

**A** god daughter, neuer trouble thy mind, for anye thyng that euer shall happe me in this worlde. Nothyng can come, but that that God wille. And I make me verpe sure, that what soeuer that bee, seme it neuer so badde in sight, it shall in dede be the best. And with thys my god chylde I pray you heartely, be you and all your sisters and my sonnes to, comfortable and seruisable to your god mother my wyfe. And of youre good houbandes mindes I haue no maner dout.

**B** Commende me to theym all, and to my god daughter Alington, and to all my other frendes, sisters, neces, nephewes, and alies, and vnto all our seruauntes, man, woman, and chylde, & all my god neyghbours and oure acquapntance a brode. And I right heartely, praye both you and them, to serue God, and be merry and reioyce in hym. And if any thing happe me that you would be lothe, pray to god for me, but trouble not your self: as I shall full heartely praye for vs all, that wec maye ineete together once in heauen, where we shall make merpe for euer, and neuer haue trouble after.

**A** letter wrytten and sente by syr T. More to maister doctoꝝ Nicholas Wylson (than both prysoners in the tower of London) in the yere of our lord. 1534. and in the. xxvi. yere of the raygne of kyng Henry the eyght.

**W**re Lorde be youre comfort. And wheras I perceue by sundry meanes, that you haue promised to sweare the othe, I beseeche our Lorde geue you theare of god lucke, I neuer gaue anye man counsell to the contrarpe in my dayes, noꝝ neuer vsed anye wayes to putte anye scruple in other folkes conscience concernyng the matter. And wheres as I perceyue that you woulde gladdely knowe what I entende to doe, you wotte well that I tolde you when wee were bothe a brode, that I woulde therein neyther knowe youre mynde noꝝ no mannes elles: noꝝ you noꝝ no man elles should therein knowe myne. For I woulde be no parte taker with no manne, noꝝ of trowth neuer I wyll: but leaupyng euerpe other man to theyꝝ own conscience, my self will with Goddes grace folowe myne owne. For agaynst myne owne to sweare, were perpl of my dampnaci

on. And what mine owne shall be to morowe, my selfe cannot be sure. And whither I shall haue finallye the grace to doe accordyng to myne owne conscience or not, hangeth in goddes godnes and not in myne, to whome I beseeche you heartely remember me in your deuoute prayers, and I shall and davely doe, remember you in myne, suche as they be. And as longe as my pooꝝe thort lyfe shall last, anye thyng that I haue youre part shall be therein.

**A**nother letter wrytten and sent by syr Thomas More to maister doctoꝝ Wylson (than bothe prysoners in h. to. w.) in the yere of our lord. 1534. and in the. xxvi. yere of the raygne of kyng Henry the eyght.

**G**od maister Wylson in my right heriy wyfe I recomend me to you. And very soꝝpe am I to see you, besyde the trouble that you be in by this imprisonment, with losse of libertie, goddes reuenues of youre lpyelode and counterte of your frendes companie, fallen also into suche agonye and beracion of mynde, thozowe doutes falling in your mynde, that dyuerse to and fro tolle and trouble youre conscience, to youre great heauines of heart, as I (to no little grieffe of myne own mynde for your sake) perceiue. And so muche am I for you god maister doctoꝝ the more soꝝpe, for that it lyeth not in me, to geue you suche kynde of comforte, as me semeth you somwhat desyre and loke for at my hande. For wheres as you woulde somwhat heare of my mind in your doutes, I am a manne at this daye verpe litle mete therfore. For this you knowe well god maister doctoꝝ, that at suche time as the matter came in suche maner in question, as myne opinion was asked therein amonge other, and yet you made prouise therunto before me, you remember wel that at that time you and I manye times talked together thereof. And by all the tyme after, in which I dyd at the kynges gracious commaundement both seeke out and reade, and common with ail suche as I knewe made prouise to the matter, to perceue what I might therein, by both h. sides, & by indifferent waying of euerpe thyng as nere as my pooꝝe wit & lerning wold serue me) to see to which side my conscience could incline, & as myne

As myne own mynd should geue me, so to make hys highnes report which way my selfe should hap to thinke therein: for other commaundement had I neuer of his grace in good fayth, sauing y<sup>e</sup> thys knot hys hyghnes added thereto, that I holde therein loke first vnto god, & after god vnto hym: which woord was also the fyrst lesse that hys grace gaue me what tyme I came fyrst into hys noble seruice, and neither a moze indifferent commaundement nor a moze gracious lesse, could ther in my mynde neuer kyng geue hys counsaillour or anye his other seruant: but (as I began to tell you) by all thys long tyme (I cannot now tell you howe many peres) of all those that I talked w<sup>th</sup> of the matter, & with who I most conferred those places of scripture, & of y<sup>e</sup> olde holpe doctours that touched eyther the tone syde or the tother, w<sup>th</sup> the counsailes & lawes that spake therof also, the mosse (as I trow you wot wel) was your self. For w<sup>th</sup> no man commauned I so much and so ofte therof as with you, both for your substantial lerning, & for your mature iudgement, & for that I well perceiued euer in you, that no man had or lightly could haue, a moze faythfull respect vnto the kinges honour and surety both of body & soule, than I euer sawe that you had. And yet among manye other thynges which I wel liked in you, one specially was, that I perceiued in the thyng that y<sup>e</sup> kinges grace did put you in trust with, your substantial secret maner. For whereas I had hearde (I wotte nere now of whom) that you had wrytten his highnes a boke of that mater fro Paris befoze, yet in all those peres of our long acquaintance, & often talking and reasoning vps<sup>o</sup> the thyng, I neuer herd you so muche as make once any mencion of that boke. But elles (except ther wer anye other thynges in that boke that you peradventure thought not on) I suppose that all that euer came to your mynd, y<sup>e</sup> mighte in the matter make for the tone syde or the tother, compysed either in y<sup>e</sup> scripture or in the olde auncient doctours, I verely thinke in my mynd that you did communicate with me, & I likewise with you. And at the leasewyse I remember well, that of these poyntes which now you call newly to your remembraunce, ther was none at that tyme so gotten. I remember well also, by our often conference in the matter, that by all the tyme in whiche I studied about it, you and I wer in euery poynt both twayne of one

opinion. And I remember well, that the lawes and counsailes, and the woordes of S. Austine *de ciuitate dei*, and the epistle of S. Ambrose *ad patremum*, and the epistle of S. Basile translated out of the greke, and the wryting of S. Gregoize, you & I read together: & ouer that the places of the scripture selfe, both in Leuiticus and in the Deuteronomy, & in the gospel, and in Saynt Pauls pylles: and ouer this in that other place of Saynte Austine that you remember nowe: and besyde that, other places of hys, wherin he properly toucheth the matter expressly, with the woordes of saynt Hierome & of S. Chrysostome too: & I cannot nowe remember of how many moe. But I verely thinke that on your part, and I am very sure that on my part (albeit that it had been peradventure ouer long to shew and reade with you euery mans boke that I reade by my self, whereto y<sup>e</sup> perities peradventure that, trusted me therewith, gaue me no leue to shew their bookes ferther, as you peradventure bled y<sup>e</sup> like maner with me) yet in god faith (as it was of reason my parte in that case to doe, you and I hauing both one commaundement indifferently to consider the matter) euerye thyng of scripture and of the doctours, I faithfully communed with you: and as I suppose verely so dyd you with me. So that of me god master doctour, though I hadde all the poyntes as rype in my minde nowe as I had then, and had still al the bokes about me that I had then, and wer as willyng to meddle in the matter as any man could be, yet could you nowe no new thyng heare of me, moze than you haue I wente ofte hearde befoze: nor I wente I of you neyther. But nowe standeth it with me far in other case. For after ward whē I had signified vnto y<sup>e</sup> kinges hyghnes myne own poze opinion in the matter (which his highnes verely graciously toke in god parte) and that I sawe ferther progresse in y<sup>e</sup> matter, wherin do his grace seruice to his pleasure I could not, and any thyng medle agaynst his pleasure I wold not, I determined with my self betterly to discharge my mynd of any further studyng or musyng on the matter. And thereupon I sent home agayne such boke as I had: sauing that some I burned by the consente of y<sup>e</sup> owner, that was minded as my self was, no moze to meddle of the matter. And therfoze nowe god master doctour, at this time I could not be sufficient & habile to reason those poyntes

