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The mirroure of vertue in worldly greatnes; or the life of Syr T. More.

William Roper.

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Dedicated to Ted Smith, Librarian.

THE MIRROVR
OF VERTVE
in Worldly Greatnes,

OR
THE LIFE OF SYR
Thomas More Knight,
sometime Lo. Chancellour
of England.

AT PARIS.
MDCXXVI.

TO
THE RIGHT
HONOURABLE
THE LADY
ELIZABETH
COUNTESS OF
BAMBURY, &c.



*R*IGHT Honourable, It vvas my good happe not longe since, in a Friends House, to light vpon a briefe History of the Life, Arraignement, and Death of that *Mirrou* of all true Honour, and Vertue *Syr Thomas More*, vvho by his Wisdome, Learning, & San[c]tity, hath eternized his Name, Cou[n]trei, & Profession, throughout the Christian World, vvith immortall Glory, and Renovvne.

Finding, by perusall therof, the same replenished vvith inco[m]parable Treasures, of no lesse Worthy, and most Christia[n] Factes, then of Wise, & Religious Sentences, Apophthegmes, & Sayings; I deemed it not only an errour to permit so great a light to ly buried, as it vvere, vvithin the vvalls of one priuate Family: but also iudged it vvorthy the Presse, eue[n] of a golden Character (if it were to be had) to the end, the vvhole World might receaue comfort and profit by reading the same.

Hauing made this Resolution, a Difficultie presented it selfe to my Thoughts, vnder vvhose Shadovv, or Patronage I might best shelter the Worke: vnto vv^{ch} strife, Your *LADISHIP*, occuring to my cogitations, put an end, vvith the *BEAMS* of your *VVORTH*, & *HONOUR*; so dazeling my eyes, as I could discerne none other more Fit, or *VVorthy* to imbrace, & protect so Glorious and Memorable Examples.

Of vvhose *GODNES* I am so confide[n]t, that vvithout further debate, I iudge, this Enterchange of Friendshippe may worthily be made betvveene the *SAINTE* and *YOU*. *YOU* (Madame) shal Patronise his *HONOUR* heere on Earth; and *HE*, shall become a Patrone, and intercessour for *YOU* in heauen.

By him, that am your

THE PREFACE
of the Authour.

FORASMUCH, as Syr Thomas More Knight, sometyes Lord Chancellour of England, a Man of singular Vertue, and of an vnspotted Conscience; & (as witnesseth Erasmus) more pure, and white then snowe: of so Angelicall a Wit (sayth he) that England neuer had the like before, nor euer shall againe: A Man (I say) vniuersally well studied, not only in the Lawes of our owne Realme (a study able to occupy the whole life of a man) but also in all other Scie[n]ces both Humane & Divine; was in his owne dayes (& much more deseruedly in these) esteemed worthy of perpetuall Memory: I William Roper his most vnworthy Sonne in law (by Marriage of his eldest Daughter) knowing no man liuing to this day, able to speake more of his life and Conuersation, then my selfe who was continually resident in his House for the space of sixteene yeares and more; haue at the request of diuers worthy friends, put downe in wryting, such thinges, touching the same, as I can at this present well cast to remembrance (hauing through my negligence, forgotten many other very notable passages thereof) to the euent that all should not vtterly perish to posterity. The which I haue heere performed, to my ability, in a playne and humble style; leauing the same as a fit subiect to a more skillfull, and exquisite Pen, when Tyme, and Occasion shall offer themselues, to dilate therof.

THE
LIFE OF

Syr Thomas More.



YR *Thomas More* was borne in London of worshipfull Parents. His Father was a Student of *Lincolnes* Inne, and brought him vp in the Latin-tongue, at *S. Antonyes* Schoole in London, who was very shortly after, by his Fathers procurement, receiued into the house of that Worthy, and Learned Prelate, *Cardinal Morton*; where though he was but younge in yeares, he would in the tyme of Christmas, suddainly steppe in amongst the Players, and there *ex tempore*, without any study of the Matter, or least stay, or stammering in his speach, make a part of his owne present wit, amongst them:

which was more delightfull, and pleasing to the Nobles, & Gentlemen that vsed to be at Supper with the *Cardinall*, then all the premeditated parts of the Players.

This *Cardinall* tooke more delight in his wit, and towardnes, then he did of any other temporall Matter whatsoeuer; & would often say of him, vnto diuers of his familiar friends, who vsed dinner & supper with him: *This Child here, wayting at the table, whosoever shall liue to see it, will proue a meruailous Man.*

And for his better furtherance in learning, he placed him at *Oxford*; where when he was well instructed in the Greeke & Latyn tongues, he was then, for the Comon Lawes of the kingdome put to an Inne of Chancery, called *New Inne*; where in small tyme he profited so well, that he was from thence admitted into *Lincolnes* Inne, with very small allowance; continuing there his study, vntill he was made Barrister.

After this, to his high Commendations, he read for a good space, a publique Lecture of *S. Augustine de Ciuitate Dei* in the Church of *S. Laurence* in the Old Iewry in *London*, wherunto resorted one Doctor *Corsin*, an excellent Scholler, and a great Deuine, and all the chiefe learned in, and about the City of *London*.

Then was he made Reader of *Fur[n]iuals* Inne, where he remained for the space of aboue three yeares; and then he gaue himselfe wholly to deuotio[n] & prayer in the Charter-house at *London*, lyuing there Religiously foure yeares without vow; during which tyme he often resorted to the house of one *M. Colt* (a Gentleman in *Essex*) who vsed many tymes to inuite him thither.

This *M. Colt* had three daughters, whose honest and vertuous educations were the chiefe Motiuies, that induced him to place his affection there: and albeit his mynde was most inclyned towards the second Sister, for that he thought her the fayrest, and best fauoured: yet when he considered, it would be both a great griefe, & some shame also to the eldest, to see her younger Sister preferred in Mariage before her, he out of a kind of pittie, then framed his affection towards the eldest, and shortly after married her. After this he co[n]tinued his study of the Law at *Lincolnes* Inne vntill he was called to the bench, and had there read twice, which is as often, as ordinarily any Iudge of the Law readeth. He dwelt all this whyle at *Bucklers-bury* in *London*, where he had, by his wife three daughters, & one Sonne, all brought vp in vertue & learning, from their very infancy: for he would alwayes exhort them, to take Vertue and Learning for their meate, and Play for their sawce.

Before he had euer bene Reader in Court, he was in the later tyme of King *Henry* the seauenth made a Burgesse of the Parliament: In which, was by the King demaunded three fifteens for the Mariage of his eldest daughter vnto the King of Scots. At the debating wherof he alleadged such arguments & reaso[n]s agaynst the sayd demau[n]de, that the Kings expectation was vtterly ouerthrowne[.]

Whereupon one *M. Tiler* a Gentleman of the Kinges priuy Chamber, being their present, with all speed carried word to the King from Parliament-House, That a beardlesse boy, had disaponted his Graces purpose. Vpon which reporte the King conceiued great displeasure agaynst *M. More*, & would not rest satisfied, vntill vpon a pretended causelesse quarrell, his Father was committed to the Tower, and there

kept prisoner vntil he had payd an hundred pounds, for a fine.

Shortly heerupon it happened, that *M. More* comming about a suite to *D. Fox*, Bishop of *Winchester*, one of the Kings priuy Councill; the Bishop called him a syde, and pretending great fauour towards him, promised him, That if he would be ruled by him he would not fayle to restore him agayne into the Kings fauor; meaning forsooth, as he afterwards coniectured, to make him confesse a fault agaynst the King, whereby his Highnes might with the better colour take occasion of displeasure agaynst him. As he came from the Bishop, by chance he met with one *M. Whitford* his familiar frie[n]d, then the Bishops Chaplaine, but afterwards a Monke of *Syon*; and amongst other talke *M. More* told him what the Bishop had sayd vnto him, desyring his opinion and aduise therein. Whereupon *M. Whitford* prayed him, for the passion of God, in no wise to follow the Bishops counsel: For my Lord my mayster (quoth he) to serue the Kings turne, will not sticke to agree to the death of his owne Father. So *M. More* returned no more to the Bishop: and had not the King soone after dyed, he was purposed to haue left the Realme, and gone to some other parts beyond the Seas, knowing that being in the Kings displeasure, he could not liue in England, without great daunger.

After this he was made one of the Vnder sheriffes of *London*, by which office, and his learning togeather, he hath been often heard to say, that he gained, with but grieffe of conscience, not so litle as foure hundred pounds by the yeare: For that there was no matter of importance depending at that tyme in controuersy in any of the Kings Courts, concerning the lawes of the Realme, wherein he was not with one party in counsell.

For his wisdome and learning he was held in such honour and esteeme, that before he came to the seruice of King *Henry* the Eight, at the suite and instance of our English Merchants, he was, with the Kinges consent, twice sent *Embassadour*, about certayne businesse in co[n]trouersy betwixt them and the Mercha[n]ts of the *Stilliard*. Whose wise and discrete dealinges therein, to his high Commendatio[n]s, comming vnto the Kings eare, he called immediatlye vnto him Cardinall *Wolsey*, then Lord Chancellor, and willed him by all meanes to procure, & worke *M. More* into his seruice.

Whereupon the Cardinall according to the Kinges pleasure, earnestly laboured with him, & amongst many other his persuasio[n]s, he alleadged vnto him, how deere his seruice must needs be to the King, who could not out of Honour seeme to recompence him with lesse, then he should otherwise yearly loose therby. Yet was he loath to change his estate, and made such meanes to the King, by the Cardinall, that his Maiesty at that tyme, rested well satisfied.

Shortly after, there happened a great shippe of the Popes, to ariue at *Southampton*, which was claymed by the King as a forfayture. But the Popes *Embassadour*, by suite made vnto the King, obtayned, that he might for his Maister haue Councill learned in the Lawes of this Realme, and the matter in his owne prese[n]ce (being himselve an excellent Ciuilian) to be openly hard and discussed in some publique place. At which tyme there was none, for our Lawes, found more fit to be of Councill with the *Embassador*, then *M. More*, who could reporte vnto him in Latyn, all the reasons and arguments on both sides alleadged.

Whereupon Councillors on both parties, in the presence of the Lord Chancellour, & other the Iudges of the Star-Chamber had audie[n]ce accordingly where *M. More* declared vnto the *Embassadour* the whole effect of all theyr opinions, and besides, in defence of his Clyent argued so learnedly himselve, that thereby not only the Forfayture aforesaid was agayne restored vnto his Holynesse, but also he himselve amongst all the Audience, for his vpriht and commendable demeanour, was so greatly renowned, that the King from hencforth by no meanes, or intreaty would be moued to forbear his seruice any longer.

Now, at his first entry into the Kings seruice, his Maiesty made him Master of Requests, hauing the[n] no better place voyde, and within one moneth after he was knighted, & made of his priuy Councill. And so from tyme to tyme did the King still aduance him, to places of Honour; and he continued still in his fauour, and trusty seruice for more then twenty yeares. In which time the King vsed often, especially vpon Festiuall dayes (after he had done his owne Deuotion) to send for him into his owne Trauerse, and there in matters of Astronomy, Geometry, Diuinity, and such like Faculties (yea and often tymes of his temporall affayres) to sit and confer with him. Many tymes also in the night the King would haue him vp into his leades, there to consider with him the diuers scituations, courses, motions, & apparitions of the Stars, & Planets. And for that he was euer of a merry & pleasant disposition, it pleased the King and Queene very often to send for him, at tyme of dinner and supper, as also many other tymes, to come & recreate with them.

But when he perceyued the King to take so much delight in his company, & discourse, that he could not scarce once in a moneth get leaue to go home to his wife and children, nor that he could not be absent fro[m] court two dayes togeather, without sending for agayne, he disliking this restraint of his liberty, did thereupon begin, somewhat to dissemble his merry nature, retyring himselfe by litle and litle from his accustomed mirth, so that he was from thenceforth, sent for orderly by the King, at such tymes as was conuenient.

In this meane tyme dyed one *M. Westo[n]* Treasurer of the Exchequer, whose office after his decease, the King of his owne free gift, and offer, bestowed vpon *Syr Thomas More*. And in the fourteenth yeare of his Maiestyes raygne, there was a Parlement holden at Westmynster, wherof *Syr Tho. More* was chosen Speaker: being very vnwilling to take that office vpon him, made an oration (not now extant) to the Kings Maiesty, for his discharge thereof. Wherunto whe[n] the King would not consent, he spake vnto his Maiesty in this forme, as followeth.

