labour to please that haue that opinionion. And if the Turk happen to come in, it is litle doubt whole parte they will take, and that Chrylten people be like to finde none so cruel Turkes as them. It is a gentle holinesse to abstain for deuocion from resistyng the Turke, & in the meane while to rise by in routes and fight agaynst chrylten men, and destroye as that sect hath done many a god religious house, spoyled, mephemed, & slaine many a good vertuous man, robbed, polluted, and pulled downe manye a goodly church of Chryl. And nowe where they laie for a prooffe, y^e God were not contented wyth battayle made agaynst infidels, the losse and mynyshment of Chrylten dome synce that guyse beganne, they saye as dyd once an olde sage father sole in Kente at suche tyme as diuers men of woyshippe assembled olde folke of the countrey to commuite and deuyl aboute the amendemente of Sandelwyche haue. At whiche tyme as they beganne spake to enlearche by

A consolatō
about Sand-
wyche haue.

reason

A reason and by the reporte of olde menne there about, what thing had bene the occasion that so good an haven was in so fewe yeares so soze decayed, and suche landes rysen, and suche shalowe flattes made therewith, that right small vessels had now muche woꝝke to come in at dyuers tydes, where great shippes wer wont in fewe yeres passed accustomed to ryde without difficultie, and some laying the fault to Goodwyn landes, some to the landes Inned by dyuers owners in the Isle of tenate out of y^e channell, in which the sea was wont to cōpasse the Isle and byꝝng the vessels rounde about it, whose course at the ebbe was wont to scoure y^e haven, whiche nowe the Sea excludethence, for lack of such course and scouryng is choked by with lande, as they thus alledged, diuers mē, diuers causes. There starte by one good old father and said, ye masters say every man what he wil, cha marked this matter wel as som other. And by god I wote how it wared nought well ynough. For I knewe it good, and haue marked so chaue, whan it began to ware woꝝse. And what hath hurt it good father, quod the gentlemē? By my sayth maisters quod he, ponder same tenteredn sheple and nothyng els, that by y^e masse cholde twere a faire fish pole. Why hath the sheple hurt the haue good father quod they? Nay by Ladye maisters quod he, yche cannot tell you well why, but chote well it hath. For by God I knewe it a good haven til that sheple was bylded, And by the mary masse, cha marked it well, it neuer thꝝdue site. And thus wisely spake these holi Lutheranes, which sowynge scilmes and sedycions among chꝝstien people, laye the losse thereof to the withstanding of the Turkes inuasion, and the resistyng of his malice, where they should rather yf they had any reason in theyꝝ heades, lay it to the contrary. For whan chꝝyssen pꝝinces did theyꝝ deuoyze against mycreantes and infidels, there be stoyres & monumentes ynough that witnesse the manifest ayde and helpe of god in greate victories geuen to good chꝝstie pꝝinces, by his almighty hand. But on the other side since that the ambition of chꝝstie rulers desyꝝng eche others dominio, haue set the at warre, & deadly discencion among thesself, wherby while ech hath appꝝyed to the enhaūcing of his own, they haue litle forced what came of y^e comert corps of Chꝝstendome, god for the reuēging of theyꝝ inozdinate appetites hath

The cause why the Turk dothe prosper against Chꝝtendome.

withoꝝt a wen his helpe and shewed that he cadeth as litle, sufferyng whyle eche of the labozeth to eate by other, y^e Turk to prosper and so farrefoꝝth to procede, that if theyꝝ blynde affeccions loke not therto the soner, he shall not faile (which our lord forbede) within thozte procelle to swalowe them all. And albeit Chꝝst forbode saint Peter being a pꝝieste, and vnder hymselfe pꝝynce of hys pꝝiestes to fight with the temporal swozd, toward the empechemente and resistence of hys fruitful passion, whereupon depended the saluacion of mankinde, which affection our sauour had befoze that time so for reꝝoued and rebuked in hym, that he called hym therfoze Sathan, yet is it nothing to the purpose to alledge, that by that ensāple tēpoꝝal pꝝinces shoude without the let of such spirituall pꝝofite and the sufferance of muche spirituall harme suffer theyꝝ people to be inuaded and oppꝝessed by infidels, to theyꝝ bitter vndoꝝng not onely temporal but also of a great part perpetuall, which wer like of their frailtie for fere of woꝝldly grief and incommoditie, to fal from the faith and remie their baptisme. In whiche people sythe our Lord would not that any man shoude wylfully put hymselfe, and for that cause aduysed his disciples that yf they were pursued in one citie, they shoude not come foꝝth and sole hardely put themself in perill of renꝝng Chꝝst by impacience of some intollerable toꝝmentes, but rather flee thence into som other place where they might serue him in quiete, ypl he shoude suffer them to fal in such point that there were no way to escape, and than would he haue them abide by their tacheling like mighty chāpions wherin they shall not in such case fayle of his help. Now albeit so y^e Chꝝst and his holy apostles, exhoꝝt every man to paciente and sufferance, without reꝝquiting of an euil dede oꝝ making any defence but vbing further sufferance, & doꝝng also good for euil, yet neyther doth this counsayle bind a man that he shall of necessitie against the comen nature suffer another manne causelesse to kyll hym, noꝝ letteth not any manne fro the defece of another, whom he seeth innocente and inuaded and oppꝝessed by malice. In whiche case bothe nature, reason, and Goddes behelle byndeth, sythe the pꝝynce to the safegarte of hys people wyth the peryll of hymselfe, as he taughte Apoyles to knowe hymselfe

