F. REFORM AND REFORMATION: THOMAS MORE’S ENGLAND

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Overview

This Special Subject explores the political and religious culture of early Tudor England. The accession of Henry VII in 1485 marks the beginning of the paper; the break with Rome, completed by 1535, its end. This half-century has long been seen as a pivot of English history, one that marks the conclusive rupturing of the medieval worldview and the origins of an insular, Protestant, or Atlantic national identity. The period has attracted outstanding scholars seeking to stamp their interpretation on the ‘great men’ – Henry VIII, Wolsey, Cromwell – who defined the era. This Special Subject, however, resists the recruitment of the early Tudor England to the grand march of history: instead, the paper emphasizes its ambiguity and complexity. No figure better captures the period’s ironies than Sir Thomas More: a man whose career and interests characterized the age, but the manner of whose death affirmed his singularity. The enigmatic More – humanist, lawyer; family man, politician; philosopher, polemicist; persecutor, martyr – embodies early Tudor England. The paper eschews the hagiographical approach defined by More’s son-in-law, the Protestant tradition enshrined by Foxe, and the psychological revisionism of modern secular writers. Rather, the paper treats More’s life and work as an entry point into the controversies of early Tudor England. More wrote extensively over four decades in a number of genres, in tones of both wry detachment and furious partisanship. His work could be innovative, polished, and epigrammatic, or imitative, earthy, and prolix; it is always richly rewarding to read.

Reform was the idiom that defined the political and religious culture of early Tudor England. Reform meant the reconstruction of a kingdom weakened by civil war: it meant princes better equipped to rule and counsellors better qualified to advise, and it meant confronting individuals and institutions that compromised royal authority. Reform entailed the renewal of religion, both in a corporate sense and in a pietistic one. Yet reform produced conflicts over definition and implementation. In pursuit of reform, kings, ministers, and self-appointed advisors challenged long-held liberties; they also ran the risk of putting self-interest ahead of the commonwealth, the definition of tyranny. Sometimes, reforming ambitions appeared contradictory: how could the Church serve an increasingly demanding laity better, while also withdrawing from the world? Reform implied a turning back to something better, to a lost
golden age. No one felt that sensibility more deeply, or expressed it more precisely, than did the humanists. They appropriated the classical past to undermine orthodoxies concerning the virtues of the old nobility, chivalry, and the cloistered life. Because education was seen as vital to the commonwealth, humanists and their patrons founded colleges in the universities and also schools, for which they designed new curricula. In order to implement their ideals, scholar-statesmen such as More entered royal service, setting aside an intellectual preference for classical republican forms of government.

Humanists invoked royal authority to overcome resistance to their own ideas, but themselves faced the difficulty of counselling the king. They were sharply critical of the institutional Church and scoffed at the intellectual pretensions of churchmen. Most audaciously, they exposed the errors in the standard Latin translation of the bible and re-edited and retranslated the text. Luther and other radical reformers drew on this humanist technique. Their emphasis on the indisputable authority of the bible and on the corruption of the Church resonated with some in England in the 1520s. More ghost-wrote Henry VIII’s retort to Luther, pursued heretics, and – uniquely – published treatises in English attacking their ideas. Yet a very humanist scruple led the king to campaign for the annulment of his marriage. Frustrated by the papacy, Henry became receptive in the early 1530s to anticlerical or even evangelical notions of reform. To what extent these reforms expressed popular sentiment remains debatable; so is the question of who devised these policies, for, despite More’s opposition, humanist methods and scholarship underpinned the break with Rome. More’s stance and his self-construction as a martyr thus set him apart from the majority, who welcomed, accepted, or acquiesced in an event whose meaning remained contested for a long time thereafter.

Course themes

1. The impact of humanism and classical learning on politics and religion
2. Theories of kingship and tyranny
3. The practice of politics: ministers, courtiers, factions, lawyers
4. The strengths and weaknesses of the pre-Reformation Church
5. The nature of lay piety, including Lollardy
6. The validity of anticlericalism as a concept
7. The methods and significance of biblical translation
8. Official and individual responses to Lutheran ideas
9. The origins and principles of the royal supremacy
10. Reactions to the break with Rome

These themes will inform the long essay questions. Suggested reading is given in the Bibliography below.

Classes

The Special Subject will have sixteen substantive classes in Michaelmas and Lent terms on a weekly basis, as listed below. These classes adopt a loosely chronological order. In Michaelmas term, the focus is on ‘reform’ in the 1510s. In Lent term, the focus shifts to ‘reformation’ in the 1520s (that is, Lutheran and other radical religious ideas) and then to their interaction with domestic policy up to the break with Rome. Each class will combine analysis of set primary sources with wider discussion of related historiographical issues, informed by secondary reading. In addition, an initial workshop will be arranged in order to
help students read works in sixteenth-century English and to use Early English Books Online. Gobbet practice classes will be part of the Easter-term schedule.