Sith I perceyue (most vndoubted Soueraygne) that it sta[n]deth not with your high Pleasure to reforme this my Electio[n], and cause it to be changed, but haue by the mouth of the most Reuerend Father in God, your highnesse Chauncellour, therevnto giuen your Royall assent, and of your gracious benignity determined, far aboue that I am able to beare, to strengthen me, and repute me fit for this office, as chosen theru[n]to by your Co[m]mons; I am therefore now, and alwayes shalbe ready obediently to conforme my selfe to the accomplishment of your high Co[m]maundement, in most humble wise. Yet with your Graces fauour, before I further enter herinto, I make humble intercession vnto your Highnes, for two lowly Petitions: The one priuatly concerning my self, the other concerning your whole assembly of Commons in Parliament. For my selfe (Gracious Soueraygne) that if it shall happen me to mistake, in any thinge, on the behalfe of your Co[m]mo[n]s in your highnes prese[n]ce or for want of good vttera[n]ce in rehearsal of things, to preuert or impayre their prudent instructions; it may then like your abundant grace, in the Eye of your accustomed Pitty, to pardo[n] my simplicity, giuing me leaue to repayre agayne vnto the Co[m]mon House, there to conferre anew with them, and take their more substantiall aduice, what thing, and in what wise, I shall on their behalfe vtter & speake before your Maiesty, to the intent thyr prudent aduises and affayres be not by my simplicity and folly hindred or impayred. Which thing, if it should happen vnto me (as it is not vnlikely) if your Gracious Benignity receiued not my ouersight therby, it could not but during my life be a perpetuall grudge and rauines vnto my hart. And this is my first petition vnto your royall Maiesty.

My other suite (most Excellent Prince) is, that forasmuch as there be of your Commons here assembled in Parliament, by your high commandement, a number, which after the accustomed manner, are appoynted by the common House, to treat and aduise of the common affayres apart, amongst

themselves: And albeit (most Liege lord) that according to your most prudent aduice, by your Honorable Writs, euery where declared, there hath beene a diligence vsed in sending vp to your Highnes Court of Parliament, the most discreet persons out of euery quarter, esteemed most fit therto, whereby there is gathered, no doubt, a very substantiall Assembly of right wise and politique Persons: Yet (most vertuous Prince) sith amongst so many, euery man is not alike witted, or so well spoken, as other; and it often happeneth, that much folly is vttered, in a paynted speach; As likewise, many that are boysterous & rude in language, do yet giue right good substantiall Cou[n]sell; And moreouer in matters of greate Importance, the mynde happeneth to be so busied, that oftentimes a man studieth rather what to say, then how to speake, by reason whereof the wisest man, & best speaker in a whole Countrey, forthuneth sometymes (his mynd being feruent in the matter) to speake in such wise, as he would afterwarde wish, to haue beene otherwise spoken, and yet no worse will had he, when he spake it, then he hath, when he would so gladly chaunge it: Therefore (most gracious Soueraigne) considering that in your High Court of Parliament nothing is treated of, but matter of weight & importance, and which doth chiefly, & meerly concerne this your most flourishing Realme, and your owne Royall Estate, it would please your Royall Maiesty, out of your abou[n]dant Clemency and fauour, to giue to all your Co[m]mons here assembled, your most gracious licence, and pardon, freely, without feare of your high displeasure, euery ma[n] to discharge his Conscience, & boldly, in euery thing incident amongst vs, to declare his aduice. And whatsoeuer any man shall happen to say, that it may like your Royall Maiesty, of your inestimable Goodnes, to take all in good part, interpreting euery mans wordes (how vnwisely soeuer they be spoken) to proceed of good zeale towards the profit of your Realme, & dignity of your Royall Person; the prosperous Estate & preseruatio[n] wherof (most dread Soueraigne) is the thing which all we your most hu[m]ble, & louing Subiects, according to the bou[n]den duty of our naturall Allegiance, most highly desire, and pray for.

At this Parliament *Cardinall Wolsey* fou[n]d himselfe much grieued with the Burgesses thereof, for that nothing was either spoken, or done in the Parliament house, but was immediatly blowne abroad in euery Alehouse and Tauerne. It fortun'd also at this Parliament, that a very great Subsidie was demaunded, which the Cardinall fearing would not passe the Lower House, did therefore determine for the furtherance thereof, to be there personally present. Against whose comming, after lo[n]g debate there made, whether it were better to receaue him, but with a few of his Lords, or with his whole trayne: Maisters (quoth Syr *Thomas More*) for as much, as my Lord Cardinall (ye wot well) lately layd to our charge, the lightnes of our tongues, for thinges vttered out of this house, therefore in my mind it shall not be amisse to receiue him with all Pompe, with his Maces, his Pillars, his Pollaxes, his Crosses, his Hat, & the great Seale too, to the intent, that if he find the like fault with vs hereafter, we may be the bolder from our selues to lay the blame vpon himselfe, and those followers which his Grace bringeth hither with him. Wherevnto the whole House agreed, and receiued him accordingly.

After he was come and receaued in manner aforesayd, the whole house of Parlame[n]t sitting still in silence, and answearing nothing to what he demaunded, but rather contrary to his expectation, seemed not any way to inclyne to his Request, he said vnto them: Maisters, you haue here many wise & learned men amongst you, and sith I am sent hither from the Kinges owne Person, for the preservation of your selues, and all the Realme, me thinkes you should giue me some reasonable answer. Whereat euery man continuing silent; then began he to speake to one *M. Warney*, who making him no answer neither, he seuerally asked the same Question of diuers others that were accompted the wisest men of the house: To whome when none of them all would answer so much as a word, it being before agreed among them to answer only by theyr speaker: Maisters (quoth the Cardinall) vnlesse it be the custome

of your howse, as of likelyhood it is, by the mouth of your speaker, whome you haue chosen for trusty and wise (as indeed he is) in such cases to vtter your mindes, without doubt heere is a meruailous obstinate silence, and thereupon he required answer of *M. Speaker*. Who first reuerently vpon his knees excusing the silence of the Howse, abashed at the presence of so Noble a Personage, able to amaze the wisest & best learned in a kingdome; & after by many probable arguments prouing that for them to make answer, was neither expedient nor agreable with the ancient Liberty of the House; in conclusio[n] for himselfe shewed, that although they had with all their voyces chosen and trusted him to speake, yet except euery one of the[m] could put into his owne head all their seuerall wittes, he alone in so weighty a matter, was far vnmeete to make his Grace answer.

Whereupon the *Cardinall* displeas'd with *Syr Thomas More* (who had not in this Parlament satisfied his desire) suddenly arose and departed. And after the Parlament was ended; at his House in the Gallery at White Hall in *Westminster*, he vttered vnto him his griefes, saying: I would to God *M. More*, you had beene at *Rome* when I first made you Speaker of the House. Your Grace not offended, I would I had beene there my Lord (quoth *Syr Thomas*.) And to wynd these quarrels out of the *Cardinalls* head he began to commend that Gallery, and said: I like this Gallery of your my Lord, much better the[n] your Gallery at Hampton-Court; wherewith he so wisely brake off the *Cardinalls* displeasent talke, as it seemed, knew not what more for the present to say vnto him.

But yet for a Reuenge of his displeasure, the *Cardinall* counselled the king to send *Syr Thomas More* Embassadour ouer into Spayne, commending vnto him his wisdome, learning, & fitnes for the voyage; and further told the King that the difficulty of the cause considered; there is none (quoth the *Cardinall*) so meete, or able to performe your Maiestyes seruice therin, as he. Which when the King had broken to *Syr Thomas More*, and that he had satisfied his Maiesty how vnfit a voyage it was for him, he nature of the cuntry, and disposition of his complexion considered, that he should neuer be able, nor likely to do his Grace acceptable seruice there, knowing right well, that if his Maiesty sent him thither, he should send him to his Graue; yet shewing himselfe neuertheless ready, according to his duty, although it were with the losse of his life, to fulfill his Graces pleasure in that behalfe, the King well allowing of his answer said vnto him. It is not our meaning *M. More*, to do you the least hurt, but rather thy best good; we will therefore for this purpose deuise vpon some other, and imploy your seruice otherwise.

And indeed such entire affection did the King at that tyme beare vnto him, that he made him Chancellour of the Duchy of *Lancaster*, vpon the death of *Syr Richard Wingfield*, who had that Office before. And the king tooke so much pleasure in his company, that oftentimes his Maiesty would on the suddaine go vp to his howse at *Chelsey*, to be merry with him; whither on a tyme comming to dynner, he walked in *Syr Thomas Mores* garden by the space of an houre, and held his arme about *Syr Thomas Mores* necke.

As soone as his Maiesty was gone, *M. William Roper*, a Gentleman of Grayes Inne, who had married *Syr Thomas Mores* eldest daughter said vnto him: Father, how happy a man are you, whome the King hath thus familiarly entertayned (for he neuer was seene to do the like vnto any man, except *Cardinall Wolsey*, with whome the King did often walke arme in arme:) I thanke our Lord God, Sonne *Roper* (quoth he) I find his Grace my very good Lord indeed. And I thinke he doth as singularly fauour me, as any subiect within this Realme; howbeit, Sonne *Roper*, I may tell thee, I haue no great cause to be proud thereof. But if my Head could wyn his Maiesty a Castle in *France* (for then there was warre with France) it should not fayle to goe.

Amongst many other his vertues he was of such Meekenes, that if he happened to enter into argument, or dispute with any learned man resorting to him from *Oxford*, *Cambridge*, or other place (as there did

diuers, some for desyre of his acquainta[n]ce, some for the famous report of his wisdome and learning, and some about suites for the Vniuersities) although very few were comparable vnto him as well witnesseth *Erasmus*:) & if in discourse, he so pressed the[m] that they cold not well hold agaynst him; the [n] least he should discourage the[m] (as one that sought not his owne Glory) he wold seeme conquered, & by some wise deuse, courteously breake off into some other matter, & giue ouer. Of whome for his wisdome and learning the king had such an opinion, that at such tymes as he attended his person, in his progresse either to *Oxford*, or *Cam[bridge]*, where he was receiued with very eloquent Orations, his Maiesty would alwayes assigne *Syr Thomas More*, as one prompt, and ready therein, to make Answer thereunto, *ex tempore*.

His custome also was, that whe[n]soever he came to any Vniuersity, eyther heere or beyond the Seas, not only to be present at Disputations and Readings, but also to dispute very learnedly himselfe, to his high Commendations, and generall applause of all the assembly.

During the tyme of his Chau[n]cellorship for the Duchy of *Lancaster*, he was sent twice Embassador, ioyned in co[m]mission with *Cardinall Wolsey*, once vnto the Emperour *Charles* into *Flanders*, the other tyme vnto the French King at *Paris*.

About this tyme, it hapned that the Water-bayly of *London*, who had somtimes byn *Syr Thomas Mores* seruant, hearing certayne Merchants to speake somewhat lauishly agaynst his old Maister, was so displeasid therat, that he came with all speed to *Syr Thomas More*, & told him what he had heard, & of whom. *Syr* (quoth he) if I were in such fauour and authority with my Prince, as you are, such men as these should not surely be suffered, so vncharitably & falsly to misreport & slaunder me. Wherefore I wish you to call the[m] befor you & punish them. *Syr Thomas More* smyling vpon him sayd: Why, M. Water-bayly, would you haue me punish them, by whom I receyue more benefit then by all you, that are my friends? Let them a Gods Name speake as lewdly of me as they list, and shoote neuer so many darts at me, what am I the worse? But if they should once hit me, then would it not indeede a little trouble me: Howbeit I trust by Gods helpe, there shall none of them all be able to touch me. Therefore I haue more cause, I assure thee M. Water-baily to pittie, then to be angry with them. Such fruitfull communication would he often tymes haue with his familiar Friends.

So on a tyme walking a lo[n]g the *Thames* syde at *Chelsey*, with his Sonne in law *M. Roper*, and discoursing of many things, amongst other speaches he sayd thus vnto him: Now I would to our Lord God, Sonne *Roper*, that three things were well established in Christendome, vpon co[n]dition that I were heer presently put into a sacke, & cast into the midst of the *Thames*. What great things be those Sir (quoth *M. Roper*) that moue you so to wish? Wouldest thou know Sonne *Roper*, quoth he? May it so please you *Syr*, with a very good will, sayd *M. Roper*. In fayth Sonne *Roper*, they be these: First, that where the most parte of Christian Princes are now at mortal warres, I would they were all at an vniuersall peace. The seco[n]d is, that where the Church is at this present, sore afflicted with Errors & Heresy, that it were settled in a perfect vniformity of Religion. The third is, that where the Kings matter of his marriage is now come into question, I wish it were, to the glory of God, and quietnes of all parties, brought to a good conclusion. By which three things (as *M. Roper* supposed) he iudged, that there would be a great disturbance, through the most part of Christendome.

Thus did *Syr Tho. More* through the whole course of his life, by his actions make it appeare, that all his trauels and paynes, without thought of earthly co[m]modity either to himselfe or any of his, were only for the seruice of God, his King and the Common Wealth, wholly bestowed & imployed. And he was oftentimes, in his latter dayes heard to say, That he neuer asked of the King, for himselfe, the value of one Penny.

His dayly custome was, if he were at home, besides his priuate prayers with his wife, children, and family, often to retyre alone, and exercise himselfe in priuate and godly deuotions: as also euery night before he went to bed, he vsed to go to his chapell with his whole Family aforesaid, & there vpon his knees deuoutly to say, certayne Letanyes, Psalmes & Collects with them.