Mat. 26.

Mat. 16.

Mat. 16.

Chꝝstes exhortacion to every man. 16.

Exod. 2. A self bounden to kylle the Egipcians in y^e defence of Hebrewe, and after he byndeth euery man to the helpe and defence of his good and harmelisse neyghbour, against y^e malice and crueltie of y^e wroog doer. For as the holy scripture saith, *uis cuique dedit deus curam de proximo suo*, God hath geue euery man charge of his neyghbor to kepe him from harme of bodye and soule, as much as may lie in his power. And by this reason is not onely excusable but also commendable, y^e comō war which euerye people taketh in y^e defence of their countrey against enemies that would inuade it, syth that euery manne fighteth not for y^e defēce of himself, of a priuate affectio to himself, but of a chryſtīen charitie, for y^e safegarde & preferuacion of all other. Which reson as it hath place in all bartaille of defence, so hath it most especially in y^e battaille by which we defende the chryſtīen countreys against the Turkes, in that we defende ech other fro farre the more peryll and losse, bothe of worldly substance, bodily hurt, and perdicio of mens soules. And nowe if this be lawful and enioyned also to euery priuate parson, howe muche more belongeth it to princes & rulers, whiche if they maye not vpon the peryll of theyr soules, wittingly suffer among the people whom they haue in gouernaunce as in one to take adwai anothers horse, how maye they without eternall damnacion suffer other peple and specially infidels, to come in, spoyle, & robbe, and captiue them al: And if they be bounden to y^e defence & may not doe it also, what madnes wer it to say that the people may not helpe them.

The. 15. Chapter.

That princes be boundē to punish heretikes, and that sayre handelyng helpeth litle with many of them.

D Ad surely as the princes be bounden that they shall not suffer theyr people by infidels to be inuaded, so be they as depely bounden that they shall not suffer theyr people to be seduced and corrupted by heretikes, sicke the peryll shall in shorte whyle growe to as greate, bothe with mennes soules withdrawen from god, & their goodes losse & their bodies destroyed by common sedicion, insurreccion, & open warre, withyn y^e bowelles of their owne lande. All

which may in y^e beginning be right easily auoyded, by punishmēte of thōie fewe y^e be the first. Which fewe wol repressed, or yf nede so require vtterly pulled vp, they shall farre the fewer haue iust to follow. For yf they were handled in a contrary maner, and as ye seemed to meane in the beginning of our matter, in stede of punishment, entreated, fauoured, and by sayre wordes & rewardes brought home agayn. I feare me then that you should fōnd litle fruit in that fashion. For syth where as they fall into heresye by pryde that way should make them prouder, & set the more by themself. And thā would many moe fall thereto, of purpose to be hyred agayn therfro. So that as Hammolukes and Genisaries about y^e Turk and Sowdā, haue vled to chryſtīen their children of purpose, that by the renayng of their fayth, after they might be made Hammolukes or Genisaries, as theyr fathers were, and may be had the more in estimation & fauour about the greate Turke, euen likewyse within a whyle yf we take that way with heretikes we shall haue yong frethe felowes syth become heretikes, that they may be prayed and hyred after to com to Chryſtīes faith again. I woulde not they were ouer hastily handled, but litle rigour and much mercy shewed wher simplenes appered, & not high heart or malice. For of suche as be proude & malicious, muche prooffe hath bene made all reaspe. For of some syth many full sayre hādled, litle change themself or come to good amendment. I tolde you my self and very true it was of rwaīn that wer detected of heresye vnto the most honozable plate of this realme & in what benigne fatherli maner & liberal also he delt wth them. And yet what amendment made his gentle & courteyse entreatie, in their stubburne stomake. Were they not after woozle then they were before: and so vled themself that after muche harme done by them, they came in shorte space after to theyr open conuicion: They be ye wote wel at the syth customably receyued to grace, and verely for suche merites, forgeuenes is rewarde ynough. And yf they cannot by that warnyng be warned, surely as saūt Poule saith, he is not to be trusted often but rather of all good chryſtīen people to be eschewed and auoyded fro the flocke. For they bee so far wāren crooked, that seldome canne they bee ryghted again. For sooth quod your frend yet as I said at my syth commyng to you, were