A poyntes agayne, though I wer minded  
 therto, sith many thinges are out of my  
 mind, which I neither purpose to loke  
 for again, noz though I would, wer ne-  
 uer like to find again while I liue. We-  
 spdes this, al that euer I loked for, was  
 (you wot well) concerning two or thre  
 questions to be pondred & wayed by the  
 studye of scripture and the interpretoys  
 of the same, saue for somwha: that hath  
 ben touched in the same by the Canon  
 lawes of the church. But than wer ther  
 at that time in the matter ocher thinges  
 moe, diuers faultes found in the bull of  
 the dispensacion, by whiche the kynges  
 counsaile learned in the spirituall law,  
 reckoned the bull vicious, partly by rea-  
 son of vntreue suggestion, partly by rea-  
 son of suggestion vnsufficente. Howe  
 concerning those poyntes, I neuer me-  
 dled. For I neither vnderstand the doc-  
 toures of the lawe, noz well can turne  
 theyz booke. And manye thynges haue  
 ther synce in this great matter growen  
 in question, wherein I neither am suf-  
 ficiently learned in the law, noz full en-  
 fourmed of the fact. And therfore I am  
 not he, that either murmure or grudge,  
 make assertions, hold opinions, or kepe  
 despicions in þ matter: but like the kin-  
 ges true more humble subiect, dayly pray  
 for the preferaacion of hys grace, & the  
 quenes grace, & theyz noble issue, and of  
 all the realme, without harme doing or  
 entending (I thanke our lord) vnto any  
 man liuing. Finally as touching þ oth,  
 the causes for which I refused it, no mā  
 woteth what they be. For they be secret  
 in myne own consciēce, some other per-  
 aduenture, than those that other menne  
 woulde wene, & suche as I neuer disclo-  
 sed vnto any man yet, noz neuer intend  
 to doe whyle I liue. Finally as I sayde  
 vnto you, before the oth offered vnto vs,  
 when we met in London at aduenture,  
 I would be no part taker in the matter,  
 but for mine own selfe solo w mine own  
 consciēce, for which my selfe must make  
 aunswer vnto God, and shall leaue eue-  
 ry other man to hys owne, so say to you  
 I will, & I dare saye fether, that no more  
 neuer entended any of you neither. Ma-  
 ny thinges euery man learned wotteth  
 wel ther are, in which euerye man is at  
 libertie without peril of damnacion, to  
 thinke whiche waye him lyst, tyl þ tone  
 parte be determined for necessarpe to be  
 believed, by a general counsaile. And I  
 am not he that take vpō me to desyne or  
 determine, of what kynd or nature eue-

ry thing is, that the oth conteyneth: noz I  
 am so bolde or presumptuous, to blame  
 or dyspraise the consciēce of other mē,  
 their tracth noz their learning neither:  
 noz I meode of no man but of my selfe,  
 noz of no mannes consciēce elles will  
 I meode but of mine own. And in myne  
 owne consciēce (I crye God mercy) I  
 synde of myne own life matters inough  
 to thynke vppon. I haue liued me thyn-  
 keth a long lyfe, & nowe neither I loke  
 noz I long to liue much longer. I haue  
 synce I came in the tower, looked once  
 or twyle to haue geuen by my ghoost ere  
 thys: and in god sayth mine heart war-  
 ed the lighter with hope therof. Per for, I  
 get I not that I haue a long reckoning  
 and a great, to geue accounte of. But  
 I putte my trust in God, and in the me-  
 rites of his bitter passion, and I beseeche  
 hym geue me and kepe me the mynde, to  
 long to be oute of this woerde and to be  
 with him. For I can neuer but truste,  
 that whoso long to be with hym, shall be  
 welcome to him. And on the tother side  
 my minde geueth me verely, that any þ  
 euer shall come to him, shall ful heartely  
 wish to be id him, ere euer he shall come  
 at him. And I beseech him heartely to set  
 your heart at sath rest & quyet, as may  
 be to his pleasure & eternal weale of your  
 soule, & so I verely trust that he shortlye  
 shall, and that also if it be hys pleasure,  
 incline the kinges noble heart to be gra-  
 cious & fauorable to you & me both, sith  
 we be both twayn of true faithful mind  
 vnto him, whither we be in thys matter  
 of one mind both, or of diuers. *Sicut diuisio-  
 nes aquarum, ita cor regis in manu domini, quocunq;  
 voluerit inclinabit illud.* And if the pleasure of  
 God be, of any of vs bothe other twyle to  
 dispose, I nede to geue you no counsaile  
 noz aduice. But for my selfe, I most hu-  
 blye beseeche hym, to geue me the grace  
 in such wyle patiently to conforme my  
 mynde vnto his hygh pleasure therein,  
 that after the troubeious storme of this  
 my tempestuous tyme, his great mercy  
 maye conducte me into the sure haupn  
 of the blisseful ioye of heauen, and after  
 at his fether pleasure (if I haue anyal  
 myne enemies to. For there shall we  
 loue together well inough: and I thank  
 our lord for my parte, so doe I here too.  
 We not angrpe now though I pray not  
 like for you. You be sure inough I wold  
 my frends shold fare no worse thā they,  
 noz yet they so helpe me god no woode  
 than my selfe. For our lordes sake good  
 maister Wilson pray for me, for I pray  
 for

**A** for you daylye, and sometyme when I would be soze but if I thoughte you were a slepe. Coumfozt your selfe good maister doctoure, with remembryng of Goddes great mercye, and the kynges accustomed godnes. And by my trouthe I thinke that all hys graces counsaile fauoureth you in their heartes. I cannot iudge in my mynde anye one of the so euill, as to be of the mynde, that you should doe other wyse than well. And for conclusion in God is all. *Spes non confundit.* I pray you pardon my scribeling, for I cannot all thynge so well endure to wyte as I might sometyme. And I praye you when ye see tyme conuenient at your pleasure, send me this rude bill agayne *Quia quamquam nihil inest mihi, tamen propter ministrum nolim rescire.*

**A** letter wrytten & sent by maistres Margaret Koper, to her father syr T. Poze than hette by in close pylson in the tower, wrytten in the yere of our lord god. 1534. & in the. xxvi. yere of the raygn of kyng Henrye the eyght, aunsweryng to a letter which her father had sent vnto her.

**C** **M**ine owne moste entierlye beloued father, I thynke my self neuer hable to geue you sufficiente thanks, for the inestimable coumfozte my pooze hearte receiued in the readyng of youre moste louynge and godlye letter, representing to me, the cleare thynnyng bygghenesse of youre soule, the pure temple of the holy spirite of God, which I doubt not shall perpetualy rest in you and you in hym. Father, if all the woylde hadde bee geuen to me, as I be saued it hadde bene a small pleasure, in comparisson of the pleasure I conceiued of the treasure of youre letter, whiche though it were wrytten with a cole, is woortye in myne opinton to be wrytten in letters of goide. Father, what moued them to shytte you hye agayne, we can nothyng heare. But surelye I coniecture that when they considered that you wer of so temperate mind, that you were contented to abyde there; all your lyfe with suche libertie, they thought it wer neuer possible to enclpne you to theyr will, excepte it were by rest rayning you from the church, and the compaignie of my good mother youre deare wyse and vs youre chyldezen and bedesfolke. But father this chaunce was not straunge to you, for I shall not sozgeat

howe you tolde vs when we were with you in the gardeyne, that these thinges wer like ynoughe to chaunce you shortlye after. Father I haue manye tymes rehearsed to myne owne coumfozt and dpuers others, your fashyon and woordes ye hadde to vs when we were laste with you: for which I trust by the grace of god to be the better while I liue, and when I am departed oute of this scaple lyfe, which I praye God I maye passe & ende in his true obedient; seruice, after the wholesome counsaile and fruitfull example of liuing I haue had (good father) of you, whom I pray god geue me grace to folowe: which I shall the better thozow the assistaunce of your deuoute prayers, & speciall praye of my scapitie. Father I am soze I haue no lenger layre at this time to talke with you, the chief comfozt of my life, I trust to haue occasion to wryte again shortly. I trust I haue your daily prayer & blessing.