And because he was alwayes desyrus of priuate Exercise, & that he might the better withdraw himselfe from worldly co[m]pany, he built himselfe a lodging a good distance from his Mansion house, called the *New Building*, wherein he placed a Chapell, Library, and a Gallery to walke, spending many dayes in the weeke in Prayer, and Study togeather. And allwayes on the Friday, he did vsually continue there fro[m] Morning vntill Night, bestowing his tyme only in meditation, reading, and such godly Exercises.

And the more to stir vp & encourage his wife, and children, to the desyre of heaue[n]ly things, he would oftentimes vse these speaches vnto the[m]: It is no maistry for you, my Children, to go to heauen; for euery body giueth you good counsell, and likewise many shew you good Examples. You see Vertue rewarded, and Vice punished; so that you are caryed vp to heauen, euen by the chynne: But if you liue to the tyme, that no man will giue you good counsell, nor shew you good example; when you shall see Vertue punished, and Vice rewarded; if then you will stand fast & sticke firmly vnto God; vpon payne of my life, though you be but halfe good, yet God will allow you for wholly good.

If his wife, children, or any of his Howshold, had beene sicke, or troubled at any tyme with any infirmity, he would say vnto the[m]: We may not looke at our pleasure to go to Heauen in featherbeds; it is not the way: for our Blessed Lord himselfe went thither with great payne, and by many Tribulations; and hard was the path-way wherein he so walked: Nor may the Seruant, looke to be in better case, then his Maister.

And as he would in this manner alwayes perswade them to take their paines and sicknes patiently, so would he in like forme teach them to withstand the diuell, & his temptations valiantly, saying: Whosoeuer shall mark well the diuell and his temptatio[n]s, shall find him therein much like vnto an Ape. For as an Ape not well looked vnto, will be busy, and bold to do shrewd turnes, and being espied will suddenly leape backe, and aduenture no further: so the diuell finding a man idle, sloathfull, and without resistance, ready to receiue his temptations, waxeth so hardy, that he will not sticke to continue still with him, vntill he hath wrought him througly to his purpose. But on the contrary side, if he see a man with diligence perseuere to preuent, and withstand his temptations, he waxeth so weary, that in the end he vtterly forsaketh him. For as the diuell by disposition is a spirit of so high a Pride, that he cannot abide to be mocked; so is he of nature so Enuious, that he feareth to assault a vertuous man, least he should thereby not only catch a foule fall himselfe, but also minister vnto the man, more matter of merit.

Thus he euer delighted, not only to busy himselfe in vertuous exercises, but also to exhort his wife, children, and howshold to embrace, and follow the same. To whome for his notable vertues, God shewed, as it seemed, a miraculous and manifest token of his loue, and fauour towards him, at such tyme, as his daughter *Roper* lay dangerously sicke of the sweating sicknes (as many others did that yeare) and continued in such extremity of that disease, that by no skill of Phisicke, or other art in such case, commonly vsed, (although she had diuers both expert and learned Phisicians continually attendant about her) she could be kept from sleeping, so that the Phisicians themselues vtterly despayred of her recouery, and quite gaue her ouer. Her Father *Syr Tho. More*, as one that most intierely loued and tendred her, being in great grieve and heauinesse, and seeing all humane helps to faile, determined to haue recourse to God by prayer for remedy. Whereupon going vp after his accustomed maner, into his aforesaid *New Building*, he there in his Chappell, vpon his knees with teares, most deuoutly besought

Almighty God, that it would please his diuine Goodnes, vnto whome nothing was impossible, if it were his blessed will, to vouchsafe graciously to heare his humble petitio[n]. And suddenly it came into his mynd, that a Glister might be the only way to help her; of which when he had told the Phisitians, they all instantly agreed, that if there were any hope of remedy, that was the most likeliest; and meruayled much, that themselues had not before remembred the same. Then was it instantly ministred vnto her sleeping, & after a while she awaked, and contrary to all their expectations immediately began to recouer, & in short tyme was wholly restored vnto her former health. Whome, if it had pleased God to haue taken away, at that time, her Father sayd, that he would neuer after haue medled with worldly businesse.

Now whilst *Syr Thomas More* was Chau[n]cellour of the Duchy of *Lancaster*, the Sea of *Rome* chaunced to be voyd, by the death of Pope Leo the X. which was the cause of much trouble; for that *Cardinall Wolsey* a man of a very high and ambitious spirit, aspiring vnto that sea & dignity, was therein crost and preuented by the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, who had commended the *Cardinall Adrian* (sometyme his Schoole-maister) vnto the Conclauue of Cardinalls in *Rome*, at the tyme of election, & so highly prayسد him for his Worth and Vertue, that he was thereupon chosen Pope. Who comming from *Spayne* (where he was then resident) to *Rome*, entred into the Citty towards his Pallace barefooted with such humility, that all the people had him in very great Reuerence.

Vpon this & other like occasions, *Card. Wolsey* enraged with anger, studied all the wayes he could deuise to be reuenged of the Emperour, which as it was the beginning of a most lametable Tragedy, so some part thereof, not impertinent to my present purpose, I haue thought fit heere to insert.

The *Cardinall*, not ignorant of King *Henries* inconstant & mutable disposition, vsed all meanes to auert his Maiesty, from his wife Queene *Katherine*, the Emperours Aunt, well knowing he would easily inclyne to that motion vpon any sleight occasion. And so meaning to make the Kings flexible Nature, the instrument to bring about his vngodly purpose, he deuised to allure his Maiesty (who was already, contrary to the *Cardinals* mynd, and knowledge, fallen in loue with the Lady *Anne Bullen*) to affect the *French Kings* Sister. Which thing, because of the wars, and hatred that was there betweene the *French King*, and the Emperour (whome the *Cardinall* now mortally hated) he very earnestly indeauoured to procure. And for the better furthering this his purpose, he requested one *Langland*, Bishop of *Lincolne*, and Ghostly Father to K. Henry, to put a scruple into the K. head; that it was not lawfull for him to mary his Brothers wife, which thing the King (not sory to heare of) related first to *Syr Thomas More*, & required his counsell therein, and with all shewd him some places of Scripture which seemed somewhat to serue his purpose. *Syr Thomas More* perusing the said places, hereupon (as one that had neuer professed Diuinity) excused himselfe vnto his Maiesty, and said, he was farre vnfit to meddle with such affaires.

The King not satisfied with this answeare, pressed and vrged him the more; which he perceauing said vnto his Maiesty: that forasmuch as such a busines required good aduise and deliberation, he besought his Highnes to giue him sufficient respite to co[n]sider aduisedly of the same. Wherwith the King well contented, replied, That *Tonstall* & *Clark*, Bishops of *Durhan* & *Bath*, with others learned of his priuy Cou[n]sell should also be dealers therin.

So *Syr Thomas More* departed, and conferred those places of Scripture with the Expositions of diuers of the ancient Fathers, and Doctours of the Church, and at his comming to Court & talking with the King of the aforesaid matter, he said: To be playne with your Grace, neither my Lord of *Durham*, nor my Lord of *Bath*, though I hold them to be both learned, vertuous, & holy Prelates, nor my selfe, with any other of your Counsell (being all your Maiesties owne seruants, & so greatly bound vnto you for your manifold

enefits dayly bestowed vpon vs) be in my iudgment fit Counsellors for your Grace herein. But if your Maisty desyre to vnderstand the Truth, such Counsellors may be found, as neither for respect of worldly commodity, nor for feare of your Princely authority, will any way be drawne to deceiue you. And then he named vnto the King *S. Hierome, S. Augustine* and diuers others auncient Fathers & Doctors of the Church, both Greeke an[d] Latin; and further shewed his Maiesty, what authority he had gathered forth of them: of which although the King (as not fitting to his purpose) did not very well like; yet were they by *Syr Thomas More* so wisely alleaged, and so tempred with discretion, that the King at that tyme, tooke it in good part, and had oftentimes conference with him againe, about the same matter.

After this there were certayne questions propounded to the Kings Counsell whether in this case the King needed to haue any scruple at all: and if he had, what was the best way to free him of it? The greater part of the Counsell were of opinion, that there was good cause of scruple, and that for his Maiesties discharge therin, it was fit suite should be made vnto the Sea of *Rome*, where the King thought that by his liberality, he might with ease obtayne his purpose.

The[n] was there procured from *Rome* a commission for the tryall of this Mariage, wherein *Cardinall Campegius*, and *Cardinal Wolsey* were ioyned commissioners, who for the determination therof, sate at the *Blacke-Fryers* in London, where a Libell was put in, for the annulling of the said Matrimony, affirming the Mariage betweene the King and Queene to be vnlawfull. Then againe, for prooffe therof to be lawfull, there was produced a dispensation, in which (after diuers disputations thereupo[n] holden) there appeared an imperfection; which notwithstanding by an other instrument, or brief found out vpon search, in the Treasury of *Spayne*, & sent ouer to the commissioners in *Engla[n]d*, was supplied; & so should iudgme[n]t haue ben giuen by the Pope accordingly, had not the King vpon intelligence therof before the same Iudgment, appealed to a Generall Cou[n]cell. After whose Appellation, the Cardinalls sate no more vpon that businesse.

It happened, before the said matter of Mariage brought in Question, that *M. Roper* being one day in discourse with *Syr Tho. More*, did with a kind of ioy, congratulate with his said Father, for the happy Estate of the Realme that had so Catholique a Prince, as no Heretique durst shew his face, so vertuous and learned a Clergy, so graue and sound a Nobility, and so louing and obedient Subiects, all in one fayth agreeing together. Troth, it is so indeed, Sonne *Roper* (quoth he:) and then commended all degrees and estates of the same, far beyond *M. Roper*. And yet Sonne *Roper* (quoth he) I pray God, that some of vs (as high as we seeme to sit vpon the Mountaynes, treading Heretiques vnder our feete like Ants) liue not to see the day, when we gladly would wish to be in league and composition with those whom you call Heretiques, & to let them haue their Churches quietly to themselues, vpon co[n]dition, that they would be content to let vs haue ours, quietly to our selues.

Then *M. Roper* produced many reasons to the contrary & saw no cause why any should say so. Well, well, Sonne *Roper* (quoth he) I pray God some of vs liue not till that day, and said no more. To whome *M. Roper* replied, By my troth Syr, this is desperatly spoken, seeming to be halfe angry with *Syr Thomas More*: who perceiuing the same, said merrily vnto him: Well, well, So[n]ne *Roper*, It shall not be then, since you will not haue it so. Thus was he of so excellent a temper, that those who liued, & were co[n]tinually co[n]uersant with him in his house, for the space of twenty yeares and vpwardes, could neuer perceiue him to be once moued, or to make the least shew of anger.

But to returne agayne where I left. After the supplying of the dispensation, sent vnto the commissioners into *England*, as is before rehearsed, the King taking the businesse to himselfe, as not then mynding to proceed any further in the matter, assigned the bishop of *Durham* and *Syr Thomas More* to go Embassadors to *Cambray* (a place neither Imperiall, nor French) to treat a Peace betweene the

Emperour, the Fre[n]ch King, & himselfe; in the concluding wherof *Syr Tho. More* so worthily managed the busines, that he procured therby much more benefit for the Kingdome, then was at that tyme by the King and his Cou[n]sell thought possible could be co[m]passed. For whose good seruice in that Embassy, the King (when he after made him Lord Chauncellour) caused the Duke of *Norfolke*, to declare openly to the people, how much all *England* was bounden vnto him, as you shall see heerafter more at large.

Now vpon the co[m]ming home of the Bishop of *Durham*, and *Syr Thomas More* from *Cambray* aforsayd, the King began to renew agayne his old suite, and was very earnest in persuading *Syr Thomas More* to agree vnto the matter of his marriage, vsing all the wayes, and meanes he could devise to draw him to his part, and as it was thought did the rather for that end soone after create him Lord Chauncellour of England. And the King said further vnto him, that although at his going to *Cambray*, he was in vtter despaire to obtaine dispensation thereof; yet now he had conceiued some good hope to co[m]passe the same; alleaging, that albeit his Marriage, as being agaynst the positieue Law of the Church, & the written Law of God, was holpen by the dispensation; yet is here another thing found out of late (quoth the King) wherby his Marriage appeareth so directly agaynst the law of Nature, that it can in no wise, by the Church be dispensable, as Doctor *Stokesly* (whome he had then preferred to the Bishopricke of *London*) can well instruct you, with whome, vpon this point, I would haue you to confer.

So they conferred together. But for all the Conference, *Syr Thomas More* could not be induced to change his opinion therein: Yet notwithstanding did the Bishop in his Report of him to the King affirme falsely, that he found *Syr Thomas More*, in the Kings cause, very forward, as being desirous to find some good matter, wherewith he might serue the Kings contentment, in that case.

