

Thomas More's Trial

Docudrama

H. A. Kelly and G. B. Wegemer ©2010

Note. This dramatic presentation is intended to suggest a plausible way in which the trial of Thomas More was conducted, on the basis of all the available documents. When the text is an exact quotation of the source, it will be given in quotation marks. For documentation see *Trial by Jury* (Boydell Press, 2011).

Names of the Speakers in this Presentation

Narrator	Attorney General Hales
Sir Thomas More	Richard Rich, King's General Solicitor
Lord Chancellor Audley	Sir Richard Southwell
The Duke of Norfolk	Master Palmer
Chief Justice of the King's Bench FitzJames	Spokesman of the Jury
Justice of the King's Bench Spelman	Constable of the Tower Sir William Kingston
Other Members of the Commission	

Narrator: On Saturday June 26, 1535, a Special Commission of Oyer and Terminer met at Westminster and summoned a Grand Jury to meet on Monday, June 28; on that day the Justices among the Commissioners presented the Jury with an Indictment against Sir Thomas More. The Jury found it a True Bill. [14]

The Indictment charged More with High Treason under the Act of Treason Concerning the King's Supremacy of the English Church, in that he sought to deprive the King of this title in the following ways:

- 1) by maliciously remaining silent when asked to affirm it;
- 2) by maliciously conspiring with Bishop Fisher to deny the title; and
- 3) by maliciously asserting to Richard Rich that Parliament did not have power to grant the King this title. [15]

On Wednesday, June 3, the Commissioners ordered the Constable of the Tower to present Sir Thomas More before them at Westminster on the following day. On that day, Thursday, July 1, the Commissioners ordered the Sheriff of Middlesex to have a Petty Jury before them that very day. Sir Thomas More was brought to the bar by Sir Edmund Walsingham, Lieutenant of Sir William Kingston, Constable of the Tower. [15]

Thereupon Sir Thomas More, recently Chancellor of the Kingdom of Britain, after being confined in prison for fifteen months, stood before the Magistrates and Judges appointed by the King. When he was present, the accusations against him were publicly recited. [16.1a]

Duke of Norfolk: “More, you see that you have gravely offended against the Royal Majesty in this matter. Nevertheless, we have confidence in his clemency and bounty that if you should be willing to repent and change for the better this rash opinion of yours, which you have so pertinaciously adhered to, you will easily gain forgiveness of your fault from him.” [16.1b]

More: “Noble sirs, my very great thanks to you for your exceeding benevolence to me. But I ask only this of the great good God, that by His help I may be able to persevere in my right opinion until death. But as for what concerns the accusations with which I am charged, I fear that neither my mental ability, nor memory, nor words will suffice to explain them, because I am impeded not only by the prolixity and extensiveness of the articles, but also by my long detention in prison and the illness and bodily weakness that now afflict me.” [16.1c]

One of the Commissioners: The Prisoner requires a chair for his feebleness [16.2a]

Audley (*when other Commissioners nod in agreement*): Let the Prisoner have a chair!

More (*after being seated*): “As for what pertains to the first part of the accusation, which has it that, to show the greatest possible malice of my mind against the King, I was a constant opponent in the contention over his second marriage, I have nothing to say other than what I have said before; and that is, that whatever I spoke in that matter, I did it at the urging of my conscience. For it did not behoove me, nor did I wish it, to conceal the truth from my Prince. If I had not acted so, I would have been an enemy to him, not a faithful servant. Now for this sin, if it is proper to call it a sin, I was adjudged to perpetual imprisonment, in which I have now been detained for fifteen months, and my goods besides confiscated.” [16.2a]

In regard to the Indictment, I openly declare that I would abide upon it in law, were it not that I would thereby be driven to confess of myself the very matter, which is, the denial of the King's Supremacy, which is untrue. Wherefore I plead thereto Not Guilty. And I reserve unto myself advantage to be taken of the body of the matter, after verdict, to a-void this Indictment. But here I say that if only those odious terms, "maliciously, traitorously, and diabolically" were put out of the Indictment, I see therein nothing justly wherewith to charge me. [19.3]

Narrator: “Immediately twelve men were called by the Public Minister, after the custom of the British Nation, to whom were given the chapters of accusation.” [16.7]

Attorney General Hales: Sir Thomas More, I challenge you to reply to the charges in the Indictment.

