The Age of Henry VIII

Part I

Professor Dale Hoak

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Dale Hoak, Ph.D.

Chancellor Professor of History, College of William & Mary

Dale Hoak (Ph.D., University of Cambridge) is Chancellor Professor of History at the College of William & Mary, a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, and an Associate Fellow of Clare Hall, University of Cambridge. He earned his B.A. degree from the College of Wooster, his M.A. degree from the University of Pittsburgh, and his Ph.D. degree from Clare College, University of Cambridge.

A specialist in the history of Tudor England, Professor Hoak has held fellowships and grants from the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Philosophical Society, and the National Endowment for the Humanities. He has published *The King's Council in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge University Press, 1976) and has edited and contributed to volumes on *Tudor Political Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 1995) and *The World of William and Mary: Anglo-Dutch Perspectives on the Revolution of 1688–89* (Stanford University Press, 1996). He has written numerous articles on such topics as Elizabeth I, Parliament, and the problem of female rule; Mary I's privy council; the iconography of imperial kingship, 1415–1573; Henry VIII's secret treasury at Westminster Palace; the coronations of Edward VI, Mary I, and Elizabeth I; and in the field of Renaissance art history, the meaning of Hans Baldung Grien's *Bewitched Groom* (1544). Professor Hoak's essay on King Edward VI will appear in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. His book on the reign of Henry VIII will be published by Palgrave.

In the classroom, Professor Hoak makes extensive use of art as history; his essay/slide set, *Images as History* (Wadsworth Publishing Co., 2000), is used in hundreds of colleges and universities nationwide. In 1999, the Virginia State Council on Higher Education recognized his distinguished record of teaching and research with an Outstanding Faculty Award.

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Scope:

Henry VIII is England's most famous monarch and one of the first persons in European history whose visage has become universally well known, thanks to published reproductions of Hans Holbein's paintings of him. Perhaps the most familiar of these is the full-length portrait of a bejeweled, richly clothed king striking that aggressively proud, bold-legged stance. The deliberate, contrived nature of the pose was part of what has been called the "theater" of Tudor majesty. This fact should put us on guard: After more than five centuries, Henry is still manipulating the perception of himself! What was he *really* like? What was his impact on the English people? Why was his reign (1509–1547) significant in English and European history?

This course of 24 lectures tries to answer those questions in a disciplined, historical way. Henry was a powerful prince of the Renaissance, and we shall seek to understand what that meant in an age of personal monarchy—the early 16th century. His reign witnessed profound changes, changes that transformed both the theory and practice of kingship, as well as traditional religious beliefs and institutions. This transformation, or Reformation, was the result of Henry's break with the papacy in 1533–1534. Lectures Two through Eleven examine the origins, nature, and significance of the break with Rome—how and why it happened and what it meant. This group of lectures advances an original interpretation, that Henry's bellicose, war-making pride, more than his desire to divorce Katherine of Aragon, drove him to attack both the church and the pope. Each lecture in this sequence represents one facet of the question of why the Reformation occurred. As we move through this sequence of lectures, we shall build up a coherent picture, or pattern, of causation. Thus, it will be necessary to understand not only the particulars of the famous divorce case—Henry's "Great Matter" and his love for Anne Boleyn—but also his mentality of war and his attitudes toward clerics and the conflict between his own (royal) jurisdiction and that of ecclesiastical courts.

The English Reformation established a revolutionary principle, the supremacy of the law, which is the subject of Lecture Eleven. The trial and execution of Sir Thomas More (Lecture Twelve) revealed in a sensational way the full implications of the new principle. More's martyrdom is the stuff of legend. One purpose of this course is to hold such legends up to rigorous historical scrutiny. In More's case, we shall see how *unhistorical* are popular views of the reason for his death—views amplified by myths first generated in the years after his execution and magnified by dramatized versions of the story, as in Robert Bolt's *A Man for All Seasons*.

More was also the author of one of the great masterpieces of Renaissance literature, the enigmatic *Utopia*. Before resuming our narrative of major events, we shall pause to consider why More's famous little book is central to an understanding of culture and society in the age of Henry VIII. Lectures Thirteen through Fifteen open up important windows into this subject. We approach the interpretation of *Utopia* in Lecture Fifteen via two converging contextual tracks. The first, presented in Lecture Thirteen, examines the intellectual context, the Christian humanism that so profoundly shaped More's life and thought. The other context is social, and Lecture Fourteen sets out an analytical description of wealth, class, and status in early Tudor society.

The Reformation made Henry VIII the richest prince in Christendom, the result of his dissolution of England's monasteries. The confiscation of monastic property constituted another revolution; the dissolution and the reaction to it, along with the rebellion known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, are the subjects of Lectures Sixteen and Seventeen, respectively. The bulk of the remaining lectures narrate the high drama of court politics, centering principally on successive crises in the king's marital life, from the fall of Anne Boleyn to the rise of Queen Katherine Parr and Henry's return to war in the 1540s. Intellectually, Katherine Parr, like Katherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn, was exceptionally accomplished. The learning and graces of those three queens reflected but one aspect of the brilliance of Henry's court. Lecture Eighteen examines the organization, rituals, and artistic setting of the court, which Henry intended as a stage for the projection of his wealth and prestige.

Henry invested heavily in both the arts and war. The association of war-making and patronage of the arts was not accidental, because both projected the honor and magnificence befitting a Renaissance monarch. By one measure, Henry's warfare and his investment in jewels, plate, and tapestries represented wasteful expenditure. Indeed, the wars in particular proved to be financially ruinous for England. By what criteria should we finally judge Henry's legacy? Lecture Twenty-Four tries to answer this question via a retrospective assessment of both the king and his reign. I hope that all 24 lectures will have prompted viewers and listeners to draw their own conclusions about Henry VIII's place in history. Even more, I hope the lectures will have encouraged them to undertake further study of the men and women who left a lasting imprint on the culture, politics, and society of early Tudor England.

Lecture One

Henry VIII—Kingship and Revolution

Scope: Henry VIII was England's first Renaissance prince, a dynamic and brilliant, yet enigmatic person of indomitable will and startling contradictions: He could be both charming and ferocious. His reign (1509–1547) witnessed one of the great revolutions of the early modern era—a Reformation that transformed the very nature of kingship, altered religious beliefs and practices, and advanced England's status in Europe. This lecture gives an overview of the entire course, clearly identifying the topics, issues, and themes to be covered. The lecture also explains how the structure of the course is designed to reveal patterns of historical causation—how Henry's Reformation happened, for example—and how the views of historians and others have shaped our understanding of such causation. Our point of departure is Holbein's portrait of Henry, the original source of the king's continuing ability to manipulate our perception of himself!

Outline

I. Henry VIII reigned for 38 years (1509–1547), dominating his age as few kings have ever done. A dynamic, learned, jovial man of enigmatic contradictions, he remains England's most famous king, if not its best loved. Who can forget that he had six wives and quarreled with the pope? The image of him has become an icon of popular culture: He is still the only king of England whose portrait most people, including perhaps most Americans, would recognize immediately.

A. This fact introduces us to an important aspect of his reign: England's first Renaissance prince, Henry VIII, employed one of the greatest Renaissance artists, Hans Holbein, to fashion lasting images of his self-inflated authority—powerful pieces of royal propaganda.

1. There are two pictures of Henry indisputably by Holbein, the half-length oil of 1536, now in Madrid, and the full-length cartoon, or preparatory drawing, for a mural of 1537 at Whitehall, Henry's principal London palace, now in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

2. Because the latter was much copied and became the source of the now-stereotypical image of Henry—a bejeweled, richly clothed king striking an aggressively proud, bold-legged stance—one forgets how innovative it was in 1537: Holbein created a new facial image of the king and posed Henry in a deliberately assertive way, a contrived pose that became part of what has been called the "theater" of Tudor majesty.

B. Influential Tudor writers reinforced and magnified the image of Henry's power.

1. Edward Hall (d. 1547), a Cambridge-educated lawyer, London City official, and member of Parliament, witnessed some of the great events of the day. His enthralling, detailed *Chronicle* trumpeted the virtues of Henry's "triumphant" policies.

2. Raphael Holinshed echoed Hall's theme, continuing the new tradition of historical writing. The second edition of his *Chronicle* (1587), though derivative and stylistically wooden, provided Shakespeare with material for *King Henry VIII* (1613), the most famous literary treatment of the reign.

C. Popular dramatic productions of *Henry VIII* in the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries served to amplify Tudor perceptions of a spectacular king and his court. Televised and filmed versions of Royal Shakespeare Company and BBC-TV productions of the play have spread Shakespeare's vision to a mass audience.

D. The popularity of the play during the Victorian era also stimulated artists to re-imagine certain scenes pictorially. Such "history paintings" enjoyed a great vogue in the mid-19th century.

E. In the 20th century, dramatists and film producers recycled the Henrician myth in new forms: witness Charles Laughton's Oscar-winning performance in *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (1933), *Anne of a Thousand Days* (1970) with Richard Burton, and the 1972 BBC television series *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, now available on videotape.

F. In purely visual terms, what unites all of these is Holbein's image of the king. The massive proliferation of the image of kingship that Henry himself chose to project should put us on guard: After more than five centuries, he is still manipulating the perception of himself! What was he really like? Why was his reign significant in English and European history?

II. Henry VIII's reign witnessed profound changes in the theory and practice of kingship, altered religious beliefs and practices, and advanced England's status in Europe: These were the result of Henry's Reformation of the 1530s, one of the great revolutions of the early modern era. Lectures Two through Eleven examine how this revolution happened and what it meant.

A. Henry himself was "the very embodiment of personal monarchy."

1. The background to this topic is Henry VII's restoration of strong monarchy after the disorder of the 15th-century Wars of the Roses (1455–1487).

2. In bringing medieval kingship to the height of its development, Henry VII (1485–1509) also created something new, a cult emphasizing the sacred "imperial" dignity of the English Crown.

B. Henry VIII's break with the papacy in the 1530s established the king as supreme head of the new Church of England. The royal supremacy created a jurisdictional revolution, requiring a redefinition in law of imperial kingship.

C. Each lecture in this series presents an aspect of the problem of explaining how the revolution of the 1530s happened.

1. In the popular view, Henry's desire to divorce Katherine of Aragon and marry Anne Boleyn drove him toward the break with Rome. These lectures offer a different view, that the engine driving Henry toward the breach with Rome was his war-making pride.

2. Henry's chivalric honor required that in war he recover Henry V's claim to the crown of France: This compulsion remained consistent throughout his reign.

III. Henry's Reformation established a revolutionary principle, the supremacy of law.

A. The trial and execution of Sir Thomas More, which is the subject of Lecture Twelve, provided a sensational test of this principle in 1535.

B. Popular views of the reasons for More's death and martyrdom, views dramatized in Robert Bolt's *A Man for All Seasons*, are shown to be unhistorical.

IV. Thomas More's enigmatic *Utopia* is one of the masterpieces of Renaissance literature. It also provides a window into fundamental aspects of the intellectual and social life of Henry VIII's England. Lectures Thirteen, Fourteen, and Fifteen together constitute an *excursus* allowing us to explore, via *Utopia*, English culture and society in the age of Henry VIII.

A. Lecture Thirteen sets out the intellectual context, Christian humanism.

B. Lecture Fourteen provides a descriptive analysis of the social context, wealth, class, and status in early Tudor England.

C. Lecture Fifteen advances an interpretation of *Utopia* based on the latest scholarship of historians and literary critics.

V. In the final group of lectures, Sixteen through Twenty-Three, we resume the narrative of high politics from More's execution to Henry's death (1535–1547), pausing in Lecture Eighteen to consider the organization and culture of Henry's court.

A. The years 1536–1540 witnessed the dissolution of the monasteries, another consequence of the Reformation and a revolution in its own right: In Europe, it was the greatest transfer of land before the coming of the French Revolution. The dissolution triggered the greatest rebellion in Tudor history, the so-called Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536.

B. Artistically and culturally, Henry's court exhibited the magnificence and extravagant display expected of a Renaissance king.

C. The fall of Queen Anne Boleyn (1536) underscored the importance of Henry's dynastic policy, his search for a legitimate male heir, and his obsessive concern with lawful marriage, concerns that carry us through his successive marriages to Jane Seymour, Anne of Cleves, Catherine Howard, and Katherine Parr.

1. Anne Boleyn's fall and Henry's subsequent marriages reflected important realignments in court politics and foreign policy, realignments that highlight divisions between evangelicals and conservatives in religion.

2. At court, the politics of faction was reflected in the making of Henry VIII's last will and testament, one of the great forensic riddles of English history.

VI. Henry's confiscation of monastic wealth made him the richest prince in Christendom, allowing him to invade France for the third time.

A. Militarily, although his return to war in the 1540s was supposed to win him honor, it pushed England close to bankruptcy.

B. Henry's investment in jewels and plate also might be considered wasteful, though not by Tudor standards.

VII. The last lecture provides a retrospective assessment of the king and his reign. By what criteria should we finally judge Henry VIII and his legacy?

Recommended Reading:

Susan Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds: The Rule of the Tudors, 1485–1603*, pp. 1–178.

G. R. Elton, *Henry VIII: An Essay in Revision*.

John Guy, *Tudor England*, pp. 1–199.

Christopher Lloyd and Simon Thurley, *Henry VIII: Images of a Tudor King*.

J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*.

David Starkey, *The Reign of Henry VIII: Personalities and Politics*.

Roy Strong, *Holbein and Henry VIII*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What preconceptions and inherited assumptions must be overcome in recovering an accurate assessment of Henry VIII? How have the arts—principally painting, drama, and the cinema—and historical writing shaped such preconceptions since Henry's day?

2. What historical problems, topics, and issues frame an assessment of Henry's rule?

Lecture Two
The Wars of the Roses and Henry VII

Scope: Incessant feuding among England's barons—the Wars of the Roses—provides the context for understanding the Tudors' accession to power. Local, baronial government required strong monarchy; the wars stemmed from the political vacuum created by Henry VI's schizophrenia. Edward IV and Richard III restored strong kingship, but Richard's usurpation of royal authority and subversion of baronial interests created the pretext for Henry Tudor's own usurpation in 1485. Henry's victory at Bosworth is explained by French military assistance and the treachery of Richard's followers. As king, Henry secured order at home and the recognition of his dynasty abroad. He set the English monarchy on a new course by augmenting the financial basis of the royal estate—income from Crown lands—and enforcing the Crown's fiscal ("feudal") prerogatives. The result broke the entrenched power of the aristocracy and elevated English kingship to unprecedented heights.

Outline

I. Henry Tudor defeated King Richard III in battle at Bosworth Field on August 22, 1485, but this was just one of a number of skirmishes among England's barons going back 30 years. The barons' feuding, popularly known as the Wars of the Roses, provides the context for understanding the Tudors' accession to power.

A. The name *Wars of the Roses* is a Romantic creation and needlessly befuddles an appreciation of the causes of conflict.

1. The name, apparently first used by Sir Walter Scott in *Anne of Geierstein* (1829), probably was inspired by Shakespeare, who, like Tudor writers before him, associated the emblems of red and white roses with the houses of Lancaster and York, respectively.

2. Polydor Vergil, an Italian humanist and historian at Henry VII's court, may have invented the association in his *Anglica Historia*, an apologia of Tudor rule that itself became the basis of the claim that Henry VII's providentially ordained accession saved England from the depredations of the Yorkists—here was the source of the Tudor myth, amplified by the chroniclers Edward Hall and Raphael Holinshed, from whom Shakespeare forged a lasting, if distorted vision.

B. Given that the wars were not exclusively or essentially dynastic struggles between Lancastrians and Yorkists—representatives of the two families often fought side by side—we must look elsewhere in English political culture for the causes of the conflict: to the weakness of the Crown itself.

C. The true cause was Henry VI's incapacity, probably the result of mental illness (schizophrenia). Structurally, baronial government required strong monarchy, and Henry VI's incapacity created a political vacuum filled successively by Edward IV after 1461 and, on his death in 1483, by his brother, Richard.

D. Edward IV and Richard III restored strong monarchy, but Richard III's subversion of baronial interests and deadly policies—he ordered the murder of Edward's sons (the "Little Princes in the Tower")—created the pretext for Henry Tudor's coup.

II. The rise of the Tudors begins with Henry VII's Welsh grandfather, Owen Tudor.

A. An officer of Henry V, Owen Tudor married Catherine of Valois, Henry V's widow. The marriage produced three sons, of whom two, Edmund, the father of the future Henry VII, and Jasper, figure in our story.

1. Edmund's wife, Lady Margaret Beaufort, was of the blood royal, as her father was descended from Edward III.

2. When Henry VI dies in 1471, the Lancastrian claim to the throne descends through Lady Margaret to her son, Henry Tudor.

3. Edmund Tudor dies in 1457, two months after the birth of his son, Henry. The care of young Henry falls to Jasper Tudor, who in 1471, takes his nephew to the court of Duke Francis II of Brittany, where Henry spends the next 14 years of his life.

B. Richard III's usurpation and probable murder of Edward IV's sons in 1483 prompts Lady Margaret Beaufort and her second husband, Thomas Lord Stanley, to revive Henry Tudor's claim to the throne.

C. In France in 1485, Henry Tudor attracts a following of 300 English exiles, who join him for an invasion of England. From the French, Henry garners ships, cash, and crack troops and promises of support from key individuals in England, including his stepfather, Thomas Lord Stanley, and Lord Stanley's brother, Sir William, who commanded a large body of soldiers.

D. Although Henry's invasion and march through Wales (August 7–21, 1485) clearly indicate careful organization and preparation, victory at Bosworth finally depended on secret negotiations with the Stanleys and the treachery of some of King Richard's key supporters.

III. At his accession in 1485, Henry VII faced a number of obstacles to his rule as a usurper: He lacked a legitimate claim to the crown, needed recognition abroad, and was beset by armed Yorkist opposition at home.

A. Lacking a claim to the throne by direct descent in the male line, Henry VII simply ignored the problem and began to act legally as if he were king.

1. He dated the first day of his reign to the day *before* Bosworth, thereby rendering all those who had fought for Richard III traitors.

2. Because only a king could dispatch writs for Parliament, he summoned one for November 1485 and, at its meeting, secured a statute recognizing his lawful heirs as the only rightful successors to the crown.

B. His marriage to Elizabeth of York, which was meant to mollify the Yorkists, provided him with legitimate male successors.

C. His shrewd foreign policies were designed to secure recognition of his dynasty and forestall opposition.

1. By securing the betrothal of his son Arthur (b. 1486) to Katherine of Aragon, the daughter of King Ferdinand of Aragon and Queen Isabella of Castile (and after Arthur's death in 1502, the betrothal of Prince Henry to Katherine), he tied the Tudors dynastically to the most prestigious royal houses and brought the Tudors onto the European stage.

2. He neutralized his northern flank by securing the marriage of his eldest daughter, Margaret (b. 1489), to James IV of Scotland in 1503.

3. The betrothal in 1507 of Henry's daughter Mary to Charles, the grandson of Emperor Maximilian and heir to the Spanish and Habsburg domains, indicated how high the Tudor king had aimed.

D. Yorkist pretenders, backed by foreign forces, sought to wrest the crown from him.

1. A Yorkist army, buttressed by Irish and German mercenaries, was defeated at the battle of Stoke (June 16, 1487), thus ending the attempted coup of Lambert Simnel, who was pretending to be the Yorkist claimant, the earl of Warwick.

2. In the 1490s, Henry VII put down various attempts at a coup by Perkin Warbeck, who was pretending to be (the dead) Richard, duke of York (brother of the deceased Edward V).

IV. Henry VII's use of a variety of weapons, legal, financial, and institutional, served a dual purpose, to bring nobles and gentry to heel and to augment the king's treasury.

A. He secured parliamentary acts of attainder against titled nobility, thereby eliminating magnates of suspect loyalty and confiscating their forfeited estates.

B. Citing (often fictitious) breaches of the peace ("rioting"), he used his prerogative court of Star Chamber to intimidate great landowners.

C. His councillors, "learned in the law," in particular Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, oversaw his fiscal ("feudal") prerogatives, collecting substantial fees and fines from landowning families.

D. He resorted to benevolences (effectively, forced loans), which also served to test the political loyalties of his great subjects.

E. Using bonds and recognizances, he exacted exorbitant fines from those whose words or behavior he thought suspicious. After Henry VII's death, Edmund Dudley, who had collected the fines, secretly confessed that such exactions were unjust.

F. The accounts of John Heron, the treasurer of the chamber (a department of the royal household), show how successful Henry VII was in his attempt to increase the Crown's "ordinary" revenues. Historically, such means made Henry VII the richest king of England since the Norman Conquest. At his death in 1509, with order and security restored, he left his son a full treasury and a prosperous, peaceful kingdom.

Recommended Reading:

Michael Bennett, *The Battle of Bosworth*.

Christine Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses: Politics and the Constitution in England, c. 1437–1509*.

S. B. Chrimes, *Henry VII*.

J. R. Lander, *The Wars of the Roses*.

Maria Perry, *The Sisters of Henry VIII*.

A. J. Pollard, *The Wars of the Roses*.

T. B. Pugh, "Henry VII and the English Nobility," in G. W. Bernard, ed., *The Tudor Nobility*, pp. 49–101.

Charles Ross, *Richard III*.

R. L. Storey, *The Reign of Henry VII*.

Neville Williams, *The Life and Times of Henry VII*.

Questions to Consider:

1. How does an understanding of the causes of the Wars of the Roses help explain the coming of Henry Tudor and his victory at Bosworth in 1485?
2. What obstacles did Henry VII face in establishing his authority and how did he overcome them?

Lecture Three

Majesty and Regality—The Cult of Monarchy

Scope: Although calculating and forceful to the point of ruthlessness, Henry VII was not the austere miser of legend. His obsessive piety and religious devotions were sincere, if excessive by contemporary standards. He exhibited an animated, reportedly "cheerful" disposition, and he actively enjoyed traditional kingly pursuits—gaming, hawking, and hunting. His lavish expenditure on court rituals and ceremony was meant to impress foreigners with the magnificence of Tudor royalty. The proliferation of officially sponsored images of Henry in majesty announced something new, an emphasis on the king's sacred *imperium*. Representations of the chief symbol of Tudor majesty, the imperial state crown, appeared extensively in all manner of media—paintings, carvings, coins, book illustrations, church windows, and so on. The iconography of Henry VII's imperial regalia reveals the origins of a cult of monarchy that reached even more extravagant heights under Henry VIII and Elizabeth I.

Outline

I. Henry VII's personal attention to financial administration was typical of an engaged medieval king, though such activity reveals nothing of his character or personality, which for lack of evidence is often difficult to describe. What evidence has survived suggests an excessively pious, though cheerful man given to traditional royal pursuits.

- **A.** His religious devotions were apparently sincere, though obsessive, and his massive endowment of masses for his own soul suggests to some modern commentators an extraordinary psychological preoccupation with mortality and his well-being in the hereafter.
- **B.** Contrary to Francis Bacon's ascription of a dour, humorless man, several independent contemporaries described Henry VII's cheerful, animated disposition. Emotionally, he was reportedly devastated by the deaths of his son, Prince Arthur, and his wife, Queen Elizabeth.
- **C.** He enjoyed cards, chess, and dice, often wagering on such games; hawking and the hunt—he kept falcons, greyhounds, and spaniels—and, in addition to watching bull-baiting, he played tennis and competed at archery, frequently playing for cash stakes (and losing).
- **D.** Politically and psychologically, as an only child, he also exhibited a special bond with his mother, Margaret Beaufort, a formidable, politically astute woman, giving her a visibly prominent place in court ceremony, spending long hours (and sometimes even days) in her company, soliciting (and following) her advice on appointments and political and diplomatic affairs.

II. Contrary to the view, originally advanced by Francis Bacon, that he was frugal, even miserly, King Henry VII spent lavishly on court entertainments and ceremony in an effort to impress foreigners especially of the magnificence of the House of Tudor.

- **A.** Though he himself did not joust, he staged tournaments in the new Burgundian style, effectively continuing the Yorkist tradition of nationalizing chivalry.
- **B.** His own coronation and the entrance of Katherine of Aragon into London and her marriage to Prince Arthur (November 1501) were occasions of costly entertainments. The intricate *disguisings* accompanying the festivities in November 1501 featured the first true masks in England, combining dancing, singing, spoken dialogue, and action.
- **C.** Henry VII's chamber accounts reveal staggering expenditures on jewels, furs, costly silks, and gifts for foreign ambassadors. Even the ceremonial robes of English bishops advertised the king's wealth: From Italy, Henry ordered 26 splendid copes of cloth of gold, the most expensive then being fabricated in Europe.
- **D.** He created (after the French fashion) a new royal bodyguard, the Gentlemen Pensioners, attired in resplendent scarlet tunics of silk and gold.
- **E.** His treasure hoard of newly minted *sovereigns*, or heavy coins, required the purchase of 15 tons of pure gold.

F. In the fashion of continental kings, he brought to his court poets, scholars, historians, printers, and musicians, often personally commissioning particular works or compositions.

G. His artistic patronage was notable.

1. Architecturally, his great monument was his new chapel at Westminster Abbey. He built a new and very grand residence, Richmond Palace—the architectural style of which reflects the influence of the Louvre in Paris, where he had stayed—and redecorated another favorite abode, Greenwich Palace.

2. His patronage of glaziers produced some of England's greatest stained glass, including the Magnificat window at Great Malvern Priory Church and the north ("royal") window at St Mary's Hall, Coventry, both of which conveyed important political messages.

III. Royal iconography projected the image of the king's sacred *imperium*: Here were the origins of the cult of Tudor monarchy.

A. Henry VII's elevation of the status of the king above that of the greatest peer was reinforced both by his recently augmented personal wealth and new forms of address, including reference to the king's "majesty."

B. Henry modified the traditional portrayal of the king in majesty—a figure enthroned holding scepter and ball and cross and wearing the royal crown—in order to emphasize the dignity of the crown imperial. In this regard, Henry drew on an artistic program of royal iconography dating from the reign of Henry V.

1. Henry V was the first to employ a closed, or imperial, crown to advance the status of the king of England as equal to that of the Habsburg emperor.

2. Henry VI, Edward IV, and Richard III carried forward this tradition.

C. Henry VII magnified the image of royal imperialism in a variety of media, and in each case, one can detect his transparent political motives, to augment the status and prestige of the Tudor crown vis-à-vis rivals at home and abroad.

1. On the occasion of the ratification of the Treaty of Medina del Campo, by which his son Arthur was betrothed to Katherine, the daughter of King Ferdinand of Aragon and Queen Isabella of Castile, Henry VII ordered the coinage to be redesigned. He struck new gold sovereigns in emulation of the most prestigious European coins—these were part of Henry's new treasure hoard—and, for wider distribution, new silver coins bearing, in Renaissance fashion, the first artistic likeness of an English king wearing the crown imperial.

2. The emblem of the imperial state crown surmounting the Beaufort portcullis was emblazoned on the costly new bishops' copes ordered around 1498–1499.

3. Published woodcut illustrations in numerous editions of influential books (such as the first English primer in the law) ensured the proliferation of the iconography of Tudor "imperial" monarchy.

4. Henry associated the royal image with that of Emperor Constantine and an "imperial" King Arthur in costly stained glass windows installed at royal expense (at Coventry, for example).

5. Henry VII also associated his own "imperial" descent with the religio-political cult of King Henry VI, his "holy" half-uncle: Witness the chapel windows at Christ's College, Cambridge, and in English parish churches, Henry VII's patronage of "imperial" images of Henry VI with a halo.

6. Henry VII tried to secure the canonization of Henry VI and have his remains moved from Windsor to Westminster Abbey, next to Henry V's chapel and his own intended burial site in a new chapel. Though both efforts failed, Henry VII's new chapel at the abbey bears witness to his attempt to make the abbey *the* religio-political shrine of British "imperial" monarchy.

Recommended Reading:

Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy*, pp. 1–108.

S. B. Chrimes, *Henry VII*, Epilogue (298–322).

Dale Hoak, "The Iconography of the Crown Imperial," in Dale Hoak, ed., *Tudor Political Culture*, pp. 54–77.

R. L. Storey, *The Reign of Henry VII*, pp. 62–65.

Neville Williams, *The Life and Times of Henry VII*, chapter 4.

Questions to Consider:

1. How did Henry VII promote the prestige of the English court?

2. How did he augment the king's "imperial" dignity? For what purpose? With what effect?

Lecture Four

Chivalry and War—The Accession of Henry VIII

Scope: Henry VII had been little loved by his subjects. The accession of his accomplished, athletic, and exuberant son was greeted universally with relief and acclamation. Humanists in particular extolled his intellect and learning: He was, they said, the embodiment of the ideal prince, a prince, they hoped, of justice, peace, and reform. Henry VIII imagined himself to be a warrior-king who would recover the French crown Henry V had won at Agincourt. Chivalric codes of conduct dictated that Henry VIII make war on France to reclaim that crown and win honor on the battlefield. Henry's lavish jousts and tourneys in 1509–1511 were more than chivalric feats of arms or symbolic war games. They were dress rehearsals for his invasion of France in 1513. The financial effects of this war drained his treasury, propelling him toward an attack on a church whose greater wealth he envied.

Outline

I. At his accession in 1509, the 18-year-old king presented the attractive picture of a dynamic and talented prince.

A. Subjects and foreigners alike were awestruck in Henry's physically imposing presence. A handsome, athletic giant, Henry was exceptionally well-coordinated and energetic.

1. Already as a child of 9 or 10, he cut an extraordinarily striking figure; Erasmus referred to his "royal demeanor." In November 1501, at the age of 10, he stole the show escorting Katherine of Aragon to her wedding at St. Paul's and dancing with her at the great banquet afterward.

2. As a young boy, Henry naturally excelled in wrestling and foot-racing.

3. A trained huntsman, he spent long hours on foot and on horseback in the chase.

4. An expert horseman, his real forte was the tourney: Fearless and tireless, he dominated all comers in combat, jousting, and running at the ring.

5. Tennis formed part of Henry VIII's education, with hunting and archery. He played from an early age, often losing money betting on it.

B. Of an exceptionally quick intelligence, Henry was given a superb Renaissance education.

1. His principal tutor, John Skelton, taught him Latin, Greek, and French, as well as mathematics and music.

2. Henry possessed rare natural gifts as a singer and musician: He played lutes and recorders up to a professional standard and composed motets and ballads.

C. His decision to marry Katherine of Aragon carried forward the important alliance with Ferdinand of Aragon.

1. Although the marriage fulfilled his father's dying wish, the decision finally was Henry VIII's.

2. Katherine's education and beauty made her an ideal match, politically and romantically.

D. At his coronation and marriage in 1509, Henry displayed both his natural physical charm and his fashionable, theatrical taste. In dress and spectacle unlike any seen before, he meant to impress the world with his magnificence. In costly, resplendent costumes, he regularly took part in court masks and disguisings.