Your most louing obedient daughter and bedeswoma Margaret Koper, which daily & howelye is bounde to pray for you, for whom she prayeth in this wise, that our lord of his infinite mercye geue you of hys heuely comfozt, & so to assist you with hys speciall grace, that ye neuer in anything declpne from hys blessed will, but liue and dye his true obedient seruaunt. Amen.

A letter wrytten and sent by syr Thomas Poze, to his daughter maistres Koper, aunswerynge her letter here next befoze.

**T**he holy spirite of god be with you. **I**f I woulde with my wrytinge (mine owne good daughter) declare howe much pleasure & coumfozte, your daughterlye louing letters were vnto me, a pecke of coales wolde not suffice to make me y penne. And other penne haue I (good Margaret) none here: and therfore can I wyte you no long processe, nor dare aduersure good daughter to wryte oft. The cause of my close keping again, dyd of likelyhed grow of my negligent & very playn true woord which you remeber. And be retyl whereas my mynde gaue me (as I tolde you in the gardeyn) that some such thing wer likely to happen, so doth my mynde alway geue me, y some folke yet wene that I was not so pooze as it appeared in the searche, and that it maye therfore

Therefore happen, that yett esone offer than once, some newe sodaine searches may happe to be made in euery house of ours, as narrowly as is possible. Which thing if euer it so should hap, can make but game to vs y know the trowth of my pouerty, but if they fynd out my wyues gay gyrdle & her golden bedes. Howbeit I vercly beleue in good faith, that the kynges grace of hys benigne pittie, will take nothing from her.

I thought & yett thinke, that it may be that I was shet by again, vpo some newe causeles suspicōs, growen peradventure vpon some secrett sinister informacion, wherby some folke happely thought, y there should be found out against me some other greater thinges. But I thanke our lord whensoever this coniecture hath fallen in my mind, the clearenes of my conscience hath made myne hearte hoppe for joy. For one thing am I very sure of hetherto, & trust in goddes mercy to be while I liue, that as I haue oftē sayd vnto you, I shall for any thing toward my pynce, neuer take gret harme but if I take gret wrong, in the sight of God I say, howe so euer it shall seme in the sight of men. For to y world, wrong may seme right sometyme by false coniecturing, sometime by false witness: as that good lord sayd vnto you, which is I dare saye my very good lord in hys mind, & sayd it of very good will. Before the world also, my refusing of this othe, is accounted an heghynous offence, and my religious feare towarde god, is called obstinacy toward my pynce. But my lordes of the counsaile before whose I refused it, myght well perceiue by the heauines of mine heart, appearing well mo wayes than one vnto them, that all flourdy stubbernes wherof obstinacye groweth, was very farre fro my mind. For y clearer profe wherof, sith they seemed to take for one argumēt of obstinacye in me, that refusing the othe, I wold not declare y causes why, I offered with a full heauy hert, y albeit I rather wold endure al the payn & peril of the statute, thā by the declaring of the causes, geue anye occasion of exaspacion vnto my moste d; adde souerayn lord and pynce, yett rather than his highnes should be for not disclosing the causes, accounte me for stubburne and obstinate, I woulde vpon such his gracious lycence and commaundement as should discharge me of his displeasure & peril of any statute, declare those poyntes that lettēd my pooze

conscience to receue that othe: & woulde ouer that he sworne before, y if I shoulde after the causes disclosed and declared, fynde them so aunswered as my conscience should thinke it selfe satisfied, I woulde thereupon sweare the oth that I there refused. To this maister Secretary aunswered me, y though the kynges grace gaue me such a licence, yett it could not discharge me againste the statutes, in saying anye thing that were by them vponn hapnous paynes prohibited. In this good warning he shewed hymselfe my speciall tender frend. And now you see well Margarete, that it is none obstinacy to leaue the causes vndeclared, while I coulde not declare them without perill. But nowe is it accompted greate obstinacy, that I refuse the othe whatsoeuer my causes be, considering that of so manye wyser and better men, none spycheth therat. And maister Secretary of a greate zeale that he bare vnto me, sware there before them a gret othe, that for the dyspleasure that he thoughte the kynges hyghnesse woulde beare me, and the suspicōn that hys grace woulde conceiue of me, whiche woulde nowe thinke in hys mynde that all the nunnens busynesse was wrought and deuyled by me, he hadde leuer than I should haue refused the othe, that hys owne onely sonne (whiche is a goodlye young gentleman, of whome our lord send hym much joy) had hadde hys head stricken of. This woorde Margarete, as it was a merueilous declaracion of M. Secretaries great good mynde and fauour toward me, so was it an heauye hearynge to me, that the kynges grace my most d; ad souerayn lord, wer likly to conceiue such high suspicōn of me, & beare suche grieuous indignacyon toward me, for the thyng, which without the danger and perill of my pooze soule, lay not in my hande to help, nor doothe. Now haue I heard since, that some say y this obstinate maner of mine, in stylly refusing the oth, shal peradventure force & d; tye the kynges grace to make a further law for me. I cannot let such a law to be made. But I am very sure that if I dyed by such a lawe, I shoulde dye for that poynte innocent afoze god. And albe it (good daughter) that I thinke, our lord y hath the hartes of kinges in hys hand, wold neuer suffer of his high godnes, so gractious a pynce, & so many honozable mē, & so many god mē as be in y parlement to make such an vnlawful law,

A law, as that should be if it so mischapp-  
 ped, yet lest I note y<sup>e</sup> poynt vnthoughte  
 vpon, but many times mo than one, re-  
 uolued and cast in my minde befoze my  
 coming herber, both that perill, and all  
 other that might put my bodye in perill  
 of deatch by the refusyng of this oth. In  
 deaplyng wherupon, albeit (mine owne  
 good daughter) that I founde my selfe (I  
 crye god mercye) very sensuall, and my  
 selfe much more thynking from payn  
 and from deatch, than me thought it the  
 part of a faythful chrysten man, in such  
 a case as my conscience gaue me, that  
 in the sauing of my body should stande  
 the losse of my soule, yet I thanke oure  
 lord, that in that conflict, the spirite had  
 in conclusion the mastepe, and reason  
 with help of saythe finallye concluded,  
 that for to be put to deatch w<sup>o</sup>ngfullpe  
 for doing well (as I am very sure I doe,  
 in refusing to swere against mine own  
 conscience, beyng suche as I am not v-  
 pon peril of my soule bounden to change  
 whiche my deatch should come without  
 law, or by colour of a law) it is a case in  
 which a man may lese his head and yet  
 haue none harme, but in febe of harme  
 inestimable good at the had of god. And  
 I thanke oure lord (Megg) synce I am  
 come hither, I sette by deatch euery daye  
 lesse than other. For though a man lese  
 of hys yeres in thys wo<sup>r</sup>lde, it is moze  
 than manifold recompensed by coming  
 the soner to heauen. And though it be a  
 payne to dye whyle a man is in health,  
 yet see I verye selwe that in sickenes dye  
 with ease. And finallye, verye sure am I  
 that when so euer the tyme shall come,  
 that may happe to come god wot howe  
 soone, in whiche I should lye sicke in my  
 death bed by nature, I shall than thinke  
 that god had done much for me, if he had  
 suffred me to dye befoze by the colour of  
 suche a lawe. And therefore my reason  
 sheweth me (Margarit) that it wer gret  
 folye for me to be sozpe to come to that  
 deatch, whiche I woulde after wishe that  
 I had died. Beside that, that a man may  
 happe with lesse thanke of God, & moze  
 aduenture of his soule, to dye as violet-  
 lpe and as paynefullpe by manye other  
 chaunces, as by enemies or theues. And  
 therefore myne owne good daughter I  
 assure you (thanke be to God) the thin-  
 king of any such, albeit it hath grieved  
 me ere thys, yet at thys daye grieueth me  
 nothynge. And yet I knowe well for all  
 thys mine own frailtie, and that Saint  
 Peter whiche feared it much lesse than