More: “I reply only to the main heading of the first accusation. You say that I have merited the penalty inflicted by the Statute passed in the last Parliament of our Leaders, for which I was now held in custody, for the reason that, with malicious, false, and faithless mind, I injured the Royal Majesty and name and titles and honor and dignity which they in the aforesaid Parliament or Council attributed to the King, by which he is considered to be Supreme Head after Jesus Christ of the English Church; and, above all, that you object to me that I wished to answer nothing to the Secretary of the King and to the honorable Council of the Royal Majesty, when he asked me what my opinion was about that Statute, other than that, because I was now dead to the world, I

did not occupy myself with such things but only meditated on the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ.” [16.2b]

“To which I clearly respond to you that it is not lawful for me to be judged to death for such silence on my part, because neither your Statute nor anything in the laws of the whole world can rightly afflict anyone with punishment, unless one has committed a crime in word or deed, since laws have constituted no penalty for silence.” [16.2c]

Attorney General Hales: “Such silence was a sure indication and a not obscure sign of evil thoughts about the Statute, because all subjects, being faithful to their Prince, when interrogated on their view concerning the Statute, are obliged to respond openly, and without dissimulation, that it is good and holy.” [16.3]

Narrator: Then the Judges consulted one another and all agreed that such silence was malicious. [18.6]

Commissioners: “Malice, malice!” [18.6]

More: “But if it is true what universal law says, 'One who keeps silent seems to consent,' then that silence of mine gave approval to that Statute of yours more than it weakened it. But as for all the faithful being bound and obliged to make response, etc., I answer that there is a much greater obligation on the part of a good man and faithful subject to consult his own conscience and eternal salvation, and to follow the prescriptions of reason, than to take account of any other thing, especially since the kind of conscience that I have offers no offense to its Prince and stirs up no sedition--asserting this to you, that my conscience had not been opened to any mortal.” [16.4]

“As for what I am accused of in the second part, that I contravened the Statute and worked for its abolition in writings to the Bishop of Rochester, by means of eight letters in which I fortified him against your Statute: again and again I wished for those letters to have been publicly recited. But since, as you tell me, they were burned by the said Bishop, I myself will sum up for you their contents. Some of them dealt with familiar matters, such as our old custom and friendship called for. One of them responded to his request to know how I answered when first examined on the Statute. I replied that I had exonerated my conscience and followed reason, and I urged him to do the same. This was, so help me God, the purport of my letters, and there is nothing on their account that should be judged worthy of death under your Statute.” [16.5]

“As for what pertains to the third article, which says that when I was interrogated by the Council I responded that your Statute is like a two-edged sword, so that one who obeyed it imperiled the salvation of his soul, while one who opposed it would lose his life; and that the Bishop of Rochester (you say) responded in the same way, from which it should appear that this was done by agreement between us, both of us responding in the same way: to this part of the accusation I respond that I was not speaking straightforwardly but only conditionally; that is, if there should be some statute that was like a two-edged sword, how could any person take care against coming up against one edge or the other? But what the Bishop of Rochester responded, I do not know. It may be that he responded in the same way, but it was not done through any conspiracy, but rather it occurred because of our similar minds and education. But believe me most assuredly on this point, that I never said or did anything maliciously against your Statute.

In the meantime, however, it could be that many things have been viciously and maliciously spoken about me to arouse hatred against me on the part of His Royal Majesty.” [16.6]

Commissioners: Malice!

Narrator: “And for further proof to the Jury that Sir Thomas More was guilty of this treason, Master Solicitor Rich was called forth to give evidence unto them upon his oath, as he did.” [19.4]

Rich: My Lords, I, being sent to Sir Thomas More into the Tower, along with Sir Richard Southwell and Master Palmer, servant to Secretary Cromwell, to fetch away his books from him, while Sir Richard and Master Palmer were busy in the trussing up of his books, spoke with him thus. [19.1]

I asked him, if it were enacted by the authority of Parliament that if I myself, that is, Richard Rich, were king, and that it would be treason if anyone denied it, what would be the offense in the said Thomas More if the same Thomas said that the said Richard Rich was king? Certainly (I continued further), there would be no offense in his conscience, but rather the said Thomas More was obliged to say so and accept the same Richard, because the consent of the said Thomas More was obligated by the act of Parliament. The said Thomas More then and there responded and said that he would indeed commit an offense if he denied it, since he was able to give his consent to it. But he said that this case will be a trivial case. [15.11b]