E. Intellectually the equal of admiring humanists, did Henry also give evidence of a disturbing, darker side? The judicial murders of Empson and Dudley during the first year of his reign signaled a willingness to act swiftly and ruthlessly. Why?

II. Chivalry provides an important context for understanding the king and his aims.

A. Tilting involved two mounted knights in full armor, each with a wooden lance in his right hand, charging toward the other on either side of a timber barrier (the *lists*).

1. Extant heralds' *cheques*, or score sheets, show that Henry was a champion jouster, able to compete with the best in England and France.

2. His brother-in-law, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, was Henry's boon companion and friendly rival. The two led opposing teams from 1517 to 1524; their encounter was always the highlight of the tournament.

B. Henry's participation in court jousts in 1510 and 1511 signaled the direction of his policy toward glory to be won in feats of arms. These early jousts, extraordinary spectacles in their own right, also served to advertise the creative magnificence of Henry's court.

1. The tournament of February 12–13, 1511, officially celebrating the birth of Henry's short-lived son, Prince Arthur, was among the most elaborate ever staged.

2. The Great Tournament Roll of Westminster, consisting of 36 painted membranes of vellum almost 60 feet long, preserves a unique visual record of the politico-cultural purposes of the Tudor tournament-as-spectacle, an orchestrated magnificence meant to rival that of the Burgundian court from which the forms of such martial pageantry were derived.

3. A visually prominent theme of the tourney of February 1511 was the king's "imperial" dignity.

III. The chivalric war-games at court in 1510–1511 were, in fact, dress rehearsals for Henry VIII's subsequent invasion of France, and his occupation of Tournai in 1513 provided a European stage for the display of his "imperial" stance.

A. Henry saw himself in the mold of Henry V, the warrior-king whose victory at Agincourt (1415) Henry hoped to emulate and, thus, reclaim the crown of France.

1. To revive memories of the glory days of Henry V, on the eve of his departure for France, Henry VIII commissioned an English translation of Tito Livio Frulovisi's *Vita Henrici Quinti* (c. 1438).

2. Henry VIII retraced the steps of Henry V in France.

B. Pope Julius II promised Henry VIII in a brief of 1512 that if Henry's "crusade" against the schismatic Louis XII proved successful, he (the pope) would crown Henry king of France.

C. Remembering Henry V's insistence in 1416 that Emperor Sigismund recognize the king of England as an "emperor" in his own realm (on the occasion of Sigismund's visit to England), Henry VIII met his ally, Emperor Maximilian, on the battlefield at Tournai amidst "imperial" display, a theme echoed in Henry's commissions for coins and ships in 1513.

1. Henry VIII commissioned a Flemish artist to record his meeting with Maximilian, a painting graphically emphasizing Henry's "imperial" parity.

2. Coins minted at English Tournai exhibit Henry's "imperial" regalia.

3. The king launched the *Henry Imperial*, the biggest battleship in the world.

Recommended Reading:

Sydney Anglo, *The Great Tournament Roll of Westminster*, vol. I, "Introduction."

Antonia Fraser, *The Wives of Henry VIII*, chapters 1–4.

Steven Gunn, "Chivalry and the Politics of the Early Tudor Court," in Sydney Anglo, ed., *Chivalry in the Renaissance*, pp. 107–128

Dale Hoak, "Iconography of the Crown Imperial," in Dale Hoak, ed., *Tudor Political Culture*, pp. 7–10, 60, 77–82.

Garrett Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon*, pp. 1–174.

J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, chapters 1–2.

David Starkey, *The Reign of Henry VIII: Personalities and Politics*, chapter 2.

———, *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII*, pp. 1–193.

Questions to Consider:

1. To what extent did Henry VIII's upbringing and education prepare him for kingship?

2. What does the culture of chivalry at Henry VIII's court reveal about the king's aims and interests during the early years of his reign?

Lecture Five
King and Cardinal—England under Wolsey

Scope: The planning and organization of Henry's first French war (1512–1514) fell into to the hands of Thomas Wolsey, a brilliant cleric with an astonishing capacity for hard work. His efforts brought the king victory in France; Henry's government of English-occupied Tournai anticipated jurisdictionally the type of imperial kingship he would later establish in England. Victory also brought Wolsey rapid advancement in the king's service; as archbishop of York, lord chancellor, and papal legate, he wielded unprecedented authority in both church and state. Champion of the poor, builder, and patron of the arts, Wolsey was also a judicial administrator of genius. Was it his humanistic learning or a realistic appraisal of the costs of warfare that eventually inclined him toward peace? His deft negotiation of the Treaty of London (1518), which provided for international collective security, earned him universal acclaim as peacemaker.

Outline

I. At the outset of his reign, the youthful Henry VIII, wholly preoccupied with a routine of hunting, jousting, and courtly entertainment, was content to leave governmental affairs in the hands of capable councillors who had served his father. One of these was Thomas Cardinal Wolsey, a cleric who so enjoyed the king's trust and favor that he came to dominate virtually every aspect of public life from 1515 to 1529 as lord chancellor, archbishop of York, and papal legate.

A. Wolsey's reputation has never been high, because as a great prince of the church, his arrogance, vanity, and corruption seemed to embody the sort of failing that helps to explain the Reformation. Unpopular with the ruling gentry and aristocracy, he ultimately lost the king's confidence when he failed to secure Henry's divorce from Katherine of Aragon. However, recent research has given a fuller picture of one of the greatest, most able statesmen of the 16th century.

B. The son of a butcher and cattle dealer in Ipswich, Wolsey took a B.A. at Magdalen College, Oxford (1497); was ordained a priest (1498); and entered Henry VII's diplomatic service in Scotland and France as royal chaplain (1507). His intelligence, eloquence, and extraordinary capacity for hard work recommended him to Henry VIII.

C. The context of his rise to power and authority was Henry VIII's first French war.

1. Wolsey won Henry VIII's confidence through his brilliant administration of the king's invasion of France, raising, equipping, dispatching, and maintaining an army of 30,000. Henry's victory at the Battle of the Spurs (1513) is explained by Wolsey's tireless, efficient efforts.

2. After the war, he single-handedly negotiated the treaty of peace between England and France (1514), providing for the annual payment of a French pension to Henry and the marriage of Henry's younger sister, Mary, to Louis XII—clear financial and diplomatic triumphs.

II. Following this success overseas, Wolsey was advanced to a succession of offices in the church and in the king's service.

A. At Henry's insistence, and contrary to the pope's wishes, Wolsey became bishop of English Tournai.

1. In Tournai, Henry claims the sort of jurisdiction that would later become manifest in his break with Rome—a comprehensive royal jurisdiction over civil and ecclesiastical affairs.

2. Wolsey understood his "honor" as a royally appointed bishop of Tournai to reflect the king's honor vis-à-vis papal authority.

B. Wolsey became archbishop of York in February 1514, amidst rumors that he had arranged for the poisoning in Rome of his predecessor. At Rome in September 1515, he was elected a cardinal.

C. As lord chancellor (from December 1515), Wolsey established a reputation as one of the greatest jurists in English history.

1. Presiding personally in Star Chamber several times a week, he vigorously attacked crime and corruption, frequently prosecuting the malfeasance of prominent royal officials and entertaining complaints from private individuals who could not obtain redress in the common law courts.

2. Believing that justice was a matter of right for *all* of the king's subjects, including his indigent ones, Wolsey set up a permanent judicial committee at the Whitehall at Westminster, charged with dealing with the suits of the poor—the ancestor of the Court of Requests.
3. He enforced statutes against enclosing landlords—those who had converted their arable lands from farming to sheep pasturage at the expense of poor tenants—thereby ensnaring the likes of powerful landlords, such as Thomas More!
4. He rounded up prostitutes and vagrants in London.

III. As a prelate and royal office holder of standing second only to the king, Wolsey was expected to live in great state. As a builder and patron of the arts, he exhibited the taste of a Renaissance prince. He also sought ostentatiously to emulate the king's own magnificence materially and ceremonially.

A. He understood the nature and function of princely *magnificence*, a sensibility he had inherited from Henry VII's court, and was unsparing in showing such magnificence in his own household and in the public and private ceremonies befitting his status.
1. The public triumph he organized in London for the receiving of his cardinal's hat was likened to the coronation of a king.
2. Wolsey built Hampton Court as his own personal residence, a place to entertain ambassadors and the king in splendor: Witness the famous description of Wolsey's entertainment of the French ambassadors at Hampton Court (1527) in George Cavendish's contemporary *Life of Wolsey*.
3. His resplendent daily procession to Westminster Hall epitomized his magnificence.

B. Wolsey's building projects were the most expensive and most magnificent of his time. At the time of his fall (1529), he "was running a domestic works organization which was more extensive than the king's" (S. J. Gunn and P. G. Lindley).
1. His greatest building project—rivaling King's College Chapel at Cambridge—was Cardinal College, Oxford, the largest and most splendid collegiate foundation in England.
2. Although Hampton Court (1514–1516) was built in the "antique" architectural style, it was meant to impress by its scale and the richness of its decoration, including classical motifs by the Florentine sculptor Giovanni da Maiano.
3. Wolsey commissioned the Florentine sculptor Benedetto da Rovezzano to design his tomb monument, telling him to make it more grand than Torrigiano's recently completed double monument to Henry VII and Elizabeth of York in Westminster Abbey.

C. The inventories of his goods and payments to painters, goldsmiths, and musicians show that "he was indisputably one of the greatest patrons of the arts in English history" (Gunn and Lindley). His patronage and massive investments were designed to impress the viewer with the cardinal's wealth, power, and glory.
1. His gold and silver plate at Hampton Court were said to be worth £150,000 at least—many times more than his outlays for buildings.
2. He bought hundreds of huge, costly Flemish and French tapestries to hang in his rooms, galleries, and audience chambers.
3. The size and quality of his household chapel choir surpassed that of the Chapel Royal.

IV. In the international sphere, Wolsey won a brilliant diplomatic reputation as peacemaker for himself and Henry VIII.

A. Contrary to what has been thought, Wolsey did not really follow a line of principle in executing Henry's "foreign policy." Like Henry, he was an opportunist and, in any case, was obliged to follow the king's wishes, which were geared to advancing the king's "glory" by whatever means—war or extravagant display.

B. Louis XII was succeeded by Francis I on January 1, 1515, and when Francis crossed the Alps and won important victories against the Swiss and Milanese, Wolsey scrambled to patch up the Anglo-French accord of 1514, which had collapsed in the face of Francis's aggression. A combination of eloquence, tenacity, and sheer exuberance won the day: He transformed a new agreement with the French into a dazzling European peace treaty, binding all the major powers to a nonaggression pact.
1. The Treaty of London (1518) had the effect of making London the center of Europe and Henry VIII the arbiter of European affairs.

2. Described by Professor Guy as a virtual *coup d'théâtre*, the Treaty of London was really the pope's plan, which Wolsey had preempted after extorting his own appointment as one of two papal legates charged with conducting the negotiations!

C. But Wolsey was no pacifist, and the death of the emperor in 1519 forced a diplomatic revolution that was to test his and Henry's opportunistic ingenuity in the 1520s, as Henry faced two formidable players of the game, Emperor Charles V and Francis I of France.

Essential Reading:

S. J. Gunn and P. G. Lindley, eds., *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art*.

Supplementary Reading:

Charles Cruickshank, *Henry VIII and the Invasion of France*.

John Guy, *Tudor England*, pp. 80–95, 104–106.

Peter Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal: The Rise and Fall of Thomas Wolsey*, chapters 1–4.

J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, chapters 3–4.

Questions to Consider:

1. By what standard should one judge Wolsey's extraordinary expenditures on building projects, gold and silver plate, tapestries, and fine art?
2. Wolsey proved to be unusually adept as both war administrator and international peacemaker. What motivated him?

Lecture Six
Magnificence, War, and Diplomacy, 1519–1529

Scope: Renaissance monarchy required conspicuous display, which could take the form of extravagant diplomatic posturing—witness Wolsey's treaty-making. But royalist tradition dictated that a king's true honor be won in war. Planning for war is central to an understanding of these years. However, Henry did not follow a consistent policy in this regard: The concept of a "foreign policy" was unknown to him. Opportunism ruled all. His opportunistic efforts to steer a course between the two great powers of the day, France and the Holy Roman Empire, embroiled him in a disastrous second war in France (1522–1524). Wolsey's industrious efforts to fund the war backfired politically in 1525 when rebellious taxpayers blamed him, not Henry, for their distress. Wolsey's credit sank even lower when, in a diplomatic about-face in 1528–1529, he backed France against the Holy Roman Empire, costing Henry Rome's support just when the king most needed it.

Outline

I. In the decade after the Treaty of London (1519–1529) Henry VIII sought to win honor and glory for himself by dominating European affairs, whether as warrior or peace-maker. Because Wolsey shared Henry's aims—what served the king's interest served his own—he tried opportunistically to steer England between war and peace, Habsburg and Valois, depending on the circumstances.

- **A.** Initially, the Treaty of London (1518) promised a new era of peace among France, England, Spain, and the Holy Roman Empire, with Henry and Wolsey acting as arbitrators. To seal the peace between England and France, the Treaty provided for the marriage of the French dauphin and Henry's daughter, Princess Mary.
- **B.** However, Francis I felt threatened when King Charles of Spain succeeded his grandfather, Maximilian I, as emperor in 1519; territorially, Charles's Habsburg inheritance included lands encircling France.
  1. On Maximilian's death, Francis and Charles both stood as candidates for election to the imperial throne.
  2. Henry became a rival, third candidate for election: Had he not presented himself to the world as an "imperial" sovereign?
  3. After pocketing French and English bribes, the imperial electors chose Charles, who was now the most powerful ruler in Europe.
- **C.** Henry and Wolsey saw in the friction between Charles and Francis an opportunity to magnify the Tudor king's honor by holding meetings with both princes, demonstrating that Henry VIII held the balance between Habsburg emperor and Valois king.
  1. With war on the horizon, both Charles and Francis were keen to meet Henry separately to secure English support against the other.
  2. Acting as commissioners for *both* Charles and Francis, Wolsey arranged for the meetings, and after Charles met Henry for three days of feasting at Canterbury in May 1520, Henry set sail for France to meet Francis for "feats of arms" in June.

II. Between June 7 and 24, 1520, Henry VIII and Francis I and their royal retinues met amidst such unprecedented splendor that even contemporaries thought it extravagant by Renaissance standards of princely "magnificence"; hence the name they coined for it, reflecting the brilliance of the royal pavilions: Field of Cloth of Gold.

- **A.** Thousands of laborers constructed tiltyards and enormous tents and temporary facilities for the feasting, entertainments, and chivalric games. King Francis's pavilion of cloth of gold at Ardres was surpassed by Henry's outside Guînes, a temporary palace of timber and canvas on a brick foundation.
- **B.** After their symbolic meeting at the Val Doré, when Henry and Francis embraced in seeming reconciliation, each dined in lavish ceremony with the queen of the other, as their nobles and great servants joined in elaborate feats of arms.
- **C.** As cardinal-legate, Wolsey presented himself in ecclesiastical and diplomatic splendor, singing a solemn high mass with another papal legate, three cardinals, and 21 bishops; proclaiming a papal benediction on the two kings; and granting plenary indulgences.

III. When it became clear in 1521 that the peace forged at London in 1518 could not last, Wolsey reckoned that in the event of war between France and the Holy Roman Empire, Henry's interests would best be served by attacking France with imperial support.

A. The Anglo-Imperial accord was cemented by an agreement that Henry's daughter, Mary, would marry Charles instead of the dauphin.

B. Henry received the emperor in London (1522) amidst displays of Tudor "imperial" greatness, and Henry declared war on France (May 1522) to realize his "Grand Enterprise," the recovery of the French crown. Although in 1522–1523 the war went badly for England and proved especially costly, the capture of Francis by imperial forces at Pavia (1525) spurred Wolsey to seek a new source of funding, the Amicable Grant, for Henry "to subdue his ancient enemies and to win and recover the realm of France."

C. Popular opposition to the grant in East Anglia—a rebellion against Wolsey's tax polices—and Charles's refusal to invade France and marry Princess Mary foiled Henry's Grand Enterprise, forcing Wolsey to rethink England's position in Europe.

IV. Reasoning that imperial hegemony in Europe would marginalize Henry VIII and rob him of honor and influence, Wolsey reversed course diplomatically in a series of negotiations with the French in 1525 and 1527. These diplomatic exchanges, confirmed by the Treaties of Westminster and Amiens (1527), were less famous than the Field of Cloth of Gold but of more long-lasting political and cultural importance. The treaties stipulated that Henry give up territorial claims in France in return for a pension, pledge Princess Mary to a French marriage, and agree to declare war on Charles V.

A. In retrospect, the Anglo-French entente of 1527, which ended the long-standing Habsburg-Tudor alliance, provided a diplomatic "safety net" for Henry's break with Rome.

B. On May 5, 1527, at Greenwich, Henry VIII celebrated the signing of the treaties in a specially constructed banqueting house and theater next to the palace tiltyard.

1. The elaborate cosmographical ceiling of the theater was designed by Nicolaus Kratzer, Henry's horologer, and executed by Hans Holbein (this was his first royal commission).

2. Two notable features of the banqueting house were Holbein's painting of a triumphal arch and the rich, costly tapestries Henry bought for the occasion.

3. Holbein also painted portraits of those who organized the jousts and festivities, Sir Henry Guildford, Sir Henry Wyatt, and Sir Nicholas Carew.

C. In August 1527, Wolsey headed a lavish return embassy to France, where at Amiens, he met Francis I to sign a fresh set of peace treaties.

1. Holbein drew many of those in the cardinal's suite, including Sir Thomas More.

2. The documents themselves bore magnificent illuminations, including some new-style portrait miniatures of Francis and Henry.

3. Lucas Horenbout's miniatures from this period (of Katherine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn, and others) show that Henry was not to be outdone in recruiting front-rank illuminators.

V. Henry's war-making and Wolsey's diplomacy in the 1520s carried fateful financial and political costs for both the cardinal and the king.

A. To fund Henry's second French war (1522–1523), Wolsey resorted to a financial innovation, a parliamentary subsidy, a direct levy on property and income, which required that Wolsey survey potential taxpayers who had never been taxed before—landless wage earners.

1. Parliament consented to Wolsey's subsidy, but for only half of the amount requested, forcing him to resort to supplementary (forced) loans.

2. To make up the difference, Wolsey summoned Convocation, a meeting of clergy, where he and the king met vocal resistance, which Henry was not to forget!

B. Armed rebellions in Kent and East Anglia against the Amicable Grant made enemies of the very people on whom Henry depended for financial support in the House of Commons, small property holders who blamed their distress on Wolsey. Only Henry's personal intervention blunted the unrest.

C. Henry's desire to divorce Katherine of Aragon, which required papal approval, now influenced, and was influenced by, the direction of Wolsey's foreign policy, with fateful consequences for both the cardinal and the king's divorce suit.

1. The sack of Rome by imperial troops (May 1527) left Pope Clement VII the prisoner of Katherine's nephew, Charles V, who strongly opposed the annulment.
2. Reasoning that Charles's hold in Italy had to be broken for the sake of his matrimonial plans, Henry committed himself to paying some of the costs of a French invasion of Italy, as required by Wolsey's 1527 Anglo-French Treaty of Amiens.
3. The irreversible defeat of the French at Landriano on June 21, 1529, forced Clement VII formally into Charles's camp by the terms of an agreement signed at Barcelona one week later, and the direct consequence was the revocation to Rome of Henry's divorce case.

Recommended Reading:

Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*, chapters 4–6.

G. W. Bernard, *War*, *Taxation and Rebellion in Early Tudor England: Henry VIII, Wolsey and the Amicable Grant of 1525*.

Susan Doran, *England and Europe, 1485–1603*, pp. 28–41.

S. J. Gunn, "Wolsey's Foreign Policy and the Domestic Crisis of 1527–28," in Gunn and Lindley, eds., *Cardinal Wolsey*, pp. 149–77.

John Guy, *Tudor England*, pp. 95–104, 109–115.

Peter Gwyn, *King's Cardinal*, chapters 5 and 9, pp. 530–548.

Richard Hoyle, "War and Public Finance," in Diarmaid MacCulloch, ed., *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety*, pp.75–99.

David Potter, "Foreign Policy," in Diarmaid MacCulloch, ed., *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety*, pp. 101–133.

J. G. Russell, *The Field of Cloth of Gold*.

J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, chapters 5–6.

Susan Foister, "Holbein as Court Painter"; Simon Thurley, "The Banqueting and Disguising Houses of 1527"; and Charles Giry-Deloison, "A Diplomatic Revolution: Anglo-French Relations and the Treaties of 1527" in David Starkey, ed., *Henry VIII: A European Court in England*, pp. 54–83.

Questions to Consider:

1. How would you characterize the aims and goals of Henry VIII's foreign policy in the 1520s? Why did the king and Cardinal Wolsey fail to achieve those ends by 1529?
2. How did the lavish entertainments at the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520 and Greenwich in 1527 serve the ends of Tudor monarchy and diplomacy?

Lecture Seven
Anne Boleyn and the King's "Great Matter"

Scope: Henry VIII's wish to divorce Katherine of Aragon proceeded from the conviction that a scriptural sanction against marrying his bother's widow had rendered Katherine incapable of conceiving the male heir he so desperately sought. Ignoring Wolsey's discovery of a watertight case in his favor—the technical insufficiency of Pope Julius II's dispensation of 1503 allowing him to marry Katherine—the king stubbornly adhered to the view that popes lacked authority to issue such dispensations in the first place. Henry's conviction *preceded* the realization of his love for Anne Boleyn, a woman of exceptional allure whose intellect, pride, and will were as great (some would say greater) than Henry's. Formally, their "courtship" followed recognized, symbolic codes of aristocratic behavior; the chronology of this episode reveals that they expected to marry in 1527 following Henry's divorce decree in Wolsey's legatine (papal) court.

Outline

I. Henry VIII's desire to divorce Katherine of Aragon and marry Anne Boleyn forms the stuff of legend. His "Great Matter," or divorce case, defines a central issue of the reign—his desire to secure a male heir. Important though the dynastic issue was, however, the divorce did not *cause* the break with Rome: There might have been a Reformation without it.

- **A.** The chronology and causal relationships of the events leading up to the break with Rome (1533–1534) must be kept in mind.
  - **1.** The pressing dynastic issue preceded Henry's discovery of his love for Anne Boleyn.
  - **2.** Henry and Anne expected to be able to marry in 1527, fully six years before Henry severed relations with the pope.
  - **3.** The manner in which Henry defined his break with Rome—the language of the relevant parliamentary statutes of 1533–1534—reveals an issue as important to Henry as his "Great Matter" and one wholly independent of it: his authority vis-à-vis the church's authority in England.
- **B.** The divorce issue and Henry's relations with English clerics together help explain how the Reformation happened. In this lecture and the next (Lecture Eight), we shall try to understand how these originally separate issues became one.

II. In the summer of 1527, Henry VIII decided to divorce his wife of 18 years and marry Anne Boleyn. Although he had probably become seriously infatuated with Anne in late 1525 or early 1526, for more than 10 years, he had been deeply concerned by his lack of a male heir and, by early 1527, had convinced himself that he lacked a legitimate son because his marriage to Katherine of Aragon violated God's law.

- **A.** Henry's doubts about the validity of his marriage were related to Katherine's previous marriage to Henry's brother Arthur: Because scripture (Leviticus 18:16 and 20:21) specifically prohibited marriage with a brother's wife, a papal bull of dispensation had been required for such a marriage.
  - **1.** Pope Julius II's dispensation of December 1503 covered the impediment of affinity between Katherine and Henry, an impediment based on the assumption that Katherine's marriage to Arthur had been consummated.
  - **2.** As Henry knew, the marriage had not been consummated; given that fact, the king might have argued for the technical insufficiency of the bull, because the dispensation did not cover a second impediment, the "public honesty," or validity, of Katherine's betrothal.
  - **3.** Although Henry was capable of rationalizing his lack of an heir, the evidence clearly suggests that he was convinced, on the basis of Leviticus, that his marriage contravened divine moral law, law from which no pope could dispense.
  - **4.** By substituting the Hebrew for the Latin translation of Leviticus, Henry's scholars told him that the divine prohibition against his marriage had deprived him not merely of children but of sons, which was especially galling, for Henry had sired a healthy son by one of his mistresses in 1519.
  - **5.** A passage in Deuteronomy 25:5 seemed to command marriage with a brother's wife, but Henry's scholars argued that Deuteronomy applied only to Jews.

B. The birth of the bastard Henry Fitzroy in 1519 only served to remind Henry VIII that Queen Katherine, now obese and aging, was unlikely to bear any more children.

1. By one measure, Katherine had fulfilled a queen's duty to conceive children—she had been pregnant six times in nine years, bringing two sons to term (in 1511 and 1515)—but only a daughter, Mary (b. 1516), had survived childhood, and Katherine, who turned 40 in 1520, would not become pregnant again.

2. Fearful that the succession of a female would breed civil disorder, Henry promoted Fitzroy to a dukedom and briefly contemplated making him legitimate by statute.

3. The execution of the duke of Buckingham (1521) on a dubious charge of treason reflected Henry's fear of a resumption of the Wars of the Roses.

III. In the year that Queen Katherine turned 40 (1520), Henry encountered Anne Boleyn, a 19-year-old woman of extraordinary allure. The chronology of their relationship suggests that the king fully expected to marry her shortly after their "betrothal" in 1527.

A. The brilliant, quick-witted daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, Anne (b. 1501) probably first caught Henry's eye at the Field of Cloth of Gold, arrangements for which her father, as Henry's ambassador to France, had helped negotiate.

B. Her father's connections and diplomatic missions had paved the way for Anne's education at the court of Margaret of Austria, Habsburg regent in the Netherlands, and following that, in 1514, in the household of the French queen, Claude, where Anne remained until 1521. Under the tutelage of Archduchess Margaret and Queen Claude, Anne effectively became a Frenchwoman of extraordinary taste and sophistication.

C. Anne's only surviving letter to Henry indicates that it was the king who originally arranged for her to come to court so that she might be closer to him.

1. The letter bears no date, but we know that Anne had joined Queen Katherine's household as a maid of honor by March 1, 1522, when she appeared in a court masque.

2. Although not considered beautiful by contemporary standards, Anne "radiated sex": Her speech, manner, dress, and bearing suggest that she exhibited rare charisma.

D. Henry's letters to Anne chart the progress of his heart. Did he become serious about her only after deciding to divorce Katherine? Or, as has recently been argued, did an exchange of "vows" with Anne prompt his decision to divorce Katherine?

1. Henry began "courting" Anne publicly in February 1526 according to established symbols of chivalric ritual, but this did not necessarily indicate his intention to divorce Katherine, a decision he made later, in late 1526 or early 1527.

2. One of his undated love letters to Anne may provide evidence that he and Anne exchanged "betrothal" vows on January 1, 1527.

3. On May 5, 1527, Henry danced publicly with Anne at the Greenwich reception for the French ambassadors, her first such appearance. On May 17, Henry ordered Wolsey to initiate a secret inquiry into the validity of his marriage; in June 1527, the king told Katherine of his divorce plans.

4. Henry showers Anne with gifts during August 1527, suggesting that they were certainly betrothed not later than that date, in the expectation that Henry's marriage would be annulled within a matter of months.

IV. Henry's failure to secure an annulment of his marriage in 1527 is explained by the ironic coincidence of unforeseen foreign and domestic developments, including Henry's own intransigence.

A. In Rome, the imprisonment of Pope Clement VII in May 1527 by imperial troops actually rendered Clement more, not less, likely to grant Henry's request for a divorce, because Charles V's action angered the pope just at the moment Wolsey was prepared to act in Clement's name in England.

B. Initially, Wolsey intended to tell Clement nothing of Henry's predicament, securing instead a blanket commission that would have allowed the cardinal to rubber-stamp Henry's divorce on Clement's behalf. Henry, however, decided to approach the pope directly and to have him solve the matrimonial problem.

C. In December 1527, the removal of the papal court to Orvieto left Clement free to receive Henry's agents. The wily Clement was not opposed to Henry's suit; a man of "inscrutable obstinacy," his purpose was procrastination.

D. Clement dispatched Campeggio, another cardinal-legate, to London with secret instructions to thwart Wolsey's legatine proceedings.

Recommended Reading:

Antonia Fraser, *Wives of Henry VIII*, chapters 5–7.

E. W. Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, chapters 1–6.

Garrett Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon*, pp. 174–262.

Virginia Murphy, "The Literature and Propaganda of Henry VIII's First Divorce," in Diarmaid MacCulloch, ed., *Reign of Henry VIII*, pp. 135–146.

J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, chapters 7–8.

David Starkey, *Six Wives*, pp. 197–313.

Retha M Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn*, pp. 1–85.

Questions to Consider:

1. Henry VIII's "scruple of conscience" with respect to his marriage, as much as his love for Anne Boleyn, propelled him toward a decision to divorce Katherine of Aragon. In your estimation, which was more important? Why?
2. How would you characterize Anne Boleyn's aura?

Lecture Eight
King, Church, and Clergy

Scope: Although England was the most orthodox of Christian kingdoms, the potential for conflict between clergy and Crown lay in the overlapping jurisdictions of royal and ecclesiastical courts. Some lawyers argued that in certain matters, the king's authority superseded that of the church. Such arguments were reinforced by a tradition of popular anticlericalism, especially in London. Although historians have overrated the extent of anticlericalism, Henry found it a potentially useful weapon against "over-mighty prelates." The king's response to a cleric's murder of Richard Hunne (1514), a London merchant, anticipated the central issue of the Reformation, whether the church was subject to supervision from London or Rome. By 1529, antipapalism had rendered this an explosive issue, given Henry's struggle with the pope over his divorce. Because Wolsey embodied both papal authority and clerical abuses, he became an easy target for parliamentary critics of the church.

Outline

I. The ecclesiastical map of England was a patchwork of peculiar, overlapping jurisdictions.

A. The medieval frontiers of the kingdom of England comprehended two provinces of the church—each presided over by an archbishop. The archiepiscopal province of Canterbury consisted of 18 dioceses in England and Wales, each the seat of a bishop, while that of York comprehended three dioceses. Although each province was independent, Canterbury was the senior, more wealthy of the two; the archbishop there was styled "Primate of All England."

B. Dioceses varied in size and population; many were rich, landholding institutions yielding considerable income. Winchester was the richest, with a net annual income from land of £4000; the median was London, with about £1100; and the poorest, Bangor, with £150.