I, fel in such feare some after, that at the  
 wo<sup>r</sup>d of a simple gytle, he forsoke & for-  
 sware oure sauiour. And therefore am I  
 not (Megg) so aradbe, as to warraunte  
 my selfe to stand. But I shall praye, and  
 I praye the myne owne good daughter  
 to pray with me, that it maye please god  
 that hath geuen me this mynde, to geue  
 me the grace to kepe it. And thus haue  
 I myne owne good daughter dyscloied  
 vnto you, the verye secretc bottom of my  
 mynd, referring the order thereof onely  
 to the goodnes of god, and that so fully,  
 y<sup>e</sup> I assure you Margaret on my saythe,  
 I neuer haue prayed God to bypnye me  
 hence noz deliuer me fro deatch, but re-  
 ferred all thing whole vnto hys onelye  
 pleasure, as to hym y<sup>e</sup> seeth better what  
 is best for me than my selfe dooth. For  
 neuer longed I synce I came herber, to  
 set my fote in myne owne house, for any  
 desyre of or pleasure of my house: but  
 gladlye woulde I sometime somewhat  
 talke w<sup>o</sup> my frendes, & specially my wife  
 and you that pertain to my charge. But  
 sith that god otherwyselye disposeth, I com-  
 mit you all wholly to his goodnes, and  
 take dayly gret counsozt, in that I per-  
 ceiue that you lye together so charita-  
 bly and so quyetlye: I beseeche oure lord  
 continue it. And thus myne owne good  
 daughter, putting you finallye in remem-  
 brance, that albeit if the necessitie so  
 shoulde require, I thanke oure lord in  
 thys quiet and counsozt is mine hearte  
 at this day, and I trust in goddes good-  
 nes so shall haue gret grace to continue, yet  
 (as I sayde befoze) I verelye truste that  
 god shall so inspre and gouerne y<sup>e</sup> kyn-  
 ges heart, that he shall not suffer hys no-  
 ble hearte and courage, to requyte my  
 true saythfull hearte and seruice, with  
 such extreme vnlawful and vncharita-  
 ble dealing, only for the displeare that  
 I cannot thinke so as other dooe. But  
 his true subiect wil I lye and dye, and  
 trulye praye for him will I, both here &  
 in the tother wo<sup>r</sup>ld too. And thus mine  
 own good daughter haue me recomen-  
 ded to my good beddefelowe and all my  
 children, men, women, and all, with all  
 your babes and your nursys, and all the  
 maydes and all the seruantes, and all  
 our kynne, and all our other frendes a-  
 brode. And I beseeche oure lord to saue  
 them all and kepe them. And I pray you  
 all pray for me, and I shall pray for you  
 all. And take no thoughte for me what-  
 soeuer you shall happe to heare, but be  
 mery in god.

**A** Another letter wrytten and sent by Sir Thomas More (in the yere of our lord 1534. and in the 26. yere of king Henry the eighth) to his daughter maistres Koper, answeryng to a letter whiche she wryote and sent vnto hym.

**The holy spirite of god be with you.**



**M**ur daughterly loyng letter, my derely beloued childe, was & is I faithfullie assure you, much moze inward comferte vnto me, then my penne can wel expresse you, for diuers thyngs that I marked therein: but of al things most especially, for that god of his high goodnes geueth you the grace to consider, the incoperable differēce, betwene the wretched estate of this present lyfe, and the welthy state of the lyfe to come, for that bye in god, and to praye god in suche a good Christen fashion, that it maye please hym (it dothe me good here to rehearse youre owne woordes) of his tender pitie so firmly to reste our loue in hym, with litle regard of this world, and so to steinne & embrace vertue, that we maye saye wyth saint Paul, *Mibi viuere Christus est & mori lucrum: Et illud, Cupio dissolui & esse cum Christo.*

**I** beseeche our lord & my derely beloued daughter, this holesome prayer that he hath put in your mind, it may like him to geue your father the grace, daylye to remember and praye, and your selfe as you haue wrytten it, euē so daily deuoutlye to knele & praye it. For surely if god geue vs that, he geueth vs and wil geue vs therewith, all that euer we can well wish. And therfore god Marger, when you pray it, pray it for vs both: & I shall on my part the like, in such maner as it shall lyke our lord to geue me poore wretched the grace, that lykwise as in this wretched world I haue been very glad of your company & you of mine, & yet woulde if it myghte be (as naturall charitie bindeth the father & the chyld) so we maye reioyce & enioye eche others company, with our other kinfolke allies and frendes, euerlastynglye in the glorious blisse of heauen: & in the mene tyme, with god counsaile and prayer, eche help other thitherward. And where you wryte these woordes of youre selfe: But god father I wretche, am farre farre farther of all other from such poynt of perfection, our lord send me the gracetoe amend my lyfe, & continually to haue an eye to myne ende, without grudge of death, whiche to them that dye in

god, is the gate of a welthy lyfe, to whiche god of hys infinite mercy bring vs all Amen. Good father strength my frailtie with your deuoute prayers: The father of heauen more strength thy frailtie my gods daughter, and the frailtie of thy fraile father too. And let vs not doute but he so will, if we wil not be slacke in calling vpon him therfore. Of my poore prayers suche as they be, ye may be bold to reckon. For chrysten charitie, and naturall loue, & youre very daughterlye dealing, *uniculo triplici, qui ut ait scriptura, difficile rumpitur*, both bynde me and strayne me thereto. And of yours I put as litle doubt. That you feare your owne frailtie Marger, nothyng misliketh me. God geue vs both twayn the grace, to dyspayre of our owne selfe, and whole to depende and hang vpon the hope and strength of god. The blessed apostle saint Paule, found such lacke of strength in himselfe, that in his owne temptacion he was faine thise to call & crye out vnto god, to take that temptacion frō him. And yet sped he not of his prayer, in the maner that he required. For god of his high wisdom, seing that it was (as himselfe saith) necessarye for him to kepe him from pryde, that els he mighte peradventure haue fallen in, would not at his thise praying, by and by take it from him, but suffred him to be panged in the payn and feare therof, geuing him yet at the last this comfort against his feare of falling: *sufficit tibi gratia mea.* By which woordes it wel semeth, that the temptacion was so strong (what so euer kind of temptacion it was) that he was very feard of falling, thowtwe his feblenes of resistyng that he began to feele in himselfe. Wherto for his comfort God answered: *sufficit tibi gratia mea:* putting hym in suretie, that were he of himselfe neuer so feble and saynte, nor neuer so likelye to fall, yet the grace of god was sufficient to kepe him by and make him stand. And our lord sayd further: *Virtus mea in infirmitate perficitur.* The more weake that manne is, the more is the strength of God in his safegard declared. And so Saynt Paule saith: *omnis possum in eo qui me confortat.* Surely Marger a saynter hearte than thy fraile father hath, canst thou not haue. And yet I berely trust in the great mercye of God, & he shall of his goodnesse so stave me with his holy hand, & he shall not finally suffer me to fall wretchedlye from hys fauour. And the like truste (deare daughter) in his gigh godnesse, I berely con-

ZZ. i. seu

A ceue of you. And so muche the more, in  
 that ther is neither of vs both, but that  
 if we call his benefites to minde, & geue  
 him oft thanks for geue vs god hope, to  
 all our manifold offences toward him,  
 & his great mercy, when we wil hertely  
 call therfore, shall not be withdrawen  
 from vs. And verely my dere daughter  
 in this is my great comfozte, & albeit I  
 am of nature so shyngking from payne,  
 that I am almost afraid of a philip, yet  
 in all h agonies that I haue had, wher  
 of befoze my coming hether (as I haue  
 shewed you ere this) I haue had neither  
 small nor few, with heauy fereful hert,  
 foze casting all such perils and painfull  
**B**erbes, as by any waier of possibilitie  
 might after fall vnto me, & in such tho  
 ught lpen off long restles and waking,  
 while my wife had went I had slept, yet  
 in anye suche feare and heauye pen  
 siveness (I thinke the mighty mercye of  
 God) I neuer in my mynde entended to  
 consent, that I would for the enduring  
 of the bittermost, doe any such thing, as  
 I should in myne owne conscience (for  
 with other mennes, I am not a manne  
 mete to take vpon me to medle) thinke  
 to be to my selfe, such as shoulde damp  
 nably call me in the displeasure of god.  
 And this is the least poynt that any mā  
**C**may with his saluacion com to, as farre  
 as I can see, & is bounden if he see peril,  
 to examine his conscience surely by ler  
 nyng and good counsaile, & be sure that  
 his conscience be such as it may stande  
 with his saluacio, or els refozme it. And  
 if the matter be such, as both the partys  
 may stand with saluacion, then on whi  
 ther sides his conscience sal, he is safe y  
 nough befoze god. But that mine own,  
 may stand wmine own saluacio, therof  
 I thank our lozbe I am very sure. I be  
 sech our lozbe byig al partes to his wille.  
 It is now my good doughter late. And  
**D**therfore thus I commend you to the ho  
 ly trinitie, to gyde you, counfozt you, &  
 direct you with his holy spirite, and all  
 yours, and my wife with al my childre  
 and all oure other frendes.

