

The Supplication of Souls

made by Sir Thomas More—Knight, Councillor
to our Sovereign Lord the King, and
Chancellor of his Duchy
of Lancaster—
against *The Supplication of Beggars*.

Page and line numbers correspond to
The Complete Works of St. Thomas More
(Yale University Press), volume 7.

A complete concordance to this work can be found at
www.thomasmorestudies.org/publications.html#Concordance.

Spelling standardized, punctuation modernized, and glosses added
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Punctuation

The only punctuation marks found in the original printed version of *The Supplication of Souls* are the period, colon, question mark, slash, or “virgule” (/), and parentheses. Quotation marks, commas, 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. As for the suspension points (...), these are substitutes for many of More’s slashes. He often used a slash where we would use a comma, 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 sometimes 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.

To All Christian People

In most piteous wise continually calleth and crieth upon your devout charity and most tender pity, for help, comfort, and relief, your late acquaintance—kindred, spouses, companions,
 5 playfellows, and friends—and now your humble and *unacquainted* and half forgotten suppliants, poor prisoners of God... the seely souls in purgatory, here abiding and enduring the grievous pains and hot cleansing fire... that fretteth and burneth out the rusty and filthy spots of our sin... till the mercy of Almighty
 10 God (the rather by your good and charitable means!) vouchsafe to deliver us hence.

From whence if ye marvel why we more now molest and trouble you with our writing than ever we were wont before, it may like you to wit and understand that hitherto—though
 15 we have been with many folk much forgotten, of negligence—yet hath always good folk remembered us; and we have been recommended unto God, and eased, helped, and relieved, both by the private prayers of good, virtuous people... and especially by the daily Masses and other ghostly suffrages of priests, religious,
 20 and folk of Holy Church. But *now*, since that of late there are sprung up certain *seditionous* persons... which not only travail and labor to destroy them by whom we be much helped, but also to sow and set forth such a pestilent opinion against ourselves... as once received and believed among the
 25 people... must needs take from us the relief and comfort that ever should come to us by the charitable alms, prayer, and good works of the world—ye may take it for no wonder though we seely souls that have long lain and cried so far from you

4 *late*: former 6, 28 *seely*: poor 8 *hot*: i.e., terribly hot
 8 *fretteth*: scours; scrubs 9 *spots*: stains 10 *rather*: sooner
 11 *deliver us hence*: take us out of here 12 *whence*: where
 12 *marvel*: wonder // *molest*: bother
 14 *it may like you to wit*: you might want to know // *hitherto*: up till now
 15 *with*: by 17 *recommended*: commended; put in a good word for
 19 *ghostly*: spiritual 21 *which*: who 22 *them*: i.e., priests and religious
 23 *pestilent*: noxious; extremely detrimental
 27 *the world*: i.e., lay people // *though*: if; i.e., that 28 *cried*: cried out

that we seldom break your sleep... do *now*... in this our great fear
of our utter loss forever of your loving remembrance and
relief... not, yet, importunately bereave you of your rest with
crying at your ears at unseasonable time, when ye would (as we
5 do never!) repose yourselves and take ease, but only procure to
be presented unto you this poor book, this humble supplication
of ours, which it may please you parcelmeal, at your leisure,
to look over for all seely souls' sake; that it may be as a wholesome
treacle at your heart against the deadly poison of their
10 pestilent persuasion... that would bring you in that error to
ween there were no purgatory. Of all which cruel persons so
procuring... not the *diminishment* of your mercy toward us, but
the utter *spoil* and *robbery* of our *whole* help and comfort that
should come from you, the very worst (and thereby the most
15 deadly) deviser of our pains and heaviness (God forgive him!)
is that dispiteous and despiteful person which of late, under
pretext of pity, made and put forth among you a book
that he named *The Supplication for the Beggars*: a book in
deed nothing *less* intending than the pity that it pretendeth;
20 nothing minding the *weal* of *any* man, but, as we shall
hereafter show you, much *harm* and *mischief* to *all* men...
and, among others, great sorrow, discomfort, and heaviness unto *us*—
your even Christians and nigh kin, your late neighbors and
pleasant companions upon earth, and now poor prisoners
25 here.

And albeit that his unhappy book doth for our own part
touch us very near, yet we be much more moved to give the
world warning of his venomous writing for the dear love and
charity that we bear to *you*... than for the respect of our own
30 relief. For as for *us*, albeit that the gracious help of your
prayer, almsdeed, and other good works for us may be
the means of relieving and releasing of our present pains,
yet such is the merciful goodness of God... that though the whole
world would clean forget us, yet would his mercy so remember us...

1 *this our great fear*: this great fear of ours 4 *crying*: crying out
4 *at your ears*: audibly 7 *parcelmeal*: piecemeal; a little at a time
8 *seely*: poor 9 *treacle*: antidote
9–10 *their* . . . *would*: the pernicious persuasion of those who wish to
10–11 *in* . . . *ween*: into the error of believing that purgatory does not exist
13 *spoil*: spoliation; despoiling 15, 22 *heaviness*: grief; distress
16 *dispiteous*: pitiless; cruel // *despiteful*: spiteful; malicious // *which*: who
16 *of late*: recently 17 *made*: wrote 19 *deed*: fact; actuality
19 *intending*: meaning // *pretendeth*: professes
20 *nothing* . . . *weal*: its aim being not the well-being 23 *even*: fellow
23 *nigh kin*: close relatives // *late*: former 24 *pleasant*: pleasing (to you)
26 *unhappy*: sorry; wretched 27 *touch*: affect // *near*: closely
34 *his mercy*: i.e., his merciful self

that after temporal punishment and purging here, he will
 not finally forget to take us hence... and, wiping all the tears out
 of our eyes, translate us (at sundry times, as his high wisdom
 seeth convenient) into that eternal heavenly bliss... to which
 5 his holy, blessed blood hath bought us! But surely to you worldly
 people, living there upon earth—not only for this present
 time, but also for as long as this world shall endure—the
 wretched maker of that ungracious book (whom God give once
 the grace to repent and amend!), if folk were so fond to follow
 10 him, should not fail to work... as well much *worldly* trouble
 to *every* kind of people... as, over that, which most loss were of
 all, to bring many a good simple soul, for lack of belief of
 purgatory, the very straight way to *hell*.

And the case so standing, there would, we think, no man
 15 doubt but though the man that made the book were well
 known among you, and in hold, also—whereby, his heinous
 treason to God and the world disclosed and declared by us,
 he might be in peril of exquisite painful punishment—yet
 we both might and *ought* rather to put him in the danger of
 20 his own demeanor... than for the sparing of his just correction...
 to suffer him abuse the people with his pestilent writing,
 to the inestimable harm of the whole world in goods,
 body, and soul. And since we so *might* of reason, and so *should* of
 charity, though the man were known and taken: how much
 25 may we now more frankly tell you all, and nothing shall need
 to spare him, since his book is nameless... and so himself among
 you unknown, and thereby out of the peril of any punishment
 for his unhappy deed?

But for that both ye and he shall well perceive that we desire
 30 but your weal and ours by giving you warning of his malice,
 and nothing intend to procure his punishment—
 which we rather beseech our Lord, of his mercy, to remit—ye
 shall understand that neither is his name nor person
 unknown among *us*, and therefore we might well discover him
 35 if we were so minded. For there is not only some of his acquaintance

2 *hence*: out of here 3 *translate*: transport // *his*: i.e., he in his
 4 *convenient*: fit; to be suitable 5–6 *worldly people*: people in the world
 7–9, 26: The author of *The Supplication for the Beggars* was Simon Fish, and he
 did die (of the plague, in 1530) reconciled to the Church. 8 *maker*: author
 8 *ungracious*: ungodly // *once*: one day
 9 *fond to follow*: foolish as to go along with 10 *worldly*: earthly
 11 *over*: on top of 12 *belief of*: belief in 15, 24 *though*: (that) even if
 15 *made*: wrote 16 *hold*: custody // *heinous*: high
 17 *the world*: i.e., to everyone in the world
 18 *exquisite*: acutely; extremely 19, 23, 34 *might*: could
 19–20 *in . . . demeanor*: i.e., at risk of suffering the consequences of his own behavior
 20 *correction*: punishment 21 *suffer*: let // *abuse*: deceive; mislead
 21 *pestilent*: noxious; pernicious 24 *taken*: caught / in custody
 26 *nameless*: published anonymously 28 *unhappy*: wretched
 30 *weal*: well-being 34 *discover him*: disclose his identity

and counsel (whom God gave at their death the
 grace to repent) come hither to purgatory—nothing more
 now lamenting *among* us than their cruel unkindness *toward*
 us in giving counsel *against* us to the making of that
 5 ungracious book... with infidelity and lack of belief of the
 purging fire which they now find and feel—but he is also
 named and boasted among us by that evil angel of his... our
 and your ghostly enemy the devil. Which as soon as he had set
 him a-work with that pernicious book... ceased not to come
 10 hither and boast among us, but, with his enmious and envious
 laughter, gnashing the teeth and grinning, he told
 us that his people had by the advice and counsel of him and
 of some heretics almost as evil as he... made such a book for
 beggars... that it should make us beg long ere we get aught.
 15 Whereby he trusted that some of us should not so soon creep out of
 our pain as we had hoped.

Wit ye well, these words were heavy tidings to us. But yet,
 because the devil is wont to lie, we took some comfort in that we
 could not believe him—especially telling a thing so far incredible.
 20 For who could ever have thought that any Christian man
 could, for very pity, have found in his heart to seek and study
 the means... whereby a Christian man should think it labor lost
 to pray for all Christian souls? But alack the while, we found
 soon after... that the falsehood and malice of the man... proved the
 25 devil true. For by some that died soon after the book put forth,
 we have heard and perceived the wretched contents thereof... well
 and plainly declaring what evil spirit inspired him
 while it was in the making. For albeit that it is so contrived, and
 the words so couched, that, by the secret, inward working of
 30 the devil that helped to devise it, a simple reader might by
 delight in the reading be deadly corrupted and envenomed: yet if a
 wise man well warned... advisedly will weigh the sentence, he
 shall find the whole book nothing else... but falsehood under pretext
 of plainness, cruelty under the cloak of pity, sedition

5 *ungracious*: ungodly; wicked // *belief of*: belief in 8 *ghostly*: spiritual

8 *which*: who 10 *enmious*: inimical // *envious*: malicious

14 *long*: for a long time // *ere*: before // *aught*: anything 17 *wit*: know

17 *heavy tidings*: bad news

21 *could* . . . *found*: i.e., could be so devoid even of basic compassion as to find it

22 *labor lost*: i.e., a waste of time and effort 23 *alack the while*: alas the day

25 *true*: i.e., to have been telling the truth // *put forth*: (was) published

26–27 *well and plainly declaring*: quite clearly making known

29 *secret*: hidden; unperceived 30 *simple*: lowbrow / naïve

31 *deadly*: lethally 32 *wise*: intelligent // *advisedly*: carefully

32 *the sentence*: the meaning; what is being said

under the color of counsel, proud arrogance under the name
of “supplication,” and under the pretense of favor unto poor folk...
a devilish desire of *noyance* both to poor and rich... priest,
religious, and layman—prince, lord, and people—as well quick as
5 dead.

He deviseth a piteous bill of complaint and “supplication,”
feigned to be by the poor sick and sore beggars put up to the
King, lamenting therein their number “so sore increased” that,
good folks’ alms not half sufficing to find them meat,
10 they be constrained heavily to “die for hunger.” Then layeth he the
cause of all these poor beggars, both their increase in number and
their default in finding; all this he layeth to the only fault of the
clergy—naming them, in his beadroll, “bishops, abbots, priors,
deacons, archdeacons, suffragans, priests, monks,
15 canons, friars, pardoners, and summoners.” All these he calleth
mighty, “sturdy” “beggars” and “idle holy thieves”... which, he saith, hath
“begged so importunately that they have gotten into their
hands” the “third part” of all the realm of England... besides tithes,
20 “privy tithes,” “probates of testaments,” and “offerings,” with Mass-pennies
and mortuaries, blessing and accursing, citing, suspending, and
assoiling. Then cometh he particularly to friars; to whom he
maketh, as he thinketh, a plain and open reckoning... that they
receive, by begging through the realm, yearly 43,333
pounds, 6 shillings, 8 pennies, sterling. Then showeth he that all
25 this cast together... amounteth, yearly, far above the half of the
whole substance of the realm. After this, presupposing as
though he had proved it that the clergy hath the half, he then, to
prove the two-hundredth part of that they have were more than
sufficient for them, taketh for his ground that if the number of
30 them be compared with the number of lay men, the clergy be
not the hundredth part; and that if they be compared with the lay
men, women, and children, the clergy is not then the “four-hundredth
person” of that number. And then intendeth he thereby to
prove and conclude that since they have (as he saith) more than the

3 *noyance*: harm 4 *quick*: living 7 *feigned*: fictitiously made out
7 *sore*: afflicted; i.e., disabled 9 *find them meat*: provide them with food 10 *heavily*: tragically
12 *default in finding*: lack of being provided for // *to the only*: solely to the 13 *beadroll*: list
14 *suffragans*: auxiliary bishops 15 *pardoners*: These were priests authorized to grant papal
indulgences. 15 *summoners*: Ecclesiastical officers who summoned people to appear in the
bishop’s court. 16 *sturdy*: ruthless; unscrupulous // *holy*: arrant
18 *the “third part”*: one-third 19 *privy tithes*: Tithes levied on such items as eggs and fruit.
19 *testaments*: wills // *Mass-pennies*: Mass stipends 20 *mortuaries*: A mortuary was a gift
that the priest presiding at a funeral service was by custom considered entitled to receive from the
estate of the deceased. 20 *accursing*: excommunicating // *citing*: summoning to appear
before an ecclesiastical court 20 *suspending*: i.e., the suspending of a priest’s faculties
21 *assoiling*: absolving (either from sin or from ecclesiastical censure) 22 *open*: obviously correct
22 *reckoning*: calculation 25 *cast*: put // *far above the*: to far more than
26 *substance*: capital; wealth 28 *the . . . that*: i.e., that 0.5 percent of what // *were*: would be
29 *ground*: basis 31 *the hundredth part*: one to a hundred; 1 percent of that number
32–33 *the “four-hundredth person”*: (even) 0.25 percent 34 *as he saith*: according to him

half of altogether, and be themselves not fully the four-hundredth part: therefore, if that better half that they have were divided into two hundred parts, then were yet one part of those two hundred parts, as he thinketh, too much for them—especially
 5 because they labor not. After this he gathereth a great heap of “evils”... wherewith he *belieth* the clergy, to bring them in displeasure of the King and hatred of the people. *And*, lest men should anything esteem the clergy for the suffrages of their prayer in relief of us seely Christian souls in purgatory, to take
 10 away that good mind out of good Christian men’s hearts... he laboreth to make the world ween that there were no purgatory at all. Wherein when he hath done what he can, then laboreth he to the King for a license to rail upon the clergy— saying that there is none other effectual remedy against
 15 them... but that it might please the King to give him and such others free license and liberty... to defame the clergy at their pleasure among the people. For he saith that if any of them be punished anything in the temporal laws, then they sore trouble the laborers thereof by the spiritual law... and then
 20 the heads of the clergy do so highly more than recompense the loss of their fellows... that they may be bold to do the like offense again at their pleasure. And for to prove that it is *always* so, he layeth that it hath been so thrice; and, as it shall after be showed, he lieth in all three. The first, he layeth that
 25 the bishop of London was in a great rage “for indicting of certain curates of extortion and incontineny the last year, in the wardmote inquests.” And for the second he layeth that Dr. Alen, after that he was punished by praemunire for his contempt committed against the King’s temporal law, was therefor by
 30 the bishops highly recompensed in benefices. And for the third he layeth that Richard Hunne because he had sued a praemunire against a priest for suing him in the spiritual court in a matter determinable in the king’s court... was accused of heresy

1 *altogether*: everything // *fully*: i.e., even 3 *were yet*: would be even
 5 *because*: since // *labor not*: don’t do manual labor 6 *evils*: disasters
 6 *belieth*: slanders 9 *seely*: poor 11 *ween*: think
 12–13 *laboreth* . . . *for*: he endeavors to get from the King 18, 29 *temporal*: civil
 19 *sore* . . . *thereof*: i.e., terribly harass the inflictors of that punishment by way of
 19, 32 *spiritual*: ecclesiastical 21 *fellows*: i.e., fellow clergymen
 23, 24, etc. *layeth*: alleges; puts forward 26 *curates*: parish priests
 26 *incontineny*: unchastity 27 *wardmote*: precinct-meeting
 27 *Dr.*: An honorary title for a higher-ranking priest.
 28 *Alen*: John Alen (1476–1534), at that time Cardinal Wolsey’s commissary; later, Archbishop of Dublin and Lord Chancellor of Ireland.
 28, 31 *praemunire*: (A charge of violation of) the statute that forbade appealing to any foreign entity (in this case, the Vatican) in an attempt to override civil authority.
 29 *therefor*: for that 31 *sued*: i.e., filed

and committed to Bishop's Prison; where he saith that "all the world knoweth" that he was murdered by Dr. Horsey with his accomplices—then the bishop's chancellor. And that the same Dr. Horsey (he saith upon other men's mouths)

5 "paid six hundred pounds for him and his accomplices"—and after obtained the King's "most gracious pardon." Whereupon, he saith, the "captains" of the spirituality, because he had "fought so manfully" against the King's "crown" and "dignity," "promoted" him forth "with benefice upon benefice, to the value of four

10 times as much." And by these examples he concludeth there will no such punishment serve against the spirituality... and also, who that justly punish a priest by the temporal law... is unjustly troubled again in the spiritual law. Whereof he would conclude that of necessity, for a special remedy, the King must needs grant a

15 license to such lewd fellows to rail upon them. Then cometh he at last unto the device of some remedy for the poor beggars. Wherein he would in no wise have none hospitals made—because he saith that therein the profit goeth to the priests. What remedy, then, for the poor beggars? He deviseth nor desireth

20 nothing to be given them, nor none other alms or help requireth for them, but only that the King's Highness would first take from the whole clergy all their whole living... and then set them "abroad in the world" to "get them wives" and to "get their living" with the labor of their hands and "in the

25 sweat of their faces" (as he saith it is the "commandment" of God in the first chapter of Genesis)—and, finally, to tie them to the carts, to be whipped naked about every market town till they fall to labor. And then, if these petitions were once granted and performed, he showeth many great commodities

30 that would (as he saith) ensue thereupon... both to the King and the people... and to the poor beggars. Which things we shall, ere we leave, in such wise repeat and ponder that your wisdoms may consider and perceive in yourselves what good fruit would follow the speed of his goodly "supplication," whereof we have rehearsed

35 you the whole sum and effect.

2, 4 *Dr.*: See note for 116/27. 2 *with*: and 3 *then*: i.e., he being at that time
 4 *upon other men's mouths*: on the basis of what other people said; on hearsay
 5 *him*: himself 7, 11 *spirituality*: clergy 12 *who that*: i.e., whoever does
 12 *temporal*: civil 13 *troubled*: beset; gone after // *again*: in return; as payback
 13 *in*: by way of // *spiritual*: ecclesiastical 14 *special*: stopgap; ad hoc
 15 *lewd*: vile // *fellows*: lowlifes 16 *device*: thinking up
 17 *in no wise*: by no means 21 *requireth*: requests
 22 *all their whole*: their whole entire 23 *abroad*: out there
 24–26: See Genesis 3:19. 28 *fall to labor*: start doing manual labor
 29 *performed*: put into effect // *commodities*: advantages; benefits
 30 *as he saith*: according to him 31 *ere*: before
 32 *your wisdoms*: you sensible people 34 *speed*: success
 34 *goodly*: splendid // *rehearsed*: related to

Truth it is that many things wherewith he flourisheth his matters to make them seem gay to the readers at a sudden show... we leave out for the while, because we would ere we come thereto... that ye should first have the matter itself in short set forth
 5 before your eyes. And then shall we peruse his proofs, and in such wise consider everything apart... that we nothing doubt but whoso shall read his worshipful writing after... shall soon perceive therein... flourishing without fruit, subtlety without substance, rhetoric without reason, bold babbling without
 10 learning, and wiliness without wit. And finally, for the foundation and ground of all his proofs... ye shall find in his book not half so many leaves as lies, but almost as many lies as lines.

And albeit we lie here in that case that about the examination and answering of such a mad, malicious book we have neither
 15 lust nor leisure to bestow the time... whereof misspent in our life we give now a hard and a heavy reckoning: yet not only the necessity of our cause driveth us to declare unto you the feebleness of his reasons wherewith he would bring you in the case to care nothing for *us*, believing that there were no purgatory;
 20 but also, most especially, doth our charity toward *you*... stir us to show you the mischief that he mindeth to yourselves... as well in that point of infidelity... as in all the remnant of his seditious book. In answering whereof we would gladly let his folly and lack of learning pass... if it were not more than necessary that all folk
 25 should *perceive* his little learning and less wit, lest simple folk, weening him wise and well learned, might unto their harm esteem his evil writing the better for their wrong opinion of his wit and learning. As for his malicious mind and untruth, there can no man look that we should leave untouched... but he that
 30 would rather the man were believed than answered, and would wish his bill sped were it never so malicious and false.

For where he so deviseth his introduction... as all his purpose should have a great face of charity, by that he speaketh all in the name of the poor beggars: this is nothing else but the devil's
 35 drift—always covering his poison under some taste of sugar. As

1 *flourisheth*: embellishes 2 *matters*: theses; contentions
 2 *seem gay*: seem plausible; look good 3 *leave*: are leaving // *while*: time being
 4 *matter*: thesis; contention 5 *peruse*: examine one by one; go through
 6 *everything apart*: each thing by itself 6–7 *nothing doubt but*: have no doubt that
 7 *whoso*: whoever // *worshipful*: impressive 8 *flourishing*: florid language
 10 *wit*: good sense 12 *leaves*: i.e., pages 13 *that case*: such a condition
 14 *answering*: refuting 15 *lust*: desire 16 *hard*: rigorous // *heavy*: hard-to-endure
 17 *necessity of our cause*: direness of our situation // *declare unto*: show; make clear to
 18 *feebleness*: weakness // *reasons*: arguments
 18–19 *in . . . us*: into the state of mind of having no concern about us
 21 *the . . . mindeth*: the harm he intends to do 22 *remnant*: rest 23 *folly*: idiocy
 25, 28 *wit*: intelligence 26 *weening*: thinking // *wise*: intelligent // *learned*: educated
 28 *mind*: intent // *untruth*: untruthfulness; dishonesty
 29 *look . . . untouched*: expect us to leave that unnoted 30 *answered*: refuted
 31 *sped*: expedited // *never . . . false*: no matter how malicious and false it was
 33 *face*: appearance; veneer 35 *drift*: ruse; stratagem

for *us*, we trust there will no wise man doubt what favor *we*
 bear to beggars, as folk of their own fellowship and faculty... and of
 all whom... there be nowhere in the world neither so needy nor so
 sore and so sick, nor so impotent and so sore in pains, as we.
 5 And that so far forth that if ye might see them all on the one side...
 and but one of us on the other side, we be very sure that the
 world would pity one of us... more than them all. But although we
 be more beggars than your beggars be, as folk daily begging
 our alms of you and them both: yet envy we not them, as one of
 10 them doth another; but we pray and require you to give them
 for our sakes—whereby your gift greatly comforteth us both. And
 they be also our proctors and beg in our name... and in our
 name receive your money; whereof we receive both your
 devotion and their prayers. So that ye may be well assured,
 15 there could be put no bill nor supplication forth for their
 advantage... which we would in any wise *hinder*—but very
 gladly *further* in all that ever we might. But, in good faith, as our
 poor brethren the beggars be for many causes greatly to be
 pitied—for their disease and sickness, sorrow, pain, and poverty—so
 20 do we much in this case sorrow their mishap... that they have
 not had at the leastwise so much fortune... as to fall upon a
 wiser scrivener to make their supplication, but upon such a
 one as under his great wiliness showeth so little wit... that, beginning
 with a cloak of *charity*, doth by and by no less disclose
 25 his *hatred* and *malice*... than if he nothing else had intended
 but to cast off the cloak and set out his malice naked to
 the show. Wherein, like a beggars' proctor, he goeth forth so
 nakedly... that no beggar is there so bare of cloth or money... as he
 showeth himself bare of faith, learning, troth, wit, or
 30 charity. Which thing, as it already well appeareth to wise men, so
 will we make it evident to *all* men, taking our beginning at
 the declaration of his untruth; which one thing well perceived...
 will be sufficient to answer and overturn all his whole
 enterprise. Howbeit, we neither shall need nor do purpose to
 35 encumber you with rehearsal and reproof of *all* his lies; for that

1 *no wise man*: no one with any sense 2 *fellowship*: company // *faculty*: profession
 4 *sore and*: disabled and // *sick*: unwell // *impotent*: helpless
 4 *sore in*: extremely in 5, 17 *might*: could 10 *pray*: beseech // *require*: urge
 10 *give*: i.e., give to 11 *us both*: i.e., both them and us
 12, 27 *proctor(s)*: representative(s) 17 *might*: could
 17 *in good faith*: in all seriousness; really and truly 19 *disease*: discomfort
 19 *sorrow*: disability 20 *sorrow*: lament 21 *fall upon*: come across
 22 *wiser scrivener*: more intelligent notary // *make*: write up 23, 29 *wit*: good sense
 24 *by and by*: immediately 29 *troth*: integrity 30 *well appeareth*: is quite obvious
 30 *wise*: intelligent; perceptive
 31–32 *taking* . . . *untruth*: taking as our starting point the exposing of his untruthfulness
 33 *answer*: confute // *all his whole*: his whole entire 35 *encumber*: burden
 35 *rehearsal*: recounting // *reproof*: rebuttal

were too long a work, whereof we fear ye should be weary to abide
 the hearing. But of so many we shall pray you take patience
 while we show you *some*... and such as for the matter be required
 to be known, forasmuch as all his proofs be specially
 5 grounded upon them.

And first, to begin where he beginneth, when he saith that
 the number of such beggars as he pretendeth to speak for—that
 is, as himself calleth them, the “wretched, hideous monsters”
 (“on whom,” he saith, “scarcely . . . any eye dare look”)... the “foul, unhappy
 10 sort of lepers and other sore people, needy, impotent, blind,
 lame, and sick, living only off alms”—“have their number
 now so sore increased... that all the alms of all the well-disposed
 people of the realm is not half enough to sustain
 them, but that for very constraint they die for hunger”: unto
 15 all those words of his, were it not that, though we well wist ourselves
 he said untrue, yet would we be loath so to lay as a *lie* to his
 charge anything whereof the untruth were not so plainly
 perceived... but that he might find some favorers which
 might say he said true, else would we peradventure not let to tell
 20 him... that for a beginning, in these few words he had written
 two lies at once. If we should tell you what number there was of
 poor sick folk in days passed long before your time... ye were at
 liberty not to believe us. Howbeit, *he* cannot, yet, on the other side,
 for his part, neither, bring you forth a beadroll of their names;
 25 wherefore we must for both our parts be fain to remit you
 to your own time—and yet not from your childhood (whereof
 many things men forget when they come to far greater age),
 but unto the days of your good remembrance. And so doing,
 we suppose if the sorry sights that men *have* seen... had left as great
 30 impression still remaining in their hearts... as the sight maketh
 of the present sorrow that they *see*: men should think and say that they
 have in days past seen as many sick beggars as they see now.
 For as for other sicknesses, they reign not, God be thanked, but after
 such rate as they have done in times past; and then of the
 35 French pox, thirty years ago went thereabout sick... five

1, 22 *were*: would be 2 *pray you*: ask you to 3 *show*: point out to
 4 *specially*: expressly 7 *pretendeth*: professes 8 *monsters*: monstrosities
 9 *unhappy*: infelicitous; repugnant 10 *sort*: assortment // *sore*: afflicted
 10 *impotent*: incapacitated 12 *sore*: badly 15 *wist*: knew
 16 *he said untrue*: (that) what he said is not true 17 *untruth*: untruthfulness
 18 *favorers*: supporters // *which*: who 19 *he said*: what he said is true
 19 *peradventure*: perhaps // *let*: forbear 22 *passed*: gone by
 23 *side*: hand 24 *beadroll*: list 25 *fain*: obliged // *remit*: refer
 29 *sorry*: distressing 31 *sorrow*: affliction; distress 33 *sicknesses*: diseases
 33 *reign not*: do not hold sway 34–35 *the French pox*: syphilis
 35 *thereabout*: around there (where the other beggars were)

against one that beggeth with them now. Whereof whoso list to say
 that he seeth it otherwise, we will hold no great dispicions
 with him thereupon... because we lack the names of both the
 sides to make the trial with. But surely whoso shall say the
 5 contrary... shall, as we suppose, either say so for his pleasure... or
 else shall it fare by his sight as folks fare with their feeling; which
 what they *feel*, they whine at, but what they *have* felt, they have
 more than half forgotten—though they felt it right late. Which
 maketh one that hath but a poor boil upon his finger... think
 10 the grief more great... than was the pain of a great botch that
 grieved his whole hand little more than a month before. So that
 in this point, of the number of sick beggars so sore increased so
 late, albeit we will forbear so to say to him as we might well say,
 yet will we be so bold to deny it him till he bring in some better
 15 thing than his bare word for the proof.

And in good faith, if he be put to the proof of the other point
 also—that is to wit, that “for very constraint” those poor sick folk
 “die for hunger”—we verily trust and think he shall seek far and
 find very few, if he find any at all. For albeit that poor householders
 20 have these dear years made right hard shift for corn—
 yet, our Lord be thanked, men have not been so far from all
 pity... as to suffer poor, impotent persons die at their doors for
 hunger.

Now, whereas he saith that “the alms of all well-disposed people
 25 of this realm is not half enough to sustain them”; and the “well-disposed
 people” he calleth, in this matter, all them that giveth
 them alms; and he speaketh not of one year nor twain, but of
 these *many* years now past, for neither be the number of the
 clergy nor their possessions nor the friars’ alms—in which
 30 things he layeth the cause why the alms of good people is not
 half sufficient to keep and sustain the poor and sick beggars from
 famishing—any great thing increased in these ten or twelve
 or twenty years last passed; and therefore, if that he said were true:
 then by all these *twenty* years at the *least*, the alms of good people
 35 hath not been half able to sustain the poor and sick beggars from
 famishing. And surely if that were so... that in four or five years in
 which was *plenty* of corn, the poor and sick beggars, for lack of
 men’s alms, died so fast for hunger: though many should

1, 4 *whoso*: whoever 1 *list*: chooses 2 *dispicions*: debates 8 *right*: very
 8, 13 *late*: recently 9 *poor boil*: little blister 10 *great botch*: big swelling
 12 *sore*: badly 14 *bold*: i.e., bold as 15 *bare*: mere
 16 *in good faith*: in all seriousness 20 *dear years*: years of scarcity
 20 *made . . . corn*: found grain very hard to come by 22 *suffer*: let
 22 *impotent*: helpless 27 *twain*: two 33 *passed*: gone by // *that*: what
 37 *was plenty*: i.e., there was an abundance // *corn*: grain
 38 *so fast*: in such quick succession 121/38—122/1 *though . . . again*: even if it
 should never again happen that many came down sick in such quick succession

fall sick never so fast again, yet had they in the last two *dear* years
died up of likelihood almost every one. And whether this be
true or not we purpose not to dispute; but to refer and report
ourselves to every man's eyes and ears... whether any man hear
5 of so many dead... or see so many the fewer.

When he hath laid these sure stones to begin the ground and
foundation of his building with—that sore and sick beggars be so
“sore increased” that the alms of all the good people of this
realm “is not half enough to sustain them,” and that therefore by
10 “very constraint” they daily “die for hunger”—upon them he
layeth another stone: that the cause of all this evil is the great
possessions of the spirituality... and the great alms given to the
friars. But herein first he layeth that—besides tithes and all such
15 other profits as rise unto the Church by reason of the
spiritual law or of men's devotion—that they have the third
part of all the temporal lands of the realm. Which whoso
can tell as much of the revenues of the realm as he can tell little
that made the book... doth well know that though they have
20 much, yet is the “third part of all” far another thing, and that he
saith in this point untrue. Then goeth he to the poor friars.
And there, as we told you, he showeth that the alms given them...
of certainty amounteth yearly unto 43,333
pounds, 6 shillings, 8 pennies, sterling. Peradventure men would ween the man
25 were some apostate, and that he never could be so privy to the
friars' reckoning... but if he had been long their limiter... and
seen some general view of all their whole accounts. But surely,
since the man is bad enough beside, we would be loath folk should
reckon him for apostate; for surely he was never friar, for aught
30 that we know—for we never wist that ever in his life he was half
so well disposed. And also, when ye hear the ground of his
reckoning, ye will yourselves think that he neither knoweth much
of *their* matters... and of all the realm beside make as though he
knew many things for true... which many men know for false.

For first he putteth for the ground of his reckoning that
35 there are in the realm... two-and-fifty thousand parish

1–2 *had* . . . *one*: in the last two years of *scarcity* probably almost every one of them
would have died off 3 *report*: betake; entrust 6 *sure*: sound; reliable
7 *sore*: disabled 8 *sore*: badly 11 *all this evil*: this whole disaster
12 *spirituality*: clergy 13 *layeth*: alleges 14 *Church*: i.e., clergy
15 *spiritual*: ecclesiastical 15–16, 19 *the third part*: one-third
16 *temporal*: secular // *whoso*: whoever 17 *as much of*: as much about
18 *made*: wrote // *though*: even if 21 *showeth*: says 23 *peradventure*: perhaps
23 *ween*: suppose 24, 28 *apostate*: runaway religious
25 *reckoning*: bookkeeping / financial status // *but if*: unless
25 *limiter*: friar licensed to beg within certain boundaries 27 *beside*: otherwise
28 *aught*: anything 29 *wist*: knew 30 *so*: that 30, 34 *ground*: basis
31, 34 *reckoning*: calculation 32 *of their matters*: about their affairs
32 *of* . . . *make*: about all the rest of the realm makes

churches; which is one plain lie, to begin with. Then he putteth that every parish, one with another, hath ten households in it—meaning besides such poor houses as rather ask alms than give; for of such, ye wot well, the friars get no quarterage.

5 And that point, albeit that the ground be not sure—yet because it may to many men seem likely, therefore we let it pass. But then he showeth further, for a sure truth, a thing that all men know surely for a great lie: that is to say, that of every household in every parish, “every of the five orders of friars

10 hath every quarter a penny.” For we know full well... and so do many of you too... first, that the common people speak but of *four* orders—the White, the Black, the Augustinian, and the Grey—and which is the fifth, in many parts of the realm few folk can tell you. For if the question were asked about, there would be, peradventure,

15 found many more (the more pity it is) that could name you the Green friars than the Crutched. Ye know right well also that in many a parish in England, of forty households ye shall not find four pay neither five pence a quarter nor four neither; and many a parish never a penny. And as for the five pence

20 quarterly, we dare boldly say that ye shall find it paid in very few parishes through the realm, if ye find it paid in any. And yet this thing being such a stark lie as many men already knoweth... and every man shortly may find it... he putteth as a plain, well-known truth, for a special post to bear

25 up his reckoning. For upon these grounds now maketh he a clear reckoning in this manner ensuing... which is good also to be known for folk that will learn to cast account: “There be 52,000 parishes; and in each of them 10 households. So have ye the whole sum of the households: 5 hundred thousand and 20

30 thousand.” Even just. Go now to the money, then. “Every order of the five orders of friars hath of every of these households a penny a quarter. *Summa*: For every house, among all the five orders, every quarter, five pence.” And hereby may ye learn that 5 times

1 *plain*: obvious 2 *with*: the same as 4, 8 *of*: from 4 *wot*: know
 4 *quarterage*: quarterly payment 7 *showeth*: states 8 *surely*: with certainty
 8 *great*: big 9, 31 *every of*: each of; every one of 10, 31 *hath*: receives
 12 *White*: Whitefriars; i.e., Carmelites // *Black*: Blackfriars; i.e., Dominicans
 12 *Grey*: Greyfriars; i.e., Franciscans 14 *about*: around // *peradventure*: perhaps
 16 *Green friars*: i.e., Franciscan friars at Greenwich // *Crutched*: i.e., Holy Cross
 20 *boldly*: confidently 27 *will learn*: want to learn how
 27 *cast account*: do accounting 30 *even just*: just exactly 31 *hath of*: gets from
 32 *summa*: total

1 maketh 5. “Now this is,” he showeth you, “among the five orders,
of every house, for the whole year, twenty pence”; and so learn ye there
that 4 times 5 maketh 20. “*Summa*,” saith he: “5 hundred
thousand and 20 thousand quarters of angels.” Here we
5 would not that because the realm hath no coin called the
“quarter angel,” ye should therefore so far mistake the man as
to ween that he meant so many quarter *sacks* of angels. For indeed
(as we take him), by the naming and counting of so many
“quarters of angels” he meaneth nothing else but to teach you a
10 point of reckoning, and to make you perceive and know... that
20 pennies is the fourth part of 6 shillings, 8 pennies. For after that rate it
seemeth that he valueth the angel noble. Then goeth he forth
with his reckoning and showeth you that 5 hundred thousand
and 20 thousand quarters of angels... maketh 2 hundred
15 threescore thousand half angels. And by this, lo, ye may
perceive *clearly* that he meant not quarter sacks of angels; for
then they would have held, ye wot well, many more pieces of
forty pence... than forty times this whole sum cometh to.
Then he showeth you further that 260,000 half
20 angels... amount just unto 130,000 angels.
Wherein every man may learn that the half of 60 is 30 and
that the half of twain is one. Finally, then, he casteth it all together
and bringeth it into pounds. “*Summa totalis*: 43
thousand pounds, 3 hundred and 33 pounds, 6 shillings, 8 pennies.” But
25 here, to continue the plainness of his reckoning... he forgot to
tell you that 3 nobles make 20 shillings, and that 20 shillings make a pound.
But who can now doubt of this reckoning, when it cometh
so round... that of so great a sum he leaveth not out the odd
noble? But, now, since all this reckoning is grounded upon two
30 false grounds (one, upon 52,000 parish churches;
the other, that every of the “five” orders hath, every quarter, of
every household a penny), this reckoning of 43,333
pounds, 6 shillings, 8 pennies, seemeth to come much like to pass as if he

1, 13, 19 *showeth*: tells 2 *of*: from 3 *summa*: total 7 *ween*: suppose
7 *so*: that 11 *the fourth part*: one-fourth 14–15 2 *hundred . . . thousand*: 260,000
17 *wot*: know 20 *just*: exactly 22 *casteth*: puts 23 *summa totalis*: sum total
25 *plainness*: clarity; spelling out
27 *doubt of*: be skeptical of; have any misgiving about
28 *so round*: to such a perfect finish 31 *every*: every one // *hath*: receives
31 *of*: from 33 *pass*: completion

would make a reckoning with you that every ass hath eight ears.
 And for to prove it with, bear you first in hand that every
 ass hath four heads... and then make "*Summa*: four heads."
 Then might he boldly tell you further... that every ass head
 5 hath two ears; for that is commonly true, except any be cut
 off. "*Summa*, then: two ears. And so, *summa totalis*: eight ears." At
 this account of eight ears of one ass ye make a lip and
 think it so mad that no man would make no such. Surely it
 were a mad account indeed; and yet, as mad as it were, it were
 10 not so mad by half as is his sad and earnest account that he
 maketh you now so solemnly of the friars' quarterage. For
 this should he ground but upon *one* lie, whereas he groundeth the
 other upon twain as open lies as this, and as great. Now might
 we, and we would, say that all his reckoning were naught... because
 15 he reckoneth 20 pennies for the quarter of the angel... and all
 the remnant of his reckoning followeth forth upon the same
 rate. But we would be loath to put him in the fault that he
 deserve not. For surely it might be that he was not aware of the
 new valuation; for he ran away before the valuation
 20 changed. But now, upon this great sum of 43,333
 pounds, 6 shillings, 8 pennies—upon these good grounds
 heaped up together—he bringeth in his ragman's roll of his rude
 rhetoric against the poor friars, beginning with such a great
 exclamation that we heard him hither!... and suddenly were all
 25 afraid when we heard him cry out so loud, "O grievous and
 painful exactions thus yearly to be paid, from the which
 the people of your noble progenitors, ancient Britons, ever
 stood free!" And so goeth he forth against the poor friars with
 "Danes" and "Saxons" and "noble King Arthur," and "Lucius the
 30 emperor," the Romans, the Greeks, and the great Turk,
 showing that all these had been utterly marred and never had been
 able to do nothing in the war... if their people had given
 their alms to friars.