C. Administratively, each diocese was also composed of one or more archdeaconries—Richmond had eight, while Rochester contained but one—and each archdeaconry was further divided into deaneries. The deaneries, in turn, were divided into parishes, the basic administrative units of the church.

D. Outside this system were other bodies—monasteries, cathedral chapters, and collegiate churches—which were wholly exempt from archiepiscopal supervision.

E. Although the church followed Roman canon law and was bound by decrees of the pope, each province had its own legislative body, Convocation, a sort of clerical parliament consisting of members who sat by right (such as bishops, abbots, and archdeacons) and some who were elected representatives of cathedral chapters, for example.

1. Convocation usually met when the king summoned a Parliament, and like Parliament, voted revenue to the Crown, which was its original function.

2. Convocation also issued ordinances, or injunctions, which were enforced by means of visitations by bishops and abbots or their duly authorized agents (commissaries or vicars-general).

II. No cleric spoke for the whole church. However, as a papal legate *a latere*, Wolsey would show just how powerful one man in the church could become and, in doing so, would focus attention on the need for ecclesiastical reform, because he embodied abuses that clerics and laymen alike cited as in most need of remedy.

A. Ordinarily, legates *a latere* were given specific powers on separate occasions for special duties to be performed on behalf of the pope—to act as a papal ambassador, for example. By obtaining his grant of legatine powers for life in 1524, Wolsey effectively became ecclesiastical ruler of both the province of Canterbury and York: He was the permanent resident ruler of the church in England.

B. As legate, his activity was ubiquitous: He interfered in virtually all aspects of clerical administration (appointments, elections, visitations, and so on), often diverting business from the province of Canterbury to his own, in the process collecting the fees attached to such business.

1. Probate of wills constituted an important source of income in church courts, and Wolsey diverted half of all probate matters from the archdiocese of Canterbury to that of York.

2. Bishops and archdeacons had to pay tribute to him for permission to exercise their authority.

C. Pluralism, nonresidency, and sexual misconduct also marked his behavior.
1. He appointed nonresident Italians to English bishoprics (Salisbury and Worcester), paying them a fixed stipend while collecting their diocesan income.
2. As well as being archbishop of York, Wolsey simultaneously held several bishoprics.
3. Contrary to canon law, he secured appointment as abbot of St. Albans, one of the richest abbeys in England, stripping it of its income.
4. An illegitimate daughter and son (whom he rewarded with numerous, well-paid ecclesiastical offices) bore witness to his lack of celibacy.

D. Even his well-intentioned educational reforms reflected self-aggrandizement: His endowment of Cardinal College, Oxford, and a school at Ipswich with funds from 30 defunct monasteries fed the suspicion that he was building monuments to his ego.

E. In the course of the 1520s, his extravagance and corruption became the subject of literary satire and criticism—witness the barbs of John Skelton and William Tyndale.
1. But this and other examples of literary anticlericalism, such as Simon Fish's *Supplication for the Beggars*, are not evidence of popular anticlericalism, an anticlericalism that is wrongly thought to have caused the Reformation.
2. Contemporary evidence suggests that anticlericalism was one of the results, not one of the causes, of the break with Rome: Relations between laity and clergy were generally harmonious, not hostile.

III. Wolsey's failure to secure Henry VIII's divorce in his own legatine court in London in 1527 underscored what would become the central issue of the Reformation—the jurisdiction of church courts in England. Politically, when the king chose to confront that jurisdiction and dismantle it, he exploited lay perceptions of Wolsey's status and authority, as well as common-law traditions that undergirded Henry VIII's claim to an "imperial" jurisdiction over the church.

A. Wolsey's legatine despotism drew the ire of common lawyers who had already begun to argue that the jurisdiction of royal courts was in certain instances superior to that of ecclesiastical courts. Although recent research has shown that clerical courts operated fairly and efficiently and were not misliked by the laity, the potential remained for conflict between church and Crown, between papal and royal jurisdiction.
1. In the later Middle Ages, such conflict erupted over *advowsons*, or the rights of presentation (nomination) to a benefice, in particular, the king's right of appointing bishops.
2. Because substantial property was at stake, such rights came to be protected from outside interference, that is, interference by the pope.
3. The Great Statute of Preamunire (1393) was the legal cornerstone of such protection.

B. In practice, until the Reformation, England was a model of cooperation with the papacy, and Wolsey's legatine authority, far from alienating church and state, was designed to ensure such cooperation.
1. Henry VIII abetted Wolsey's legacy because he wished the church to be ruled by a royal servant, and Wolsey may have accepted it only because he thought he enjoyed Henry's complete confidence.
2. The clergy tolerated Wosley's power, thinking it better to be subject to an ecclesiastical than a secular authority.

C. The case of Richard Hunne (1514) exposed the fault lines of this issue.
1. Hunne's unsolved murder, one of the great detective mysteries of English history, touched on *praemunire*, the church's exercise of a jurisdiction contrary to the king's.
2. At the same time, Parliament was considering a renewal of legislation requiring that clerics in criminal cases—Hunne's alleged murderer was a cleric—be tried in lay courts.
3. Meanwhile, at a meeting of Convocation, prominent clerics reasserted clerical exemption from lay (royal) jurisdiction, enraging lawyers in the House of Commons who appealed to Henry VIII to maintain his statutory rights of temporal jurisdiction over the clergy.
4. When Wolsey urged Henry to refer the case to Rome for resolution, Henry refused, proclaiming in an extraordinary speech (1515) that as king, he knew no superior on earth.

D. In 1515, Henry was not yet antipapal. Far from it: In 1521, he received the papally conferred title of "Defender of the Faith" for his attack against Luther's heresy. But Hunne's case anticipated his break with Rome, revealing a force that he would tap in his later quarrel with Clement VII over the divorce.

1. *Praemunire* provided the king with a formidable legal weapon to use against the church, because its powerful penalties included confiscation of clerical property.
2. Hunne's case revealed the fierce anticlerical temper of London lawyers, well-represented in Parliament.

Recommended Reading:

Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 43–68 (on the clergy), 98–103 (on Hunne's case), and 129–171 ("City and Church").

A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation*, chapter 2 and pp. 122–147.

John Guy, *Tudor England*, pp. 109–115.

Peter Gwyn, *King's Cardinal*, chapter 8.

Christopher Haigh, "Anticlericalism and the English Reformation," in Christopher Haigh, ed., *The English Reformation Revised*, pp. 56–74.

Christopher Harper-Bill, *The Pre-Reformation Church in England, 1400–1500*.

Diarmaid MacCulloch, "Henry VIII and the Reform of the Church," in MacCulloch, ed., *Reign of Henry VIII*, pp. 159–169.

A. F. Pollard, *Wolsey: Church and State in Sixteenth-Century England*, chapter 2.

Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, chapter 2, pp. 38–56.

Questions to Consider:

1. What were the effects of Wosley's centralization of ecclesiastical authority?
2. What did Hunne's case reveal about the potential for conflict between king and clergy?

Lecture Nine

Church and People—Heresy and Popular Religion

Scope: The Reformation of the church accomplished in Parliament (1529–1536) constituted a revolution from above led by the king and his ministers. In explaining this Reformation, it was easy to assume that the church needed reforming and that in leading the Reformation, king and Parliament harnessed deep-rooted, widespread lay resentment of church courts and abusive clerics. If such views were overstated, how should one characterize the state of the church and religious belief on the eve of the Reformation? Heresy certainly existed: Both Lollards and Lutheran sympathizers challenged orthodox religious beliefs and authority. On the other hand, recent reappraisals of traditional religion, religion as it was lived in the parishes before 1530, present a picture of vibrant traditions of popular devotions and strong levels of support for local priests and churches.

Outline

I. Hunne's case also brought to light Lollardy, a deeply rooted native system of heretical beliefs that challenged Christian orthodoxy and the authority of the church.

A. Lollard teaching—*Lollard* was a derisive nickname based on a Dutch word for "mumbler"—originated with John Wycliffe (d. 1384), an Oxford don who was a contemporary of Chaucer. As disciples of Wycliffe, Lollards denounced the pope and all priests, as well as virtually all aspects of Catholic devotion, including the mass, which they termed "superstitious."

B. In 1414, an armed London-based Lollard army under Sir John Oldcastle tried to capture King Henry IV, seize political power, and dispossess the church.

1. The rebellion failed, creating only martyrs, as Lollard faithful were forced underground, losing any chance of future support from lay or clerical authorities.

2. Secret cells of Lollards lived on, sustained by their faith, which was practiced in homes, not churches.

C. Knowledge of the Scriptures in English (in manuscript and, later, in printed versions) was the foundation of the Lollard faith.

1. It was the Lollard attachment to the vernacular Bible that led church authorities to outlaw the Bible in English in 1404.

2. Hence, possession of a Lollard Bible or other religious texts (the four Gospels, the Ten Commandments, extracts from Paul's epistles, "Wycliffe's Wicket") identified one as a heretic: Hunne, it will be remembered, was in possession of such books.

D. Lollards, though probably few, seem to have been growing in numbers, especially in London by the turn of the 16th century, where Lollardy attracted householders of substance, including skilled craftsmen and merchants.

II. In the 1520s, church authorities faced a powerful new threat from abroad—Lutheran books and translations.

A. When Luther's teachings were condemned by Pope Leo X in 1520, English authorities took up the attack, ordering Lutheran tracts burned or banned.

1. In 1521, Wolsey commissioned university theologians to write against Luther and ordered bishops and local officials to track down heretics and their books.

2. On May 12, 1521, Wolsey presided over a public bonfire at St. Paul's Cross in London. Luther's books were cast into the flames and Bishop John Fisher preached against Luther's errors.

3. In 1521, Wolsey persuaded Henry VIII to write a response to Luther, the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, published in July 1521, the materials for which were probably drafted by a committee of university theologians and organized by Thomas More before Henry added his own touches.

B. The foremost English proponent of Lutheranism was William Tyndale, whose translation of the New Testament proved immeasurably influential in shaping the English language.

1. Tyndale was linked through wealthy London merchants to the secret underground of Lollards and Lutheran sympathizers, and in 1524, he met Luther in Wittenburg.

2. With financial support from English merchants overseas, Tyndale published at Cologne and Worms in 1525 the first edition of the New Testament in English, a brilliant translation on which all subsequent

English versions are based. Numerous sayings that have acquired the status of proverbs are, in fact, Tyndale's original, unacknowledged phrasings.

3. Lured from the safety of the English Merchant Adventurers' house at Antwerp, he was charged with heresy and strangled and burned at the stake (1536).

C. Meanwhile, a circle of intellectuals who had read Luther began meeting at the White Horse Tavern in Cambridge to discuss the new theology coming out of Germany—a "Little Germany" to critics of the circle.

1. One was Thomas Bilney, a powerful preacher who, though no Lutheran or Lollard, was burned at the stake for heresy at the place reserved for Lollards for denouncing images as idolatrous, as Lollards had done, and claiming primacy for Scripture alone.
2. Bilney converted Robert Barnes, an Augustinian friar who denounced Wolsey's arrogance and affluence, became a Lutheran, and conveyed Tyndale's New Testament and Lutheran writings to receptive readers in London.
3. Another of these intellectuals was John Frith, an associate of Tyndale who was burned at the stake (1533) for attacking the pope and renouncing Catholic doctrine.
4. Some of the "Little Germany" group moved to Oxford in 1526 where, in Wolsey's Cardinal College, they acquired Lutheran books from Thomas Garrett.

III. The existence of anticlerical Lollard cells in London and Lutheranism in the universities does not indicate that England was ripe for Reformation. On the contrary, at the parish level, the evidence points to strong support for parish churches, clergy, and lay religious institutions.

A. In their wills, most English testators left bequests for their local churches. In the period 1480–1540, at least half of *all* money left for charitable purposes went to religion, and 60 percent of testators in all regions left money for the maintenance and services of their own churches.

B. Churchwardens' accounts document expenditures for church goods and buildings—everything from copes and candles to roods, steeples, roofs, and chapels. The example of Morebath, a moorland village of 33 households in Devon, reveals the pride and devotion of parishioners in the 1520s and 1530s.

C. Ordinations to the priesthood after 1450 indicate an expanding demand for clergy—laymen were becoming priests in record numbers, and churches were well staffed.

D. Nationwide, the social and religious roles of guilds and fraternities, which were at the height of popularity in 1510–1530, provide important evidence of lay support for communal religion. The largest and richest supported chapels and grammar schools in addition to a staff of priests who provided prayers for the souls of the deceased, but even the smallest paid the parish priest to read the bede roll of deceased parishioners.

IV. The provision of prayers for the dead in both fraternities and parish churches indicates widespread general commitment to a central aspect of traditional religious belief—purgatory. Belief in purgatory, the keeping of bede rolls, veneration of saints, and participation in the mass, all flourishing on the eve of the Reformation, promoted bonds of community.

A. There is a social history of purgatory: "Prayer for the dead was one of the principal expressions of the ties that bound the community together," because the souls of friends and kinfolk "in Purgatory continued to care for their families on earth" (Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England*).

B. The bede roll, listing the names of deceased parishioners, was "integral to the parish's sense of identity." It provided a "social map" of the village community, and reading it reinforced villagers' sense of a shared past, as well as a place in eternity.

C. The popular veneration of saints, probably reaching a peak in the same period, reinforced a sense of community. In images in churches, saints were represented as "kind neighbors" who would intercede with Christ for us, a power to be tapped in promoting a sense of community.

D. Although the mass remained a mystery in a language that could not be understood, participation promoted communal harmony: "to take communion was to take one's place in the adult community" (E. Duffy). Because confession was required before receiving the Host, communal reconciliation lay at the heart of the social meaning of the mass.

E. Practical, printed devotional tracts were bestsellers, suggesting "that the traditional pattern of Christian living [advocated in the tracts] was highly esteemed" and flourishing on the eve of the Reformation (C. Haigh).

Recommended Reading:

Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 1–43, 68–81.

———, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds*, chapter 2.

David Daniel, *William Tyndale: A Biography*.

A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation*, chapter 2.

Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400–1580*, chapters 1–10.

———, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village*.

Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors*, chapters 1–3.

Richard Rex, *The Lollards*.

William Tyndale, *Tyndale's New Testament*.

Questions to Consider:

1. From the point of view of the authorities, what was the nature of the threat posed by Lollardy and Lutheran ideas? How serious was it?
2. What enables historians to argue that traditional religious practices were flourishing on the eve of the break with Rome?

Lecture Ten

Rex Est Imperator—The Break with Rome

Scope: The statutes spelling out the break with Rome in 1533–1534 rested on three years of secret research (1527–1530) by a team headed by the theologian Edward Foxe. The result, a mixture of precedents known as the *Collectanae satis copiosa*, was designed initially to buttress Henry's case for divorcing Queen Katherine. But Henry's argument in that case—that popes lacked the dispensing power discussed in Lecture Seven—did not prefigure the government's sudden assault on church property in 1530–1531. That attack proceeded from a different need, Henry's avaricious desire to gain easy access to ecclesiastical wealth. For this, he resorted to a claim that the *Collectanae* also rationalized, that he was an "imperial" king whose jurisdiction, like that of the Roman Emperor Constantine, comprehended the church in his own realm. Legally, the claim represented a declaration of independence from Rome: Here was the sovereignty of the modern state.

Outline

I. The years 1528 and 1529 marked the rise and fall of Wolsey's fortunes in securing Henry VIII's divorce in England. The decisive moment came even before the papacy frustrated the proceedings of his legatine court: Anne Boleyn turned against Wolsey, prompting her allies at court to conspire to bring him down.

A. Initially, Wolsey had given Henry good reason to hope for a resolution of the divorce case, as Pope Clement VII had given Campeggio, England's Cardinal-Protector at Rome, more than sufficient power to pronounce a pro forma verdict in the trial, scheduled for March 1529 at Blackfriars.

B. At the trial, Henry was stunned by John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, who argued that there was no impediment between Katherine and Henry that the pope could not remove, and Katherine's dramatic speech in her own defense. Before judgment could be rendered, Campeggio, acting on secret instructions from Clement VII, adjourned the court and revoked the case to Rome.

C. In one sense, the debacle at Blackfriars bore out Anne Boleyn's suspicion that Wolsey could not be trusted to secure the divorce. Intriguingly, she had already turned against him, inspiring others to break Wolsey's hold on power and influence at court.

1. Wolsey's loss of Anne's favor, which dates from January 1529, was crucial, because she was the only person at court with sufficient influence about the king to turn Henry against his chief councillor.

2. Anne had powerful allies, each of whom (including, principally, her father and the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk) bore personal grudges against Wolsey.

3. With Anne's backing, this anti-Wolsey clique persuaded the king that Wolsey had misused his legatine powers and was in breach of *praemunire.* The leaders of the faction secured Wosley's signature to a list of charges, which they then introduced into Parliament in December 1529.

4. Infuriated that he had been forced to "confess," Wolsey desperately struck back by trying to secure a papal interdict against Henry. For this treason, he would have been executed, had death by natural causes not claimed him.

II. The adjournment of Wolsey's legatine court at Blackfriars and the cardinal's subsequent fall from power marked the end of Henry VIII's attempts to secure his divorce through cooperation with Rome. From this point forward, the king went on the attack in an effort to persuade Clement VII and the world that the papacy lacked authority to decide his case.

A. In 1530, Henry's agents surveyed faculties of continental universities in an effort to collect opinion favorable to his case.

B. Meanwhile, in Parliament, in November and December 1529, Henry allowed members of the Commons relative freedom to discuss alleged clerical abuses**.**

1. Several bills were passed limiting mortuary fees and fees charged for probate of wills, as well as one against clerical pluralism and nonresidency.

2. The initiatives of the Commons alarmed the bishops in the House of Lords and enabled English envoys in Rome to press home the implication that Henry would not allow Parliament a free rein to attack the church if Clement would acknowledge the justice of the king's demands in the divorce case.

III. During a year-long recess between sessions of Parliament (December 29, 1529–January 16, 1531), Henry VIII launched a frontal attack on the independence of the English church, an attack culminating in the submission of the clergy and their formal recognition of Henry's authority to direct their affairs.

A. In the summer of 1530, 15 members of the clergy were indicted on charges of *praemunire*, that they had unlawfully obeyed Wolsey's "foreign" (legatine) jurisdiction.

1. The indictments singled out those who had opposed Henry's request for a clerical subsidy in 1523, even though some supported Henry in the divorce case—a clear sign that money, not matrimony, was the issue.

2. Henry needed money for his war chest; he had depleted his cash reserves, and he was taking seriously the imperial ambassador's threats that the divorce case would provoke Charles V's invasion of England.

B. In December 1530, Henry indicted the *whole* clergy of *praemunire*, not for having abetted Wolsey's papal legacy but for exercising spiritual jurisdiction in church courts.

1. To be "pardoned" for their crime, the clergy paid Henry £118,000 in January 1531. On February 7, Henry further demanded that the bishops recognize him as "supreme head of the English church and clergy."

2. Clerical negotiators desperately tried to nullify the demand with the ambiguous qualification that Henry was head of the church only "as far as Christ's law allows."

C. Henry's brazen assertion was born of the conviction that as an *imperial* king, his jurisdiction in England fully comprehended the church to the exclusion of any other power or authority—that is, to the exclusion of the pope's authority. This conviction rested on the results of three years of secret research (1527–1530) undertaken by a team of scholars charged with buttressing Henry's claims in the divorce case.

1. The group, headed by the theologian Edward Foxe, a Boleyn client, was first formed in 1527 for the purpose of compiling arguments to be used at the trial at Blackfriars in 1529. Its membership was expanded in October 1529 by the addition of Thomas Cranmer, a Cambridge theologian, who was patronized by Anne Boleyn's father.

2. In 1530, Foxe and Cranmer presented to Henry the *Collectanea satis copiosa*, a compilation of legal and historical precedents supposedly showing that in his own realm, Henry enjoyed a secular *imperium* and spiritual authority like that of the first Christian Roman emperor, Constantine, and that "the English church had *always* been a separate province of Christendom subject only to royal jurisdiction."

3. The implications of the *Collectanea* for the king's divorce case were made public in popularized English translations published between November 1531 and February 1532—the way was now clear for the bishops to pronounce Henry's divorce in an English church court, a decision that Henry could then enforce by royal authority.

IV. In several momentous sessions of the "Reformation Parliament" (1532–1534), Henry secured statutory recognition of his new imperial authority over the church. As a consequence, he secured his divorce, married Anne Boleyn, and broke all ties to Rome, creating in law a sovereign, independent royal jurisdiction in England.

A. Immediately after the publication of the findings of the *Collectanea*, Henry VIII struck at clerical finances and independence by securing a parliamentary act canceling *annates* (the payments clerics made to Rome at the time of their appointments) and gaining the clergy's formal submission to his authority.

1. In Parliament, an outcry against the proposal to cancel annates forced the government to make the act conditional: It would take effect only if the pope retaliated.

2. Henry's new parliamentary manager, Thomas Cromwell, brilliantly played on the anticlerical emotions in the Commons in a "Supplication" against the practices of church courts.

3. The threat of parliamentary action forced the bishops' formal "Submission" to royal authority on May 15. Thomas More resigned as lord chancellor the next day.

B. Diplomacy momentarily slowed the momentum of Henry's attack.

1. Fearful of losing French support—Francis I was planning to marry his son Henry to Catherine de Medici, a relative of Pope Clement VII—Henry VIII went to France in the summer of 1532 to renew the Anglo-French alliance, taking Anne Boleyn with him.

2. Anne became pregnant during the course of this trip. Apparently, Henry reckoned that having secured French backing for his divorce, he could at last consummate his relationship with Anne.

C. Anne's pregnancy persuades Henry to conclude matters swiftly in 1533.

1. Anne's client, Thomas Cranmer, becomes archbishop of Canterbury; Anne and Henry are secretly married on January 25, 1533; and in April 1533, Parliament accepts Henry's supremacy in English church courts in the Act of Appeals, thus preventing Katherine from appealing the forthcoming divorce decree to Rome.
2. On May 23, Cranmer annulled Henry's marriage with Katherine of Aragon, and on June 1, Anne Boleyn was crowned queen.

D. The jurisdictional revolution announced in the Act of Appeals was completed in 1534 in further statutes, including especially the Acts of Succession and Supremacy.

Recommended Reading:

John Guy, *Tudor England*, pp. 116–138.

———, "Thomas Cromwell and the Intellectual Origins of the Henrician Revolution," in John Guy, ed., *The Tudor Monarchy*, pp. 213–233.

E. W. Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, chapters 7–10.

———, "The Fall of Wolsey," in S. J. Gunn and P. G. Lindley, eds., *King's Cardinal*, pp. 286–315.

Virginia Murphy, "The Literature and Propaganda of Henry VIII's First Divorce," in Diarmaid MacCulloch, ed., *The Reign of Henry VIII*, pp. 135–158.

David Starkey, *Six Wives,* pp. 212–256, 314–503.

Questions to Consider:

1. Was it necessary for Henry VIII to break with Rome to secure his divorce? Why or why not?
2. How would you characterize the nature of Anne Boleyn's role in the events that propelled Henry VIII from his "betrothal" to Anne in 1527 to his divorce from Katherine of Aragon in 1533?

Lecture Eleven
Parliament, Law, and the Nation

Scope: The laws recognizing Henry's headship of the church, or royal supremacy, had the effect of elevating both the importance of statute and the place of Parliament in English government. Henry might have declared himself supreme head by royal proclamation, but he needed to be able to enforce his claim, and only acts of Parliament could be enforced in the common-law courts. There was now no authority higher than the king's will to which Parliament—in theory, "the body of the whole realm"—had given its consent: Here was the principle of the supremacy of law, or the king-in-Parliament. Law became omnicompetent: There was nothing that law could not be made to do. Frequent parliamentary sessions and a greatly increased volume of legislation—most of it the work of Thomas Cromwell, Henry's brilliant councillor—stimulated the development of parliamentary procedure.

Outline

I. The Act of Appeals of 1533 and the Act of Supremacy of 1534 together defined a jurisdictional revolution that established the royal supremacy, or the king's headship of the Church of England, and the supremacy, or omnicompetence, of law itself. Thus was born the sovereign independence of the Tudor state, a constitutional monarchy.

A. The preamble to the Act of Appeals announced this revolution in perhaps the most famous words in English constitutional history: "This realm of England is an Empire with one supreme head and king."

1. Although Lancastrians and Yorkists (following Henry V) had styled themselves "emperors" in their own realm and although pre-Tudor writers had referred to England as an "empire," the years 1533–1534 marked the moment when the style was given a comprehensive legal meaning: The king's jurisdiction excluded all other jurisdictions within the territory known as England.

2. In the Act of 1533, Henry justified his claim to the royal supremacy in terms of "diverse sundry old authentic histories and chronicles." These were the ones mined in the *Collectanea satis copiosa*.

3. Although some of the precedents identified were bogus, one referring to the Emperor Constantine served as the basis of the doctrine of "True Monarchy," the notion that a true king's *imperium* comprehended the church in his realm: *Rex est imperator in regno suo.*

B. With regard to the church in England, Henry assumed all of the pope's *episcopal* (administrative) authority, claiming, as historic precedent, Emperor Constantine's relations with the Christian Church. But such Constantinian powers were derived from God: The *source* of Henry VIII's authority as supreme head of the Church of England was divine, Parliament having merely recognized that fact.

1. In the Act of Supremacy (1534), Parliament recognized the source of Henry's authority and the nature of the royal supremacy in the church: Henry VIII was Christ's vicar in England.

2. That Henry VIII, not the church, was God's direct conduit in England to church and people was illustrated by a Holbein woodcut on the title page of the Coverdale Bible of 1535, Henry's authorized translation.

3. The inscription beneath Holbein's Privy Chamber mural at Whitehall Palace bombastically declares that Henry has restored the religion of the True Church.

C. Henry resorted to statute, not royal proclamations, for the assertion of the royal supremacy, because he needed to be able to enforce the Reformation. The revolutionary effect was to make law itself, or the king-in-Parliament, the supreme authority: Parliamentary law became the basis of the new constitutional monarchy.

II. Thomas Cromwell (1485–1540), Wolsey's successor as the king's chief councillor (1531–1540), drafted and helped manage much of the legislation of the Reformation Parliament (1529–1536). In this sense, Cromwell was the architect of the Henrician Reformation.

A. The son of a Putney cloth-worker and alehouse keeper, Cromwell sought his fortunes in Italy as a soldier and in the Netherlands and Italy as a factor for English merchants.

B. At the papal court in 1514, he was a member of the household of Cardinal Christopher Bainbridge, building up important experience in curial, ecclesiastical affairs: Curia records show him as a deponent in lawsuits involving English clergy.

C. When Cromwell returned to England, he entered Wolsey's household (August 1514), eventually joining the cardinal's innermost (domestic) counsel.

D. The 1520s marked his entrance onto the national stage as a member of Parliament with professional connections at court.

1. He was elected to Parliament in 1523, became a member of Grey's Inn in 1524, and took charge of Wolsey's dissolved monasteries for the building of Cardinal College, Oxford.

2. His extensive dealings with Richard Pynson, the king's printer, gave him a knowledge of publishing, the basis of his masterful use of the press for royal propaganda later.

3. In the House of Commons, he introduced some of the anticlerical measures of 1529.

E. Cromwell survived Wolsey's fall and was sworn to the king's council, rising to the very pinnacle of power as Henry VIII's most able adviser and man of business. Like Anne Boleyn, he also favored religious (evangelical) reform.

1. Sworn a royal councillor in 1530, he became the council's prime agent in Parliament in the sessions of 1531 and 1532, managing the parliamentary campaign against the clergy and their formal submission, as well as drafting the legislative programs (1533–1536), including the Acts of Appeals and Supremacy.

2. With his appointment as king's secretary, Cromwell supervised all government affairs in Henry's council.

3. Even before coming to power, he had established contacts with the London "brethren," or radical evangelicals, and once in office, secretly protected them and others with Lutheran contacts. Though not a Boleyn client, he worked closely with many who were her clients, especially Thomas Cranmer.

III. Cromwell oversaw the transformation of the place of Parliament in Tudor politics and government. Essentially, he became the first modern parliamentary manager.

A. The frequency of parliamentary sessions and volume of business concluded during Cromwell's tenure (1532–1540) were unprecedented.

B. Cromwell's direct involvement in parliamentary procedure, the drafting of legislation, the management of bills, and supervision of elections transformed what had been a medieval body into the modern legislative institution.

C. Procedurally, the frequency of parliamentary debate on so many issues fostered habits that did not die—the relative freedom of speech that members came to feel was their right in governing in partnership with the Crown.

Recommended Reading:

A. G. Dickens, *Thomas Cromwell and the English Reformation*.

G. R. Elton, *The Tudor Constitution: Documents and Commentary*, chapter 8.

———, "*Lex Terrae Victrix*: The Triumph of Parliamentary Law in the Sixteenth Century," in G. R. Elton, ed., *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government*, vol. IV.

Michael A. R. Graves, *Early Tudor Parliaments, 1485–1558*.

Stanford E. Lehmberg, *The Reformation Parliament, 1529–1536*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Given the nature of Parliament and parliamentary law, consider the pros and cons of the proposition that constitutionally, the Henrician Reformation created the potential for a despotism of laws.

2. How did Thomas Cromwell's professional experience before 1529 make him unusually well qualified for the work he undertook as Henry VIII's chief minister?

Lecture Twelve
The Trial and Execution of Thomas More

Scope: Thomas More's martyrdom is the stuff of legend. Contrary to popular notions, More did not die in defense of freedom of conscience, which was anathema to him, or the supremacy of the pope in the church. Historically, his stance must be understood in the context of his refusal to take the oath prescribed in the Act of Succession (1534). The act fixed the succession solely in the children born of the marriage of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. More accepted Parliament's ability to settle the succession. The problem for him was that the oath carried an *implicit* denial of the validity of Henry's first marriage, a marriage annulled in the court of a church subject to royal, not ecclesiastical, jurisdiction: More fell victim to the absolutist pretensions of Henry's "imperial" sovereignty. Psychologically, the integrity of the sacrament of marriage was also of the greatest personal importance to him.

Outline

I. Sir Thomas More's trial was a test of Henry VIII's new legal status as head of the Church of England. The trial is one of the most famous and least understood events in English history.

A. Popular conceptions of what happened at the trial—and what people think More represented—are based on Robert Bolt's play, *A Man for All Seasons* (1960).

1. It is often thought that as a matter of conscience, More refused to recognize the royal supremacy to preserve his own soul: In other words, More died in defense of liberty of conscience. In Fred Zinnemann's Oscar-winning film of *A Man for All Seasons*, the actor Paul Scofield, playing More, immortalized words Bolt had given to More at his trial, words making More a defender of liberty of conscience.