Now, this Bishop *Stokesley*, hauing a litle before, byn by *Cardinal Wolsey* openly rebuked in the S[t] arre-chamber, & awarded to the *Fleete*, he not well brooking this contumelious vsage; and knowing that forasmuch as the Cardinall, for his backwardnes in pursuing the Kings diourse, was falling out of his Highnes fauour; and that he had now espied a fit opportunity to reuenge his quarell agaynst him; at last preuayled so far, that the Cardinall was soone after displaced from his office of high Chancellorship, and the same was conferred vpon *Syr Thomas More*, hoping therby so to win him to his syde, that he would yield his consent for the matter of diourse.

Then was *Syr Thomas More* betweene the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Norfolke*, brought through *Westminster* Hall, to his place in the Chancery, and the Duke of *Norfolke* in the audience of all the people there assembled, shewed, that he was from the King himselfe straitley charged by speciall commission, to publish there openly in the presence of them all, how much all *England* was beholding to *Syr Thomas More*, for his good seruice: and how worthily he deserued the highest roome in the Kingdome; and further how deere his Maiesty loued & trusted him; wherein (quoth the Duke) he hath great cause to reioyce, & prayse Almighty God.

Whereunto *Syr Thomas More* (amongst diuers other wise and learned speches) made answere and replied, that allthough he had good cause to take comfort of his Highnes singular fauour towards him, to whome therefore he acknowledged himselfe most deeply bounden; yet neuerthelesse he must for his owne part needes confesse, that in all those things, by the Duks Grace here alleaged, he had done nothing, but what was his duty. And furthermore said, That he was very vnfit for that dignity, wherein (considering how wise and worthy a Prelate, had lately before taken so great a fall) he said he had no great cause to reioyce. And as they had before in the Kings behalfe, charged him to minister Iustice vprightly & indiffere[n]tly to the people, without corruption or affection: so did he likewise charge them agayne, that if they saw him, at any time to digresse, in the least thing, touching any part of his duty, in

that honourable Office, euen as they would discharge their owne duty and fidelity to God and the King, they would not fayle to declare the same to his Maiesty; who otherwise, might haue iust cause to lay the whole fault vpon them, and to their charge.

Now, when he was Lord Chauncellour, on a tyme being at leasure (as seldome he was) a Sonne in law of his, who had marryed one of his daughters, spake merrily vnto him saying: When Cardinall *Wolsey* was Lord Chancellour, not onely diuers of his priuy Cha[m]ber, but such also as were but his very door-keepers got much proffit: and now sith I haue maryed one of your daughters, and giue my dayly attendance vpon you, I thinke I might of reason looke for somthing, but you spoyle all markets, Syr, because you be so redy your selfe to heare euery man, aswell poore as rich, & besides you keepe no doores shut agaynst them, which is to me no small hinderance and discouragem[n]t; whereas otherwise some for friendshippe, some for kyndred, but most for profit, would be glad to haue my furtherance to bring them to your presence. And now as the case stands, if I should take any thing of them, I know I should do them much wrong, for that they may do as much for themselues, as I am able to do for the[m]. Which thing though it be in you very commendable, yet to me your Sonne I find it nothing profitable.

You say well, Sonne (quoth *Syr Thomas More*) I do not mind like that you are so scrupulous of conscience, for there be many other wayes, whein I may both do you good, and pleasure your friend also; for sometyme may I by my word stand your friend instead, and sometime I may by my letters help him or if he haue a cause depending before me, at your request I may heare him before another; or if his cause be not altogether of the best, yet may I moue the partyes to fall to some reasonable end, or compound by arbitrement: Howbeit this one thing, Sonne, I assure thee; on my Fayth, that if the parties will at my hands call for iustice, then if it were my Father that stood on the the one side, and the Diuell on the other side, his cause being good, the Diuell surely should haue right.

So offered he to his Sonne as much fauour as he thought he could in reason require. And that he would for no respect digresse neuer so litle fro[m] iustice, did plainely appeare by another of his Sonns in-law, one *M. Giles Heron*, who had a sorry suite depending before him in the Cha[n]cery, yet presuming much vpon his Fathers fauour, would in no wayes be perswaded by him to come to an indifferent compostio[n] with his aduersary; wherevpon in triall of the matter, *Syr Thomas More* pronounced sentence agaynst him.

He vsed euery afternoone to sit in his open Hall, to the end, that whosoeuer had any suit vnto him, they might the more boulder come to his presence, and there to open theyr Complayints before him. Also his manner was, to read euery Bill himselfe, before he would grant any *Sub pœna*, and hauing read it, he would either set his hand vnto it, or else cancell it.

Whensoeuer he passed throgth Westminster Hall, to his place in Chancery, by the Court of Kings Be[n]ch, if his Father (one of the iudges therof) had bin there set before he came, he would go into the same Court, & there most reuerently vpon his knees before the whole Assembly, aske his Father blessing. As likewise, if his Father and he chanced to meet at the Lecture in *L Lincolnes Inne* (as oftentimes they did) yet, notwithstanding his high place & Office, would he offer in Argument, the preheminance vnto his Father; nor would himselfe accept thereof, vntill his Father had refused it.

And for further declaration of his naturall affection, & loue towards his Father, when he lay sicke vpon his death bed, he did not only (according to his duty) oftentimes come and visit him, with all manner of comfort, but also at his departure out of the world, he tooke him about the Necke, kissed, & imbraced him, commending his soule into mercyfull hands of Almighty God, and so departed.

Whilest he was Lord Chancellour, he graunted but few Iniunctions; yet were they by some of the Iudges of the Law misliked, which *M. Roper* vnderstanding, declared the same vnto *Syr Thomas More*,

who answered, that they should haue litle cause to find fault with him therfore. Whereupon he caused one *M. Crooke*, chiefe of the six Clarkes to make a Docket conteyning the whole number and causes of all such Iniunctions, as either in his tyme had already passed, or at the present depended in any of the Kings Courts at Westminster before him; which done, he one day inuited all the Iudges to dinner with him in the Counsell Cha[m]ber at Westminster, and after dynner, when he had broken with them, what co[m]playnts he had heard of his Iniunctions, & moreouer had shewed them the number and causes of euery one in order, truly & playnely, they were all inforced to confesse, that themselues in like cases could haue done no otherwise. Then made he this offer vnto them, That if the Iudges of euery Court (vnto whome the reformation of the rigour of the Law, by reason of their Office most especially appertayned) would vpon reasonable considerations in their owne discretions (as he thought they were bound to do in conscience) mitigate, and reforme the rigour of the law themselues, there should from thenceforth be no more Iniunctions graunted out by him. Whereunto when they refused to condescend, then said he vnto them: For asmuch as your selues (my Lordes) force me to that necessity, of granting out Iniunctions, for reliefe of the peoples iniuries, you cannot hereafter any more iustly blame me.

After that, he spake priuatly to *M. Roper* saying: I perceiue why they liked not to do so, for they see that they may by the verdict of the Iury, cast all quarrels vpon those whome they account their cheife defence; and therefore am I compelled, to abide the aduerture of all such Reports.

Now in the tyme of his Chancellourshippe, although he had but litle leasure to busy himselfe in the study of holy Scriptures and Controuersies in Religion, with other such like Exercises, being in a manner continually imployed about the affaires of the King and Kingdome; yet did he take many watchfull paines in setting forth diuers profitable workes, in the defence of Christian Religion, agaynst Heresies, that then were blowne abroad. In so much that the Bishops, to whose Pastorall care that Reformation chiefly belo[n]ged, seeing themselues, by his trauell (wherein by their owne confession, they were not any way able to compare with him) in great part discharged of their dutyes in that behalfe; & considering, that for all the Princes fauor, & his great Office he was no rich man, nor had in yearly reuenues adua[n]ced himselfe as his worthynes deserued, therefore at a Conuocation, holden amongst themselues, and others of the Clergy, they agreed to recompence him with a summe of fiue thousand pounds, for the paynes taken in their behalfe.

To the payment whereof euery Bishop, Abbot, and others of the Clergy, according to the rates of their abiltyes, became liberall Contributaries; hoping that this their liberality would giue him good content. Wherevpon Bishop *Tonstall* of *Durham*, Bishop *Clarke* of *Bath*, & *D. Voysey* Bishop of *Exceter* repayed vnto *Syr Tho. More*, declaring how thankfully, to their discharge in Gods cause, they reckoned themselues vnto him; and albeit they could, not according to his deserts, so worthily requite his labours, & therefore must refer the same to Gods gracious goodnesse: yet for a small gratuity, in respect of his Estate so vnequall to his Worth, in the Name of their whole Conuocation, they presented vnto him the forsaid Summe, desiring him to accept of it in good part. But *Syr Thomas More* refusing this their tender, said vnto them: That, as it was no small comfort vnto him that so wise and learned men accepted of his weake labours, for which he neuer intended to receiue any other reward, but at the hands of God, to whome alone all the thankes therof were chiefly to be ascribed: So gaue he most humble thankes vnto all their Honours, for their so friendly and honourable consideration, and earnestly intreated them to returne euery man his money agayne.

Wherefore when after much pressing him to accept therof, & cold not preuaile, they besought him, that they might bestow it vpon his Wife, and Children. Not so my Lords (quoth he,) I had rather see it cast into the Thames, than either I, or any of myne should haue the value of one penny therof. For, my

Lordes, though your offer indeed be very fayre and friendly, yet set I so much by my pleasure, & so little by my profit, that I would not, in good fayth, for so much, and much more, to haue lost so many a good nights sleepe, as I spent vpon the same. And yet I would wish, for all that, vpon conditio[n] that Heresies were suppressed, that all my Bookes were burned & my labour lost. Thus departed they from him, and were driuen to returne euery man his owne money agayne.

This Lord Chancellour, although he was well knowne, both to God and the world to be a man of most eminent Vertue, though not so considered of euery man; yet for the auoyding of singularity would he appeare to the ey of the world no otherwise then other men, as well in his apparell, as behaiour. And albeit he appeared outwardly Honourable, like to one of his Dignity & Calling, yet inwardly did he esteeme all such things for meere vanity: for next to his naked body he wore almost co[n]tinually a shirt of hayre; the w^{ch} a young Gentlewoman, named *M.^{rs} More*, by chance on[e] day espying as he sat in his doublet & hose at dynner in the so[m]mer tyme, and seemed to smile therat, his daughter *Roper* perceiuing the same (being not ignorant of this his austerity) gaue him priuate notice therof, and he did presently amend the fault, seeming withall sorry, that she had seene it. He also wore another playne course shirt without ruffe or collar, vpon his shirt of hayre; And many tymes he likewise punished his body with whips, made of knotted cordes; the which thing was only knowne to his daughter *Roper*, who for her secrecy, aboue all the rest he especially trusted, for that as need required she did alwayes wash & mend his shirt of hayre, which he would not discouer vnto any other whatsoever.

Now, in this meane space, whilst he was Lord Cha[n]cellour of *England*, the King did one day greatly moue him, & desire him, well to weigh and consider of his great matter, concerning his diuorce. *Syr Thomas More* falling vpon his knees, most humbly besought his Maiesty to stand still his gracious Souerainge, as euer since his entry into his Royall Seruice, he had found him; and said, that there was nothing in the world more grieuous to his hart, then that he was not able with the losse of one of his lymbes, to find any thing for that matter, wherby he might with safe conscience serue his Maiesties turne. And that he had alwayes borne in mynd the most Godly wordes, that his Highnesse spake vnto him, at his first comming into his Royall seruice (the most vertuous Lesson, that euer Prince taught a Subject) to wit, that he should first looke vnto God, & after God, vnto his King: as in good fayth (said he) I haue most sincerely done, or els might your Grace accompt me a most vnworthy seruant.

To this the King replyed; that if he could not therein with his conscience serue him, he was well content to accept of his seruice otherwise, and vse the aduice of some others of his priuy Counsell, whose consciences would agree well inough therewith, nor would he neuerthelesse disco[n]tinue his gracious fauour towards him, nor trouble his conscience any further with that matter, for the tyme forward.

But *Syr Thomas More* perceiued by little and little, that the King fully determined to proceede in his Marriage with *Queene Anne*, when he, with the Bishoppes and Nobles of the Higher House of Parliament, were for the furtherance of that matter, co[m]manded by the King to go vnto the Commons of the lower House, & shew vnto them, what the Vniuersities aswell of other parts beyond the seas, as of *Oxford*, and *Cambridge* had done in that behalfe, testifying the same with their seales and subscriptions. All which things (at the Kinges request, not shewing of what mynd he was therein himselfe) he opened to the Lower House of Parliament.

Neverthelesse doubting greatly, lest further inconueniences might follow, into [which] (contrary to his conscience) by reason of his Office, he was likely to befall, he made humble suite to the Duke of *Norfolke* (his singular deare friend) to be a meanes vnto the King, that he might, with his Graces fauour,

be discharged from his Office of Chancellourship; in which for certayne infirmityes of his body, he pretended himselfe not able any longer to serue.

This good Duke of *Norfolke* comming on a time to *Chelsey* to dyne with *Syr Thomas More*, found him in the Church, singing in the Quier, with a Surplisse on his backe: to whome (after Masse was done) as they went towards his house, together arme in arme, the Duke said: Gods body, Gods body, my Lord Chauncellour, what turned Parish Clarke? You dishonor the King and his Office very much. Nay (quoth *Syr Thomas More* smyling vpon the Duke) your Grace may not thinke, that the king your maister and myne, wilbe offended with me for seruing God his Maister, or therby accompt his Seruice any way dishonoured.