2 *bear you first in hand*: first assert to you 4 *boldly*: with assurance
 5 *except*: except if; unless 7 *ears of*: ears on // *lip*: face
 9 *were*: would be 10 *sad*: serious 11 *quarterage*: quarterly payment
 13 *open*: manifest; obvious 14 *naught*: worthless 16 *remnant*: rest
 17 *put him in the fault*: put on him blame
 19 *ran away*: i.e., ran away from England
 22 *ragman's roll*: rambling repertoire // *rude*: amateurish
 24 *hither*: here (in purgatory) 31 *showing*: saying
 31 *had*: would have // *marred*: ruined

After his railing rhetoric ended against the friars, then
 this sum of “43,333 pounds, 6 shillings, 8 pennies” he
 addeth unto all the others that he said before that all the clergy
 hath besides; which he summeth not, but saith that this and that
 5 together amount unto “more” between them “than half” of the
 whole “substance of the realm.” And this he affirmeth as boldly
 as though he could reckon the whole revenues and substance of
 all England... as readily as make the reckoning of his beggars’
 purse.
 10 Then showeth he that this better half of the whole substance
 is shifted among fewer than the four-hundredth part of the
 people. Which he proveth by that he saith that all the clergy
 “compared unto the remnant of the men only” be “not the
 hundredth person”; and if they be compared unto the remnant
 15 of “men, women, and children,” so “are they not,” he saith,
 “the four-hundredth person.” But, now, some folk that have not
 very long ago, upon great occasions, taken the reckoning of
 priests and religious places in every diocese... and, on the other
 20 side, the reckoning and the number of the temporal men in
 every county... know well that this man’s mad reckoning
 goeth very far wide... and seemeth that he hath heard these wise
 reckonings at some congregation of beggars. And yet, as
 though because he hath said it he had therefore proved it, he
 runneth forth in his railing rhetoric against the whole clergy—
 25 and that in such a sort and fashion that very hard it were to
 discern whether it be more false or more foolish. For first, all
 the faults that any lewd priest or friar doth—all that layeth he
 to the whole clergy; as well and as wisely as though he would lay
 the faults of some lewd lay people to the default and blame of all
 30 the whole temporality. But this way liketh him so well that, thus
 laying to the whole clergy the faults of such as be simple and faulty
 therein; and yet not only laying to their charge the breach of
 chastity, and abuse in fleshly living, of such as be naught... but
 also madly, like a fond fellow, laying much *more* to their charge,

6, 7, 10 *substance*: capital; wealth 9 *purse*: income / money pouch. (A play on
 the proverb “A beggar’s purse is bottomless.”) 10 *showeth*: asserts
 11 *shifted*: distributed // *the four-hundredth part*: 0.25 percent; one out of four hundred
 13, 14 *remnant*: rest 13–14 *the hundredth person*: one to ninety-nine; i.e., even 1 percent
 17, 19 *reckoning*: count; census 19 *side*: hand // *temporal men*: lay people
 21 *goeth very far wide*: is way off // *wise*: brilliant 25 *were*: would be
 27 *faults*: bad things 27, 29 *lewd*: bad 27–28 *all . . . clergy*: he accuses the whole
 clergy of all that 28 *well*: justifiably // *wisely*: sensibly
 28–29 *lay the faults . . . to the*: i.e., adduce the wrongdoings . . . as evidence of
 29–30 *default . . . temporality*: i.e., wrongdoing and blameworthiness on the part of the whole
 entire laity 30 *way*: approach // *liketh*: pleases
 31 *laying to . . . the faults*: accusing . . . of the wrongdoings
 31–32 *simple and faulty*: undeniably guilty 32 *therein*: in the clergy / of those wrongdoings
 32–33 *the breach of chastity*: the breaking of their vow of celibacy
 33 *abuse*: corrupt practice // *such as be naught*: the ones who are bad
 34 *fond fellow*: foolish good-for-nothing

and much more earnestly reproving, the good and honest living of those that be *good*; whom he rebuketh and abhorreth because they keep their vows and persevere in chastity... for he saith that they be the marrers and destroyers of the realm, 5 bringing the land into wilderness for lack of generation, by their abstaining from wedding: then aggrieveth he his great crimes with heinous words, gay repetitions, and grievous exclamations, calling them “blood-suppers” and “drunken in the blood of holy martyrs and saints”—which he meaneth for the condemning 10 of holy heretics. “Greedy golofers” he calleth them, and “insatiable whirlpools,” because the temporalty hath given them possessions... and give to the friars their alms. And all virtuous, good priests and religious folk he calleth “idle holy thieves”... because they spend their time in preaching and 15 prayer. And then saith he, “These be they that make so many sick and sore beggars. These be they that make these whores and bawds. These be they that make these thieves. These be they that make so many idle persons. These be they that corrupt the generations. And these be they that with the abstaining from 20 wedding hinder so the generation of the people... that the realm shall at length fall in wilderness but if they wed the sooner.” And now, upon these heinous crimes laid unto the whole clergy—and laid, as every wise man seeth, some very falsely and some very foolishly—after his goodly repetitions he falleth to his great 25 and grievous exclamations, crying out upon the “great, broad, bottomless ocean sea of evils,” and upon the “grievous shipwreck of the commonwealth,” the “translating” of the King’s kingdom, and the “ruin” of the King’s “crown.” And therewith rolling in his rhetoric from figure to figure, he falleth to a vehement invocation of the King... and giveth him warning of 30 his great “loss,” asking him fervently, “Where is your sword, power, crown, and dignity become?”—as though the King’s Grace had clean lost his realm... especially for lack of people to reign upon... by cause that priests have no wives. And surely

1 *honest*: upright; respectable // *living*: way of living; conduct
 2 *rebuketh*: finds fault with // *abhorreth*: detests 3 *chastity*: celibacy
 4 *marrers*: ruiners 5, 20 *generation*: procreation; reproduction
 6 *aggrieveth*: aggravates 7 *crimes*: charges // *heinous*: vitriolic
 7 *gay*: showy 7, 25 *grievous*: melodramatic 8 *blood-suppers*: bloodsuckers
 10, 13 *holy*: arrant; out-and-out // *golofers*: gluttons; gobblers 11 *temporalty*: laity
 15, 16, etc. *make*: cause there to be 16 *sore*: disabled
 17 *bawds*: brothel keepers; procurers 18–19 *the generations*: i.e. procreation (by committing adultery) 21 *in*: into // *but if*: unless
 21 *at length*: eventually // *the sooner*: before then 22 *upon*: on top of
 22 *heinous*: high 22, 23 *laid*: attributed
 23 *every wise man*: everyone with any sense 24 *goodly*: grandiose
 25, 26 *upon*: about 26 *ocean sea*: ocean // *evils*: disasters
 26 *grievous*: calamitous; tragic 27 *translating*: taking away 28 *kingdom*: kingship
 30 *vehement*: histrionic; dramatic 31 *fervently*: impassionedly
 31–32 *where is . . . dignity become*: what has become of . . . dignity
 34 *upon*: over // *by cause*: by reason of the fact

the man cannot fail of such eloquence; for he hath gathered these goodly flowers out of Luther's garden, almost word for word, without any more labor but only the translating out of the Latin into the English tongue.

5 But to inflame the King's Highness against the Church... he saith that the clergy laboreth "nothing" else but to make the King's subjects "fall into disobedience and rebellion" against His Grace.

10 This tale is a very likely thing! As though the clergy knew not that there is nothing earthly that so much keepeth themselves in quiet, rest, and surety... as doth the due obedience of the people to the virtuous mind of the Prince! Whose high goodness must needs have much more difficulty to defend the clergy and keep the Church in peace... if the people fell to disobedience and rebellion against their prince. And therefore every child
15 may see that the clergy would never be so mad as to be glad to bring the people to disobedience and rebellion against the prince... by whose goodness they be preserved in peace... and were in such rebellion of the people likely to be the first that
20 should fall in peril. But neither is there desired by the clergy nor never shall, by God's grace, happen... any such rebellion as the beggars' proctor and his fellows, whatsoever they say, long full sore to see.

25 But this man against the clergy fetcheth forth old, fern years and runneth up to King John's days, spending much labor about the praise and commendation of that good, gracious king, and crying out upon the pope that then was, and the clergy of England, and all the lords and all the commons of the realm... because King
30 John, as he saith, made the realm "tributary" to the pope; wherein he meaneth, peradventure, the Peter pence. But surely therein is all his whole accusation a very cold tale when the truth is known. For so is it in deed that, albeit there be writers that say the Peter pence were granted by King John for the release of the
35 interdiction, yet were they paid in deed ere ever King John's great-grandfather was born; and thereof is there proof enough. Now, if he say, as indeed some writers say, that King

1 *fail of*: want for; suffer any lack of 2 *goodly*: resplendent; impressive
6 *laboreth*: strive for 9 *this . . . thing*: i.e., what a likely story
11 *quiet . . . surety*: peace and quiet and safety 12 *the Prince*: i.e., King Henry
15 *prince*: sovereign 16 *may*: can // *glad*: disposed 19 *were*: would be
22 *proctor*: spokesman // *fellows*: cohorts 23 *full sore*: very badly
24 *fern*: far bygone 25 *runneth up*: goes back
26–27 *crying out upon*: denouncing 28 *commons*: commoners
29 *saith*: puts it 30 *peradventure*: perhaps 31 *cold*: unconvincing; lame
32 *deed*: actuality 34 *paid . . . ere*: in fact being paid before

John made England and Ireland tributary to the pope and the See Apostolic by the grant of a thousand marks: we dare surely say again that it is untrue... and that all Rome neither can show such a grant nor never could... and if they could, it were right naught worth. For never could any king of England give away the realm to the pope, or make the land tributary, though he would; nor no such money is there paid nor never was. And as for the Peter pence, if he mean them: neither was the realm *tributary* by them... nor King John never granted them. For they were paid before the Conquest, to the Apostolic See toward the maintenance thereof, but only by way of gratitude and alms. Now, as for the archbishop Stephen... whom, he saith, being a traitor to the king... the pope made Archbishop of Canterbury against the king's will: therein be there, as we suppose, two lies at once. For neither was that Stephen ever traitor against the king, as far as ever we have heard, nor the pope none otherwise made him archbishop than he made all others at that time; but the same Stephen was well and canonically chosen Archbishop of Canterbury by the convent of the monks at Christ's Church in Canterbury, to whom, as the king well knew and denied it not, the election of the Archbishop at that time belonged. Nor the king resisted not his election because of any treason that was laid against him, but was discontented therewith—and after that his election was passed and confirmed by the pope, he would not of long season suffer him to enjoy the bishopric—because himself had recommended another unto the monks... whom they rejected, and preferred Stephen. And that this is as we tell you, and not as the beggars' proctor writeth for a false foundation of his railing, ye shall may perceive not only by divers chronicles... but also by divers *monuments* yet remaining, as well of the election and confirmation of the said Archbishop... as of the long suit and process that after followed thereupon.

Now showeth he himself very wroth with the spiritual

3 *surely*: with certainty // *again*: in reply

5 *were right naught worth*: would be worth absolutely nothing

7 *though he would*: even if he wanted to 9 *by*: on account of

10 *Conquest*: i.e., Norman Conquest 12 *Stephen*: Stephen Langton (d. 1228).

18 *well and*: quite; good and 23 *laid*: alleged // *discontented*: unhappy

24 *therewith*: i.e., with the monks' choosing of Langton

25 *of long season*: for a long time // *suffer*: allow 26 *himself*: he himself

27 *preferred*: put forward 28 *proctor*: spokesman 29 *may*: be able to

30 *divers*: several // *chronicles*: historical accounts

30 *monuments*: documents; official records 32 *suit*: litigation

32 *process*: legal proceeding 34 *wroth*: angry // *spiritual*: ecclesiastical

jurisdiction, which he would in any wise were clean taken
away, saying that it must needs destroy the jurisdiction
temporal; whereas the good princes past have *granted*...
and the nobles in their times, and the people too, have by
5 plain parliaments *confirmed* them, and yet hitherto, blessed
be God, they agree better together... than to fall at variance for
the wild words of such a malicious makebate—which for
to bring the spirituality into hatred... saith that “they call”
their jurisdiction a “kingdom.” In which word he may say his
10 *pleasure*; but of *truth*, he seldom seeth any spiritual man at
this day that so calleth any spiritual jurisdiction that he useth.
Now, where this man useth as a proof thereof... that the
spirituality nameth themselves always before the temporalty:
this manner of naming cometh not of *them*, but of the good
15 mind and devotion of the *temporalty*—so far forth
that at the parliament, when that any acts be conceived, the
words be commonly so couched that the bill saith it is enacted
first by “our Sovereign Lord the King,” and by the lords “spiritual
and temporal,” and the commons, in that present parliament assembled.
20 And these bills be often drawn, put forth, and passed
first in the Commons House, where there is not one spiritual
man present.
But such truth as the man useth in this point... such useth
he where he calleth the poor friars’ alms an “exaction,” surmising
25 that it is exacted by force and the people compelled to
pay it; whereas every man well wotteth that they have, poor men,
no way to compel no man to give them aught, not though they
should die for default. But this good, honest, true man saith that
whoso will not pay the friars their quarterage, they will make
30 him be taken as a heretic. We be well content that ye take
this for no lie... as many as ever have known it true. But who
heard ever yet that any man taken for a heretic... did so
much as once say that he thought it conveyed by the malice of

1 *in any wise were clean*: by all means have completely 3, 19 *temporal*: secular
5 *plain*: plenary; fully assembled // *them*: i.e., the legal rights of the Church
5 *yet hitherto*: still to this day 6 *they*: i.e., the clergy and all these lay people
6 *agree better together*: better get along with one another // *at*: into
6 *variance*: discord; dissension // *for*: because of 7 *makebate*: troublemaker
7–8 *which* . . . *hatred*: who in order to make the clergy hated
9 *kingdom*: kingship; sovereignty // *word*: statement
9–10 *his pleasure*: what he wants to 10, 21–22 *spiritual man*: clergyman
11, 18 *spiritual*: ecclesiastical 11 *useth*: exercises 13 *spirituality*: clergy
13 *nameth*: mention 13, 15 *temporalty*: laity 15 *mind*: attitude
19 *commons*: commoners 20 *drawn*: drawn up 24 *surmising*: implying
26 *wotteth*: knows 27 *ought*: anything // *though*: even if
28 *default*: lack of it // *true*: truthful 29 *whoso*: whoever
29 *quarterage*: quarterly payment 29–30 *make him be*: have him; cause him to be
30, 32 *taken*: arrested and taken into custody 32 *for*: as
33 *conveyed*: brought about

any friar for refusing to pay the friar's quarterage? This lie, lo, is a little too loud for any man that were not waxen shameless!

5 Like truth is there in this that he saith: if any man trouble a priest for any temporal suit, the clergy forthwith will make him a heretic and burn him... but if he be content to "bear a fagot for their pleasure." The falsehood of this cannot be unknown. For men know well in many a shire how often that many folk indict priests of rape at the sessions. And as there is sometimes a rape committed indeed—so is there *ever* a rape 10 *surmised*, were the women never so willing... and oftentimes where there was nothing done at all. And yet of any such that so procured priests to be indicted, how many have men heard taken and accused for heretics? Ye see not very many sessions pass but in one shire or other this pageant is played; 15 whereas through the realm, such as be put to penance for heresy... be not so many in many years as there be priests indicted in few years. And yet of all such so taken, for heresy, he shall not find four this fourscore years—peradventure not this four *hundred* years—that ever pretended themselves so 20 troubled for indicting of a priest. So that his lie is herein too large to get any cloak to cover it!

Now, where he saith that the "captains" of Dr. Alen's "kingdom" have "heaped" him up "benefice upon benefice," and have "rewarded" him "ten times as much" as the "five hundred pounds" 25 which he "paid" for a fine by the praemunire; and that thus hath the spirituality rewarded him "because he fought so manfully" against the King's "crown" and his "dignity": all that know the matter do well perceive that the man doth in this matter as he doth in others—either lieth for his pleasure... or else little wotteth how that the matter stood. For it is well known that 30 Dr. Alen was in the praemunire pursued only by *spiritual* men—and had much less favor, and much more rigor, showed him therein by the greatest of the clergy... than by any temporal men.

2 *loud*: blatant // *waxen*: gone 3 *trouble*: cause trouble to
 4 *for any temporal suit*: i.e., by filing any charge against him in a secular court
 5 *make him*: make him out to be // *but if he be content*: unless he is willing
 6 *bear a fagot*: carry (around his neck) a bundle of sticks; i.e., publicly recant
 8 *at the sessions*: i.e., when the courts are in session 9 *ever*: always
 10 *surmised*: alleged // *never so*: no matter how 13, 17 *taken*: (were) arrested
 14 *pageant*: charade 17 *yet*: even 18 *fourscore*: A score is twenty.
 18 *peradventure*: perhaps 19 *pretended*: professed
 19–20 *so troubled*: (to have been) put through that ordeal
 22 *Dr. Alen's*: See note for 116/27–28.
 25 *for . . . praemunire*: for his praemunire fine. (See note for 116/28.)
 26 *spirituality*: ecclesiastical authorities
 27–28 *the matter*: i.e., the facts of the matter 30 *wotteth*: knows
 31 *pursued*: prosecuted // *spiritual*: ecclesiastical 33 *temporal*: lay

He saith also to the King's Highness, "Your Grace may see what a work there is in London—how the bishop rageth for indicting of certain curates of extortion and incontinency the last year, in the wardmote inquest." Would not upon these
 5 words every stranger ween that there had been in London many curates indicted of extortion and rape, and that the bishop would labor sore to defend their faults, and that there were about that matter a great commotion in all the city? How shameless is he that can tell this tale... in *writing*, to the *King's*
 10 *Highness*, for a *truth*... whereof neither bishop nor curate, nor mayor, nor alderman, nor any man else... ever heard word *spoken*? It were hard to say whether we should take it for wiliness or lack of wit... that he saith all this work was in the City "the last year"—and then his book neither was put up to the King...
 15 nor beareth any date. So that a man would ween he were a fool that so writeth of "the last year" that the reader cannot wit which year it was. But yet ween we he doth it for a wiliness. For since he knoweth his tale false, it is wisdom to leave the time unknown, that his lie may be uncontrolled. For he would that men should ween
 20 alway that it was in one year or other.

But finally, for a special point, he bringeth in Richard Hunne, and saith that if he had not "commenced an action of praemunire against a priest, he had been yet alive and none heretic at all." Now is it of truth well known... that he was
 25 detected of heresy before the praemunire sued or thought upon. And he began that suit to help to stop the other with; as indeed it did for the while. For albeit that he that was sued in the praemunire was nothing belonging to the bishop of London, before whom Richard Hunne was detected of
 30 heresy: yet, lest such as would be glad sinisterly to misconstrue everything toward the blame of the clergy... might have occasion to say that the matter were hotly handled against him to force him to forbear his suit of the praemunire, the bishop therefore did the more *forbear*... till it appeared clearly
 35 to the temporal judges and all that were anything learned in the

1 *may*: can 2, 13 *work*: to-do; ruckus 3, 6, 10 *curate(s)*: parish priest(s)
 3 *incontinency*: unchastity 4 *wardmote*: precinct-meeting
 4 *upon*: on the basis of; from 5 *stranger*: foreigner
 5, 15, etc. *ween*: suppose; think 7 *would labor sore*: was trying hard
 7 *faults*: wrongdoings 8 *great*: big 12 *were*: would be 13 *wit*: sense
 13 *all this*: this whole // *the City*: i.e., London 14 *put up*: presented
 16 *wit*: tell 18 *wisdom*: a wise thing to do 19 *be uncontrolled*: go unchecked
 20 *alway*: in any event; at any rate 21 *in*: up
 23, 25, etc. *praemunire*: See note for 116/28. 23 *had*: would have // *yet*: still
 25, 29 *detected*: accused 25 *sued*: i.e., suit was filed // *upon*: about
 28 *nothing belonging to*: not at all under the jurisdiction of 30 *glad*: disposed
 30 *sinisterly*: disingenuously; deviously 33 *forbear*: give up; drop
 34 *forbear*: hold back // *appeared clearly*: became completely evident
 35 *temporal*: secular // *anything*: at all

temporal law... that his suit of the praemunire was nothing
 worth in the king's law, forasmuch as by plain statute the
 matter was out of question that the pleas to be held upon *mortuaries*
 belong unto the *spiritual* court. After which
 5 thing well appearing, the matter went forth before the bishop...
 and he there well proved naught, and his books after brought
 forth... such, and so noted (with his own hand, in the margins),
 as every wise man well saw what he was... and was full sorry
 to see that he was such as they there saw him proved.
 10 Now goeth he further and asketh the King, "Did not Dr.
 Horsey and his accomplices most heinously, as all the world
 knoweth, murder in prison that honest merchant Richard
 Hunne... for that he sued your writ of praemunire against a
 priest that wrongfully held him in plea in a spiritual court... for
 15 a matter whereof the knowledge belonged unto *your* high
 courts? And what punishment hath he for it? After that he
 had paid, as it is said, six hundred pounds for him and his
 accomplices—as soon as he had obtained your most gracious
 pardon, he was immediately promoted by the captains of his
 20 kingdom with benefice upon benefice, to the value of four
 times as much! Who is he of their kingdom that will not
 rather take courage to commit like offense, seeing the promotions
 that fell to such men for their so offending? So weak and
 blunt is your sword to strike at one of the offenders of this
 25 crooked and perverse generation!" We have here somewhat encumbered
 you with a piece of his own words... because ye should have
 a show of his vehement eloquence... with which the bold beggars'
 proctor so arrogantly presumeth in his bill to ask the
 King a question... and to bind His Highness to answer as His
 30 Mastership appointed him. For if His Grace say nay: then he
 telleth him before... that "all the world" wotteth *yes*. But surely if
 he call "all the world" all that ever God made, then is there three
 parts that knoweth the contrary. For we dare be bold to warrant
 you that in heaven, hell, and here among us in purgatory,

1 *temporal*: secular 3 *out of*: beyond // *upon*: about
 3 *mortuaries*: See note for 115/20. 4, 14 *spiritual*: ecclesiastical
 6 *he*: i.e., Hunne (was) // *naught*: wicked 7 *noted*: annotated
 7 *with his own hand*: in his own handwriting
 8 *every wise man*: everyone with any sense // *full*: very
 10 *Dr.*: See note for 116/27. 12 *honest*: respectable 24 *blunt*: dull
 25 *encumbered*: burdened 26 *piece*: section; chunk // *because*: so that
 27 *vehement*: dramatic 28 *proctor*: spokesman 31 *wotteth*: knows
 32–33 *three parts*: i.e., three-fourths of it
 33 *be bold to warrant*: venture to guarantee

of all that this man so boldly affirmeth... the contrary is well
 and clearly known. And if he call “the world” but only men
 among you there living upon middle earth: yet so shall he peradventure
 find in some part of “the world,” if he seek it well,
 5 more than four or five good, honest men... that never heard speak of
 the matter. And of such as have heard of the matter and know it
 well, he shall find enough—and specially, we think, the King’s
 Grace himself (whose Highness he is so homely to ask the question
 and appoint him his answer himself!)—that of all five
 10 things which he hath here in so few lines affirmed... there is
 not one true, but lies every one. For first, to begin where he
 leaveth: when he saith that the clergy have, since the death of
 Richard Hunne, “promoted” Dr. Horsey with “benefice upon
 benefice,” “four times as much” as “six hundred pounds”—the plain
 15 untruth of this point may every man soon know that will soon
 inquire. For he liveth yet at *Exeter*... and there liveth upon
 such as he had before, without that new heap of benefices
 given him by the “captains” of his “kingdom” for killing of
 Richard Hunne—or thank, either, save only of God for his long
 20 patience in his undeserved trouble. But to the end that ye may see
 how little this man forceth how loud the lie, consider that he
 saith that the clergy gave unto Dr. Horsey, after he came out
 of prison, “benefice upon benefice, to the value of four times as
 much” as “six hundred pounds.” Now, if this be true, then hath Dr.
 25 Horsey had in benefices—besides all such as he had before
 his trouble—the value of two thousand four hundred pounds! We trust
 that the man, his substance, and his livelihood is so well known
 that we need not to tell that the beggars’ proctor in this point
 hath made one loud lie. Another is that he saith that Hunne
 30 was kept in plea in the spiritual law for a matter determinable in
 the king’s court: for the matter was for a *mortuary*, which by
plain statute is declared to pertain to the *spiritual* law. The
 third is that Hunne was “honest”—except heresy be honest. The
 fourth is that “Dr. Horsey and his accomplices” murdered him

1–2 *well and*: quite; good and 3 *middle earth*: i.e., that place (earth) that is
 between the one on high (heaven) and the nether regions (hell and purgatory)
 3 *peradventure*: perhaps 4 *seek*: search 5 *speak*: anyone speak; i.e., any mention
 6 *matter*: affair; case 6–7 *know it well*: are very knowledgeable about it
 7 *specially*: in particular 8 *is so homely*: takes such liberty with
 12 *leaveth*: i.e., leaves off 14 *plain*: patent 19 *thank*: (getting any) credit
 19 *of*: from 21 *forceth*: cares 21, 29 *loud*: blatant
 27 *substance*: financial worth 28 *proctor*: spokesman
 29 *made*: told 30, 32 *spiritual*: ecclesiastical 31 *matter*: case // *for a*: about a
 31 *mortuary*: See note for 115/20. 33 *honest*: respectable // *except*: unless

in prison; for thereof is the contrary well known, and that the man hanged *himself*, for despair, despite, and for lack of grace. We might, and we would, lay for the fifth... the payment which he speaketh of: the “six hundred pounds” with which money he
 5 would men should ween that he bought his pardon. Wherein he layeth a good great sum... to the end that folk well witting that Dr. Horsey was not likely to have so much money of his own... should ween therewith that the clergy laid out the money among them... and then gave him benefices whereof he might pay them
 10 again. But this layeth he from himself... and showeth not to whom; for he saith “it is said” so. And yet were it no wrong that it were accounted his own... till he put it better from him... and prove of whom he heard it. Howbeit, since there is other store enough, we shall leave *this* lie in question between him and we
 15 wot ne’er whom else... and we shall for the fifth lay you that lie that he layeth forth himself: that is to wit, where he saith that the chancellor purchased the King’s “most gracious pardon” for the murdering of Hunne. For this is the truth: that he never sued any pardon therefor; but after that the matter
 20 had been by long time and great diligence so far forth examined... that the King’s Highness at length (as time always trieth out the truth) well perceived his innocence, and theirs also that were accused and indicted with him, his noble Grace when they were arraigned upon that indictment and thereto
 25 pleaded that they were not guilty... commanded his attorney general to confess their plea to be true; which is the thing that His Highness, as a most virtuous prince, useth for to do... when the matter is not only just, but also *known* for just, upon the part of the party defendant. By cause that, like as
 30 where the matter appeareth doubtful he doth, as reason is, suffer it to go forth and letteth the truth be tried, so where he seeth and perceiveth the right to be on the other side, His Highness will in no wise have the wrong set forth or maintained in his

2 *despite*: spite 3, 9 *might*: could 3 *would*: would like to
 5 *men should ween*: have people think 6 *layeth*: alleges
 6 *good great*: nice big // *witting*: knowing 8 *ween*: suppose
 8 *laid out*: put up 10 *again*: back // *this*: i.e., this supposition
 10 *layeth he from*: he distances from / he ascribes not to // *showeth*: says
 11 *were it no wrong*: would it be no injustice 12 *from*: away from
 13 *of*: from 15 *wot ne’er*: have no idea
 16 *himself*: i.e., as coming from himself 19 *sued*: petitioned; tried to get
 19 *therefor*: for that // *matter*: charge 22 *trieth*: sifts
 26 *confess*: acknowledge // *true*: correct 27 *useth for*: makes it his practice
 28 *matter*: claim 29 *by cause*: by reason of the fact 30 *matter*: case
 30 *as reason is*: as stands to reason // *suffer*: allow
 31 *tried*: ascertained (by means of a trial) 33 *in no wise*: by no means
 33 *set forth*: advanced // *maintained*: upheld

name. Now, when it was, then, thus indeed—that neither
the chancellor nor any man else ever sued any charter of
pardon for the matter—this is, then, the fifth lie that this man hath
made in so few lines. Which things whoso well consider... cannot
5 but marvel of the sore pithy point wherewith he knitteth
up all his heavy matter, saying to the King, “Who is there
of their kingdom that will not take courage to commit like offense,
seeing the promotions that fall to such men for their
offending? So weak and so blunt is your sword to strike at one
10 of the offenders of this crooked and perverse generation!” Lo
how this great zelator of the commonwealth crieth out upon
the King... that his sword is not strong and sharp to strike off
innocents’ heads! He hath of likelihood ransacked up all Dame
Rhetoric’s rolls to find out this goodly figure—to call upon
15 the King and ask His Highness, “Where is your sword?” and tell
him his sword is too dull—as though he would bid him bear it to
the cutlers to grind... that he might strike off *Dr. Horsey’s*
head... whom His Grace had found faultless... and testified him
himself for an innocent! If this man were *here* matched with
20 some such as he is himself, that hath the eloquence that he
hath; that could find out such comely figures of rhetoric
as he findeth, set forth and furnished with such vehement
words as he thundereth out like thunderblasts; that hath no
less matters in his mouth than the “great, broad, bottomless
25 ocean sea full of evils,” the “weakness” and dullness of the King’s
“sword,” the “translation” of the King’s “kingdom,” the “ruin” of
the King’s “crown”—with great exclamations (“O grievous
and painful exactions!” “O case most horrible!” “O grievous
shipwreck of the commonwealth!”)—what might one that had suchlike
30 eloquence say *here* to him? Surely so much, and in such
wise, as we seely, poor, puling souls neither can devise nor
utter. But verily, two or three things we see and may well say:
that neither be these great matters meet for the mouth of the

2 *sued*: tried to obtain 4 *made*: told // *whoso*: whoever (will) 5 *of*: at
5 *sore*: terribly 5–6 *knitteth* . . . *matter*: wraps up his whole weighty case
9 *blunt*: dull 11 *zelator*: zealous supporter // *upon*: against
14, 21 *find out*: come up with 14 *goodly figure*: splendid metaphor
16 *bear*: take 17 *grind*: sharpen 18 *faultless*: not guilty
19, 30 *here*: i.e., here in purgatory 21 *find out*: come up with
21 *comely*: felicitous 22 *vehement*: dramatic 24 *less*: lesser
25 *ocean sea*: ocean // *evils*: disasters 26 *translation*: taking away
26 *kingdom*: kingship; sovereignty 28 *case*: situation // *grievous*: tragic
31 *seely, poor, puling*: poor, pitiful, crying // *devise*: think of 33 *meet*: fitting

5 beggars' proctor... nor such preaching of reformation and
 amendment of the world meet matters for him to meddle with
 which with open heresies and plain, pestilent errors busily
 goeth about to poison and infect the world; nor very convenient
 10 for him to take upon him to give *counsel* to a *king*...
 when he showeth himself to have so much presumption and
 so little wit... as to ask the King a question and appoint him
 his answer—and therein to tell him that “all the world” knoweth that
 15 thing to be true... which the King hath himself already, by
 his attorney and his judges in open judgment, and in his high
 court of record, testified and confessed for false. If that man
 were not for malice as mad... not as a March hare, but as a mad
 20 dog that runneth forth and snatcheth he seeth not at whom—
 the fellow could never else with such open folly so suddenly
 oversee himself. But it were wrong with the world if
 malice had as much wit, circumspection, and providence in
 the pursuit of an ungracious purpose... as it hath haste, evil
 25 will, and wiliness in the first enterprising. For as an ape hath
 some similitude of a man, and as a fox hath a certain wiliness
 somewhat resembling an imperfect wit: so fareth
 30 this fellow, that beginneth, as one would ween, at good zeal and
 charity borne toward the poor beggars, but forthwith he
 showeth himself that he nothing else intendeth... but openly
 to destroy the clergy, first... and after that, covertly, as many as
 35 have aught above the state of beggars. And whereas he would in
 the beginning, by the touching of great matters, fain seem very
 wise—within a while in the progress he proveth himself a very
 stark fool. And whereas he would seem to show many notable
 things which no man had marked but he—he provideth wisely
 that no man may believe him, he maketh so many lies... and all
 that ever he doth further, he buildeth upon the same.

He layeth that the living which the clergy hath is the
 only cause that there be so many beggars that be sick and sore.
 Very well and wisely; as though the clergy by their substance
 35 made men blind and lame! The clergy also is the

1 *proctor*: spokesman 2 *meet*: suitable // *meddle*: involve himself
 3 *which*: who // *open*: manifest // *pestilent*: noxious; spiritually life-threatening
 4 *convenient*: appropriate 7, 16 *wit*: sense 10 *open judgment*: a public trial
 11 *testified*: attested // *confessed*: acknowledged 14, 21 *fellow*: sorry man
 14 *open folly*: patent foolishness // *suddenly*: rashly
 15 *oversee himself*: make such blunders // *it were*: i.e., something would be
 16 *providence*: prudent foresight 17 *pursuit*: following through with; carrying out of
 17 *ungracious*: ungodly; wicked // *purpose*: plan // *haste*: rashness // *evil*: ill
 18 *first enterprising*: initial undertaking (of it) 19 *similitude of*: similarity to
 20 *imperfect wit*: incomplete intelligence 21 *ween*: think // *at*: with
 22 *forthwith*: right away 22–23 *he showeth himself*: he himself makes it clear
 25 *ught*: anything 26 *touching*: treating // *fain*: i.e., like to
 28 *would . . . show*: wants to appear to be pointing out
 29 *marked*: observed; been aware of 30 *may*: can // *maketh*: tells
 32 *layeth*: claims 33 *sore*: disabled 34 *substance*: wealth

cause, he saith, why they “die for hunger.” As though every layman gave to beggars all that ever he could... and the clergy gave them never a groat. And as though there would not more beggars walk abroad if the clergy left off such laymen as they
5 find.

But he proveth you that the clergy *must* needs be the cause why there be so many poor men and beggars. For he saith that before the clergy came in, there were but few poor people—and yet they begged not, neither, but men, he saith, gave them
10 “enough unasked.” But, now, where sat he when he saw the people give poor folk so fast their alms unasked that no man needed to beg, before the clergy began? This man of likelihood is of great age... and ere e’er the clergy began was wont to sit at St. Savior’s with a sore leg; but he begged not, men gave him so much
15 unasked. For whereas he allegeth the Bible for him, in the Acts of the Apostles... verily we marvel much what the man meaneth. For there he may see that the apostles and the deacons, which were then the clergy, had altogether in their own hands... and distributed to every man as themselves thought good. And therefore
20 we wonder what he meaneth, to speak of that book. For we think that he meaneth not to hurt the clergy so now... as to put all into their hands. And surely but if he mean so... else is this place nothing for his purpose.

Now, herein he showeth also a high point of his wit: where
25 he saith that the great living that the clergy hath—which he layeth (and lieth) to be more than half of the whole revenues and substance of the realm—is shifted among fewer than the four-hundredth part of the people. As though that of the clergy’s part there had no lay people their living—no servant any
30 wages, none artificer any money for working, no carpenter, no mason, any money for building—but all the money that ever cometh in their hands, they put it by and by in their own bellies, and no layman hath any relief thereof. And therefore this point was wisely written, ye see as well as we. Now, for the truth thereof:
35 if it were true that he saith, that the clergy compared to the

3 *groat*: A coin worth about a nickel. 4 *walk abroad*: be walking around; be out there
4 *left off*: let go 5 *find*: provide a living for (by having them in their employ)
9 *yet*: even 13 *ere e’er*: before ever 14 *sore*: bum
15 *allegeth the Bible for him*: claims that the Bible backs him up
15–16 *in the Acts of the Apostles*: See Acts 4:34–35. 16 *marvel much*: much wonder
17 *may*: can // *which*: who 18 *had altogether in*: received everything into
22 *but if*: unless 23 *place*: text // *nothing for*: not at all to
24 *wit*: perspicacity; astuteness 26 *layeth*: alleges 27 *substance*: capital; wealth
27 *shifted*: distributed 27–28 *the four-hundredth part*: 0.25 percent; one out of four hundred
30 *artificer*: craftsman 32 *in their*: into their // *by and by in*: directly into
33 *hath*: gets // *relief*: aid 34 *wisely*: brilliantly

residue of the men only... be not one to a hundred, then shall ye not need to fear the great Turk and he came tomorrow—except ye suffer among you to grow in great number these Lutherans that favor him. For we dare make you the warranty that if his lie
 5 be true... there be more men a great many in London and within four shires next adjoining... than the great Turk bringeth into Hungary. But in this ye must hold him excused... for he meddleth not much with algorism, to see to what sum the number of men ariseth that is multiplied by a hundred. All his practice in
 10 multiplication meddleth with nothing but lies; and therein, match him with whom ye will, he will give you a hundred for one. Whereof if ye lack, let this be the example: that he saith, “If the abbot of Westminster should sing every day as many Masses for its founders as he is bound to do by its foundation, a thousand
 15 monks were too few.” Ye doubt not, we think, but he can tell you who hath bound them, to how many... and so can make ye the plain reckoning that the abbot is bound in the year to no fewer Masses than 365,000. He knoweth what is every man’s duty save his own. He is meet to be a beggars’ proctor... that can so prowl
 20 about and can tell allthing.

But now were all his painted process, ye wot well, nothing worth but if he devised against all these mischiefs some good and wholesome help. It is, therefore, a world to see what politic devices he findeth against the “great, broad, bottomless ocean sea of
 25 evils”—what remedies to repair the “ruin” of the King’s “crown,” to restore and uphold his honor and “dignity,” to make his “sword” sharp and strong, and, finally, to save all the “shipwreck of the commonwealth.” Ye would peradventure ween that the man would now devise some good, wholesome laws for help of all these matters.
 30 Nay, he will none thereof. For he saith he doubteth that the King is not able to make any law against them. For he saith that the clergy is “stronger” in the Parliament than the King himself. For in the higher house... he reckoneth that the spirituality is more in number and stronger than the temporalty. And in the

1 *residue*: rest 2 *and*: if // *except*: except if; unless 3 *suffer*: allow
 4 *warranty*: guarantee 7 *meddleth*: messes 8 *algorism*: arithmetic
 10 *meddleth*: has to do 14 *foundation*: foundationary charter
 15 *were*: would be 18 *save*: except 19 *meet*: fit // *proctor*: spokesman
 20 *about*: around // *allthing*: all things
 21 *all his painted process*: his whole specious line of argument // *wot*: know
 22 *mischiefs*: calamities 23 *help*: remedy // *politic devices*: sagacious expedients
 24 *findeth*: comes up with; provides // *ocean sea*: ocean 25 *evils*: disasters
 27 *save*: avert // *all the*: the entire 28 *peradventure*: perhaps // *ween*: think
 30 *will none thereof*: will have none of that // *doubteth*: fears
 33 *spirituality*: clergy 34 *temporalty*: laity

Commons House he saith that “all the learned men of the realm”
 except the King’s “learned council” be feed with the Church to
 “speak” “against” the King’s “crown” and “dignity” in the Parliament,
 “for them”... and therefore he thinketh the King unable to make
 5 any law against the faults of the clergy.