Thomas More  
 knyght.

A letter wryten by sir Thomas More  
 to one master Leder a verteous priest  
 the .16. day of January, in the yere of  
 our lozbe .1534. after the computacio  
 of the church of England, & in the .26  
 yere of the raigne of king Henry 8.

**T**he tale that is reported, albeit  
 I cannot but thank you though  
 ye wold it wer true, yet I thank  
 god it is a very vanitie. And I  
 trust in the great goodnes of god, that  
 he shal neuer suffer it to bee true. My  
 mynde hadde bene obstinate in dede, I  
 wold not let for any rebuke or worldly  
 shame, playnely to confesse the trouthe.  
 For I purpose not to depend vpon the  
 same of the world. But I thank oure  
 lozbe that the thyng that I do, is not for  
 obstinacye, but for the saluacion of my  
 soule, because I cannot enduce myne  
 owne minde, other wise to think than I  
 doe concerning the othe. As for other  
 mennes conscience I will bee no iudge.  
 For I neuer aduised any manne ney  
 ther to sweare nor to refuse. For as for  
 mine own self, if cuer I should misthap  
 to receue h or he (which I trust our lozbe  
 shal neuer suffer me) ye may recken sure  
 y it wer expelld & extorted by dure  
 & hard handling. For as for al h goodes  
 of this world, I thank our lozbe I let not  
 much more by, than I do by dust. And I  
 trust both h they wil vse no violent for  
 cible wayes, and also that if they wold,  
 god wold of his grace (and the rather  
 a great deale through good folkes pra  
 yers) geue me strength to stand. *Fidelis deus*  
*sait sicut Doule, qui non patitur vos tentari, su*  
*per id quod potestis ferre, sed et dat cum tentatione pro*  
*uenium, & potestis sustinere.* For this am I very  
 sure, y it euer I should swere it, I should  
 swere deadly soze against myne own co  
 sciēce. For I am very sure in my mind,  
 that I shall neuer be hable to chaunge  
 myne owne conscience to the contrary.  
 As for other mennes I wyl not med  
 dle of. It hath bene shewed me, that I  
 am reckened wylfull and obstinate, be  
 cause that synce my commyng hether,  
 I haue not wrytten vnto the kynges  
 hyghnesse, and by myne owne wryting  
 made somme sute vnto his grace. But  
 in good saythe I doo not sozbear it of  
 anye obstinacye, but rather of a low  
 ly mynde and a reuerente, because that  
 I see nothyng that I coulde wryte,  
 but that I feare me soze, that his grace  
 were lykely, rather to take displeasure  
 with me for it than otherwysse, while  
 his grace beleueth me not that my con  
 science is the cause, but rather obsty  
 nate wylfulness. But surely that  
 my lette is but my conuence. that  
 knoweth Godde, to whose order I com  
 mytte the whole matter, *In cuius manu cor*  
*da regū sunt.* I beseeche oure lozbe that all  
 may



I may pzone as true saythfull subjectes to the king that haue swozne, as I am in my minde very sure, that they be which haue refused to swere. In hast this saterday the .16. daye of January. By the hand of your bedes man

Thomas Hoze  
knight prisoner.

A letter wryten and sent by sir Thomas Hoze to his daughter maytres Hooper, writte the second or thirde day of May, in the yere of our lord. 1535. & in the .27. yere of the raygne of kynge Henry the .8.

15

Our lord be blisse yon.



My derely beloued daughter, I doubt not but by the reaso of the kinges counsellors resortyng hither, in this tyme in which (our lord be theyr cofort) these fathers of the charterhouse and master Reynoldes of Ston, be now iudged to death for treason (whose matters and causes I know not) may happe to put you in trouble and feare of mind, concerning me being here prisoner, speciallve for that it is not vnlike, y you haue harde that I was brought also before the counsaile here my selfe. I haue thought it necessary to aduertise you of the verpe trowth, to thende that you shoulde nether conceyue moze hope than the matter geueth, lesse vpon a nother tozne it myght agreue your heuineffe: noz moze gricfe and feare than the matter geueth, on the tother syde. Wherefoze shortly ye shal vnderstand, that on frydaye the laste daye of Apryll in the afternone, master Lecestenaunt came in here vnto me, and shewed me that master Secretarpe would speake with me. Wherevpon I thysted my gown, and wet out with master Lecestenaunt into the galery to hym, where I mette manye, some knowne and some vnkowne in the waye. And in conclusion commyng into the chamber where hys master shippe sat, wyth master Atorney, master Soliciter, master Febyll and master doctoꝝ Tregonwell, I was offered to sitte downe with them, whiche in no wyse I would. Wherevpon master Secretarpe shewed vnto me, that he doubted not, but that I had by suche frendes as hither had reloyted to

me, sene the newe statutes made at the laste sitting of the parlement. Wher vnto I answered: ye verely. Howe be it for as much as beyng here, I haue no couersacio with any people, I thought it lytle nede for me to bestowe muche tyme vpon theym, and therfoze I redeliuered the boke shortly, and the effect of the statutes I neuer marked noz studeyed to putte in remembꝛaunce. Then he asked me whyther I hadde not redde the syrste statute of them, of the kynges beyng hedde of the churche. Wherevnto I aunswerde, yer. Than his master shippe declared vnto me, that sythe it was nowe by acte of parlement ordeyned, that his highnes and his heyses be, and ruer of right haue bene, and perpetuallye should be, supꝛeme head in earth of the churche of Englande vnder Christ, y kinges pleasure was, that those of his counsaile there assembled, shoulde demaunde myne oppinion, and what my mynde was therein. Wherevnto I answered, that in good sayth I hadde wel trusted, that the kynges byghnesse would neuer haue commaunded anye suche question to be demaunded of me, consideryng y I euer fro the beginning, well and truelpe from tyme to tyme declared my mynde vnto his highnesse: & since that tyme (I sayd) vnto poure master shippe master Secretarpe also, bothe by mouth and by wrytyng. And now I haue in god faith discharged my mynde of all suche matters, and neither will dispute kynges titles noz popes: but the kinges true saythfull subject I am and will be, and daply I praye for him, and al his, and for you al that are of his honorable counsaile, & for al y realm. And other wyse than this, I neuer entende to medle. Wherevnto master Secretarpe answered, that he thought this maner of answer should not satiffy noz content the kinges highnes, but that hys grace would exact a moze full answer. And his master shippe added therunto, that the kinges highnes was a pꝛince, not of rygor but of mercy & pitte. And though he had found obstynacy at some tyme in any of his subjectes, yet whē he shold fynde them at an other tyme confymable and submytte thē selfe, his grace would shewe mercye: and that concernyng my selfe, his highnesse would be gladde to see me take such conformable wayes, as I myghte bee abꝛode in the woꝛlde agayne among other menne as I haue bene before. Wherevnto I