Now, when the Duke (at the speciall intreaty and importunate suite of *Syr Thomas More*, had obtained of the King, that he should be discharged of his Chancellourship, at a conuenient tyme appointed by the King, he repayred vnto the Court, to yield vp the great Seale, which his Maiesty receaued of him, with prayse, and thanks for his good seruice done to his person and the Realme in that Office. And he further sayd vnto him in a gracious manner, that if in any suite he should heerafter haue vnto him, that either concerned his Honour (for that word it pleased the King to vse vnto him,) or appertayned to his profit, he should euer find his Highnes, a very good, and gracious Lord.

After he had thus resigned the Office, and Dignity of the Chancellourship, and placed all his Gentlemen & Yomen with Bishops and Noble men, and his eight Watermen with the Lord *Audley* (who succeeded him in his Office) to whome also he gaue his great Barge; he then called al his children vnto him, & asked their aduises how he might now in the decay of his ability, which by the surrender of his Office was so impayred, that he could not, as he was wont, maintayne them to liue al together according to his desyre; wherat when he saw them all silent, & vnwilling in that case to shew their opinions vnto him: Why then will I (quoth he) shew vnto you my poore mynd.

I haue been brought vp, (said he) at *Oxford*, at an I[n]ne of *Chancery*, at *Lincolnes Inne*, and also in the Kings Courtes, and so forth, from the lowest degree to the highest; and yet I haue in yearly Reuenues, left me at this present, little aboue a hundred poundes by the yeare. So that now, we must hereafter if we will liue together, be content to become Contributours to ech other; but by my counsell it shall not be best for vs, to fall to the lowest fare first. We will not therefore descend to *Oxford* fare, nor the fare of *New Inne*; but we will begin with *Lincolnes Inne* dyet, where many right Worshipfull of good yeares do liue full well; which if we find not our selues the first yeare able to mayntayne, then will we the next yeare go one steppe downe to *New-Inne* fare, wherewith, many an honest man is well contented. Then, if that exceed our abilityes, will we the next yeare after descend to *Oxford* fare, where many graue, learned, & ancient Doctours be continually resident; which if our powers be not able to mayntayne neyther, then may we yet with bagges and wallets go a begging together, hoping that for pittie some good people will giue vs their Charity, at their doore, to sing *Salue Regina*, and so still may we keepe company together, and be as merry as Beggars.

And whereas you haue heard before, that he was by the King, taken from a very good liuing, and aduanced to his Maiesties seruice, wherein he spent with paynfull cares and trauels, aswell beyond the Seas, as within the Kingdome, in a manner the whole substance of his life: yet with all the gayne that he got thereby (being neuer wastfull spender) he was scarce able, after the Resignation of his office of Chancellourship, for the maintaynance of himselfe, and such as necessarily belonged vnto him, sufficiently to find meate drinke, apparell, and other such necessaryes; all the land which he euer purchased (which he had also, before he was Lord Chancellour) not amounting to aboue the value of Twenty markes a yeare. And after his debts payd, he had not (his Chayne only excepted) in gold and

siluer, left him the worth of one hundred pounds.

In the tyme of his Chancellourship, vpon the Sundayes and Holy daies, when Masse, or Eue[n]songe were ended, one of of his Gentlemen did vsually go to his Ladyes Pew in the Church, & say vnto her: Madame, my Lord is gone. The next Sunday after the surrender of his Office, & departure of his Gentlemen, he went vnto his Ladyes pew himselfe, and with his Cap in hand, he made her low Courtesy, saying vnto her; Madame, *My Lord is gone.*

In the tyme, before his troubles, he would talke with his Wife and Children of the ioyes of heauen, & the paynes of hell & of the liues of the Holy Martyrs, of their grieuous Martyrdomes, of their meruailous Patience, and of their sufferings & deathes, & that they died most willingly rather the[n] they would offe [n]d God: also what a happy & blessed thing it was for the loue of God to suffer losse of goods, imprisonment, losse of life, and landes. Moreouer he would further say vnto them, That vpon his Fayth, if he could but perceiue, that his wife & Children would encourage him to dye in a good cause, it would be such a comfort vnto him, that for very ioy therof he would run merrily to his death. By this discourse, and other such like, he gaue them feeling what troubles might afterwarde chance to happen vnto him, wherby he had so farre encouraged them before the tyme, that afterwarde when they happened vnto him indeed, they seemed a great deale the lesse.

Now after the Resignation of his Office, there came vnto him to *Chelsey, M. Thomas Cromwell* (then in the Kings his fauour) with a message from his Maiesty, about which when they had co[n]ferred together priuatly; *M. Cromwell* (quoth *Syr Thomas More*) you are now newly entred into the seruice of a most Royall, Wise, & liberall Prince, and if you follow my poore aduise, you shall in your Counsell-giuing, euer tell him what he ought to do, but neuer what he is able to do. So shall you shew your selfe a true and faythfull seruant, & a right worthy Cou[n]sellour: for if a Lyon knew his owne strength, it were hard for any man to rule him.

Within a short tyme after [t]his, there was a Commission graunted forth and directed to *M. Cranmer* (then Archbishop of Canterbury) to determyne the matter of the Mariage between the King, & Queene *Katharine*, at *S. Albans*. Where at last, it was fully determyed and concluded, according to the Kings desire: and then began he to co[m]playne, that since he could haue no Iustice at the Popes handes, he would therfore from thenceforth separate himselfe from the Sea of *Rome*, and thereupon he presently married the Lady *Anne Bullen*.

Which, when *Syr Tho. More* vnderstood, he sayd to *M. Roper*, God graunt, God graunt, Sonne *Roper*, that these matters within a while, be not confirmed by Oath.

About this tyme, Queene *Anne* was to passe through *London* fro[m] the Tower to Westminster, to her Coronation, & some few dayes before, *Syr Thomas More* receiued a letter fro[m] the Bishops of *Durham, Bath & Winchester* requesting him, both to keep them company from the Tower to *Westminster* to the said Coronation, and withall to accept of Twenty Poundes, which by the Bearer thereof they had sent vnto him to buy him a gowne; which he thankfully receiued, but yet went not, staying still at home vntill the Coronation was past. At his next meeting with the said Bishops, he spake merrily vnto them, saying My Lordes, by the letter which you sent lately vnto me, you required of me two things, one wherof since I was well contented to graunt, therefore I thought I might be the boulder to deny you the other: and also, because I tooke you for no Beggars, and my selfe I know to be no rich man, I thought I might the rather accept of your liberality with the more honesty. But indeed your other Request put me in mynd of a certayne Emperour (I haue now forgotten his name) that made a law, that whosoeuer co[m]mitted a certayne offe[n]ce (which I do not now neyther remember,) should suffer death, by being deuoured of wild beastes, except it were a Virgin that offended against the same, such reuerence did he

beare vnto Virginitie. Now, it so fell out, that the first who committed the offence, was indeed a Virgin, wherof the Emperour hearing, was much perplexed because for the example of others, he would fayne haue had that Law put in execution. Whereupon his Counsell had sate, and long debated the case, suddenly there arose vp one amongst the rest a good playne fellow, and said, Why make you so much ado about this businesse, my Lordes? The matter seemes to me but small, and easy to be decided: For let her first be deflowered, and then afterwarde she may be deuoured.

And so my Honourable good Lords, though your Lordships haue in the matter of marriage hitherto kept your selues pure Virgins, yet take yee good heed you keepe your Virginitie still. For there be some, who first by procuring your Lordships to be present at the Coronation, will next be egging you on, to preach for the setting of it forth, and finally compell you to publish Bookes vnto all the world in defence therof. These are they that be desirous to defloure you, and then when they haue defloured you, they will not fayle, soone after to deuoure you. Now my Lordes, it lyeth not in my power, but that they may deuoure me; but God being still my good Lord, I will so prouide, that they shall neuer defloure me.

And had he not byn one indeed, who in all his actions, and most great affairs as well for the king as the realme during many years, was euer free fro[m] all corruption, by doing wrong, or taking bribes; it would without doubt in this so troublesome a tyme, of the Kings displeasure agaynst him, haue bene deeply layd to his charge, therby to haue found any the least hole in his coate. But he alwayes kept himselfe so cleare, euen of suspition of any such thing, that no man was once able therwith to blemish him; although the same was shrewdly many times attempted, specially in the case of one *Parnell*, against whome *Syr Thomas More* whilst he was Lord Chancellour, in the suite of one *Vaugham* (*Parnells* aduer[s]ary) had passed a sentence or decree, by way of Iustice.

Whereupon *Parnell* made a most grieuous complaynt vnto the King, that *Syr Thomas More* had, for passing of the foresaid decree, taken from the said *Vaughan*, vnable for the Gowte to trauell abroad himselfe) by the handes of his wife, a fayre great gilded cup for a bribe. Vpon this accusation *Syr Thomas More* was by the Kings appointment, called before the whole body of the Counseil, where this matter was heynously laid to his charge. He forthwith confessed, that for asmuch as that cup was lo[n]g after the passing of a foresaid decree, brought vnto him for a new yeares gift, he at the Gentlewoma[n]s importune pressing it vpon him, of courtesy refused not to receiue it.

Then the Earle of *Wiltshire*, *Syr Thomas Bullen*, Father to Queene *Anne*, a very great enemy to *Syr Thomas More*, and chiefe complayner of this busines agaynst him to the King, with much reioycing said vnto the Lords there present: Loe, did I not tell you, my Lordes, that you should find this matter true?

Whereupon when *Syr Thomas More* had stood silent a while, smyling vpon the Lord of *Wiltshire*, he at length earnestly desired their Lordships, that as they had courteously heard him tell the one part of his Tale, so they would be pleased to vouchsafe him the indifferent hearing of the other.

Then he further declared vnto their Honours, That albeit indeed, he had with much intreaty receyued the cup, yet immediatly thereupon he caused his Butler to fill it with wyne, and of that cup he dranke vnto her, and she pledged him. Then as freely as her husband had giuen it vnto him, euen so, freely gaue he the same backe agayne to her, to giue vnto her husband for his New-yeares gift, which at his request (though much agaynst her will) she receyued agayne; as herself and diuers others there present, were deposed before them. So was this great Mountayne, was turned presently into Molehill.

So likewise at another time, vpon a New yeares day, there came vnto *Syr Thomas More* one *M.^{rs} Croker* a rich widdow, for whome with no small paynes, he had passed a Decree in the Chauncery, agaynst the Lord *Arundell*, to present him with a payre of gloues, and fourty pou[n]ds in Angells within them, for a New yeares gift. Of whom he thankfully receiuing the Gloues, but refusing the money, said

vnto her: Mistresse, since it were agaynst good manners to refuse a Gentlewomans New-yeares gift, I am content to take your Gloues, but for your Money I vtterly refuse it; & much against her mynd, he restored her the Gold backe agayne.

Another tyme also one *M.^{rs} Gresham* hauing a cause depending before him in the Chauncery, sent him for a New yeares gift a fayre Gilded cup: The fashon whereof he very well liking, caused one of his owne cups (though not to his mynd of so good a fashon, yet much better in value) to be brought forth of his Chamber, which he willed the Messenger in recompence to redeliuer vnto his Mistresse, for with other condition he would in no wise receiue it.

Now when the King plainly saw, that he could not by any meanes wyn *Syr Thomas More* to his syde, he went about by terror, and threates to inforce him thereunto; the beginning wherof, was occasioned in this manner. There was a certayne Nunne dwelling in *Canterbury*, commonly called *The holy Mayd of Kent*, who for the exterior shew of her Vertue, and Holinesse, grew into great esteeme amongst the common People first, and then amongst others and for that cause many Religious persons, many Doctors of Diuinity, and diuers others of very great accompt of the Lady vsed to resort vnto her. This holy woman affirmed, to haue had a Reuelation from heauen, to giue the King warning of his wicked life, and of the abuse of the Sword and Authority committed vnto him by God; and vnderstanding, the Bishop of *Rochester*, Doctor *Fisher*, to be a man of notable vertuous life & great learning, she repayed to *Rochester*, and there disclosed to him her sayd Reuelation, desiring his aduice and counsell therein; which the Bishop well perceiuing might stand with the lawes of God, and holy Church, aduised her (as she intended,[]) and had warning to do, to go vnto the King herselfe, and declare vnto him, all the circumstances therof. Whereupon she went, and told vnto his Maiesty her said Reuelation, and so returned home to *Canterbury*.

Within a short tyme after, this so said Holy Nunne, made a iorny to the Monastery of *Sion* situated vpo [n] the *Thames*, a litle aboue *London*, & by meanes of one *M. Reynolds*, a Father of the same house, visited the Religious therof. At which tyme it happened *Syr Thomas More* to be at *Sion* visiting some of his acquaintance there, & talking with the Nunne about some of her Reuelations, especially that which did concerne the Kings Supremacy and Marriage: which (he sayd) he might freely and safely do, without any daunger of the law, by reason the same was then neither established by Oath (as he himselfe had lo [n]g before prognosticated, neuerthesse in all the discourse, and passages of speach which he had with the said Nunne (as it afterward appeared) he had carried himselfe so discreetly, that he rather deserued co [m]mendatio[n]s, the[n] blame.