This beggars’ proctor would fain show himself a man of great
 experience, and one that had great knowledge of the manner and
 order used in the King’s parliaments. But then he speaketh so
 savorly thereof... that it well appeareth, of his wise words, he
 10 neither can any skill thereof... nor never came in the house.
 For as for the higher house, first, the King’s own royal person alone
 more than counterpoiseth all the lords spiritual present with
 him—and the temporal, too. And over this, the spiritual lords
 can never in number exceed the lords temporal, but must
 15 needs be far underneath them, if it please the King. For His
 Highness may call thither by his writ many more temporal lords
 at his own pleasure. And being as they be... there was never yet
 seen that the spiritual lords banded themselves there as a
 party against the temporal lords. But it *hath* been seen that
 20 the thing which the spiritual lords have moved and thought
 reasonable... the temporal lords have denied and refused; as
 appeareth upon the motion made for legitimation of the
 children born before the marriage of their parents. Wherein
 albeit that the reformation which the lords spiritual moved...
 25 was a thing that nothing pertained to their own commodity;
 and albeit that they laid also for their part the constitution
 and ordinance of the Church and the laws of other Christian
 countries: yet could they not obtain against the lords temporal,
 that nothing alleged to the contrary but their own
 30 wills. And therefore in the higher house the spiritual party
 never appeared yet so strong that they might overmatch the
 temporal lords. And then how much are they too feeble for them
 and the King too—whose Highness alone is over strong for them
 both... and may by his writ call to his parliament more temporal
 35 lords when he will. Now, where he saith that in the Commons House

2 *feed with*: bribed by 5 *faults*: wrongdoings 6 *proctor*: spokesman
 6 *fain*: i.e., like to 7 *manner*: convention; etiquette
 8 *order*: protocol; mode of procedure 9 *savorly*: perspicaciously; expertly
 9 *of*: from // *wise*: brilliant
 10 *can any skill thereof*: knows anything about it
 12 *counterpoiseth*: equals in power 12, 13, etc. *spiritual*: ecclesiastical
 13, 14, etc. *temporal*: secular 13 *over this*: furthermore
 15 *underneath*: fewer than
 17 *being as they be*: i.e., these lords being *spiritual* ones
 20, 24 *moved*: proposed 21 *refused*: rejected
 22 *appeareth upon*: is evidenced by
 25 *nothing . . . commodity*: there was nothing in for them 28 *obtain*: win out
 29 *that*: who // *alleged*: adduced 31 *might*: could 33 *over*: too

“all the learned men” of the realm are feed to speak for the clergy
 except the King’s “learned council”: there be two follies at once. For
 neither be all the learned men of the realm knights or burgesses
 in the Commons House... and the King’s “learned council” is
 5 not there at all. And therefore it seemeth that he hath heard somewhat
 of some men that had seen as little as himself. And surely if
 he had been *in* the Commons House (as some of us have been), he
 should have seen the spirituality not gladly spoken for. And we
 little doubt but that ye remember acts and statutes passed at
 10 sundry parliaments... such, and in such wise, and some of them so
 lately, as yourselves may see that either the clergy is not the stronger
 part in the King’s Parliament... or else have no mind to strive.
 And for the further proof that the King’s Highness is not so weak
 and unable in his own Parliament as this beggars’ proctor so
 15 presumptuously telleth him, His Grace well knoweth, and all his
 people too, that in their own convocations His Grace never devised
 nor desired anything in his life... that ever was denied
 him. And therefore this gay invention of this beggars’ proctor—
 that he feigneth the King’s Highness to be in his high
 20 court of Parliament more weak and feeble than the clergy—is a
 very feeble device.

But, now, since he will have no *law* devised for the remedy of
 his great complaints, what help hath he devised else? The
 help of all this gear is, he saith, none other thing... but to let
 25 him and such royal railers... rail and jest upon the Church... and
 tell the people the priests’ faults—and for the lewdness of *part*,
 bring the *whole* clergy in contempt and hatred among all the
 temporal folk. Which thing he saith the King must needs suffer...
 if he “will eschew the ruin of [his] crown and dignity.” And
 30 this thing, he saith, shall be more “speedful” and effectual in the
 “matter”... “than all the laws that ever can be made, be they never so
 strong.” Lo, good lords and masters, then shall ye need no more
 parliaments! For here is, God be thanked, an easy way, wisely
 found, to remedy—with railing!—the “great, broad, bottomless

1 *feed*: bribed 2 *follies*: idiocies 5–6 *somewhat of*: something from
 8 *spirituality*: clergy // *gladly*: regularly; as a matter of course
 11 *lately*: recently 12 *part*: element
 12 *no mind to strive*: no wish to put up a fight 14 *unable*: powerless
 14, 18 *proctor*: spokesman 18 *gay invention*: showy contrivance
 21 *device*: ploy 23, 24 *help*: solution
 24 *of all this gear*: to this whole mess 25 *royal*: first-rate
 25 *jeer upon*: jeer at 26 *faults*: wrongdoings // *lewdness*: badness
 28 *temporal*: lay // *suffer*: allow 29 *eschew*: avoid
 30 *speedful*: successful 31 *matter*: issue; problem // *never so*: no matter how
 32 *masters*: sirs 33 *wisely*: ingeniously; brilliantly

ocean sea of evils,” and to save the commonwealth from shipwreck, and the King’s crown from ruin.

5 But now to the poor beggars. What remedy findeth their proctor for them? To make hospitals? Nay, beware of that; thereof he will none, in no wise. For thereof he saith “the more the worse”... because they be profitable to priests. What remedy, then? Give them any money? Nay, nay, not a groat. What other thing, then? Nothing in the world will serve but this: that if the King’s Grace “will build a sure hospital that never shall fail to relieve” all the sick beggars forever, let him give nothing to them... but look what the clergy hath, and take all that from them. Is not here a goodly mischief for a remedy? Is not this a royal feast, to leave these beggars meatless... and then send more to dinner with them? Oh, the wise! Here want we voice and eloquence to set out an exclamation in the praise and commendation of this special, high provision. This bill putteth he forth in the poor beggars’ name. But we verily think if themselves have as much wit as their proctor lacketh, they had liefer see their bill-maker burned... than their supplication sped. For they may soon perceive that he mindeth not their alms... but only the spoil of the clergy. For so that the clergy lose it—he neither deviseth further... nor further forceth who have it.

25 But it is easy to see whereof springeth all his displeasure. He is angry, and fretteth, at the spiritual jurisdiction... for the punishment of heretics and burning of their erroneous books. For ever upon that string he harpeth—very angry with the burning of Tyndale’s Testament. For these matters he calleth them “blood-suppers drunk in the blood of holy saints and martyrs.” Ye marvel, peradventure, which “holy saints and martyrs” he meaneth. Surely by his “holy saints and martyrs” he meaneth their holy schismatics and heretics... for whose just punishment these folk that are of the same sect fume, fret, froth, and foam... as fierce and as angrily as a new-hunted sow. And for the rancor conceived upon this displeasure... cometh up all his complaint of the possessions of the clergy. Wherein he spareth and forbeareth the nuns yet, because they have no jurisdiction

1 *ocean sea*: ocean // *evils*: disasters 4, 18 *proctor*: spokesman 5 *will*: wants
 5 *in no wise*: by no means 7 *groat*: i.e., nickel 9 *will*: wants to
 9 *sure*: trustworthy 12 *goodly*: huge; big fat // *mischief*: evil
 13 *meatless*: without food 14 *the wise*: i.e., what genius // *want*: lack
 16 *high*: superb 17 *wit*: sense 18 *had liefer*: would rather
 19 *sped*: expedited 20 *he mindeth not*: his objective is not (an increasing of)
 20 *spoil*: despoiling 21 *so that*: so long as
 21–22 *deviseth further*: thinks beyond that 22 *forceth*: cares
 24, 32 *fret(teth)*: chafe(s) 24 *spiritual*: ecclesiastical // *for*: because of
 27 *Testament*: i.e., translation of the New Testament // *matters*: things
 28 *blood-suppers*: bloodsuckers 29 *marvel*: wonder
 29 *peradventure*: perhaps 31 *holy*: arrant; flagrant // *for*: on account of
 32 *sect*: heretical belief system 33 *new-hunted*: just-now hunted
 36 *forbeareth*: leaves alone // *yet*: as yet; so far

upon heretics; for else he would have cried out upon their possessions too. But this is now no new thing, nor the first time that heretics have been in hand with the matter. For first was there, in the eleventh year of King Henry IV, one John
 5 Badby burned for heresy. And forthwith thereupon was there at the next parliament, held the same year, a bill put in... declaring how much temporal land was in the Church; which reckoning the maker thereof guessed at by the number of knights' fees, of which he had went he had made a very just account.
 10 And in this bill was it devised to take their possessions out again. Howbeit, by the bill it appeared well unto them which well understood the matter... that the maker of the bill neither wist what land there was, nor how many knights' fees there was, in the Church... nor well what thing a knight's fee *is*; but the bill
 15 devised of rancor and evil will by some such as favored Badby, that was burned, and would have his heresies fain go forward.
 And so that bill, such as it was, such was it esteemed... and set aside for naught. So happed it then, soon after, that in the first year
 20 of the King's most noble progenitor King Henry V, those heresies secretly creeping on still among the people, a great number of them had first covertly conspired and after openly gathered and assembled themselves... purposing by open war and battle to destroy the king and his nobles and subvert
 25 the realm. Whose traitorous malice that good Catholic king prevented, withstood, overthrew, and punished—by many of them taken in the field... and after, for their traitorous heresies, both hanged and burned. Whereupon forthwith, at the parliament held the same year, likewise as that
 30 royal prince, his virtuous nobles, and his good Christian commons... devised good laws against heretics: so did some of such as favored them... eftsoons put in the bill against the spirituality. Which eftsoons considered for such as it was and coming of such malicious purpose as it came... was again
 35 rejected and set aside for naught. Then was there long after

1 *upon heretics*: over heretics // *upon their*: about their
 3 *been . . . matter*: taken up this matter 7 *declaring*: stating // *temporal*: secular
 9 *went*: thought // *just*: accurate // *account*: computation
 10–11 *out again*: back out 12 *wist*: knew 14 *well*: exactly 15 *evil*: ill
 16 *fain*: i.e., by gum; darn well 18 *esteemed*: regarded
 19, 35 *for naught*: as worthless 26 *prevented*: anticipated
 27 *taken in the field*: taken captive on the battlefield 30 *royal*: first-rate
 30 *commons*: commoners 32, 33 *eftsoons*: for a second time
 32 *spirituality*: clergy

that... one Richard Howndon burned for heresy. And then
 forthwith were there a rabble of heretics gathered themselves
 together at Abingdon... which not intended to lose any more
 labor by putting up of bills in the parliaments, but to make
 5 an open insurrection and subvert all the realm... and then to
 kill up the clergy and sell priests' heads as good cheap as
 sheep's heads—three for a penny, buy who would. But God saved the
 Church and the realm both, and turned their malice upon their
 own heads. And yet after their punishment, then were
 10 there some that renewed the bill *again*. And yet long after this
 was there one John Goose roasted at the Tower Hill; and thereupon,
 forthwith, some other John goose began to bear that bill abroad
 again... and made some gagging a while, but it availed him
 not. And now, because some heretics have been of late
 15 abjured, *this* gosling therefore hath made this beggars' bill...
 and gaggleth again upon the same matter—and that, as he
 thinketh, by a proper invention likely to speed now: because he
 maketh his bill in the name of the *beggars*... and his bill couched
 as full of lies as any beggar swarmeth full of lice.

20 We neither will nor shall need to make much business about
 this matter. We trust much better in the goodness of good
 men... than that we should need for this thing to reason against
 an unreasonable body. We be sure enough that good men were
 they that *gave* this gear into the Church... and therefore naught
 25 should they be, of likelihood, that would pull them out thence again. To
 which ravin and sacrilege our Lord, we trust, shall never suffer
 this realm to fall.

Holy Saint Augustine in his days, when he perceived that
 some evil people murmured at the possessions that then were
 30 given into his church, did, in an open sermon, among all the
 people, offer them their lands again... and that his church
 and he would forsake them... and bade them take them who
 would. And yet was there not found in all the town... albeit
 that the people were (as these Africans be) very barbarous,
 35 fierce, and boisterous... yet was there none, as we say, found—any

3–4 *which . . . labor*: who intended not to waste any more time and effort

6 *up*: off // *as good cheap*: for as good and cheap; at as good a bargain

12 *bear*: tote // *abroad*: around 13 *made some gagging*: did some cackling

15 *abjured*: made to recant 17 *proper*: fine; excellent

17 *invention*: contrivance // *speed*: succeed 20 *business*: ado

23 *unreasonable body*: irrational person 24 *gear*: stuff // *naught*: bad

25 *pull . . . again*: i.e., yank back out of there these things donated to the Church

26 *ravin*: pillage // *suffer*: allow 30 *given into*: donated to *open*: public

31 *again*: back 32 *forsake them*: give them up

32–33 *bade . . . would*: told them to take them, whoever wanted to

35 *boisterous*: savage // *any*: i.e., not even

one!—so bad... that his heart would serve him to enter into one foot.

When Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, bought up in the dear years
 all the lands that were in every man's hand... so that all the
 5 people were fain to sell their inheritance, for hunger: yet,
 idolater as he was, he would never suffer for any need the possessions
 of the *priests* to be sold, but made provision for them
 beside... and suffered them to keep their lands still, as the
 Bible beareth witness. And we verily trust that the good
 10 Christian princes of the Christian realm of England shall never
 fail of more favor toward the clergy of Christ... than had
 that prince idolater to the priests of his idols. Yet is it not
 enough to the cruel mind of *this* man to take from the whole
 clergy all that ever they have... but that he would further have
 15 them bound unto carts and whipped, to drive them to
 labor.

Of all thieves is this one of the worst and most cruel kind.
 For of all thieves men most abhor them that when they have
 taken a man's money from him... then take and bind him
 20 and beat him, too. But yet is this wretch much worse. For he
 fareth as a cruel thief that would without respect of his own
 commodity... take a man's money from him and cast it
 he care not where... and then bind the man to a tree and beat
 him for his pleasure. Oh, the charity!

But he saith he would have them whipped to compel them
 to "labor and get their living in the sweat of their faces."
 And this would he not, good man, but for fulfilling of God's
 "commandment." For he saith that it is *commanded* them in
 the first chapter of Genesis. And therefore is he therein so indifferent
 30 that he excepteth *none*, but calleth the best but "idle holy
 thieves"... and so would have them all robbed and despoiled, bound
 and beaten, to compel them to work with their hands, to
 "get their living in the sweat of their faces" for the fulfilling
 of God's "commandment." Among this company that he
 35 would suddenly send forth new-robbed, with right naught
 left them, is there many a good man that hath lived full godly

2 *foot*: i.e., square foot of any of those properties 3–9: See Genesis 47:20–22.

3 *dear years*: years of dearth; years of famine 5 *fain*: forced

6, 8 *suffer(ed)*: allow(ed) 8 *beside*: separately 11 *fail of*: i.e., fail to show

16 *labor*: i.e., manual labor 18 *abhor them that*: detest those who

19 *bind him*: tie him up 21 *fareth as*: acts like // *respect*: consideration

22 *commodity*: interest 28–29: See Genesis 3:19.

29 *indifferent*: impartial; nondiscriminating 30 *holy*: arrant; out-and-out

35 *suddenly*: instantly // *new-robbed*: just-now robbed

35 *right naught*: absolutely nothing 36 *full godly*: in a very godly way

many a fair day... and duly served God and prayed for *us* (which we have well found!): many an old man, many a sore sick man, and many blind and many lame, too. All which as soon as they be driven out of their own doors... this charitable man would
 5 be very well content to see them bound and beaten too... because they be of the clergy. For exception maketh he none in this world.

He layeth unto the charge of the clergy that they live idle *all*, and that they be all bound to “labor and get their living in the sweat of their faces” by the precept that God gave to Adam in the first chapter of Genesis. Here this man showeth his cunning.
 10 For if this be so—then were the priests in the Old Law bound thereto as well as is the clergy now. And then how happed it that of this point there was no mention made by Moses?
 15 How happed it that God in that law provided them much larger living than he did the lay people? And that, such kind of living as declared that his pleasure was that they should live *out* of labor, and upon the labor of *other* men’s hands? The holy apostle Saint Paul... although himself in some places
 20 forbore to take his living freely, but rather chose to live off his own labor than to be in their danger which would haply have said that he preached because he would live at ease thereby—and this did he especially to put such false apostles to silence... as for such desire of idle living fell somewhere to
 25 false preaching—yet neither did he so in *every* place... and also confessed and said that he might well and lawfully have done the contrary, affirming it for good reason that he that serveth the altar should live off the altar, and saying also, “If we sow unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we reap your carnal things?” Now, Christ his own mouth said unto the people... that they should not leave their duties unpaid unto the priests. And this good Christian man would have them all clean taken from them... and, yet, the priests well beaten, too.

He reckoneth all the clergy “idle” because they labor not with their hands till their faces sweat. But our Savior Christ
 35

2 *sore sick*: seriously ill 9–11: See Genesis 3:19. 11 *cunning*: learnedness
 15–18: See Numbers 5:9–10, 18:20–21, 35:2–8; and Deuteronomy 18:1–4.
 17 *declared*: made it clear 18 *out of labor*: i.e., *not* by manual labor
 18–30: See 1 Corinthians 9:6–18, Acts 20:33–34, 2 Corinthians 11:7–13, and Philippians 4:15–16. 20 *take . . . freely*: get . . . for free
 21 *be in their danger which*: be vulnerable to those who // *haply*: perhaps
 22 *would live at ease thereby*: wanted to live thereby a life of ease
 24 *fell somewhere*: resorted in some places 26 *confessed*: acknowledged
 26 *might well and lawfully*: could quite legitimately
 27 *for good reason*: to make good sense 29 *great thing*: big deal
 29 *carnal*: material 30–31: See Matthew 8:4. 30 *his*: i.e., with his
 33 *yet*: moreover

reckoned far otherwise in blessed Mary Magdalene. Whose
 idle sitting at her ease and hearkening... he accounted and declared
 for better busyness than the busy stirring and walking about
 of his good hostess, Martha—which was yet of all worldly business
 5 occupied about the best; for she was busy about alms
 and hospitality... and the guesting of the best poor man,
 and most gracious guest, that ever was guested in this world.

Now, if this cannot yet content this good man, because of
 God's "commandment" given unto Adam that he should eat
 10 his bread in the sweat of his face: then would we fain wit whether
 himself never go to meat... till he have wrought so sore with his
 hands that his face sweateth. Surely we believe he laboreth not
 so sore before every meal. But yet it were not good to trust his
 answer; for he will haply say yes... and not let for one lie
 15 among so many. Howbeit, he thinketh it, peradventure,
 enough for him... that he sitteth and studieth till he sweat in
 seeking out old heresies, and devising new. And verily, if he
 look that such busyness should serve him for a discharge of hand
 labor, much better may we think discharged thereof... many
 20 *good* men whom he would have beaten thereto, living their lives
 in fasting, prayer, and preaching—and studying about—the *truth*.

But it is good to look betimes what this beggars' proctor
 meaneth by this "commandment" of hand labor that he
 speaketh of. For if he confess that it bindeth not *every* man:
 25 then is it laid to no purpose against the clergy. For there
 was a small clergy when that word was said to our first father,
 Adam. But, now, if he call it a precept, as he doth... and then will
 that it extend unto all the whole kind of man... as a thing by God
 commanded unto Adam and all his offspring: then, though he
 30 say little now, he meaneth to go further hereafter than he speaketh
 of yet. For if he might first have the clergy put out of their
 living... and all that they have clean taken from them... and
 might have them joined to these beggars that be now; and,

2 *hearkening*: listening with eager and respectful attention 4 *which*: who
 4 *worldly*: earthly 10 *fain wit*: like to know 11 *himself*: he himself
 11 *meat*: dinner // *wrought so sore*: worked so hard 13 *so sore*: that hard
 13 *were not*: would not be 14 *haply*: maybe
 14 *let for one*: scruple over one; forbear to tell one more
 15 *peradventure*: perhaps 17 *seeking out*: digging up; reviving
 17 *devising new*: thinking up new ones
 18 *look*: expect // *discharge of*: dispensation from 18, 23 *hand*: manual
 19 *discharged thereof*: dispensed from it 22 *betimes*: in good time
 22 *proctor*: spokesman 24 *confess*: admit 26 *said*: i.e., given
 27–28 *will that it*: will have it 28 *all . . . man*: the whole entire human race

over that, added unto them and sent a-begging too... all those that the
 clergy find now full honestly—this pageant once played, and
 his beggars' bill so well sped—then, when the beggars should
 have so much less living and be so many more in multitude,
 5 surely likewise as for the beggars he now maketh his bill to the
 King's Highness against bishops, abbots, priors, prelates,
 and priests, so would he then, within a while after, make another
 bill to the people against merchants, gentlemen,
 kings, lords, and princes... and complain that they have
 10 all... and say that they do nothing for it, but live idle... and that
 they be commanded in Genesis to live by the labor of their
 hands "in the sweat of their faces," as he saith by the
 clergy now. Wherein if they ween that they shall stand in
 other case than the clergy doth now, they may peradventure
 15 sore deceive themselves. For if they will think that their case
 shall not be called all one because *they* have *lands* and *goods* to
 live upon—they must consider so hath the clergy too. But that is
 the thing that this beggars' proctor complaineth upon... and would
 have them taken away. Now, if the landed men suppose that
 20 their case shall not seem one with the case of the clergy...
 because they shall haply think that the *Church* hath their
 possessions given them for causes which they fulfill not; and
 that if their possessions happen to be taken from them, it
 shall be done upon that ground; and so the lay landed men
 25 out of that fear, because they think that suchlike occasion
 and ground and consideration faileth and cannot be found
 in them and their inheritance—surely if any man, clerical or lay,
 have lands in the gift whereof hath been any condition adjoined
 which he fulfilleth not, the giver may well with reason use
 30 therein such advantage as the law giveth him. But, on the other
 side, whoso will advise princes or lay people to take from the
 clergy their possessions... alleging matters at large—as laying to
 their charge that they "live not as they should," nor "use not well
 their possessions"—and that therefore it were well done to take
 35 them from them by force and "dispose them better": we dare
 boldly say whoso giveth this device, as now doth this beggars'

1 *over*: on top of 2 *find now full honestly*: provide with a quite respectable living
 2 *pageant*: charade 3 *sped*: expedited
 8 *gentlemen*: men belonging to the landed gentry 12 *by*: about 13 *ween*: think
 14 *other*: a different 14, 15, 20 *case*: situation 14 *peradventure*: perhaps
 15 *sore deceive*: be badly deluding 16 *all one*: entirely the same // *goods*: assets
 18 *proctor*: spokesman // *upon*: about 21 *haply*: maybe // *Church*: i.e., clergy
 22, 23, etc. *possessions*: holdings 26 *faileth*: is lacking 27 *surely*: certainly
 31 *side*: hand 31, 36 *whoso*: whoever 31 *people*: i.e., nonroyals
 32 *alleging matters at large*: making (only) general allegations
 32 *as*: such as 34 *were well done*: would be a justifiable thing to do
 35 *dispose them better*: make a better disposition of them 36 *device*: advice

proctor, we would give you counsel to look well what will follow. For he shall not fail, as we said before, if this bill of his were sped... to find you soon after, in a new supplication, new bald reasons enough that should please the people's ears... wherewith
 5 he would labor to have lords' lands and all honest men's goods to be pulled from them by force and distributed among beggars. Of which there should, in this wise that he deviseth, increase and grow so many... that they should be able for a sudden shift to make a strong party. And surely as the fire ever creepeth
 10 forward and laboreth to turn all into fire—so will such bold beggars as this is... never cease to solicit and procure all that they can... the spoil and robbery of all that aught have... and to make all beggars as they be themselves.

We be content that ye believe us not... but if it have so proved already
 15 by those uplandish Lutherans that rose up in Almaine. Which, being once raised by such seditious books as is this "Beggars' Supplication"... and such seditious heretics as is he that made it, set first upon spiritual prelates. But shortly thereupon they so stretched unto the *temporal* princes... that
 20 *they* were fain to join, in aid of themselves, with those whom they laughed at first to see them put in the peril—hoping to have had the profit of their loss... till they saw that they were likely to lose their own with them. And for all the punishment that they pursued upon those rebellious persons—of
 25 whom there were in one summer slain above sixty thousand—yet is that fire rather covered than quenched, because they suffered it creep forth so far at first... that dissension grew thereby among the lords themselves, as there can never lack some needy, ravenous landed men... that shall be ready to be captains in all such rebellions;
 30 as was the Lord Cobham called Oldcastle... sometime a captain of heretics in England, in the days of King Henry V. And surely there would soon follow some sore change in the temporality... if this beggars' proctor have his malicious supplication sped against the spirituality.

1, 33 *proctor*: spokesman 3, 34 *sped*: expedited
 4 *bald reasons*: meritless arguments 5 *labor*: strive
 5–6 *honest men's goods*: the goods of all men who are in positions of honor
 6 *pulled*: expropriated 8–9 *for a sudden shift*: in a hasty, makeshift way
 10 *laboreth*: tries 12 *spoil*: spoliation; despoiling // *aught have*: have anything
 14 *but if*: unless 15 *uplandish*: rustic; rural // *rose up*: took part in a rebellion
 15 *Almaine*: Germany 16 *which*: who // *raised*: stirred up
 18 *made*: wrote // *set first upon*: first attacked // *spiritual*: Church
 19 *temporal*: secular 20 *fain*: forced 24 *pursued*: visited; inflicted
 25 *above*: more than 26 *suffered*: let 30 *called*: i.e., whose name was
 30 *sometime*: at one time 32 *sore*: extreme / distressing 33 *temporality*: laity
 34 *sped against the spirituality*: against the clergy expedited

But yet, lest folk should abhor his hard heart and cruelty, the
 man tempereth his matter with a goodly visage of the sore inward
 sorrow that he taketh for the diminishment of mankind... and
 with the great zeal that he beareth to generation for the good
 5 increase of Christian people in the land. For he would for that cause
 in any wise that all the clergy should have wives. For he asketh the
 King's Highness (as the man hath caught a great pleasure to
 appose the King... wherein he useth a figure of rhetoric that men
 call "sauce malapert") "what an infinite number of people might
 10 have been increased to have peopled your realm... if this sort
 of folk had been married like other men." This matter that priests
 must needs have wives he bringeth in diversely in three or four
 places. And among others he hath one... wherein he showeth in
 railing against the clergy a principal part of his excellent
 15 eloquence. For there he useth his royal figure of rhetoric
 called "repetition," repeating often, by the whole clergy, "these be
 they" in the beginning of his clause: "These be they that have made
 a hundred thousand idle whores in your realm"; "These be they that corrupt the
 generation of mankind in your realm"; "These be they that draw
 20 men's wives into incontineny in your realm." And after
 divers of such "these be they"s, he concludeth and knitteth up the
 matter with his accustomed vehemence fetched out of Luther's volumes,
 asking, "Who is able to number the great, broad, bottomless
 ocean sea full of evils... that this mischievous and sinful
 25 generation bringeth up upon us?" As though all the whole clergy
 were of this condition, and no man else but they. But among all
 his "these be they"s, this is one which, as the sorest and the most
 vehement, he setteth in the forefront of them all: "These be
 they that by their abstaining from marriage... do let the generation
 30 of the people; whereby all the realm at length, if it should be
 continued, shall be made deserted and uninhabitable."

Lo the deep insight that this beggars' proctor hath in the
 "broad, bottomless ocean sea full of evils" to save the "grievous

1 *abhor*: be horrified by 2, 22 *matter*: argumentation
 2 *goodly visage*: good-looking appearance // *sore*: intense // *inward*: inner
 3 *for*: over; on account of 4, 19, 29 *generation*: procreation; reproduction
 6 *in any wise*: by all means (have it) 7-8 *to appose*: i.e., in confronting
 9 *sauce malapert*: impudent sauciness // *infinite*: incalculable 10 *sort*: set
 11 *matter*: contention 12 *bringeth in diversely*: brings up in different ways
 15 *royal*: magnificent; first-rate 16 *by*: with reference to 17 *in*: at
 17 *clause*: sentence // *made*: caused there to be 19 *generation*: reproducing
 20 *incontineny*: unchastity 21 *divers*: several // *knitteth up*: finishes off
 22 *vehemence*: histrionics; melodrama 24, 33 *ocean sea*: ocean
 24, 33 *evils*: disasters 24 *mischievous*: pernicious 26 *condition*: caliber
 27 *sorest*: worst 28 *vehement*: tragic 29 *let*: hinder
 30 *at length*: eventually 32 *lo*: behold 33 *save*: avert // *grievous*: tragic

shipwreck of the commonwealth"! He seeth far farther than ever
 Christ was aware of... or any of his blessed apostles... or any of the old
 holy fathers of Christ's faith and religion since his holy Ascension
 hitherto... till now that Luther came of late, and Tyndale after
 5 him, and spied out this great secret mystery that neither God
 nor good man could espy. If their abstaining from marriage
 should make all the land "deserted" and "uninhabitable," how happeth it
 that habitation endureth therein so long? For the land hath
 10 lasted since the beginning of their abstaining from marriage,
 ye wot well, many a fair day! And now if, their abstaining
 from marriage notwithstanding, the land hath been upheld
 with the generation of you that are the temporalty, so long: ye shall
 likewise hereafter, by God's grace and the help of good
 15 prayers for keeping the land from wilderness, be able to beget
 children still yourselves... and shall not need to call neither
 monks nor friars to help you.

Now, if it be so that the clergy be, as he saith, but the hundredth
 part of the men... and yet not so much neither: there is not, then, so
 great peril of the land to fall to wilderness... but that the ninety-nine
 20 parts may maintain it populous... though the hundredth part
 abstain. But he, for to show that he hath not left his anxious
 favor toward his native country though he be run away from
 it for heresy, feareth sore lest, the hundredth part forbearing marriage,
 all the ninety-nine parts shall not be able so to preserve it
 25 with generation... but that it shall wax not only deserted... but also
 (whereof we most wonder) uninhabitable; that is to say, such as of itself
 shall not be able for man's habitation. But he peradventure
 taketh "uninhabitable" for deserted, desolate, and not inhabited...
 because men should see that he can so roll in his rhetoric... that he
 30 wotteth not what his own words mean.

And somewhat yet is it to be considered that in such part of
 his book that he would have it appear that their living is too
 much—there he would make it seem that they were very few. And
 where he would have them take wives—he would have them seem
 35 so many... that their abstaining from marriage were able to
 bring all the land into desolation and wilderness. And thus he

5 *great*: big // *secret*: esoteric 10, 30 *wot(teth)*: know(s)
 12, 25 *generation*: reproducing; procreating 12 *temporalty*: laity // *so*: this
 14–15 *beget children still*: go on begetting children
 17–18, 20, 23 *the hundredth part*: (the) 1 percent
 18 *yet not so much*: not even that much
 19–20, 24 *ninety-nine parts*: (other) 99 percent 20 *may maintain*: can keep
 21 *left*: lost 22 *favor*: partiality 23 *sore*: terribly // *lest*: i.e., that
 25 *wax*: become
 27 *able for man's habitation*: capable of being inhabited by human beings
 27 *peradventure*: perhaps 29 *because*: so that
 29 *roll*: luxuriate; revel 32 *living*: financial wherewithal

handleth either part so wisely... that there lacketh him nothing
 earthly therein... but even a pennyweight of wit. For fault whereof,
 his wily folly foreseeth not that one part of his process ever
 impugneth another. For they that were right now so small a
 5 part of people that a little would suffice for their living... be
 now suddenly so many that if they were married, “infinite
 number of people,” he saith to the King, would “increase,” to people his
 realm with. Now, if that be true, that of them alone, if they were
 married, so infinite number of people would increase... that it
 10 would make the realm populous: then either are they, contrary to
 his count, more than the hundredth part (for one out of a hundred is no
 very perceivable miss, nor one added to a hundred no very perceivable
 increase)... or else, if they be but the hundredth part, as he
 made his reckoning right now, yet if it be then true that he
 15 saith since—that of the hundredth part married, so infinite
 number of people might increase to people the realm—then
 can he not deny but that of the ninety-nine parts there may grow
 ninety-nine times infinite number of people. And then, that being
 so: though the clergy, being (as he saith) but the hundredth part,
 20 never marry, yet shall the poor fool not need to wake and wax lean
 for fear of the realm falling to wilderness. In which he seeth that
 there may of the ninety-nine parts residue... grow and increase
 ninety-nine times infinite number of people to make the land
 populous.
 25 Yet marvel we much of one thing: that in all his fear that generation
 should fail because the clergy marrieth not... he seeth
 no man unmarried in all the realm but them. How many
 servants? How many tall serving men are there in the
 realm that might if men saw such a sudden necessity... rather
 30 marry than the *clergy*, that have vowed to God the contrary? But he
 forceth not so much for the matter that he maketh his *pretext*...
 as he doth indeed to have all vows void... that he might get
 Luther some lewd companions in England.

1 *either*: each // *wisely*: intelligently / sensibly 2 *pennyweight*: penny's worth
 2 *wit*: intelligence / sense // *fault*: lack 3 *folly*: idiocy // *process*: line of argument
 4 *impugneth*: calls into question 4, 14 *right*: just
 5 *part of people*: percentage of the population 6, 9, etc. *infinite*: incalculable
 11, 13, etc. *the hundredth part*: (the) 1 percent
 17, 22 *ninety-nine parts*: (other) 99 percent 19 *as he saith*: according to him
 20 *wake*: lose sleep // *wax*: become 22 *residue*: remainder 25 *of*: at
 25 *generation*: procreation 26 *fail*: come to an end 28 *tall*: handsome
 31 *forceth* . . . *for*: cares . . . about // *matter*: thing 32 *void*: nullified

But, now, what if this good man had the rule of this matter...
 and would put out all the clergy and bid them go wed? He should
 peradventure find some that would not much stick thereat; but
 they should be of the worst sort, and such as now be slander of
 5 their order... and whom it were most need to keep *from* generation,
 lest evil crows bring you forth evil birds. But as for
 the good priests and good religious whose children were likely
 to be best and to be best brought up: *they* would *not* marry, for
 breach of their vows. And thus should ye have the naughty
 10 generations increase—whereof there be too many already—and of
 the better never the more.

What would this good man do now with good folk of the clergy,
 that would not marry? He would of likelihood bind them to carts and
 beat them... and make them wed in the waniand. But, now, what
 15 if women will not wed them? Namely since he sendeth them out
 with right naught... saving slander, shame, and villainy! What
 remedy will he find therefor? He will of likelihood *compel* the
 women to wed them; and if the wench be nice and play the
 wanton and make the matter strange... then will he beat her to
 20 bed too.

Surely we cannot but here confess the truth: these nice and
 wanton words do not very well with us. But we must pray God
 and you to pardon us. For in good faith, his matter of monks'
 "marriages" is so merry and so mad that it were able to make one
 25 laugh that lieth in the fire; and so much the more... in how much he
 more earnestly presseth upon the King in this point... to have, in
 any wise, the clergy robbed, despoiled, bound, beaten... and
 wedded. Whereby what opinion he hath of wedding... ye may
 soon perceive; for ye see well that if he thought it good, he
 30 would not wish it them.

Many that read his words... ween that he were some merry
 mad guest; but he seemeth us far otherwise. For except he
 were a wondrous sad man of himself, he could never speak
 so earnestly in so mad a matter.

3 *stick thereat*: balk at that 4 *slander of*: a disgrace to
 5 *generation*: reproducing 6 *evil*: bad // *birds*: chicks
 8–9 *for breach of*: i.e., being unwilling to break
 9–10 *naughty generations*: immoral acts of procreation / bad offspring
 14 *wed in the waniand*: get married already; by gum get married
 15 *namely*: especially 16 *right naught*: absolutely nothing // *saving*: except
 16 *slander*: disgrace // *villainy*: insulting degradation
 17 *therefor*: for that 18 *nice*: coy 19 *wanton*: loose woman
 19 *and . . . strange*: i.e., while also playing hard to get
 21 *nice*: silly / double entendre 22 *wanton*: risqué / playful
 22 *with us*: i.e., become us // *pray*: beg 23 *in good faith*: in all honesty
 23 *matter of*: bid for 24 *merry*: funny 24, 32, 34 *mad*: crazy
 26–27 *in any wise*: by all means 31 *ween that he were*: suppose him to be
 31 *merry*: facetiously 32 *guest*: fellow // *except*: unless
 33 *a . . . himself*: by nature a terribly serious man 34 *in*: i.e., of

Yet one thing would we very fain wit of him. When he had robbed, despoiled, bound, beaten, and wedded all the clergy, what would he then? Should any of them be curates of men's souls, and preach, and administer the sacraments to the people,
5 or not?

If they *should*—it were a very strange fashion to rob him, bind him, and beat him on the one day... and then kneel to him, and confess to him, and receive the Sacrament of his hand, on the other day; reverently hear him preach in the
10 pulpit... and then bid him go get him home and clout shoes. Either he must mean to have it thus (which none honest man could endure to see) or else (of which twain we wot ne'er well whither is the worse) he intendeth to have all
15 holy orders accounted as nothing, and to have no more sacraments administered at all, but whereas soon after Christ's Ascension his Church buried the ceremonies of the Jews' synagogue with honor and reverence... so would he now that Christian people should kill and cast out on a dunghill the blessed sacraments of
20 Christ with rebuke and shame. And surely, to tell you the truth, this *is* his very final intent and purpose, and the very mark that he shooteth at—as a special point and foundation of all Luther's heresies, whereof this man is one of the banner bearers. And therefore here would his own high, sore words have good
25 place against himself. For this mischievous device of his... is in deed a "great, broad, bottomless ocean sea full of evils" wherein would not fail the "grievous shipwreck" of the commonwealth—which God *would* soon forsake if the people once forsook his *faith* and contemned his holy *sacraments*, as this beggars' proctor laboreth to bring about. Which thing his device
30 and conveyance well declareth, although he forbear expressly to say so far... because of the good and gracious Catholic mind that he well knoweth, and by His Grace's excellent writings perceiveth, to be borne by the King's Highness... to the Catholic faith. For which he covereth his malicious intent

1 *very fain wit*: very much like to inquire 2 *wedded*: married off
3 *then*: i.e., have happen then // *curates*: pastors 6 *were*: would be
6 *fashion*: way of acting 7 *bind him*: tie him up
8 *the Sacrament*: Holy Communion // *of*: from 10 *clout*: mend
12 *honest*: decent // *twain*: two things 13 *wot ne'er well*: don't really know
13 *whither*: which 14 *holy orders*: ordination 19 *rebuke*: vilification
19 *shame*: degradation // *surely*: assuredly 20 *very*: actual // *final*: ultimate
21 *mark . . . at*: goal he is aiming at 23 *high*: high-flown; dramatic
23 *sore*: strong 24 *mischievous*: wicked; iniquitous
24, 29 *device*: idea; proposal 25 *deed*: fact // *ocean sea*: ocean
25 *evils*: disasters 26 *fail*: i.e., fail to occur // *grievous*: tragic
28 *contemned*: scornfully eschewed 29 *proctor*: spokesman // *laboreth*: strives
30 *conveyance*: manner of expressing it // *well declareth*: make very clear
31 *say so far*: go that far in what he says // *gracious*: godly
32 *mind*: disposition; attitude 33–34 *to the*: toward the

and purpose toward the *faith*... under the cloak of many *temporal* benefits... that he saith should succeed and follow to the King's Highness and his realm... if these his high, politic devices were once by His Grace agreed.