ZZ.ii. Hoze

**A** tho:rlpe (after the inwarde affectiō of my minde) answerd fo: a very trowth, y I woulde neuer medle in the wo:rlde agayn, to haue the wo:rlde geuen me. And to the remenaunt of the matter, I answerd in effect as befoze, shewing that I had fullye determined with my selfe, neyther to studye noz medle wylch anye matter of this wo:rlde, but that my whole studye should be, vpon h passio of Christ, & mine own passage out of this wo:rlde. Vppon this I was comunanded to goo fo:th fo: a while, and after called in agayn. At which time master Secretarpe sayd vnto me, that though I wer a prisōner condemned to perpetual prisōn, yet I was not thereby discharged of myne obedyence and alleageaunce vnto the kynges hyghnes. And thereuppon demaunded me, whither that I thought, y the kynges grace myght not exact of me such thynges as are cōteined in the statutes, and vpon lyke paines as he might vppon other men. Wherto I answered that I would not say the contrarpe. Wherunto he sayde, that lyke wyse as y kynges hyghnesse would be gracious to them that he found confozmable, so his grace would folowe the course of hys lawes towarde suche as he shall fynde obstinate. And his masterthip said farther, that my demeanour in that matter was a thing, that of likelihode made o:ther so stiffe therein as they be. Wherto I answerde, that I geue no manne occasion to holde any poynt one o: other, noz neuer gaue anye manne aduise o: counsaile therein one way o: other. And fo: conchlussion I coulde no farther go, whatsoeuer payne should come therof. I am (quod I) the kynges true saythfull subiccte and daily bedesman, and praye fo: his hyghnesse and all his and all the realme. I doo no body no harme, I say none harme, I thynke none harme, but wylche euerpe bodye good. And yf this be not ynoughe to kepe a manne aloue, in good sayth I longe not to loue. And I am dyinge all readye, and haue synce I came here, bene diuers tymes in the case that I thoughte to dye with in one howze. And I thanke oure Lo:de I was neuer so:pe fo: it, but rather so:pe when I sawe the pange passe. And therefore my pooze bodye is at the kynges pleasure. Woulde God my death myghte doo hym good. After this master Secretarpe saide: Well ye fynde no faulte in that statute: fynde you anye in any of the other statutes after: Wherto

I answerd, Sir, whatsoeuer thyng I should seme to me other than good, in anye of the other statutes o: in that statute either, I woulde not declare what fault I found, noz speake therof. Wher vnto finally his masterthip sayd ful gētly, that of anye thyng that I had spoken, there should none auantage be taken. And whether he sayde farther that there was none to be taken, I am not well rememb:ed. But he saide that re:po:te should be made vnto the kynges hyghnes, and hys gracious pleasure knowen. Wheruppon I was deliuered agayne to master Leutenant, whiche was then called in. And so was I by master Leutenant brought agayn in to my chamber. And here am I yet in such case as I was, neyther better noz worse. That that shall folowe lyeth in the hande of god, whom I beseeche to put in the kynges graces mynde, that thing that may be to his high pleasure, and in mine, to minde onely the weale of my soule, with litle regard of my body, and you with al yours, and my wyfe, and al my chyldzen, and all our other frendes, both bodily and ghostly hartely well to fare. And I pray you and them all pray fo: me, and take no thought whatsoeuer shall happen me. Fo: I verely trust in h goodnes of god, seme it neuer so euyl to this wo:rlde, it shall in dede in a nother wo:rlde be fo: the best.

Your louing father  
Thomas Poze knyghte.

A nother letter w:ritten and sent by  
I: Thomas Poze to his daughter  
maistres Koper, w:ritten in h yere  
of our lo:de. 1535. and in the. 27. yere  
of the raygne of king Henry the. 8.

Our Lo:de blesse you  
and all yours.

**I**Wasmuche (dearely beloved daughter) as it is likeli, y you either haue hard, o: tho:rlpe shall here, that the counsaile were here thys day, and that I was befoze theym, I haue thoughte it necessarye to sende you wo:rd howe the matter standeth. And berelye to bee tho:rt, I perceiue litle differēce betwene this time and the last. Fo: as farre as I can see, the whole purpose is, eyther to

A dyne me to say precisely the one way, or elles precisely the tother. Here late my lord of Canterbury, my lord chauncellour, my lord of Suffolke, my lord of Wilthye, and maister Secretarpe. And after my coming, maister Secretarpe made rehearfall in what wyle he had repozted vnto the kinges hyghnes, what had been sayd by hys graces countayle to me, and what had ben aunswered by me to them, at myne other being befoze them here last. Which thynge his maister ship rehearfed in god sayth very wel, as I knowledged and confelld, & hertely thanked him theretoze. Wherupon he addid therunto, that the kinges hyghnes was nothing content nor satisfied with myne aunswer: but thought that by my demeanour, I had been occasion of much grudge and harme in the realme, & that I had an obstinate mind and an euill towarde him, and that my ductie was being hys subiect (and so he had sent them nowe in hys name vpon myne allegeaunce to commaunde me) to make a playne and a terminate aunswere, whether I thoughte the statute lawfull or not. And that I shold cyther knowledge and confesse it lawfull, that his hyghnes shoulde be supreme head of the church of Englande, or elles vtter playnly my malignitie. Wherto I answered, that I had no malignitie, and therfoze I could none vtter. And as to the matter I coulde none other aunswer make, than I had befoze made, which e aunswere his maister ship had thererehearfed. A very heauy I was that the kinges hyghnes shoulde haue any such opinion of me. Howbeit if ther were one that had enformed his hyghnes manye euill thynges of me that were vntue, to whiche hys hyghnes for the time gaue credence I wold be very soye that he shoulde haue that opinion of me the space of one day. Howbeit if I wer sure that other shold come on the moztow, by whos grace shoulde know the trouthe of myne innocency, I shold in the meane whyle comfort my self with consideration of that. And in lykewise now, though it be grete heauines to me, that his hyghnes hath suche opinion of me for the whyle, yet haue I no remedy to helpe it, but onely to comfort my self with this consideration, that I know very well that the tyme shall come, when God shall declare my trouth toward his grace, befoze hym & all the world. And whereas it myghte happely seeme to be but small cause of

comfort, because I might take harme here by the meane whyle, I thanked God that my case was such here in this matter, thowtwe the clearnesse of myne owne conscience, that though I myght haue payne, I coulde not haue harme. For a man maye in such a case lese his head and haue none harm. For I was very sure, that I had no corrupt affection, but that I had alway fro the begynning truly dyed my self, lokyng first vpon god, and next vpon the king, accordinge to the lesson that hys hyghnes taught me at my first coming to his noble seruite, the most vertuous lesson that euer prince taughte his seruant. Whose hyghnes to haue of me now such opinion, is my grete heauines. But I haue no meane as I said to helpe it, but only comfort my self in the meane tyme with the hope of the day, in which my trouthe toward hym shall well be known. And in this matter further I could not goe, nor other aunswer thereto I coulde not make. To this it was sayd by my lord chauncellour and maister Secretarpe both, that the kyng might by his lawes compell me to make a plain answer thereto, either by one way or the tother. Wherto I answered that I wold not dispute the kynges authoritie, what his hyghnes myght dooe in such a case. But I sayd that verely vnder correction, it semed to me somewhat hard. For if it so wer that my conscience gaue me agaynst the statute (whererein how my conscience geueth me I make no declaracion) than I nothyng doing nor nothing saying agaynst the statute it wer a very hard thing, to compell me to say, either precisely with it agaynst my conscience to the losse of my soule, or precisely agaynst it to the destruction of my body. To this maister Secretarpe sayde, that I had ere this when I was chauncellour, examined heretikes and theus and other malefactours, & gaue me a great praise aboute my deseryng in that behalf. And he sayd that I than as he thought, and at the leastwise bishops, did vse to examine heretikes, whether they beliened the Pope to be head of the church, and vsed to compell them to make a precise answer thereto. And why shoulde not than the kyng, sith it is a law made here that his grace is head of the church here, compell me to answer precisely to the law here, as they dyd than concerning the Pope, I answered and sayde, that I protested