“Therefore, the same Thomas then and there said to [me] that he would propose a more lofty case, saying thus: ‘Let us say that it was enacted by Parliament that God was not God, and that if anyone wished to impugn that act, it would be treason; if the question were put to you, Richard Rich, “Do you wish to say that God is not God,” in accord with the Statute, and you said yes, would you not commit an offense?’” [15.11c]

“To which [I said,] ‘Yes, certainly, because it is impossible to bring it about that God be not God. And because your case is on such a high level, I will propose to you this middle case: You know that our Lord King has been constituted as Supreme Head on Earth of the English Church; and why should not you, Master More, affirm and accept him as such in this case, just as in the foregoing case in which I was selected to be king? In that case you concede that you would be obligated to affirm and accept me as king.’” [15.11d]

“To this the said Thomas More [responded to me], ‘Those cases are not like, because a king can be made by Parliament, and can be deprived by Parliament, to which act any subject being at the Parliament may give his consent; but to the case of a primacy, the subject cannot be bound, because he cannot give his consent from him in Parliament. And although the king were generally accepted as such in England, yet most outer parts do not affirm it.’” [15.11e]

Commissioners: Malice!

Audley: Let the Prisoner be sworn to answer concerning the Witness's testimony.

More (*after being sworn specifically to respond to Rich's allegations*): “If I were a man, My Lords, that did not regard an oath, I needed not, as it is well known, in this place, at this time, nor in this case, to stand here as an accused person.” [19.5]

“And if this oath of yours, Master Rich, be true, then pray I that I never see God in the face; which I would not say, were it otherwise, to win the whole world.” [19.6]

My Lords, I will here recite to you “the discourse of all their communication in the Tower, according to the truth.” [19.7]

Master Rich said unto me, "Forasmuch as it is well known, Master More, that you are a man both wise and well learned as well in the laws of the Realm as otherwise, I pray you therefore, sir, let me be so bold as of good will to put unto you this case. Admit there were, sir, an act of Parliament that all the Realm should take me for king. Would not you, Master More, take me for king?" To which I replied: "Yes, sir, that would I." "I put case further," quoth he, "that there were an act of Parliament that all the Realm should take me for Pope. Would not you, then, Master More, take me for Pope?" "For answer, sir," quoth I, "to your first case: the Parliament may well, Master Rich, meddle with the state of temporal princes. But to make answer to your other case, I will put you this case: suppose the Parliament would make a law that God should not be God. Would you then, Master Rich, say that God were not God?" "No, sir," quoth he, "that would I not, sith no Parliament may make any such law." "No more," said I, "could the Parliament make the King Supreme Head of the Church, that is to say, Pope." [19.1]

Narrator: Thus, having shown how Master Rich changed cases, from speaking about Rich being declared Pope to speaking about King Henry being declared Head of the English Church, More addresses Master Rich directly:

More: “In good faith, Master Rich, I am sorrier for your perjury than for my own peril. And you shall understand that neither I nor no man else to my knowledge ever took you to be a man of such credit as in any matter of importance, aye, or any other, would at any time vouchsafe to communicate with you. And I, as you know, for no small while have been acquainted with you and your conversation, who have known you from your youth hitherto. For we long dwelled both in one parish together, where, as yourself can tell (I am sorry you compel me so to say), you were esteemed very light of your tongue, a great dicer, and of no commendable fame. And so in your house at the Temple, where hath been your chief bringing up, were you likewise accounted.” [19.8]

Narrator: Sir Thomas More then addresses the Court:

More: “Can it therefore seem likely unto Your Honorable Lordships that I would, in so weighty a cause, so unadvisedly overshoot myself as to trust Master Rich, a man of me always reputed for one of so little truth, as Your Lordships have heard, so far above My Sovereign Lord the King, or any of his noble Councilors, that I would unto him utter the secrets of my conscience touching the King's Supremacy, the special point and only mark at my hands so long sought for? A thing which I never did, nor never would, after the Statute thereof made, reveal, either to the King's Highness himself, or to any of his honorable Councilors, as it is not unknown to *Your* Honors at sundry several times sent from His Grace's own person unto the Tower unto me for none other purpose. Can this in your judgments, My Lords, seem likely to be true?” [19.9]