2. In both the play and the movie, More is condemned on the basis of Richard Rich's allegedly false testimony to the effect that More spoke against Henry VIII's supreme headship of the church. More is represented as defending papal supremacy in the church.

B. Even before the 1960s, More's status and experience as a statesman seemed to confirm the essential integrity of such popular views. More was a successful lawyer, London City official, internationally famous author, and royal councillor when he accepted appointment as lord chancellor in succession to Wolsey (October 25, 1529) on condition that he not promote the king's divorce suit. He resigned within hours of the Submission of the Clergy (May 16, 1532).

II. For his stand in defense of Catholic unity, Pope Pius XI canonized him as a saint in 1935. Sainthood has obscured, not clarified, the historical Thomas More, prompting us, as in the case of Bolt's More, to reexamine the relevant contemporary sources.

A. The source on which Bolt based much of his dialogue was the *Life* (1557) by More's son-in-law, William Roper, which is based on the materials in More's *English Works* (1557), collected by More's nephew, William Rastell. These works reflect Roper's and Rastell's Catholic agenda, martyrdom and sainthood for More.

1. Although authentic, Roper's *Life* is not, as Roper claimed, an artless collection of notes. Rather, it is a carefully crafted piece of hagiography designed to enhance More's image.

2. Roper's use (via Rastell) of More's letters to his daughter after the trial compounds the problem, given that More self-consciously crafted those letters to shape his own posthumous reputation.

B. Roper's fabrications have bedeviled our understanding of what happened: He has Richard Rich, the chief witness against More, committing perjury, and on the subject of the papacy, he puts words into More's mouth. Roper was not present at the trial; he was writing 22 years after the fact, and his account can be checked against independent, contemporary reports of the trial.

C. Although Roper correctly reported that after the verdict More questioned whether the Act of Supremacy could be considered valid in light of "conscience," Bolt and others have misunderstood what More meant by this. And did More's faith comprehend papal supremacy in the Catholic Church?

III. The point of departure for understanding what happened at the trial is an appreciation of More's carefully couched opposition as lord chancellor to Henry's policies and, following his resignation, his refusal to take the oath prescribed in the Act of Succession (1534).

A. As Professor John Guy has noted, More's resignation as lord chancellor in 1532 was bound to draw a vindictive response from Henry VIII.

B. More refused to take the oath prescribed in the Act of Succession. He accepted Parliament's authority to regulate the succession, but the oath embodied an implicit denial of the validity of Henry's first marriage, which More could not accept.

1. Perhaps the sacrament of marriage was of psychological importance to him. The better explanation is that, in More's view, the Act of Supremacy was invalid; thus, to swear the oath was to commit perjury.

2. In reaction to More's refusal, Henry VIII personally directed that in lieu of a conviction in a court of law, More be condemned by a parliamentary act of attainder for misprision of treason. The statutory penalty was perpetual imprisonment.

C. More's obstinate refusal to swear to the oath in the Act of Succession infuriated Henry VIII. Having heard rumors to the effect that Emperor Charles V would invade England on behalf of the pope, Henry thought that More's resistance would embolden others to support Charles.

1. In an interrogation on May 7, 1535, More told Cromwell that because he was old and ill, he was ready to die anyway: Had More resigned himself to the probable consequences of further resistance?

2. At the end of May 1535, the news that Pope Paul III had made Fisher (also an attainted prisoner in the Tower) a cardinal so enraged Henry VIII that the king decided to make an end of both Fisher and More.

3. Henry instructs Cromwell to compel More and Fisher to swear the oath, promising to have them executed by June 24, 1535, if they do not. Meanwhile, Henry orders sermons to be preached against the two in London churches.

IV. Henry's strategy changed. He decided to make examples of Fisher and More in open court. Their trials would stand as a warning to others.

A. Fisher had explicitly rejected the authority of the Act of Supremacy; he was tried on June 17 and executed on June 22, 1535.

B. Scholarly studies by Derrett (1964), Elton (1972), and Guy (2000) provide the most authoritative basis for understanding what happened at More's trial on July 1, 1535.

1. More faced 18 judges, many of them his enemies, a court of oyer and terminer whose verdict could be appealed to no one but the king.

2. Of the four indictments for treason, the judges quashed three in response to More's brilliant defense—he was acting as his own counsel—leaving one, that in a conversation with Sir Richard Rich at the Tower on June 12, More explicitly denied the authority of the Act of Supremacy.

3. More did not deny the fact of the conversation and, contrary to Roper, did not accuse Rich of perjury: More's "denial" of the royal supremacy that Roper attributed to Rich's testimony fell within the convention of "putting of cases," the method professional lawyers used to argue hypothetical "cases."

4. The survival among Thomas Cromwell's papers of a transcript of the conversation between Rich and More in the Tower shows that More's hypothetical statement to Rich was consistent with statements he had made earlier under interrogation, none of which was treasonable.

5. The Treason Act required that malicious intent be shown for conviction; his refusal to swear the oath could not, More said, be construed as malice.

6. The judges, however, believed that More had gone too far in his conversation with Rich and returned a verdict of guilt.

C. More then made a motion in arrest of judgment on the grounds that his indictment was invalid because the Act of Supremacy contravened God's law. More says that "conscience" would not permit him to accept such an unlawful statute. By "conscience" he did not mean his *own* conscience, but the recognition of established truth by the corps of Christendom as represented by General Councils of the church.

1. When asked to rule on More's motion, the lord chief justice responded with a double negative, a classic case of begging the very question More had raised.

2. The motion was rejected, and More was beheaded on July 6, 1535.

V. If Bolt's play created the myth "that More's motion in arrest of judgment was a defense of individual conscience against the state" (Guy), Roper created the myth that More supported the supremacy of the pope in the church. In fact, More fell victim to Henry VIII's "imperial" pretension: Here was the meaning of his death.

Essential Reading:

John Guy, *Thomas More*, chapters 1, 10, and 11.

Supplementary Reading:

Peter Ackroyd, *The Life of Thomas More*, chapters 30–33.

J. Duncan and M. Derrett, "The Trial of Sir Thomas More," *English Historical Review*, pp. 449–477, repr. in R. S. Sylvester and G. Marc'hadour, eds., *Essential Articles for the Study of Thomas More*.

G.R. Elton, *Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell*, pp. 400–419.

Richard Marius, *Thomas More: A Biography*, chapter 29 and Epilogue.

William Roper, *Life of Sir Thomas More [1557]*, in *Two Early Tudor Lives*: *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey by George Cavendish*; *The Life of Sir Thomas More by William Roper*, R. S. Sylvester and D. P. Harding, eds.

Questions to Consider:

1. In his *Life* of Thomas More, More's son-in-law, William Roper, said that at his trial, More was convicted by Sir Richard Rich's perjury. Why is Roper's attribution fictitious?
2. More undeniably died in defense of "conscience." Whose conscience?

Timeline

1455–1487	Wars of the Roses
January 28, 1457	Birth of Henry VII
1461–1483	Reign of Edward IV
1466	Birth of Erasmus
February 6, 1478	Birth of Thomas More
1483–1485	Reign of Richard III
1485	Birth of Thomas Cromwell
August 22, 1485	Henry VII defeats Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth
December 16, 1485	Birth of Katherine of Aragon
1485–1509	Reign of Henry VII
January 18, 1486	Henry VII marries Elizabeth of York
September 19, 1486	Birth of Prince Arthur
May–June 1487	Lambert Simnel's rebellion
June 16, 1487	Battle of Stoke
March 27, 1489	Treaty of Medina del Campo
June 28, 1491	Birth of Henry VIII
1495–1497	Rebellion of Perkin Warbeck
June 24, 1497	John Cabot lands at Labrador
1499–1500	Erasmus's first visit to England, meets Prince Henry
1501	Birth of Anne Boleyn
November 14, 1501	Marriage of Katherine of Aragon and Prince Arthur
April 2, 1502	Death of Prince Arthur
August 7, 1503	Marriage of James IV of Scotland and Margaret Tudor
1505–1506	Erasmus's second visit to England
April 21, 1509	Death of Henry VII; accession of Henry VIII
June 11, 1509	Marriage of Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon
October 1509	Erasmus begins the *Praise of Folly* at More's house; John Colet founds St. Paul's School
1511–1514	First Anglo-French war of Henry VIII
July 1513	Henry VIII invades France
August 16, 1513	Battle of the Spurs
September 9, 1513	Death of James IV of Scotland at the Battle of Flodden; accession of James V
1514	Thomas Wolsey becomes archbishop of York
December 1514	Richard Hunne found hanged
January 1, 1515	Accession of Francis I as king of France

May 1515	Thomas More sent on embassy to Bruges
July 1515	More probably begins composing *Utopia* in Peter Gillis's house in Antwerp
December 1515	Wolsey becomes lord chancellor and cardinal
February 18, 1516	Birth of Princess Mary (afterwards Mary I)
1516	Publication of Erasmus's edition of the New Testament in Greek; More completes *Utopia* in London, first edition published in December at Louvain
October 31, 1517	Martin Luther publicly attacks the sale of indulgences at Wittenberg
March 26, 1518	More becomes a king's councillor
June 1518	Wolsey appointed papal legate *a latere*
October 1518	Treaty of London
October 1519	Death of Emperor Maximilian
1519	Election of Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor; birth of Henry Fitzroy, illegitimate son of Henry VIII and Elizabeth Blount
May 1520	Henry VIII meets Charles V at Dover and Canterbury
June 7–24, 1520	Meeting of Henry VIII and Francis I at the Field of Cloth of Gold
June 15, 1520	Pope Leo X excommunicates Luther and orders his writings burned
May 1521	Trial and execution of the duke of Buckingham; Wolsey burns Luther's books in London
October 1521	Henry VIII presents his *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, an attack on Luther, to Pope Leo X, who grants Henry the title *fidei defensor*
June–July 1522	Emperor Charles V's visit to England
1522–1525	Second Anglo-French war of Henry VIII
May 1525	Rebellion in East Anglia against the Amicable Grant
1526	William Tyndale's New Testament in English published at Wörms
February 1526	Henry VIII begins "courting" Anne Boleyn
1526–1528	Hans Holbein's first stay in England; arrives at More's house at Chelsea in autumn 1526; receives various commissions, including one for the More family portrait
May 1527	Imperial troops surround Pope Clement VII in Rome
May 5, 1527	Lavish festivities at the new Banqueting House at Greenwich in celebration of Anglo-French entente; Henry VIII first dances publicly with Anne Boleyn
May 17, 1527	Henry VIII orders Wolsey to begin secret inquiry into the validity of his marriage to Katherine of Aragon
June 1527	Henry tells Katherine of his plan to divorce her
August 1527	Henry VIII showers Anne Boleyn with gifts, suggesting that they are "betrothed" by this time
June–July 1529	Henry VIII's divorce proceedings at Blackfriars
October 7, 1529	Wolsey resigns as lord chancellor
October 25, 1529	Thomas More becomes lord chancellor
1529–1536	Reformation Parliament

December 1530 ..... English clergy indicted on charges of *praemunire*

January 1531 ..... Thomas Cromwell appointed to the king's council

January 31, 1531 ..... Pardon of the Clergy

May 15, 1532 ..... Submission of the Clergy

May 16, 1532 ..... More resigns as lord chancellor

December 1532 ..... Anne Boleyn becomes pregnant

January 25, 1533 ..... Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII are secretly married

February 1533 ..... Thomas Cranmer appointed archbishop of Canterbury

April 1533 ..... Act of Appeals

May 23, 1533 ..... Thomas Cranmer annuls Katherine of Aragon's marriage

June 1, 1533 ..... Coronation of Anne Boleyn

September 7, 1533 ..... Birth of Princess Elizabeth (afterward, Elizabeth I)

March 1534 ..... Act of Succession

April 13, 1534 ..... More refuses to take the oath prescribed in the Act of Succession

April 17, 1534 ..... More is sent to the Tower

November 1534 ..... Acts of Supremacy and Treason; More is attainted of misprision of treason

May 20, 1535 ..... Pope Paul III creates John Fisher a cardinal

June 22, 1535 ..... Execution of Fisher

July 1, 1535 ..... More's trial at Westminster Hall

July 6, 1535 ..... Execution of More

1535 ..... Compilation of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*

January 7, 1536 ..... Death of Katherine of Aragon

April 1536 ..... Act for the Dissolution of the Lesser Monasteries

May 19, 1536 ..... Execution of Anne Boleyn

May 30, 1536 ..... Henry VIII marries Jane Seymour

July 11, 1536 ..... Death of Erasmus

July 18, 1536 ..... Cromwell appointed vicar-general and vice-gerent in spirituals

July 22, 1536 ..... Death of Henry Fitzroy

October 6, 1536 ..... William Tyndale burned at the stake in Vilvorde

October 1536. ..... Pilgrimage of Grace in Lincolnshire

December 6, 1536. ..... Robert Aske's followers disperse on promise of Henry VIII's pardon

January 1537 ..... New outbreaks of the Pilgrimage of Grace in Yorkshire

July 1537 ..... Execution of Robert Aske

October 12, 1537 ..... Birth of Prince Edward (afterward, Edward VI)

October 24, 1537 ..... Death of Jane Seymour

1537–1540 ..... Dissolution of the larger monasteries

1539 ..... Publication of the Great Bible

May 1539 ..... Act of Six Articles

January 6, 1540 ..... Marriage of Henry VIII and Anne of Cleves

June 10, 1540 ..... Arrest of Thomas Cromwell

July 9, 1540 ..... Annulment of Henry's marriage to Anne of Cleves

July 28, 1540 ..... Execution of Thomas Cromwell; Henry VIII marries Catherine Howard

November 2, 1541 ..... Cranmer reveals Catherine Howard's indiscretions to Henry VIII

November 12, 1541 ..... Arrest of Catherine Howard

February 13, 1542 ..... Execution of Catherine Howard

November 1542 ..... English defeat the Scots at Solway Moss

May 1543 ..... Publication of the "King's Book"

July 1543 ..... Treaty of Greenwich: betrothal of Prince Edward and Mary Queen of Scots

July 12, 1543 ..... Marriage of Katherine Parr and Henry VIII

1543 ..... Holbein dies of the plague in London

September 1543 ..... Scots repudiate marriage treaty with England

1543–1545 ..... War against Scotland

May 1544 ..... English troops burn Edinburgh

July 1544 ..... Henry VIII invades France

1544–1546 ..... Third Anglo-French war

July 1545 ..... Threat of a French invasion; sinking of the *Mary Rose*

July 1546 ..... Trial and burning of Anne Askew

December 1546 ..... Arrest of the duke of Norfolk and earl of Surrey

January 21, 1547 ..... Execution of the earl of Surrey

January 28, 1547 ..... Death of Henry VIII; accession of Edward VI

1547–1553 ..... Reign of Edward VI

1553–1558 ..... Reign of Mary I

1558–1603 ..... Reign of Elizabeth I

Glossary

advowson: the right of presentation (nomination) to an ecclesiastical benefice.

affinity: group of officials or persons (such as local gentry) who belong to a lord's (or the king's) following.

attainder: the legal corruption (or "tainting") of the blood of a titled peer, resulting in loss of rights, including rights of the heirs, normally following conviction of treason or a felony, but sometimes merely decreed by act of Parliament in lieu of conviction in a court of law.

bede roll: a vellum roll listing the names of deceased parishioners; the list was read once a year.

bull: a sealed papal letter or decree.

chantry: an endowment for the singing of masses for souls of the dead.

Collectanea satis copiosa: manuscript collection of sources and precedents (taken from the Bible, histories and chronicles, writings of the church fathers, ancient laws, and so on) compiled in 1530, chiefly by Edward Foxe and Thomas Cranmer, purportedly proving that the church in England had always been subject to the jurisdiction of the Crown.

dispensation: an exemption granted by the papacy from a canonical prohibition to marriage.

escheat: reversion of lands to the Crown in the absence of an heir.

felony: any capital crime other than treason.

groom of the stool: the king's most intimate body servant; he was *ex officio* head of the Privy Chamber and, after 1540, the senior of the two chief gentlemen there, in which capacity he also served as keeper of Westminster Palace, managing the king's privy coffers there.

misprision of treason: having knowledge of a treason.

praemunire: exercising (or acknowledging the exercising) in England of an ecclesiastical (papal) jurisdiction contrary to the king's jurisdiction or prerogative.

Privy Chamber: a private suite of rooms in the royal household for the exclusive use of the king, admission to which was strictly controlled by him and the two chief gentlemen, or head officers, of the Privy Chamber; can also refer to the administrative department comprehending that part of the royal palace.

Real Presence: doctrine asserting the *actual physical* presence of Christ in the eucharistic bread and wine, as against his symbolic or figurative presence.

recognizance: formal acknowledgment of a debt or infraction requiring payment of a fine.

retainer: a person kept, or retained, by a superior according to the terms of a contract or indenture.

rood: a screen in a church, surmounted by a crucifix and flanked by carved images of the Virgin and St John.

royal supremacy: the king's supreme headship of the Church of England, created in law by the Act in Restraint of Appeals (1533) and Act of Supremacy (1534).

sacramentarian: a person who denied the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the eucharistic bread and wine.

secular clergy: clergy member not living or working in a monastery.

subsidy: a tax granted by Parliament to the king calculated on the value of a taxpayer's lands or goods.

wardship: the right of the Crown or (in law) a lesser lord to govern a person and his (or her) estates during that person's minority, the minor being an heir to one of the Crown's (or lord's) landholders; the Crown frequently sold wardships as a source of income.

The Age of Henry VIII

Part II

Professor Dale Hoak

THE TEACHING COMPANY ®

Dale Hoak, Ph.D.

Chancellor Professor of History, College of William & Mary

Dale Hoak (Ph.D., University of Cambridge) is Chancellor Professor of History at the College of William & Mary, a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, and an Associate Fellow of Clare Hall, University of Cambridge. He earned his B.A. degree from the College of Wooster, his M.A. degree from the University of Pittsburgh, and his Ph.D. degree from Clare College, University of Cambridge.

A specialist in the history of Tudor England, Professor Hoak has held fellowships and grants from the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Philosophical Society, and the National Endowment for the Humanities. He has published *The King's Council in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge University Press, 1976) and has edited and contributed to volumes on *Tudor Political Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 1995) and *The World of William and Mary: Anglo-Dutch Perspectives on the Revolution of 1688–89* (Stanford University Press, 1996). He has written numerous articles on such topics as Elizabeth I, Parliament, and the problem of female rule; Mary I's privy council; the iconography of imperial kingship, 1415–1573; Henry VIII's secret treasury at Westminster Palace; the coronations of Edward VI, Mary I, and Elizabeth I; and in the field of Renaissance art history, the meaning of Hans Baldung Grien's *Bewitched Groom* (1544). Professor Hoak's essay on King Edward VI will appear in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. His book on the reign of Henry VIII will be published by Palgrave.

In the classroom, Professor Hoak makes extensive use of art as history; his essay/slide set, *Images as History* (Wadsworth Publishing Co., 2000), is used in hundreds of colleges and universities nationwide. In 1999, the Virginia State Council on Higher Education recognized his distinguished record of teaching and research with an Outstanding Faculty Award.

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The Age of Henry VIII
Part II

The Age of Henry VIII

Scope:

Henry VIII is England's most famous monarch and one of the first persons in European history whose visage has become universally well known, thanks to published reproductions of Hans Holbein's paintings of him. Perhaps the most familiar of these is the full-length portrait of a bejeweled, richly clothed king striking that aggressively proud, bold-legged stance. The deliberate, contrived nature of the pose was part of what has been called the "theater" of Tudor majesty. This fact should put us on guard: After more than five centuries, Henry is still manipulating the perception of himself! What was he *really* like? What was his impact on the English people? Why was his reign (1509–1547) significant in English and European history?

This course of 24 lectures tries to answer those questions in a disciplined, historical way. Henry was a powerful prince of the Renaissance, and we shall seek to understand what that meant in an age of personal monarchy—the early 16th century. His reign witnessed profound changes, changes that transformed both the theory and practice of kingship, as well as traditional religious beliefs and institutions. This transformation, or Reformation, was the result of Henry's break with the papacy in 1533–1534. Lectures Two through Eleven examine the origins, nature, and significance of the break with Rome—how and why it happened and what it meant. This group of lectures advances an original interpretation, that Henry's bellicose, war-making pride, more than his desire to divorce Katherine of Aragon, drove him to attack both the church and the pope. Each lecture in this sequence represents one facet of the question of why the Reformation occurred. As we move through this sequence of lectures, we shall build up a coherent picture, or pattern, of causation. Thus, it will be necessary to understand not only the particulars of the famous divorce case—Henry's "Great Matter" and his love for Anne Boleyn—but also his mentality of war and his attitudes toward clerics and the conflict between his own (royal) jurisdiction and that of ecclesiastical courts.

The English Reformation established a revolutionary principle, the supremacy of the law, which is the subject of Lecture Eleven. The trial and execution of Sir Thomas More (Lecture Twelve) revealed in a sensational way the full implications of the new principle. More's martyrdom is the stuff of legend. One purpose of this course is to hold such legends up to rigorous historical scrutiny. In More's case, we shall see how *unhistorical* are popular views of the reason for his death—views amplified by myths first generated in the years after his execution and magnified by dramatized versions of the story, as in Robert Bolt's *A Man for All Seasons*.

More was also the author of one of the great masterpieces of Renaissance literature, the enigmatic *Utopia*. Before resuming our narrative of major events, we shall pause to consider why More's famous little book is central to an understanding of culture and society in the age of Henry VIII. Lectures Thirteen through Fifteen open up important windows into this subject. We approach the interpretation of *Utopia* in Lecture Fifteen via two converging contextual tracks. The first, presented in Lecture Thirteen, examines the intellectual context, the Christian humanism that so profoundly shaped More's life and thought. The other context is social, and Lecture Fourteen sets out an analytical description of wealth, class, and status in early Tudor society.

The Reformation made Henry VIII the richest prince in Christendom, the result of his dissolution of England's monasteries. The confiscation of monastic property constituted another revolution; the dissolution and the reaction to it, along with the rebellion known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, are the subjects of Lectures Sixteen and Seventeen, respectively. The bulk of the remaining lectures narrate the high drama of court politics, centering principally on successive crises in the king's marital life, from the fall of Anne Boleyn to the rise of Queen Katherine Parr and Henry's return to war in the 1540s. Intellectually, Katherine Parr, like Katherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn, was exceptionally accomplished. The learning and graces of those three queens reflected but one aspect of the brilliance of Henry's court. Lecture Eighteen examines the organization, rituals, and artistic setting of the court, which Henry intended as a stage for the projection of his wealth and prestige.

Henry invested heavily in both the arts and war. The association of war-making and patronage of the arts was not accidental, because both projected the honor and magnificence befitting a Renaissance monarch. By one measure, Henry's warfare and his investment in jewels, plate, and tapestries represented wasteful expenditure. Indeed, the wars in particular proved to be financially ruinous for England. By what criteria should we finally judge Henry's legacy? Lecture Twenty-Four tries to answer this question via a retrospective assessment of both the king and his reign. I hope that all 24 lectures will have prompted viewers and listeners to draw their own conclusions about Henry VIII's place in history. Even more, I hope the lectures will have encouraged them to undertake further study of the men and women who left a lasting imprint on the culture, politics, and society of early Tudor England.

Lecture Thirteen
Humanism and Piety

Scope: Italian humanism bequeathed to Thomas More and his English contemporaries a dual legacy, the recovery of classical texts in an uncorrupted state and the liberating value of an education based on those texts. Humanists in Italy had elaborated the ideal educational curriculum and, by their own example, demonstrated the importance of using the new learning in a civic calling: Here were humanist intellectuals actually holding office. In northern Europe, Erasmus expressed this ideal in the context of a lay spirituality that addressed the reform of corrupt institutions. Erasmus's writings, which profoundly shaped More's thinking, provided the blueprint for a learned lay piety, the piety of humanistically trained urban men and women who would engage the world. Like More, he imagined a society in which princes who were educated in this way would rule justly and abandon war.

Outline

I. More's *The History of Richard III* and *Utopia* embodied the techniques and ideals of humanism, the intellectual movement of Italian origin that so profoundly shaped the culture of early modern Europe.

- **A.** *Humanism*, of 19th-century German coinage, is derived from the late 15th-century Italian *humanista*, or "humanist," a teacher of the "humanities," or *studia humanitatis.*
- **B.** *Humanitas*, from which *humanist* derives, is Cicero's translation of the Greek *paedeia*, literally "education" or "culture," "an educational and cultural program based on the study of the classics and colored by the notion of human dignity" (E. Rice).
- **C.** Humanism became the most important intellectual movement of the Renaissance, thanks to the early efforts of Petrarch (1304–1374) and Boccaccio (1313–1375). Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's *Oration on the Dignity of Man* (1486) became a humanist manifesto of sorts.
- **D.** Given the possibilities of human perfectibility, the drive to absorb classical learning became all-consuming, with important consequences for the development of modern culture.
  1. Humanism promoted the search for manuscript copies of Greek and Roman texts. In Florence, the Medici underwrote the collection and copying of such manuscripts at the Florentine Academy under the direction of Marsiglio Ficino (1433–1499).
  2. The insistence on original, uncorrupted texts stimulated the rediscovery of "pure" Latin. Cicero's Latin became the standard.
  3. An awareness of Latin linguistic changes since Cicero's time prompted scholars to examine traditional Latin texts more critically. Lorenzo Valla demonstrated that the *Donation of Constantine* was a forgery.
  4. Such study stimulated a new historical sensibility, along with (among Florentines) an imaginative identification with Cicero's Rome and, following the arrival of Greek speakers after the fall of Constantinople in 1456, the Athens of Socrates, Plato, and Pericles.
  5. The careers of Cicero (or such statesmen and generals as Pericles) offered examples of the *vita activa* and defined the "civic humanism" of intellectuals in office, an ideal embodied by several chancellors of Florence—Salutati in the 1390s and Bruni (1410).
  6. In the early 16th century, the ideals and realities of Italian humanism were expressed in different ways in Castiglione's *The Courtier* (1516) and Guicciardini's *History of Italy* (1535).

II. Italians in England in the mid-15th century seeded the development of humanism at the royal court, and in the next generation, English scholars who had traveled to Greece and Italy laid the groundwork for the full reception of classical culture among English intellectuals.

- **A.** Pietro del Monte, a collector of papal revenue (1435–1440), wrote the first humanist treatise in England, *Differences between the Virtues and Vices.*
  1. As literary adviser to Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, del Monte persuaded the duke to appoint Tito Livio Frulovisi his "reader." Frulovisi's *Life of Henry V* (c. 1437) employed the full range of humanist rhetorical techniques.

2. Del Monte encouraged the duke's passion for book collecting, sending him volumes from Italy after 1440 and putting him in touch with Bruni for the purchase of manuscripts.
3. In 1439–1444, Duke Humphrey gave to Oxford University his library of 280 works, including translations of classical authors and humanist tracts by Bruni and Salutati.

B. Following a three-year sojourn in Italy (1493–1496), John Colet (1467–1524) electrified Oxford with his lectures on Paul's Epistles.
1. As dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, Colet founded St. Paul's School (1509). The new curriculum combined classical Latin authors and Christian teaching. For use at St. Paul's School, the first master, William Lily (b. 1468), composed a Latin grammar, a standard text used for the next several centuries. (Lily had also been to Italy.)
2. Colet's faith, learning, and preaching were deeply influential. For More's generation, he embodied the link between piety and humanist educational reform.

C. After a trip to Florence (1488–1490), William Grocyn (1449–1519) became Oxford's first lecturer in Greek (and the first in England), instructing More in Greek (1501) while More was a student at Oxford. Grocyn laid the foundations for intellectual criticism of the church with his exposure of the fraudulent nature of Dyonisius the Areopagite's *Celestial Hierarchy.*

D. Thomas Linacre took an M.D. degree at Padua, founded the London College of Physicians, became royal physician to Henry VIII, translated Galen into Latin, and taught Greek at Oxford. In 1499, Linacre and Grocyn introduced Erasmus to the study of Greek.

III. Erasmus's introduction to Greek during the first of his three trips to England was to revolutionize humanist culture in northern Europe. Erasmus (1466–1536), the greatest of the northern humanists, was one of the most influential intellectuals of the whole Reformation era.

A. The *devotio moderna* of the schools of the Brethren of the Common Life at Devanter was an early influence on Erasmus.
1. The Brethren, founded by Gerard Groote (d. 1384), were an order of laymen in revolt against institutionalized religion.
2. Their emphasis on the practical Christian life finds influential expression in Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* (1441).

B. Erasmus's prolific writings for both literate lay people and scholars helped shape a distinctive northern Christian humanist culture emphasizing the fusion of learning and piety.
1. The *Adages* (1500), a collection of proverbs with commentary, became a standard reference work for all writers and scholars.
2. The *Praise of Folly*, written at More's house in 1509, a scathing, witty satire on ignorance, pedantry, and religious obscuritanism, outsold every book except the Bible during the 16th century.
3. When Tyndale translated the New Testament into English for the first time, he used Erasmus's Greek edition, the publication of which (1516) marked a turning point in Western Christian culture.
4. The *Colloquies* (1522), phrase books to facilitate the speaking and writing of Latin, influenced Rabelais, Shakespeare, and Cervantes. Exposing clerical abuses, it played a part in the Reformation, though Erasmus never broke with the church.
5. The *Manual of a Christian Soldier* (1503–1504) explained the "philosophy of Christ" (*philosophia Christi*) to educated laymen and women: It was the spiritual blueprint for those seeking the practical, active life of Christian virtue.

C. Erasmus defended human free will, showing that a humanist education joined to Christian piety enabled one to direct free will wisely.
1. The Erasmian ideal inspired such men as Colet to found schools for those who would become active in practical public affairs. Erasmus himself helped draft the regulations for St. Paul's School.
2. The practical aspects of Erasmian ideals held great promise for a European nobility and political elite educated in such schools.

D. Erasmus was the intellectual father of modern tolerance and pacifism, both of which were implicit in the ideal of human perfectibility through education. He intellectualized faith and contrasted learning, which he exalted, with force, which he abhorred.
1. He praised those who refused to make categorical judgments: Here was a definition of the intellectual.

2. His idea of the perfect society was one in which a prince who was educated according to the "philosophy of Christ" would rule justly and abandon war—a utopia!

Recommended Reading:

Maria Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII*.

G. R. Elton, "Humanism in England," in G. R. Elton, *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government*, vol. IV, pp. 209–229.

Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly and other Writings*, trans. and ed., Robert M. Adams.

Alistair Fox, "Facts and Fallacies: Interpreting English Humanism," in Alistair Fox and John Guy, eds., *Reassessing the Henrician Age: Humanism, Politics and Reform, 1500–1550*, pp. 9–33.