5 For in the end of all his bill, he gathereth his high commodities together, saying that if the King take all from the clergy, set them abroad at the wide world with right naught to wed and take wives, and make them labor for their living till they sweat; bind them to carts and beat them well—he
10 saith to the King in the beggars' names, "Then shall as well the number of our aforesaid monstrous sort... as of the bawds, whores, thieves, and idle people decrease. Then shall these great yearly exactions cease. Then shall not your sword, power, crown, dignity, and obedience of your people be translated
15 from you. Then shall you have full obedience of your people. Then shall the idle people be set a-work. Then shall matrimony be much better kept. Then shall the generation of your people be increased. Then shall your commons increase in riches. Then shall none take our alms from us. Then shall the
20 Gospel be preached. Then shall we have enough and more. Then shall be the best hospital that ever was founded for us. Then shall we pray to God for your noble estate long to endure."

Lo, here hear ye heaped up many great commodities... if they
25 were all true. But we showed you before, and have also proved you, that his bill is much grounded upon many great *lies*; whereof he by and by began with some, and after went forth with more. And now, to the intent that the end should be somewhat suitly to the remnant, as he began with lies and went forth
30 with lies... so will he with lies likewise make an end—saving that in the beginning he gave them out by tale, and in the end he bringeth them in by heaps. For first he saith that then shall the number of sore and sick beggars decrease. How so? Shall there by the robbing, wedding, binding, and beating
35 of the clergy... blind beggars get their sight again, or lame

3–4 *these* . . . *devices*: these superb, sagacious proposals of his
4 *agreed*: i.e., agreed to 5 *all his*: his whole // *high*: great
5, 24 *commodities*: benefits; improvements 7 *abroad at*: out there in
7 *right naught*: absolutely nothing 11 *monstrous*: grotesque
11 *bawds*: brothel keepers; procurers 14 *translated*: taken
16 *matrimony*: the marital covenant 18 *commons*: commoners
19 *none*: no one 22 *estate*: position 25 *showed*: told
27 *by and by*: right away; at the outset 29 *suitly to*: congruent with
29 *remnant*: rest 31 *by tale*: one at a time 33 *sore*: disabled
34 *wedding*: marrying off 35 *again*: back

beggars their legs? Is there no man in all the clergy sick and sore, that shall be by this way sent unto them? Should there not many that now be in good health wax shortly sick and sore... and sit and beg with them? Were this a diminishment of sick and sore beggars—to make more and send to them?

5 Then shall, he saith, “bawds” and “whores, thieves, and idle people” “decrease.” This man weeneth he were cousin to God and could do as he did: “Dixit et facta sunt.” For as soon as he hath devised it... now weeneth he that if they were all put out and so served by and by, then were all forthwith in good order. As soon as he saith “Let them wed”... now he weeneth that forthwith, every priest, monk, and friar hath a wife. As soon as he hath said “Bind them and beat them to work”... forthwith, he weeneth, every man is at his work. And all this he reckoneth sure ere ever he provide work for them... or where they shall dwell... or who shall take so many to work at once that never were wont to work before; and this where he seeth many walk idle already... that either no beating can drive to work... or else no man will take to work. First, we trust that among the clergy there be many men of that goodness and virtue... that scant a devil could find in his heart to handle them in such despiteous and spiteful manner. But go to, let their honest living and virtue lie still in question—yet at the leastwise he will grant they be good or naught. Now, then, if they be good: he is too very a villain that would serve good men so. And on the other side, if they be all as he would have them all seem—unthrifty, lewd, and naught—how can it be that by the reason of so many so naughty... so suddenly set out at large, ye should have bawds, harlots, thieves, and idle people decrease? Except he think that those whom he calleth naught already, being, as they now be, kept in, and in honest fashion refrained—and many kept up in cloisters—will be better ruled abroad, running at the wild world as bucks broken out of a park. Over this, how can there by the “marriages” of priests, monks, and friars... be fewer whores and bawds, when by the very “marriage” itself—being as it were

2, 3, 5 *sore*: disabled 2 *way*: course of action 3 *wax shortly*: soon become
 4 *were this*: would this be 5 *send to them*: i.e., send them to join the others
 6, 28, 35 *bawds*: procurers 7, 9, etc. *weeneth*: thinks 7 *he were*: i.e., he's a
 8 “*Dixit et facta sunt*”: “He spoke and they were made”; see Psalm 33:9.
 8 *devised it*: thought it up 9 *served*: done to // *by and by*: immediately
 10 *were all forthwith*: would everything instantly be 11, 13 *forthwith*: presto
 15–16 *take . . . work*: employ so many 18 *drive*: induce // *take to work*: hire
 19 *of that*: i.e., of such 20 *scant*: scarcely 21 *handle*: treat
 21 *dispiteous*: pitiless; cruel // *despiteful*: insulting / vicious 22 *go to*: all right
 22 *honest*: upright 24 *naught*: bad 25 *serve . . . so*: do good men that way
 26 *unthrifty*: dissolute // *lewd*: lascivious 26, 30 *naught*: wicked
 27 *naughty*: immoral 30 *as*: to the extent that 30–31 *kept in*: confined
 31 *honest*: honorable // *refrained*: restrained // *kept up*: kept locked up
 32 *ruled*: kept in line / behaved // *abroad*: on the outside; on the loose
 32 *as*: like 33 *park*: reserve // *over this*: moreover
 35 *being as it were*: given that it would be

incestuous and abominable—all were stark harlots that “married” them, and all stark bawds that should help to bring them together?

5 “Then shall,” he saith, “these great yearly exactions cease.” How can such things cease as never yet began? Ye remember what things he called exactions: the friars’ “quarterage”... which he said that they exact of “every household”... and compel them to pay it upon pain of heresy—bearing of a fagot or burning. Can he among so many as payeth it not... lay you one example that
10 ever any said he was so served this seven years, this *sevencore* years, this seven *hundred* years? Can he say that ever it was exacted of *himself*? We know where he dwelled... and that if he had had none other cause to run away, surely for any fear of friars that ever exacted of him “quarterage”... he would not have been afraid to
15 dwell by the best of their beards.

“Then shall idle folk,” he saith, “be set a-work.” By what means? Whom hath he devised more to set idle men a-work?—
20 but if he look that idle men shall be set a-work by them whom he sendeth out of their own houses without money or ware, neither he nor they wot whither.

“Then shall matrimony be much better kept.” Why so? Because there be more men unmarried sent out abroad to break it? Who (if they be such as he calleth them) were (if they went all
25 abroad) well likely to break many another man’s marriage ere they made all their own.

“Then shall the generation of your people be increased.” Is that the greatest fault he findeth—the lack of generation? If he saw as far as he would seem to see... then should he spy that it were
30 first more need to provide houses to dwell in—with land laid thereto, for tillage; or else experience teacheth that there is generation enough for the corn that the ground beareth. And that thing once well provided for, there will enough be found to multiply more generation... of such as may lawfully wed and would wed... if they wist where, after wedding, their
35 wife and their children should dwell.

1 *incestuous*: So considered because in canon law, these men are regarded as siblings to everyone else. 1 *were*: would be 2 *bawds*: procurers
6, 14 *quarterage*: quarterly payment 8 *heresy*: i.e., a heresy charge and punishment
8 *bearing of a fagot*: See note for 131/6. 9 *lay*: adduce 10 *any*: i.e., any one of them
10 *served*: done to // *sevencore*: A score is twenty. 18 *but if*: unless
18 *look*: expects 20 *ware*: goods; inventory // *wot whither*: know where
21 *matrimony*: the marital covenant 22, 24 *abroad*: at large; on the loose
23 *were*: would be // *went all*: all went 24 *ere*: before 25 *made all*: all made
27 *fault*: lack; deficiency 28 *would*: wants to 29 *laid*: adjoined 31 *corn*: grain
32 *enough*: i.e., enough men 34 *wist*: knew // *wedding*: i.e., after the getting married

“Then shall not your sword, power, crown, and dignity,
 and obedience of your people, be taken from you.” Who hath
 taken it away now? Who hath his sword borne but His Highness
 himself, or such his deputies as he appointeth it unto? His
 5 crown no man weareth but himself, as far as ever any of us
 heard. And yet if His Highness have any crowned kings under
 him, *his* “sword, power, crown, and dignity” is nothing defaced
 nor diminished, but honored and enhanced by that. But all the
 mischief is that the spiritual court hath examination of *heretics*;
 10 this is all the grief. For as for obedience of the King’s
 people, His Highness findeth none taken from him. Was there
 ever king in this realm better obeyed than he? Hath His Highness
 of any part of his realm been better obeyed, or more humbly
 served, than of his clergy? Was there ever *any* king in the realm
 15 that had his crown translated from him... because the clergy
 had lands given them? Or because men gave alms to the
 poor friars? In good faith, ye may trust us, we never knew none
 such. When the beggars’ proctor proveth any such, ye may then
 believe him; and in the meantime, ye may well believe he lieth.
 20 “Then shall ye have obedience of your people.” Yet again? Till
 he find in the King’s realm some that dare disobey him, it
 were not much against reason that, harping so much upon
 that string... that every man’s ear perceiveth so false and so
 far out of tune, he should confess himself a fool.
 25 “Then shall your people increase in riches.” Wherefor the
 rather? Not one halfpenny, for aught that he hath spoken yet—
 except he mean when he taketh the land from the clergy...
 then to divide it among the people, and make a dole of the
 friars’ alms too. And if he mean so—when he saith it out
 30 plainly, then will we tell you what he meaneth more. But in the
 mean season, to prove him both false and foolish... it is
 enough to tell him that the people cannot wax rich by their
 coming to them that are sent out naked and bring naught
 with them.
 35 “Then shall none beg our alms from us.” No, pardie—none
 but all they that ye will have sent out naked to you. Which

4 *his deputies*: deputies of his 6 *yet*: even 7 *nothing*: not at all
 7 *defaced*: effaced; discredited 8, 10 *all the*: the whole
 9 *mischief*: woe; vexation // *spiritual*: ecclesiastical 10 *grief*: trouble
 13 *of any*: by any 14 *of*: by 15 *translated*: taken
 17 *in good faith*: in all seriousness 18 *proctor*: spokesman
 22 *were not*: would not be 25 *richesse*: wealth // *wherefor*: by what
 26 *rather*: more // *aught*: anything // *spoken yet*: mentioned thus far
 27 *except*: unless 29 *mean so*: means that 31 *mean season*: meantime
 31 *false*: untruthful 32 *wax*: grow
 32–33 *their . . . that*: the coming to them of people who
 33 *naught*: nothing 35 *none*: no one // *pardie*: by George

would be more than ye would be glad to see sit and beg with
you—and see them ask *your* alms *from* you... that were wont to
give alms *to* you.

5 “Then shall the Gospel be preached.” Yea, marry, that; *that*. *There* is
the great matter that all this gaping is for! For undoubtedly all the
gaping is for a *new* gospel. Men have been wont this many
years to preach the gospel of Christ in such wise as Saint
Matthew, Saint Mark, Saint Luke, and Saint John hath written
10 it... and in such wise as the old holy doctors—Saint Jerome, Saint
Augustine, Saint Ambrose, Saint Gregory, Saint Chrysostom,
Saint Basil, Saint Cyprian, Saint Bernard, Saint Thomas,
and all the old holy fathers since Christ’s days until your own
days—have understood it. This gospel hath been, as we say,
always thus preached. Why saith he now that if the clergy were
15 cast out for naught, that then the Gospel should be preached?
Who should then be these preachers? He meaneth not that the *clergy*
shall; ye may see that well. Who, then? Who but some *lay Lutherans*?
And what gospel shall they preach? Not your *old* gospel,
of *Christ*; for that is it which was wont to be preached unto you.
20 And he would ye should now think that “the Gospel” shall *begin* to
be preached—and yet not begin to be preached among you... till the
clergy be cast out. What gospel shall that be, then, that shall then
be preached? What gospel but *Luther’s* gospel, and *Tyndale’s* gospel?—
telling you that “only faith” sufficeth you for salvation, and
25 that there needeth no good works; but that it were sacrilege and
abomination to go about to please God with any good works.
And that there is no purgatory; nor that the sacraments be
nothing worth. Nor that no law can be made by man to bind you;
but that by your “only faith” ye may do what ye will—and that if ye
30 obey any law or governor, all is of your own courtesy, and not of
any duty at all, faith hath set you in such a lewd liberty.

This and many a mad, frantic folly shall be the gospel that then
shall be preached... whereof he boasteth now as of one of the most
special *commodities* that shall succeed upon his goodly and
35 godly devices.

4 *yea, marry*: oh yes indeed 5 *great matter*: big thing
5, 6 *gaping*: craving; hankering 9 *holy doctors*: biblical exegetes
10 *Saint Gregory*: i.e., Pope Saint Gregory the Great (Pope Gregory I)
15 *cast out for*: thrown out as // *naught*: bad / worthless
20 *would ye should*: would have you 24, 29 *only faith*: faith alone
27, 28 *nor*: i.e., and 29 *what ye will*: whatever you want to
31 *lewd*: licentious 32 *frantic*: frenzied; delirious // *folly*: idiocy
34 *special*: superb // *commodities*: benefits; improvements
34 *succeed*: follow // *goodly*: splendid 35 *devices*: ideas; suggestions

Will ye plainly perceive that he meaneth thus? After all his mischiefs rehearsed against the Church, he hath another matter in his mind... which he dare not yet speak of, but he maketh thereof a secret overture, leaving it in such wise at large...
 5 as he would that men should guess what he meant... and yet he reserveth himself some refuge to flit therefrom when he list. For if he should see that men should mislike it... he would in such case say that he meant some other thing. And therefore he purposeth it under these words: "Here leave we out the greatest matter of
 10 all, lest we, declaring such a horrible carrion of evil against the ministers of iniquity, should seem to declare the one only fault—or, rather, the ignorance—of our best-beloved minister of righteousness. Which is to be hidden till he may be learned by these small enormities that we have spoken of... to know it plainly
 15 himself."

This thing put forth like a riddle, hard to read what it should signify, we have had since (by such as we before showed you, that died and came hither) plainly declared unto us. And surely whoso well adviseth his words, and well pondereth
 20 his whole purpose... and the summary effect of his book, shall may soon perceive what he meaneth in that place. For what should that thing be that he leaveth out... that should be the "greatest of all," and that should be laid against the "ministers of iniquity" (which he meaneth and calleth the whole clergy),
 25 and that should be "such a horrible carrion of evil"... that it should pass and exceed any mischievous matter that he had already spoken against before? What manner of mischievous matter should this be? This "horrible carrion of evil" that he "leaveth out" since it is, he saith, the "greatest matter of all"... must needs, ye wot
 30 well, be greater against the clergy... than all that "great, broad, bottomless ocean sea of evils"; more than all his "these be they"; more than the making of such great number of "beggars," of "idle men, bawds, whores, and thieves"; more than the

1 *will ye plainly perceive*: do you want to see clearly

1–2 *his* . . . *Church*: the charges of wrongdoing he levels against the clergy

2, 9, etc. *matter*: thing 3 *in*: on 4 *secret overture*: surreptitious intimation

4 *at large*: unspecified 5 *would that men should*: would have people

6 *flit*: scoot to // *list*: wants 7 *mislike*: dislike 8 *purposeth*: presents

9, 29 *greatest*: most serious 10 *declaring*: i.e., in declaring as an accusation

12 *fault*: misdeed 13 *be*: i.e., have // *by*: by way of

14 *enormities*: irregularities; aberrations 16 *read*: interpret

18 *showed you*: told you about // *hither*: here // *declared*: explained

19 *whoso*: whoever // *adviseth*: considers 20 *summary*: general

20 *effect*: drift; tenor 21 *may soon*: readily be able to 23 *laid*: charged

26 *pass*: surpass 26, 27 *mischievous*: iniquitous 27 *against*: about

29 *wot*: know 30 *greater*: i.e., a bigger thing // *all that*: that whole

31 *ocean sea*: ocean // *evils*: disasters 33 *bawds*: brothel keepers; procurers

hindering of matrimony, “corrupting” of generation; more than
 “translating” the King’s “kingdom”; more than bringing the
 King’s “crown” to “ruin”; more than bringing the “commonwealth” to
 “shipwreck,” and all the realm to wilderness. What thing can this
 5 “horrible carrion” be that the clergy doth, that he “leaveth out” for
 the while, that so far exceedeth these mischievous matters
 before remembered... that in comparison of it he calleth them all
 “small enormities,” and as a man would say, little pretty peccadilloes?
 10 Verily, by this thing meaneth he none other... but the preaching
 of the very, whole corpus and body of the blessed faith of Christ...
 and the administering of the blessed sacraments of our Savior
 Christ—and of all those, in especial the consecrating of the
 Sacred Body, the Flesh and Blood, of our Savior Christ. For the
 15 teaching and preaching of all which things, this beggars’ proctor—
 or, rather, the *devil’s* proctor—with other beggars that lack
 grace and neither beg nor look for none... bear all this their
 malice and wrath to the church of Christ. And seeing there is
 no way for attaining their intent but one of the twain—that is to
 wit, either plainly to write against the faith and the sacraments
 20 (wherein if they got them credence and obtained, they
 then see well the Church must needs fall therewith) or else to labor
 against the Church alone... and get the clergy destroyed, whereupon
 they perceive well that the faith and sacraments would not
 fail to decay—they, perceiving this, have therefore first assayed
 25 the first way already, sending forth Tyndale’s translation
 of the New Testament: in such wise handled as it should have been
 the fountain and wellspring of all their whole heresies. For he
 had corrupted and purposely changed in many places the text...
 with such words as he might make it seem to the unlearned
 30 people... that the Scripture affirmed their heresies itself.
 Then came, soon after, out in print the dialogue of Friar Roy and
 Friar Jerome... between the father and the son, against the Sacrament
 of the Altar; and the blasphemous book entitled *The*
Burying of the Mass. Then came forth, after, Tyndale’s wicked

2 *translating*: taking away // *kingdom*: kingship

6–7 *mischievous matters before remembered*: above-mentioned iniquitous things

7 *of*: with 8 *enormities*: irregularities; aberrations // *a man would*: one might

8 *little pretty peccadilloes*: cute little foibles 10 *very*: true

12 *in especial*: in particular 14, 15 *proctor*: spokesman

16–17 *this* . . . *wrath*: this malice and wrath of theirs 17 *to*: toward

18 *the twain*: i.e., these two ways 19 *plainly*: openly and directly

20 *them*: themselves // *obtained*: succeeded

24 *decay*: crumble // *assayed*: tried out 25, 34 *forth*: out

26 *handled*: manipulated // *as it should have been*: i.e., as to make it appear to be

31–33 *the* . . . *Altar*: I.e., Friar William Roy’s English adaptation (*A Brief Dialogue*

between a Christian Father and His Stubborn Son) of a book by Wolfgang Capito.

33–34 *The Burying of the Mass*: Better known as *Read Me and Be Not Wroth*, this book
 is an adaptation (done by Friar Jerome Barlowe, possibly with Friar Roy, and published
 in 1528) of Niklaus Manuel’s *Die Krankheit der Messe* (*The Illness of the Mass*).

book of *Mammona*; and after that, his more wicked book of *Obedience*.
 In which books afore-specified they go forth plainly
 against the faith and holy sacraments of Christ's church—and
 most especially against the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar,
 5 with as villainous words as the wretches could devise. But when
 they have perceived by experience that good people abhorred
 their abominable books, then they, being thereby learned that the
 first way was not the best for the furtherance of their purpose,
 have now determined themselves to assay the second way: that
 10 is to wit, that forbearing to write so openly and directly
 against all the faith and the sacraments as good Christian men
 could not abide the reading, they would, with little touching
 of their other heresies, make one book specially against the
 Church, and look how that would prove. Which if it succeeded after
 15 their appetites—that they might with false crimes laid unto
 some... or with the *very* faults of some... bring the whole Church
 in hatred and have the clergy destroyed—then should they more
 easily win their purpose that way. For when the preachers
 of the faith and very gospel were destroyed or far out of
 20 credence with the people... then should they have their own
 false gospels preached; as ye may perceive that this man
 meaneth where he saith that “then shall the Gospel be preached.”
 And therefore this is the thing which this man as yet “leaveth
 out” against them: that is to wit, the preaching of the right
 25 faith and the sacraments; which thing he reckoneth in the
 clergy a more “horrible” “carrion” than all the crimes wherein he
 hath belied them before. And therefore saith he that he leaveth it
 out lest he should “seem to declare the one and only fault” of
 the King's Highness. Which “one only fault” he meaneth His
 30 Grace's most famous and most gracious book... that His
 Highness, as a prince of excellent erudition, virtue, and devotion
 toward the Catholic faith of Christ, made—of *The Assertion of
 the Sacraments*—against the furious book of Martin Luther.
 This godly deed done by His Highness, with the acceptance of
 35 his godly, well-deserved title of Defensor of the Faith, given

1 *Mammona*: I.e., *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* (1528).

1 *Obedience*: I.e., *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (1528).

2 *books afore-specified*: afore-mentioned books // *plainly*: openly and directly

5 *devise*: think of; come up with 6 *abhorred*: were horrified by / loathed

7 *being*: i.e., having 9 *determined themselves*: decided // *assay*: try out

12–13 *touching of*: touching upon; discussing of 13 *make*: write

13 *specially*: specifically 14 *look . . . prove*: see how that turned out

14–15 *succeeded after their appetites*: turned out the way they wanted it to

15, 26 *crimes*: accusations of wrongdoing 15 *laid unto*: made against

16 *very*: actual 16, 28, 29 *fault(s)*: misdeed(s) 17 *have*: get

18 *win their purpose*: achieve their goal 19 *very*: true

27 *belied*: slandered 29 *which*: i.e., by which 30 *gracious*: godly

32 *made*: wrote // *assertion*: defense 33 *furious*: insane

His Grace by the See Apostolic—*this* calleth this beggars’ proctor
 the King’s “one and only fault,” and “ignorance” of their
 false faith (in estimation of these heretics); which this beggars’
 proctor saith that he will for the while hide and cover
 5 under his cloak of silence... till the King may by these “enormities”
 wherewith he belieth the Church in his beggars’ bill
 (which enormities he calleth “small” enormities in comparison
 of the preaching of the Catholic faith and the sacraments) be
 learned... what lesson, trow ye? None other, surely, but that they
 10 hope that as well His Highness as his people... may by such beggars’
 bills be first allured, and brought in, to contemn, hate,
 and destroy the Church; and then, thereby, learn the other lesson,
 which he now “leaveth out” for the while: that is to wit, to set
 at naught the Catholic faith and all the blessed sacraments...
 15 after the teaching of Luther’s and Tyndale’s gospel. And therefore
 saith he, as we told you before, that “then shall the
 Gospel be preached.”

And in the meantime the man useth, as he weeneth himself,
 toward the King’s Grace a very wise fashion of flattery, calling
 20 him their “best-beloved minister of righteousness.” Yet be they
 not only run away for fear of the righteousness of their “best-beloved
 minister of righteousness”... but also would it should seem
 that His Highness were such a minister of righteousness as either
 set so little by righteousness that he would wittingly suffer... or else
 25 had so little insight in righteousness that he could not perceive...
 so “great” a matter, and “such a horrible carrion of evil” committed
 by the Church, as were so heinous, so huge and so great,
 that in comparison thereof... the “translating” of his “kingdom,”
 the “ruin” of his “crown,” the “shipwreck” of his “commonwealth,” the
 30 dispeopling of his realm, and bringing all his land into desolation
 and wilderness... were but slight matters and “small enormities.”
 And that His Highness should toward this great, horrible,
 and intolerable mischievous demeanor of the Church... be
 aiding and assistant, either of evil mind or of “ignorance,”
 35 till that... by their beggarly bill... being turned into the hatred and the
 destruction of the Church, he might thereby be illumined to
 learn and perceive that the faith which His Grace had before

1, 4 *proctor*: spokesman 2 *fault*: misdeed // *their*: i.e., the Apostolic See’s having a
 3 *estimation*: i.e., the view 4, 13 *while*: time being 5 *by*: by way of
 5, 7, 31 *enormities*: irregularities; aberrations 6 *belieth*: slanders
 6, 12, etc. *Church*: i.e., clergy 7–8 *comparison of*: comparison to 8 *be*: i.e., have
 8 *trow ye*: do you think 9 *surely*: assuredly 11 *contemn*: scorn
 15 *after*: in accord with 18 *he weeneth himself*: he himself believes 19 *wise*: astute
 22 *would it should*: (this man) would have it 24 *set . . . by*: cared . . . about
 24 *wittingly suffer*: knowingly tolerate
 25 *insight in righteousness*: i.e., understanding of what righteousness is
 26, 27 *great*: serious 28 *translating*: removal // *kingdom*: kingship
 33 *mischievous*: iniquitous // *demeanor*: behavior 34 *evil mind*: ill intent
 35–36 *turned . . . Church*: i.e., converted to hating the Church and being bent on its destruction
 36 *illumined*: enlightened

both learned and taught, and whereof himself is the Defensor, is false and feigned... and that the sacraments be but men's inventions; and that thereupon he should be content to learn the gospel of Luther and the testament of Tyndale. And thus ye may see what the beggars' proctor meant by his proper invented riddle; by which, as ye see, under a fond face of flattery he useth toward his prince and sovereign lord (whose Majesty, both by the law of God and the duty of his allegiance, he were highly bound to reverence) an open, plain despite and contumely.

10 Now, to the intent that ye may yet farther perceive and see that they by the destruction of the clergy... mean the clear abolition of Christ's faith: it may like you to confer and compare together two places of his beggars' bill. In one place, after that he hath heaped up together all his lies against the whole clergy (and thereto

15 adjoined his grievous exclamation "O the grievous shipwreck of the commonwealth!"), he saith that "in ancient time, before the coming" of the clergy, there were "but few poor people, and yet they did not beg, but there was given them enough unasked," because "at that time," he saith, "there was" no clergy—whom he calleth always

20 "ravenous wolves"—"to ask it from *them*"; and this, saith he, appeareth in the book of the Acts of the Apostles. In this place we let pass his threefold folly. One, that he would by that there were no beggars in one place... prove thereby that there were none in all the world beside. For as he, for lack of wit and understanding, mistaketh

25 the book, he weeneth that there were none that begged in Jerusalem. Which if it were true... yet might there be enough in other places. Another of his follies is in that he allegeth a book for him that nothing proveth his purpose. For in all that whole book shall he neither find that there was at that time few

30 poor people... nor that poor people at that time begged not. For of truth, there were poor people and beggars, idle people, and thieves too... good plenty, both then and always before... since almost as long as Noah's flood—and yet peradventure seven years before that, too. And so were there, in deed, in Jerusalem also,

2 *feigned*: made up 3 *content*: willing 5 *proctor*: spokesman
 5 *proper*: own / fine 6 *fond*: lovey-dovey // *face*: façade // *useth*: i.e., shows
 9 *open*: manifest // *plain*: obvious // *despite*: contempt // *contumely*: insolence
 11 *mean*: intend; mean to bring about // *clear*: complete
 12 *it . . . together*: you may want to bring together and compare
 13, 21 *place(s)*: passage(s) 15 *grievous*: melodramatic
 17 *even* 23–24 *the world beside*: the rest of the world
 24 *wit*: good sense // *understanding*: i.e., reading comprehension 25 *weeneth*: thinks
 27 *follies*: idiocies 27–28 *allegeth . . . him*: cites in support of himself a book
 28 *nothing proves his purpose*: in no way proves his point 33 *long*: i.e., long before
 33 *yet peradventure*: maybe even 34 *deed*: fact

among them all... till Christendom came in; and yet remained
then among such people there as turned not to the faith of
Christ. The third folly is... he layeth that book *for* him which in
deed proveth plain *against* him. For where he saith it appeareth
5 there that the clergy was not then come, we cannot in the
world devise of what people he speaketh: paynims, Jews, or
Christian men. If he mean among paynims... his folly and his
falsehood both is too evident. For who knoweth not that among
10 the paynims they had always their priests—whose living was
well and plenteously provided for; as ye may perceive not
only by many other stories, but also by many places in the
Bible, and especially in the forty-seventh chapter of Genesis. If he
speak of the Jews... every man wotteth well that they had a clergy
15 thousands of years before the book that he allegeth—and their
living far more largely provided for... than any part of the
people beside; and that by God's own ordinance. Now, if he
speak of the *Christian* people that was at that time in Jerusalem—
where the faith began—his book maketh *sore* against him.
For there was a clergy as soon as there was any Christian people.
20 For the clergy began then. And that clergy had not a *part* of
the Christian people's substance, but had it *altogether*... and did
distribute it as they saw *need*; which no man doubteth but that
the parties *showed* them—or else in some needs they must
needs have lacked. So that here were *many* poor men... if they be
25 poor that have naught left; and all they *beggars*... if they be
beggars that be fain to show their need and ask; and the *clergy*
had *altogether*. And yet layeth this wise man this book *for* him...
being such as, if he should have sat and studied therefor,
he could not have found a book that made more *against* him.
30 But as we said before, we shall let his false folly pass... and
pray you to consider what he would have you believe. He saith,
and would ye should ween, that there were few poor folk—and no
beggars nowhere—before the clergy of Christendom came in; but
that all the poverty and beggary came into the world with the Christian
35 clergy. Now knoweth every man that the Christian *clergy* and the

1, 33 *Christendom*: Christianity 2 *turned not*: did not convert
2–3 *faith of Christ*: Christian faith 3, 7, 30 *folly*: idiocy
3 *layeth* . . . *him*: cites as being on his side that book 4 *deed*: fact; actuality
5–6 *in the world*: i.e., for all the world 6 *devise*: figure out
6, 7, 9 *paynims*: pagans 8 *falsehood*: dishonesty 10 *well and*: quite
11 *stories*: historical accounts // *places*: passages
12–16 *if* . . . *ordinance*: See note for 146/15–18. 13 *wotteth*: knows
14 *allegeth*: cites 16 *people beside*: rest of the people
18 *maketh*: militates; goes // *sore*: strongly 20, 21, 27 *had*: received
23 *showed*: told to; made known to 25 *naught*: nothing 26 *be fain to*: have to
26 *show*: state; make known 27 *altogether*: everything
27 *layeth* . . . *him*: this brilliant man cites as being *for* him this book
28 *therefor*: for this 29 *made*: went; worked 31 *pray*: ask
32 *would ye should ween*: would have you believe

Christian *faith* came into the Christian people *together*; so that in effect his words weigh to this: that all poverty and beggary came into the world with the Christian faith!

5 Set now to this place the other place of his, in the end and conclusion of his book, where he saith that after the clergy despoiled once, and cast out, “then shall the Gospel be preached”... and “then shall we [beggars] have enough and more.” Lo, like as in the one place he showeth that all beggary came in with the clergy that brought in the faith: so showeth he in the other that there should
10 with the clergy all beggary go forth again... if they were so clean cast out that Christ’s gospel being cast out with them and the faith which came in with them, they might have that gospel preached—as they say they should, and as indeed they should—which they call “the Gospel”; that is to wit, Luther’s gospel, and Tyndale’s
15 testament, preaching the destruction of Christ’s very faith and his holy sacraments, advancing and setting forth all boldness of sin and wretchedness, and, under the false name of “Christian freedom,” spurring forward the devilish unbridled appetite of lewd, seditious, and rebellious “liberty”... that slew in one
20 summer, as we showed you before, above sixty thousand of the poor uplandish Lutherans in Almaine. And this is all that these heretics look for as the fruit of their seditious books and beggars’ bills—trusting by some such ways to be eased of their beggary... which they now sustain being run out of the realm for
25 heresy. For if they might (as they fain would) have the clergy cast out, and Christ’s gospel cast off, and their own gospel preached: then hope they to find that word true where he saith, “Then shall we have enough and more.”

30 For of all that ever he hath said, he hath not, almost, said one true word save this. And surely this word would after their gospel once preached and received be found over true. For then should the beggars—not such beggars as he *seemeth* to speak for, that be sick, sore, and lame, but such bold, presumptuous beggars as he *is* indeed... whole and strong in body, but weak and sick in
35 soul, that have their bodies clean from scabs and their souls

2 *weigh*: amount 4 *set*: add 4, 8 *place*: passage 8, 9 *showeth*: asserts
10 *go forth again*: go back out // *clean*: completely 12, 25 *might*: could
13, 32 *should*: would 15 *very*: true 18 *of*: for 19 *lewd*: licentious
20 *showed*: told // *above*: over // *uplandish*: rustic; rural
21 *Almaine*: Germany 23 *eased*: relieved
25 *fain would*: so want to 27, 30 *word*: statement
29–30 *said* . . . *this*: made one true statement except this one
31 *received*: accepted // *over*: (only) too 33 *sore*: afflicted

foul infected with ugly great pocks and leprosy—*these* beggars would hope to have, and except good men take good heed would not fail to have, enough and a *great* deal more. For after that they might, the clergy first destroyed, bring in once after that the
 5 preaching of Luther’s gospel and Tyndale’s testament, and might with their heresies and false faith infect and corrupt the people... causing them to set the blessed sacraments aside, to set holy days and fasting days at naught, to contemn all good works; to jest and rail against holy, vowed chastity; to blaspheme
 10 the old holy fathers and doctors of Christ’s church, to mock and scorn the blessed saints and martyrs that died for Christ’s faith; to reject and refuse the faith that those holy martyrs lived and died for, and in the stead of the true faith of Christ continued this fifteen hundred years, to take now the false faith of
 15 a fond friar... of old condemned and of new reforged, within so few days... with contempt of God and all good men, and obstinate rebellious mind against all laws, rule, and governance; with arrogant presumption to meddle with every man’s substance, with every man’s land, and every man’s
 20 matter nothing pertaining to them—it is, we say, no doubt but that such bold, presumptuous beggars *will*, if ye look not well to their hands, not fail to have, as he writeth, “enough and more too.” For they shall gather together at last, and assemble themselves in plumps and in great routs, and from
 25 asking fall to the taking of their alms themselves... and under pretext of reformation (bearing every man that aught hath... in hand that he hath too much) shall assay to make new division of every man’s land and substance—never ceasing, if ye suffer them, till they make all beggars as they be
 30 themselves... and at last bring all the realm to ruin; and this not without butchery and foul bloody hands.

And therefore this beggars’ proctor... or, rather, the proctor of *hell*... should have concluded his “supplication” not under the manner that he hath done—that after the clergy cast out, “then

2 *except*: unless 4, 5 *might*: could 4 *once*: at some time
 7–8 *set holy* . . . *naught*: pay no heed to holy days and days of fasting
 8 *contemn*: disdain; disparage 9 *jest*: jeer at // *chastity*: celibacy
 12 *refuse*: renounce 15 *fond*: foolish 16 *of*: for
 19 *substance*: monetary wealth 20 *matter*: affair; business
 21–22 *if* . . . *hands*: if you do not keep a close eye on them
 24 *plumps*: bands // *great routs*: large mobs
 26–27 *bearing* . . . *hand*: making against every man who has anything the accusation
 27 *assay*: attempt 29 *suffer*: tolerate 32 *proctor*: spokesman
 34 *cast*: i.e., has been thrown

shall the Gospel be preached; then shall beggars and bawds
 decrease; then shall idle folk and thieves be fewer; then shall the
 realm increase in riches,” and so forth—but he *should* have
 said, “After that the clergy is thus destroyed and cast out,
 5 then shall Luther’s gospel come in, then shall Tyndale’s testament
 be taken up; then shall false heresies be preached; then
 shall the sacraments be set at naught; then shall fasting and
 prayer be neglected; then shall holy saints be blasphemed;
 then shall Almighty God be displeased; then shall he withdraw
 10 his grace and let all run to ruin; then shall all
 virtue be had in derision; then shall all vice reign and
 run forth unbridled; then shall youth leave labor and
 all occupation; then shall folk wax idle and fall to unthriftiness;
 then shall whores and thieves, beggars and bawds, increase;
 15 then shall unthrifts flock together and swarm about,
 and each bear him bold of other; then shall all laws be
 laughed to scorn; then shall the servants set naught by
 their masters, and unruly people rebel against their rulers;
 then will rise up rifling and robbery, murder and mischief,
 20 and plain insurrection... whereof what would be the end, or when you
 should see it, only God knoweth.” All which mischief may yet be
 withstood easily, and with God’s grace so shall it, if ye
 suffer no such bold beggars to seduce you with seditious
 bills, but, well perceiving that their malicious purpose is to
 25 bring you to destruction, ye, like good Christian people,
 avoiding their false trains and grins, give none ear to
 their heinous heresies, nor walk their seditious ways,
 but persevering in your old faith of *Christ*... and observing
 his laws with good and godly works and obedience
 30 of your most gracious king and governor... go forth
 in goodness and virtue; whereby ye cannot fail to flower and
 prosper in riches and worldly substance; which well employed,
 with help of God’s grace, about charitable deeds to
 the needy—and the rather in remembrance and relief of *us*,

1 *beggars*: i.e., the number of beggars 1, 14 *bawds*: brothel keepers; procurers
 3 *richesse*: wealth 7 *set at naught*: regarded as worthless
 11 *had*: held 13 *wax*: become // *unthriftiness*: dissoluteness
 15 *unthrifts*: lowlives 16 *each . . . other*: behave aggressively toward one another
 17 *set naught by*: flout 19 *rifling*: ransacking and plundering
 19 *mischief*: vandalism 20 *plain*: outright 21 *mischief*: evil
 23 *suffer*: allow 26 *false trains and grins*: treacherous lures and snares
 31 *flower*: flourish 34 *the rather*: preferably

whose need is relieved by your charity showed for our sake to
 your neighbor—be able to purchase you much pardon of the
 bitter pain of this painful place, and bring you to the joyful
 bliss... to which God hath with his blessed blood bought you
 5 and with his holy sacraments ensigned you. And thus will we
 leave the man's malicious folly... tending to the destruction,
 first, of the clergy, and after of yourselves... wherein his mad
 reckoning hath constrained us to trouble you with many trifles,
 God wot, full unmeet for us; and now will we turn us to the
 10 treating of that one point... which though it specially pertaineth
 to ourselves, yet much more specially pertaineth it unto
 you: that is to wit, the impugnation of that uncharitable heresy
 wherewith he would make you, to our great harm and much
 more your own, believe that we need none help and that there
 15 were no purgatory.