**Michaelmas term**

**M1. Renaissance humanism.** Introduces different ways of conceptualizing humanism. Discusses contemporary ideas about education, knowledge, and scholarship.

**M2. The Renaissance prince.** Examines ideas about kingship. Focuses on contemporary commentary on Henry VII and responses to Henry VIII’s accession.

**M3. Humanist historiography.** Compares More’s *Richard III* with chronicles and also with classical exemplars. Considers innovation in technique.

**M4. Church, crown, and laity.** Analyses relations between three elements through case-study of Richard Hunne affair. Introduces concept of ‘anticlericalism’. Discusses Lollardy.

**M5. Royal service.** Contextualizes debate in book 1 of *Utopia* about limits of counsel. Considers More’s later career in this light.

**M6. The perfect state.** Explores book 2 of *Utopia* with reference to other ‘commonwealth’ ideas for reform, especially civic ones. Discusses Wolsey’s ministry in this light.

**M7. Humanism and the Church.** Examines criticisms of the Church, especially of higher and regular clergy, and of scholasticism. Compares this evidence with that of other source-types.


**Lent term**

**L1. The Lutheran challenge.** Analyses theological content of Lutheranism (especially ‘justification by faith alone’) and its implications for Catholic doctrine.

**L2. The reception of evangelical ideas within England.** Considers attraction, extent of appeal, social profile of recipients, and means of dissemination (especially print).


**L4. The king’s ‘Great Matter’.** Elucidates campaign for annulment of marriage. Examines international and domestic aspects, including attack on Church.

**L5. Polemic and persecution.** Examines responses to Lutheran ideas from the fall of Wolsey. Compares More’s polemical writings with his opponents’. Analyses prosecution of heresy.

**L6. The royal supremacy.** Covers the events leading up to the break with Rome and the ideas behind it. Studies arguments for and against in the ‘battle of the books’.


In Easter term, revision classes will prepare for the examination.

**Primary sources**

*Please note:* There are 1448 pages of set primary sources. These sources are divided up week-by-week in the classes for Michaelmas and Lent terms. Undertaking the reading for each of these sixteen classes means that you will cover all of the set primary sources. A maximum of 100 pages of reading is set for each class. Figures for page numbers count only the pages of text *in English*. Pages containing parallel text in Latin or images are excluded; they will not be set as gobbets. Any foreign phrases embedded in English texts will be translated in the exam. Set passages usually begin and end at obvious points in the text, such as chapter numbers, section breaks, or paragraphs. Where the beginning and/or the end are/is not obvious, a precise reference is given to a particular phrase in the text. Where possible, cross-references are given to different editions of the same work.

Passages marked with an asterisk (*) have been digitized for this course and can be accessed via Moodle.

The following abbreviations are used below:

- **Correspondence** *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More*, ed. E. F. Rogers (Princeton, 1947) [letters in square brackets are in Latin only without translation]
- **CW** *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, 15 vols., several in parts (New Haven, 1963–97) [for a breakdown, see the Bibliography below]
- **CWE** *Collected Works of Erasmus*, in progress (Toronto, 1974– ) [including his correspondence]
- **EEBO** Early English Books Online [see the Appendix below]
- **STC** Short-Title Catalogue number [for use with EEBO]
- **TMS** www.thomasmorestudies.org/library.html [for online editions]
M1. Renaissance humanism [88 pp.]

More’s Latin poems [6 pp.]:

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<tr>
<td>pp. 73–7</td>
<td>127–30</td>
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<td>no. 250 (p. 263)</td>
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<td>no. 252 (p. 265)</td>
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More’s letters [27 pp.]:

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<td>[8]</td>
<td>3 (6) *</td>
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<td>[63]</td>
<td>20 (103–7)</td>
<td>197–200</td>
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<td>[101]</td>
<td>29 (145–7)</td>
<td>201–2</td>
</tr>
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<td>[107]</td>
<td>32 (149–51)</td>
<td>202–3</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Verses


Cambridge and London


(Available online as e-resource ‘English Historical Documents Online’)

Oxford


Erasmus, letter no. 948 (to Mosellanus in 1519), in *CWE* vi. 316–17 (extract: ‘But how foolish’ to ‘preach at court.’) [2 pp.] *

Erasmus, letter, no. 990 (to Claymond in 1519), in *CWE* vi. 405–7 [3 pp.] *
Descriptions of More

Erasmus’s letters, nos. 999 (to Hutten in 1519)*, and 1233 (Budé in 1521), in CWE vii. 15–25, viii. 294–9 (also Sourcebook, pp. 3–13, 221–6) [16 pp.]