Marius, *Thomas More*, "Thomas More and the Renaissance," chapter 5, and "Erasmus and More," chapter 6.

Eugene F. Rice, Jr., *The Foundations of Early Modern Europe, 1460–1559*, chapter 3.

Erika Rummel, "Desiderius Erasmus," *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*, vol. 2, pp. 284–290.

James Tracy, *Erasmus of the Low Countries*.

Questions to Consider:

1. How did the humanists' insistence on the use of Ciceronian Latin spur textual criticism and the development of a new historical imagination?
2. What was the Erasmian "philosophy of Christ" and why did it hold profound implications for the transformation of Western Christian culture and society?

Lecture Fourteen
Wealth, Class, and Status

Scope: Hans Holbein's portrait of Thomas More's family portrays humanistically educated men and women in a private, devotional setting. Although More did not think women should seek public office, like Erasmus, he promoted the education of women. Holbein's drawing is also a picture of the material luxury of More's domestic environment. More was one of the wealthiest citizens of the realm; he kept a huge household establishment in an architecturally grand, sophisticated setting. The narrator of More's *Utopia* thought English society "a conspiracy of the rich." What was the reality? The bulk of the nation's wealth was held by a privileged few; less than 0.2 percent of England's 2.5 million people collected 70 percent of all income derived from land. Land conveyed gentility, which More lacked, though he was wealthier than many gentlemen. In such a society, how should one describe the place and status of men like More?

Outline

I. On one level, Holbein's portrait of Sir Thomas More's family provides a picture of men and women educated according to the Erasmian ideal.

- **A.** On Erasmus's advice, Holbein arrived at More's Chelsea house in the fall of 1526, where he lived for a while. Of the original painting of circa 1527 (destroyed in 1752), three versions survive, Holbein's own preparatory drawing in Basel and two later, artistically inferior copies by others.
  - **1.** Of the 10 persons in the Holbein drawing, 6 are women, and all are literate, as they are associated with books. The books are probably devotional works: Holbein has captured the family at the moment of daily religious devotions.
  - **2.** Among the More women, Margaret, his eldest daughter, was intellectually and educationally the most celebrated, perhaps the best educated Tudor woman of her day.
- **B.** For the education of members of his immediate family (and some servants), More prescribed private instruction according to the Christian humanist agenda—instruction in the classics and church fathers. Here was what he called his "school," which Erasmus likened admiringly to a Tudor Christian version of Plato's Academy.
- **C.** If this is a picture of the Erasmian prescription—that of an urban lay household of ideally educated men and women, the men among them equipped especially to serve the state—the portrait may provide a visual clue to what More had in mind when he penned *Utopia* 12 years earlier.

II. On another level, Holbein's portrait portrays a very wealthy, socially well-connected family in a materially sumptuous domestic setting; thus, it provides a window into one aspect of early Tudor society.

- **A.** A drawing of 1595 of the floor plan shows a large, two-story, red-brick house fronting the Thames River at Chelsea; the scale is that of an Oxford or Cambridge college.
  - **1.** In addition to the mansion house, for More's private use, there was a large separate "new building" consisting of a library, chapel, and gallery.
  - **2.** At least 100 people lived in More's household at his expense.
  - **3.** The room shown by Holbein is that of an interior befitting a sophisticated member of the royal court.
  - **4.** The furnishings include a carved, hooded oak buffet displaying silver plate; musical instruments (viol and clavichord); an expensive wall hanging, or curtain; a hanging, weight-driven pendulum clock; an interior canopied porch; a diamond-latticed window; and books and more silver plate in the windowsill.
- **B.** The individuals shown constitute more than a family; they represent "a great network of money, patronage, and power" (Ackroyd).
  - **1.** More's daughters Elizabeth and Cecily married men whose fathers held important royal offices and who themselves acquired profitable royal offices and seats in Parliament. They are shown in fashionable, expensive dress.
  - **2.** A "second More circle" of relations were lawyers and administrators at court, in Parliament, and the courts of law.

III. As a commoner, More lacked the social status of a landowning peer or gentleman. How should one describe social class and status in More's England, a society of landed lords, urban professionals (or citizens), artisans and craftsmen, and the many servants employed by those lords and citizens and, in some cases, substantial artisans?

A. By our standards, More was "middle class" in origin, but that designation, reflecting social models derived from 19th-century analyses of early industrial society, is inappropriate for early Tudor England.

B. In any case, identity in Tudor England was not individualistic but based on residence in the household of a married male. The "prodigy" houses of the aristocracy and gentry were foremost, and the heads of such households, together with those of the greatest citizens, constituted the political nation.

1. Society was gerontocratic: Privilege equated with age.

2. Society was hierarchical and patriarchal, arranged in a ladder of ranks, from the king at the top, down through four groups: aristocracy and gentry; citizens and burgesses; yeomen; and all others, a group including artificers (tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, masons), shopkeepers, and day laborers and poor husbandmen. Women, all servants, apprentices, children, and the poor were excluded, although in practice, widows, for example, were freer than this grouping would suggest.

3. In terms of social prestige, peers and gentry constituted the elite, leisured class. At the time of Henry VIII's death (1547), there were 48 lay peers (aristocrats) and perhaps as many as 5,000 gentry of all types—knights, esquires, and lesser gentlemen—or about 0.18 percent of a population of perhaps 2.8 million people.

C. There were two main types of urban freemen, that is, substantial citizens and burgesses like More who were likely to hold civic offices: "merchants" (big exporters in the large cities, wholesalers, retailers, customs farmers and contractors, and financiers and bankers) and lawyers (including local attorneys and solicitors, barristers trained at one of the Inns of Court, and great judges). This hierarchy of occupations included clergy and "administrators" (that is, those whose income was derived essentially from offices in the royal household, departments of state, or the army and navy).

D. "Family" included all resident kin, as well as servants and apprentices living in (for such people, the master and his wife became surrogate parents). Thirty to forty percent of all households had servants.

1. Among the landowning elite and rich citizenry, households might have counted (as in More's case) as many as 100 persons.

2. In provincial towns, the average size of poor families was about 2.6 persons and 9 for the richest.

IV. Wealth was very unequally distributed.

A. With regard to the ownership of land, less than 0.2 percent of the population collected 70 percent of all income derived from land. Consider the proportion of land owned within a single county by the Crown (25 percent), the church (30 percent), abbeys (8 percent), and gentry (37 percent). Four percent of the population of Rutland (302 landowners) held 43 percent of the land.

B. In London in 1522, of 10,735 persons assessed for taxes (of a total population of about 60,000), 535 individuals, or 5 percent of those assessed, accounted for 93 percent of the wealth, the richest 45 individuals (0.4 percent) accounting for almost a third (31.2 percent).

1. London was the largest city in England. In Coventry, the eighth largest with about 6,000 to 7,000 people, the top 5 percent owned just about three-fourth of all personal wealth.

2. Two-thirds of the population of England's towns lived at the poverty line, owning no house or property.

C. With regard to wage-earners, a carpenter making four pennies per day, or ten shillings per week, might make as much as £10 per annum. On that scale, a gentleman collecting £500 in rents from lands would be a millionaire in 21st-century America (where the carpenter would make about $20,000 per year).

D. Some merchants were far more wealthy than their social superiors in the gentry and aristocracy. They sought to bridge the gap of social status by buying their way into the ranks of the landowning elite by buying land and acquiring a coat of arms. Money, not birth, mattered: Sir Thomas Smith's description (1565) of the making of an English gentleman revealed that the gentry were defined functionally and financially, not socially.

E. The narrator of More's *Utopia* thought contemporary society "a conspiracy of the rich." The Thomas More portrayed in Holbein's *More Family Portrait* was himself one of the richest, most powerful men in

England. Is it possible to square this More with the More whose *Utopia* abolished money and private property?

Recommended Reading:

Peter Ackroyd, *The Life of Thomas More*, chapter 22 (on the Holbein drawing).

John Guy, *Thomas More*, chapter 4 (on More's family and the Holbein drawing).

W. G. Hoskins, *The Age of Plunder: The Age of Henry VIII, 1500–1547*, chapters 1–5.

Questions to Consider:

1. What sort of evidence does Holbein's portrait of More's family provide for the history of early Tudor culture and society?
2. If you were asked to construct or draw a model representing the structure of early Tudor society—that is, a model reflecting class, status, and wealth—what would it look like?

Lecture Fifteen
More's *Utopia*

Scope: More was one of England's wealthiest, most privileged, and powerful citizens, a defender of orthodox Christian beliefs. His *Utopia*, a masterpiece of world literature, presents the picture of a communistic pagan society that has abolished social status based on private property. More's witty, ambiguous style, like the *Utopia* of the title—the word means "nowhere"—seems to suggest a playful literary hoax. Even the deceptive form of *Utopia*, an intellectually subversive dialogue, masks More's serious intent, to discover *The Best State of a Commonwealth*, which is also part of the title. Drawing on traditions in moral philosophy and classical humanism, More's book fuses the ideals of Plato's *Republic*, the practical implications of Cicero's *vita activa*, and the social radicalism of the New Testament. In this sense, *Utopia* embodies More's personal quest to understand the "proper relationship between philosophy and public life."

Outline

I. *Utopia* was conceived and partly written in the banking and commercial cities of Bruges and Antwerp in the company of Erasmus and Erasmus's friend Peter Gillis, who (like More) were then much concerned with two interlocking moral and political issues, the role of the intellectual in politics and the nature of political power and authority.

A. A master of commercial law, More was sent to Bruges on May 12, 1515, by Henry VIII to renegotiate commercial treaties with Flemish merchants engaged in the wool trade with England, a vital trade threatened by the recent alliance of the French and Charles, regent of the Habsburg Netherlands.

B. In Bruges, More encountered learned humanists serving as civic administrators and public officials, and Erasmus, who visited him at the end of May 1515. Erasmus and More may have discussed the nature of proper statecraft, the subject of *Education of a Christian Prince*, Erasmus's just-completed treatise addressed to Charles. The central theme is how, following pagan models, princes might rule virtuously.

C. At the end of July 1515, More went to Antwerp, where he spent six weeks with Peter Gillis, who was chief secretary of the city.

1. According to Erasmus, More wrote the second half of *Utopia* first—this is now Book II, which treats utopian society—in the Netherlands; it is possible that More completed this section in Antwerp, perhaps even in Gillis's house.

2. Gillis and More shared important intellectual and practical concerns, such as the nature of equity and civic duty and the futility of war and treaty-making.

D. On his return to England, More completed what is now Book I of *Utopia*, which is concerned with the state of English society and the nature of political counsel.

II. *Utopia* begins in the square outside the cathedral church of Notre Dame in Antwerp, where More has just attended mass. Peter Gillis introduces him to Raphael Hythlodaeus, a Portuguese traveler who, in the course of his voyages with Amerigo Vespucci, encountered new-found peoples living in societies "from which our own cities…and kingdoms might take example in order to correct their errors." Raphael lived among the Utopians, finding their institutions "better than ours."

A. Better indeed, given More's indictment of the ills of Tudor English society, which follows.

1. Power-hungry princes selfishly make war.

2. Avaricious landlords enclose tillable land with disastrous economic and social consequences.

3. The rich give their extortion the color of law.

4. Dress is extravagant, reflecting the profligate pride of the idle rich.

5. Incompetent schoolmasters whip their students, masking their own ignorance.

6. Monks, like lawyers, have become living anachronisms.

7. People have accommodated Christ's teaching to the way they live, rather than living according to Christ's teachings. Pride, the ultimate evil, spawns greed and ambition.

B. Following this indictment, there ensues a dialogue, the famous "Dialogue of Counsel," between Raphael and the fictitious "More." The two ponder whether humanist intellectuals like themselves have an obligation to enter royal service to help redress the type of ills mentioned above.
  1. Raphael argues that there is no place for philosophy in the councils of kings.
  2. "More" says, "Don't give up the ship in a storm because you can't direct the winds"; that one "must strive to influence policy indirectly"; and that what "you cannot turn to good you may at least…make less bad."

III. The ethical, reasonable nature of Utopia stands in stark contrast to the failings of contemporary Christian society described in Book I. Did More mean for readers to look into the "mirror" of Utopia to see how far short of Christian living Tudor England had fallen?

A. Peter Gillis tells More that Raphael is learned in Greek and Latin, which is important to More's purpose, because Raphael introduces Utopia via Plato.

B. Raphael describes a society free of money, poverty, pride, greed, and crime.
  1. There are 54 identical cities, the streets and houses of which are laid out in uniform, geometric patterns. The houses are all alike; households are of identical size; food is free; meals are taken communally.
  2. The Utopians wear the same clothes of dun-colored wool, with distinctions indicating only sex or marital status.
  3. Because property is held in common and all needs are met, money and private wealth have been abolished.
  4. Utopians work six hours a day, spending the rest of the time in purposeful activities. There is no idleness.
  5. There is no privacy; indeed, everyone is watched all the time! Sexual misconduct is punished severely.
  6. The Utopians embrace education, which is universally available, and are especially eager to learn Greek in order to absorb Greek philosophy. Their objective is to obey the dictates of reason and live virtuously, according to nature.
  7. The Utopians are pacifists. Though they abhor war, they are prepared to defend themselves by arms or go to war to liberate an oppressed people.
  8. The Utopians tolerate various religions. When they heard about Christianity, reason persuaded them to accept it, because it was so like their own religion.

IV. Scholars have identified a number of classical and Christian traditions that influenced More's conception of the polity described in Book II of *Utopia*.

A. In addition to Plato's *Republic*, these sources are: Augustine's *City of God*, the ideals of the monastic calling; the pagan virtues of wisdom, fortitude, temperance, and justice; and the notion, derived from the Christian church fathers, that private property arose as a *consequence* of original sin.

B. Such sources clearly place More's *Utopia* within the framework of northern Christian humanist concerns.

C. However, the absurdities and contradictions in *Utopia* seem to undermine the view that More was serious.
  1. The Greek roots of names create absurdities.
  2. Vespucci's historical reputation in the 1510s was that of a liar who fabricated reports of strange peoples, spurious accounts in which the natives lacked a concept of private property!
  3. More's use of *litotes*—an affirmative that is the negative of a contrary—creates deliberate ambiguity.

D. Despite such problems, the form and structure of *Utopia* offer keys to understanding More's serious purpose.
  1. The dialogue form, so familiar to Renaissance writers, allowed a writer to argue the opposite side of a case precisely to follow up its implications.
  2. Structurally, More's immediate model was Plato's *Parmenides*.

E. In *Utopia*, More presents the "real" world in Book I and the "ideal" in Book II. In Book I, in the "Dialogue of Counsel," Raphael and "More" engage in the familiar humanist debate regarding "civic" duty: Should intellectuals stay aloof from public life or engage in politics? Raphael gives voice to the ideal of contemplation, while "More" puts the case that Cicero made in *De officiis*, the case for action. Who wins the argument?

1. The case put by "More" follows Cicero verbatim in places. Recognizing this, it is possible to argue that More (the author) has "refashioned Plato's image of an ideal society in order to argue that service to the commonwealth, and perhaps the best state of a commonwealth itself, involves statecraft, diplomacy, and compromise" (Guy).
2. Hence, unlike Plato, whose ideal pointed to the *only* solution, More sought the best possible solution.

V. In conclusion, *Utopia* fuses the ideals of Plato's *Republic*, the political pragmatism of Ciceronian humanism, and the social radicalism of the New Testament.

A. There are connections between *Utopia* and More's own life.

B. *Utopia* embodied More's quest to understand the "proper relationship between philosophy and public life" in an ongoing dialogue (Guy, quoting Q. Skinner).

Essential Reading:

Sir Thomas More, *Utopia*, trans. and ed., Robert M. Adams.

Supplementary Reading:

Peter Ackroyd, *The Life of Thomas More*, chapter 16 (on *Utopia*).

Dominic Baker-Smith, *More's Utopia*.

John Guy, *Thomas More*, chapter 5 (on *Utopia*).

Marius, *Thomas More*, chapters 10–12 (on *Utopia*).

Questions to Consider:

1. How does *Utopia* reflect the aims and interests of northern Christian humanists? What sources, familiar to humanists, did More draw on for *Utopia*?
2. Consider the form and language (or contradictory, nonsensical aspects) of *Utopia*: What purpose do they serve?

Lecture Sixteen
The Dissolution of the Monasteries

Scope: Henry VIII's confiscation of the property of more than 800 monasteries between 1536 and 1540 constituted one of the great revolutions of English history. Almost overnight, one-quarter of the best land in England changed hands—the greatest such transfer of land in Europe before the French Revolution. More than 10,000 monks and nuns were evicted with promises of government pensions. In the name of ecclesiastical reform, Wolsey had dissolved a few monasteries in the 1520s. In 1536, fabricated charges of monastic corruption officially justified government action. The real cause was the king's indebtedness, the result of Henry's costly warfare of the 1520s. Needing ready cash, Henry sold much of the confiscated property to nobles and gentry, thus giving the landowning governing class a material stake in his break with Rome. What remained nonetheless made Henry the richest prince in Christendom.

Outline

I. In their heyday, the monasteries were the backbone of a developing Western civilization, an integral part of economic, social, and cultural life.

- **A.** In England, monasticism is as old as Christianity: Augustine (597) and his companions were Benedictine monks living according to the rule of St. Benedict (d. 547).
- **B.** Functionally, monks existed to pray and supervise the cults of saints, whose tombs were often located at monasteries. This function tied them to both the local economy and the families of powerful noble patrons.
  - **1.** Pilgrims, seeking the protection of the saints, traveled to monasteries to view relics and shrines. Because monks controlled the places and times at which the laity could have access to shrines, monasteries, in effect, regulated a vast tourist trade—pilgrimages great and small.
  - **2.** Monks prayed for the souls of the nobles who, through the ages, endowed the monasteries with gifts of land.
- **C.** For more than 500 years (600–1100), Benedictine monasteries in particular served as cultural "bridges" between late antiquity and the new Western civilization of medieval cities and universities, preserving in monastic scriptoria and libraries what remained of classical literature and the art of writing. Benedictine monks served royal and ducal masters as administrators and advisers, and their monasteries became militarily and logistically important.
- **D.** Because the greatest monasteries were powerful engines of agricultural production, self-sufficient, wealthy houses were central cogs in local, regional, even national economies.
  - **1.** Cistercians were the "pioneers" of the Middle Ages, seeking remote areas, where they cleared forests, opened up new farm land, and in England, organized gigantic sheep runs that became models of economic organization and practice.
  - **2.** In addition to providing hospitality to travelers and alms to the poor, some monasteries served, in effect, as life insurance companies, providing annuities to retirees in return for an initial cash investment.

II. After near extinction in the wake of Viking raids (around 920), English monasteries were slowly refounded in the later 10th century. In the course of the 12th and 13th centuries, new houses and new orders arose.

- **A.** The principal monastic orders consisted of monks (Benedictine, Cistercian, Carthusian, Cluniac), canons (dedicated to teaching and missionary work, such as the Augustinians), and friars (or "brothers") who, because they relied on begging or the charity of others, were called *mendicant* orders—chiefly Franciscans (Greyfriars), Dominicans (Blackfriars), and Carmelites (Whitefriars) and some Augustinians.
- **B.** The history of monasticism from 1350 to the mid-1530s is one of declining numbers, declining spirituality, and declining functions in a much-changed society, in which respect for the monastic life had also changed. The wealth of the monasteries made the religious easy targets among laymen calling for reform.
  - **1.** In 1530, there were about 825 religious houses in England and Wales (502 monasteries, 136 nunneries, and 187 friaries), housing a total of about 9,300 persons, or 0.37 percent in a population of about 2.5 million.

2. Monasteries controlled about one-quarter of the best farmland in England. Given that total annual income from monastic estates was about £165,000, it seems that relatively few monks enjoyed great wealth.
3. About 25 abbots constituted an influential religious aristocracy. The five largest abbeys (including Glastonbury, Canterbury, St. Albans, and Westminster) were worth more than £2,000 per annum, the equivalent of an earl's estate.
4. The lifestyle of many abbots resembled that of the local gentry.
5. Thirty of the greatest abbots, as a result of their wealth, were eligible to sit in the House of Lords. In practice, about 10 were usually present.
6. Assumptions about the rationale for a monastic life changed rapidly during Henry VII's reign, because the monks' historic monopoly of education had virtually disappeared.
7. Simon Fish's *Supplication for the Beggars* (1528), though vitriolic and distorted, reflected popular stereotypes.

III. Before the dissolution, churchmen and others had dissolved defunct (or declining) religious foundations, but the king's motives in 1534–1536 were different: The financial and jurisdictional claims of Henry VIII's imperial kingship now took precedence.

A. Beginning in 1534–1535, Cromwell, acting as the king's vice-general, or deputy, began to enforce Henry VIII's supreme headship of the church. All monks were required to take an oath recognizing the royal supremacy, and in 1535, Cromwell began to campaign against relics and pilgrimages to shrines.

B. The financial motive was greatest. Henry VIII said in 1533 that he intended to "unite" to the Crown "the lands which the Clergy of his dominions held." His remark, according to Professor Guy, "was unquestionably taken from the *Collectanea satis copiosa*." At a time when the monasteries were relatively rich, the king was cash-poor.

IV. The dissolution occurred in two waves. The first, in 1536, was planned; the second came in 1537–1540 in response to resistance to the first from dispossessed Cistercians in the north.

A. To gain some idea of the potential wealth at hand, Cromwell organized a financial inventory, or survey, of all ecclesiastical property in England in 1535. Royal "visitors"—Cromwell's hand-picked agents—visited all the monasteries to record especially the source of monastic revenues. The result was the *Valor ecclesiaticus*.

B. The visitors' aim was also to gather "evidence" of immorality in the smaller houses. By arbitrary definition, a small monastery was one with less than £200 a year in income. The resulting Dissolution Act of 1536 affected about 300 houses.

C. When the great rebellion known as the Pilgrimage of Grace broke out in the north of England in October 1536, some dispossessed Cistercian monks converted their houses into centers of support for the rebels. This persuaded the king to move against the remaining monasteries.

1. Furness Abbey set the legal precedent that was followed in all remaining cases: Cromwell simply arranged for the abbey "voluntarily" to transfer all its property to the Crown, the first such "surrender."
2. By October 1538, nearly 20 monasteries a month were going, with Waltham Abbey being the last to surrender in March 1540.
3. Abbots who resisted the pressure paid with their lives; those who signed surrenders were pensioned off, and their pensions were honored.

V. Henry VIII realized about £1.3 million from the dissolution. He collected rents from land that he kept and ready cash from that which he sold. Valuable goods secured for the Crown by royal commissioners charged with the dismantling of buildings and shrines were sold immediately.

A. A special royal treasury, the Court of Augmentations, was set up to supervise the sale of former monastic property and take account of all revenues collected, as well as rents from former monastic estates.

B. Gold and silver plate, vessels, jewels, and ornaments were carefully inventoried and sent off to the king's jewel house at Westminster Palace.

C. Abbey bells were sent to the royal foundry in the Tower of London for re-manufacture; lead from the roofs was melted down into pigs for transport by water to York and Hull and, thence, to London or the

Netherlands; and stone was carted away. In one sense, the dissolution was part of a great recycling process, because stone taken from the sites of the monasteries was carted elsewhere and used to build mansions for the gentry or aristocracy.

VI. The consequences of the dissolution were profound for English society, culture, and politics.

A. Artistically, the destruction of fine Gothic buildings, the melting down of medieval metalwork and jewelry, and the trashing of monastic libraries were acts of licensed vandalism.

B. One-quarter of England's land changed hands—the greatest such transfer since the Norman Conquest. In the process, national wealth was substantially redistributed toward the Crown, and the landowning elite was turned away from the church.

C. Politically, the disappearance of the abbots from the House of Lords left the laity ascendant in both houses of Parliament.

D. Overnight, Henry VIII became the richest prince in Christendom. However, had Henry and his successors retained possession of the confiscated estates, the monarchy would have acquired a permanent endowment that might have released it from financial dependence on Parliament—and, thus, altered the whole course of English constitutional history.

E. The dissolution bore witness to profound changes in religious beliefs and practices. The destruction of saints' shrines brought pilgrimages to an end and, with them, many associated devotional practices. And by destroying the monks' provision of prayers for the dead, the dissolution undermined belief in purgatory.

F. The fact that pilgrimages, shrines, and relics could be jettisoned so quickly as so much "superstition" suggests that the dissolution might be seen as more a symptom of the general secularization of society than a contributory cause.

Recommended Reading:

David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol. III: *Tudor England*.

G. W. O. Woodward, *Dissolution of the Monasteries*.

Joyce Youings, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What was the chief cause of the dissolution of the monasteries?

2. What were the most important results?

Lecture Seventeen
Rebellion—The Pilgrimage of Grace

Scope: The work of royal commissioners charged with dissolving the smaller monasteries in Lincolnshire in the autumn of 1536 sparked popular resistance in several towns. What began as spontaneous riots eventually grew to the largest rebellion faced by the Tudors, a cluster of regional revolts that cut across class lines. Northerners in general (nobles, gentry, townspeople, and villagers) united under a common ideology, defense of the Catholic Church and the monasteries. The organization of 30,000 armed men at York under the leadership of Robert Aske, a lawyer, suggests prior planning. There is also evidence of coordination by religious conservatives at court who, like the northerners, resented the influence of Henry VIII's chief councillor, Thomas Cromwell. Henry's swift suppression of the rebellion underscored his determination to enforce the royal supremacy and bring the north more fully under his control. The Pilgrimage marked the end of the north's "feudal" isolation.

Outline

I. The dissolution of the smaller monasteries in Lincolnshire in 1536 sparked the largest popular revolt in English history, a rebellion (actually three distinct rebellions) known as the *Pilgrimage of Grace*, so named because the rebels likened themselves to pilgrims seeking the king's favor, or grace.

A. The first rising in Lincolnshire in early October, the most violent of them all, represented a loose, divisive coalition of gentry, parish priests, monks, and villagers.

1. The presence of royal commissioners in Lincolnshire in the late summer and early autumn of 1536 dissolving the smaller monasteries prompted rumors that parish churches were to be pulled down.

2. The rising began at the town of Louth on October 2, when a shoemaker nicknamed "Captain Cobbler" led a rising of armed townspeople.

3. Isolated atrocities persuaded the gentry to join the movement to impose discipline. Parish priests and armed monks helped organize the rebels.

4. The rebels' banner symbolized the religious outlook and social unity.

5. At Lincoln, a rebel army numbering 10,000 drew up a list of demands, which they sent to London, but Henry VIII's harsh reply convinced the gentry leadership to sue for a pardon.

6. The commons were bitter over what they viewed as the gentry's betrayal but agreed to disperse when the gentry promised to muster them again if royal pardons were not forthcoming.

B. In contrast to the disorder and spontaneous violence of the October Lincolnshire rising, that in Yorkshire, which lasted until December 1536, was peaceful and orderly and shows signs of prior planning and coordination.

1. A charismatic lawyer named Robert Aske, who had been one of the gentry captains in Lincolnshire, probably helped coordinate a conspiracy to mount a northern rising even before the outbreaks in Lincolnshire.

2. Calling themselves "pilgrims" on "a pilgrimage of grace for the commonwealth," Aske, his gentry captains, and 10,000 followers marched into the city of York, where they set up headquarters. In a proclamation, Aske paired preservation of the church with loyalty to the king and nobility, saying that the pilgrims would petition the king for the "reformation of that which is amiss within his realm."

3. Aske posted on the church door of York Minster a plan for the restoration of suppressed monasteries in the north.

4. Although much of the country north of the River Don supported Aske, to achieve his aims, Akse needed the backing of the northern nobility and greater gentry in the face of royal armed forces.

5. On October 21, important gentry and nobles joined Aske, including Thomas Lord Darcy and Lord Hussey, who surrendered Pontrefact Castle to him. On the 27th, Norfolk met Darcy at Doncaster, offering a truce and allowing two Pilgrim captains safe passage to Windsor to present the king with some general demands.

6. At Doncaster on December 6, 1536, the Pilgrims presented Norfolk with a manifesto of 24 articles demanding that suppressed abbeys be allowed to stand. Norfolk compromised, saying that the king would restore them pending the meeting of a free Parliament.

7. Only with difficulty did Aske get the Pilgrims to accept Norfolk's terms. After a royal herald read the king's general pardon on December 8, the Pilgrims dispersed.

C. A freely elected Parliament never met to consider the Pontrefact Articles. Fresh revolts so divided the Pilgrims that the movement collapsed. By exploiting the Pilgrims' lack of unity, the king was able to round up former ringleaders and crush all remaining opposition.

1. Sir Francis Bigod, a religious radical in the East Riding of Yorkshire, led a new revolt there in January 1537. Distrusting the king's granting of pardons at Doncaster, the "postpardon" rebels repudiated the agreement that had led to the truce. When Aske went directly to London to negotiate with the king, and Darcy and other gentry strove to suppress new revolts, anxiety among the commons grew. They now felt that Darcy had been two-faced, and they grew increasingly suspicious of gentry intentions.
2. After Bigod was captured by government forces, the commons mustered on their own initiative. With this, Henry VIII ordered Norfolk to arrest all who had resisted royal authority. A total of 178 were hanged or beheaded, including Darcy and Aske.

II. Some scholars argue that the Pilgrimage of Grace was a protest movement, not a rebellion, because Aske's intention was simply to overawe the king by a show of force, not to use that force. Aske and the Pilgrims professed loyalty to Henry VIII and had no plan to remove the king or form an alternative government.

A. The Pontrefact Articles, which Pilgrim captains approved point by point, were based on petitions gathered all over the north and, thus, conveyed the eclectic sentiments of gentry, townsmen, commons, and conservative clergy.

1. Although some of the articles exclusively reflect clerical interests, ordinary people were persuaded that an attack on the monasteries presaged an attack on parish churches and traditional devotions. "Fundamentally, the Commons were protesting against an unprecedented intrusion by the Crown into their local communities and traditional ways" (Fletcher and MacCulloch).
2. The religious, social, and economic functions of the monasteries were central for Aske, though the commons did not distinguish among those functions, simply identifying an attack on the church with an attack on the poor.
3. Recent taxation was resented, especially in economically depressed areas (such as the Yorkshire dales) hit hard by two years of bad weather and poor harvests.
4. Some of the articles reflected the interests of lawyers and landowners: Witness the demands touching the making of wills and the use of subpoenas.