“And yet, if I had so done in deed, My Lords, as Master Rich hath sworn, seeing it was spoken but in familiar secret talk, nothing affirming, and only in putting of cases, without other displeasing circumstances, it cannot justly be taken to be spoken maliciously. And where there is no malice, there can be no offense. And over this I can never think, My Lords, that so many

worthy Bishops, so many honorable personages, and so many other worshipful, virtuous, wise, and well-learned men as at the making of that Law were in the Parliament assembled, ever meant to have any man punished by death in whom there could be found no malice, taking *malitia* for *malevolentia*. For if *malitia* be generally taken for 'sin,' no man is there then that can thereof excuse himself; *quia*, 'Si dixerimus quod peccatum non habemus, nosmetipsos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est'—that is, as St. John says in his First Epistle, 'If we should say that we do not have sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.' And only this word 'maliciously' is in the Statute material, as this term 'forcible' is in the Statute of Forcible Entries. By which Statute, if a man enter peaceably and put not his adversary out forcibly, it is no offense. But if he put him out forcibly, then by the Statute it is an offense, and so shall he be punished by this term 'forcibly.'" [19.10]

"Besides this, the manifold goodness of the King's Highness himself, that hath been so many ways my singular good Lord and gracious Sovereign, that hath so dearly loved and trusted me, even at my very first coming into his noble service with the dignity of his honorable Privy Council vouchsafing to admit me, and to offices of great credit and worship most liberally advance me, and finally with that weighty room of His Grace's High Chancellor—the like whereof he never did to temporal man before—next to his own Royal Person the highest officer in this noble Realm, so far above my merits or qualities able and meet therefore, of his incomparable benignity honored and exalted me, by the space of twenty years and more showing his continual favor towards me, and (until at my own poor suit, it pleased his Highness, giving me license, with His Majesty's favor, to bestow the residue of my life for the provision of my soul in the service of God, of his especial goodness thereof to discharge and unburden me), most benignly heaped honors continually more and more upon me. All this His Highness's goodness, I say, so long thus bountifully extended towards me, were, in my mind, My Lords, matter sufficient to convince this slanderous surmise by this man so wrongfully imagined against me." [19.11]

Narrator: "Master Rich, seeing himself so disproved, and his credit so foully defaced, caused Sir Richard Southwell and Master Palmer, that at the time of their communication were in the chamber, to be sworn what words had passed between them." [19.12]

Palmer: My Lords, I "was so busy about the trussing up of Sir Thomas More's books in a sack, that [I] took no heed to their talk." [19.12]

Southwell: My Lords, I "was appointed only to look unto the conveyance of his books, [and therefore I] gave no ear unto them." [19.12]

Narrator: "After this were there many other reasons Sir Thomas More in his own defense alleged, to the discredit of Master Rich's aforesaid evidence, and proof of the clearness of his own conscience." [19.13]

Audley: Let the Jury now make deliberation over the accusations laid against the Prisoner.

Narrator: "Now the twelve men, who according to the custom of our country have the power of life and death in trials, were called forward. And these men, since they had the word "Malice," which had sounded throughout the whole courtroom, fixed in their ears and minds, made no delay—in fact, it was a wonder that they could so quickly come to agreement." [18.6]

The Jury, “sitting about a quarter of an hour, after deliberation [having been] had among them,... returned to the sight of the Princes and Judges Delegate.” [16.7]

Audley: How does the Jury find? Is the Prisoner Guilty or Not guilty of sinning maliciously against the Statute? [16.7]

Spokesman of the Jury: “Guilty.” [16.7; 18.6]

Audley: Seeing now that the Jury has found the Prisoner, Sir Thomas More, Guilty, of infringing the Statute with due malice, I pronounce Judgment against him.

More (interrupting): “My Lord, when I was toward the Law, the manner in such case was to ask the Prisoner before Judgment why Judgment should not be given against him.” [19.14]

Audley: What are you able to say to the contrary of such Judgment?

More: “Forasmuch as, My Lord, this Indictment is grounded upon an Act of Parliament directly repugnant to the Laws of God and His Holy Church, the supreme government of which, or of any part whereof, may no temporal prince presume by any law to take upon him, as rightfully belonging to the See of Rome, a spiritual preeminence by the mouth of Our Savior Himself, personally present upon the earth, only to St. Peter and his successors, Bishops of the same See, by special prerogative granted; it is therefore in law amongst Christian men insufficient to charge any Christian man.”