M2. The Renaissance prince [79 pp.]

Henry VII’s later years


The accession of Henry VIII


William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, letter to Erasmus no. 215, in CWE ii. 147–8 (extract: to ‘present hopes.’) [2 pp.] *

More’s coronation ode, in CW iii/2. no. 19, pp. 97–113 (also in History, pp. 130–6, and in TMS under ‘Poems’, but without the important preface) [9 pp.]

NB image of the manuscript in S. Doran (ed.), Henry VIII: Man and Monarch (London, 2009), cat. no. 49


NB image of manuscript in Man and Monarch, cat. no. 48

Mirrors for princes


More’s early writings on kingship

More, Epigrams [7 pp.]:
M3. Humanist historiography [99 pp.]

More, History of Richard III, in one of the following editions [94 pp.]:

* History, pp. 3–96 – contemporary English text, modernized [set edition]
* CW ii. 1–93 – Latin text and contemporary English text
* CW xv. 314–485 – Latin text (revised) with modern translation
* TMS under ‘Works’ – contemporary English text, modernized

(Compare this work with Tacitus, Annals, book 1, chs. 1–13. Many editions of the Annals are available, including online: http://www.sacred-texts.com/cla/tac/. Tacitus is not included in the set primary sources; no gobbet will be set on this text.)

A civic chronicle


M4. Church, crown, and laity [67 pp.]

Lay perspectives on the Church


Documents relating to the Hunne affair and its aftermath

S. F. C. Milsom, ‘Richard Hunne’s “Praemunire”’, English Historical Review, 76 (1961), 80–2, at p. 82 (indented quotation) [1 p.]


(Available online as e-resource ‘English Historical Documents Online’)


(Typecript of English translation available on Moodle site)


More’s later commentary on the Hunne affair


M5. Royal service [95 pp.]

More, Life of Pico, in CW i. 51–75*, 84–8 (also with modern spelling in TMS under ‘Works’, pp. 3–26, 34–7) [30 pp.]

More, Utopia, book 1 – available in many editions, including:


CW iv. 47–109

TMS under ‘Works’ (Gilbert Burnet’s translation of 1684)

More’s epigrams [4 pp.]:

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<th>CW iii/2. nos. (pp.)</th>
<th>History, pp.</th>
<th>Sourcebook, pp.</th>
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<tr>
<td>162 (205)</td>
<td>148–9</td>
<td>231</td>
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<td>207 (237–9)</td>
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<td>243 (257)</td>
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<td>244 (257–9)</td>
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<td>239</td>
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More’s letters [28 pp.]:

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<tr>
<th>Correspondence, nos. (pp.)</th>
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<td>[20]</td>
<td>6 (73–5)</td>
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</table>
Erasmus, letter, no. 389 (from Ammonio in 1516), in CWE iii. 239 (extract: last paragraph) [1 p.]

**M6. The perfect state** [100 pp.]

More, *Utopia*, book 2 – the main text available in many editions, including:


*CW* iv. 111–247

TMS under ‘Works’ (Gilbert Burnet’s translation of 1684)

*Perspectives on Wolsey’s ministry*


Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia* (1555), book XXVII, paragraphs 20, 26, 46–7, online at http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/polverg/contents.html [equivalent to 3 pp.]

**M7. Humanism and the Church** [100 pp.]

*More’s early writings on the subject*

More, *Latin Poems* [5 pp.]:

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<tr>
<th><em>CW</em> iii/2. nos. (pp.)</th>
<th><em>History</em>, pp.</th>
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<td>176 (213)</td>
<td>150–1</td>
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<td>178 (213)</td>
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<td>202–3 (233)</td>
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<td>204 (235)</td>
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<td>260 (273)</td>
<td>–</td>
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</table>
Colet and Erasmus

Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, in *The Erasmus Reader*, ed. E. Rummel (Toronto, 1990), 140–54 (also in CWE lxvi. 65–84) [15 pp.]


(Erasmus, letter, no. 1211 (to Jonas in 1521), in CWE viii. 232–44 (extract: from ‘Such was my friend’) [12 pp.] *

Criticism of clergymen


Erasmus, *Julius Exclusus*, in *Erasmus Reader*, 216–38 (also CWE xxvii. 168–97) [23 pp.] *


M8. Biblical translation [98 pp.]

Erasmus, *Paraclesis*, via EEBO: STC 10493 (= Eng. trans. of 1529), images 3–6 (‘Nether do I’ to ‘comen to all men’) [7 pp.]

More, *Letter to Dorp*, in *Letters*, no. 4, pp. 6–64 (also CW xv. 1–127) [59 pp.]