B. The roles of nobles and gentlemen revealed ambiguous, conflicting motives; most gentry and nobles stood aside.

1. Contrary to what has been thought, the Pilgrimage was not a "feudal" rising. Although some gentry leaders were clients of Henry Percy, sixth earl of Northumberland, the most powerful northern magnate, the Pilgrim army was raised in the parishes, not from among tenants on Percy estates.
2. Northumberland himself nominally recognized Aske but remained aloof. A mentally unstable man, his precontract of marriage with Anne Boleyn had made him suspect at court, and to defuse Henry VIII's ire, in 1536, he made the king his sole heir.
3. Fearing popular violence, some gentry became Pilgrim captains to limit or control such violence. As former royal military commanders, they had witnessed mutinous troops.

C. Many gentry hated Cromwell, whom they said supported heresy, controlled Henry VIII like a puppet, and had made Parliament his own. Such gentry, religious conservatives like Lords Darcy and Hussey, were linked to the "Aragonese" court faction, which had supported Queen Catherine and her daughter Mary against Anne Boleyn. Did they plan to foment rebellion?

1. Darcy had stored badges worn by the Pilgrims ahead of time—his retinue had worn them in Spain 20 years earlier in a campaign against the Moors.
2. In 1535, Darcy had discussed with the ambassador of the Holy Roman Empire the possibility of organizing a popular rising in order to force Henry VIII to change course.
3. Some of the "spontaneous" risings of early October had been planned, but the planning came from yeomen, skilled craftsmen, and lesser clergy, not from national politicians or the local nobility.
4. The one exception was Aske, who had London connections and was unquestionably committed to reversing Henry VIII's Reformation: Aske personally was responsible for the inclusion in the Pontrefact Articles of the clause restoring the headship of the church to the pope. "For Aske, the

essence of the rising was that it was a spiritual protest by the laity on behalf of the Church" (Fletcher and MacCulloch).

D. In conclusion, the Pilgrimage of Grace posed an exceptionally serious threat to the Crown's authority, because it was an armed, broadly based, regional movement supported by all elements of the population seeking to reverse Henry VIII's break with Rome.

III. In the long perspective of British history, Henry VIII's administrative response to the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1537 marked the beginning of the end of the isolation and de facto autonomy of the north and the integration of the north politically and administratively into a centralized state governed from Westminster.

A. The death of the earl of Northumberland in July 1537 marked the destruction of the Percy interest in the north, as Henry VIII acquired the vast estates that Northumberland had willed him in May 1537.

B. The king's Council of the North, based at York but modeled on the king's council at London, was reorganized and put on a permanent footing. Royal authority was now exercised directly by men deputed for that purpose. In this sense, administratively, one consequence of the Pilgrimage of Grace was the emergence of a modern, politically unified English state.

Recommended Reading:

Anthony Fletcher and Diarmaid MacCulloch, eds., *Tudor Rebellions*, chapter 4.

R. W. Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Politics of the 1530s*.

Ethan H. Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation*, chapter 3 (on the Pilgrimage of Grace).

Questions to Consider:

1. Robert Aske and those who undertook "this, our Pilgrimage of Grace for the Commonwealth" did not think they were rebelling against the king. Why?

2. Why did the Pilgrimage of Grace pose such a serious threat to Henry VIII's authority?

Lecture Eighteen
A Renaissance Court

Scope: By training and taste, Henry VIII was a true prince of the Renaissance, and his court became a major cultural center attracting European painters and craftsmen. An accomplished horseman, theologian, and musical composer of note, Henry himself contributed to this magnificence and display. His acquisition of monastic wealth enriched him beyond imagining—at his death, he possessed 55 palaces, more than any prince in Christendom. The room-by-room inventory of his goods undertaken in 1547 and the recently discovered accounts of his secret treasury at Westminster Palace provide a virtual catalogue of the material culture of Renaissance monarchy, astonishing evidence of the extent of Henry's avarice and the full range of his worldly interests. This lecture surveys the organization, rituals, and artistic setting of Henry's court, giving a snapshot of the glory and prestige the king sought to project.

Outline

I. The court was wherever Henry was: He was the center of all lives there, the pivot on which all action turned. The court was both the king and his immediate entourage, including those who served him, as well as his household establishment. The structure and organization of the royal household reveals the life of the court.

- **A.** Architecturally, the household was the king's residence, his palace.
  - **1.** The court was the royal household in residence at a specific palace—Richmond, Greenwich, Hampton Court, or Westminster Palace, which became Henry's chief abode after he seized York Place, Wolsey's old London townhouse, and demolished it in order to build a new palace, also called Whitehall.
  - **2.** At the height of his power, Henry possessed 55 palaces, many of them former monastic dwellings.
- **B.** Administratively and physically, each palace encompassed five departments, or sectors, each with its own complement of chambers or rooms.
  - **1.** The Chamber was the *public* sector of the court; here was the Presence Chamber, with a throne room where the monarch received foreign dignitaries. In this sector, there was also a great hall for banquets and feasts, dancing and disguisings, or masks.
  - **2.** For his private life, the king withdrew to a suite of rooms known collectively as the Privy Chamber, at the center of which was the royal bedchamber, and raying (or dressing) chamber, as well as numerous private closets, or withdrawing chambers. Crown coins lay in rooms near his bedchamber, as well.
  - **3.** Below stairs, as it were, was a department known (confusingly) as the Household. Here as many as 200 servants, organized into as many as 21 sub-offices, supplied the court with food, drink, lighting, and fuel. The names of the offices describe the function or type of provision—kitchen, bake-house, pitcher house, larder, boiling house, spicery, confectionery, chandlery, poultery, pastry, scullery, laundry, wafery, and woodyard.
  - **4.** The Chapel Royal, staffed by a dean, some 30 gentlemen, and children, or male choristers, provided the king with religious services. But the king rarely worshiped there: Normally, he heard mass privately every day in a closet, or room, next to his Privy Chamber. However, he did process daily in a formal way from his Privy Chamber to the household Chapel Royal, passing through the outer rooms of the court and giving his courtiers a chance to see him.
  - **5.** The Stables provided the king and his entourage with transportation, as well as horses and equipment for his jousts and tourneys.

II. The major palaces also had what might be called sports complexes—tennis plays, or courts; bowling alleys; and amphitheatres for cockfights, as well as buildings adapted to the king's favorite outdoor activities—hunting lodges, hawks' mews, and shooting ranges.

- **A.** An avid tennis player, in 1532–1533, Henry VIII built elaborate *plays*, or "covered courts," at Hampton Court and Whitehall. The inventory of his goods drawn up in 1547 lists seven rackets; another of 1517 lists a tennis coat of black velvet for him. Like Henry VII, Henry VIII played often, frequently losing money betting on games. Tennis was a popular spectator sport, with courtiers betting on their favorite players.

B. The game of bowls was also popular at court. Henry VIII and his courtiers played frequently, betting on the outcome of matches.

1. Henry VII is known to have had a bowling alley at Richmond by 1501, the earliest (and only) documented example. Henry VIII possessed six complexes, at Greenwich, Whitehall, and Hampton Court and at three country palaces. Hampton Court boasted three alleys.

2. The alleys, covered cloisters, were set in gardens. The simplest were wooden, but the ones that Henry VIII built at Hampton Court after 1532 were of brick and stone.

3. Like tennis, bowls was also a spectator sport at court. The indoor alleys had seats for the king's party; courtiers stood behind chest-high leaning-boards.

C. Henry was the first king to bring cockfighting to court. He built two cockpits at Whitehall and Greenwich in 1533–1534.

1. The Whitehall cockpit was "the Tudor fantasy building *par excellence*" (S. Thurley): an octagonal amphitheater of three tiers surmounted by an elaborate lantern or cupola.

2. At Greenwich in 1533, on one side of the privy garden, Henry built a special "cocke cope" of six rooms to house his cocks and hens. Queen Anne Boleyn found their crowing too loud and had Henry move the birds away.

D. Henry hunted on horseback with hounds all his life, maintaining stables and kennels at each palace. But after a fall in 1536, he hunted only from a stationary *standing*, a two-story timber and plaster building. Shooting from a standing was a social affair, which included ladies of the court.

E. Henry was devoted to hawking—in 1525, he nearly drowned chasing his hawk across a stream—and maintained hawk mews at various palaces. At Greenwich Palace, the mews, which was built in 1533, ran along one side of the second floor of an inner court.

F. Henry maintained butts for archery, as well as targets for shooting with handguns. (He shot duck with handguns in the marshes near Greenwich and at a target in the shape of a man.)

III. For the first two decades of Henry's reign, *tilting*, or "jousting," was the principal organized activity of the court. Jousts were much more than military sport. They were major festivals integrating music, dancing, feasting, and masking, or disguising. The purpose of such "revels" was to dazzle the guests, especially foreign envoys, by the magnificence of the English king's display.

A. Before Henry's reign, tiltyards were temporary structures, each a railed-off field, measuring about 270 by 240 feet, with timbered structures for viewing. As jousting became a regular part of court life, Henry built permanent structures for tournaments, beginning at Greenwich in 1514.

B. Henry and his fellow jousters wore colorful, specially made costumes over their armor; these and the horse trappings were of costly, splendid materials—cloth of silver, velvet spangled with gold, silver, pearls, and jewels. The costumes were linked to allegorical themes—the jousters being knights-errant of medieval romantic fiction.

C. Jousts were but part of elaborate revels that included, later in the day, specially staged disguisings, or masks, accompanying a banquet. Such plays, or interludes, with music and dancing, often simply continued the symbolic themes of the tiltyard, with some of the jousters, including the king, joining the frolics with masked women of the court.

D. Tournaments were part of an international culture of diplomacy and were mounted for important diplomatic occasions, the two prime examples being the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520 and the Greenwich reception of 1527 for the French embassy.

1. At Greenwich, as we saw in Lecture Six, Henry built, at the ends of the tiltyard gallery, two new permanent buildings for the entertainments accompanying the jousts of May 6, 1527, a Banqueting House and a disguising house, or theater, both richly decorated.

2. For the Banqueting House, Henry ordered from Flanders a set of 10 tapestries illustrating the history of David. Costly Flemish tapestries also lined the approach to the Banqueting House through the queen's gallery.

E. Such settings allowed Henry to display the sort of magnificence that contemporaries equated with power and greatness of spirit. (In this, Henry followed to the letter Sir John Fortescue's formula for princely magnificence.) Henry's reception of the Burgundian ambassadors at Greenwich on July 7, 1517, was just such an occasion of brilliant display—costly jousts followed by a great banquet lasting seven hours.

F. The magnificence of Henry VIII's court entertainments was far more costly and imposing than anything staged by Elizabeth I or James I.

IV. The purpose of such extravagance was to buy prestige for Henry VIII, and it did: Foreigners who attended Henry's entertainments bore witness to the wealth of his court. As his wealth increased, so did expenditures, reaching stupendous amounts by the 1540s.

A. Henry's reputation for magnificence spread across Europe, thanks to the reports of such envoys as the papal nuncio Chieregato, who said that it seemed that the wealth and civilization of the whole world had come to England!

B. The result of Henry's spending was also accumulation on a scale unmatched by any English sovereign since. The inventory of Henry's goods made in the year after his death is a unique catalogue of the material culture of Henry's court—evidence of the king's unbridled avarice and range of worldly interests.

C. After 1540, the wealth of the monasteries literally poured into Henry's hands. At Westminster Palace, the king himself personally took delivery of heavily guarded shipments of coin stored in coffers in rooms next to his bedchamber. The manuscript account of expenditures from these secret coffers, first identified fully in 1985 by this lecturer, like the staggering scale of expenditures from *all* royal treasuries, reminds us of the essential nature of Tudor court culture, that of a Renaissance prince whose chief preoccupation, characteristically, was war.

Recommended Reading:

Dale Hoak, "The Secret History of the Tudor Court: The King's Coffers and the King's Purse," *Journal of British Studies*, pp. 208–231.

David Starkey, ed., *Henry VIII: A European Court in England*.

David Starkey, "Representation through Intimacy: A Study in the Symbolism of Monarchy and Court Office in Early Modern England" and "Court and Government," in John Guy, ed., *The Tudor Monarchy*.

Simon Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: Architecture and Court Life, 1460–1547*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why was jousting central to Henry VIII's diplomacy?
2. Consider Henry VIII's spending on revels, the inventories of goods in his palaces, and the financial account of payments made from his privy coffers: What does such evidence reveal of the nature and function of early Tudor monarchy?

Lecture Nineteen
Queen Anne Boleyn

Scope: Anne Boleyn's rise and fall—"the most romantic, the most scandalous tragedy in English history"—spanned 10 momentous years, 1526–1536, years marking England's break with Rome (1533–1534). Anne helped Henry make his Reformation. A woman of extraordinary will, she stiffened Henry's resolve during seven years of frustrating delays in securing his divorce. Clerics who played key roles in fashioning the royal supremacy—Edward Foxe and Thomas Cranmer—were Boleyn clients. As queen, she secured powerful clerical appointments for her evangelical followers. Revered by evangelicals for her learning and piety, she was destroyed by Cromwell, an earlier ally, when Henry tired of her willful tongue. Her execution (May 19, 1536) on false charges of adultery and incest is perhaps explained by her miscarriage of a deformed male fetus—in Henry's mind, a sign that God had damned his marriage to her.

Outline

I. A queen's dynastic duty was to provide a king with a male heir. Queen Anne Boleyn's failure to do so haunted her from the moment she gave birth to Princess Elizabeth.

- **A.** At her coronation, Anne flaunted her pregnancy in the belief that God had chosen her to bear England's imperial (male) heir: Her splendid coronation pageants associated her symbolically with the figures of St. Anne and the Virgin Mary.
- **B.** Professor Eric Ives has argued that in hindsight, the birth of a daughter, Elizabeth (on September 7, 1533), and not a son revived and perpetuated dynastic and political instability.

II. As queen, Anne Boleyn exploited the cult of Tudor monarchy in ways that anticipated Queen Elizabeth's cult of Gloriana.

- **A.** Her coronation pageants of May 31, 1533, were unprecedented exhibitions of Renaissance display.
  - **1.** Classical motifs were harnessed to the cause: Greek and Roman deities and muses had come to honor Anne. Unlike the medieval pageant tradition, this was humanism in the service of monarchy.
  - **2.** Anne's participation in the format of her coronation pageants is revealed in the use of the French language, music (both instruments and choirs of men and boys), and royal pageantry of a type she had seen in France.
- **B.** As queen, Anne patronized numerous artists at court. Her commissions reflect her Renaissance artistic taste and eye for original design.
  - **1.** Anne employed various artists to design plates and cups in the Renaissance Italian (Venetian) mode, including Holbein, who designed jewelry for her as gifts for Henry VIII.
  - **2.** Given that Henry discussed with her the design of his jewelry, she probably conferred with him about the design of buildings, an example being Holbein's new gatehouse at Whitehall, where they were married.
  - **3.** She employed Flemish-trained craftsmen to illuminate manuscripts in the style she had seen at the court of Margaret of Austria.
- **C.** The size and quality of Anne's wardrobe was stunning. She dressed magnificently in furred velvet gowns, gowns of the best crimson satin from Bruges, gowns of purple cloth of gold, and shoes and jeweled slippers of black velvet.

III. Anne helped make the Reformation by pushing Henry into it, and after the break with Rome, she advanced it as one fervently committed to evangelical reform.

- **A.** Of 10 bishops appointed during her time as queen, 7 were her own evangelical clients.
- **B.** She maintained contacts with reformers abroad.
- **C.** She chose evangelical chaplains from among young Cambridge University reformers, using Dr. William Butts, a royal physician and zealous evangelical, to recruit them.
- **D.** She participated directly in the debate over the dissolution of the monasteries, advocating that the monasteries be converted to educational uses.

E. Bible-reading was central in her life. As an evangelical, she helped disseminate the Bible in English, though she preferred to read it in French.

F. The nature of her religious faith places her firmly in the context of Erasmian Christian humanism. Scholars are persuaded that she was an evangelical by faith, not because policy dictated that she turn against traditional religion.

1. She was a model of Christian humanist concern in her response to the poor.

2. True to Christian humanism, she backed education, acting as a generous patron to students and young English scholars abroad and giving annual subventions to Cambridge and Oxford.

3. Her influence with King Henry and her affinity for the writings of leading French Christian humanists persuaded her English court admirers that Henry VIII could become a figure of evangelical hope for Europe.

IV. Politically, Queen Anne's failure to give Henry VIII a son undermined her marriage. Princess Mary's obstinate refusal to recognize her as the legitimate queen, her unpopularity in the country, and her growing political isolation at court further exacerbated her relations with Henry.

A. Anne's personality and education had made her queen. Queenly success, however, was measured biologically—a queen's primary function was to have sons. Although Henry associated virility with having children, he was himself a questionable prospect for paternity.

1. Of Henry's eight sexual partners—six wives and two known mistresses—only four conceived, and only four pregnancies produced healthy infants.

2. Anne miscarried twice, and the first time (July or August 1534) marked the beginning of a rift between the two, as it reminded Henry of Queen Katherine's failure.

B. Despite the first miscarriage, Anne and Henry were apparently still in love during the summer of 1534. Love, however—or the mutual, intensely emotional nature of their attraction—was precisely the problem, as neither the conventions governing the relations of kings and their consorts nor the conventions of courtly love "were capable of accommodating the fierce passions" uniting Anne and Henry (E. Ives).

C. Anne could not fulfill the roles she was expected to play as queen.

1. A self-made woman (which was exceptional by Tudor standards), she was emotionally not equipped to play the conventional role of a deferential consort.

2. Anne knew that her right to the title of queen was contested by Catholic powers abroad and Princess Mary's supporters (the "Aragonese" faction) at home.

D. Princess Mary's obstinate refusal to recognize Anne as queen was an insult and a denial of Anne's integrity and identity. By asserting her own claim to the throne, Mary was denying that of Anne's daughter, a clear rejection of Anne's status. As Anne herself said, "She is my death, and I am hers."

E. Never popular with the people, Anne's political support at court was also ebbing.

1. She was disliked not only because she represented the repudiation of Mary and her mother, who remained very popular, but also because she was blamed for the brutality Henry meted out to those who refused the oath in the Act of Succession—Fisher, More, and the Carthusians.

2. Her maternal uncle and ally, the duke of Norfolk, opposed her religious stance, and her most powerful ally, Cromwell, was becoming an independent political figure in his own right, a shift Anne may not have recognized.

V. Anne's second miscarriage (January 29, 1536) of a probably deformed male fetus convinced Henry that God had damned their marriage. He needed publicly to keep the deformity secret and deny his paternity in order to remarry. It was left to Cromwell to devise a strategy that would destroy both the queen and his enemies, who would have used Anne's fall to unseat him, too.

A. Anne, hysterical with disappointment over the miscarriage, suffered a breakdown when Henry, bemoaning the loss of a son, allegedly dismissed her with the threat that "he would have no more boys by *her*." Because Henry's honor was at stake, the king put it about that by means of sorcery and charms, Anne had seduced him and forced him into their marriage.

B. Scarcely two weeks later, Jane Seymour, one of Anne's ladies-in-waiting, replaced Anne in the king's affections. Anne's rage over Henry's flirtations suggests her desperate awareness that she had lost the king and that Cromwell was a party to her undoing.

C. Politically, Anne's cause was already lost, because the death of Katherine of Aragon on January 7 had cleared the way for Henry's rapprochement with Emperor Charles V, giving Cromwell a free hand to move against her.

1. On April 18, Cromwell moved Jane Seymour and her brother, Edward, into his own vacated rooms at court—a sure sign that Anne would be replaced.

2. New men were also advanced to Henry's Privy Chamber, men such as Sir Nicholas Carew, who could be expected to support the plot.

3. On April 24, Henry instructed the lord chancellor to investigate unknown treasonable conspiracies.

D. On April 30, the arrest, torture, and "confession" of Mark Smeaton, a Flemish musician at court, led within five days to Anne's arrest and that of five of her clients, including her brother, Lord Rochford. On May 17, the five condemned men were executed on Tower Hill, and on May 19, maintaining her innocence to the end, Anne was beheaded with the "sword of Calais."

E. Professor Ives has said that Anne used her education, style, and charisma to overcome the disadvantages of her sex in a man's world. She had "made history" in a way that few persons have ever done by contributing to a revolution with far-reaching consequences—the English Reformation. The real nature of her persona remains elusive. Perhaps Cromwell captured it best when he acknowledged her intelligence, spirit, and courage.

Essential Reading:

E. W. Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, chapters 10–18.

Supplementary Reading:

Antonia Fraser, *The Wives of Henry VIII*, pp. 190–257.

David Starkey, *Six Wives*, pp. 489–581.

Retha Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn*, pp. 123–242.

Questions to Consider:

1. As queen, how did Anne Boleyn exploit and advance the cult of Tudor majesty and traditions of royal magnificence?

2. Quite apart from the conspiracy that destroyed her, why was Anne's status as queen inherently weak and why, paradoxically, did her personality contribute to that weakness?

Lecture Twenty

Two Queens—Jane Seymour and Anne of Cleves

Scope: Anne Boleyn's demise was the centerpiece of Cromwell's "brilliant and deadly stratagem," the coup by which he sought to destroy his enemies at court, the religious conservatives. Part of the plot involved making Jane Seymour queen. But Jane's death after the birth of Edward (October 1537), the long-awaited male heir, complicated Cromwell's victory, despite his control of Henry's Privy Chamber, the political nerve center of the court. The threat of a Franco-Imperial invasion aimed at restoring papal authority drove Henry into an alliance with the duke of Cleves, whose daughter, Anne, Henry married sight unseen, thanks to Cromwell's diplomacy and Holbein's flattering portrait. When Anne's visage and Henry's impotence doomed the match, Henry blamed Cromwell, whose arrest and execution precipitated a further revolution in court politics, the triumph of the conservatives, who now sought to checkmate Henry with their own pawn, Catherine Howard.

Outline

I. The astonishing rapidity of Jane Seymour's rise to queenship can only be understood as part of the plot to destroy Anne. But just how Jane originally fit into the scheme remains unclear. Her unremarkable personality only deepens the mystery.

A. Jane Seymour (b. 1509) had been at court since 1529, successively in the service of Queens Katherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn. Although she was better born that Anne, she lacked Anne's educated refinement and allure.

B. Her chief recommendation was the royal favor bestowed on her father, John, and brothers, Edward and Thomas, who like their father, had been trained for war and service in the royal household.

1. On a progress through Wiltshire in early September 1535, Henry VIII stayed for a week with the Seymours at their home, Wolf Hall, in Wiltshire, where Jane was present.

2. Henry's ardor for Anne was waning, and Edward Seymour may have brought his sister to Henry's attention as a means of advancing his family's influence with the king.

C. Any one of a number of parties—Cromwell, the Seymours, Anne's conservative enemies at court—might have conceived of a scheme to offer Jane as "bait" to the king. Queen Anne's miscarriage accelerated their plotting, and because Cromwell was central to any royal scheme to replace Anne, Cromwell sought political allies, such as Nicholas Carew, among the conservatives in Henry's Privy Chamber.

D. Cromwell was vulnerable to a conservative counter-coup aimed at *his* destruction, because the conservatives sought not only to reverse his program of evangelical reform but also to restore Princess Mary to the succession. This goal enjoyed the support of Emperor Charles V *and* Jane Seymour, a religious conservative. Consequently, Cromwell needed to take over the plot against Anne and direct it against both her *and* the conservatives. The conservatives played into Cromwell's hands, because he had countered Anne Boleyn's passionate pro-French stance by judiciously leaning toward the emperor.

E. Cromwell's ace, however, lay in the nature of the accusations against Anne. Whereas the conservative plan to replace her with Jane would have left Anne alive—the conservatives would have sought only the nullification of Anne's marriage to Henry—Cromwell's accusations of the queen's adultery required her execution for treason, which he knew the king would favor.

F. Although the origins of the plot to remove Anne remain obscure, Jane Seymour was certainly a part of the plan by early April 1536, when Cromwell began actively working against the queen. On May 20, Henry and Jane were secretly betrothed at Chelsea only hours after Anne's execution, and on May 30, they were married "in the Queen's Closet" at York Place.

G. Cromwell then moved to isolate the conservatives, whose backing of Mary evaporated only three weeks later (June 22) when the princess, under terrific pressure—threats of imprisonment and charges of treason against her servants—signed a statement repudiating the pope and recognizing both the royal supremacy and the "incestuous and unlawful" nature of her mother's marriage to Henry.

II. Jane Seymour brought a submissive tranquility and docility to her marriage with Henry, and for the first time in years, the king appears to have been a genuinely happy, contented man.

A. When Jane, a religious conservative, pleaded with Henry to save the monasteries, he told her not to meddle in kingly affairs, citing the fate of the late queen!

B. Henry also rejected Jane's request that Mary be restored to the succession. Henry and Princess Mary were finally reconciled.

C. As queen, Jane was conventional, conservative, and wholly English in her taste. She is known to have liked gardening. In matters of dress, she banished from court the fashionable "French apparel" of Anne's ladies.

D. But Jane succeeded in the only thing that mattered. Henry wept with joy and the court rejoiced when Jane delivered a healthy boy, Edward, on October 12, 1537, at Hampton Court, but the celebrations turned to mourning on the 24th when she died from the complications of childbirth.

III. Having consolidated his political position after the coup of 1536, Cromwell advanced the Reformation in his capacity as vicegerent of the church. Ultimately, his reformist stance cost him his life, because it exposed him to charges of heresy at the very moment that he lost the king's favor by tying Henry diplomatically to a new, foreign wife whom the king found personally distasteful.

A. "Cromwell was the driving force behind the Reformation of the 1530s" (Guy).

1. His injunctions to the clergy of 1536 and 1538 outlawed "superstitious" practices and "idolatrous" images, and his formularies of faith, the Ten Articles (1536) and *Institution of a Christian Man* (1537), reflected an evangelical agenda.

2. Cromwell orchestrated a propaganda campaign, employing, among other devices, popular drama to command obedience to the royal supremacy.

3. He oversaw the printing in 1539–1540 of more than 7,500 copies of the "Great Bible" in English (essentially a revision of Tyndale's translation by Cromwell's client Miles Coverdale). Thus, "Cromwell did more than any other Englishman to put the Bible into the hands of ordinary people" (Guy).

B. Henry VIII might have turned Protestant had radical religion not come to be associated with social anarchy: For Henry, this was the lesson of the Pilgrimage of Grace, not to mention the violence that religious dissent had fomented on the Continent in 1534.

C. In 1538–1539, Henry VIII reversed the direction of Cromwell's religious program with the Act of Six Articles, which reaffirmed traditional religious doctrine.

D. International events in 1538–1539 also threw Cromwell on the defensive, forcing him to seek allies for Henry among German Protestants, a fateful move, because it involved marrying the reluctant king to a German woman sight unseen.

1. The pope's excommunication of Henry (December 1538) and the Franco-Imperial accord at Toledo hastened Henry's fear of a Catholic invasion. The king ordered his troops mustered, outfitted the navy, and built a massive network of coastal fortifications.

2. When Henry abandoned plans to marry the emperor's niece, Christina of Denmark, Cromwell persuaded him to choose Anne of Cleves, whose brother, Duke William, would bring England into alliance with the powerful anti-imperial League of Schmalkalden.

3. By July 1539, Henry had decided, reluctantly, to marry Anne, that is, *before* he sent Holbein to paint her portrait. The marriage treaty was signed on October 4, 1539, and Anne arrived in England on December 27 for a scheduled first meeting with Henry on January 3, 1540.

4. But when Henry surprised her in masked disguise on January 1 at Rochester, she failed to appreciate the courtly protocol governing such symbolic conduct, and her boorish response, as much as her looks, immediately put Henry off.

5. Finding no way to extricate himself from the match, Henry married Anne on January 6, 1540, but could not consummate the union, saying that he found her "loathsomeness" such that he could not be "stirred" to have sex with her.

6. By May 1540, Catherine Howard, one of Queen Anne's ladies, had so caught the king's attention that Henry was regularly crossing the Thames to visit her at the "entertainments" mounted for that purpose by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, a leader (with Norfolk) of the conservative faction in Henry's council.

7. On June 24, Anne was ordered to leave the court; on July 6, Henry informed her of his intention to divorce her; and on July 9, she formally accepted the generous terms of his settlement, which included two residences if she remained in England for the rest of her life. Her willing acceptance of the terms is explained by her remark that had she returned to Cleves, her brother "would slay me."

E. For the duke of Norfolk and the conservatives, victory was complete when Henry married Norfolk's niece, Catherine Howard, on the very day (28 July) of Cromwell's execution.

Recommended Reading:

Antonia Fraser, *Wives of Henry VIII*, pp. 227–241, 257–315.

Retha M. Warnicke, *The Marrying of Anne of Cleves: Royal Protocol in Tudor England*.

David Starkey, *Reign of Henry VIII*, chapter 6.

———, *Six Wives*, pp. 584–643.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why was Jane Seymour useful to the conspirators who removed Anne Boleyn as queen?
2. What does Henry VIII's marriage to Anne of Cleves reveal about the nature and conduct of politics at the Tudor court during the late 1530s?

Lecture Twenty-One
Politics, Sex, and Religion—Catherine Howard

Scope: The Reformation had introduced into English court politics a new, sharply divisive element, religious ideology. Officially, all of Henry's councillors upheld the royal supremacy; Cromwell's achievement in consolidating that supremacy was profound, but his evangelical agenda exceeded what the king thought acceptable. Cromwell's downfall ended the first, revolutionary phase of the English Reformation. The conservatives, led by the duke of Norfolk, hoped to profit by his disgrace and the removal of Anne of Cleves by advancing Norfolk's niece, Catherine Howard, as queen. The "freak wave" of Henry's sudden desire for her actually caught everyone by surprise, and he decided to marry her (in April 1540) even before he had divorced Anne (July 28, 1540). A flirtatious teenager wholly unprepared for queenship, Catherine quickly destroyed herself and the conservatives' hopes with her indiscretions.

Outline

I. Politically, Cromwell's career was doomed from the moment Henry VIII set eyes on Anne of Cleves, because he had no means of neutralizing Henry's disgust for her, nor could he deny responsibility for arranging the disastrous match. Smelling Cromwell's blood, the conservatives in the council persuaded Henry that his chief adviser was also a closet Lutheran who was secretly sheltering heretics.

- **A.** Norfolk's discovery in early 1539 that Cromwell was protecting a cell of sacramentaries at Calais allowed the conservatives to claim that Cromwell was soft on heresy.
- **B.** The king's reversal of the evangelical religious agenda had isolated Cromwell at precisely the moment the Cleves marriage collapsed.
- **C.** Henry VIII's adverse reaction to Anne of Cleves provided the conservatives with the wedge they had sought to drive between Cromwell and the king.
- **D.** When amity between Francis I and Charles V dissolved in 1540 (and, with it, the Toledo accord between the two), Henry VIII's pro-Lutheran stance in foreign affairs became a political liability, not an asset.
- **E.** Convinced that Cromwell would impose Lutheran doctrines on him by force of arms (!), Henry ordered Cromwell's arrest in the council chamber and imprisonment in the Tower on June 10. Cromwell's pleas for mercy went unheeded; following his condemnation by act of attainder, he was beheaded on Tower Hill on July 28, 1540.