“This Realm, being but one member and small part of the Church, may not make a particular law disagreeable with the General Law of Christ's Universal Catholic Church, no more than the City of London, being but one poor member in respect of the whole Realm, may make a law against an act of Parliament to bind the whole Realm. It is contrary both to the Laws and Statutes of our own Land yet unrepealed, as you may evidently perceive in *Magna Charta*: ‘Quod Ecclesia Anglicana libera sit et habeat omnia jura sua integra et libertates suas illaesas’[—‘That the English Church be free and have all of its rights whole and its liberties uninjured’]; and also contrary to that sacred oath which the King's Highness himself and every other Christian Prince always with great solemnity receive at their Coronations. No more might this Realm of England refuse obedience to the See of Rome than might the child refuse obedience to his own natural father. For, as St. Paul said of the Corinthians, ‘I have regenerated you, my children in Christ.’ So might St. Gregory, Pope of Rome, of whom, by St. Austin, his messenger, we first received the Christian Faith, of us Englishmen truly say: ‘You are my children, because I have given to you everlasting salvation, a far higher and better inheritance than any carnal father can leave to his child, and by regeneration made you my spiritual children in Christ.’” [19.15]

Audley: But seeing that “all the Bishops, Universities, and best learned of this Realm had to this Act agreed,” I much marvel that “you alone against them all do so stiffly stick thereat, and so vehemently argue thereagainst.” [19.16]

More: “If the number of Bishops and Universities be so material as Your Lordship seemeth to take it, then see I little cause, My Lord, why that thing in my conscience should make any change. For I nothing doubt but that, though not in this Realm, yet in Christendom about, of these well learned Bishops and virtuous men that are yet alive, they be not the fewer part that be of my mind therein. But

if I should speak of those which already be dead, of whom many be now holy Saints in Heaven, I am very sure it is the far greater part of them that, all the while they lived, thought in this case that way that I think now. And therefore am I not bound, My Lord, to conform my conscience to the counsel of one Realm against the general counsel of Christendom.” [19.17]

Narrator: Sir Thomas More added thereto many other exceptions, objections, and reasons for the voiding of the Indictment. Then “the Lord Chancellor, loath to have the burden of that Judgment wholly to depend upon himself, there openly asked the advice of the Lord FitzJames, then Lord Chief Justice of the King’s Bench, and joined in Commission with him.” [19.18]

Audley: My Lord Chief Justice, I put it to you, is “this Indictment sufficient” in law? [19.18]

Lord Chief Justice FitzJames: “My Lords all, by St. Julian, I must needs confess that, if the Act of Parliament be not unlawful, then is not the Indictment, in my conscience, insufficient.” [19.18]

Lord Chancellor Audley: “Lo, My Lords, lo, you hear what My Lord Chief Justice says.” I therefore give Judgment against him. [19.19]

In accord with the Statute of Treasons, therefore, I adjudge you, Sir Thomas More, lawfully convict of high treason, to suffer such pains of death and other penalties as is limited and accustomed in cases of high treason [2.1; 16.8]

Sir John Spelman (*aside to his fellow Justices*): I sum up the case thus for my Reports: Sir Thomas More, Knight, one-time Chancellor of England, having been “arraigned before the now Chancellor, Sir Thomas Audley, and other Commissioners, for treason, in that he was an aider, counselor, and abettor to the Bishop of Rochester, and also for that he falsely, maliciously, and traitorously desiring, willing, and scheming, contrived, practiced, and attempted to deprive the King of his dignity, name, and title of Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England, [is] found Guilty, and the said Chancellor [has given] Judgment.” [17]

Other Commissioners: Sir Thomas, have you anything else to add in your defense? We will be favorably attentive to whatever you have to say. [19.20]

More: My Lords, “since I have been adjudged to death, whether rightly or wrongly, God knows, for the exonerating of my conscience I would willingly say some words to you concerning your Statute. I affirm that I have spent all my study during the whole of the last seven years, and I have never found an approved doctor to hold that any layman is the head of an ecclesiastical order.” [16.8]

Spelman (*aside*): He stands firmly against the Statute, holding that “Parliament could not make the King Supreme Head” of the English Church. [17]

Audley (*interrupting More’s statement*): “Do you wish to be more prudent and religious than all the Bishops, the whole Nobility, and all of the People who are subjects of the King and his Kingdom?” [16.9]