At the Parlament following, there was a bill put vp for the attaynting of the forsaid Nunne of *Canterbury*, & of some other Monasticall persons, of High Treason: as also Bishop *Fisher* of *Rochester*, *Syr Thomas More*, and diuers others, of Misprision of Treason. With which the King verily thought *Syr Thomas More* would be so terrified, that it would inforce him to relent, & co[n]descend to his purpose; wherin, as it seemed, his Grace was much mistaken.

To this Bill, *Syr Thomas More* was suiter to be receiued personally to make answere for himselfe in his owne defence. But the King not liking that, assigned the Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Cha[n]cellour, the Duke of *Norfolke*, and *M. Cromwell* at a day, and place appoynted, to call *Syr Thomas More* before them. At which tyme *M. Roper* thinking his Father had now fit opportunity, aduised him to labour these Lords for the help of his discharge, forth of the Parlament Bill, who answered *M. Roper*, that he would.

At his coming before the Lordes, according to theyr appoyntment, they intertayned him very

friendly, and willed him to sit downe with them, which in no wise he would. The[n] began the Lord Chancellour to declare vnto him, how many wayes the King had shewed his loue and fauour towards him; how gladly he would haue had him continue in his Office; and how willing he would haue ben to haue heaped more Benefits vpon him; how he could aske no worldly Honour, or Profit at the Kings handes, that was likely to be denyed him; hoping by this declaration of the Kings fauours towards him, to induce him to fauour his Highnes busines of the mariage. And lastly he requested his consent vnto no more, but what the Parliament, the Bishops, and Vniuersityes had allready admitted, and confirmed.

To this *Syr Thomas More* mildly made answere, saying; There is no man liuing, my Lordes that would with better will, do the thing that might be acceptable to the Kings Highnes then my selfe, who needes must co[n]fesse his manifold goodnesse, and bountifull benefits, most benignly bestowed vpon me: Howbeit I verily thought, that I should neuer haue heard more of this matter, considering, that from time to time, euen from the first beginning heerof I haue declared my mind playnly & truly to his Maiesty, which his Highnes euer seemed to me, like a most gracious Prince, very well to accept, neuer mynding (as he said) to molest me further therewith. Since which tyme I could neuer find further matter, that was able to moue me to any other change; which if I could, there is not a man in all the wor[l]d that would haue beene more glad therof, then my selfe.

Many thinges more, of like sort, were heere vttered on both sides: and in the end when they saw they could not by any manner of persuasion, remoue him from his former determination; then they began to touch him more neerely, telling him, that the Kings Maiesty had giuen them in commandeme[n]t, if they could by no gentle meanes wyn him, to charge him in his Name with great Ingratitude, & that there was neuer found seruant to his Soueraigne so vngrateful, nor subiect to his Prince so trayterous as he: for that by his subtile & sinister sleights he had most vnnaturally vrged, & procured his Maiesty to set forth a Booke, *Of the Assertion of the seauen Sacraments*, and mayntaynance of the Popes Authority, and therby caused him, to his great dishonour throughout Christendome, to put a sword into the Popes handes, to fight agaynst himselfe.

Now when they had thus laid forth these, and all other such like terrours &, threates which they cold imagine agaynst him; My Lordes quoth he, these be but Bugbeares, only to affright Children, and not me. But to answere that, wherewith you do chiefly accuse me, I beleaue that the Kings Highnes, out of his Honour, will neuer lay any such thing to my charge, for there is no man in the world, that can in that poynt, say more in my excuse, then his Maiesty himselfe who knoweth right well, that I neuer was his procurer, or Counsellour therevnto, but after it was finished by his Highnes appoyntment, and consent of the makers therof, I only was made vse of, as a setter out, or a placer of some principall matters therein containd; wherein, when I found the Popes Authority so highly aduanced, and with so strong Arguments mightily defended, I said vnto his Grace: I must put your Highnes in reme[m]brance of one thing, and that is this, The Pope as your Highnes well knoweth is a Prince as you are, & in league with all other Christian Princes, it may hereafter so fall out, that your Highnes and he may vary vpon some poynts of league, whereupon may grow breach of amity, yea and warrs betwixt you; I thinke it therefore best that, that place be amended, & his Authority more aduisedly touched. Nay (quoth the King) that shall it not, for we are so much bound to the Sea of *Rome*, that we cannot do to much honour thereunto. The[n] did I further put his Maiesty in remembrance of the Statute of *Præmunire*, wherby a great part of the Popes Prouisions, were pared away. To that his Maiesty answered, that what soeuer impediment were to the contrary, yet should his Authority be set forth to the vttermost: for (quoth he) we receiued fro[m] that Sea, this our Crowne Imperiall; of which thing vntill his Grace told me with his own mouth I neuer heard before. So that I trust when his Maiesty shalbe once truly informed of this, and call to

remembrance my plaine and honest dealing therein, his Grace will neuer speake of it more, but rather quite cleare me thereof himselfe. Thus ended the Assembly for that tyme, & the Lords somewhat displeasantly departed.

Then tooke *Syr Thomas More* his boat homwards to his house at *Chelsey*, together with *M. Roberts*, and by the way was very pleasant. Which *M. Roper* seeing, was very glad therof, hoping that he had gotten himselfe discharged out of the Parliament bill. When he was landed, and come home to his house, they went into his Garden, and there walked together a good while. Now *M. Roper* being very desirous to know how he had sped, said: I trust *Syr*, all [is] well, because you are so merry. It is so indeed sonne *Roper* (quoth he) I thanke our Lord God. Are you then put out of the Parliament bill *Syr* (quoth *M. Roper*?) By my troth sonne *Roper* (quoth he,) I neuer remembred it. Neuer remembred it, *Syr*, (quoth *M. Roper*) a matter that toucheth your selfe so neere, & all vs for your sake. Truly, *Syr*, I am very sorry to heare it, for I verily hoped, when I saw you so merry, that all had ben well. Well, well Sonne *Roper* (quoth he) wilt thou know why I was so merry indeed? That would I gladly *Syr*, said *M. Roper*. In good Fayth, Sonne *Roper*, I reioyced that I had giuen the Deuill a foule fall, and that with these Lordes, I had gone so farre, as without great shame I could not go backe agayne. At which wordes *M. Roper* waxed sad, and then they went both in.

Now, vpon the report made by the Lord Chancellour, and the other Lords, to the King of their former discourse, and proceedings with *Syr Thomas More*, the King was so highly offeneded with him, that he playnly told them, he was fully purposed that the aforesaid Parliament-Bill shold proceed forth agaynst him. To whome the Lord Cha[n]cellour, and the rest of the Lordes said, they perceiued the vpper House so precisely bent to heare him spake for himselfe & to make answere in his owne defence, that if her were not put out of the bill, it would without fayle be reiected of all. But for all this, the King would needes haue his owne will therein, or else (quoth he) at the passing therof, I will my selfe be personally present. Then did the Lord Chancellour, and the rest (seeing him so vehemently bent therein) vpon their knees, beseech his Grace in most humble wise, to forbear the same, considering, that if he should in his owne presence receiue an ouerthrow, it would not only encourage his Subiects euer after to contemne him; but also throughout all Christendome, redound to his great dishonour. Adding thereunto, that they doubted not in tyme, to find some other matter against him, which might serue his Maiesties purpose far better; for in this former busines, especially that of the Nunne, he is accompted (quoth they) so innocent and cleare, that he is iudged of most men, rather worthy of praise, then reprehension. Whereupon at length, through their earnest perswasions the King was contented to yield himselfe to their counsell.

On the Morrow after, *M. Cromwell* meeting with *M. Roper* in the Parliament house, willed him to tell his Father, that he was put out of the Parliament Bill; which newes *M. Roper* sent home immediatly to his wife, willing her to make the same knowne unto her Father. Whereof when he heard: In good fayth *Megge* (quoth he) *Quod differtur, non aufertur*. After this it happened that the Duke of *Norfolke* & *Syr Tho. More* met together, and falling into familiar talke, the Duke said unto him; By the Masse *M. More*, it is perilous striuing with Princes, & therefore I would wish you somewhat to inclyne to the Kings pleasure: For by Gods body, *M. More*, *Indignatio Principis Mors est*. Is that all my Lord, (quoth he?) Then in good Fayth, there is no more difference betweene your Grace and me, but that I may die to day, & you to morrow.

In this Parliament was a statute made for the Oath of Supremacy, and lawfulness of the Kings Mariage; and within a while after all the Priests of Lo[n]don, and Westminster, & with them *Syr Thomas More* only, & no lay man besides, were cited to appeare at *Lambeth*, before the Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellour, and Secretary *Cromwell*, Commissioners, appoynted there to tender the Oath vnto them.

Vpon this strange citation *Syr Tho. More*, as his accustomed ma[n]ner euer was, alwayes before he entred into any busines of importance (as when he was first chosen of the Kings priuy Cou[n]cell, when he was sent *Embassador*, appoynted Speaker of the Parlament-House, created lord Chancellour, or when he tooke any weighty matter vpon him) prepared himselfe to Confession, heard Masse, and was housled, in the Morning, the selfe same day that he was to appeare before the Lordes at *Lambeth*.

And as he vsed often at other tymes of his departure from his wife and Children (whome he tenderly loued) to haue them bring him to his boate, & there to kisse them all, and bid them farewell; at this tyme he would not suffer any of them to follow him further than his gate, where with a heauy hart (as by his countenance appeared) he tooke his leaue of them, & with *M. Roper* and foure seruants entred into his boate, towards *Lambeth*: wherein sitting still sadly for a while, at last he rounded *M. Roper* in the eare, & said: Sonne *Roper*, I thanke our Lord God, the field is won[n]e. What he ment by that, they did not well vnderstand, yet loath to seeme ignorant, *M. Roper* said; *Syr*, I am very glad thereof. And as they after coniectured, it was for that the loue he had to God, wrought in him so effectually, that it vtterly conquered all his carnall affections.

At his comming to *Lambeth*, he behaued himselfe so discreetly before the Commissioners, at the ministration of the forsaid Oath, (as may be seene at large in certayne Letters of his sent to *M.^{rs}Roper*, extant in a printed volume of his works) as they had litle, or nothing to lay vnto his charge; yet durst they not, as it seemed, dismisse him, but com[m]itted him to the custody of the Abbot of *Westminster* for 4. or 5. dayes; during [which] tyme the King consulted with his Counsell, what order were best to be taken with him. And albeit in the beginning, it was resolued that he should vpo[n] his oath be discharged; yet did Queene *Anne*, through her importunate clamours, so farre preuaile with the King against him, that contrary to the Commissioners expectation, he was committed to the Tower.

Now, as he was conducted thitherward by water, wearing a chayne of gold about his Necke, *M. Richard Cromwell*, who had the charge of conueying him to prison, aduised him to send home his Chayne to his wife, or to some of his Childre[n]. Nay (quoth he) that will I not, for if I were taken in the field by myne enemy, I would he should fare somewhat the better for me. At his landing at the Tower gate, *M. Lietenant* was ready there to receiue him, where the Gentleman Porter demanded of him his vpper garme[n]t. Why heere it is (quoth he) & presently tooke off his Cap, and deliuered it vnto him, saying; I am very sorry *M. Porter*, that it is no better for you. Nay (quoth the Porter) I must haue your Gowne *Syr*. O I cry you mercy, good *M. Porter*, for now indeed I remember, that my Cappe is not my vpper garme[n]t, but only the thatch of my poore old Tenement.

So then was he by *M. Lieutenant* conueyed to his Lodging, where he called vnto him one *Iohn Wood* his owne seruant, appoynted there to attend him, who could neither write nor reade, and swore him before the Lieutenant, that if he should heare or see at any time, his Maister write, or speake any manner of thing agaynst the King, Councell, or State of the land, he should reueale it to the Lieutena[n]t, that the Lieutena[n]t might make the same knowne to the Counsell.

After he had remayned in the Tower about a moneth, his daughter *Roper* (hauing greatly desired to see her Father) made earnest suite, & got leaue to visit him: at whose co[m]ming (after the saying of the seauen Psalmes & Letanyes, which he was euer accustomed to say with her) before they fell into discourse of any other matter, among other speaches he said vnto her: I belieue *Megge*, that they who haue put me heere, thinke they haue done me a great displeasure: But I assure thee on my fayth (myne owne good daughter) if it had not ben for my wife & you my Children, whom I acco[m]pt the chiefe part of my charge, I would not haue failed long ere now, to haue inclosed my selfe in a straiter roome than this. But since I am come hither, without myne owne desert, I trust that God of his goodnes will

disburden me of my care, and with his gracious help supply my want amongst you. And I find no cause (I thanke God *Megge*) to reckon my selfe in worse case heere, then in myne owne house. For me thinkes in this case, God maketh me euen a wanton, setting me vpon his knee, and dandling me.