The end of the
First Book

9 *wot*: knows // *full unmeet*: highly inappropriate
 10, 11 *specially*: particularly 12 *impugnation*: refutation

The Second Book

When we consider in ourselves, dear brothers and sisters in
 our Savior Christ, the present painful pangs that we feel... and
 therewith ponder, upon the other part, the perilous estate of
 5 you that are our friends there living in that wretched world: wit you
 very surely that this pestilent opinion begun against purgatory...
 not so much grieveth us for the lack that we should find thereby in
 the relief of our own intolerable torments... as doth, for the love
 that we bear you, the fear and heaviness that we take for that peril and
 10 jeopardy that should everlastingly fall to your own souls thereby.
 Nor of all the heavy tidings that ever we heard here... was there
 never none so sore smote us to the heart as to hear the world wax
 so faint in the faith of Christ... that any man should need
 15 now to prove purgatory to Christian men—or that *any* man could
 be found which would in so great a thing so fully and fastly
 believed for an undoubted article this fifteen hundred years... begin now
 to stagger and stand in doubt... for the unwise words of any such
 malicious person as is he that made *The Beggars' Supplication*.
 For whose answer and full confutation it seemeth us sufficient...
 20 that ye may clearly perceive his words to be of little weight...
 while ye see that the man hath neither learning, wisdom, nor
 good intent, but all his bill utterly grounded upon error,
 evil will, and untruth. And surely this were to us great wonder:
 if Christian men should need any other proof in this world to
 25 reprove such seditious folk with... than the only token of
 the devil's badge which themselves bear ever about them; the
 badge, we mean, of malice, and of a very deadly devilish hate.
 For whereas our Savior Christ hath so left love and charity
 for the badge of his Christian people... that he commandeth
 30 every man so largely to love other... that his love should extend

2, 15 *in*: with regard to 4 *estate*: situation
 5 *friends*: relatives and friends; loved ones // *wit*: know
 6 *pestilent*: pernicious 9 *heaviness*: heavyheartedness
 9 *take*: feel 9, 17 *for*: on account of 11 *heavy tidings*: bad news
 12 *so sore smote*: that so badly cut // *wax*: become
 13 *faith of Christ*: Christian faith
 14 *purgatory*: i.e., the existence of purgatory 15 *which*: who
 15 *fastly*: steadfastly; firmly 17 *stagger*: waver
 17 *unwise*: insane; nonsensical 18 *made*: wrote 21 *while*: when
 23 *evil*: ill // *were to us*: would be to us a 25 *reprove*: confute
 25 *the only*: just the // *token*: indicator 26 *themselves*: they themselves

and stretch unto his *enemy*; nor there is no natural man, neither
 paynim, Jew, Turk, nor Saracen, but he will rather spare his
 foe than hurt his friend: *this* kind of folk is so far fallen not
 only from all Christian charity, but also from all humanity and
 5 feeling of any good affection natural, and so changed into a
 wild, fierce, cruel appetite more than brutish and bestial,
 that they first, without ground or cause, take their friends
 for their foes—hating the Church deadly because it willeth
 their weal and laboreth to amend them—and after, to do the
 10 Church hurt, whom they take for their enemies, they labor to do
us much more hurt whom they call still for their *friends*. For
 they, to get pulled from the clergy the frail commodities of a
 little worldly living, labor to have *us*—their fathers, their
 mothers, their friends and all their kin—left lying in the fire
 15 here helpless and forgotten, they little force how long. And in
 this they show their affection much more unnatural and
 abominable than he that would with his sword thrust his friend
 through the whole body, to the hard haft... to give his enemy behind
 him a little prick with the point. This way of theirs were very
 20 naught and detestable... although they truly meant indeed as much
 good as they falsely pretend. For whereas they cloak their cruel
 purpose and intent... under color of a great zeal toward the commonwealth,
 which they lay to be sore impaired by great pomp and
 inordinate living used in the Church—we be so far from the
 25 mind of defending any such spiritual vice, carnal uncleanness,
 or worldly pomp and vanity used in the clergy... that we would to
 God it were much less than it is... not in them only, but also in the
 temporality. And there is none of neither sort but if he were here
 with us but one half hour, he would set little by all such worldly
 30 vanities all his life after, and little would he force or reckon whether he
 wear silk or sackcloth.

But surely this man, if he meant well, the faults of evil folk he
 would lay to themselves, and not unto the whole clergy. He would also
 labor for amendment and bettering; not for destruction and

1 *natural man*: i.e., non-Christian person with normal sensibilities 2 *paynim*: pagan
 5 *affection*: attachment / sensibility 8, 10, 24 *Church*: i.e., clergy
 8 *deadly*: to death; with a passion 9 *weal*: well-being; good
 9, 10, 13 *labor(eth)*: strive(s) 10, 11 *hurt*: harm 12 *pulled*: taken away
 12 *frail*: ephemeral; short-lived // *commodities*: comforts 15, 30 *force*: care
 16 *affection*: disposition; attitude // *much*: i.e., to be much
 16 *unnatural*: abnormal; inhuman 18 *haft*: handle 19 *were*: would be
 20 *naught*: wicked // *although*: even if 21 *pretend*: claim (to mean)
 23 *lay*: allege // *sore*: terribly 24 *inordinate*: out-of-line / exorbitant
 24 *living*: conduct / lifestyle 24, 26 *used in*: engaged in by; indulged in by
 25 *mind*: intention 26 *would*: wish 28 *temporality*: laity // *none*: no one
 28 *sort*: group 29 *set little by*: place little value on; care little about
 30 *reckon*: take account of 32 *faults*: wrongdoings // *evil*: bad 33 *lay*: ascribe

undoing finally. He would hold himself within his bounds,
 only devising against men's *vices*—and not start out therewith
 into plain and open *heresies*! But surely so hath it ever hitherto
 proved... that never was there any that showed himself an enemy
 5 to the *church*... but, though he covered it never so close for the
 while, yet at the last always he proved himself, in some part of
 his works, so very an enemy to the Catholic *faith* of Christ... that
 men might well perceive that his malice toward the clergy
 grew *first*, and *sprang*, of infidelity and lack of right belief. And of
 10 this point was there never a clearer example than this beggars'
 proctor, which was so far forth farced, stuffed, and swollen with
 such venomous heresies... that albeit he longed sore to keep
 them in for the season, and only to rail against the clergy and
 hide his enmious intent toward the faith—yet was he not able
 15 to contain and hold, but was fain, for bursting, to puff out one
 blast of his poisoned sect against us seely souls; the goodness of
 God driving him to the disclosing and discovering of his malicious
 heresy... to the intent ye should thereby perceive out of
 20 what ungracious ground his enmity sprang that he bore
 against the Church. Which things once perceived and considered...
 must needs diminish and bereave him his credence
 among all such as are not affectionate toward his errors, and
 infected and envenomed with his mortal heresies—and of such
 folk we trust he shall find very few.

25 For surely not only among Christian people and Jews, of
 whom the one hath, the other hath had, the perceiving and
 light of faith, but also among the very miscreant and
 idolaters—Turks, Saracens, and paynims—except only
 such as have so far fallen from the nature of man into a
 30 brutish, beastly persuasion as to believe that soul and body die
 both, at once, else hath always the remnant commonly thought and
 believed that after the bodies dead and deceased, the souls of
 such as were neither deadly damned wretches forever... nor, on
 the other side, so good but that their offenses done in this

3 *open*: manifest 4 *proved*: turned out // *any*: anyone 5, 20 *church*: i.e., clergy
 5 *covered* . . . *close*: i.e., kept it no matter how well hidden 7 *very*: actually
 10 *example*: illustration 11 *proctor*: spokesman // *which*: who
 11 *farced*: crammed 12 *sore*: badly 13 *season*: time being
 14 *enmious*: inimical 15 *fain*: forced // *for*: in order to keep from
 16 *poisoned*: poisonous // *sect*: heretical belief system // *seely*: poor
 17 *discovers*: uncovering 19 *ungracious*: ungodly
 21 *bereave him*: i.e., bereave him of 22 *affectionate toward*: partial to
 23 *mortal*: lethal / mortally sinful 27 *miscreant*: misbelieving
 28 *paynims*: pagans 31 *remnant*: rest 33 *deadly*: intransigent / spiritually dead
 34 *offenses done*: sins committed

world hath deserved more punishment than they had suffered
and sustained there... were punished and purged by pain after
the death ere ever they were admitted unto their wealth and rest.

5 This faith hath always not only faithful people had; but also,
as we say, very miscreants and idolaters have ever had a
certain opinion and persuasion of the same—whether that of
the first light and revelation given of such things to our
former fathers... there hath always remained a glimmering that
hath gone forth from man to man, from one generation to another,
10 and so continued and kept among all people... or else
that nature and reason have taught men everywhere to perceive
it. For surely that they *have* such belief... not only by such
as have been traveled in many countries among sundry sects,
but also by the old and ancient writers that have been among
15 them, we may well and evidently perceive. And in good faith,
if never had there been revelation given thereof, nor other
light than reason: yet, presupposed the immortality of man's
soul, which no reasonable man distrusted; and thereto agreed
the righteousness of God, and his goodness, which scant the devil
20 himself denieth... purgatory must needs appear. For since that
God, of his righteousness, will not leave sin unpunished;
nor his goodness will perpetually punish the fault after the man's
conversion: it followeth that the punishment shall be temporal.
And, now, since the man often dieth before such
25 punishment had... either at God's hand, by some affliction
sent him, or at his own, by due penance done—which the most
part of people wantonly doth forsloth—a very child, almost,
may see the consequent: that the punishment at the death remaining
due and undone... is to be endured and sustained after. Which... since
30 his majesty is so excellent whom we have offended... cannot of
right and justice be but heavy and sore.

Now, if they would, peradventure as in magnifying of
God's high goodness, say that after a man's conversion
once to God again... not only all his *sin* is forgiven, but all the

1 *deserved*: merited 3 *wealth*: felicity

4 *faithful people*: people having the light of right faith; i.e., Jews and Christians

5 *miscreants*: infidels; unbelievers 8 *former fathers*: earliest ancestors

13 *been traveled*: done some traveling // *sundry sects*: various religious groups

14 *old*: early // *ancient*: time-honored; classical 15, 28 *may*: can 15 *well and*: quite

15 *evidently*: clearly // *in good faith*: really and truly 18 *reasonable*: rational

18 *distrusted*: doubted // *thereto*: along with that // *agreed*: granted

19 *scant*: scarcely 20 *appear*: i.e., be a part of the picture 21 *of*: on account of

22 *nor his goodness will*: i.e., nor, on account of his goodness, will he

22 *fault*: offense; sin 23 *conversion*: turnaround (to God); i.e., repentance of that sin

24–25 *such punishment had*: i.e., having undergone such punishment

26–27 *most part*: majority 27 *wantonly*: blithely; nonchalantly

27 *forsloth*: shirk out of laziness; slough off

28 *the consequent*: i.e., what follows from all this

30 *his . . . offended*: i.e., the majesty of him whom we have offended is so superlative

31 *sore*: severe 32 *peradventure*: perhaps // *magnifying*: lauding; glorifying

33–34 *after . . . again*: once a person has turned back to God

whole *pain*, also; or that they will under color of enhancing the merit and goodness of Christ's Passion tell us that *his* pain suffered for us standeth in stead of all our pain and penance, so that neither purgatory can have place nor any penance need to be done by ourselves for our own sins: these folk that so shall say... shall, under pretext of magnifying his mercy, not only sore diminish his virtue of *justice*, but also much hinder the opinion and persuasion that men have of his *goodness*. For albeit that God of his great mercy may forthwith forgive some folk freely their sins and pain both, without prejudice of his righteousness, either of his liberal bounty... or for some respect had unto the fervent, sorrowful heart that fear and love with help of special grace have brought into the penitent at the time of his return to God; and also that the bitter Passion of our Savior besides the remission of the perpetuity of our pain do also lessen our purgatory and stand us here in marvelous high stead: yet if he should use this point for a general rule—that at every conversion from sin with purpose of amendment and recourse to confession... he shall forthwith fully forgive, without the party's pain or any other recompense for the sins committed save only Christ's Passion paid for them all—then should he give great occasion of lightness and bold courage to sin.

For when men were once persuaded that be their sins never so sore, never so many, never so mischievous, never so long continued... yet they shall never bear pain therefor; but, by their "only faith" and their baptism, with a short return again to God... shall have all their sin, and pain also, clean forgiven and forgotten—nothing else but only to cry him "Mercy!" as one woman would that treadeth on another's train—this way would, as we said, give the world great occasion and courage not only to fall boldly to sin and wretchedness, but also careless to *continue* therein, presuming upon that thing that such heretics have persuaded unto some men already: that three or four words ere they die shall sufficiently serve them to bring them straight to heaven. Whereas, besides the fear that

1, 10, 28 *pain*: penalty 1 *color*: pretext // *enhancing*: extolling
 3 *standeth in stand*: takes the place 4 *place*: i.e., any reason to exist
 6 *magnifying*: praising // *sore*: badly 7 *diminish*: minimize; underestimate
 7 *hinder*: impair; damage 10 *of*: to 11 *bounty*: generosity
 11 *respect*: consideration // *had*: taken 15 *the remission*: i.e., its remitting
 15, 28 *pain*: punishment 18 *conversion*: turning away
 20 *pain or*: i.e., being punished or there being made 22 *lightness*: readiness
 22 *bold*: brazen 24–25, etc. *never so*: no matter how 25 *sore*: serious
 25 *mischievous*: iniquitous; evil
 26 *bear pain therefor*: undergo any punishment for them
 27 *only faith*: faith alone // *short*: quick 28 *again*: back 29 *cry*: call out to
 29 *mercy*: i.e., pardon me 31 *the world*: everyone
 34 *persuaded unto some men*: convinced some people of 35 *ere*: (just) before

they should have lest they shall lack at last the grace to turn at
 all... and so, for fault of those three or four words, fall to the fire of
 hell; if they believe therewith the thing that truth is besides—that
 is to wit, that though they hap to have the grace to repent and be
 5 forgiven the sin, and so to be delivered of the endless pain of
 hell, yet they shall not so freely be delivered of purgatory... but
 that, besides the general relief of Christ's holy Passion (extended
 unto every man not after the value thereof, but after the
 stint and rate appointed by God's wisdom), great and long
 10 pain abideth them here among us (whereof their willingly
 taken penance in the world, and affliction there put unto them
 by God... and there patiently borne and suffered, with other good
 deeds there in their life done by them... and, finally, the merits
 and prayers of other good folks *for* them... may diminish and
 15 abridge the pain; which will else hold them here with us in
 fire and torments intolerable, only God knoweth how long)—
 this thing, we say, as it is true indeed... so if the world well and
 firmly for a sure truth believe it... cannot fail to be to many
 20 folk a good bridle and a sharp bit to refrain them from
 sin. And, on the other side, the contrary belief would send
 many folk forward to sin... and thereby, instead of purgatory, into
everlasting pain.

And therefore is this place of our temporal pain of purgatory
 not only consonant unto his righteous justice, but also
 25 the thing that highly declareth his great mercy and goodness—
 not only for that the pain thereof, huge and sore as it is, is yet
 less than our own sin deserveth, but also, most especially, in that
 by the fear of pain to be suffered and sustained here, his goodness
 refraineth men from the boldness of sin and negligence
 30 of penance... and thereby keepeth and preserveth them from
 pain everlasting; whereas the light forgiveness of altogether...
 would give occasion by boldness of sin and presumption
 of easy remission... much people to run down headlong
 thither. And therefore were, as we said, that way very far contrary

1 *at last*: in their final moment // *turn*: repent 2 *fault*: lack
 3 *truth is besides*: i.e., also is true 4 *though*: even if
 8 *after*: according to 9 *stint*: measure 10 *pain*: punishment
 10 *abideth*: awaits // *willingly*: voluntarily 11 *taken*: undertaken
 15 *abridge*: shorten the duration // *which*: i.e., which punishment
 15 *hold*: keep 19 *refrain them*: hold them back
 23 *temporal*: temporary 25 *declareth*: shows; manifests
 26 *for*: by reason of the fact // *sore*: severe
 27 *deserveth*: merits 28 *his goodness*: he in his goodness
 29–30 *refraineth . . . penance*: i.e., deters people from sinning brazenly and
 from neglecting to do penance 31 *light*: ready; easy
 31 *altogether*: the whole thing (i.e., both the sin and the penalty for it)
 32 *boldness of sin*: i.e., brazen sinning

not only to God's justice and righteousness, but also to his goodness and mercy. Whereupon, as we said before, it must needs follow that since the pain is always *due* to sin... and is not always clean forgiven without convenient penance
 5 done or other recompense made; nor pain is not always done, nor any recompense made, in the man's life... and yet the man discharged of hell by his conversion: all the pain that remaineth must needs be sustained here with us in purgatory.

10 But, now, if these heretics, as they be very self-willed and willful, will set at naught the common opinion and belief and persuasion of almost all the world; and, as they be very unreasonable, make little force of reason, and ever ask for Scripture... as though they believed Holy Scripture... and yet when it maketh against them, they then with false and fond glosses of
 15 their own making... do but mock and shift over in such a trifling manner that it may well appear they believe not Scripture neither—yet, since they *make* as they believed Scripture and nothing else, let us therefore see whether that purgatory do not appear opened and revealed unto Christian people in Holy Scripture
 20 itself.

And first, it seemeth very probable and likely that the good king Hezekiah for none other cause wept at the warning of his death given him by the prophet... but only for the fear of purgatory. For albeit that divers doctors allege divers
 25 causes of his heaviness and loathness at that time to depart and die, yet seemeth there none so likely as the cause that *ancient* doctors allege: that is to wit, that he was loath to die for the fear of his estate after his death, forasmuch as he had offended God by overmuch liking of himself—wherewith he wist that God was
 30 displeased with him, and gave him warning, by the prophet, that he should live no longer. Now considered he so the weight of his offense... that he thought and esteemed the only loss of this present life far under the just and condign punishment thereof; and therefore fell in great dread of far sorer punishment
 35 after. But being as he was a good-faithful king, he could not lack

3, 5, 7 *pain*: punishment 4 *convenient*: suitable
 10 *set at naught*: count for nothing // *common*: shared
 11 *all*: i.e., everyone in 12 *unreasonable*: irrational
 12 *make little force of*: make little account of; attach little importance to
 14 *maketh*: goes; militates // *fond*: foolish
 15 *mock and shift over*: i.e., make light of and get around it
 16 *trifling*: offhand; dismissive // *may well appear*: is quite evident (that)
 17 *as*: i.e., as though 18 *purgatory*: i.e., the existence of purgatory
 19 *opened*: manifested 21–24: See Isaiah 38, 2 Kings 20, and 2 Chronicles 32.
 21 *probable*: tenable 23, 30 *the prophet*: i.e., Isaiah
 24 *divers*: various 24, 27 *doctors*: (biblical) scholars
 25 *heaviness*: dejection 28 *estate*: situation
 29 *liking of*: being pleased with // *wist*: knew 32 *only*: mere
 34 *sorer*: more severe 35 *being as*: considering that
 35 *good-faithful*: right-believing

sure hope, through his repentance, of such forgiveness... as should preserve him from hell. But since his time should be so short that he should have no leisure to do penance for his fault—he therefore feared that the remnant of his righteous punishment should be performed in purgatory. And therefore wept he tenderly, and longed to live longer... that his satisfaction done there in the world, in prayer and other good, virtuous deeds, might abolish and wear out all the pain that else were toward him here among us. To which his fervent boon and desire, at the contemplation of his penitent heart, our Lord of his high pity condescended, and granted him the lengthening of his life for fifteen years—making him, for his further comfort, sure thereof by the show of a manifest miracle. But *whereto* granted our Lord that longer life? To be bestowed upon worldly delight and pleasure? Nay; *nay*, verily! But to the intent it might appear that it was, of God's great mercy, granted for the redeeming of his purgatory by good works for his satisfaction: he was promised by the prophet not only that he should within three days be recovered and whole... but also that he should go into the Temple to pray. So that it may thereby appear for what end and intent he longed so sore for a longer life.

Now, if the beggars' proctor, or Tyndale or Luther either, list to say that in this point we do but guess at that good king's mind... and therefore purgatory thereby rather somewhat *reasoned* than well and surely *proved*: thereto may we well answer and say that the circumstance of the matter considered, with the virtuous holiness and cunning of such as so long ago have taken the Scripture thus, that place alone is a far better proof *for* purgatory than ever any of them could hitherto lay *against* it yet. For albeit this beggars' proctor saith that right wise and cunning men will say that there is no purgatory at all... by which wise men he meaneth Luther and Tyndale and himself—yet was there never any of them all that yet laid any substantial thing, either reason or authority, for them... but only jest and rail, and say that purgatory is a thing of the pope's own making, and that souls do nothing till Doomsday but lie still and sleep.

1 *preserve him from*: keep him out of 3 *leisure*: opportunity // *fault*: offense; sin
 4 *remnant*: rest // *righteous*: rightful 5 *performed*: carried out // *tenderly*: bitterly
 7 *abolish*: do away with; cancel 7–8 *wear out*: i.e., work off 8 *pain*: punishment
 8 *were toward*: would be coming to 9 *his fervent boon and desire*: fervent entreaty and desire of his
 10 *condescended*: acceded 12 *comfort*: encouragement // *sure*: assured
 13 *whereto*: for what 15, 19 *appear*: be seen 16 *redeeming*: compensation
 17 *his satisfaction*: i.e., the making of his satisfaction // *the prophet*: i.e., Isaiah
 18 *whole*: well; in good health 19 *may*: can 20 *sore*: badly 21, 29 *proctor*: spokesman
 22 *list*: wants 23 *mind*: thinking // *purgatory*: i.e., the existence of purgatory is
 23 *reasoned*: argued for 24 *well and surely*: good and solidly 26 *cunning*: learnedness
 27 *place*: text 28 *them*: those people (i.e., Tyndale, Luther, and the beggars' spokesman)
 29–30 *right . . . men*: very sensible and knowledgeable men. (Fish's wording is "men of great literature and judgment.") 32 *laid*: adduced; presented 33 *reason*: argument // *jest*: jeer

And thus telling such wise tales for their own part... and making mocks and mows at everything that maketh against their folly for our part, they go forth in their evil will and obstinacy, and with murmur and grudge of their own conscience...

5 content themselves with the only feeding of their malicious minds by the increase of their faction... of such as fall into their fellowship rather of a light mind, and lewd pleasure to take a part, than of any great credence that they give unto them—or greatly force which way they believe. For surely if
10 these folk were reasonable and indifferent—as it is not well possible for them to be, after that they refuse once to believe the Catholic Church, and in the understanding of Scripture lean only to their own wits—but else, as we say, if they could with an equal and indifferent mind consider and weigh what they hear,
15 they should soon see their heresy reprov'd and purgatory surely confirmed... not only by probable reason taken of the Scripture, as in the place that we rehearsed you of Hezekiah, but also by plain and evident texts.

For have ye not the words of Scripture, written in the book of
20 the Kings, “Dominus deducit ad inferos et reducit” (“Our Lord bringeth folk down into hell and bringeth them thence again”)? But they that be in that hell where the damned souls be—they be never delivered thence again. Wherefore it appeareth well that they whom God delivereth and “bringeth thence
25 again” be in that part of hell that is called purgatory.

What say they to the words of the prophet Zechariah, “Tu quoque in sanguine testamenti tui eduxisti vinctos tuos de lacu in quo non erat aqua” (“Thou hast in the blood of thy testament brought out thy bound prisoners out of the pit,” or “lake,”
30 “in which there was no water”)? In that they whom the prophet there speaketh of were “bound”... we may well perceive that they were in a prison of *punishment*. And in that he calleth them the “prisoners” of *God*, it is easy to perceive that he meaneth not any that were taken and imprisoned by any other than the

1 *wise*: sensible 1, 3 *part*: side of the argument
2 *making* . . . *at*: making derisive faces and gestures at; i.e., derisively making fun of
3 *folly*: nonsense // *for*: i.e., and for // *evil*: ill 4 *grudge*: misgiving; uneasiness
5 *the only*: just the; the mere 6 *fall*: come 7 *light*: shallow // *lewd*: base
9 *force*: care 10 *reasonable*: rational 10, 14 *indifferent*: objective
12–13 *lean only to*: rely only on; only go by 14 *equal*: unbiased
15 *reprov'd*: proved incorrect 16 *surely*: solidly
16 *probable reason*: logical reasoning // *taken of*: based on 17 *place*: text
17 *rehearsed*: cited // *of*: about 18 *evident*: conclusive
19–22: See 1 Samuel 2:6. 21–22, 23, 24–25 *thence again*: back out of there
23–24 *appeareth well*: is quite evident 26–30: See Zechariah 9:11.
28 *testament*: covenant

damned spirits, the very jailers of God. And in that he saith that there is in that “lake” no “water”... we may well perceive that he spoke it in description of that dry pit of fire... wherein there is no refreshing. For as hot are we here as they are in hell. And
 5 what heat is in the pit where there lacketh water... our Savior himself declareth by the words of the rich glutton lying in such a lake; from whence, at sight of poor Lazarus in Abraham’s bosom, he desired heavily to have him sent unto him with one drop of water to refresh his tongue—that after all the delicates
 10 that it had tasted in his life... lay there then sore burning, and never set half so much by twenty tons of wine... as he set by one poor drop of water. So that, as we show you, these words of the prophet Zechariah, “Thou hast brought out thy bound prisoners out of the lake wherein is no water,” do right well
 15 appear to be spoken of these poor imprisoned souls whom Christ after his bitter Passion, by his precious blood wherewith he consecrated his church in his new testament, delivered out of the lake of fire wherein they lay bound for their sins. But now is there no man that doubteth whether Christ
 20 delivered the damned souls out of hell or not. For in *that* hell is there no redemption; and in *limbus patrum* the souls were in rest. Wherefore it appeareth clearly that those prisoners whom he brought out of their pain... he brought only out of purgatory. And so see these heretics purgatory clearly proved
 25 by the plain words of this holy prophet.

Another place is there also in the Old Testament that putteth purgatory quite out of question. For what is plainer than the places which in the book of the Maccabees make *mention* of the devout remembrance, prayer, alms, and sacrifice...
 30 to be done for souls, when the good and holy man Judas Maccabeus gathered money among the people to buy sacrifice with... to be offered up for the souls of them that were dead in the battle? Doth not this place of Scripture so openly declare the need that we souls have in purgatory... and the relief that we

1 *jailers*: prison officials 5–12: See Luke 16:19–31.

6, 33 *declare(th)*: show(s) 8 *desired heavily*: wanted desperately

9 *that*: which // *delicates*: choice foods and drinks 10 *sore*: terribly

11 *set*: placed // *much*: much value // *by*: on 12 *poor*: little; measly

12 *show*: tell 17 *testament*: covenant 19 *doubteth*: wonders; is in doubt as to

21 *limbus patrum*: the limbo of the fathers; the place in which good departed souls

were detained until Jesus ascended into heaven 22 *appeareth clearly*: is clear to see

26, 33 *place*: text 27 *out of*: beyond 28 *places*: passages

28 *the book of the Maccabees*: See 2 Maccabees 12:38–45.

32 *them that were dead*: those who had died 33 *openly declare*: manifestly show

find by the prayer and suffrages of good people upon earth...
that all the heretics that bark so fast against us can find
neither gloss nor color to the contrary?

What shift find they here? Surely a very shameless shift...

5 and are fain to take them to that tackling that is their sheet
anchor always... when they find the storm so great that
they see their ship goeth all to wreck. For first they use to set some
false gloss to the text that is laid against them, and deny the
right sense.

10 But, now, if the text be so plain that they can have no such
color—then, when they can have no more hold, but see that
their part goeth all to naught, they fall to a shameless boldness
and let not to deny the Scripture and all, and say the holy scripture
which is laid against them is none holy scripture at all; as
15 Luther playeth with the godly epistle of Christ's blessed apostle
Saint James. And even the same do those heretics with the
authority of this holy book of Maccabees: they be not ashamed
to say that it is not Scripture. But upon what ground do they
deny it for Scripture? Because it is not found and accounted
20 for Holy Scripture among the Jews? They neither do nor can
deny but that it *is* taken for Holy Scripture by the church of
Christ. For if they would deny that, both the whole Church
beareth witness against them at this day... and it also appeareth plainly
by Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine, and other old holy doctors
25 that the Church so took it also in their days and before. Then
would we gladly wit of these new men—these enemies, we mean, of
ours—whether the church of Christ be not of as great authority
and as much to be believed in the choice and election of Holy
Scripture as the Jews. If they will say yes: then answer they
30 themselves; for then is the book of the Maccabees by the choice of
the Church proved Holy Scripture though the Jews never accounted
it so. Now, if they will say no... and will contend that it
cannot be accounted Holy Scripture, though the church of Christ

1 *suffrages*: liturgical intercessory petitions 2 *fast*: zealously
3, 8 *gloss*: interpretation (to give it) 3, 11 *color*: spin (to put on it)
4 *shift*: dodge; escape hatch 5 *fain*: forced // *take them*: betake themselves
7 *goeth all to wreck*: is about to be totally wrecked // *use*: are wont
10 *have*: get 11 *hold*: shelter 12 *part*: side of the argument
12 *goeth all to naught*: is all coming to nothing // *fall*: resort 13 *let*: scruple
16 *even*: exactly 24 *old holy doctors*: early biblical scholars
26 *wit*: inquire // *new*: modern 28 *in*: with regard to
28 *choice*: identifying; determining // *election*: selecting
30 *choice*: determination 31, 33 *though*: even if

so take it, but if the Jews so took it too: then go they near to

put out Saint John's Gospel out of Scripture too; for the Jews never took it for none. And surely if they admit for Scripture that book that the Jews admitted, and deny that book to be Scripture which the church of Christ receiveth for Scripture:

5 then do they say that the Spirit of God was more effectually present and assistant unto the synagogue of the Jews in the law of his prophet Moses... than unto the church of his own only-begotten Son in the law of Christ's Gospel!

10 If they consider well the books of the Maccabees, they shall find such things therein as may give them good occasion to put little doubt but that it should be of great and undeniable authority. For they shall find there that the great, good and godly, valiant captain of God's people did institute and ordain the great feast of the Dedication of the Temple of
15 Jerusalem, called *Festum encaeniorum*; of the annual institution of which feast... we read nowhere else but in the book of the Maccabees. And yet find we that feast ever after continued and had in honor until Christ's own days; and our
20 Savior himself went to the celebration of that same feast, as appeareth in the Gospel of Saint John. So that it may well appear that the books of that noble history whereof remaineth so noble a monument and remembrance... continually kept and reserved so long after, and honored by Christ's own precious
25 Person, and testified by his holy evangelist in the book of his holy Gospel... cannot be but undoubted truth and of divine authority.

And surely if they deny the book of the Maccabees for Holy Scripture because the Jews account it not for such—then shall they by the same reason refuse the authority of the book of
30 Sapience... and prove themselves insipients. And likewise if

1 *but if*: unless // *go they near*: they come close 2 *put out*: i.e., booting

5 *receiveth for*: accepts as 8 *his*: i.e., God's 13 *good and*: quite

16 *Festum encaeniorum*: the Feast of Lights; Hanukkah 19 *had*: held

19–21 *our . . . John*: See John 10:22–23.

21–22 *may well appear*: is quite evident 23 *monument*: record

24 *reserved*: preserved 25 *testified*: vouched for 26 *undoubted*: indisputable

30 *reason*: reasoning // *refuse*: deny // *authority*: i.e., scripturalness

31 *Sapience*: Wisdom // *insipients*: unwise persons

they take all Scripture beside the New Testament to be of none other force and authority than it is accounted in the rule and canon of the Jews—then shall the whole psalter of David (the very sum of clear and lightsome prophecies!) lose among
 5 them great part of its authority, since it is not taken in like force and strength among the Jews as it is in Christ’s church.

Finally, for the book of the Maccabees: since the church of Christ accounteth it for Holy Scripture, there can no man doubt thereof but he that will take away all credence and authority
 10 from the whole Scripture of God—the very Gospels and all. For if these heretics deny for Holy Scripture *any* book that the church of Christ accounteth for Holy Scripture, then deny they one of the greatest foundations of all Christian faith—and the thing which their master, Martin Luther, himself hath already
 15 confessed for true. For he affirmeth himself that God hath given unto the church of Christ that gift... that the Church cannot fail surely and certainly to “discern between the words of God and the words of men,” and that it cannot be deceived in the choice of Holy Scripture and rejecting of the contrary; so far
 20 forth that he confesseth (as he needs must, of necessity) that the noble doctor and glorious confessor Saint Augustine said very well... when he said that he should not have believed the Gospel but for the authority of the Church. For he had not known which had *been* the very book of the Gospels, and which not,
 25 among so many as were written, but by the authority of the *Church*, whom the Spirit of God assisted as it ever doth and ever shall... in the choice and receiving of Holy Scripture and rejection of the counterfeit and false. Whereby it appeareth clearly, not only by that holy doctor Saint Augustine, but also by
 30 the confession of the archheretic Luther himself, that the Church cannot be deceived in the choice of Holy Scripture and rejection of the contrary—so far forth that it neither can receive as Holy Scripture any book that is none... nor reject for other

1 *beside*: other than 4 *sum*: summit; acme // *lightsome*: luminous
 18, 31 *be deceived*: make a mistake 19, 27, 31 *choice*: identifying; determining
 21 *confessor*: A male saint who gave heroic witness to the faith but was not martyred.
 21–23: Saint Augustine, *Against the Fundamental Epistle of Manichaeus* 5:6.
 21–22 *said very well*: spoke very correctly 22 *should*: would
 23 *had not*: would not have 24 *had been*: i.e., qualified as being
 24 *the very* . . . *Gospels*: i.e., one of the bona fide, scriptural Gospels
 27 *receiving*: admitting 30 *confession*: acknowledgment; admission
 32 *receive*: accept 33 *for*: i.e., as

than Holy Scripture any book that is Holy Scripture indeed. And surely if the Church might so be deceived in the choice of Holy Scripture that they might take and approve for Holy Scripture any book that were none: then stood all Christendom

5 in doubt and unsurety whether Saint John's Gospel were Holy Scripture or not; and so forth, of all the New Testament.

And therefore, since, as we have showed you, by the heretics' own confessions... the church of Christ cannot be deceived in the choice and election of Holy Scripture; by which their
10 confession they must needs abide and not flit therefrom (as they daily do change, and vary from, their own words in many other things) except that they will, in the falling from that point, refuse the strength and authority of the New Testament of Christ; and since, as yourselves well perceiveth also, the
15 church of Christ receiveth and taketh and (as ye see by Saint Jerome and other old holy doctors this thousand years) hath approved and firmly believed the holy book of the Maccabees to be one of the volumes of Holy Scripture; and then in that book ye see so manifestly purgatory proved... that none heretic,
20 as shameless as they be, can yet for shame say the contrary, but are by the plain and open words of that holy book so driven up to the hard wall... that they can no further, but are fain to say that the book is no part of Scripture; which shift they must needs forsake again or else revoke their own words
25 and therewith also the authority of all Christ's Gospel: there shall, if either reason or shame can hold, never need any further thing for the proof of purgatory to stop the mouths of all the heretics that are or shall be to the world's end.

But yet, since they be so shameless and unreasonable that the
30 thing which they can in no wise defend... they cannot, yet, find in their proud heart to give over; but when it is proved by divers plain texts of the Old Testament... then, having no probable reason for their part, they never the more give place to truth, but stick to their obstinate nay: let us see

2 *surely*: certainly 2, 3 *might*: could 2, 8 *be deceived*: err 2, 9 *choice*: identifying
3 *for*: i.e., as 4 *stood all Christendom*: all of Christendom would stand
5 *unsurety*: uncertainty (as to) 6 *so forth, of*: i.e., the same goes for
7 *showed*: told 8 *confessions*: acknowledgments
9 *election*: selecting 9–10 *their confession*: admission of theirs
11 *vary*: deviate 11, 24 *words*: statements 11 *in*: with regard to
12 *except that they will*: unless they want to 13 *refuse*: deny
15 *receiveth*: accepts 16 *holy doctors*: theologians / biblical exegetes
19, 27 *purgatory*: i.e., the existence of purgatory
20 *for shame*: i.e., be so shameless as to 21 *open*: clear
22 *can*: i.e., can go // *fain*: constrained 23 *shift*: subterfuge; ploy
24 *forsake*: give up // *revoke*: negate 26 *shame*: i.e., fear of embarrassment
26 *hold*: prevail; hold sway with them 27 *stop*: shut 29 *unreasonable*: irrational
30 *wise*: way 31 *give over*: admit defeat regarding 32 *divers*: several
33 *probable reason*: plausible argument; argument that holds any water
33 *for their part*: on their side; supporting their position

whether our purpose be not proved by good and substantial authority in the New Testament also.

5 And first let us consider the words of the blessed apostle and evangelist Saint John, where he saith, “Est peccatum usque ad mortem; non dico ut pro eo roget quis.” “There is,” saith he, “some sin that is unto the death; I bid not that any man shall pray for that.” This sin, as the interpreters agree, is understood of desperation and impenitence; as though Saint John would say that whoso depart out of this world impenitent or in despair, any prayer after made can never stand him in 10 stead. Then appeareth it clearly that Saint John meaneth that there be others which die *not* in such case, for whom he *would* men should pray... by cause that prayer in such souls *may* be profitable. But that profit can no man take neither being in heaven, where it needeth not, nor being in hell, where it booteth 15 not. Wherefore it appeareth plainly that such prayer helpeth only for purgatory; which they must therefore needs grant... except they deny Saint John.

20 What say they to the words of Saint John in the fifth chapter of the Apocalypse: “I have heard,” saith he, “every creature that is in heaven, and upon the earth, and under the earth, and that be in the sea... and all things that be in them—all these have I heard say, ‘Benediction and honor and glory and power forever be to him that is sitting in the throne, and unto 25 the Lamb.’”

Now wotteth every man well that in hell, among damned souls, is there none that giveth glory to Christ for the redemption of man. For they, for anger that (by their own default) they have lost their part thereof—and cannot, for proud heart, take 30 their fault to themselves—fall to blasphemy as the devil doth himself... and impute their sin to the fault of God’s grace, and their damnation to the blame of his creation. So that the praise and glory that is given by creatures in hell unto the Lamb for man’s redemption... is only by the souls in *purgatory*, 35 that be, and shall be, partners of that redemption; as the creatures walking upon earth or sailing in the sea... that give the

1 *purpose*: position; case 3–7: See 1 John 5:16. 7 *for*: about
 8 *of*: i.e., to be // *desperation*: despair
 10–11 *stand him in stead*: do him any good
 11 *appeareth it clearly*: it is clear to see 12 *which*: who
 12 *case*: condition; a state 12–13 *would men should*: would have people
 13 *cause*: reason of the fact // *in*: i.e., to 15 *needeth not*: is not needed
 15–16 *booteth not*: is of no avail 17 *grant*: i.e., grant the existence of
 18 *except*: unless // *deny*: reject 20–25: See Revelation 5:13.
 23 *benediction*: blessing 24 *in*: on 26 *wotteth*: knows
 28 *default*: fault 29 *cannot*: i.e., because they cannot
 29–30 *take their fault to themselves*: admit that they are the ones to blame
 31 *the fault*: a lack 35 *partners of*: partakers of; sharers in

honor to Christ for man's redemption... be only the Christian people, which look and hope to be partners thereof, and not infidels, that believe it not. But the blessed creatures in heaven give honor to Christ for man's redemption... for that joy and pleasure that their charity taketh in the society and fellowship of saved souls. And in this place it is a world to see the folly of some heretics—what evasion they seek to void from this place of Scripture. They say that it is no more to be understood by souls here in purgatory, nor Christian men living upon earth, than by fishes in the sea, and the devil and damned souls in hell... because the text saith that *every* creature in the sea, and in hell, spoke that laud and honor to the Lamb. But by this wise way might they prove that when ye pray for "all Christian souls," ye mean to pray for our Lady's soul, and for Judas's too; and that our Savior, when he sent his apostles and bade them preach his Gospel to "every creature"—they may bear you in hand that he bade them preach to oxen and cows, and their calves too... because all they be creatures. But as they were sent to none other creature... than such as he meant of, though he spoke of "all"; nor ye mean to pray for no souls but such as have need and may have help, though ye speak of "all": so, though Saint John spoke of "every" creature in hell giving honor to Christ for man's redemption, yet meant he but such as be in that hell in which they rejoice therein and shall be partners thereof; which be only we in purgatory, and not the devils and damned souls, that blaspheme him—though their just punishment redound, against their will, to the glory of God's righteousness.