More: “For one Bishop who agrees with you, I have easily a hundred, including some who are among the Saints. And for your one Council, Parliament, and your Statute--what it is worth the Great Good

God knows, on my side are all the General Councils celebrated during the last thousand years. And for one Kingdom, the Kingdom of France and all other Kingdoms of the Christian World agree with me.” [16.10]

Norfolk: “More, now you are plainly revealing your mind's stubborn malice.” [16.11]

More: “What I say, I say because necessity compels me, for I wish to exonerate my conscience and not weigh down my soul. I call on God, the searcher of hearts, as witness.” [16.11]

“I add this besides, that your Statute was wrongly made, because you deliberately swore your oaths against the Church, which alone is whole and undivided through the whole Christian World. And you alone have no power to enact anything, without the consent of all other Christians, which is contrary to the unity and concord of the Christian Religion.” [16.12]

I am now for the first time revealing my opinion concerning this Law by which the King has been appointed Head of the Church in England. I have not done so before this, to avoid giving my enemies further opportunity of lashing out against me, and it would have hindered my defense here today. But I speak out now, “being mindful of my care for England, lest any person therein should imprudently and ignorantly favor this pestiferous Law. This Law is in contradiction to all human and divine laws. It will be more pernicious to anyone who assents to it than it has been to me, who stand condemned to capital punishment for having dissented from it.” [18.8]

One final word, My Lords: “I am not unaware of the reason for which you have adjudged me to death. The one single cause is that I have been unwilling over the past years to consent to the second marriage of the King.” [16.12]

Narrator: Now More addresses all present.

More: “Here indeed [is] a place of discord, dissension, and tumult, but [I] go now to where the root of all strife and dissension [is] removed, where love, peace, concord, and tranquility [will] live in all.” [18.9]

“But still I have great hope in the Divine clemency and goodness that, as we read that St. Paul persecuted Blessed Stephen, but they are now together in heaven, so all of us, though we disagree in this life, will nevertheless agree in another life with perfect charity. I therefore pray the Great Good God to guard the King, conserve him, and make him safe, and send him salutary counsel. [16.13; 19.20]

Narrator: More turns back to the Judges.

More: “More have I not to say, My Lords, but that...I verily trust, and shall for that right heartily pray, that though Your Lordships have now here in earth been Judges to my condemnation, we may yet hereafter in Heaven merrily all meet together, to our everlasting salvation.” [19.20]

Narrator: “Now after this arraignment, departed he from the bar to the Tower again, led by Sir William Kingston, a tall, strong, and comely knight, Constable of the Tower, and his very dear friend, who, when he had brought him from Westminster to the Old Swan Wharf in Tower Ward, with a heavy heart, the tears running down his cheeks,” spoke to him: [19.22]

Sir William Kingston: My old friend, I here bid you farewell. [19.22]

More: “Good Master Kingston, trouble not yourself, but be of good cheer; for I will pray for you, and my good lady, your wife, that we may meet in Heaven together, where we shall be merry forever and ever.” [19.22]

Narrator: Then, “before he arrived at the prison, one of his daughters, named Margaret, rushing through the midst of the crowd of guards and soldiers, burning with great desire for her father, taking no care for herself or the public place or those standing by, barely broke through at last to her father, and there, embracing his neck with pitiable weeping she bore witness to her extreme grief. And after she held onto him tightly for some time, with sorrow completely overcoming her voice, her father with the guards' permission consoled her thus:” [16.14]

More: “Margaret, be of strong spirit, and do not torment yourself further; this is God's will. You have long known all the secrets of my mind.” [16.14]

Narrator: “Then, when her father had scarcely been taken away another ten or twelve steps, she again fell upon him and once more threw her arms around her father's neck. Thereupon More, shedding no tears, and showing no distress of countenance or mind, said only this:” [16.14]

More: “Farewell, and pray to God for the salvation of my soul.” [16.14]

Narrator: “On the day before the Nones of July, his head was struck off in the great field before the Royal Tower, and he spoke a few words to the crowd standing around before he was beheaded.” [16.15]

More: I beg you simply “to pray for [me] in this life, and [I] in turn will intercede for [you] in another life.” “And [I] strongly exhort and urge [you] to pray to God for the King, that He will grant him right counsel and good mind. [I] openly protest and declare that [I] die a faithful minister to him, yet first of all to God Almighty.” [16.15 & 16]