ZZ.iii. that

That I entended not to defend my part,  
 or stand in contencion. But I said that  
 was a difference betwene those two ca-  
 ses, because that at that tyme, as well  
 here as elles where thozow the cozps of  
 christendome, the popes power was re-  
 cognised for an vndouted thing: which  
 semeth not lyke a thynge agreed in thys  
 realme, & the contrary taken for trueth  
 in other realmes. Wherto maister Se-  
 cretarpe aunswered, that they were as  
 well burncd for the denyng of that, as  
 they be beheaded for h' denyng of this:  
 and therfore as god reason to compell  
 them to make p'ecyse aunswere to the  
 tone, as to the tother, Wherto I aun-  
 swered, y' sith in thys case a man is not  
 by a law of one realme so bound in hys  
 conscience, where there is a law of the  
 whole cozps of christendome to the con-  
 trary in matter touchng beliefe, as he  
 is by a law of the whole cozps, though  
 there happe to be made in some place a  
 law locall to the contrary, the reasona-  
 bleness or the vntreasonableness in byn-  
 dyng a man to p'ecyse aunswere, stand-  
 eth not in the respect or dyfference be-  
 twene headyng and burnyng: but be-  
 cause of the difference in charge of con-  
 science, the differēce standeth betwene  
 heading and hell. Much was there au-  
 swered vnto this, bothe by maister Se-  
 cretarpe and my lord chauncellour, or  
 ner long to rehearse. And in conclusiō  
 they offered me an othe, by whiche I  
 shoulde be sworne to make true aunswere  
 to such thinges as shoulde be asked me  
 on the kinges behalfe, concerninge the  
 kynes owne persone. Wherto I aun-  
 swerd, that verely I neuer purposed to  
 swere any boke oth moze while I lived.  
 Than they sayd that I was very obsti-  
 nate if I would refuse that, for euerye  
 man doth it in the kerre chamber and  
 euery where. I sayd that was true: but  
 I had not so litle foresighte, but that I  
 might well coniecture what shoulde be  
 parte of myne interrogatozies: and as  
 good it was to refuse theim at the fyrst,  
 as afterward. Wherto my lord chaun-  
 cellour aunswered, that he thoughte I  
 geaft trouthe, for I shoulde see them. And  
 so they wer shewed me, & they were but  
 twayn: the fyrst, whether I had seen the  
 statute: the tother, whether I belened y'  
 it were a lawfull made statute or not.  
 Wherupon I refused the othe, and said  
 ferther by mouth, that the fyrst I hadde  
 before confessed: & to the second I wold  
 make none answer: which was the end

of our cōmunicacion, and I was ther-  
 upon sent away. In the cōmunicacion  
 before, it was said that it was meruay-  
 led, that I stakke so much in my consci-  
 ence, whyle at the vttermost I was not  
 sure therein. Wherto I said, that I was  
 very sure, that myne own conscience so  
 enfourmed as it is, by suche diligece as  
 I haue so long taken therein, may stand  
 with myne own saluacion. I medle not  
 with the conscience of them that thinke  
 otherwise. Every man *suo damno stat aut cas*  
*dit.* I am no mannes iudge. It was also  
 sayde vnto me, that if I had as lief be  
 out of the world as in it, as I had there  
 sayde, why dyd I not than speake euen  
 playne oute agaynst the statute? It ap-  
 peared well I was not content to dye,  
 though I sayd so. Wherto I answered  
 as the trouthe is, that I haue not been a  
 man of such holy liuing, as I myght be  
 holde to offer my self to death, lest God  
 for my presumption might suffer me to  
 fall: and therfore I put not my self for-  
 ward but drawe backe. Howbeit if god  
 drawe me to it himself, than trulle I in  
 hys great mercy, that he shall not fayle  
 to geue me grace and strength. In con-  
 clusion maister Secretarpe sayde, that  
 he lyked me this day much worse than  
 he dydde the last tyme. For than he said  
 he pitied me muche, & now he thought  
 I meante not well. But God and I  
 knowe both, that I meane well, and so  
 I praye God dow by me. I praye you be  
 you and myne othe god sendes of god  
 chere whatsoeuer falle of me, and take  
 no thought for me, but pray for me, as  
 I dow and shall for you and all them.

Your tender louing father  
 Thomas More knight.

[S]y Thomas More a litle be-  
 fore he was arrayned and con-  
 demned (in the yere of oure lord. 1535.  
 and in the xxviii. yere of the  
 raygn of kyng Henry the eight)  
 being thit by so close in prison in  
 the tower that he had no penne  
 nor inke, wrote with a cole a pi-  
 stle in latine to maister Antho-  
 ny Bonurse (marchant of Lake  
 and than dwelling in London)  
 his olde and deare frende, & sent  
 it vnto hym, the cōpye whereof  
 here foloweth.

Amico-

**A** Micorum amicissime, & merito mihi charissime, salue. Quonia mihi presagit animus (fortasse falso, sed presagit tamen) haud diu mihi superfuturam ad te scribendi facultatem, decreui dum licet, hoc saltem epistolio significare, quantum in hoc fortunæ meæ deliquio, amicitiae tuæ iucunditate reficiar. Nam ante quidem vir ornatissime tametsi mirifice certe semper amore isto in me tuo delectatus sum, tamen recordanti mihi annos iam prope quadraginta perpetuū Bonniæ domus non hospitem, sed alūnum fuisse me, nec amicū interim vlla rependenda gratia, sed sterilem tantum amatorem prestitisse, verecundia mea profecto fecerat, vt sincera illa suauitas, quam aliqui ex amicitiae vestrae cogitatione deglutiebam, paululū quiddam pudore quodam rustico, tanq̄ neglectæ vicissitudinis subacesseret. Verum enimvero nunc hac ego me cogitatione consolor, quod bene vicissim mihi merendi de te, nunq̄ se præbebat occasio. Ea siquidē amplitudo fortunæ tuæ fuit, vt commodandi tibi nullus mihi relinquere- tur locus. Conscuis igitur mihi non officij neglectu vicem non repēdisse me, sed quia deficiebat occasio, quum iam te conspiciam, etiam sublata rependendi spe, sic in me amando & demerendo persistere, immo adeo progredi poti⁹, & cursu quodam indefesso procurrare, vt pauci

sic amicos fortunatos ambiāt, quomodo tu prostratum, abiectum, afflictum, & adductum carceri, Morum tuum diligis, amas, foves, & obseruas, cum pristini pudoris mei quali quali me amaricie abluo, tum in huius admirabilis amicitiae tuæ suauitate conquiesco. Et nescio quo pacto tam fidelis amicitiae prosperitas, videtur mihi cum hoc impro- spero et classis meæ naufragio propemodum paria facere: certe tollatur indignatio non amati mihi minus quāmetuendi principis, quod ad reliqua pertinet propemodum plus quā paria, quippe quum illa sint inter fortunæ mala numeranda omnia. At amicitiae tam constantis possessionem, quam tam aduersus fortunæ casus non eripuit, sed ferruminauit fortius, amens profecto fuerim, inter caduca fortunæ bona si numerem. Sublimius haud dubie bonum est atq; angustius peculiari quadam dei benignitate proueniens, amicitiae tam fidelis & res- flante fortuna constantis, raro concessa felicitas. Ego certe non aliter accipio atque interpretor quā eximia dei miseratione curatum, vt inter tenues amiculos meos, tu vir talis, amicus tantus, iam longo aetate tempore parareris, qui magnam istius molestiae partē, quam mihi ruentis in me fortunæ moles inuexit, tua consolatione lenires ac releuares. Ego igitur mi Antoni mortaliū mihi omnium charissime (quod solū possum) Deum

*Op. max. qui te mihi prouidit, obni-  
xe deprecor, vt quando tibi talem  
debitore dedit qui nunq; soluendo  
sit futurus, beneficentiã istam quã  
mibi quotidie tam effusus impedis  
ipse tibi dignetur pro sua benigni-  
tate rependere, tum vt nos ab hoc  
erumnofo & procelloso seculo in  
suam requiem pro sua miseracione  
perducat, vbi non erit opus epistole,  
vbi non distinebit nos paries, vbi  
non arcebit a colloquio ianitor,  
sed cum deo patre ingenito, et vni-  
genito eius filio domino & redemp-  
tori nostro Iesu Christo, atq; vtri-  
usque spiritu ab vtroque procedẽ-  
te paracleto, gaudio perfruemur e-  
terno. Cuius interea gaudij deside-  
rio faxit omnipotẽs deus, vt tibi mi  
Antoni, mihique, atq; vtinam morta-  
libus vndecunq; omnibus, omnes  
huius orbis opes, vniuersa mundi  
gloria, necnon istius quoque dulce-  
do vitæ vilescat. Amicorum omniũ  
fidissime mihique dilectissime, &  
(quod predicare iam olim soleo) o-  
culi mei pupilla vale. Familiam tu-  
am totam, herili in me affectui si-  
millimam, Christus seruet incolu-  
mem.*

*T. Morus frustra fe-  
cero si adijciam  
tuus. Nam hoc iam nescire non po-  
tes, quũ tot beneficijs emeris. Nec  
ego nunc talis sum, vt referat cu-  
ius sim.*