If all this will not satisfy them... will ye see yet another clear place, and such as none heretic can avoid? Doth not the blessed apostle Saint Peter, as appeareth in the second chapter of the Apostles' Acts, say of our Savior Christ in this wise: "*Quem Deus suscitavit, solutis doloribus inferni*"? In these words he showeth that pains of hell were loosed. But these pains were neither pains of that hell in which the damned souls be pained—which neither were loosed then nor never be loosed, but

2, 24 *partners*: partakers 2 *which*: who

3 *that . . . not*: who do not believe in it 6, 7, 29 *place*: text; passage

6 *world*: wonder 7 *to*: in order to // *void*: escape

8, 10 *by*: as referring to 12 *wise way*: brilliant tack

16 *bear you in hand*: assert to you; try to get you to believe

19 *meant of*: had in mind 20 *may have help*: can be helped

25 *that*: which 28 *will ye*: would you like to 29 *avoid*: get around

31 *say*: speak // *wise*: way 31–32 "*Quem . . . inferni*": "Whom God has raised up, having loosed the sorrows of hell" (Acts 2:24).

33 *showeth*: asserts 35 *pained*: punished / put to pain

be and shall be, as our Savior saith himself, everlasting—nor these pains that were then loosed were not the pains in *limbus patrum*; for *there* were none to *be* loosed; for the good souls were there, as our Savior showeth himself, in quiet, comfort, and rest. And so appeareth it evidently... that the pains of hell that *were* loosed... were only the pains of *purgatory*—which is also called “hell,” by occasion of the Latin word and the Greek word both. For in these tongues (forasmuch as before the resurrection of our Savior Christ there was never none that ascended up into heaven) there was no people that any otherwise spoke of souls... than that they were gone down “beneath,” into the “low place.” And therefore in the words of the Common Creed is it said of our Savior Christ after his Passion, “*Descendit ad inferna*”; that is to say, “He descended down beneath, into the low places.” In stead of which “low places” the English tongue hath ever used this word “hell.” And certain is it and very sure... that Christ descended not into *all* these “low places,” nor into *every* place of “hell,” but only into *limbus patrum* and purgatory. Which two places, because they be parts of habitations of souls beneath (all which habitations beneath have in English been always called “hell”), therefore are these two places (among others) taken and comprehended under the name of “hell.” Which word “hell” nothing else signifieth unto us in its *general* signification but “the habitations of souls beneath” (or “under”) “us, in the low places under the ground.” Albeit, because *limbus patrum* and purgatory be called in English also by their special names besides, therefore is most commonly this word “hell” restrained to the special signification of that low place beneath... in which the damned souls be punished. This much have we showed you of this word “hell”... because we would not that the common taking thereof might bring you into any error. So that by this place ye see proved, by the plain words of Saint Peter, that Christ at his resurrection did loose and unbind pains in hell... which, as we have showed you, could be nowhere there but in purgatory. For in the special hell of damned souls the pains were not loosed.

2–3, 18, 25 *limbus patrum*: See note for 179/21. 3–5: See Luke 16:20–22, 25.
 4 *showeth*: makes known 5 *evidently*: conclusively
 9 *none that*: anyone who 12 *Common*: i.e., Apostles’ 15 *stead*: place
 26, 28, 35 *special*: specific; particular 27 *restrained*: restricted
 29, 34 *showed*: explained to 30 *of*: about
 30–31 *would not that . . . might*: i.e., would not want . . . to
 31 *place*: text (Acts 2:24)

And in *limbus patrum* was no pains to *be* loosed. And therefore except they deny Saint Peter... they cannot deny purgatory.

And yet if they deny Saint Peter—we shall then allege them Saint *Paul*; whom they be best content to hear of, by cause that
 5 of the difficulty of his writing they catch, sometimes, some matter of contention for the defense of their false exposition. This blessed apostle, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians (the third chapter), speaking of our Savior Christ (the very foundation, and the only foundation, of all our faith and salvation),
 10 saith: “If any man build upon this foundation gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, or straw—every man’s work shall be made open; for the Day of our Lord shall declare it. For in the fire it shall be showed, and the fire shall prove, what manner of thing every man’s work is. If any man’s work that he hath
 15 built thereon do abide: he shall have a reward. If any man’s work burn: he shall suffer harm, but he shall be safe—but yet as by fire.” In these words the Apostle showeth that likewise as some men abiding upon Christ and his very, lively faith... build up thereupon such good works as are so good and so pure that they be
 20 like fine gold, fine silver, or such fine precious stones... as when they be cast in the fire it can find no filth to fetch out of them, and therefore they remain in the fire safe and undiminished: so are there some, on the other side, which though they do not (as many others do) with mortal sins and lack of good works
 25 wound their faith unto the death and fall from Christ, the foundation that they must build upon—yet do they, abiding upon that foundation, build up thereupon many such simple and frail and corruptible works as can never enter heaven. And such be venial sins... as idle words, vain and wanton mirth, and such other
 30 things like, which be but like wood, hay, or straw. Which works when the soul after his departing out of the world bringeth hither into purgatory, he cannot so get through it as doth the soul whose works were wrought clean, or fully purged by penance ere he died. For *that* soul in the fire can feel no
 35 harm—like as fine gold can in the fire nothing lose of its

2 *except*: unless 2, 3 *deny*: reject 3 *yet*: even
 3 *allege*: quote 4 *of*: from 4–5 *by cause that of*: because from
 6 *contention*: debate // *exposition*: interpretation 8 *very*: actual
 12 *open*: manifest // *declare it*: make it known 15 *abide*: survive
 17 *the Apostle*: i.e., Saint Paul // *showeth*: asserts 18 *very*: true
 18 *lively*: living 23 *side*: hand // *which*: who
 27 *simple*: poor; defective // *frail*: transitory / unsubstantial
 27 *corruptible*: perishable 29 *as*: such as // *idle*: careless
 29 *vain*: useless // *wanton*: off-color

weight. But *this* soul, that bringeth with him such frail works...
 either wrought by themselves or inserted, peradventure, and mixed,
 amidst of some good and virtuous work—as, for example, some
 lack (peradventure sufficient attention and heed, taken by some
 5 sudden wavering of the mind) in time of prayer, or some
 surreption and creeping in of vainglory and liking of their own
 praise in their alms given or other good deed done... not
 forthwith resisted and cast out, but kept and fed upon too
 long... and yet neither so long, peradventure, nor so great, as
 10 our Lord will for that thought deprive him the merit and
 reward of his work—lo, in such cases, as the Apostle saith, the Day
 of our Lord (which is to the whole world the day of the general
 judgment, and to every man particular... the day of his own
 judgment after his death) shall show his work; what manner
 15 thing it is, the fire shall prove and declare. For here in purgatory,
 like as the fire can in the clean souls take none hold...
 but they shall be therein without any manner pain or grief: so
 shall it in the souls that are uncleaned and have their
 works imperfect, unclean, and spotted... hastily catch, hold,
 20 and keep them fast and burn them with incessant pain, till the
 filthiness of their sins be clean purged and gone; and that shall be in
 some sooner, in some later... as their sins, or the spots remaining
 thereof, be more easy or more hard to get out. And that is
 the thing that Paul signifieth by the “wood,” “hay,” and “straw”—of
 25 which the one is a light flame, soon ended; the other
 smoldereth much longer; and the third is hottest and endureth
 longest. But yet hath it an end; and so shall have, at length, all
 the pains of them that shall be purged here. But whatsoever
 soul mishap to die in deadly sin and impenitent: since he
 30 is thereby fallen off forever from our Savior Christ (that was his
 foundation)—and hath built up wretched works upon your
 ghostly enemy the devil... wherewith he hath so thoroughly
 poisoned himself that he can never be purged—the fire shall
 therefore lie burning upon him forever, and his pain never
 35 lessened, nor his filthy spots never the more diminished.

And forasmuch as ye never can conceive a very right imagination

1 *frail*: unsound 2, 4, 9 *peradventure*: perhaps
 4 *sufficient*: i.e., of sufficient 6 *surreption*: sudden onset
 8 *forthwith*: promptly 10 *deprive him*: deprive him of; deny him
 11 *the Apostle*: i.e., Saint Paul 12, 13 *to*: for 15 *prove*: put to the test
 15 *declare*: make known 19 *spotted*: morally blemished; stained by sin
 21 *clean*: completely 22, 35 *spots*: stains 25 *light*: quick
 29 *mishap*: have the misfortune // *deadly*: mortal 32 *ghostly*: spiritual

of these things which ye never felt; nor it is not
 possible to find you any example in the world very like unto
 the pains that seely souls feel when they be departed thence:
 we shall therefore put you in remembrance of one kind of
 5 pain... which though it be nothing like for the quantity of
 the matter, yet may it somewhat be resembled by reason of the
 fashion and manner. If there were embarked many people at once
 to be by ship conveyed a long journey by sea, of such as never
 came thereon before... and should hap all the way to have the seas
 10 rise high, and sore wrought... and sometime, soon upon a storm, to
 lie long after, wallowing at an anchor: there should ye find diverse
 fashions of folk. Some peradventure (but of them very few)
 so clean from all evil humors, and so well attempered of themselves,
 that they shall be, all that long voyage by sea, as lusty and as
 15 jocund as if they were on land. But far the most part shall
 ye see sore sick... and yet in many sundry manners: some more, some
 less; some longer time diseased, and some much sooner
 amended. And divers that a while had went they should have
 died for pain... yet after one vomit or twain so clean rid
 20 of their grief... that they never feel displeasure of it after.
 And this happeth after as the body is more or less disposed in
 itself thereto. But then shall ye sometimes see there some others
 whose body is so incurably corrupted... that they shall walter and
 25 tolter, and wring their hands, and gnash the teeth... and
 their eyes water, their head ache, their body fret, their
 stomach wamble, and all their body shiver for pain... and yet
 shall never vomit at all; or if they vomit, yet shall they
 vomit still and never find ease thereof. Lo, thus fareth it, as a
 30 small thing may be resembled to a great, by the souls
 deceased and departed the world: that such as be clean and
 unspotted can in the fire feel no disease at all; and, on the
 other side, such as come thence so deadly poisoned with sin
 that their spots be indelible and their filthiness unpurgeable...
 lie fretting and frying in the fire forever; and
 35 only such as neither be fully cleansed nor, yet, sore defiled, but
 that the fire may fret out the spots of their sin—of this

3 *seely*: poor 5–6 *nothing . . . matter*: i.e., nothing like it in terms of magnitude
 6, 29 *resembled*: likened (to it) 6 *by reason of the*: in terms of 10 *sore*: extremely
 10 *wrought*: turbulent 11 *wallowing*: rolling around; being tossed back and forth
 13 *clean from*: free of // *evil humors*: i.e., negative physical tendencies
 13 *well attempered of themselves*: naturally well-balanced 14 *lusty*: healthy
 14–15 *as jocund*: in as good spirits // *far the most part*: the vast majority
 16 *sore*: very 17 *diseased*: indisposed; unwell 18 *divers*: some // *went*: thought
 19 *clean*: completely 20 *grief*: ailment // *displeasure*: (any) discomfort // *of*: from
 21 *after*: according // *disposed*: susceptible 22 *thereto*: i.e., to seasickness
 23 *corrupted*: messed up 23–24 *walter and tolter*: toss and turn 25 *fret*: writhe
 26 *wamble*: convulse // *all their*: their whole 28 *vomit still*: keep vomiting
 28 *ease*: relief 29 *by*: with 31 *unspotted*: unstained (by sin)
 31 *disease*: discomfort 32 *side*: hand // *thence*: there // *deadly*: lethally
 33, 36 *spots*: stains 34 *fretting*: writhing 35 *sore*: terribly 36 *fret*: eat; scour

sort only be we that here lie in purgatory. Which these cruel heretics would make you believe that we feel none harm at all; whereof the blessed Apostle, as we have showed you, writeth unto the Corinthians the contrary.

5 Now, if they would bear you in hand that because some doctors do construe those words of the Apostle in divers other senses (as they do construe in divers senses almost every text in Scripture, sometimes after the letter, sometimes moral, and sometimes otherwise... and all to the profit and edifying of the hearers); if these heretics would therefore pretend that Saint Paul in that place meant nothing of purgatory, but the fire that shall be sent before the Doom, or worldly tribulation, or some such other thing: ye shall well understand that though his words may be verified, and well and profitably applied, unto such things *also*, yet letteth that nothing these words to be properly by Saint Paul spoken of purgatory; no more than it letteth these words to be properly spoken by Christ—“Ego in flagella paratus sum”—and many another verse in the Psalter also, though the same words may be well applied and verified of many another man offering himself patiently to the sufferance of unjust punishment. And therefore, lest these heretics should with any such inventions beguile you and make you believe that we, for the furtherance of our own cause, expound the Apostle’s words wrong, and so make them seem to say for our part: ye shall understand that those words have been expounded and understood of purgatory this thousand years, and more, by the ancient holy doctors of Christ’s church, as well Greeks as Latins. And, among others, the great clerk Origen, in more places of his works than one, declareth plainly that the fore-remembered words of the Apostle are spoken by the pains of purgatory. The holy confessor and great pillar of Christ’s church Saint Augustine, in divers of his godly and erudite books, expoundeth that place of Saint Paul to be clearly spoken of purgatory. And over this, the blessed pope Saint Gregory, in

1 *sort*: group; class // *which*: i.e., in which

3, 6, etc. *the (blessed) Apostle*: i.e., Saint Paul

5 *bear you in hand*: assert to you; make to you the claim

5, 27 (*holy*) *doctors*: theologians / biblical exegetes 6, 7 *divers*: various

8 *after the letter*: in accord with the literal meaning // *moral*: allegorical

10 *pretend*: claim 11 *place*: passage 11, 34 *of*: about

12 *Doom*: Last Judgment 14, 19 *may*: can

14 *verified*: proved true with regard // *well and*: quite 15, 17 *letteth*: hinders

15 *nothing*: not at all 15, 17 *to be*: i.e., from being

16, 17 *properly*: specifically; directly 17, 30 *by*: with reference to

17–18 “*Ego in flagella paratus sum*”: “I am ready for scourges” (Vulgate, Psalm 37:18).

19 *applied and verified of*: applied to and borne out by 20 *sufferance*: undergoing

22 *inventions*: contrivances 24 *say for our part*: speak on our side; be backing us up

27 *ancient*: venerable 28 *clerk*: scholar 29 *fore-remembered*: above-cited

32 *divers*: several 33 *place of*: text from

34 *over this*: furthermore // *Gregory*: i.e., Gregory the Great

the fourth book of his godly *Dialogues*, beareth witness that the
 Apostle in the place aforesaid wrote those words of purgatory.
 So that ye may plainly perceive that this exposition is
 neither our device nor any newfound fantasy, but a very
 5 truth well perceived and witnessed by great, cunning men, and
 holy, blessed saints, more than a thousand years ago.

Now, if these heretics will be so mad to flit in this case
 from Saint Paul... and say they be bound to believe nothing
 but only the *Gospel*: let us then yet see further whether we may
 10 not plainly prove you purgatory by the very words of the Gospel
 itself. Doth not our blessed Savior himself say that there is a
 certain sin which a man may so commit “against the Holy
 Ghost”... that it shall never be remitted nor forgiven “neither in this
 world nor in the world to come”? Now, as for to dispute what
 15 manner sin that should be—both the matter were very hard... and
 also, we shall here nothing need to touch it. But of one thing
 both ye and we may make us very sure: that there is nor can be any
 sin committed in the world so sore, so grievous, nor so
 abominable... but that if a man work with God’s grace, by
 20 contrition and heaviness of heart... with humble confession of
 mouth and good endeavor of penance and satisfaction in deed,
 against his thought, word, and deed by which God was offended—
 he shall obtain of God’s goodness remission, forgiveness,
 and pardon.

But it may peradventure so befall that by some kind of
 unkindness used toward God extending to the blasphemy of his
 Holy Spirit—the committer of *that* sin may so far offend that
 he shall, for his desert and demerit, have the grace of Almighty God
 so clearly withdrawn from him that our Lord shall never offer
 30 his grace after, nor nevermore call upon him. And then, his
 grace once clearly withdrawn from a man—he can never be able
 to repent and return again to God. For grace is the light wherewith
 men see the way to walk out of sin, and grace is the staff
 without help whereof no man is able to rise out of sin, according
 35 to the words of Holy Writ spoken to man in the person of

1 *beareth witness*: i.e., corroborates this view 1–2 *the Apostle*: i.e., Saint Paul
 2 *place*: text // *of*: with reference to 3 *exposition*: interpretation 4 *device*: idea
 4 *newfound*: newly come up with // *fantasy*: figment of the imagination
 4 *very*: bona fide; actual 5 *witnessed*: vouched for // *cunning*: erudite
 7 *to*: i.e., as to // *case*: instance 11–14: See Matthew 12:31–32.
 14 *dispute*: debate
 15 *matter . . . hard*: i.e., would that be a very tough debate topic
 16 *nothing need to touch it*: have no need to discuss it
 17 *may make us very sure*: can rest quite assured // *is*: i.e., neither is
 18 *sore*: terrible 20–21 *of mouth*: i.e., in speech 25 *peradventure*: perhaps
 25 *befall*: happen 26 *unkindness*: vileness // *used*: shown
 26 *blasphemy*: i.e., blaspheming
 28 *for his desert and demerit*: i.e., as he deserves and has merited
 29, 31 *clearly*: completely

our Lord God, “Ex te perditio tua; ex me salvatio tua”; “Thy perdition cometh of thyself; but thy salvation cometh of me, by the aid and help of my grace.” Which grace, as we tell you, being from some man utterly withdrawn for some manner unkind behavior

5 toward God and blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, *that* sin— for lack of repentance, which can never come where grace is clean gone—shall “never be forgiven in this world nor in the world to come.” And in such a manner kind of unkindness toward

10 God and blasphemy toward the Holy Ghost... fall also all such wretches as have the grace of God ever calling and knocking upon them for repentance all the days of their life... and yet, all that notwithstanding, will not use it, nor work therewith, nor turn to God... but willingly will die desperate and impenitent wretches.

15 This kind of blasphemers of God’s goodness and his Holy Spirit... have in the miserable passing of their sinful souls out of their sensual bodies the grace of God so fully and so finally withdrawn from them *forever*... that they be thereby fixed and confirmed in an unchangeable malice... which, eternally

20 dwelling with them, is the very special cause of their everlasting torment. But in this matter, as we said, we wade out of our purpose... saving that it seemed us yet necessary, since our Savior, in the place that we speak of, doth himself show that there is a certain sin so touching the Holy Ghost

25 that it shall “never be forgiven, neither in this world nor in the world to come”—it seemed, as we say, somewhat necessary to say somewhat therein, lest some that read it might conceive a wrong opinion and a false fear drawing them toward despair... that if they mishappened (which our Lord forbid!) to fall into

30 blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, they could never after be forgiven how sore soever they repented, or how heartily and how busily soever they should pray therefor. In which thing since we have showed you what we take for truth, we shall leave

1–3: See Hosea 13:9 (Vulgate). 4 *some man*: someone
 4 *manner*: kind of // *unkind*: vile 8 *in*: into
 8 *manner*: dispositional; habitual // *unkindness*: vileness
 13 *willingly*: deliberately // *desperate*: (as) despairing
 20 *special*: proximate 21–22 *wade out of*: veer off from
 22 *purpose*: subject; point at issue 23 *place*: passage
 24 *show*: state // *touching*: concerning
 26–27 *say somewhat therein*: i.e., go into that passage a little
 28 *false*: erroneous; unfounded 29 *mishappened*: had the misfortune
 31 *how sore soever*: no matter how intensely 32 *busily*: assiduously
 32 *therefor*: for that // *in*: regarding
 33 *showed*: told; made known to

that matter, and show you how those words of Christ prove you our *principal* purpose: that is to say, that there is a purgatory. Howbeit, we shall scanty need to *show* you that; for the very words be plain and evident of themselves. For when our Lord saith that the “blasphemy against the Holy Ghost” shall not be forgiven “neither in this world nor in the world to come,” he giveth us clear knowledge that of *other* sins, some *shall* be forgiven in “this world”—and some in “the world to come.”

Now are there in “this” world every sin forgiven in such as shall be saved souls... except such venial sins and such temporal pain as, yet due to the deadly sins, rest and remain to be purged here in purgatory. For none other place is there than this in the world to come after man’s life... in which either sin or pain due to any sin shall be remitted. For into heaven shall neither sin nor pain enter; and in hell shall never none be released. And therefore when Christ, by showing that *some* kind of sin shall *not* be remitted in the “world to come”—doth give men knowledge that, on the other side, *some* sins *shall* in the “world to come” be remitted and forgiven. And then, since no man doubteth but that neither in hell shall any sins be forgiven nor in heaven: very reason teacheth that the place in which some sins shall be forgiven after this life... can be none other but purgatory.

There is, as we suppose, no Christian man living but he will think that any one place of Holy Scripture is enough to the proof of any truth. Now have we proved you purgatory by the plain texts of more places than one, two, or three. And yet shall we give you another... so plain, as we suppose, and so evident for the proof of purgatory, as none heretic shall find any good color of escape. For our Savior Christ saith, as it is rehearsed in the twelfth chapter of Matthew, that men shall “yield a reckoning of every idle word”... and that shall be after this present life. Then wotteth every man that by that “reckoning” is

2 *purpose*: point 3 *scantly*: scarcely 4, 28 *evident*: conclusive
 4 *of*: in 11 *pain*: penalty // *deadly*: mortal 14, 15 *pain*: punishment
 16 *showing*: stating 18 *doth*: i.e., this does // *side*: hand
 21 *very reason*: reason itself 25, 27 *place(s)*: passage(s)
 25 *is enough to*: suffices for 30 *color*: semblance // *rehearsed*: related
 31–32: Matthew 12:36. 32, 33 *reckoning*: account 32 *idle*: careless
 33 *wotteth*: knows

understood a *punishment* therefor—which shall not be in hell... and much less in heaven. And therefore can it be nowhere else but in purgatory.

Lo, thus may ye see purgatory clearly proved by the very Scripture
 5 itself: by the book of the Kings; by the prophet Zechariah; by
 the holy book of the Maccabees; by the words of Saint John; by
 the apostle Saint Peter; by the writing of our Savior Christ himself.
 So that we not a little marvel either of the ignorance or
 shameless boldness of all such as having any learning... dare
 10 call themselves Christian men and yet deny purgatory. For if they
 have learning and perceive not these clear and open texts... we
 marvel of their ignorance. With which while they join a
 proud pretense of learning... they fall into the reproof that Saint
 Paul spoke of the paynim philosophers: “Dicentes se esse sapientes,
 15 stulti facti sunt” (“While they called themselves wise, they
 proved stark fools”). Now, if they perceive well these texts of
 Holy Scripture so plainly proving purgatory... and yet themselves
 stick stiff in the denying: we then marvel much more
 that they dare for shame call themselves Christian men... and then
 20 deny the thing which the blessed apostles of Christ—the sacred
 majesty of our Savior *himself*, in the *Holy Scripture*,
 in his holy *Gospels*, so manifestly and so plainly affirmeth.

And yet many another plain text is there in Holy Scripture...
 that, as the old holy doctors bear witness, well proveth our
 25 purpose for purgatory... which we speak here nothing of, since
 fewer texts than we have already showed you... both might and
 ought to suffice you. For any *one* plain text of Scripture
 sufficeth for the proof of any truth, except any man be of the
 mind that he will have God tell his tale twice ere he believe
 30 him.

Now, if these heretics fall to their accustomed frowardness...
 and, as they be wont to do, will rather deny that the
 swan is white and the crow black... than agree that any text in
 Holy Scripture hath any other sense than themselves list to say;
 35 and will in this point, for the maintenance of their heresy,

1 *therefor*: i.e., for that careless word 5–7: See 1 Samuel 2:6; Zechariah 9:11;
 2 Maccabees 12:38–45; 1 John 5:16; Acts 2:24; Matthew 12:31–32.
 7 *writing*: i.e., written words 8, 12 *of*: at 11, 16 *perceive*: understand
 11 *open*: obvious; manifest 12 *while*: when 13–16: See Romans 1:22.
 13 *pretense of learning*: claim of being learned
 13 *fall into*: bring upon themselves // *reproof*: stinging criticism
 14 *spoke*: i.e., made // *paynim*: pagan
 19 *for shame*: i.e., be so shameless as to 24 *old*: early
 24 *holy doctors*: theologians / biblical exegetes // *bear witness*: corroborate
 25 *purpose*: case 26 *showed*: pointed out to // *might*: could
 28 *except*: unless 29 *tell his tale*: make his statement; give his account
 31 *accustomed*: customary // *frowardness*: willful obstinacy
 33 *agree*: grant 34 *hath* . . . *say*: i.e., means anything other than what they
 themselves want to say it means 35 *maintenance*: upholding

set at naught Saint Augustine, Saint Jerome, Saint Ambrose,
 Saint Gregory, Saint Chrysostom, Saint Basil, Saint
 Cyprian, and finally *all* the old holy fathers and blessed
 saints that anything say against them: yet can they neither
 5 deny that the Catholic Church of Christ hath always believed
 purgatory, condemning for heretics all such as would
 hold the contrary, nor, if they grant that, can they then by any
 manner means avoid it but that the thing is true that all the
 Church so full and whole, so long, hath in such wise believed, although
 10 there were not found in all Holy Scripture one text that
 so plainly proved it as they might find many that
 seemed to say the contrary—except they will not only say that
 our blessed Lady lost her virginity after the birth of Christ... but,
 over that, be driven further, to diminish the strength and authority
 15 of the very Gospel itself; which if the Church may err in
 the right faith... had clearly lost its credence.

And therefore, as we say, whereas we by plain Scripture *have*
 proved you purgatory, yet if there were therein not one text that
 anything seemed to say *for* it, but divers and many texts
 20 which as far seemed unto the misunderstanders to speak
against purgatory... as many divers texts of the Gospel appeared
 unto the great heretic Helvidius to speak against the
 perpetual virginity of Christ's blessed mother: yet since the Catholic
 Church of Christ hath always so firmly believed it for a
 25 plain truth... that they have always taken the obstinate
 affirmers of the contrary for plain, erroneous heretics—*it* is
 a proof full and sufficient for purgatory to any man that will be
 taken for a member of Christ's church, and is alone a thing
 sufficient in any good Christian audience to stop the mouths
 30 of all the proud, high-hearted, malicious *heretics* that anything
 would bark against us.

But when they be so confuted and concluded... that they have
 nothing to say: yet can they not hold their peace... but fall to
 blasphemy and ask why there cometh none of us out of purgatory

1 *set at naught*: dismiss as of no account

2 *Saint Gregory*: i.e., Pope Saint Gregory the Great

3 *finally*: ultimately // *old holy fathers*: early fathers of the Church

6 *purgatory*: i.e., that purgatory exists 8 *manner*: kind of

8 *avoid it but*: i.e., get out of acknowledging 9 *although*: even if

12 *except*: unless 14 *over*: on top of 15 *may*: could

16 *had clearly lost its credence*: i.e., would completely lose its credibility

19 *divers*: various 21 *divers*: different 22 *great*: flagrant; egregious

26 *it*: i.e., this fact 29 *stop*: shut 30 *high-hearted*: arrogant

32 *concluded*: trounced 33 *fall*: resort

and speak with them. By which blasphemous question they may as well deny hell, and heaven too, as they deny purgatory. For there cometh as many to them out of purgatory... as out of either of the other twain. And surely if there came one
 5 out of any of them all three... unto folk of such incredulity as those heretics be: yet would they be never the better. For if they believe not now them whom they *should* believe, no more would they believe him neither that should come out of purgatory to tell it them—as Abraham answered the rich man that required
 10 the same in hell; and as it well appeared also by the miscreant Jews which were so little amended by the coming again of Lazarus out of *limbus patrum*... that lest others should believe him, they devised to destroy him. And yet if the thing that they require *would* content them—it hath not lacked.
 15 For there hath in every country and in every age apparitions been had, and well known and testified, by which men have had sufficient revelation and proof of purgatory... except such as list not to believe them; and they be such as would be never the better if they saw them.
 20 For whoso listeth to believe that altogether is lies that he heareth so much people speak of and so many good men write of—for no country is there in Christendom in which he shall not *hear*, credibly reported, of such apparitions divers times there seen and appearing; and in the books of many a holy saint's
 25 *writing* shall he find such apparitions in such wise told and testified as no good man could in any wise mistrust them. And, over this, when the apostles at Christ's appearing to the Eleven in the house... took him at the first for a *spirit*, it well appeareth that apparitions of spirits was no new thing among the Jews.
 30 Which ye may well perceive also by that the better sort of them said in excusing of Saint Paul, "What if some angel or some spirit have spoken to him?"—as is mentioned in the Apostles' Acts. So that, as we say, whoso list to take all this for lies... and is so faithless, and so proudly curious, that he looketh ere he believe

2 *may as well*: could as rightly 4 *one*: someone
 5 *them all three*: all three of them // *incredulity*: skepticism
 6, 19 *never the better*: no better off 9–10: See Luke 16:27–35.
 9–10 *required the same*: made the same request 10–13: See John 12:9–11.
 11 *miscreant*: unbelieving // *which*: who 12 *again*: back
 12 *limbus patrum*: See note for 179/21. 13 *devised*: plotted
 14 *require*: ask for / make a requisite (for their belief) // *lacked*: been lacking
 16, 26 *testified*: authenticated 18, 20, 33 *list(eth)*: choose(s)
 18, 34 *believe*: i.e., believe in 20, 33 *whoso*: whoever
 20 *altogether is*: i.e., it is all a pack of 23 *divers*: various
 26 *in . . . them*: in any way be skeptical of them 27 *over this*: moreover
 27–28: See Luke 24:37. 28 *well appeareth*: is clear to see
 30–32: See Acts 23:9. 31 *excusing*: defending 34 *faithless*: devoid of faith
 34 *curious*: cautious; leery // *believe*: i.e., believe in

them to have such apparitions specially showed unto himself,
and miracles wrought in his presence... would wax the *worse* and he
saw them, and would ascribe it either to some fantasy or to the
devil's work—as did those Jews that ascribed Christ's miracles
5 to Beelzebub.

For surely if such people were in the case of Saint Thomas
of India—that they were otherwise very virtuous and good,
having in that only point some hardness of belief as he had in
Christ's resurrection—our Lord, we doubt not, would of his special
10 goodness provide some special way, for their satisfaction, to
recover them with. But, now, since they be plain carnal, high-hearted,
and malicious, longing for miracles as did these
crooked-hearted Jews which said unto Christ that they longed to
see him show some miracle—he doth, therefore, with *these* folk as
15 Christ did with *them*. For as he answered *them*, by the example of
Jonas the prophet, that he would none show before that perverse
and faithless people till he were dead: so answereth he *these*
perverse and crooked, malicious people... that he will show them no
such apparition till *they* be dead. And then shall he send
20 them where they shall see it so surely—and, to their pain, see such a
grisly sight as shall so grieve their hearts to look thereon—that
they shall say as Christ said to Saint Thomas of India: “Beati qui
non viderunt et crediderunt”; “Blessed and happy be they that
believed this gear and never saw it.” For surely in this world the
25 goodness of God so tempereth such apparitions... as his high
wisdom seeth it most profitable for help and relief of the dead
and instruction and amendment of the quick—keeping such
apparitions, of his great mercy, most commonly from the sight of
such as would turn his goodness into their own harm. And
30 surely of his tender favor toward you... doth his great goodness
provide that such apparitions, revelations, and miracles
should not be too copious and common—whereby good men,
seeing the thing at eye, should lose the great part of that they
now merit by faith; and evil folk, when they were once familiar

1 *specially*: personally 2 *wax*: become // *and*: if
3 *fantasy*: hallucination 4–5: See Matthew 12:24. 6 *case*: situation
6–7, 22 *Saint Thomas of India*: I.e., the apostle Thomas, who is believed to
have established the Church in what is now called Kerala.
7–9: See John 20:24–25. 8 *hardness of belief*: difficulty believing
9, 10 *special*: exceptional 11 *recover them*: come to their rescue
11 *carnal*: unspiritual // *high-hearted*: arrogant 14, 16 *show*: perform
14 *he*: i.e., our Lord God 15 *with them*: i.e., with those Jews
17 *faithless*: unbelieving 22 *as*: i.e., what 22–24: See John 20:29.
24 *this gear*: i.e., in this thing 25 *tempereth*: regulates 27 *quick*: living
28 *from*: away from 33 *at eye*: with their own eyes
33 *great part*: greater part; lion's share // *that*: that which 34 *evil*: bad

with it, would then as little regard it as they now little believe it.

Now it is a world to see with what folly they fortify their false belief... and into what fond fantasies they fall while they
5 decline from the truth. For while they deny purgatory... they now affirm (and especially Luther himself) that souls unto Doomsday do nothing else but *sleep*. Woe would they be if they fell into such a sleep as many a soul sleepeth here—and as Judas hath already slept fifteen hundred years in hell!

10 Then say they that if there *were* any purgatory... out of which the pope might deliver any soul by his pardon: then were he very cruel in that he delivereth them not without money; and also that he riddeth them not hence all together, at once. The first is a great folly: that—since our Lord sendeth them
15 thither for satisfaction to be made in some manner for their sin—the pope should rather, against God's purpose, deliver them free... than change the manner of their satisfaction from pain unto prayer, almsdeed, or other good works to be done by their friends for them, in some point profitable and
20 necessary for the whole corps of Christendom or some good member of the same.

Now is there in the second not only much *more* folly, but it importeth also plain and open blasphemy. For presupposed that the pope may deliver all souls out of purgatory: yet if he
25 were therefore cruel as often as he leaveth any there—this unreasonable reason layeth cruelty to the blame of *God*, which may *undoubtedly* deliver all souls thence, and yet he leaveth them there. This blasphemy should also touch his high Majesty for keeping any soul in *hell*; from whence no man doubteth but that he might, if
30 he list, deliver them all forever. But as he will not deliver any thence: so will he not without good order deliver any soul hence. For as of his justice *they* be worthy to lie *there forever*: so be *we* worthy to lie *here* for the *while*... and in God no cruelty though he suffer his mercy to be, commonly, suspended and
35 tempered with the balance of his justice. And though he take us not hence all at once, orderless and at adventure: his high

3 *a world*: a wonder; an amazing thing // *folly*: nonsense
4 *fond fantasies*: ridiculous notions // *while*: when 5 *decline*: fall away
6 *unto*: until 11, 29 *might*: could 11 *his pardon*: i.e., granting an indulgence
12 *were he*: would he be 13 *that*: i.e., in that // *riddeth*: clears; gets
13, 36 *hence*: out of here 14, 22 *folly*: idiocy 14 *since*: given that
15 *thither*: there 19 *friends*: relatives and friends; loved ones
23 *importeth*: involves // *plain and open*: clear and obvious 24, 26 *may*: could
25 *unreasonable*: irrational 26 *reason*: argument // *which*: who
27, 31 *thence*: from there 28 *touch*: cast aspersions on 29 *whence*: where
30 *list*: wanted to 31 *order*: protocol 32 *hence*: from here
32 *as of*: i.e., just as in accord with // *they*: i.e., the souls in hell
32 *be worthy*: deserve 33 *be we worthy*: do we deserve 34 *suffer*: allow
34 *commonly*: ordinarily 36 *orderless*: i.e., without any protocol or criterion
36 *at adventure*: indiscriminately

wisdom is praiseworthy, and not worthy blame. Our Lord forbid that ever we so should (and such is his grace that we never shall, for any pain possible that we can suffer here) hold ourselves content to hear such foolish words as imply so plain blasphemy against
 5 God's high, merciful Majesty. For surely these folk in putting forth of this their unwise argument... make a countenance to throw it against the pope, but in very deed they cast it at God's head.

For as for the pope—whoso consider it well—goeth farther
 10 from the example of God that is set for Christ's vicar in his Church... by giving over-liberal pardon... than by being therein too scarce and strait. For God remitteth not here at *adventure* (though he may do his *pleasure*), but observeth right good and great respect—
 15 as the prayers and intercessions made for us, or other satisfaction done for us, by some other men. And this order useth, and of reason ought to use, his vicar also in the dispensing toward our relief... the precious treasure of our
 20 comfort that Christ hath put in his keeping. For else, if either the pope or God should always forthwith deliver every man here—
 25 or, rather, keep every man hence, as these heretics would make men believe that God doth indeed... and would that the world should so take it—then should God or the pope, as we somewhat have said before, give a great occasion to men boldly to fall in sin... and little to care or force how slowly they rise again.
 30 Which thing neither were meet for the pope's office... nor agreeable to the great wisdom of God—and much less meet for his mercy. For by that means should he give innumerable folk great occasion of damnation... which, presuming upon such easy, short remission, would lustily draw to lewdness with little care of amendment.

And so appeareth it that the thing which these wise men would have ye take for cruel... is of truth most *merciful*; and the thing which they would have to seem very benign and piteous is in very deed most rigorous and most cruel;
 35 likewise as a sharp master that chastiseth his servant... is in

1 *worthy*: deserving of 2 *for*: despite 4 *imply*: involve as a necessary consequence
 4 *so plain*: such obvious 5 *surely*: certainly 6 *this their unwise argument*: this nonsensical argument of theirs 6–7 *make a countenance to throw*: make it look as though they were throwing 7, 34 *very deed*: actual fact 7 *cast*: are throwing
 9 *whoso consider it well*: i.e., whoever really thinks about it will see this
 9 *goeth*: i.e., he would go 11 *by* . . . *pardon*: i.e., by granting indulgences too liberally
 11–12 *therein* . . . *strait*: too sparing and strict in this regard 12 *at adventure*: capriciously
 13 *may*: can // *his pleasure*: as he pleases // *observeth* . . . *respect*: i.e., takes some things into quite good and great consideration 14 *as*: such as 15 *order*: protocol
 20 *hence*: out of here 21–22 *would* . . . *should*: would have everyone
 22 *somewhat*: more or less 24 *in*: into // *care or force*: worry or care
 25 *neither were meet*: would be neither fitting 26 *agreeable to*: in keeping with
 26–27 *meet for*: congruous with 28 *which*: who 29 *short*: quick
 29 *lustily*: cheerfully; enthusiastically // *draw to*: go in for // *lewdness*: licentiousness
 30 *of*: about 31 *wise*: sensible 32 *of truth*: in actuality 33 *benign*: kind; gracious
 34 *piteous*: compassionate // *rigorous*: unbending; stringent 35 *sharp*: severe

that point more favorable than is an easy one that for lack of punishment letteth them run on the bridle and giveth them occasion of hanging. Which thing hath place also between the father and the child. And therefore in Holy Scripture
 5 that father is not accounted for unloving and cruel... that beateth his child; but rather, he that leaveth it undone. For “he that spareth the rod,” saith Holy Writ, “hateth the child.” And God, therefore, that is of all fathers the most tender-loving, and most benign and merciful, leaveth no child of his uncorrected, but
 10 “scourgeth every child that he taketh to him.” And therefore neither God remitteth at adventure the pains of purgatory... nor no more must the pope neither... but if that he will, while he laboreth to do good and be piteous to us that are dead, be cruel and do much more harm to them that be quick... and while
 15 he will draw us out of purgatory... drive many of them into hell. From desire of which kind of “help” we so far abhor... that we would all rather choose to dwell here long, in most bitter pain, than by such way to get hence as might give occasion of any man’s damnation.