II. Cromwell's execution ended the first phase—a revolutionary phase—of the English Reformation. He was one of the greatest councillors ever to serve the Tudors; his impact on English politics, culture, and society was profound.

- **A.** Cromwell was a prime mover of the Reformation of the 1530s: He had written the legislation defining the break with Rome; he supported evangelical preachers, printers, scholars, and officials; he brought the Bible to the English people; he engineered the dissolution of the monasteries.
- **B.** A brilliant financial administrator, he introduced a new philosophy of peacetime parliamentary taxation and streamlined the collection and accounting of royal revenue.
- **C.** He rationalized the procedures of government by council, making the office of king's secretary central to the conduct of government business.

III. Cromwell's downfall bolstered the conservatives, who presumed that Henry VIII's fifth queen, Catherine Howard, would be a politically secure anchor for them at court. She was, after all, the niece of the duke of Norfolk. But Catherine was politically naive, and within 15 months, she had destroyed the conservatives' hopes.

- **A.** Henry's interest in Catherine took the Howards and everyone else at court by surprise.
  1. Catherine (b. 1521), though brought up poor, was well-connected socially through her father's extensive network of kinfolk.
  2. A pretty, flirtatious girl, Catherine later confessed that at Horsham, when she was 15, her music teacher, Henry Mannox, was physically intimate with her and that, at Lambeth, when she was 17, she

had had sexual relations with Francis Dereham, with whom she then exchanged private vows in a precontract of marriage.

3. She was appointed to serve Anne of Cleves in late 1539; thus, she would have been 18 or 19 when Henry first saw her. For him, it was reportedly love (or infatuation) at first sight, though by the fall of 1539, Catherine had probably fallen in love with Thomas Culpeper, Henry VIII's former page and now a gentleman of the king's Privy Chamber.
4. It is unlikely that the Howards deliberately pushed Catherine into an affair with the king, given that other, more suitable and well-educated candidates were available. In Antonia Fraser's words, it was the "freak wave" of Henry's desire that brought Catherine to the forefront of politics.
5. But the Howards and the conservatives were prepared to make the most of their luck. Catherine's step-grandmother, Agnes Duchess of Norfolk, coached her in the ways of the court, and by April 1540, Henry VIII regularly was visiting Catherine.
6. The first official sign of Henry's favor was a grant of lands to her on April 24, and in early May, she effectively became the king's consort, because by this time, he had made love to her. On May 1, at the May Day celebrations, Anne of Cleves made her last ceremonial appearance as queen.

B. After Henry and Catherine were married on July 28, 1540, witnesses described a buoyant, even ecstatic king besotted with his sexy, pretty young queen. Unable to keep his hands off her, he showered her with gifts of jewelry and clothes and numerous grants of lands.

C. As queen, Catherine showed some unexpected good sense in her treatment of Anne of Cleves, as well as predictable favoritism toward those seeking her patronage, including Francis Dereham, her former lover, whom she appointed her secretary.

D. Why Catherine resumed her romance with Thomas Culpeper in the spring of 1541 is perhaps explained as much by Henry's physical and emotional state than by Catherine's recklessness.

1. Henry, nearing 50, was eating and drinking heavily and, by 1540, had become obese. He suffered varicose ulcerations of the legs, and the bouts of fever caused by thrombosed veins often left him in a vile temper.
2. While ill for 12 days in March 1541, he requested that Catherine be kept away from his sickbed. Was it during this period, when she did not see Henry, that she resumed her romantic affair with Culpeper?

E. When Henry recovered, he revived long-delayed plans for a progress through the north of England in the autumn of 1541, probably intending to stage Catherine's coronation at York. It was during this royal progress of August–October 1541 that Catherine committed the indiscretions with Culpeper that resulted in her arrest and execution.

1. On November 1, after the court had returned to Hampton Court, Gregory Lascelles, a zealous reformist in religion, revealed to Thomas Cranmer what his sister, Mary Hall, a former chamberwoman to the dowager duchess Agnes, had told him of Catherine's precontract with Dereham. When Dereham was arrested and tortured, he implicated Culpeper who, though he denied an adulterous affair with Queen Catherine, confessed under torture to numerous nocturnal rendezvous with her during the northern progress.
2. On November 2, Cranmer broke the news of Catherine's behavior to a weeping, incredulous king. Black with rage, Henry threatened to kill Catherine himself with a sword.
3. Meanwhile, Queen Catherine was arrested at Hampton Court on November 12. On November 24, she was indicted for treason and adultery. On February 10, 1542, she was transferred to the Tower, where according to the terms of a parliamentary act of attainder of February 11, she was beheaded on February 13, 1542. Adultery was never proved against her. The terms of the attainder were retrospective: She had failed to declare to Henry her unchaste life *before* her marriage!
4. Ironically, she might have saved herself by confessing to the precontract with Dereham.
5. For having aided and abetted Catherine's assignations with Culpeper, Queen Catherine's attendant Jane Viscountess Rochford was condemned in the same act of attainder and beheaded on February 13.
6. Although adultery technically was never proved against Dereham and Culpeper, both were executed on December 10, 1541, for the treason of having committed adultery with the queen.

F. In December 1541, many other members of the Howard network, as well as Queen Catherine's former servants, were imprisoned in the Tower on charges of *misprision of treason*, that is, concealing knowledge

of a treason, in this case, knowledge of Catherine's guilty past. Although all were later released, their ordeal marked the end of the Howards' political supremacy at court.

G. The revelations of Catherine's deeds threw Henry into a black mood for nearly three months. But in February 1542, the king gave a series of lavish feasts at which one guest, Chapuys, the ambassador of the Holy Roman Empire, noticed once again Henry's eye for pretty ladies in attendance. But, the ambassador wondered, what woman would want to risk marriage with the king?

1. The act of attainder of February 1542 against Catherine had cast a pall over the court; persons who failed to disclose information of a prospective queen's wanton behavior would themselves be guilty of misprision of treason.

2. In 1546, a Greek traveler visiting Henry's court noticed that the desiccated heads of Dereham and Culpeper were still affixed to spears on the turrets of London Bridge, grim reminders of how deadly the game of royal matrimony could be!

Recommended Reading:

Antonia Fraser, *Wives of Henry VIII*, pp. 315–354.

G. R. Elton, *Reform and Renewal: Thomas Cromwell and the Common Weal*.

David Starkey, *Six Wives,* pp. 644–689.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why should Thomas Cromwell be remembered as Henry VIII's greatest councillor?

2. By what standards or criteria should students of history judge Catherine Howard's behavior as queen?

Lecture Twenty-Two
Queen Katherine Parr

Scope: As Henry's health visibly began to decline, court factions centered on evangelicals and conservatives began jockeying for power and position in the future reign. When, in 1543, Henry married Katherine Parr, the politically astute sister of one of his evangelical councillors, the balance clearly shifted toward those who favored further religious reform, though Henry himself held to conservative doctrine (with the important exception of his belief in purgatory). But the key lay in Queen Katherine's patronage of evangelicals charged with the education of Henry's children, Edward and Elizabeth. Katherine, a woman of deep faith and learning—she was the first English queen to publish a book!—implied that she had married Henry at God's bidding in order to advance "true religion," or evangelism. A woman of exceptional poise, she skillfully avoided the traps conservatives had set for her, while managing a bloated, often irascible husband.

Outline

I. In the period immediately following Cromwell's fall, Henry VIII himself set the tone of official policy by insisting on strict enforcement of the royal supremacy. But his actions implicitly acknowledged the success of the reformists' advances.

- **A.** In May 1543, Henry wrote a new formulary of the faith expounding the Creed, the seven sacraments, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer in English. Popularly known as the "King's Book," the official title was *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man.*
- **B.** Henry also promoted a parliamentary Act for the Advancement of True Religion, authorizing the use of Cromwell's Great Bible but only under conditions that were socially very restrictive—only gentleman and male householders of substance were permitted to read it.
- **C.** Under pressure from common lawyers in the House of Commons, the Crown softened procedures governing the arrest and trial of those charged with heresy.
- **D.** In late 1542, conservatives at court, led by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, plotted to destroy Cranmer as they had destroyed Cromwell. The conspirators included prebendaries at Canterbury Cathedral—hence, the "Prebendaries' Plot"—justices of the peace in Kent, and leading parish clergy. The conspirators collected evidence of heresy in Cranmer's diocese, implying that Cranmer was not only tolerating heresy but promoting it.
  1. When Henry VIII saw the allegations of heresy at Canterbury, he gave them to Cranmer, telling him to conduct the investigation himself! Gardiner's attempt to remove Cranmer was long remembered as a moment of high drama: When he confronted the archbishop in the council chamber, Cranmer produced a ring the king had given him the night before as a token of his support, a gesture Shakespeare staged in *King Henry VIII*.
  2. Historians think that Henry VIII may have saved Cranmer in order to maintain a counterweight to Gardiner, Norfolk, and the conservatives. On the other hand, Henry rejected Cranmer's theology, just as he had rejected Cromwell's evangelicalism; theologically, the conservatives had won by 1543 and Henry did not retreat from the ground he had staked out in the King's Book.
  3. Nonetheless, Professor Guy has argued that Henry VIII's reaction to the Prebendaries Plot suggests that the king had tacitly acknowledged the existence of a grassroots Protestantism he did not fully control: In such places as Kent, "evangelism was too well entrenched among the gentry to be overthrown."

II. At about the time the Prebendaries' Plot was unfolding, the king became interested in a 31-year-old married woman, Katherine Parr, or Lady Latimer, as she was then known. Their marriage in July 1543 marked a turning point in Reformation history, because Katherine believed that God had willed her to marry Henry to advance the cause of "true religion." A vivacious woman of exceptional learning and faith, her remarkable personal skills enabled her to manage an increasingly ill, difficult husband and sidestep her conservative enemies at court.

A. Katherine's family had found favor with Henry VIII from the beginning of his reign, and her court connections explain how Henry knew, perhaps as early as September 1542, that she would soon be a widow.

1. In 1533, one year after the death of her first husband, Katherine, then 20, married a Yorkshire magnate, John Neville, Lord Latimer. Because of his poor health, he and Katherine moved to London, where she nursed him before he died on March 2, 1543.

2. Sometime between September 1542 and February 1543, Henry VIII developed an interest in Katherine. Latimer had made out his will on September 12, 1542, and Henry VIII's first gifts to "my Lady Latimer" were dated February 16, 1543. Although Katherine fell in love with Thomas Seymour at about the same time, she and Henry were married at Hampton Court on July 12, 1543.

B. Queen Katherine brought grace, warmth, and fashion to Henry VIII's court and provided the king and his children with companionship and care.

1. Observers remarked on her "pleasing," "kind," and "gracious" nature. A tall, graceful, lively woman, she relished music and dancing and commissioned royal portraits.

2. She kept greyhounds and parrots and exhibited a passionate interest in dressing fashionably and well.

3. A warm, good-hearted person, she showed special kindness to the king's children, bringing all of them together into the royal household for the first time as a family.

4. Perhaps she was the only one of Henry's wives who intuitively knew how to manage him and his troublesome ego, showing him what he thought was the submissive respect and obedience a wife (and queen) should show a husband and prince.

5. Given that Henry was, at times, a near-invalid in a wheelchair, Katherine also became a royal nurse, moving out of her own apartments into a small bedchamber next to his.

C. Katherine Parr was a woman of the deepest religious faith who believed that God had chosen her to advance the evangelical cause in England. As queen, her cultural legacy was profound.

1. The date of her conversion to evangelism (from ardent Roman Catholicism) has been a subject of controversy. In 2003, David Starkey speculated that she was converted about the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace.

2. As queen, Katherine wrote two pioneering works of Reformation piety, *Prayers and Meditations* (1545), an exceptionally popular devotional work that went through 19 editions in the 16th century, and *The Lamentation, or Complaint of a Sinner*, first published in 1547.

3. She was the patron of evangelical preachers, writers, and scholars.

4. Her role in promoting John Cheke and Roger Ascham, evangelical humanist tutors to Prince Edward and Princess Elizabeth, helped lay the foundations of Protestant politics and culture in England, because the curricula the tutors devised for them was thoroughly Protestant.

5. Cheke, regius professor of Greek at Cambridge, became Katherine's closest confidant and adviser in the last years of the reign (July 1544–January 1547); Ascham said, "I do not believe [the queen] will do anything without consulting you."

D. Katherine's patronage of radical reformers and chaplains prompted the conservatives, led by Gardiner and Lord Chancellor Thomas Wriothesley, to conspire to destroy her in July 1546 in the wake of the burning of Anne Askew for heresy.

1. In her chambers at court, Katherine sponsored readings of Scripture and discussions of religion with learned aristocratic women of advanced religious views, several of whom were connected indirectly to Anne Askew, whose heresy was to deny the Real Presence.

2. Although tortured by Wriothesley, Askew did not implicate the queen or anyone in her circle. Ironically, it was Katherine herself, in an uncharacteristically heated discourse on religion with Henry, who apparently overstepped the bounds of what the king thought acceptable in matters of doctrine.

3. Henry knew that Wriothesley had drawn up plans to arrest Katherine and take her to the Tower, but Henry tipped off his physicians, Drs. Wendy and Owen. With the king's knowledge, they betrayed Wriothesley's scheme to Katherine. Wendy told her, in effect, that this was a test she could pass if she showed herself properly submissive to Henry, which she did, and the king forgave her.

4. When Wriothesley came with guards to arrest Katherine, Henry dismissed him. Within five months Henry would be dead, and the evangelical triumph, complete.

Recommended Reading:

Elaine V. Beilen, *The Examinations of Anne Askew*.

Antonia Fraser, *Wives of Henry VIII*, pp. 357–414.

Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations*, chapter 9.

Susan E. James, *Kateryn Parr: The Making of a Queen*.

David Starkey, *Reign of Henry VIII*, chapter 7.

———, *Six Wives*, pp. 690–765.

Questions to Consider:

1. What did the Prebendaries' Plot of 1542–1543 reveal about the political culture of the Reformation during Henry VIII's last years?
2. Katherine Parr has rightly been called one of the founding figures of the English Reformation. Why?

Lecture Twenty-Three
Endgame—Politics and War, 1542–1547

Scope: Resolving to restore his kingly "honor," Henry turned again to war, invading Scotland in October 1542, in pursuit of a union of the crowns of that kingdom and England, and France in July 1544, reviving his claim to a French domain. To cover the colossal costs involved (more than £2 million by 1546), Henry sold off confiscated monastic property, debased his coinage, exacted forced loans, and repeatedly sought parliamentary subsidies (taxes) on the lands of gentry and nobles according to the new principle that "necessity" (meaning the king's needs) *alone* justified such parliamentary taxation. From a secret treasury at Westminster, he spent lavishly on the accouterments of a Renaissance king. The making of his last will and testament, itself a famous forensic puzzle, and the downfall of the conservatives—Norfolk and his son, the earl of Surrey—constituted the final acts in the high and deadly drama of Henrician court politics.

Outline

I. War—war in pursuit of "honor" on the battlefields of France—was Henry VIII's *raison d'être* as king of England. It was to war-making in France that he returned in 1544.

A. Catherine Howard's execution so depressed Henry that he resolved to restore his dignity by returning to what had made him the king and man he was: war against France. But Scotland first figured into Henry's war-planning. There was, in Edinburgh, a "French faction" led by Cardinal Beaton, and before attacking France, Henry tried to secure his northern flank.

1. Henry's troops under the duke of Norfolk defeated the Scots at Solway Moss in November 1542. Beaton was imprisoned, and the English set up a pro-English party of Scots to counter French influence.

2. The accession of the infant Mary Queen of Scots prompted Henry to force on the Scots the Treaty of Greenwich (July 1543), by which Prince Edward was betrothed to Mary. The plan envisioned the union of England and Scotland in a "Great Britain" ruled from London.

3. The Scots rejected the Treaty of Greenwich, preferring "to suffer extremity than be subject to England," and Henry's diplomatic and military efforts to subdue Scotland in 1543 and 1544 failed.

4. The Scots launched an invasion of England in August 1545. Henry VIII counterattacked with an army under Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, the uncle of Prince Edward and the emerging leader of the evangelical faction at court. Hertford's "rough wooing" of Scotland by fire and the sword has lived as an infamy in the Scots' national memory.

B. When the Franco-Imperial entente dissolved in 1541–1542, Henry and Charles V agreed to invade France in person in 1544.

1. On July 14, 1544, a now-obese Henry VIII accompanied his troops to France and, despite suffering from painfully swollen legs, directed English strategy himself, giving field command to the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk. The war went badly, but Boulogne was captured.

2. Charles V double-crossed Henry, however, by leaving the war and settling separately with France, leaving the English position vis-à-vis Francis I untenable.

3. Henry was forced to sue for peace following a naval debacle off the Isle of Wight: French ships raided Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight (July 1545), and in the confusion of battle, Henry's flagship, the *Mary Rose*, heeled over and sank as the king watched from shore.

C. Although the terms of peace seemed favorable—Henry kept Boulogne and the French agreed to pay him an annual "pension"—the financial costs of Henry's third French war and the war against Scotland were disastrous.

1. To cover the staggering cost—more than £2.1 million—Henry resorted to parliamentary subsidies (three in 1546 alone), forced loans, sale of formerly monastic lands, borrowing on the Antwerp exchange, and debasement of his own coinage.

2. But it was not enough, and the Crown fell heavily into debt. Having depleted his own privy coffers, Henry ruined royal finances and England's "economy."

II. As Henry grew dangerously ill in 1545–1546, conservatives and reformists battled for control of royal policy, trying to position themselves for office and influence in the new reign.

A. In the council, the nucleus of the reformist faction consisted of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, and John Dudley, Viscount Lisle, the king's two most powerful military commanders; the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer; and William Parr, the Earl of Essex, the queen's brother. Administratively, a key ally in the council was William Paget, a *politique*, who managed the business of the council as the king's secretary.

B. In Henry's Privy Chamber, Hertford found allies in the king's physician, Dr. William Butts, and the two head officers, or chief gentlemen, Sir William Herbert and Sir Anthony Denny.

1. Butts was a zealous evangelical whose informal advice Henry VIII frequently sought. He was also close to Queen Katherine Parr.

2. Herbert and Denny also enjoyed close ties to Katherine Parr. Herbert was the queen's brother-in-law and steward of her lands, and Denny's wife was one of her closest friends.

C. Administratively, Denny was especially important; through him, Hertford gained control of the writing and signing of all letters and warrants under the king's signet, or personal seal, as well as access to Denny's knowledge of Henry's secret finances.

1. As chief gentleman and groom of the stool, Denny was also *ex officio* keeper of Westminster Palace, a sensitive office in the Privy Chamber, because the keeper managed the king's privy coffers, or secret treasury, there.

2. Henry VIII refused to sign state papers, delegating to Denny the use of a secret dry (wooden) stamp replicating the royal signature. Denny supervised the application of the stamp, which was held in a special box in the keeping of his brother-in-law, John Gates. Denny, Gates, and another assistant, William Clerk, were authorized to ink in the stamped impression of the royal holograph made by the stamp, and Clerk kept a register of all documents so "signed," or stamped.

D. Politically, Paget and Denny were two of Henry's most trusted servants. When Henry decided to frame his last will and testament, Paget's role in drafting the will and Denny's supervision of the dry stamp of Henry's signature gave the evangelical faction the advantage it needed to cement its victory over conservative opponents Stephen Gardiner (bishop of Winchester) and Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk.

1. On the eve of Henry's departure for France in 1544, Parliament had authorized the king to appoint in his will a council of 16 regents to govern as co-equal councillors in the name of King Edward VI in the event of Henry's demise. The 16 men so named were also executors of the will.

2. Over the next two years, both sides—the "new" men, led by Hertford and Lisle, and the older conservatives, led by Gardiner and Norfolk—jockeyed for political position.

3. Norfolk's son, Henry, earl of Surrey, talked brashly of a plan to make his father protector of England under King Edward. This *hauteur* eventually proved his and his father's undoing: When Surrey quartered his arms with the king's, both he and his father were arrested (December 12, 1546), and Surrey was executed (January 19, 1547) for treason. Only Henry's death on January 28, 1547, saved Norfolk from a similar fate.

E. Gardiner, meanwhile, earned Henry's displeasure by balking at the king's request for an exchange of his episcopal lands; Henry banished him from the court just when, on December 26, he decided to finalize his will by naming Edward's all-important governing council.

1. Summoning Hertford, Denny, Lisle, and Paget to his bedside, Henry dictated the names of the 16-man council to govern England after his death. He left Gardiner and Norfolk off the list and gave the will for safekeeping to Hertford.

2. Some scholars have thought that Gardiner and Norfolk were victims of an evangelical coup. In fact, Henry directed the coup. He left Gardiner and Norfolk off because, he could not trust them to maintain the royal supremacy after his death, thinking them "papists." He also thought Norfolk had failed him militarily as a commander in France in 1544–1545.

3. It has been argued that the exclusion of Gardiner and Norfolk from Henry's will was the work of Paget and Denny after the fact, that they forged the names of the 16 regents when Henry fell into a coma in January 1547, before he had actually signed the final version that Paget had composed in December. On the surface, this argument carried weight, because the extant will—the original to be seen in the

Public Record Office in London—bears not Henry's holograph, but a replica of his signature, a replica made with the wooden stamp in the keeping of Denny and Gates.

F. In what has become one of the most famous forensic puzzles in English history, scholars have subjected the will to minute analysis, including the use of infrared light to resolve the mystery of the making of the will.

G. The solution lies in the fact that royal documents so stamped were valid, just as authentic as papers bearing the king's own hand. There were witnesses to the will, a will almost certainly stamped with Henry's knowledge; the witnesses observed the officially authorized act of stamping.

H. But Paget nonetheless had the last word: He phrased the will in such a way—possibly without Henry's knowledge—that King Edward's regents could undertake *any action* they thought necessary for the government of the realm, as if Henry VIII had specifically commissioned them to do so.

1. A few weeks after Henry's death (in February 1547), Paget conveniently "remembered" what Henry had told him to do after his death but had not put in the will—reward his most favored courtiers with a virtual shower of titles, grants of lands, and cash!

2. As Henry lay dying (around midnight, January 27, 1547), Paget conspired with Hertford to persuade Edward's regents that Henry's last wish was that Hertford become lord protector of the realm and governor of King Edward's person, offices that would enable him effectively to rule as de facto king in place of the council of regents.

3. Thanks to Paget's memory of the unfulfilled "Gifts Clause" in Henry's will, the executors approved Hertford's elevation in their first meeting as King Edward VI's councillors. The evangelical coup was complete. A new era had begun.

Recommended Reading:

Eric Ives, "Henry VIII's Will—A Forensic Conundrum," *The Historical Journal*, pp. 779–804.

C. S. Knighton and David Loades, *Letters from the Mary Rose*.

J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, chapters 13–14.

David Starkey, *Reign of Henry VIII*, chapter 8.

Questions to Consider:

1. In what sense was politics at court in the last years of the reign a continuation of earlier patterns? In what sense a departure?

2. What does the financial history of Henry VIII's last years reveal about the nature and effects of the king's rule?

Lecture Twenty-Four
Retrospect—Henry VIII: The King and His Age

Scope: Henry VIII changed his world as only a king could have done. In the realm of statecraft, his break with Rome marked a defining moment in the making of a sovereign nation. His dissolution of the monasteries abruptly removed one of the great pillars of medieval life. But the monastic wealth he seized was not reinvested in charitable causes, as reformers had hoped; squandering this windfall, he failed even to put the Crown on a new financial footing. A man of exceptional taste and learning, Henry brought Renaissance styles to England, though the martial culture of his court was medieval and his geopolitical vision, backward-looking. His profligate war-making almost bankrupted England. A romantic, he often married for love; a petulant, insecure bully, he murdered judicially some he most loved. His great cause was the royal supremacy. He thought he had restored the true church; spiritually, he lost his own way.

Outline

I. By what criteria shall we assess Henry VIII and his reign? Certainly, the break with Rome and the dissolution of the monasteries incorporated changes marking England's transition to political and cultural "modernity."

- **A.** Henry VIII's England meets the test of *political* modernity in embryo in three ways.
  - **1.** A modern political state claims in law an absolute sovereignty over all its subjects. Henry VIII's Act of Appeals (1533) defined in law the sovereignty of the king-in-Parliament.
  - **2.** A modern state is *bureaucratically* organized and identifies its subjects and stores and manipulates data relating to them on a statistical basis—the most important type of data being their tax liability! Wolsey's tax schemes (pioneered by an exchequer official, John Hales) pointed in this direction, because his taxes on wages hit all male householders, and the methods used to collect those taxes nationally anticipated the statistically based methods first defined in the 1660s.
  - **3.** A modern, industrial, technologically advanced state is permanently armed with standing military forces. Although the economy of Tudor England was still that of a *traditional* (premodern) society, Henry VIII's navy was the first standing military force of its kind in the West.
- **B.** *Mentally*, modern persons exhibit an essentially materialist, skeptical outlook on the world. Two aspects of Henry VIII's Reformation helped dissolve traditional attitudes toward the supernatural—Cromwell's injunctions and the dissolution of the monasteries. The injunctions of 1536 labeled religious relics and images as "superstitious," and the suppression of the monasteries undercut belief in purgatory.

II. However, these considerations are the products of professional historical hindsight; none would have occurred to Henry or his contemporaries. What constituted Henry VIII's own self-conscious preoccupations? What did he choose to do on his own terms? And what does this tell us about his kingship?

- **A.** Henry VIII was himself a brilliant player of the game of princes.
- **B.** By intelligence, taste, and training, and in the record of his princely (courtly) pursuits, he fulfilled Castiglione's prescription for a man of the Renaissance.
- **C.** In meeting and engaging foreign prelates, princes, and ambassadors, he clearly exhibited what the Renaissance most prized, a noble "courtesy."
- **D.** He genuinely relished manly aristocratic pursuits—the hunt and, in his youth, fighting in armor on horseback. He was a truly accomplished horseman.
- **E.** His artistic taste ran the gamut from the finest tapestries to the finest metalwork, jewelry, and painting: He was a collector on a grand scale. His collection of tapestries remains unique—the greatest ever assembled.
- **F.** Renaissance monarchies were essentially machines meant for the battlefield; war-making was Henry VIII's *raison d'être*. On the battlefield, however, Henry was a *poseur*, not a warrior captain.
- **G.** He understood the requirements of princely magnificence, and the record of his spectacle and display, so central to Renaissance monarchy, was both brilliant and original. Witness the Greenwich reception for the French ambassadors in 1527 or the staging of Anne Boleyn's coronation pageants.
- **H.** The inventory of his goods shows a professional's interest in, and grasp of, the technical aspects of map-making and military engineering.

III. In short, Henry VIII set an exceptionally high standard of Renaissance princely conduct. But what of his *character*?

A. His marriages tell us much about his character—why he married and how he dealt with marital failure.

1. Henry VIII's motives for marrying were unusual for a king—"love, and an insistent, child-like desire to be happy" (Starkey). But, as David Starkey has argued, he took his marriages too seriously, expecting them to make him happy! When his marriages made him unhappy, he wanted out.

2. The fact that all of Henry's marriages were conducted in private is also revealing, as Starkey has pointed out, for although his marriages had public, political consequences, he refused to see them in other than private, personal terms.

3. Willful self-deception and a self-pity that turned to anger—these were his responses to marital failure, responses that led him to divorce Katherine of Aragon and judicially murder Anne Boleyn. He convinced himself that because he had no sons by them, they had failed him—his marriages to them must have been wrongful.

4. From this point of view, Henry was first married legitimately only in 1536, to Jane Seymour. By providing a male heir, she did not fail him; Jane was the only wife to merit burial next to him.

B. The anger that sprang from self-pity could lead to extreme cruelty toward those Henry felt had betrayed him or his trust—notably, Wolsey, Fisher, More, and Cromwell. The judicial murders of Empson and Dudley are among the most troubling (and are arguably the most telling), because neither man had betrayed or wronged Henry VIII personally. Their deaths force us to ask: Was Henry's cruelty inherent, to be seen in the teenager at the very outset of the reign?

C. Henry VIII's obsession with war-making is the second most important aspect of the politics of his reign, and it provides further evidence of the material and human cost of the king's destructiveness—war and the dissolution of the monasteries.

1. Henry's attitude toward war was dictated by the political culture of English kingship—a Renaissance king's honor required it—and had it not been for the distraction of his first divorce case, he would have returned to war in the 1530s for what would have been the third time in 15 years.

2. The dissolution of England's monasteries was inextricably tied to Henry's war-lust: His first two wars impoverished him; the wealth of the suppressed abbeys fueled war again in the 1540s.

3. The dissolution of the monasteries and Henry's investment in fortifications and war underscore what he did *not* do with his newfound wealth—build hospitals, libraries, and schools, to name only three things that evangelicals and reformers urged him to do.

D. Henry VIII's failure to invest in charitable and educational causes on a scale made possible by the dissolution highlights his acquisitiveness and greed.

E. We have described Henry as a romantic who failed in marriage and love, a cruel bully capable of destroying those he most favored, and a warmonger who impoverished his subjects. If the mask of royalty was that of a brilliant prince of the Renaissance, how would Henry himself have wished to be remembered?

1. The inscription on Holbein's Privy Chamber mural (1537) of the Tudor dynasty projected Henry's bombastic but sincere self-appraisal: He had restored true religion to the true church, the Church of England, his church.

2. *His* church: To the end, the royal supremacy remained his great achievement, or so he thought.

3. Religion was central to his self-image: Psychologically, he identified with David, the priest-king. But in religion, as Diarmaid MacCulloch has remarked, Henry was Janus-faced: He jettisoned purgatory, one of the doctrinal pillars of a faith that he retained.

4. Having restored what he thought was true religion, had he lost his own way?

F. We began this course with Holbein's portrait of Henry VIII. Such paintings are themselves pieces of history, documents to be "read" and decoded for what they tell of us of the history of those who made them. What sort of history did Henry VIII leave us? And whose history is it? His? Ours?

Recommended Reading:

Eric Ives, "Henry VIII: The Political Perspective," in MacCulloch, ed., *Reign of Henry VIII.*
Diarmaid MacCulloch, "Henry VIII and the Reform of the Church," in MacCulloch, ed., *Reign of Henry VIII*.
J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, chapter 15.