Thus by his patient suffering, and cheerfull demeanour in all his tribulations and disasters, it plainly appeared, that nothing seemed painfull vnto him, but rather a profitable Exercise, for the good of his soule. Then whe[n] he had questioned a while with his daughter about his wife[,] Children, and household state in his absence, he asked her how Queene *Anne* did? Neuer better Father (quoth she.) Neuer better *Megge* (quoth he:) Alas, alas, it pittieith me to remember into what misery (poore Soule) she will shortly come.

After this, M. Lieutenant co[m]ming one [day to] his chamber to visit him, & recou[n]ting the many courtesies, and benefits that he had heertofore receiued at his hands, and therefore how much the more bound he was to entertayne him friendly, & make him good chere, which the case standing as it did, he could not (as he would) do, without the Kings displeasure & therefore hoped he would accept of his good will and of such poore cheere as he had. Maister Lieutenant (quoth *Syr Thomas More*) now verily I belieue, all you haue said to be true, for which I do most hartily thanke you. And assure your selfe, M[.] Lieutenant, when you see me mislike my cheere, then thrust me out of your doores, as a very vnthankfull Guest.

Now wheras the Oath aboue mentioned made to confirme the K^g. Supremacy & mariage, was co[m]prised in very few wordes, the Lord Chauncellour & Secretary *Cromwell* did of their owne heads, adde more words vnto it, to make it appeare of more force, and to sound better in the Kings eare: which Oath so amplified, they had caused to be ministred to *Syr Thomas More*, & to al others throughout the Kingdome. The which *Syr Thomas More* perceiuing said one day to his daughter *Roper*: I may tell thee *Megge*, they that committed me hither for refusing the Oath, not agreable to the Statute, are not by their own law able to iustify my impriso[n]ment. And surely Daughter, it is great pittie, that any Christia[n] Prince should, by so flexible a Counsell ready to follow his affections, & by so weake a Clergy wanting grace to stand constantly to their Religion, with flattery be so grossely abused. But at length the Lord Chancellour, & M. Secretary espying their owne ouersight in that behalfe, were glad afterwards to find a meanes that another Statute should be made for the confirmation of the sayd Oath so amplified, with theyr additions.

And wheras *Syr Thomas More* had made a conueyance for the disposing of his la[n]des, reseruing onely vnto himself, an estate for terme of life, and after his decease some part therof to his wife & children, & other some to his Sonne *Ropers* wife, for a ioynture, in consideration she was an Inheritresse in possessio[n] of more then a hundred pounds by the yeare: And likewise other some to *M. Roper* & his wife in recompence of their mariage money, with diuers remaynders ouer and besides: All which co[n]ueyances and assurances, being made and finished longe before any matter (wherof he was attaynted) could be made an offence: yet by Statute were they now al clearly auoyded, and all the lands that he had in such sort assured vpon his wife and children by the sayd co[n]ueya[n]ces (co[n]trary to order of the lawes) taken from them, and forfayted into the Kings handes, except only that portion which he had assured vpo[n] *M. Roper* & his wife, by reaso[n] that after the first conueya[n]ce, which was reserued to himselfe for the terme of his life, he had, vpon further consideration, within two dayes after, by another conueyance giuen the same immediatly to *M. Roper* and his wife, in present possession. So as the Statute had only auoyded the first conueyance, forfeiting no more vnto the King the[n] had byn passed therin; and the second conueyance passed to *M. Roper* and his wife (being dated two daies after) falling

without the compasse of the law, was adiudged good, and valide.

Syr Thomas More being now prisoner in the Tower, and one day looking forth at his window, saw a Father of *Syon* (named *M. Reynolds*) and three monkes of the Charterhouse, going out of the Tower to execution, for that they had refused the Oath of Supremacy: wherupo[n], he languishing [as] it were with desyre to beare them company sayd vnto his daughter *Roper* then present: Looke *Megge*, doest thou not see that these blessed Fathers be now going as cherefully to their deathes, as Bridegromes to their marriages? By which thou mayst see (myne owne dere daughter) what a great difference there is betweene such as haue spent all their dayes in a religiious, hard, and penitentiall life, and such as haue, in this world, like wretches (as thy poore Father heere hath done) consume all their tyme in pleasure and ease. For which God, out of his gracious Goodness wil no lo[n]ger suffer them to remayne heere in this vale of misery and iniquity, but wil speedily translate them he[n]ce into the fruitio[n] of his euerlasting Deity. Whereas thy sily Father, *Megge*, who like a most wicked caytiffe hath passed the whole course of his miserable life most sinfully, God thinking him not worthy to attayne so soone thereunto, leaueth here him in the world, to be further tryed, plunged [and] turmoyled in misery.

Within a while after, *M. Secretary* came to him from the King, and pretending much friendship towards him said, that the Kings Highnes was his good and gracious Lord, not mynding any matter thenceforward, wherein he should haue cause of scruple to trouble his conscience. As soone as *M. Secretary* was departed to expresse what comforte he receiued of his speaches, he tooke a coale (for pen & inke then he had none) & wrote these lynes following.

*Eye-flattering Fortune, looke thou n'ere so fayre,
Nor n'ere soe pleasantly, begin to smyle,
As though thou wouldst my ruines all repayre;
During my life thou shalt not me beguile.
Trust I shall, God, to enter in a while
Thy Heauen of Heauens, sure and vniforme.
Euer after a calme, looke I for a storme.*

Now *Syr Thomas More*, had continued almost six weekes in the Tower, before the Lady his wife could obteyne licence to visit him. Who at her first comming to him (like a good simple worldly woman) bluntly saluted him in this manner: What a good-eare *M. More*, I meruaile that you who haue ben alwayes hitherto taken for so wise a man, will now so play the foole to ly here in this close filthy prison, and be content to be thus shut vp amongst mice and rats, when you might be abroad at your liberty, with the fauour and good will both of the King and his Counsell, if you would but do as all the Bishops, & best learned of the Realme haue done? And since you haue at *Chelsey* a right fayre house, your Library, your Bookes, your Garden, your Orchard, & all other necessaryes ha[n]dsome about you; where also you might, in the co[m]pany of me your wife, Children and houshold be merry; I muse what a Gods Name you meane thus fo[n]dly to tarry here?

After he had a while quietly heard her, with a cheerefull cou[n]tenance he said vnto her. I pray thee good *M^{rs} Alice* tell me one thinge. What is that, quoth she? Is not this house as neere Heauen as myne owne? whereto after her accustomed homely fashion not liking such speaches she answered: *Tille-valle, Tille-valle*. How say you *M^{rs} Alice*, is it not so (quoth he?) *Bone Deus, bone Deus*, man, will your old Tricks neuer be left (quoth she againe?) Well then *M^{rs} Alice*, said he, if it be so, it is very well; for I see no great cause, why I should ioy much either in my gay house, or in any thing belonging thereunto, when as if I should but liue seauen yeares vnder ground, and then rise againe and come thither, I should not

faile to find some dwelling therein, that would bid me get out of doores, & tell me it were none of myne. What cause then haue I to loue such a house, as would so soone forget his old Maister? So as her perswasions moued him nothing at all.

Not lo[n]g after this there came vnto him, the Lord Chancellour, the Dukes of *Norfolke*, and *Suffolke*, with Maister Secretary, and diuers of the priuy Counsell, at two seuerall tymes, who vsed all possible policy to procure him either precisely to Co[n]fesse the Supremacy, or directly to deny it. Whereunto (as appeareth by the booke of his Examinations) they could neuer bring him, or iustly taxe him for the contrary.

Shortly heereupon, one *M. Rich* (created afterwarde Lord *Rich*) that then was newly made the Kings Sollocitour, *Syr Richard Southwell*, & one *M. Palmer* seruant to the Secretary; were sent vnto *Syr Thomas More* vnder colour of fetching his Bookes away from him. And whilst *Syr Richard Southwell*, and *M. Palmer* were busy in packing them vp, *M. Rich* pretending friendly discourse with him, amongst other things (of set purpose as it seemed) said thus vnto him: For as much as it is well knowne *M. More*, that you are a man both wise, and well learned, as well in the lawes of the Realme, as otherwise, I pray you therefore, let me in courtesy, and good will be so bold to put you this case. Admit there were *Syr* an Act of Parliament, that all the Kingdome should take me for King, would not you then *M. More*, take me for King? Yes, marry, (quoth *Syr Thomas More*) that would I. Then I put case further (quoth *M. Rich*: Admit there were an Act of Parliament, that all the Realme should take me for Pope, would you not then *M. More* take me for Pope? For answeare (quoth *Syr Thomas More*) to your first case, the Parliament may well (*M. Rich*) meddle with the state of temporall Princes; but to make answeare to your later case: Suppose the Parliament would make a law, that God should not be God: would you *M. Rich*, then say, that God were not God? No *Syr* (quoth he) that would I not. No more (quoth *Syr Thomas More*) as *M. Rich* after reported of him, could the Parliament make the King supreme head of the Church. And so *M. Rich*, with the rest departed.

Now vpon the only report of this speach of *Syr Thomas More* was indited of Treason, vpon the Statute, whereby it was made Treason to deny the King to be Supreme head of the Church: unto which Inditement, were put these heynous words, *Maliciously*, *Traitrously*, and *Diabolically*. Whereupon presently after he was brought fro[m] the Tower to answeare the Inditement at the Kings Bench barre; & being there arraigned before the Iudges, he openly told the[m]; That he could be content to haue abiden the rigour of the law by this their inditement, but then he should be driuen to confesse falsely of himselfe the matter indeed, which was the denyall of the Kings Supremacy, and which he protested was most vntrue. Wherefore he pleaded therto not guilty, and so reserued vnto himselfe aduantage to be taken of the body of the matter, after verdict, to auoyd that Inditement. And moreouer he added; That if these only odious tearmes *Maliciously*, *Trayterously*, & *Diabolically* were left out of the Inditement, he saw nothing therin, wherwith iustly to charge him.

Then for prooffe alleaged vnto the Iury, that *Syr Thomas More* was guilty of this Treason, *M. Rich* was called forth, to giue euidence vpon his Oath, as he did against him. To whome, hauing sworne, *Syr Thomas More* spake in this wise: If this Oath of yours be true *M. Rich*, then I pray God, that I may neuer see him in the face in his Kingdome; which I would not say, were it otherwise, to gayne the whole world. Then recounted he to the Court, the whole discourse, of all their Conference, and putting of Cases in the Tower, according to the Truth. And turning to *M. Rich* he said: In good fayth *M. Rich*, I am more sory for your Periury then for myne owne perill. And besides, you shall vnderstand, that neither I, nor any man else to my knowledge, euer tooke you to be a man of such credit, as to communicate vnto you any matter of importance; and (you well know) I haue ben acquainted with you no small while, and haue

knowne you, & your Conuersation from your very youth; for we dwelled lo[n]g together in one Parish; where, as your selfe can tell best, (I am sory you compell me so to say) you were esteemed very light of your tongue, a great Dicer, and of no commendable Fame, or Name: Can it therefore seeme likely to your Lordships, that I would in so weighty a matter, so vnadvisedly ouershoot me self, as to trust *M. Rich* (a man reputed alwayes by me, and others for one of litle truth, as your Lordships haue heard) so farre, about my Soueraigne the King, or about any of his noble Counsellours, that I would vtter vnto him the secrets of my Conscience, touching the Kings Supremacy? The speciall poynt and only marke so long aymed at in all my actions? The thing which I neuer did, or euer wold offer to the Kings Maiesty himselfe? or to any of his Honourable Counsell, as it is not vnknowne vnto your Honours, who sundry tymes haue byn sent vnto me, into the Tower from his Highnes owne person, for no other purpose? Can this in your Iudgments, my Lords, seeme to stand with truth, in any likelihood? And yet if I had so laid indeed (my Lordes) as *M. Rich* hath falsly sworne, since it was spoken, as he sayth, in familiar talke, affirming nothing, and only in putting of cases, without other displeasent circumstances, it cannot iustly be taken to be spoken *Maliciously*, and where there is no *Malice*, there can be no *Offence*.

And besides this (my Lordes,) I can neuer thinke, that so many worthy Bishops, so many honourable Personages, and so many other worshipfull, wise and well learned men, as were assembled at the making of that Law in the Parlament, euer meant to haue any man punished by death, in whome there could be found no *Malice*: for if *Malice* be taken for *Sinne* generally, then there is no man that can excuse himselfe therof: *Si Dixerimus, quód peccatum non habemus &c.* And as for the terme *Maliciously*, it is not in this Statute to be taken for *Materiall*; as in like case you know the terme *Forcible*, is meant in *Forcible Entry*; by which Statute if a man enter *patiently*, and put not his Aduersary out *forcibly*, it is no offence: but if he put him out *forcibly*, by that Statute it is an Offence, and so shalbe punished by this terme *forcible*.