20 Now, where they likewise object—in countenance against the clergy, but yet in very deed they strike the stroke at *us*, whom they would bereave the suffrages of good people—objecting that no man may satisfy for another... nor that the prayer nor alms nor other good deed done by one man may
 25 stand another in stead, but that every man must needs allthing that he will have help of... do it, every whit, himself; and so, that no man’s good deed done among you for us in relief of our pain could in any manner serve us: this opinion, as it is toward us very pestilent and pernicious, so is it of itself
 30 very false and foolish. For first, if all that ever must avail any man... must needs be done by himself, and no man’s merit may be applied to the help of another: then were wiped away from all men all the merits of Christ’s bitter Passion; in which though it be true that *God* died on the cross,

1 *point*: respect // *favorable*: kind / beneficial // *easy*: lenient
 2 *run on the bridle*: have free rein; run wild 3 *hath place*: holds true
 6–7: See Proverbs 13:24. 7–10: See Hebrews 12:5–6.
 8 *that*: who 9 *benign*: kind; gracious // *uncorrected*: unpunished
 11 *at adventure*: capriciously; indiscriminately 12 *but if*: unless
 12 *will*: wants to 13 *laboreth*: is trying // *piteous*: compassionate
 14 *quick*: alive 16 *abhor*: recoil 18 *hence*: out of here
 20 *in countenance*: seemingly 21 *very deed*: actual fact
 21 *strike the stroke at*: land the blow on
 22 *bereave*: i.e., bereave of; deprive of 23, 24, 32 *may*: can
 23 *satisfy for*: make satisfaction for
 25 *stand another in stead*: stand in for another’s; be done on another’s behalf
 25 *needs*: necessarily // *allthing*: everything
 29 *pestilent*: injurious; detrimental 32 *were*: would be

because of the unity of God and man in person—yet had his tender *manhood* all the pain for us, and his impassible Godhead felt no pain at all. Whereof serveth also the prayers that every man prayeth for other? Wherefore did Saint Paul pray for all
 5 other Christian men—and desire them all to pray for him also, and each of them for other—that they might be saved?

And why is there so special a mention made, in the Acts of the Apostles, that at the delivery of Saint Peter out of prison the Church made continual prayer and intercession for him... but
 10 for to show that God the rather delivered him for other men's prayers? And think ye that if God have pity upon one man for another's sake... and delivereth him at another man's petition from a little pain or imprisonment in the world there upon earth, he hath not at other men's humble
 15 and hearty prayer much more pity upon such as lie in much more heavy pain and torment here in the hot fire of purgatory?

Then find these folk another knot hard, as they think, to undo. For they say that "if another man's merits may serve me,
 20 whereto should I need to do any good myself?" This objection is much like as if they would say, "If other men may take me out of the fire, whereto should I labor to rise myself?" Very truth it is that sometimes the good works of one man, wrought with good affection, may purchase another man grace for to amend and
 25 work for himself. But surely, of common course, he that will not himself work *with* them... getteth little good of other men's good deeds. For if thyself do still draw backward while other, good men with their prayer labor to pull thee forward, it will be long ere thou make any good day's journey. And therefore
 30 that holy doctor Saint Augustine, in the blessed book that he made of the cure and care that men should have of us seely departed souls, toucheth quickly the very point that there can none take profit of other men's good deeds... but only such as have deserved by some good thing in their own deeds... that other

2 *tender*: sensitive // *impassible*: incapable of experiencing suffering

4 *wherefore*: why 4–6: See Romans 10:1; Ephesians 1:15–18 and 6:18–20; Philippians 1:9–10; 2 Thessalonians 1:11–12; and 1 Timothy 2:1–4.

7–11: See Acts 12:5–12. 10 *rather*: sooner // *for*: on account of

11, 14 *have*: takes 16 *hot*: i.e., terribly hot 19, 21, 24 *may*: can

20, 22 *whereto*: to what end; why 20 *good*: i.e., good thing

22 *labor to rise*: go to the trouble of getting up // *very truth it is*: it is indeed true

23 *wrought*: done 23–24 *good affection*: a good disposition

25 *work for himself*: i.e., to do good deeds his own self // *surely*: certainly

25 *of common course*: as a rule 28 *labor*: strive

30 *the blessed book*: i.e., *On Care to Be Had for the Dead* (6).

31 *made of*: wrote about // *cure and care*: care and concern // *of us*: for us

31 *seely*: poor 32 *toucheth quickly*: strikingly makes

men's deeds should help them. And that hath every man done, at the leastwise by his final repentance and purpose of amendment, that departeth the world in the state of grace.

5 For he that is *out* of that state cannot take the profit of other men's merits done for him. And therefore damned souls cannot by other men's merits be delivered of damnation; nor, in like wise, he that intendeth to persevere in sin and do no good for himself. But since that *we* be not in that case, but have with help of God's grace deserved to be partners
10 of such good deeds as ye that are our friends will of your goodness do for us, ye may by your merits highly relieve us here and help to get us hence. And surely great wonder were it if we should not be able to take profit of your prayers. For there will no wise man doubt but that the prayer of any member of
15 Christendom... may profit any other that it is made for... which hath need and is a member of the same. But none is there yet living that is more very member of Christ's mystical body—that is, his church—than we be; nor no man living that hath more need of help than we. For in surety of salvation we be fellows with
20 angels; in need of relief we be yet fellows with you. And therefore, being so sure members of one body with angels, holy saints, and you; and having necessity both of their help and yours: there is no doubt but since every member that need hath may take good by other, we stand in the case that both
25 angels' and saints' intercessions and your good prayers and almsdeed done for us, whatsoever these heretics babble, may do us marvelous much good.

How many have by God's most gracious favor appeared unto their friends after the death and showed themselves
30 helped and delivered hence by pilgrimage, almsdeed, and prayer—and especially by the sacred oblation of that Holy Sacrament offered for them in the Mass! If these heretics say that all such things be lies, then be they much worse yet than

5 *done*: i.e., earned 6 *of*: from 8 *good*: i.e., good thing
9, 24 *case*: position; situation 9 *deserved*: merited // *partners*: partakers
10, 29 *friends*: relatives and friends; loved ones 11, 15, etc. *may*: can
12 *hence*: out of here // *surely* . . . *it*: certainly it would be a great wonder
14 *no wise man*: no one with any sense 15 *which*: who
17 *very*: truly a 19, 20 *in*: with respect to 19 *surety*: certainty
19, 20 *fellows*: peers; on a par 20 *yet*: still
21 *so sure*: such firmly established; so certainly 22 *necessity*: need
27 *marvelous much*: a tremendous amount of
29 *showed themselves*: i.e., made it known that they were
30 *hence*: from here

their master was—Luther himself—as long as any spark of
 shame was in him. For he confesseth in his sermons that many
 such apparitions be true; and his heart could not for very
 shame serve him... that so many so often told in so many places,
 5 so faithfully reported by so many honest folk, and so substantially
 written by so many blessed saints... should be all false.
 Wherein if these men list, like lusty scholars, to pass and overgo
 their mad master in this point, and deny these things altogether—
 yet shall there stick in their teeth... the scripture of the
 10 Maccabees whereof we told you: that Judas Maccabeus gathered
 and sent a great offering to Jerusalem, for to buy sacrifice to be
 offered for them that he found slain in the field... and certain
 things about them, taken of the idols, forbidden them by the
 Law; which caused him to fear lest they were for their sins
 15 fallen after their death into pain; and therefore made that
 gathering, that alms and offering, as himself saith, that they
 might thereby be loosed and delivered of their sins. So that
 there appeareth *plainly* by *Scripture*... that such suffrages stand
 us seely souls in stead. Against which authority if they will
 20 with their master labor to break out, and deny that book for Holy
 Scripture—we have stopped them that gap already, with such
 a bush of thorns as will prick their hands through a pair of
 hedging gloves ere they pull it out.

And finally, for this point that the suffrages of the Church
 25 and the prayers of good Christian people stand us here in relief
 and comfort, there needeth in this world (as Saint Augustine saith,
 and Saint Damascene) none other manner proof than that all Christendom
 hath ever used to do so, and have thought themselves
 always so *bound* to do, damning always for heretics all them
 30 that would affirm the contrary.

And in this point may they have a marvelous great thing
 against them in the judgment of every good man: the great
 antiquity of the service of Christ's church... by which the Church
 hath so long ago customably recommended in their prayers all

2 *confesseth*: acknowledges; admits 4 *serve him*: give him to think
 5 *faithfully*: earnestly / convincingly // *honest*: respectable
 5 *substantially*: soundly 7 *list*: want // *lusty scholars*: ambitious students
 7 *pass*: surpass // *overgo*: outdo 8, 20 *master*: teacher 8, 31 *in*: on
 9–17: See 2 Maccabees 12:38–45. 12 *in the field*: on the battlefield
 12 *and*: i.e., with 13 *about them*: i.e., on or near their bodies
 13 *taken of the idols*: idol-related 15 *pain*: punishment
 15 *made*: i.e., he made 18–19 *stand . . . stead*: do benefit us poor souls
 20 *labor*: try 27 *manner*: kind of
 28 *ever used to do so*: always habitually done this (i.e., pray for the souls in purgatory)
 29 *damning*: condemning 31 *may*: can // *marvelous*: terrifically
 33 *service*: liturgy // *by*: in // *Church*: i.e., clergy 34 *so*: i.e., from so
 34 *customably*: customarily // *recommended*: commended

Christian souls to God. For we trust that though these heretics
 find many men both glad to hear and light to believe every
 lewd tale that can be surmised against the Church that now is—
 yet trust we that they shall find few or none so far out of all
 5 frame... but that they will at the least believe that there hath been
 some good and godly men, wise and well learned too, among the
 clergy in days past, one time or other. Go, then, to the *old* time,
 and to the good men that then were, and hear what they said, and
 see what they did, and believe and follow them. There remaineth
 10 yet, and books enough thereof, the very Mass in the very form and
 fashion... as Saint Basil, and Saint Chrysostom, and other holy
 fathers in that virtuous time, said it—in which ye shall find
 that in their daily Masses they prayed ever for all Christian souls.

Ye shall also perceive clearly by Saint Chrysostom in a sermon
 15 of his... that in his time there were in the funeral service, at
 the burying of the corpse, the selfsame psalms sung that ye
 sing now at the Dirge. Whereby it well appeareth that it is no newfound
 thing; for his time was far above a thousand years ago—and yet
 was that thing long used before his days. And because ye shall
 20 know that the more surely: he saith that the guise and custom to
 pray for souls... was instituted and begun in the Church by the
 blessed apostles themselves. And so, while so good men so long ago
 began it... and good folk hath ever since continued it, ye
 may soon guess whether they be good men or no that now provoke
 25 you to break it.

Now, where they say that if the Mass could do us any good,
 that then the priests be very cruel that will say none for us but
 they be waged: this word is as true as their intent is fraudulent
 and false. For their purpose is in those words to make the
 30 world ween that the clergy were so covetous, and cruel therewith,
 that there will no priest pray for us poor souls here...
 without he be hired thereto; whereof, our Lord be thanked, we
 find full well the contrary. For albeit that of *Luther's*
 priests we can have *none* help, since their “Masses” offer not up
 35 the Sacrament to God neither for quick nor dead—nor make no
 very priests among them, since they take priesthood for no sacrament—

1 *though*: even if 2 *glad to hear*: willing to listen to // *light*: quick

3 *lewd*: salacious // *surmised*: alleged

3 *the Church that now is*: i.e., the present-day clergy

4–5 *out of all frame*: from all right thinking 6 *wise*: intelligent

6 *well learned*: well educated 9 *follow*: go along with

14–15 *a sermon of his*: I.e., his third homily on Philipians.

17 *the Dirge*: The prayer service (taken from the Office for the Dead) which preceded
 the funeral Mass. 17 *well appeareth*: is clear to see // *newfound*: newly established

18 *far above*: well over 19 *used*: i.e., done // *because*: so that 20 *guise*: practice

22 *while*: since; given that // *so good*: such good 27 *but*: unless

28 *waged*: paid (to) // *word*: statement 29–30 *the world*: everyone 30 *ween*: think

30 *covetous*: avaricious 32 *without . . . thereto*: unless he is bribed to 35 *quick*: living

35–36 *nor . . . priests*: i.e., nor are any real priests made among Lutherans

yet of good Christian priests we find great relief, as well
 in their Dirges and much other suffrages by old institution
 of the Church specially said for us... though no man give
 them one penny through the year. And so may all the world wit
 5 that this word of these heretics hath much malice and little
 effect therein.

But, now, though the priests pray for us of their own
 charity—yet when good people desire them thereto and give
 them their alms therefor, then are they doubly bound...
 10 and then riseth there much more good and profit upon all
 sides. For then take we fruit both of the prayer of the one and
 the alms of the other. And then taketh the priest benefit of
 his own prayer made both for the giver and for us. The
 giver also getteth fruit both of his own merciful alms...
 15 and of double prayer also—that is to wit, both the prayer of
 the priest that prayeth for us, which commonly prayeth for him
 too, and also the prayer of *us*, which with great fervor of
 heart pray for our benefactors incessantly... and are so far forth
 20 in God's undoubted favor... that very few men living upon
 earth are so well heard as we—besides that of all kinds of alms
 that any man can give, the most meritorious is that which is
 bestowed upon us, as well for that it is unto the most needy... and
 also to them that are absent, and finally, for that of all manner
 alms it is most grounded upon the foundation of all
 25 Christian, virtuous faith. For as for to poor folk, a natural man
 will give alms, either for pity of some piteous sight... or for
 weariness of their importunate crying. But as for us poor
 souls past the world, whom he that giveth alms neither
 seeth nor heareth—would never bestow one penny upon us but if
 30 he had a faith that we live still, and that he feared that we lie in
 pain... and hoped of his reward in heaven. Which kind of
 faith and good hope joined with his gift and good work... must
 needs make it one of the best kinds of almsdeed that any man
 can do in the world.

35 And since that it so is (as indeed it is!), what uncharitable and

1 *good*: bona fide 2 *Dirges*: See note for 204/17. 3 *though*: even if
 4 *wit*: know 5 *word*: i.e., claim 8 *desire*: solicit 9 *therefor*: for that
 10 *riseth there*: there results 16, 17 *which*: who
 18–19 *are . . . favor*: i.e., are so definitely and so much in favor with God
 22, 23 *for that*: because 23 *manner*: the kinds of 24 *is*: i.e., is the one
 25 *a natural man*: i.e., even a non-Christian 26 *piteous*: pitiful
 27 *importunate*: persistent / pesky // *crying*: pleading
 29 *would*: i.e., he would // *but if*: unless
 31 *of his reward*: i.e., to be rewarded 35 *since*: given

what unfaithful folk are these... that for hatred which they owe to
 priested... would make you believe that there were no purgatory...
 and would rather wish, by their wills, that their own fathers should
 lie here in fire till the Day of Doom... than any man should give
 5 a priest one penny to pray for them!

And yet is there here one thing well to be considered: that
 they rather hate priests for hatred of Christ's faith... than speak
 against purgatory for hatred of priests. Which thing though it
 seem you dark at the first hearing, ye shall yet, if ye look
 10 well, very well perceive. For if it so were that this kind of
 people did speak against purgatory only for the hatred of the
 pope and the clergy, then would they grant that saved souls are yet
 purged in the fire here for their sins unsatisfied in the
 world, and it should then suffice them to say for their purpose...
 15 that neither priest nor pope nor any man else, nor any
 man's alms or prayer, can in this place of punishment anything
 relieve us. For this were enough, ye see well, to serve their
 purpose against the clergy. But yet, because they have a far
 farther purpose against all good Christian faith, they be not content,
 20 therefore, to leave at this point, but step them forth
 farther and deny purgatory utterly... to the end that men should
 take boldness to care the less for their sins. And if they
 might once be believed therein—then would they step yet farther and
 deny hell and all; and after that, heaven too. But as for heaven,
 25 albeit that as yet they deny it not—yet pull they many a simple
 soul thence... which were it not for their mischievous doctrines
 were else well likely to be there a full bright and glorious saint.

And surely the more that wise men advise themselves upon
 this matter, the more shall they marvel of the mad mind of
 30 them that deny purgatory... or say that the prayers or good
 works of men living in the world can do us here no good. For
 every man that any wit hath... wotteth well that the surest way
 were in every doubt best to be taken. Now, suppose, then, that
 purgatory could in no wise be proved... and that some would yet say

1 *unfaithful*: unbelieving // *owe*: bear

2 *priested*: the ordained; those who have been made priests

3 *by their wills*: if the choice was theirs to make // *fathers*: parents

4 *the Day of Doom*: Judgment Day // *than*: i.e., than that 7 *rather*: more

7 *Christ's*: the Christian 8 *though*: even if 9 *you*: i.e., to you

9 *dark*: hard to see (as being true); hard to believe

13 *unsatisfied*: not made satisfaction for; not made up for 16 *anything*: at all

17 *were*: would be 18, 19 *purpose*: design(s) 19 *good*: bona fide; authentic

22 *take boldness*: be emboldened // *care*: worry // *for*: about

26 *thence*: away from there // *mischievous*: iniquitous / destructive

28 *wise*: sensible / sane // *advise themselves upon*: reflect on 29 *of the*: at the

29 *mind*: mentality; way of thinking 32 *any wit hath*: has any sense

32 *wotteth*: knows

32–33 *the . . . taken*: i.e., when in doubt, it's always best to take the safest route

34 *wise*: way // *say*: state

plainly that there were one, and some would say plainly nay. Let us
 now see whither sort of these twain might take most harm if
 their part were the wrong. First, he that believed there *were*
 purgatory, and that his prayer and good works wrought for
 5 his friends' souls might relieve them therein, and because
 thereof used much prayer and alms for them: he could not
 lose the reward of his good will... although his opinion were
 untrue, and that there were no purgatory at all; no more than he
 loseth his labor now that prayeth for one whom he feareth to lie in
 10 purgatory, whereas he is already in heaven. But on the other side,
 he that believeth there is none... and therefore prayeth for none:
 if his opinion be false, and that there be purgatory indeed (as
 indeed there is!), he loseth much good, and getteth him also
 much harm; for he both feareth much the less to sin and to
 15 lie long in purgatory—saving that his heresy shall save him
 thence and send him down deep into hell.

And it fareth between these two kinds of folk as it fared
 between a lewd gallant and a poor friar. Whom when the gallant
 saw going barefoot in a great frost and snow, he asked him
 20 why he did take such pain. And he answered that it was very
 little pain if a man would remember hell. “Yea, Friar,” quoth the
 gallant, “but what and there be none hell? Then art thou a great
 fool!” “Yea, Master,” quoth the friar, “but what and there *be* hell? Then
 is Your Mastership a much *more* fool!”

Moreover, there was never yet any of that sort... that could
 for shame say that any man is in peril for believing that there
 is purgatory. But they say only that there is none in deed...
 and that they may without any sin affirm their opinion
 for truth. But, now, upon the other side, many a hundred
 30 thousand—that is to wit, all the whole church of Christ that is or
 ever hath been—affirm that the affirming of their opinion
 against purgatory... is a plain, damnable heresy. Wherefore it
 well and plainly appeareth, and every wise man well seeth, that
 it is the far surer way to believe in such wise as both the parties
 35 agree to be out of all peril... than that way which so far the
 greater party, and much farther the better party, affirm to be

1 *plainly*: flatly; categorically // *were*: i.e., is // *say*: state
 2 *whither sort of these twain*: which of these two groups 2, 5 *might*: could
 2 *take*: suffer (the) 3 *part*: side of the argument 4 *wrought*: done
 5 *his friends' souls*: the souls of his relatives and friends
 6 *used much prayer and alms*: did a lot of praying and almsgiving
 7 *lose the reward of*: i.e., fail to be rewarded for // *although*: even if
 7, 12, etc. *opinion*: stance 8 *untrue*: incorrect 9 *loses his labor*: wastes his effort
 9 *one*: someone 10 *side*: hand 16 *thence*: i.e., from going there
 18 *lewd*: licentious; morally loose
 18, 22 *gallant*: dashing upper-crust man / ladies' man 22, 23 *and*: if
 26 *for shame*: i.e., be so shameless as to 27 *deed*: actuality
 33 *well and plainly appeareth*: is quite clear and obvious
 33 *every wise man*: everyone with any sense 34 *surer*: safer
 36 *greater*: more numerous

undoubted deadly sin. And, now, whereas every fool may see that any wise man will take the surest way—which is, as ye see doubly proved, to believe that there *is* purgatory—yet said the wise proctor of beggars that wise men will say there is none.

5 For he saith that many great learned men, and right cunning men, will not let to put themselves in jeopardy of shame, and of death also, to show their minds, that there is no purgatory. He is loath to say that these be heretics; but he saith these be they that men “call” heretics. Wherein he speaketh much like as if he would
10 point with his finger to a flock of fat wethers and say, “These be such beasts as men call sheep.”

But now would we fain see which *be* these wise men and well learned—which shall not fail upon their own confession to agree that their adversaries take the sure way and farthest
15 out of peril... and themselves the most dangerous and farthest from all surety. But yet would we for the while fain hear who they be. Surely none other but Luther and Tyndale... and this beggars’ proctor, and a few such of that sect—men of such virtue, wisdom, and learning... as their lewd writing, and
20 much more their lewd living, showeth.

But now are they far another manner sort—both in number, wisdom, learning, truth, and good living—which affirm and say the contrary. And surely if three or four hundred good and learned men would faithfully come forth and tell one that some of his
25 friends were in a far country, for debt, kept in prison... and that his charity might relieve them thence; if then three or four fond fellows would come and say the contrary, and tell him plain there is no such prison at all as he is borne in hand that his friends are imprisoned in; if he would now be so light to believe those three
30 or four naughty persons... against those three or four hundred good and honest men—he then should well decipher himself... and well declare thereby that he would gladly catch hold of some small handle to keep his money fast, rather than help his friends in their necessity.

35 Now, if ye consider how lately this lewd sect began which among Christian men barketh against purgatory, and how few,

1 *undoubted*: i.e., definitely // *deadly*: mortal // *may*: can 2, 4, 12 *wise*: sensible
2 *surest*: safest 2, 14 *way*: route 4, 18 *proctor*: spokesman 4 *of*: for 5 *right*: very
5 *cunning*: knowledgeable // *let*: forbear // *in jeopardy*: at risk // *shame*: disgrace
7 *show their minds*: say what they think 10 *wethers*: rams 11 *beasts*: animals
12, 16 *fain*: i.e., like to 13 *learned*: educated // *confession*: admission 14 *sure*: safe
16 *surety*: safety // *for the while*: in the meantime 18 *sect*: heretical belief system
19, 20, 35 *lewd*: sorry 20, 22 *living*: conduct
21 *far another manner*: a very different kind (of) // *sort*: set; group 22 *truth*: honesty
24 *faithfully*: earnestly // *one*: someone 26 *might*: could
26 *relieve them hence*: i.e., get them released from there 26–27 *fond fellows*: silly lowlifes
27 *plain*: flatly (that) 28 *borne in hand*: being led to believe 29 *light*: unthinking (as)
30 *naughty*: no-account 31 *honest*: respectable // *decipher himself*: give himself away
32 *declare*: show // *some small handle*: any little excuse 33 *fast*: tightly in his grip
34 *necessity*: hour of need 35 *lately*: recently

alway for very shame of their folly, hath hitherto fallen into
 them; and then if ye consider, on the other side, how full and
 whole the great corps of all Christian countries so many hundred
 years... have ever told you the contrary: ye shall, we be very sure,
 5 for every person speaking against purgatory... find for the
 other part more than many a hundred.

Now, if these men will, peradventure, say that they care not for
 such comparison... neither of time with time, number with
 number, nor company with company; but since some one man is
 10 in credence worth some sevenscore, if they will therefore call us to
 some other reckoning and will that we compare of the best choice on
 both sides a certain, and match them man for man: then have we
 (if we might for shame match such blessed saints with a sort
 as far unlike) Saint Augustine against Friar Luther; Saint
 15 Jerome against Friar Lambert; Saint Ambrose against Friar
 Huessgen; Saint Gregory against priest Pomeranus; Saint
 Chrysostom against Tyndale; Saint Basil against the beggars'
 proctor.

Now if our enemies will, for lack of other choice, help forth
 20 their own part with their *wives*—then have they some
 advantage indeed; for the other, holy saints had none. But yet
 shall we not lack blessed, holy women against these friars' wives.
 For we shall have Saint Anastasia against Friar Luther's wife;
 Saint Hildegard against Friar Huessgen's wife; Saint Bridget
 25 against Friar Lambert's wife; and Saint Catherine of Siena
 against priest Pomeranus' wife. Now, if they will have in these
 matches the *qualities* of either side considered: then have we
 wisdom against folly; cunning against ignorance; charity
 against malice; true faith against heresies; humility against
 30 arrogance; revelations against illusions; inspiration of God
 against inventions of the devil; constancy against wavering;
 abstinence against gluttony; continence against lechery; and
 finally every kind of virtue against every kind of vice. And
 over this, whereas we be not yet very sure whether that all these
 35 naughty persons whom we have rehearsed you of the worse side...
 be fully fallen so mad as utterly to deny purgatory (saving in that

1 *alway*: at any rate; at least

1 *shame of their folly*: i.e., fear of being shamed for their foolishness

1 *fallen into*: fallen in with; joined 2 *side*: hand

6, 20 *part*: side 7 *peradventure*: perhaps 9 *company*: party; band

10 *sevenscore*: A score is twenty. // *call*: challenge

11 *will that we*: will have us 12 *certain*: i.e., certain one

13 *might*: could // *for shame*: without being shameful; with propriety

13 *a sort*: a kind (of saints) / an assortment (of people) 14 *as*: so

14 *unlike*: unlike them / unlike blessed saints

16 *Saint Gregory*: i.e., Pope Saint Gregory the Great 18 *proctor*: spokesman

28 *cunning*: learnedness 32 *continence*: chastity 33 *finally*: ultimately

34 *over this*: furthermore // *yet*: even 35 *naughty*: wicked

35 *rehearsed*: named 36 *be fully fallen so mad*: are gone quite so crazy

we see them, in many things, all of one sect)—yet if there were of them far many such more, they shall not, yet, find of that simple suit half so many... as for our part remaineth holy, blessed saints to match them. For likewise as many their holy works, eruditely written and by the help of the Holy Ghost indited, evidently declare that not only Saint Augustine, Saint Jerome, Saint Ambrose, and that holy pope Saint Gregory, with Saint Chrysostom, and Saint Basil, fore-remembered... and those holy women also that we have spoken of... but, over that, the great, solemn doctor Origen, all the three great doctors and holy saints of one name in Greece—Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyssene, Gregory Emissene—Saint Cyril, Saint Damascene, the famous doctor and holy martyr Saint Cyprian, Saint Hilary, Saint Bede, and Saint Thomas, and finally all such as are of that suit and sort, either Greeks or Latins... have ever taught and testified and exhorted the people to pray for all Christian souls and preached for purgatory: so doth there no man doubt but that all good and devout Christian people from Christ's days hitherto... hath firm and fast been of the same belief, and with their daily prayers and almsdeed done for us have done us great relief. So that, as we said, both for number of many folk and goodness of chosen folk our enemies are far under us. And yet have we for the vantage, as we have before declared you, the fear of Hezekiah, the book of the Kings, the words of the prophet Zechariah, the faith of Maccabeus, the authority of Saint John, the words of Saint Peter, the sentence of Saint Paul, the testimony of Saint Matthew, and the plain sentence of our Savior Christ.

Now, if these heretics be so stiff and stubborn that rather than they will confess themselves concluded, they will hold on their old ways and fall from worse to worse... and like as they have already against their former promise first rejected reason and after law, and then all the doctors and old holy fathers of Christ's church, and finally the whole Church itself... so if they will at length, as we greatly fear they will, reject all Scripture and cast off Christ and all—now, as we say, if they so do—yet

1, 11 *one*: the same 1 *sect*: heretical belief system 2 *simple*: ignoble
 3, 15 *suit*: ilk; stripe 3 *part*: side 4 *many*: i.e., many of
 5 *indited*: composed 6 *evidently*: conclusively 6, 23 *declare(d)*: show(n)
 8 *fore-remembered*: i.e., as was mentioned before 9 *over that*: moreover
 10 *solemn*: august 10, 13, 33 *doctor(s)*: biblical exegete(s)
 15 *finally*: ultimately // *sort*: assortment; number 16 *ever*: always
 16 *testified*: told 19 *firm*: firmly // *fast*: steadfastly
 20 *done us*: i.e., gained us 22 *chosen*: select 23 *for the vantage*: in addition
 24–28: See Isaiah 38; 1 Samuel 2:6; Zechariah 9:11; 2 Maccabees 12:38–45;
 1 John 5:16; Acts 2:24; 1 Corinthians 3:11–15; Matthew 12:31–32, 36.
 26, 27 *sentence*: statement; pronouncement 27 *plain*: direct; straight-out
 30 *concluded*: trounced; proved wrong 30–31 *hold on*: stick to
 31 *fall from worse*: i.e., go from bad 35 *at length*: eventually; in the end

have we left at the worst way... Luther against Luther, Huessgen
 against Huessgen, Tyndale against Tyndale, and finally every
 heretic against himself. And then when these folk sit in
 Almaine, upon their bare bench, in judgment on us and our matters,
 5 we may as the knight of King Alexander appealed from
 Alexander to Alexander... from Alexander the drunk to Alexander
 the sober: so shall we appeal from Luther to Luther—from
 Luther the drunken to Luther the sober, from Luther the heretic
 to Luther the Catholic—and likewise in all the remnant.
 10 For this doth no man doubt, but that every one of them all,
 before they fell drunk of the dregs of old poisoned heresies...
 in which they fell a-quaffing with the devil, they did full sadly
 and soberly pray for all Christian souls. But since that they be
 fallen drunk in wretched and sinful heresies, they neither care
 15 for other men's souls nor for their own neither. And on the
 other side, if ever they work with grace to purge themselves of
 those poisoned heresies wherewith they be now so drunk, they
 will then give sentence on our side, as they did before. It were
 not evil that we showed you somewhat for example whereby ye
 20 may see what soberness they were in before... and in what drunkenness
 the devil's draught hath brought them. And in whom
 should we show it better than in Luther himself, archheretic
 and father abbot of all that drunken fellowship? First
 this man was so fast of our side, while he was well and sober, that
 25 yet when he began to be well washed... he could not find in his
 heart utterly to fall from us, but when his head first began to daze
 of that evil drink, he wrote that purgatory could not be
 proved by Scripture... and yet, that notwithstanding, he wrote in
 this wise therewith: "I am very sure that there *is* purgatory, and it
 30 little moveth me what heretics babble. Should I believe a heretic
 born of late, scant fifty years ago, and say the faith were
 false that hath been held so many hundred years?" Lo, here
 this man spoke well upon our side. But yet said he therewith
 one thing or twain that could not stand therewith... and thereby
 35 may ye see that he began to reel. For he both affirmed that

1 *at the worst way*: if worst comes to worst 2 *finally*: ultimately
 4 *Almaine*: Germany // *bare*: paltry; inconsequential
 4 *matters*: contentions; tenets 9 *in all the remnant*: with all the rest
 11, 17 *poisoned*: noxious; toxic 12 *full sadly*: quite seriously
 14 *care*: have concern 15 *for*: about 16 *side*: hand
 18 *sentence*: judgment; verdict 18–19 *it . . . example*: i.e., it would not
 be a bad idea for us to give you something by way of example
 20 *in what*: into what 21 *draught*: drink; libation 23 *all that*: that whole
 23 *first*: at first 24 *fast of*: firmly on // *while*: when
 24 *well and*: good and; quite 25 *yet*: even
 25 *well washed*: well soaked; quite inebriated 26 *fall*: fall away
 27 *of*: from // *evil*: bad 28–29 *in this wise*: words to this effect
 31 *scant*: scarcely 34 *twain*: two 35 *began*: was starting

purgatory could not be proved by Scripture... and affirmed further that nothing could be taken for a sure and certain truth but if it appeared by “clear and evident Scripture.” Which two things presupposed, how could any man be sure of purgatory?

5 But the help is that both those points be false. For both *is* purgatory proved by Scripture... and the Catholic faith of Christ’s church were sufficient to make men sure thereof albeit there were not in all Scripture one text for it, and divers that seemed against it, as we have showed you before.

10 But here, as we say, ye see how shamefully he staggered and began to reel. Howbeit, soon after, being so dizzy-drunk that he could neither stand nor reel, but fell down sow-drunk in the mire—then, like one that nothing remembered what he had said, nor heard not his own voice, he began to be himself that babbling
 15 heretic against whom he had written before... and being not fully fifty years old... began to gainsay the faith of almost fifteen hundred years before his days in the church of Christ, besides fifteen hundred years three times told... among other faithful folk before. For now, in his drunken sermon that he wrote upon the Gospel of the rich
 20 man and Lazarus, whereas he had, in his other books before, framed of his own fantasy new, fond fashions of purgatory... and told them forth for as plain matters as though he had been here and seen them—now, in this mad sermon of his, he saith plainly that there is none at all, but that all souls lie still and
 25 sleep, and so sleep shall until the Day of Doom. O sow-drunken soul!—drowned in such an insensible sleep that he lieth and routeth... whilc the apostles, the evangelists, all the doctors of Christ’s church, all the whole Christian people, and among them Christ himself, stand and cry at his ear... that we seely
 30 Christian souls lie and burn in purgatory; and he cannot hear, but lieth still in the mire and snorteth, and there dreameth that we lie still and sleep as he doth.

1 *further*: also 2–3 *but if*: unless 3 *appeared*: was shown (to be such)
 3 *evident*: conclusive 5 *help*: remedy 7 *were*: would be
 7 *albeit*: even if 8 *and*: i.e., and were // *divers*: several
 13 *one that nothing remembered*: someone who remembered nothing of
 16 *gainsay*: speak against 18 *faithful*: right-believing
 19 *Gospel*: i.e., Gospel account 21 *framed of*: concocted from
 21 *fantasy*: imagination // *fond*: foolish 22 *plain matters*: patent realities
 23–24 *saith plainly*: states straight-out 25 *the Day of Doom*: Judgment Day
 27 *routeth*: snores 29 *cry*: shout // *seely*: poor

And thus, whereas the beggars' proctor writeth that wise men say there is no purgatory—ye see now yourselves how wise is he whom they take for the wisest of all that sort, as him that is now the very wellspring and archheretic of all their sect. Of all which wise men we leave it to your wisdom to consider... whether ye find any whom your wisdoms would in wisdom compare with any of those old holy doctors and saints whom we have rehearsed before. But this man, we wot well, for another of these wise men meaneth William Tyndale. Whose wisdom well appeareth in that matter by that he layeth against it nothing but scoffing; wherein he saith that the pope may be bold in purgatory... because it is, he saith, a thing “of his own making”—whereas we have proved you by Scripture that purgatory was perceived and taught, and dead men's souls prayed for, so long ere ever any pope began.

But forasmuch as he saith that wise men will say there is no purgatory, among which wise men we doubt not but the wise man accounteth himself (for he layeth for that part, as himself weeneth, very wise and weighty reasons... the wisdom whereof we have already proved you very plain frantic folly): we will now finish the dispicions of all this debate and question... with the declaration of one or two points of his especial wisdom; and with one of which himself wisely destroyeth all his whole matter!

First, ye see well that albeit in deed he intendeth to go further if his bill were once well sped, yet he pretendeth nothing in visage but only the spoil, wedding, and beating of the clergy; to whom he layeth not all only such faults as ye have heard—and hath proved his purpose with such grounds as we have proved false—but also layeth one great necessity to take all from them... because they break the statute made of mortmain, and purchase more lands still against the provision thereof. And then saith he that any land which once cometh in their hands... cometh never out again. For he saith that they have such laws concerning their lands... as they may neither give any nor sell.

1 *proctor*: spokesman 1, 2, etc. *wise*: intelligent / sensible 3–4 *as . . . is*: he being
 4–5 *all their sect*: their whole heretical belief system 5, 7, 10 *wisdom*: intelligence / good sense
 6 *your wisdoms*: you sensible people 7 *holy doctors*: theologians 9 *wot*: know
 11, 18 *layeth*: puts forth 11–13: Tyndale, *Obedience of a Christian Man*.
 12 *be bold in*: do whatever he wants with regard to 17 *the wise*: the brilliant
 18 *part*: side of the controversy 19 *weeneth*: thinks // *reasons*: arguments // *wisdom*: brilliance
 20 *plain frantic folly*: evident insane idiocy 21 *dispicions*: disputations // *all this*: this whole
 22 *declaration*: elucidation 24 *all his whole matter*: his whole entire case
 25 *deed*: actuality 26 *once well sped*: ever to meet with good success
 26–27 *pretendeth nothing in visage*: ostensibly proposes nothing 27 *spoil*: despoiling
 27 *wedding*: marrying off 28 *layeth*: ascribes // *faults*: wrongdoings
 29 *purpose*: case 30 *layeth one great necessity*: i.e., alleges as one big reason it is necessary
 30 *all*: everything 31 *the statute made of mortmain*: I.e., the statute forbidding transfer of
 lands into the inalienable ownership of any entity without license of the Crown.
 32 *purchase . . . against*: keep purchasing more lands in violation of 33 *in*: into
 34 *out again*: back out

For which cause lest they should at length have all... he deviseth to let them have nothing.

Now, first, where he maketh as though there came yet, for all the statute, daily much land into them, and that there can none at all
 5 come *from* them: neither is the one so much as he would make it seem... and the other is very false. For truly there may come, and doth come, land from them by escheat—as we be sure many of you have had experience—and also, what laws soever they have of
 10 their own that prohibit them to sell their lands, yet of this are we very sure: that, notwithstanding all the laws they have, they may sell in such wise, if they will, *all* the lands they have... that they can never recover foot again. And besides all that, albeit there be laws made by the Church against such sales as shrewd husbands would else boldly make of the lands of their monasteries—
 15 yet is there not so precise provision made against *all* sales of their lands... but that they be alienated for cause reasonable, approved by the advice and counsel of their chief head. And many a man is there in the realm that hath lands given or sold out of abbeys and out of bishoprics both; so that this part is a plain lie.
 20 The other part is also neither very certain nor very much to purpose. For truly, though that in the city of London, to which there is granted by authority of Parliament that men may there devise their lands into mortmain by their testaments, there is somewhat among given into the Church—and
 25 yet not *all* to them, but the great part unto the companies and fellowships of the crafts—in other places of the realm there is nowadays no great thing given... but if it be, sometimes, some small thing for the foundation of a chantry. For as for abbeys, or such other great foundations, there be not nowadays
 30 many made, nor have been of good while... except somewhat done in the universities. And yet whoso consider those great foundations that have this great while been made anywhere... shall well perceive that the substance of them be not all founded upon temporal lands newly taken out of the temporal
 35 hands into the Church, but of such as the Church had long before...