**The translation into englische  
of the laten pistle next before.**

**G**od maister Wonyple of all  
frendes most frendliest, and to  
me wozthely dereliect beloued,  
I hartely greete you. With my  
mynd dooth geue me (& yet may chance  
fallly) but yet so it doth, that I shal not  
haue long libertie to wypte vnto you, I  
determined theretofore whyle I maye, to  
declare vnto you by this litte epistle of  
myne, how much I am comforted with  
the swetenes of your frendshyp, in thys  
decaye of my fortune. For afore (righte  
wozthypfull sye) although I alway be-  
lyted merueylouslye in thys your loue  
towards me, yet when I consider in  
my mind, that I haue ben now almost  
this fourtie yeres, not a geaste, but a  
continuall nyrsynge in maister Wony-  
utce house, & in tye meane season haue  
not shewed my self in requyting you a-  
gayne, a frend, but a barrayn louer on-  
ly, my shamefastnes berelye made, that  
that sincere swetenes, wht: h other wise  
I receiued of the readynge of youre  
frendshyp, somewhat wared slowlye,  
by reason of a certayne rusticall shame  
as neglecting of my dutie toward you.  
But now I comfort my self with this,  
that I neuer had the occasion to do you  
picaure. For such was alwayes your  
greate wealth, that there was nothing  
left, in whiche I might be vnto you be-  
necficiall. I theretofore (knowing y I haue  
not ben vnthankfull to you by ompt-  
synge my duettie toward you, but for  
lacke of occasion and oportunitie, and  
seeing mozeouer al hope of recompence  
taken away, you so to perceuer in loue  
toward me, byndyng me moze & moze  
to you, ye rather so to runne forwarde  
wyl, and as it wer with a certayne in-  
detatigable course to goe furth, y scwe  
menne so fawne vppon they: fortunat  
frendes, as you fauoure, loue, foster &  
honour me, nowe ouerthowre, abiec-  
ted, afflicted, and condemnid to prison)  
cleanse my selfe borch from thys bitter-  
nes (suche as it is) of myne olde shame-  
fastnes, and also repose my selfe in the  
swetenesse of thys merueylous frend-  
shyp of yours. And this faithful prosper-  
ritte of this amitie and frendshyppe of  
yours towards me (I wot not howe)  
semeth in a maner to counterpeyse this  
vnfortunate shypwacke of myne, and  
sauing the indignacion of my Prince,  
of me no lesse loued than feared, els as  
concer

concernyng all other thinges, both al-  
most moze the couterpaife. For al those  
are to be accompted amongest the mys-  
chaunces of fortune. But yf I shoulde  
reken the possession of so constant frend-  
shipp (whiche no fozmes of aduersitie  
hath taken away, but rather hath fortifi-  
ed and strengthed) amongest the brittle  
gistes of fortune, than were I madde.  
For the felicitye of so faithfull and con-  
stant frendshipp in the fozmes of for-  
tune (whiche is seldome sene) is doubtles  
a high and a noble giste procedyng of a  
certain singular benignity of god. And  
in dede as concerning my self, I cannot  
otherwise take it nor reckon it, but that  
it was ordeined by the greate mercye of  
god, that you good master Bonnyfe a-  
mongest my pooze frendes, suche a man  
as you are and so great a frende, shoulde  
be long afoze prouided, that shoulde by  
your consolacion, swage and releaue a  
greate part of these troubles and griefs  
of myne, which the bougenes of fortune  
hath haffely brought vpon me. Therefore  
my dere frend & of all moztall menne to  
me most dereff, doo (whiche nowe onely  
I am able to vooe) earnestlye praye to  
almighty God, whiche hath prouided  
you for me, that sych he hath geuen you  
suche a deffer as shall neuer bee able to  
pay you, that it maye please hym of hys  
benignitie, to requite this bountifullnes  
of yours, whiche you euerye daye thus  
plenteoulye powze vppon me. And  
that for hys mercye sake he wyll byng-  
e vs from this wretched & fozmy world,  
in to his resse, where shall nedde no let-  
ters, where no walle shall disseuer vs,  
where no porter shall kepe vs from tal-  
kyng together, but that we maye haue  
the fruition of the eternall joy with god  
the father, and with his onely begot-  
ten sonne oure redemer Iesu Chryste,  
with the holye spirite of them bothe, the  
holye ghowte procedyng from them  
bothe. And in the meane season, al-  
mighty Godde graunte both you and  
me good master Bonnyfe and all mozt-  
all menne euerye where, to lette at  
noughte all the rycheffe of thys worlde,  
with all the glozpe of it, and the plea-  
sure of this lyfe also, for the loue and des-  
yre of that ioye. Thus of all frendes  
moste trustye, and to me moste develye  
beloued, and as I was wont to call you  
the apple of myne eye, ryghte hartelye  
fare ye well. And Iesus Chryste kepe  
safe and sounde and in good healthe,  
all youre famelye, whiche be of lyke

affection towarde me as theyre master  
is.

Thomas More: I shoulde in bayne  
purte to it, yours, for thereof can you  
not bee ygnoraunte, synce you haue  
boughte it with so many benefites.  
For nowe I am not such a one that it  
fozgeth whose I am.

Sy Thomas More was beheaded  
at the Towre hyll in London on  
Tuesdays the fyrte daye of Ju-  
ly in the yere of oure Lozde. 1535.  
and in the xxxv. yere of the raigyn of  
King Henry the ygg. And on y day  
nexte before, beyng mundaye and  
the fyrte day of July, he wrote with  
a cole a letter to his doughter maye,  
Kresle Kooper, and sente it to her,  
(whiche was the laste thynge that  
euer he wote.) The coppe whereof  
here foloweth.



Are Lozde blesse you good  
doughter, and youre good  
houfbande, and youre lytles  
boye, and all yours, and all  
my chyldren, and all my  
Goddechyldren, and all oure frendes.  
Recommende me whan ye maye, to my  
good doughter Cicily, whom I beseeche  
oure Lozde to counferte. And I sende  
her my blesyng, and to all her chyldren,  
and praye her to praye for me. I sende  
her an handkercher: and god counferte  
my good sonne her husbände. My good  
doughter Daunce hath the picture in  
parchemente, that you deliuered me  
from my ladye Coniers, her name is  
on the backside. Shewe her that I hat-  
telye praye her, that you maye sende it  
in my name to her agayne, for a token  
from me to praye for me. I lyke speciall  
wel Dozoth the Coly, I pray you be good  
vnto her. I woulde wytte whether thys  
be she that you wote me of. If not yet  
I praye you be good to the tother, as  
you maye in her affliction, and to my  
good doughter Ione Aleyn to. Gue  
her I praye you some kynde aunswere,  
for she sued hither to me this daye to pray  
you be good to her. I comber you good  
not no kynde  
Margaret much, but I woulde be soz, if  
it should be any lenger than to morow.  
For it is saint Thomas euen, and sy  
tas of saint Peter: & therfore to morow  
long I to go to god: it were a daye berve  
mete and conuenient for me. I neuer li-  
ke

Stes Heron.

This was  
none of hys  
doughters,  
one of may-  
tres Koopers  
mayes.

This was  
that she killed  
hym, when he  
came from  
iudgement.

This was not  
his daughter,  
but he hadde  
brought her  
up of a childe  
with his own  
doughters.

hed your maner toward me better, than  
when you killed me lasse: for I loue,  
when doughterly loue and deere chari-  
tye, hath no laylure to loke to wo:ldlye  
curtesy. Fare well my dere childe, and  
pray for me, and I shall for you and all  
youre frendes, that we maye merelye  
mete in heauen. I thanke you for youre  
gret cost. I sēde now to my god dought-  
ter Clement her algozisme stone, and I  
send her and my godsonne and all hers,  
gods blessing and myne. I praye you at  
time conuenient recomende me to my

good sonne John Hoze. I liked wel his  
naturall fashyon. Our lord blesse hym &  
his good wyfe my louing doughter, to  
whom I praye him be good as he hath  
greate cause: and that yf the lande of  
myne come to his hande, he breake  
not my wyll concernyng his  
sister Daunce. And our  
Lord blisse Thomas and  
Austen and all that  
they shal haue.

This he wrote  
by his bra-  
ther the d  
sonne of the d  
hym blesse  
when he came  
fro iudgement

These were  
his sonnes  
chylde

(, ,)

Thus endeth this boke.

**Printed at Lon-  
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hande and starre, at the cosse and charge of  
John Cabod, John Walley, and  
Richarde Tottle.**

Finished in Apryll, the yere  
of our Lozde God. 1557.

(. .)

*Cum privilegio ad impri-  
mendum solum.*