Questions to Consider:

1. Henry VIII thought the royal supremacy—his headship of the Church of England—to have been his great legacy. Was it?
2. In officially promoted words and artistic images and in the spectacles he staged, Henry VIII projected powerful images of himself, his court, and his achievement. What questions must be asked of such sources to advance our understanding of what they mean historically?

Biographical Notes

Anne Boleyn (c. 1501–1536): Henry VIII's second wife was the charismatic daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, one of Henry's courtier-envoys. Brilliantly educated at Malines and Paris at the fashionable courts of Margaret of Austria and the French Queen Claude, Anne wed Henry secretly on January 25, 1533, after seven years of frustrating delays in his attempt to divorce Katherine of Aragon, whom Anne had served as lady-in-waiting. Already pregnant with Elizabeth (b. September 7, 1533), she was crowned queen on June 1, 1533, in spectacular ceremony. She was a politically astute promoter of the evangelical cause; her fierce determination helped Henry achieve his Reformation. But the miscarriage of a possibly deformed male fetus on January 29, 1536, convinced Henry that God had damned their marriage. She was arrested on May 2, 1536, and beheaded on May 19, 1536, on fabricated charges of incest and adultery, crimes associated with the sorcery Henry reportedly believed she had practiced against him.

Anne of Cleves (1515–1557): Henry VIII's fourth wife, wed the king on January 6, 1540, six days after first meeting him, because Cromwell had persuaded Henry that the marriage would secure, through her brother, Duke William, the support of the Protestant League of Schmalkalden against Emperor Charles V. Henry decided on the match (October 1539) even before seeing Holbein's flattering portrait of her. The king never called her "the Flanders mare," a slur first used by Bishop Gilbert Burnet in the late 17th century. But Anne did not excite Henry, and when he could not consummate their marriage, he decided to divorce her on terms she accepted on July 9, 1540, living out her days comfortably in England on a generous royal pension.

Charles V (1500–1558): Born at Ghent, the son of Philip of Austria and Joanna (the Mad) of Castile, Charles became king of Spain in 1516 and, thus, heir to Spanish holdings in Italy and the Americas. In 1519, thanks to bribery and military blackmail, he was elected Holy Roman Emperor, establishing himself, at 20, as the greatest holder of a European domain since Charlemagne. He believed himself to be leader of Christendom; possessing a global empire, he thought he was also divinely ordained to become world monarch. Frequently at war with Francis I and the papacy—Rome mistrusted his desire for Erasmian reform—he spent his career defending his lands from incursion by Islam and infection by heretics. The Turks besieged Vienna in 1529 and 1532, but Charles took Tunis in 1535; his war against Lutheran princes ended with the official recognition of Protestantism in 1555. In 1554, his son, Philip II of Spain, wed Henry VIII's daughter, Mary I. In 1556, he abdicated his crowns and retired to a monastery in Spain. He matched devotion to his wife, Isabella of Portugal (d. 1539), with a passion for clocks, books, and music.

Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556): The Cambridge-educated son of a Nottinghamshire gentleman was lecturing in divinity at Cambridge when, in 1529, he came to the notice of Henry VIII's advisers in the matter of the king's divorce: It was Cranmer who recommended that Henry poll European universities on the legality of the king's first marriage. Cranmer's knowledge of early church practices, his antipapal stance, and his connection to Anne Boleyn's father helped secure his appointment as archbishop of Canterbury, in which capacity he annulled Henry's marriage to Katherine of Aragon and crowned Anne Boleyn queen. With Thomas Cromwell, he played a central role in framing the formularies of Henry's church. Under Edward VI (1547–1553), he defined the new, officially Protestant doctrines and liturgy, which Elizabeth I reestablished in 1559; these formed the basis of worship in the Church of England thereafter. Imprisoned by Mary I, he was burned alive in Oxford after courageously retracting the recantations of heresy she had forced him to sign.

Thomas Cromwell (1485–1540): The son of a Putney cloth-worker and alehouse keeper, Cromwell first sought his fortunes as a soldier in Italy and factor for English merchants in Rome and the Netherlands. He rose to prominence in England in the 1520s as Cardinal Wolsey's protégé and a member of Parliament. After Wolsey's fall, he became Henry VIII's chief councillor, managing the king's campaign against the clergy in 1531 and 1532 and drafting much of the legislation of the Reformation Parliament, including the revolutionary statutes defining the royal supremacy. As the architect of the break with Rome, Cromwell became the "driving force" of Henry's Reformation, supervising the dissolution of the monasteries and orchestrating antipapal propaganda. In a daring coup, he rid the king of Queen Anne Boleyn, but his fervent evangelical stance smacked of heresy, or so Henry thought; this and the disastrous Cleves marriage, which Cromwell had arranged, precipitated his downfall and execution (July 28, 1540).

Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536): Born in Rotterdam, Erasmus left an Augustinian monastery to become secretary to the bishop of Cambrai. He worked in Paris and Louvain and, after 1521, lived mainly in Basle, where he died.

With his prolific output of published works—he was by far the most influential author of his age—Erasmus established himself as the greatest humanist of the northern Renaissance and the intellectual father of modern tolerance and pacifism. In 1508, during the second of his three trips to England, he wrote the international bestseller *The Praise of Folly* while staying in Thomas More's house. He taught Greek at Cambridge from 1511–1514. His edition of the Greek New Testament (1516), the first of its kind, fundamentally redirected the course of Christian culture.

Francis I (1494–1547): Duke of Valois, succeeded Louis XII as king of France (1515–1547). In 1514, Francis wed Louis's daughter, Claude (1514), and in 1530, Eleanor of Portugal, the sister of Emperor Charles V. A great prince of the Renaissance, his was the model that Henry VIII doubtless sought to emulate as patron of artists (Francis employed Leonardo da Vinci and Benvenuto Cellini); book collector and "father of letters" (his library became the nucleus of the present Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, just as his paintings formed the original holdings of the Louvre); and builder of note (witness his châteaux at Amboise, Blois, and Chambord). Seeking glory in battle, he fought four wars with Charles V, suffering capture at Pavia (1525) and imprisonment briefly in Madrid.

Peter Gillis: The learned chief secretary of the city of Antwerp, Gillis entertained Thomas More at his house in Antwerp in July 1515, where More probably wrote Book II of *Utopia*, the work that Gillis first saw through the press and helped circulate. Gillis and Erasmus were close friends; Erasmus later gave More a portrait of Gillis by Quentin Matsys as a token of the friendship of the three men.

Hans Holbein the Younger (1497–1543): Born in Augsburg and, after studying with his father, also a painter of importance, Holbein worked in Zürich, Lucerne, and Basle before visiting England (1526–1529). At that time, he executed a sequence of portraits, the first of their type in England, as well as important decorative paintings, for Henry VIII. He returned to Basle in 1529 but was back in London in 1532. Appointed court painter in 1536, he died of the plague in 1543.

Henry VII (1457–1509): King of England (1485–1509), born at Pembroke Castle, Wales, two months after the death of his father, Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond, the half-brother of the Lancastrian King Henry VI. (Edmund's father, Owen Tudor, an official at the court of Henry V, had married Henry V's queen dowager, Catherine of Valois.) Henry Tudor's mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort, was the only heir of John, duke of Somerset, the great-grandson of King Edward III (d. 1377). When the direct male line of Lancastrians died out with the murder of Henry VI on May 22, 1471, the Lancastrian claim to the throne devolved, through Lady Margaret, on Henry, then in the custody of his uncle, Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke. Fearing for Henry's life at the hands of Yorkist adherents of Edward IV, Jasper took his nephew to the court of Duke Francis II of Brittany, where Henry spent the next 14 years in exile and adopted French manners. In 1483, when political sentiment in England turned against the usurper Richard of Gloucester (Richard III) for his imprisonment and probable murder of Edward IV's sons and heirs, Lady Margaret and her second husband, Thomas Lord Stanley, revived Henry Tudor's claim. Henry defeated Richard III at the battle of Bosworth Field (August 22, 1485), becoming Henry VII. He married Elizabeth of York, the daughter of Edward IV, and following the death of their first son, Prince Arthur (1502), was succeeded by his younger son, Henry VIII, on April 21, 1509. Henry's eldest daughter, Margaret (1489–1541), married James IV of Scotland. (In 1603, their great-grandson, James VI of Scotland, became James I of England.) Henry's younger daughter, Mary (1496–1533), married, first, Louis XII of France and, second, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. A third son, Edmund (1499–1500) died in infancy.

Henry VIII (1491–1547): King of England (1509–1547), born at Greenwich Palace on June 28, 1491. On the death of his older brother, Arthur (1502), he succeeded his father, Henry VII, on April 21, 1509. He died at Westminster Palace on January 28, 1547. Henry married Katherine of Aragon on June 11, 1509, and divorced her on May 23, 1533, convinced that her status as Arthur's widow had rendered their union unlawful according to Scripture. Their only child, Princess Mary (b. 1516), succeeded as Queen Mary I (1553–1558). Henry ended his second, secret marriage of January 25, 1533, to Anne Boleyn on May 25, 1536, by ordering her beheaded, convinced that she had seduced him to wed her by means of sorcery. His third wife, Jane Seymour, whom he wed on May 30, 1536, died on October 24, 1537, 12 days after giving birth to Henry's only legitimate male heir, who succeeded him as Edward VI (1547–1553). (Henry's illegitimate son, Henry Fitzroy, born in 1519 to Elizabeth Blount, the unmarried daughter of Sir John Blount, died of tuberculosis in 1536.) Henry's fourth marriage, to Anne of Cleves on January 6, 1540, was meant to secure the backing of German princely opponents of Emperor Charles V but was annulled on July 9, 1540, on the grounds of her alleged precontract with Francis of Lorraine. The truth was that Henry found her physically unexciting, which was not the case with the sexy Catherine Howard, whom he married not three weeks

later (July 28, 1540). Revelations of her intimacies with a lover led to her execution on February 13, 1542. Henry's twice-widowed sixth queen, Katherine Parr, whom he wed on July 12, 1543, outlived him by little more than a year.

Catherine Howard (c. 1521–1542): Henry VIII's fifth queen was the literate but poorly educated niece of the duke of Norfolk. She served as one of Anne of Cleves's ladies-in-waiting before marrying Henry on July 28, 1540. She was arrested on November 12, 1541, on charges of adultery (technically never proved) with two men with whom she had at various times been intimate, Thomas Culpeper, a gentleman of the king's Privy Chamber, and Francis Dereham, her secretary. Catherine was beheaded on February 13, 1542, with Jane Lady Rochford, who had helped arrange her secret assignations with Culpeper, whom she undoubtedly loved.

Katherine of Aragon (1485–1536): Henry VIII's first queen was the well-educated daughter of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon. Betrothed at age 3 (in 1489) and married at 15 (November 14, 1501) to Henry's brother, Arthur—a match designed to secure prestigious diplomatic recognition for the upstart Tudor dynasty—she became a widow when Arthur died four months later (April 2, 1502). The fact that she was a virgin when she wed Henry VIII (June 11, 1509) did not dissuade him from arguing later that their marriage had contravened God's law—this despite the papal dispensation of 1504 that had covered the canonical impediment to their union. Queen Katherine conceived at least six children, but only one, Princess Mary (b. February 18, 1516) survived (becoming Queen Mary I in her own right in 1553). Divorced by Henry on May 23, 1533, she died of a cancerous heart on January 7, 1536, maintaining to the end that she was the king's lawful, loving wife.

Sir Thomas More (1478–1535): After studying at Oxford, More took up private law practice in London, where he was also under-sheriff (1510–1518). His first wife, Jane Colt, bore him four children. Immediately following her death (1511), he married a wealthy widow, Alice Middleton, often the butt of his jokes. The publication of *Utopia* (1516) earned him an international reputation as humanist critic and commentator on the role of the intellectual in politics. Entering royal service in 1517, he was appointed to a succession of important offices, including that of lord chancellor (1529). In the 1520s, he was the king's leading spokesman in the vicious propaganda campaign against Luther and Tyndale. More himself actively prosecuted English heretics. On the Submission of the Clergy (May 16, 1532), he resigned the chancellorship, and in April 1534, for refusing to take the oath prescribed in the Act of Succession, he was committed to the Tower. In July 1535, he was tried for treason for allegedly denying, in a conversation with Sir Richard Rich, Henry VIII's headship of the English church. The conversation was real; the denial, hypothetical. Contrary to legend, More favored neither "liberty of conscience" (which he vehemently opposed) nor the supremacy of the pope (he preferred authoritative church councils). He was beheaded on July 6, 1535, and canonized in 1935.

Katherine Parr (1512–1548): Henry VIII's sixth queen was the daughter of Sir Thomas Parr, a courtier and soldier, and Maud, one of Katherine of Aragon's ladies. Twice widowed and childless, she fell in love with Sir Thomas Seymour by 1543 but, as she later told Seymour (whom she wed in 1548), she married Henry on July 12, 1543, in accordance with what she believed was a divine mandate to advance the evangelical cause, a goal she accomplished by supervising the Protestant schooling of Prince Edward and Princess Elizabeth. Vivacious, intelligent, and self-taught, she published two pioneering works of Reformation piety. She died in childbirth in 1548 after bearing Seymour a daughter.

Jane Seymour (1509–1537): Henry VIII's third queen, Jane was the daughter of Sir John Seymour, one of Henry's knights of the body. She was at court from 1529, serving Queen Katherine of Aragon and Queen Anne Boleyn in succession. A sister of two of Henry's favored courtiers, Edward and Thomas Seymour, she may have been promoted by them as part of Thomas Cromwell's plot against Anne Boleyn in 1536. Betrothed on May 20, 1536, within hours of Anne's beheading, she wed Henry on May 30 but died on October 24, 1537, 12 days after giving birth to Edward, Henry's long-awaited male heir and successor (as King Edward VI, 1547–1553).

William Tyndale (c. 1494–1536): The son of a prosperous Gloucestershire yeoman, the Oxford-educated Tyndale (B.A., 1512; M.A., 1515) claims a prime place in English-speaking culture as the translator of the first complete printed edition of the New Testament (Wörms, 1526). Tyndale's text, based on Erasmus's Greek edition, was itself the work of a literary genius and deservedly served as the basis of all subsequent English translations. A pioneering scholar of Hebrew, Tyndale also translated several books of the Old Testament. Suspected of heresy, he sailed for Hamburg (1524), never to return to England. Moving successively to Marburg and Antwerp, he engaged in an acrimonious debate in print with Thomas More. Betrayed by a fellow Englishman, he was strangled and burned at the stake at Vilvorde, near Brussels.

Thomas Wolsey (1472?–1530): For the intellectually able son of a wealthy cattle dealer at Ipswich, Suffolk, the church offered the best path to wealth and advancement. Wolsey was ordained in 1498, becoming bursar and fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford (where he took his B.A. and M.A.). He served Henry VII diplomatically before appointment as Henry VIII's almoner (1509). His logistical skill in managing Henry's first French war and an extraordinary capacity for hard work were rewarded with rapid promotion to a variety of offices in church and state. As Henry VIII's lord chancellor from 1515, he governed England in Henry's name for 14 years. A patron of the arts and builder on a grand scale, mixing arrogance and magnificence in equal measure, he was the last of the great ecclesiastical statesmen of the Middle Ages. As archbishop of York, a cardinal, and papal legate, Wolsey effectively spoke for the English clergy, an unprecedented authority that proved to be his greatest liability when he failed to secure Henry VIII's divorce in his legatine court at Blackfriars (1529), a failure that brought dismissal and disgrace.

Bibliography

Essential Reading:

S. J. Gunn and P. G. Lindley, eds., *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991. Important collection of original essays covering chiefly Wolsey's patronage of art, music, and architecture.

John Guy, *Thomas More.* London: Arnold; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000. Brilliant analysis of 500 years of changing interpretations of More, with a rigorous assessment of the relevant original sources and the author's own authoritative, insightful judgments.

E. W. Ives, *Anne Boleyn.* Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986. Indispensable scholarly study.

Richard Marius, *Thomas More: A Biography.* New York: Knopf, 1984; paperback ed., Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999. In Marius, More found his biographer: This is likely to remain the best general study for many years to come.

Sir Thomas More, *Utopia*, trans. and ed., Robert M. Adams. New York and London: W. W. Norton, 2nd ed., 1992. A fluent translation followed by the editor's selection of extracts from contemporary letters and sources and modern commentaries.

J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968. The fullest and best scholarly biography, based on deep research in British and continental archives.

Supplementary Reading:

Peter Ackroyd, *The Life of Thomas More.* New York: Knopf, 1998. An accessible brief biography, with sympathetic insights into More's religion.

Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2nd ed., 1997. Based on extensive original research, this is the standard scholarly work on the pageants of the Tudor kings.

*———, *The Great Tournament Roll of Westminster*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2 vols., 1968. An excellent introduction to Tudor chivalry, with superb reproductions of membranes of the original vellum roll.

Dominic Baker-Smith, *More's Utopia*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000. Best one-volume study.

Elaine V. Beilen, ed., *The Examinations of Anne Askew.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. By setting out her own version of her interrogations for heresy in 1545–1546, the 20-year-old Askew created a truly extraordinary work, the spiritual autobiography of a passionate, intelligent woman.

Michael Bennett, *The Battle of Bosworth*. Gloucester, England: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1985. An illustrated military narrative that usefully includes extracts from contemporary documents.

*G. W. Bernard, *War, Taxation and Rebellion in Early Tudor England: Henry VIII, Wolsey and the Amicable Grant of 1525.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986. Charts the popular reaction to Wolsey's war finance.

Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation.* Oxford: The Clarendon Press, paperback ed., 1991. Magisterial, beautifully written account based on deep learning and research.

———, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds: The Rule of the Tudors, 1485–1603*. New York: Viking Penguin, 2001. An unusually well-written textbook emphasizing religion and society, with special treatment of Ireland.

Christine Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses: Politics and the Constitution in England, c. 1437–1509.* Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997. Bracing and provocative revisionist assessment.

S. B. Chrimes, *Henry VII.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972. The standard work, emphasizing government and administration.

Charles Cruickshank, *Henry VIII and the Invasion of France.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991. Well-illustrated narrative of the French war of 1513 and the occupation of Tournai, by a leading historian of the Tudor army.

David Daniel, *William Tyndale: A Biography.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994. Masterful discussion of Tyndale's career and achievement.

A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation.* London: Collins Fontana Library, 1967. Still the most instructive general survey, though on numerous points of interpretation, it has been superceded by research of the 1980s and 1990s.

*———, *Thomas Cromwell and the English Reformation.* London: Fontana, 1959. Brief biography emphasizing religion.

Susan Doran, *England and Europe, 1485–1603.* London and New York: Longman, 2nd ed., 1996. Up-to-date, useful short survey of Tudor foreign policy.

Maria Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII.* London: Croom Helm Ltd., 1986. Covers Henry VIII, the universities, and women, among other topics.

Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400–1580.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992. Explores sympathetically in rich, lucid detail the character of late-medieval English Catholicism.

———, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001. Brilliant reconstruction of the life of a Devon parish from the unique financial record kept by Morebath's only priest for 55 years, 1520–1574.

J. Duncan and M. Derrett, "The Trial of Sir Thomas More," *English Historical Review* 79 (1964), pp. 449–477, repr. in R. S. Sylvester and G. Marc'hadour, eds., *Essential Articles for the Study of Thomas More.* Hamden, CT, 1977. Essential for an understanding of the procedures followed in More's trial.

*G. R. Elton, *Henry VIII: An Essay in Revision*. London: The Historical Association, 1962. Masterful 28-page overview by the 20th century's greatest Tudor specialist.

———, "Humanism in England," in Elton, *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government*, vol. IV, pp. 209–229. Characteristically trenchant overview of early Tudor writers and 20th-century criticism.

———, "*Lex Terrae Victrix*: The Triumph of Parliamentary Law in the Sixteenth Century," in Elton, *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, vol. IV, 1992. Masterful short statement of the Tudor achievement in establishing the supremacy of law.

*———, *Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972. Detailed examination of Cromwell's use of propaganda and the law of treason, with a brilliant analysis of More's trial.

———, *Reform and Renewal: Thomas Cromwell and the Common Weal.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973. Original, pioneering assessment of Cromwell as a scholar, evangelical, parliamentarian, and visionary reformer of law and the economy.

———, *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 4 vols., 1974–1992. Collection of papers and reviews of central importance by the leading specialist of his era (1953–1994).

———, *The Tudor Constitution: Documents and Commentary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2nd ed., 1982. The classic text on Tudor government, with commentary often based on the author's own seminal research.

Desiderius Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly and Other Writings*, trans. and ed., Robert M. Adams. New York: Norton paperback, 1989. Includes useful selections from Erasmus's letters and *Colloquies*, with six essays of interpretation by modern critics.

Anthony Fletcher and Diarmaid MacCulloch, eds., *Tudor Rebellions.* New York: Longman, 4th ed., 1997. Valuable short summaries of both the events and relevant scholarship, with a good bibliography and selected extracts from original sources.

Susan Foister, "Holbein as Court Painter," in David Starkey, ed., *Henry VIII: A European Court in England*. New York: Cross River Press, 1991, pp. 58–63. Informative sketch by a specialist on Holbein.

*Alistair Fox and John Guy, eds., *Reassessing the Henrician Age: Humanism, Politics and Reform, 1500–1550.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986. Four essays by Fox, chiefly on humanism, and five by Guy, mainly on law and politics.

*Alistair Fox, "Facts and Fallacies: Interpreting English Humanism," in Alistair Fox and John Guy, eds., *Reassessing the Henrician Age: Humanism, Politics and Reform, 1500–1550*, pp. 9–33. Clear-headed revisionist assessment.

Antonia Fraser, *The Wives of Henry VIII.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992. Engaging, authoritative narrative by a masterful storyteller.

Charles Giry-Deloison, "A Diplomatic Revolution: Anglo-French Relations and the Treaties of 1527," in David Starkey, ed., *Henry VIII: A European Court in England*, pp. 77–83. Important short reappraisal.

Michael A. R. Graves, *Early Tudor Parliaments, 1485–1558.* London and New York: Longman, 1990. Useful short synthesis with a good bibliography and extracts from contemporary sources.

Steven Gunn, "Chivalry and the Politics of the Early Tudor Court," in Sydney Anglo, ed., *Chivalry in the Renaissance*. Woodbridge, England: The Boydell Press, 1990, pp. 107–128. Argues for the centrality of jousting as an aspect of politics at the court of Henry VIII.

John Guy, "Thomas Cromwell and the Intellectual Origins of the Henrician Revolution," in John Guy, ed., *The Tudor Monarchy*, pp. 213–233. Important assessment of Cromwell's contribution.

———, *Tudor England*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1988. Detailed analytical textbook emphasizing government and politics, with a superb bibliography, by a foremost specialist.

———, ed., *The Tudor Monarchy.* New York: St. Martin's Press, and London: Arnold, 1997. Important collection of scholarly essays, including two by David Starkey on the royal household.

Peter Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal: The Rise and Fall of Thomas Wolsey.* London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1990. Superb, lengthy (half a million words) revisionist study of Wolsey's political career, based on exhaustive original research.

Christopher Haigh, ed., *The English Reformation Revised.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. Nine valuable essays framing new directions in Reformation research.

———, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993. Important revisionist text seeking to reorient the nature and pace of religious change.

Christopher Harper-Bill, *The Pre-Reformation Church in England, 1400–1500*. New York: Addison Wesley Longman, rev. ed., 1996. The best short introduction, with illustrative documents and an excellent bibliography.

Dale Hoak, "The Iconography of the Crown Imperial," in Dale Hoak, ed., *Tudor Political Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Establishes the origins and use of "imperial" regalia from Henry V to Elizabeth I, with 26 plates.

———, "The Secret History of the Tudor Court: The King's Coffers and the King's Purse," *Journal of British Studies* 26:2 (1987), pp. 208–231. Describes Henry VIII's secret treasury at Westminster Palace, based on the author's 1985 identification of the original account of expenditures from the king's privy coffers.

*W. G. Hoskins, *The Age of Plunder: The Age of Henry VIII, 1500–1547.* London and New York: Longman, 1976. Superb social and economic history textbook; in a class by itself.

R. W. Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Politics of the 1530s*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. As a comprehensive one-volume treatment, this excellent reassessment, based on a wide range of manuscript and printed sources, replaces previous general accounts.

Eric Ives, "Henry VIII's Will—A Forensic Conundrum," *The Historical Journal* 35: 4 (1992), pp. 779–804. Clear-headed, persuasive analysis of a famous puzzle.

Susan E. James, *Kateryn Parr: The Making of a Queen.* Aldershot, England, and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 1999. The only full, reliable scholarly study, making exhaustive use of manuscript sources.

C. S. Knighton and David Loades, *Letters from the Mary Rose.* Stroud, UK: Sutton Publishing, 2002. A profile of the ship and its crew, drawing on the vessel itself, which was raised in 1982, with 55 photographs and 84 extracts from contemporary sources.

David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, Vol. III: *Tudor England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959; repr. 1971. The classic account.

J. R. Lander, *The Wars of the Roses*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990. Detailed, well-illustrated narrative by a leading 15th-century specialist.

Stanford E. Lehmberg, *The Reformation Parliament, 1529–1536*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970. A scholarly monograph treating politics and procedure.

Christopher Lloyd and Simon Thurley, *Henry VIII: Images of a Tudor King*. London: Phaidon Press, 1990. Brief, well-illustrated survey of artistic representations of Henry.

Diarmaid MacCulloch, ed., *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995. Indispensable collection of eight essays covering chiefly politics, war, finance, and the church.

*Garrett Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon*. New York: Book-of -the-Month Club, 1990. First published in 1941 and making use of Spanish sources, this stylish study remains the only scholarly biography in English.

Maria Perry, *The Sisters of Henry VIII: The Tumultuous Lives of Margaret of Scotland and Mary of France*. New York: Da Capo Press, 2000. Thoroughly researched professional study.

*A. F. Pollard, *Wolsey: Church and State in Sixteenth-Century England.* New York: Harper & Row paperback ed., 1969. First published in 1929, this classic study by one of the greatest 20th-century historians of Tudor England carries an insightful introduction by another great historian of the Reformation, A. G. Dickens.

A.J. Pollard, *The Wars of the Roses.* Basingstoke, England, and New York: Palgrave, 2nd ed., 2001. An up-to-date synthesis of relevant scholarship, this is the best short introduction.

T. B. Pugh, "Henry VII and the English Nobility," in G. W. Bernard, ed., *The Tudor Nobility*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1992, pp. 49–101. Indispensable for its understanding of the dynamics of Henry VII's political control.

Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993. Excellent short analytical survey with a topically organized bibliography.

———, *The Lollards.* Basingstoke, England, and New York: Palgrave, 2002. Up-to-date introduction with an excellent bibliography.

Eugene F. Rice, Jr., *The Foundations of Early Modern Europe, 1460–1559.* New York: Norton, 1970. That rare thing, a lucid, analytical, thematic text, with meaningful illustrations.

Charles Ross, *Richard III.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981. The standard scholarly study.

Erika Rummel, "Desiderius Erasmus," *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 6 vols., 1999, vol. II, pp. 284–290. Excellent brief summary of Erasmus's works and influence, with an annotated bibliography.

Russell, J.G. *The Field of Cloth of Gold*. London, 1969. The standard account.

Ethan H. Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. A penetrating assessment of a neglected dimension of the Reformation—the political action of the people.

David Starkey, *The Reign of Henry VIII: Personalities and Politics*. London: George Philip, 1985. Lively narrative of court politics by the foremost specialist on Henry VIII's household.

———, ed., *Henry VIII: A European Court in England.* New York: Cross River Press, 1991. Growing out of the 1991 exhibition at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, this superbly illustrated volume covers numerous aspects of court culture, by 28 specialists.

———, *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII.* London: Chatto & Windus, 2003. A racy, enthralling account advancing fresh, provocative interpretations of the wives' roles.

———, "Representation through Intimacy: A Study in the Symbolism of Monarchy and Court Office in Early Modern England," in John Guy, ed., *The Tudor Monarchy*, pp. 42–78. A distillation of the author's important 1974 Cambridge University doctoral dissertation on the early Tudor Privy Chamber.

———, "Court and Government," in John Guy, ed., *The Tudor Monarchy*, pp. 189–213. Surveys the place of the Privy Chamber in royal government under Henry VII and Henry VIII.

*R. L. Storey, *The Reign of Henry VII*. New York: Walker and Co., 1968. Although superceded on some issues by later scholarship, still useful as a brief, general introduction.

*Roy Strong, *Holbein and Henry VIII*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967. Seminal essay on Holbein's shaping of the royal image.

R. S. Sylvester and G. Marc'hadour, eds., *Essential Articles for the Study of Thomas More.* Hamden, CT, 1977. Includes Derrett's article on More's trial.

R.S. Sylvester and D. P. Harding, eds., *Two Early Tudor Lives: The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey by George Cavendish; The Life of Sir Thomas More by William Ropert*. New Haven:Yale University Press, 1962.

Simon Thurley, "The Banqueting and Disguising Houses of 1527," in David Starkey, ed., *Henry VIII: A European Court in England*, pp. 64–68. Informative short account.

———, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: Architecture and Court Life, 1460–1547*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993. An important, original, and beautifully illustrated social history of the court via the architectural setting of Henry VIII's public and private activities, by the curator of the Historic Royal Palaces.

James Tracy, *Erasmus of the Low Countries.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996. Incorporates recent scholarship, setting Erasmus in the relevant political and cultural contexts.

William Tyndale, *Tyndale's New Testament*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, paperback ed., 1995. Tyndale's translation of 1534 from the Greek, in modern spelling and with a superb introduction by David Daniell, Tyndale's biographer.

Retha M. Warnicke, *The Marrying of Anne of Cleves: Royal Protocol in Tudor England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. By establishing the relevant 16th-century context for royal weddings, dispels a number of misconceptions.

———, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989. An important, if controversial, reassessment by an authority on Tudor women.

Neville Williams, *The Life and Times of Henry VII*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1973. Well-illustrated, succinct overview.

*G. W. O. Woodward, *Dissolution of the Monasteries.* London: Blandford Press, 1966. A clear general survey covering the place of the religious orders in society, as well as the social, political, and cultural consequences of the dissolution; with illustrations.

*Joyce Youings, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries*. London: George Allen and Unwin; New York: Barnes and Noble, 1971. A useful short survey that includes extracts from 40 contemporary sources.

Internet Resources:

www.englishhistory.net/tudor is a comprehensive site on Tudor England, allowing one to explore various subtopical sections, such as "life," which offers information on food and drink, pastimes and entertainment, and mental illness.

tudorhistory.org/ is a site with links to a variety of subjects relating to Tudor England—biographies of the monarchs, bibliographies, maps, documents, and so on.

*Out of print.