1 *at length*: eventually // *all*: everything 1–2 *deviseth to let*: proposes letting
 4 *into them*: i.e., into the possession of the clergy 6, 21 *truly*: actually
 7 *escheat*: Reversion of property to the Crown when there are no legal heirs.
 11 *wise*: a way // *will*: want to
 12 *recover foot again*: get back one square foot (of any of those properties)
 13 *shrewd husbands*: crooked managers 15 *precise*: literal
 16 *alienated*: parted with; transferred to other ownership
 19, 20 *part*: contention; claim 19 *plain*: manifest; patent
 20–21 *very much to purpose*: very pertinent 23 *devise*: bequeath
 23 *mortmain*: See note for 213/31. // *testaments*: wills 24, 30 *somewhat*: something
 24 *among*: now and then 25 *great*: i.e., greater 27, 29, 31 *great*: big
 28 *chantry*: A chapel endowed for the daily singing of Masses for certain souls.
 30, 32 *made*: built 30 *of*: in a 31 *whoso*: whoever
 33 *substance*: subsistence; capital 34 *temporal*: secular 35 *of*: on

and now the same translated from one place unto another.
 And over this shall he find that many an abbey whose whole
 living this man weeneth stood all by temporal lands given
 them in their foundation... have the great part thereof in *benefices*
 5 given in and improprated unto them. So that if he consider
 the substance of all the great foundations made this
 great while... and all that hath into any such, these many days,
 been given; and then consider well therewith how cold the charity
 of Christian people waxeth by the means of such devil's proctors
 10 as under pretext of begging for the poor... intend and
 labor to quench the fervor of devotion to-God-ward in simple
 and soon-led souls: he shall not need to fear that all the
 temporal land in the realm shall come into the spirituality.
 And yet if men went now so fast to give in still to the Church
 15 as they did before, while devotion was fervent in the people
 and virtue plenteous in the Church: yet might it be—and in other
 countries is provided for well enough—both that men's devotion
 might be favored... and yet not the Church have all.
 But this wise man, lest they should have all, would leave
 20 them right naught. For his wisdom weeneth there were no
 mean way between *every* whit and *never* a whit but nothing
 at all. And surely where that he layeth so sore to them the
 new *purchasing* of more temporal lands—either bought or
 given them—it appeareth well he would say sore to them if they
 25 *pulled* the land from men by *force*... which now layeth so highly
 to their charge because they take it when men *give* it them;
 which thing we suppose himself, as holy as he is, would not
 much refuse. Nor they be not much to be blamed if they
 receive men's devotion, but if they *bestow* it not well. And
 30 yet where he saith there can no statute hold them, but they
 purchase still and break the statute—wherein he would seem
 cunning because he had a little smattering in the law—it
 were good, ere he be so bold to put his ignorance in writing,
 that he should see the statute better. Which when he list to look

1 *the same*: i.e., the same capital // *translated*: (has simply been) transferred
 2 *over this*: additionally 3, 20 *weeneth*: thinks 3 *stood all by*: depended entirely on
 3, 13, 23 *temporal*: secular 4 *thereof*: i.e., of their living
 6 *substance*: (means of) subsistence; capital // *made*: built (in) 9 *waxeth*: is becoming
 9 *proctors*: spokesmen 11 *labor*: strive // *to-God-ward*: toward God
 13 *into*: i.e., into the possession of // *spirituality*: clergy 14 *went . . . still*: now went in
 as much for keeping giving 15 *while*: when
 18 *favored*: countenanced; i.e., given a green light 19 *wise*: sensible / brilliant
 20 *right naught*: absolutely nothing // *wisdom*: brilliant self // *were*: i.e., is
 21 *mean way*: middle ground
 22 *layeth so sore to them*: levels against them as such a serious charge
 24 *appeareth well*: is clear to see (that) // *say sore*: really lay into
 25 *pulled*: seized; expropriated // *which*: who
 25–26 *layeth . . . charge*: so highly blames them 28 *refuse*: i.e., refuse to do
 29 *receive*: accept // *bestow*: expend 30 *hold*: deter; stop 31 *break*: violate
 31 *would*: wants to 32 *cunning*: learned // *because he had*: i.e., because of his having
 33 *were*: would be // *bold to*: confident as to 34 *list*: cares

upon again and let some wiser man look with him, if he
 consider well what remedy the statutes provide, and for whom, he
 shall find that the makers of the statute not so much feared the great,
 high point that pricketh him now—lest the whole temporal
 5 lands should come into the Church—as they did the loss of
 their wards, and their unlikelihood of escheats and some other
 commodities that they lacked when their lands were alienated into
 the Church; and yet not into the Church only, but also into *any*
 mortmain. And for this they provided that if any more were
 10 alienated into the Church or into *any* manner of mortmain, the
 king or any other lord, mediate or immediate, that might take
 loss thereby might enter thereinto; to the intent that ere ever the
 purchase were made, they should be fain in such wise to sue to
 every one of them for his license and good will... that each of them
 15 should be arbiter of his own hurt or loss and take his
 amends at his own hand. And this statute is not made only
 for the advantage of the temporal lords against the clergy,
 but it is made indifferently against *all* mortmain—which is as
 well temporal folk as spiritual, and for the benefit as well of
 20 spiritual men as temporal. For as well shall a bishop or an
 abbot have the advantage of that statute if his tenant alienate
 his lands into any mortmain... as shall an earl or a duke. And,
 now, when the Church *pulleth* not away the land from the owner,
 by force, but hath it of his *devotion*... and his gift given of his
 25 own offer, unasked—and yet not without license of all such as the
 statute limiteth—where is this great fault of theirs, for which,
 lest they should take more in the same manner, he would they should
 lose all that they have already? What wisdom is this: when he
 layeth against them their deed wherein they break no law? *And*,
 30 yet, since they cannot take it without the King and the lords,
 his words, if they weighed aught, should run to the reproach and
 blame of them whom he would fain flatter... without fault found
 in them whom he so sore accuseth! But, now, the special, high
 point of his wisdom, for which we be driven to speak of this
 35 matter, he specially declareth in this. Ye see well that he would that
 the temporal men should take from the clergy... not only all these

1 *upon*: at // *wiser*: more intelligent and sensible 4 *the whole*: all of the
 4 *temporal*: secular 6 *wards*: minors entrusted to their guardianship
 6 *escheats*: See note for 214/7. 7 *commodities*: benefits
 9, 10, etc. *mortmain*: See note for 213/31. 13 *fain*: obliged // *wise*: a way
 14, 25 *license*: permission 16 *amends*: recompense // *hand*: discretion
 18 *indifferently*: impartially; neutrally 19, 20, 36 *temporal*: lay
 19, 20 *spiritual*: clerical; ordained 23 *pulleth not away*: does not expropriate
 24 *hath*: receives 26 *limiteth*: specifies // *fault*: offense; wrongdoing
 27 *would they should*: would have them 28, 34 *wisdom*: intelligence and good sense
 29 *layeth*: levels as a charge 30 *yet*: furthermore // *without*: i.e., without the permission of
 31 *weighed aught*: carried any weight; amounted to anything // *should*: would
 32, 33 *them*: those 32 *would fain*: is trying to 33 *sore*: strongly
 35 *declareth*: shows 36 *temporal men*: i.e., secular authorities

lands purchased since the statute of mortmain, but also all that ever they had before, too... and yet over this, all the whole living that ever they have by any manner means besides... because he thinketh that they have too much by altogether. And when he

5 hath given his advice thereto and said that they have too much: *then* saith he, by and by, that if there were any purgatory in deed, it were well done to give them yet *more*—and that they have then a great deal too little. But, now, so is it that purgatory there *is* in deed; nor no good Christian man is there but he will

10 and must believe and confess the same. Whereof it plainly followeth that, his own agreement added unto the truth (that is to say, that the Church hath, as he saith, too little if there be a purgatory, added unto the truth that there *is* a purgatory... and that every true Christian man doth and must confess it), then hath,

15 lo, the wise man brought all his purpose so substantially to pass... that, by his own plain agreement added unto the undoubtable truth, no man may do that he would have all men do—despoil and pillage the Church—but he that will first plainly profess himself a plain and undoubted heretic!

20 And therefore, since ye now see the wit of this wise man that laboreth to bring us out of your remembrance; since ye see the simple ground of his proud “supplication,” and ye perceive the rancor and malice that his matter standeth on—for fulfilling whereof he would, by his will, bring all the world in

25 trouble—and since ye see that he hateth the *clergy* for the *faith*, and *us* for the *clergy*... and in reproving purgatory proveth himself an infidel; since we have made it you clear that your prayers *may* do us good, and have showed it you, so plainly that a child may perceive it, not only by the common opinion

30 of all people and the fast, infallible faith of all Christian people from Christ’s days until your own time... confirmed by the doctrine of all holy doctors, declared by good reason, and proved by the Scripture of God, both apostles and evangelists, and our Savior Christ himself: we will encumber

35 you no further with disputing upon the matter, nor argue the thing as doubtful, that is undoubted and questionless.

1 *mortmain*: See note for 213/31. 4 *altogether*: the whole amount; 100 percent
 6 *by and by*: immediately after 7, 9 *deed*: actuality; reality
 7 *it were well done*: i.e., then the right thing to do would be 10, 14 *confess*: acknowledge
 11, 16 *agreement*: concession 12, 18 *Church*: i.e., clergy 14 *true*: orthodox
 15, 20 *wise*: brilliant 15 *all his*: his whole // *purpose*: case // *substantially*: soundly
 16 *pass*: completion // *plain*: explicit 17 *that*: that which 19, 36 *undoubted*: indubitable
 20 *wit*: intelligence; acuity 22 *simple ground*: imbecilic basis 23 *matter*: plea; appeal
 24 *by his will*: intentionally 26 *reproving*: rejecting; arguing against 28 *may*: can
 29 *may*: could // *common*: shared // *opinion*: conviction 30 *fast*: steadfast
 32 *holy doctors*: the Church’s theologians // *declared*: demonstrated
 32 *good reason*: sound reasoning 34 *encumber*: burden 35 *disputing upon*: discussing
 36 *as*: as if it were // *doubtful*: debatable; unsettled // *questionless*: beyond question

But letting pass over such heretics as are our malicious
 mortal enemies; praying God of his grace to give them
 better mind—we shall turn us to *you*, that are faithful folk
 and our dear, loving friends, beseeching your goodness, of your
 5 tender pity, that we may be remembered with your charitable
 alms and prayer. And in this part, albeit we stand in
 such case that it better becometh us to beseech and pray
 every man... than to find any fault with any man—yet are we
 somewhat constrained... not to make any matter of quarrel or complaint
 10 against any man's unkindness, but surely to mourn
 and lament our own hard fortune and chance in the lack of
 relief and comfort... which we miss from our friends... not of
 evil mind withdrawn us, or of unfaithfulness, but of negligence
 forslothed, and foded forth of forgetfulness. If ye that are
 15 such (for ye be not all such) might look upon us and behold in
 what heavy plight we lie, your sloth would soon be quickened, and
 your oblivion turn to fresh remembrance.

For if your father, your mother, your child, your
 brother, your sister, your husband, your wife, or a very
 20 stranger, too... lay in your sight somewhere in fire... and that
 your means might help him—what heart were so hard, what
 stomach were so stony, that could sit in rest at supper, or sleep
 in rest abed, and let a man lie and burn? We find, therefore,
 full true that old-said saw “Out of sight, out of mind.”
 25 And yet surely, to say the truth, we cannot therein with reason
 much complain upon you. For while we were with you there...
 for wantonness of that wretched world we forgot in like wise our
 good friends here. And therefore can we not marvel much
 though the justice of God suffer us to be forgotten of you as others
 30 have been before forgotten of us. But we beseech our Lord for
 both our sakes to give you the grace to mend for your part that
 common fault of us both... lest when ye come hither hereafter, God
 of like justice suffer you to be forgotten of them that ye leave
 there behind you, as ye forget us that are hither before
 35 you. But albeit that we cannot well, as we say, for the like fault in ourselves,

1 *over*: by 3 *better mind*: a better frame of mind // *faithful*: right-believing
 4, 12, 28 *friends*: relatives and friends 4 *your goodness*: you good people
 7 *case*: a situation; a position // *pray*: entreat 9 *any matter of*: anything by way of
 10 *surely*: certainly 11 *hard*: bad // *chance*: happenstance
 12 *miss*: are missing; are failing to get 13 *evil mind*: bad intent
 13 *unfaithfulness*: a lack of faith 14 *forslothed*: sloughed off
 14 *foded forth*: put off; deferred 15 *might*: could // *upon*: at
 16 *heavy*: grievous 17 *oblivion*: obliviousness 22 *stomach*: disposition; temperament
 22, 23 *rest*: peace 24 *full*: quite // *old-said saw*: old saying 25 *surely*: assuredly
 27 *wantonness*: i.e., the obliviousness that is typical 28 *marvel much*: be too surprised
 29 *though*: if // *the justice of God*: i.e., God in his justice 29, 33 *suffer*: allow(s)
 29, 30 *of*: by 32 *common fault of*: fault common to 32, 34 *hither*: here
 33 *of them*: by those 35 *for*: on account of

greatly rebuke or blame this negligence and forgetfulness
 in you—yet would we for the better wish you that ye might
 without your pain... once, at the least wise, behold, perceive,
 and see what heaviness of heart, and what a sorrowful shame, the seely
 5 soul hath at his first coming hither... to look his old friends
 in the face here... whom he remembereth himself to have so foully
 forgotten while he lived there. When, albeit that in this place no
 man can be *angry*, yet their piteous look and lamentable
 countenance casteth his unkind forgetfulness into his mind—
 10 wit ye well, dear friends, that among the manifold great and
 grievous pains which he suffereth here... whereof God send you
 the grace to suffer either none or few!... the grudge and grief of
 his conscience in the consideration of his unkind forgetfulness
 is not of all them the least. Therefore, dear friends, let our
 15 folly learn you wisdom. Send hither your prayer, send
 hither your alms before you; so shall we find ease thereof...
 and yet shall ye find it still. For as he that lighteth another the
 candle hath never the less light himself; and he that bloweth the
 fire for another, to warm him, doth warm himself also therewith:
 20 so surely, good friends, the good that ye send hither before
 you... both greatly refresheth us... and yet is wholly reserved here
 for you, with our prayers added thereto for your further
 advantage.

Would God we could have done ourselves as we now counsel you!
 25 And God give you the grace which many of us refused... to make
 better provision while ye live than many of us have done! For
 much have we left in our executors' hands... which would God we
 had bestowed upon poor folk for our own souls and our
 friends'... with our own hands. Much have many of us bestowed
 30 upon rich men in gold rings and black gowns; much in
 many tapers and torches; *much* in worldly pomp and high, solemn
 ceremonies about our funerals... whereof the brittle
 glory standeth us here, God wot, in very little stead; but hath, on the
 other side, done us great displeasure. For albeit that the kind

3 *your pain*: pain on your part 4 *seely*: poor 5, 15, etc. *hither*: here
 8 *piteous*: heartrending // *lamentable*: plaintive 10 *wit*: know
 12 *grudge*: uneasiness; pangs 15 *learn*: teach 16 *ease*: relief
 27 *would God*: i.e., we wish to God 31 *tapers*: candles // *high*: magnificent
 31 *solemn*: grand 32 *about*: connected with; surrounding 33 *wot*: knows
 34 *other side*: contrary // *done us great displeasure*: caused us a lot of grief

solicitude and loving diligence of the quick used about the burying of the dead... is well allowed and approved before the face of God: yet much superfluous charge used for boast and ostentation—namely devised by the dead before his death—is

5 of God greatly misliked; and most especially that kind and fashion thereof wherein some of us have fallen... and many besides us, that now lie damned in hell. For some hath there of us while we were in health... not so much studied how we might die penitent and in good Christian plight... as how we might be solemnly

10 borne out to burying—have gay and goodly funerals, with heralds at our hearses... and offering up our helmets, setting up our escutcheon and coat armors on the wall... though there never came harness on our backs, nor never ancestor of ours ever bore arms before. Then devised we some doctor

15 to make a sermon at our Mass in our Month's Mind... and there preach to our praise, with some fond fantasy devised of our name; and after Mass, much feasting, riotous and costly; and finally, like madmen, made men merry at our death... and take our burying for a bridal. For special punishment

20 whereof, some of us have been by our evil angels brought forth full heavily, in full great despite, to behold our own burying... and so stood, in great pain, invisible, among the press... and made to look on our carrion corpse carried out with great pomp... whereof our Lord knoweth we have taken heavy

25 pleasure.

Yet would ye peradventure ween that we were in one thing well eased: in that we were, for the time, taken hence, out of the fire of our purgatory. But in this point if ye so think... ye be far deceived. For likewise as good angels and saved souls

30 in heaven... never lose nor lessen their joy by changing of their places, but, though there be any special place appointed for heaven (furthest from the center of the whole world, or wheresoever it be; be it bodily or above all bodily space), the blessed, heavenly spirits, wheresoever they be come, be either still in

35 heaven or in their heavenly joy; nor Gabriel when he came down

1 *quick*: living // *used*: observed; exerted 2 *allowed*: sanctioned
 3 *charge used*: expense put out // *boast*: pomp 4 *namely*: especially
 4 *devised*: arranged for // *dead*: deceased 5 *of*: by // *misliked*: disliked
 9 *plight*: condition // *solemnly*: grandly 10 *gay*: resplendent
 10 *goodly*: large-scale / impressive
 11 *hearses*: Pagoda-like structures decorated with banners, heraldic devices, and lighted candles, sometimes bearing complimentary verses attached by loved ones.
 12 *coat armors*: coats of arms // *escutcheon*: shield with armorial bearings
 13 *harness*: armor 14 *devised we*: we arranged for // *doctor*: eloquent priest
 15 *Month's Mind*: A memorial Mass celebrated a month after the person's death.
 16 *fond*: foolish; silly // *fantasy*: fanciful composition; flight of fancy
 16 *devised of*: contrived from 17 *riotous*: lavish 18 *finally*: ultimately
 19 *bridal*: wedding feast // *special*: specific 21 *full heavily*: in utter misery
 21 *in full great despite*: out of very great spite 23 *press*: crowd
 24 *heavy*: an awful lot of / miserable 26 *peradventure*: perhaps // *ween*: think
 29 *far deceived*: very much mistaken 33 *bodily*: physical // *above*: beyond

to our Lady... never forbore any part of his pleasure, but he had
 it, peradventure, with some new degree *increased*, by the comfort
 of his joyful message... but *diminished* might it *never* be,
 not and he had an errand into *hell*: right so fareth it, on the other
 5 side, that neither damned wretches at any time... nor we for
 the space of our cleansing time—though we have, for the generality,
 our common place of pain appointed us here in purgatory,
 yet if it please our Lord that at any season our guardians
 convey some of us to be, for some considerations, any time elsewhere...
 10 as some, perchance, to appear to some friend of ours, and show
 him how we stand... and, by the sufferance of God's sovereign
 goodness, to tell him with what alms, prayer, pilgrimage,
 or other good deed done for us he may help us hence; in
 15 which thing the devil is loath to walk with us, but he may not
 choose, and can no further withstand us than God will give him
 leave; but whithersoever he carry us, we carry our pain with us,
 and like as the body that hath a hot fever as fervently burneth if
 he ride on horseback as if he lay lapped in his bed, so carry we
 still about no less heat with us... than if we lay bound here.
 20 And yet, the despiteful sights that our evil angels bring
 us to behold abroad... so far *augmenteth* our torment... that we
 would wish to be drowned in the darkness that is here, rather
 than see the sights that they show us there.

For among they convey us into our own houses... and there
 25 double us our pain with sight, sometimes, of the selfsame
 things which while we lived was half our heaven to behold.
 There show they us our substance and our bags stuffed with
 gold; which when we now see, we set much less by them
 than would an old man that found a bag of cherry stones which he
 30 laid up when he was a child. What a sorrow hath it been to some
 of us when the devils hath in despiteful mockage cast in our
 teeth our old love borne to our money... and then showed us our
 executors as busily rifling and ransacking our houses as though
 they were men of war that had taken a town by force.

35 How heavily hath it, think you, gone unto our heart when

1 *forbore*: gave up; was without 2 *peradventure*: perhaps // *with*: to
 2 *comfort*: thrillingness 3 *might it*: it could 4 *and*: even if
 4 *an errand*: a mission 5 *side*: hand 6 *space*: duration
 6 *for the generality*: as a rule 7 *common*: ordinary; usual
 8 *season*: appointed time 10 *perchance*: perchance // *show*: make it known to
 11 *sufferance*: allowance; leave 13 *may*: can // *hence*: get out of here
 16 *whithersoever*: wherever 17 *hot*: i.e., high
 17 *fervently*: hotly 18 *lapped*: covered up
 18–19 *so . . . us*: so do we continue to carry around with us no less heat
 20 *yet*: moreover // *despiteful*: cruel 21 *abroad*: out there
 24 *among*: on occasion; now and then 27 *substance*: possessions
 28 *set . . . by*: care . . . about 31 *despiteful*: scornful / cruel
 31 *mockage*: derision

our evil angels have grinned and laughed and showed us
 our late wives so soon waxen wanton... and forgetting us, their old
 husbands that have loved them so tenderly and left them so
 rich, sit and laugh and make merry (and more too, sometimes)
 5 with their new wooers... while our keepers in despite keep us
 there in pain to stand still... and look on. Many times would we
 then speak if we could be suffered, and sore we long to say to her,
 “Ah, wife, wife! I wis this was not covenant, wife... when ye
 wept and told me that if I left you to live by, ye would never
 10 wed again!” We see there our children, too... whom we loved so
 well... pipe, sing, and dance, and no more think on their
 fathers’ souls than on their old shoes; saving that sometimes
 cometh out “God have mercy on all Christian souls.” But it cometh
 out so coldly, and with so dull affection, that it lieth but
 15 in the lips and never came near the heart. Yet hear we sometimes
 our wives pray for us more warmly. For in chiding with
 her second husband, to spite him with, “God have mercy,”
 saith she, “on my first husband’s soul! For he was iwis an
 honest man, far unlike you!” And then marvel we much, when
 20 we hear them say so well by us. For they were ever wont to
 tell us otherwise.

But when we find in this wise our wives, our children, and
 friends... so soon and so clearly forget us; and see our executors
 rap and rend unto themselves—catch every man what he can,
 25 and hold fast that he catcheth—and care nothing for us: Lord
 God, what it grieveth us that we left so much behind us... and had
 not sent hither more of our substance before us, by our own
 hands! For happy find we him among us... that sendeth before
 all that may be forborne. And he that is so loath to part with aught,
 30 that hoardeth up his good and had as lief die, almost, as to break
 his heap; and then at last, when there is none other remedy but
 that *he* must needs leave *it*, repenteth himself suddenly, and
 lacketh time to dispose it, and therefore biddeth his friends to
 bestow it well for him—our Lord is yet so merciful that, of his
 35 goodness, he accepted the good deeds that his executors do in performing

2 *late*: former // *waxen*: become 5 *keepers*: guardians // *in despite*: cruelly
 7 *suffered*: allowed (to) // *sore*: badly
 8 *iwis this was not covenant*: i.e., this certainly is not the pact we made
 9 *to live by*: enough to live on 11, 12 *on*: about 12 *fathers’*: parents’
 14 *so dull affection*: such a lack of feeling 15 *in*: on 18 *iwis*: certainly
 19 *honest*: honorable; decent // *marvel we much*: we are very surprised
 20 *say . . . by*: speak . . . of 22 *find in this wise*: thus find 23 *clearly*: completely
 24 *rap*: snatch; seize // *rend*: wrench away 25 *hold fast*: keep a tight grip on
 25 *that*: that which; what // *nothing*: not at all // *for*: about 26 *what*: how
 27 *hither*: here // *substance*: estate 27, 28 *before*: ahead (of) 29 *may*: can
 29 *forborne*: done without // *aught*: anything 30 *good*: money
 30 *had as lief*: would as soon // *break*: break up; cut into 31 *remedy*: choice
 32 *repenteth himself*: changes his mind / repents 35 *performing*: carrying out

his device. And since that late is better than never, our Lord somewhat alloweth the man's mind... by which he would his goods that he hath immoderately gathered and greedily kept together as long as he might... were yet at the leastwise
 5 well bestowed at last, when he must needs go from them. Which mind yet more pleaseth God than that a man cared not what were done with them. And therefore, as we say, the goodness of God somewhat doth accept it. But yet surely, since we might and ought to have done it ourselves, and of a filthy affection toward
 10 our goods could not find in our heart to part from any part of them: if our executors now deceive us and do no more for us than we did for ourselves, our Lord did us no wrong though he never gave us thank of all our whole testament, but imputed the frustration and not-performing of our last will unto our
 15 own fault, since the delay of our good deeds—driven off to our death!—grew but of our own sloth and fleshly love to-the-world-ward... with faintness of devotion to-God-ward, and of little respect and regard unto our own soul. And over this, if our executors do these good things indeed that we do thus at
 20 last devise in our testament, yet our default (driving all to our death, as we told you before)—though God, as we said, of his high goodness leaveth not all unrewarded—yet this warning will we give you, that ye deceive not yourselves: we that have so died have thus found it... that the goods disposed after us...
 25 get our *executors* great thank, and be toward-us-ward accounted before God much less than half our own; nor our thank nothing like to that it would have been if we had in our health given half as much for God's sake with our own hands. Of which we give you this friendly warning not for that we
 30 would discourage you to dispose well your goods when ye die, but for that we would advise you to dispose them better while ye live.

And among all your alms... somewhat remember us. Our wives there, remember here your husbands. Our children

1 *device*: will; intent // *since*: given 2 *alloweth*: approves of
 2, 6 *mind*: disposition 4, 8 *might*: could 5 *go from*: depart from; part with
 7 *the goodness of God*: i.e., God in his goodness
 8 *accept it*: commend it; regard it with favor 9 *filthy*: disgraceful
 9 *affection toward*: attachment to 10 *from*: with
 11 *deceive us*: play us false / let us down
 12 *did us no wrong*: would be doing us no injustice // *though*: if
 13 *thank of*: (any) credit for // *all our whole*: our whole entire
 13, 20 *testament*: will 14 *frustration*: thwarting 15 *driven*: put
 15 *to*: till 16 *to-the-world-ward*: directed toward the world
 17 *to-God-ward*: directed toward God 18 *respect*: consideration
 18 *over this*: furthermore 20 *devise*: stipulate // *default*: sin of omission
 20 *driving all to*: putting off everything till 23 *deceive not*: not fool
 25, 27 *thank*: credit 25 *toward-us-ward*: in relation to us 27 *that*: what

there, remember here your parents. Our parents there, remember
 here your children. Our husbands there, remember
 here your wives. Ah, sweet husbands! While we lived there in
 that wretched world with you; while ye were glad to please us... ye
 5 bestowed much upon us and put yourselves to great cost—and did
 us great harm therewith! With gay gowns and gay kirtles, and
 much waste in apparel—rings and ouches, with partlets and
 pastes garnished with pearls—with which proud picking up,
 both ye took hurt and we too, many more ways than one, though we
 10 told you not so then. But two things were there special... of
 which yourselves felt then the one... and we feel now the other.
 For ye had us the higher-hearted and the more stubborn to you...
 and God had us in less favor—and that, alack, we feel. For now
 that gay gear burneth upon our backs, and those proud pearled
 15 pastes hang hot about our cheeks, those partlets and
 those ouches hang heavy about our necks and cleave fast, fire-hot...
 that woe be we there, and wish that while we lived... ye
 never had followed our fantasies, nor never had so cockered us,
 nor made us so wanton; nor had given us other ouches than
 20 onions or great garlic heads, nor other pearls for our partlets
 and our pastes than fair orient peas. But, now, forasmuch as
 that is past and cannot be called again, we beseech you, since ye
 gave them us, let us have them still; let them hurt none other
 woman, but help to do us good. Sell them for our sakes to set in
 25 saints' copes... and send the money hither by Mass-pennies, and by
 poor men that may pray for our souls.

Our fathers also, which while we lived fostered us up so tenderly...
 and could not have endured to see us suffer pain: now open
 your hearts and fatherly affection... and help us at the leastwise with
 30 a poor man's alms. Ye would not when we were with you have
 letted to lay out much money for a great marriage. Which if ye
 meant for our sakes and not for your own worldly worship, give us
 now some part thereof and relieve us here with much less cost than
 one marriage... and more pleasure than fifteen, though every one were
 35 a prince or a princess of a realm.

6, 14 *gay*: snazzy; show-offy 6 *kirtles*: outer petticoats
 7 *apparel*: adornments; accessories 7, 16, 19 *ouches*: pendants
 7, 15, 20 *partlets*: add-on collars
 8, 15, 21 *pastes*: decorative headdresses (made with a foundation of pasteboard)
 8 *picking up*: acquiring 9 *hurt*: harm 10 *special*: in particular
 11 *yourselves*: you yourselves 12 *higher-hearted*: haughtier; more full of ourselves
 12 *to*: toward 13 *had*: held 14 *gear*: clothing 17 *while*: as long as
 18 *followed*: gone along with; indulged // *fantasies*: inclinations; fancies
 18 *cockered*: pampered 19 *wanton*: spoiled 20 *great*: big 21 *fair*: nice
 21 *orient*: lustrous 22 *called again*: taken back; retracted 25 *cofes*: vaults
 25 *by*: by way of // *Mass-pennies*: Mass stipends 27 *which*: who // *fostered*: brought
 31 *letted*: hesitated // *lay out much*: put out a lot of 32 *worship*: prestige
 34 *though*: even if // *were*: i.e., were to

Finally, all our other friends... and *every* good Christian man and woman, open your hearts and have some pity upon us! If ye believe not that we need your help, alas the lack of faith! If ye believe our need and care not for us, alas the lack of pity! For whoso pitieth
 5 not *us*, whom *can* he pity? If ye pity the poor... there is none so poor as we, that have not a brat to put on our backs. If ye pity the blind... there is none so blind as we, which are here in the dark—saving for sights unpleasant and loathsome—till some comfort come. If ye pity the lame... there is none so lame as we, that
 10 neither can creep one foot out of the fire... nor have one hand at liberty to defend our face from the flame. Finally, if ye pity any man in pain... never knew ye pain comparable to ours, whose fire as far passeth in heat all the fires that ever burned upon earth... as the hottest of all those passeth a feigned fire
 15 painted on a wall. If ever ye lay sick and thought the night long, and longed sore for day while every hour seemed longer than five—bethink you, then, what a long night we seely souls endure... that lie sleepless, restless, burning and broiling in the dark fire one long night of many days, of many weeks, and some of
 20 many *years*, together. You walter, peradventure, and toltor in sickness from side to side, and find little rest in any part of the bed; *we* lie *bound* to the *brands*, and cannot lift up our heads. You have your physicians with you, that sometimes cure and heal you; *no* physic will help *our* pain, nor no plaster cool our heat.
 25 Your keepers do you great ease and put you in good comfort; *our* keepers are such as God keep you from!—cruel damned spirits, odious, envious, and hateful; despiteous enemies and despiteful tormentors... and their company more horrible and grievous to us... than is the pain itself and the intolerable
 30 torment that they do us wherewith from top to toe they cease not continually to tear us.

But, now, if our other enemies these heretics (almost as cruel as they!), procuring to their power that we should be long left in the devil's hands, will (as their usage is to rail instead of reasoning)

1 *friends*: near and dear ones; relatives and friends 2 *have*: take
 4 *for*: about // *whoso*: whoever 6 *brat*: rag; scrap of clothing
 7 *which*: who 13, 14 *passeth*: surpasses 14 *feigned*: fictive
 16 *sore*: terribly 17 *seely*: poor 20 *together*: on end; in succession
 20 *walter, peradventure, and toltor*: perhaps toss and turn
 24 *physic*: doctoring; medical treatment // *help*: remedy // *plaster*: salve
 25, 26 *keepers*: caretakers 25 *do you great ease*: give you a lot of relief
 27 *envious*: malicious // *dispiteous*: pitiless 28 *despiteful*: vicious
 33 *their power*: the best of their ability 34 *as*: since // *usage*: wont; habit

make a game and a jest now of our heavy pain, and peradventure
 laugh at our lamentation... because we speak of our
 “heads,” our “hands,” our “feet,” and such our other gross,
 5 bodily members as lie buried in our graves; and of our garments
 that we did wear, which come not hither with us: we beseech
 you, for our dear Lady’s love, to let their folly go by, and to
 consider in your own wisdom that it were impossible to make
 any mortal man living perceive what manner pain, and in what
 10 manner wise, we bodiless souls do suffer and sustain—or to
 make any man upon earth perfectly to conceive in his imagination
 and fantasy... what manner of substance we be; much
 more impossible than to make a born-blind man to perceive in
 his mind the nature and difference of colors. And therefore,
 15 except we should of our painful state tell you nothing at all (and
 there would they have it), we must of necessity use you such
 words as yourself understand, and use you the similitudes of
 such things as yourself is in ure with. For since neither God,
 angel, nor soul... is in such wise blind, dumb, deaf, or lame...
 20 as be those men that for lack of eyes, legs, hands, tongue, or
 ears... be weak and impotent in the powers that proceed from them; but
 have in themselves a far more excellent sight, hearing, deliverness,
 and speech... by means incogitable to man... than any
 man can have living there on earth: therefore doth Holy Scripture
 in speaking of such things... use to represent them to the
 25 people by the names of such powers, instruments, and members...
 as men in such things use and occupy themselves.
 Which manner of speaking in such case whosoever have in
 derision... declareth very well how little faith he hath in Christ’s
 own words; in which our Savior, himself, speaking of the
 30 souls of the rich glutton and poor, needy Lazarus, and of the
 patriarch Abraham also, speaketh in like manner as we do—of “finger,”
 and “tongue” too, whereof they had neither nother there. And therefore
 whoso maketh a mock at our words in this point, ye may
 soon see what credence ye should give him; wherein we be content

1 *a game*: an object of ridicule // *a jest*: an idle tale // *heavy*: grievous
 1 *peradventure*: perhaps 3 *gross*: material 4 *bodily*: physical
 6 *for our dear Lady’s love*: for love of our dear Lady
 6 *let their folly go by*: ignore their foolishness 7 *wisdom*: good sense
 7 *that*: i.e., the fact that // *were*: would be 8, 9, 11 *manner*: kind of
 9 *wise*: way 11 *fantasy*: conceptualization; ideation
 15 *and there would they*: i.e., which is the way they would 15, 16 *use*: use for
 17 *in ure*: familiar 18 *wise*: a way 20 *weak*: lacking
 21 *deliverness*: agility 24 *use to*: habitually 25 *members*: parts of the body
 26 *occupy*: employ 27 *have*: hold 28 *declareth*: shows
 32 *neither nother*: neither the one nor the other

ye give him even as much as ye see yourselves that he giveth to God. For more ye ought not, and surely less ye cannot. For he giveth God not a whit, but taketh in his heart that story told by God for a very fantastic fable.

5 And therefore, as we say, passing over such jesting and railing of those uncharitable heretics (mortal enemies unto us and to themselves both!): consider you our pains, and pity them in your hearts, and help us with your prayers, pilgrimages, and other almsdeeds; and of allthing, in special procure us the
10 suffrages and blessed oblation of the Holy Mass—whereof no man living so well can tell the fruit as we that here feel it.

The comfort that we have here, except our continual hope in our Lord God, cometh at seasons from our Lady... with such glorious saints as either ourselves, with our own devotion
15 while we lived, or ye with yours for us since our decease and departing, have made intercessors for us. And among others, right especially be we beholden to the blessed spirits our own proper good angels. Whom when we behold coming with comfort to us, albeit that we take great pleasure and greatly
20 rejoice therein—yet is it not without much confusion and shamefastness... to consider how little we regarded our good angels, and how seldom we thought upon them, while we lived. They carry up our prayers to God and good saints for us; and they bring down from them the comfort and consolation to us. With which when
25 they come and comfort us—only God and we know what joy it is to our hearts, and how heartily we pray for you. And therefore, if God accept the prayer after his own favor borne toward him that prayeth, and the affection that he prayeth with: our prayer must needs be profitable, for we stand sure of his grace... and our
30 prayer is for you so fervent that ye can nowhere find any such affection upon earth. And therefore, since we lie so sore in pains, and have in our great necessity so great need of your help, and that ye may so well do it... whereby shall also rebound upon yourselves an inestimable profit: let never any slothful oblivion

1 *even*: just 4 *fantastic*: imaginative; unreal 5 *jesting*: jeering
9 *allthing*: all things // *in special*: in particular 12 *except*: other than
13 *at seasons*: at appointed times / every so often 17 *right*: very
18 *proper*: respective 18, 21 *good*: i.e., guardian
20 *confusion*: discomfiture; embarrassment // *shamefastness*: shame
22 *upon*: about 27 *after*: in accord with 28, 31 *affection*: feeling
31 *sore*: terribly 33 *may*: can 34 *oblivion*: obliviousness

erase us out of your remembrance, or malicious enemy of ours
 cause you to be careless of us, or any greedy mind upon your
 good withdraw your gracious alms from us. Think how soon
 ye shall come hither to us. Think what great grief and rebuke
 5 would then your unkindness be to you; what comfort, on the contrary
 part, when all we shall thank you; what help ye shall have
 here of your good sent hither. Remember what kin ye and we be
 together; what familiar friendship hath ere this been between us;
 what sweet words ye have spoken, and what promise ye have
 10 made us. Let now your words appear and your fair promise be
 kept. Now, dear friends, remember how nature and Christendom
 bindeth you to remember us. If any point of your old favor,
 any piece of your old love, any kindness of kindred, any care of
 acquaintance, any favor of old friendship, any spark of charity,
 15 any tender point of pity, any regard of nature, any
 respect of Christendom... be left in your breasts, let never the
 malice of a few fond fellows—a few *pestilent* persons—borne toward
 priesthood, religion, and your Christian faith... erase out
 of your hearts the care of your kindred, all force of your old
 20 friends, and all remembrance of all Christian souls. Remember
 our thirst while ye sit and drink; our hunger while ye be feasting;
 our restless watch while ye be sleeping; our sore and grievous
 pain while ye be playing; our hot-burning fire while ye be in
 pleasure and sporting. So mote God make your offspring after
 25 remember you. So God keep you hence, or not long here, but
 bring you shortly to that bliss... to which, for our Lord's love,
 help you to bring us... and we shall set hand to help you thither
 to us.

Finis

Cum privilegio

2 *careless of*: unconcerned about // *mind upon*: disposition toward
 3, 7 *good*: money 4, 7 *hither*: here 4 *rebuke*: shame
 6 *all we*: all of us 8 *familiar friendship*: warm closeness; close ties
 10 *appear*: come into (your) view 11, 16 *Christendom*: Christianity
 13 *kindness*: natural feeling // *kindred*: kinship // *care*: heed
 14 *favor of*: partiality toward 15 *tender point*: soft spot
 15 *regard of nature*: natural regard
 16 *respect of Christendom*: Christian sensibility
 17 *fond fellows*: idiotic good-for-nothings // *pestilent*: noxious; poisonous
 19 *care of*: concern for // *force of*: care about 22 *watch*: wakefulness
 22 *sore*: intense 24 *sporting*: having fun // *mote*: may
 25 *hence*: out of here 27–28 *thither to us*: join us there
 29 *finis*: the end 30 *cum privilegio*: i.e., copyrighted