Moreouer (my Lords) the manifold goodnes of the Kings Highnes himselfe, who hath ben so many wayes my singular good Lord, & gracious soueraygne, who hath alwaies deerly affected me, and euen at my first coming vnto his Royal seruice, aduan[n]ced me to the dignity of his Honourable priuy Counsell, vouchsafing to admit me afterward to Offices of great credit and Honour, and lastly, to exalt me to that weighty roome of his Maiestyes high Chauncellour, (the like whereof he neuer did to any temporal man his subiect before) next to his owne Royal person the highest Office in this noble kingdome, so farre about my merit or desert, and this for the space of about twenty years together, shewing his continuall fauour towards me, vntill at myne owne poore suite (giuing me his gracious licence to bestow the litle residue of my life, in the seruice of God, for the good of my soule) it pleased his highnes of his especiall goodnes, to discharge and disburden me therof: now all this his highnes fauour (I say) thus bou[n]tifully extended, & so long continued towards me considered, as it ought, in my mind is sufficient to co[n]vince this slaunderous surmise of *M. Rich*, so wrongfully sworne agaynst me.

When *Syr Thomas More* had thus spoken, *M. Rich* seing himselfe so disproued, and his credit so foully disgraced, caused *Sir Richard Southwell*, & *M. Palmer* (who were also present at the time of their Conference in his Chamber) to be sworne, what wordes had passed betwixt the[m]. Whereupon *M. Palmer* vpon his deposition said; That he was so busy, in putting vp *Syr Thomas Mores* Bookes into a sacke, that he tooke no heed of their speaches. *Sir Richard Southwell* likewise vpon his deposition said; That because he was only appoynted to looke vnto the conueya[n]ce of his Bookes, he gaue no great eare vnto what they sayd.

After this, many other reasons & arguments were alleadged by *Syr Thomas More*, in defence of his owne Innocency, & to the discredit of *M. Rich*, in the forsaid point; Notwithstanding all which, the Iury

found him guilty, and immediatly vpon their verdict, the Lord Chauncellour (for that businesse there chiefe commissioner) beginning to pceed to Iudgment against him, *Syr Tho. More* said vnto him.

My Lord, when I my selfe was towardses the Law, the ma[n]ner in such cases was, to aske the Prisoner before sentence of Co[n]demnatio[n], why Iudgme[n]t should not be giue[n] agaynst him? Whervpon the Lord Cha[n]cellour staying the sentence (wherein he had partly begun to proceed) demaunded of him, What he was able to say for himselfe, to the contrary? Then *Syr Tho. More*, in this sort, most humbly made answeare.

For asmuch as, my Lordes, (quoth he) this Iudgment is grounded vpon an Act of Parlament directly repugna[n]t to the lawes of God & his holy Church the supreme gouernement of which, or any part thereof, no temporall Prince may presume by any temporall law, to take vpon him, as rightfully belonging to the Sea of *Rome*: a spirituall preheminance conferred, and granted, by the mouth of our Sauour himselfe, being personally present vpon the Earth, only vnto *S. Peter* the Apostle, and his lawfull Successors, Bishops of the same Sea by special prerogatiue; It is not therefore sufficient inough for one Christian Catholike man to charge, and conuince another Christian Catholike man, & say, that this Realme of *England* (being but a member, & a small part only of the Church of Christ) hath power and authority to make a particular law, disagreeable to the generall law of Christs Vniuersall Catholique Church; no more then the City of *London*, being but one poore member in respect of the whole Kingdome, might make a law agaynst an Act of Parlament, to bind the whole Realme. And further he shewed, that it was co[n]trary both to the ancient Lawes, & Statutes of our owne Realme not the[n] repealed, as they might well see in *Magna Carta; Quod Ecclesia libera sit, & habeat omnia iura integra, & libertates suas illæsas*; and contrary likewise to that sacred Oath, which the Kings Highnes himselfe, and euery other Christian Prince of this realme with great Solemnity, hath euer taken at their Coronation. Alleaging moreouer, that no more might this Realme of *England* refuse obedience to the Sea of *Rome*, then that the child might refuse Obedience to his naturall Father: for as *S. Paul* sayth of the *Corinthians*, *I haue regenerated you my Children in Christ*; so might holy *S. Gregory Pope of Rome*, of whome (by *S. Augustine* his messenger) we Englishmen first receiued the Christian fayth, truly say, *You are my Children, because I haue giuen you euerlasting saluation* (a farre, and better, & more noble Inheritance, then any carnall Father can leaue to his Children) & *by regeneration made you my Children in Christ*.

To this speach of *Syr Thomas More* the Lord Chancellor answered; That seeing all the Bishops, vniuersities, & best learned of the Realme, had to this Act of Parlament agreed, it was very greatly to be admired, that he alone, agaynst them all, would so stifly sticke, and argue so vehemently against it.

To this *Syr Thomas More* againe replied, saying: If the nu[m]ber of Bishops and Vniuersities be so materiall, as your Lordship seemeth to take it; then I see little cause, my Lord, why that thing should make any change at all in my Co[n]science. For I nothing doubt (though not in this Realme, yet in Christendome round about, the nu[m]ber of learned men and Bishops to be farre greater, who will defend and maintayne the contrary; and therefore am I not bou[n]den to conforme my co[n]science to the Councill of one Kingdome, against the generall Cou[n]cell of Christendome.

Now, when *Syr Thomas More* for the auoyding of the Inditement had taken as many exceptions as he thought fit, the Lord Chauncellour loath to haue the burden of that Iudgment wholly to depend vpon himselfe there openly asked the aduise of the Lord *Fitz-James* (then Lord chiefe Iustice of the Kings Bench and ioyned in commission with him) whether this Inditement were sufficient or no. Who, like a discret man, answered: My Lordes, (quoth he) by *S. Iulian* (that was euer his oath) I must needs co[n]fesse, that if the Act of Parlament be not vnlawfull, then is not the Inditement in my conscience

insufficient. Whereupon the Lord Chancellour said to the rest of the Commissioners; Loe my Lordes, you all heare what my Lord chiefe Iustice sayth, & so immediatly he gaue Iudgment. Which being done the commissioners, yet further offered him curteously, all fauourable audience, if he would speake: who answered; I haue no more to say my Lords, but that, like as the Blessed Apostle *S. Paul* (as we read in the Acts of the Apostles) was present, and consented to the death of *S. Stephen*, & kept their clothes that stoned him to death, and are now both holy Saintes in heauen; so I verily trust, and shall right hartily pray, that though your Lordships haue now heere in earth byn Iudges to my Condemnation, yet may we hereafter meete all together in euerlasting glory.

After his condemnation he departed from the Barre towardses the Tower agayne, led by *Sir William Kingston* (a tall strong and comely knight) Constable of the Tower, & his very deere frie[n]d, who whe[n] he had brought him a part of the way towardses the Tower, with a heauy heart, the teares running downe his cheekes, bad him farwell. The which *Syr Thomas More* seeing, comforted him with as good words as he could, saying: Good M. *Kingston*, trouble not your selfe, but be of good cheere, for I will pray for you, and my good Lady your wife that we may meete together in Heaue[n], where we shalbe merry for euer and euer. And a little after *Syr William Kingstone* meeting with M. *Roper* said: In good fayth M. *Roper*, I was ashamed of my selfe that at my departure from your Father, I found my selfe so feeble, and he so strong, that he was able to co[m]fort me, who should rather haue comforted him.

As *Syr Tho. More* came neere vnto the Tower, his Daughter *Roper* desirous to see her Father once more before his death, and to receaue his last blessing, gaue attendance about the Tower-wharfe, where he was to passe, & so soone as she saw him, hastning vnto him, without respect of care of herselfe, pressed in among the throng of the Guard, that with halbarde went round about him, and there openly in the sight of all asking him blessing on her knees imbrac't him, tooke him about the necke, and kissed him. Who with a merry countenance, nothing at all dejected, gaue her his Fatherly blessing, with many Godly wordes of comfort, & the[n] departed.

So remayned he in the Tower more then eight dayes after his condemnation, from whence, the day before he suffered, he sent his shirt of hayre (not willing to haue it seene) to his said Daughter *Roper*, and a Letter written with a cole (printed in the aforesaid booke of his workes) expressing playnly the feruent desyre he had to suffer on the Morrow, in these wordes following: I comber you, good *Margaret* very much, but I wold be sorry if it should be any longer, then to Morrow; for to Morrow is *S. Thomas* of Canterbury his Eue, & therefore to Morrow long I to go to God; it were a day very meete, and conuenient for me. I neuer liked your manner better towardses me than when you last embraced me, and when daughterly loue, and deare charity, haue no leasure to looke towards wordly courtesy.

Vpon the Morrow, according as he wished, earely in the morning there came vnto him *Syr Thomas Pope*, his singular good friend, with a message from the King and Counsell, that he must before nine of the clocke, the same morning, suffer death, and he should forthwith prepare himself therto. M. *Pope* (quoth he) for your good tydings, I most hartily thanke you. I haue alwayes ben much bound to the Kings highnes, for the many benefits, and honours that he hath still from tyme to tyme most bountifully heaped vpon me; especially that it hath pleased his Maiesty, to put me here in this place, where I haue had conuenient tyme and leasure to remember my last End; and now most of all am I bound vnto his Grace, that I shall be shortly rid out of the miseries of this wretched life, & therefore will I not fayle to pray earnestly for his Grace, both heere & in the other world also.

The Kings pleasure is further (quoth *Syr Thomas Pope*) that at your execution you shall not vse many words. M. *Pope* (quoth he) you do well to giue me warning of the Kings pleasure, for otherwise I might haue offended his Maiesty agaynst my will. I had indeed purposed at that tyme, to haue spoken somewhat,

but of no matter of offe[n]ce to his Grace; neuertheles what soeuer I intended, I am ready to conforme my selfe obediently to his commandement. And I beseech you, good M. *Pope*, be a means vnto his Maiesty that my daughter *Margaret* may be at my Buriall. The King is contented already (quoth *Syr Thomas Pope*) that your wife, children, and other of your Friends haue libery to be present therat. O how much am I bound vnto his grace (quoth *Syr Thomas More*) that vouchsafeth to haue so gracious a consideration of my poore Buriall. Whereupo[n] *Syr Tho. Pope* taking his leaue cold not forbear weeping: which *Syr Tho. More* perceyuing, comforted him in this wise. Quiet your selfe good M. *Pope*, and be not discomforted, for I trust we shall one day se ech other in heaue[n], where we shal be sure to liue, and loue together in ioyfull blisse eternally.

Vpon *Syr Thomas Popes* departure, he changed himselfe into his best apparel, as one that had bin inuited to some sole[m]ne feast, which *M. Lieutenant* seing, aduised him to put it off, saying, that he that was to haue it, was but a Iauell. What *M. Lieutena[n]t* (quoth he) shall I accompt him a Iauell, that shall do me this day so singuler a benefit? Nay I assure you were it cloth of Gold, I would accompt it very well bestowed vpon him, as *S. Cyprian* did, who gaue to his Executioner, thirty peeces of Gold. Yet through the Lieutenants persuasions he altered his Apparell, and after the Exa[m]ple of the forsayd holy Martyr, he gaue that litle money he had left, to his Executioner, which was one Angell of Gold.

Then was he by *M. Lieutena[n]t* brought out of the Tower, & fro[m] thence led towards the place of Execution, vpon the Tower-hil, where going vp the Scaffold which was weake, & ready to fall, he said smilingly to *M. Lieutena[n]t*: I pray you, good *M. Lieutena[n]t* see me safe vp, & for my coming downe let me shift for my selfe. Then desired he all the people about him to pray for him, & to beare witness that he should now there suffer death in & for the fayth of the Holy Catholique Church. Which done he kneeled downe, and after his prayers sayd he turned to the Executioner, & with a chereful countenance spake thus merrily vnto him: Plucke vp thy spirits man, and be not afrayd to do thine Office: my necke is somewhat short, therefore take heed thou strikest not awry, for sauing of thine honesty: but if thou doest, vpon my word I wil not heerafter cast it in thy teeth. So, at one stroke of the Executioner, passed *Syr Thomas More* out of this world, to God, vpon the same day, which himselfe had most desired. 6. *Iulij*. 1535.

Soone after his death, intellige[n]ce therof came vnto the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, wherevpon he sent for *Syr Thomas Eliot*, then Embassadour there, & said vnto him: My Lord Embassadour, we vnderstand, that the King your Maister hath put his faythfull seruant, & graue Cou[n]sellour to death, *Syr Thomas More*. Whereunto *Syr Thomas Eliot* answered, that he had heard nothing thereof. Well (quoth the Emperour) it is too true, & this will I say, that if I had byn Maister of such a Seruant (of whose counsailes, and performance in State matters my selfe haue had these many yeares no small experience) I would rather haue lost the best Citty of my dominions the[n] such a worthy Counsellour. Which speach of the Emperour was afterward related by *Syr Thomas Eliot* vnto *M. William Roper*, & his wife, being with him at supper, in the presence of one *M. Clement*, *M. Heywood*, and their wiues.

FINIS.



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