A I woꝛthy to be of counsaill to the clergy when there were a man founden fauꝛe therein, who the people haue in good estimation foꝛ some great opiniõ of learning & vertue, thei should be secretly & soberly monished, & not the matter published among the people, And finally if thei so should nedes be openly conuicted & corrected in face of þe woꝛld, thã wolde I not yet haue them called Lutheranes, lest the people which had good opiniõ of the, oꝛ if thei happen to perceiue them foꝛ nought, and so take them, than shall thei peradventure geue the lesse credẽce to all good men, & set the lesse by al good preachers after. Surely ¶ I, a certayne rule that wer alwaye best were heard to geue in such case. Sometime there may peradventure such honesty be ioynd wth such repentance, that it would not bee much a misse to pꝛeserue the mans estimation among the people, to whom his pꝛesit chaunge may percase moze than recompence his foꝛmer error and ouersyght. But where as the contrary shall seme conuenient, there can I not se why we shoulde foꝛbeare to call them Lutheranes, sith it is both an olde vsage to call heretikes after the name of hym, whom they folow in their heresie, & also as Luthers sect is in effect the whole heape of all heresies gathered together, it is not all one to call him a Lutherane oꝛ to call him a heretike, those two woꝛdes beig in maner equiualent. Luther teaching almost nothing but heresies, noꝛ none heresies founden any where almost that þe Lutheranes haue not among them. And sith it so is, reason doth in my mynde require that þe name of Lutheranes shoulde be customably brought i mens eares as odious as þe name of heretikes. Foꝛ I se not so great feare þe either folke that foꝛ oppinion of any mans vertue in whom thei se themself deceived, wðawe they fauoꝛ & affectiõ frõ suche as are good in dede, oꝛ fall into þe fauoꝛ of Luthers sect foꝛ þe estimation of þe man who thei now see pꝛeued nought. Foꝛ this wil no man do but such as either be so folishe þe they would hate all Chꝛistles apostles foꝛ the falschod of Judas, oꝛ so noughtie þe they would fain haue al the woꝛld fall to the same sect and be of their owne suit.

The. 16. Chapter.

¶ Of simple vnlearned folk þe are deceived by the great good opiniõ that thei haue percase in the lernyng and liuyng of some that teache the errors.



Foꝛsoch quod your frend yet would there me thinketh be much pitie vsed in those matters amõg. Foꝛ many a misbncarned when he heareth one that he takisth foꝛ cunning, and seeth such a man as he taketh foꝛ vertuous, commende Luthers way he is of simplenes and good mynde, moued to folowe thesame. Surely quod I, therein I saye not naye, but that these thynges beinge suche, great pitie it is to see many good simple soules deceived, & led out of the right way by the authority of suche as they reckon foꝛ good men and cunning, whom they haue either by open sermons oꝛ secrete communicaciõ perceiued to be fauourers of þe vngacious sect, thinking that men of such cunning and knowledge in scripture, being therewith of such vertuous behauiõ as thei seme to be, would lene to that way, but if thei knew it foꝛ good. And surely where it so happeneth that anye simple soule is by the good opiniõ þe hath in his maister, led out of the right belief of the faith, wenting that were the verye sayth which he seeth his maister (whom he rekeneth good and cunning) folowe & leane vnto, it is a verye piteous thyng. And as that parõ is lesse in blame and moze easily cured, so is that maister doubtles damned, as þe cause both of his owne sinne & his that foloweth hym, and verye harde is he to mende. Howbeit sõtyme we deserue wth our sinne that god foꝛ þe punishment therof suffereth vs to haue lewde leaders and euill teachers. And surely foꝛ the moze parte suche as be led out of the right way, do rather sal thereto of a lewde lightnes of their owne mind, then foꝛ any great thing þe moueth them in their maister that teacheth them. Foꝛ we see them as redy to beleue a purser, a glouer, oꝛ a weuer that nothing can do, but scantly read englisy, as wel as they would beleue the wisest and the best learned doctour in a realme. Howbeit, be a man neuer so well learned, and seme he neuer so vertuous, yet can we with no reason excuse our selfe, yf we leane the right belief foꝛ the trust that we haue in any manne earthlye. Foꝛ our belief is taughte vs by God surelye planted in the churche of Chꝛist, and the articles thereof not newe begonne, but nowe continued manye an hundred yeare in the greate congregacyõ of Chꝛisten people, as thynges certayne, sure, and stable, and out of all question, which

An old vsage.

God foꝛ our sin dothe lude ser euill teachers.