More, *Letters*, nos. 9, 12, pp. 78–81, 85–8 (= *Correspondence*, nos. [26], [30]) [8 pp.]


Erasmus, letters, nos. 1126 (to Buschius in 1520), 1127a (to Luther in 1520)*, in CWE viii. 7–17, 19–23 [15 pp.]

L1. The Lutheran challenge [99 pp.]

Luther’s case


(available online at www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/luther-freedomchristian.html)

Compare with More, *The Four Last Things*, in CW i. 156–8 [3 pp.]

Luther and Erasmus

Erasmus, letters [19 pp.]:
no. 1113 to Melanchthon 1520 *CWE vii. 312–15 [3 pp.]*
no. 1219 to Mountjoy 1521 *CWE viii. 259–63 [5 pp.]*
no. 1367 from Tunstall 1523 *CWE x. 24–8 [5 pp.]*
no. 1451 to Warham 1524 (extract) *CWE x. 270–3 [4 pp.]*
no. 1493 to Henry VIII 1524 *CWE x. 373–4 [2 pp.]*


*Early reaction in England*


More, *Response to Luther*, book 1, chs. 5, 10 (extracts), in *CW v/1. 55–61, 117–19 (to ‘of the wicked.’), 173–81 (to ‘the most absurd?’) [11 pp.]*

**L2. The reception of evangelical ideas within England [95 pp.]**


More, *Dialogue concerning Heresies*, in *CW vi/1. [56 pp.]:*

| Book 1, ch. 1 | 24–35 |
| Book 1, ch. 17 | 94–101 |
| Book 2, chs. 10–11 | 226–37 |
| Book 3, ch. 1 | 247–55 * |
| Book 3, chs. 11–12 | 293–303 |
L3. The bible in English [71 pp.]

Henry VIII, preface to A copy of the letters wherein the most redoubted mighty prince, our sovereign lord King Henry VIII ... made answer unto a certain letter of Martin Luther (1527 trans. of 1526 Latin text), via EEBO: STC 13086, images 6–9 (from ‘And with many’ to ‘here your kyng.’) [8 pp.]

William Tyndale, New Testament (1st edn., Cologne, 1525), via EEBO: STC 2823, images 1–2 (to ‘tydynges are trewe.’) [3 pp.]


(Walter’s edn. online at https://archive.org/details/doctrinaltreatis00tynduoft)


More, Dialogue concerning Heresies, in CW vi/1. [44 pp.]:

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<td>Book 3</td>
<td>8–10</td>
<td>284–93</td>
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<td>Book 3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>314–16</td>
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<td>Book 3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>330–44</td>
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(The text is also available at TMS under ‘Works’.)

L4. The king’s ‘Great Matter’ [93 pp.]

An account of the years 1528–1532

Hall’s Chronicle, ed. H. Ellis (London, 1809), 753–89 (to ‘was he called.’) [37 pp.]

(available online at http://archive.org/details/hallschronicleco00halluoft)

State Papers Henry VIII, 11 vols. divided into 5 pts. (London, 1830–52) [26 pp.], correspondence:

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<th>Date</th>
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<tr>
<td>1 July 1527</td>
<td>Wolsey to H8</td>
<td>pt. 1, no. 109</td>
<td>i.</td>
<td>194–5</td>
<td>[2 pp.]</td>
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<tr>
<td>5 July 1527</td>
<td>Wolsey to H8</td>
<td>pt. 1, no. 110^1</td>
<td>i.</td>
<td>196–201^1</td>
<td>[6 pp.]</td>
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<tr>
<td>5 May 1529</td>
<td>Bryan to H8</td>
<td>pt. 5, no. 239</td>
<td>vii.</td>
<td>169–70</td>
<td>[2 pp.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 June 1529</td>
<td>Suffolk to H8</td>
<td>pt. 5, no. 244</td>
<td>vii.</td>
<td>182–4</td>
<td>[3 pp.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Aug. 1529</td>
<td>Gardiner to Wolsey</td>
<td>pt. 1, no. 175</td>
<td>i.</td>
<td>335–7</td>
<td>[3 pp.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 April 1530</td>
<td>Longland, Fox, Bell to H8</td>
<td>pt. 2, no. 1</td>
<td>i.</td>
<td>377–9</td>
<td>[3 pp.]</td>
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<tr>
<td>22 June 1530</td>
<td>Croke to H8</td>
<td>pt. 5, no. 275</td>
<td>vii.</td>
<td>241–4</td>
<td>[4 pp.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 April 1531</td>
<td>H8 to Benet</td>
<td>pt. 5, no. 298</td>
<td>vii.</td>
<td>297–9</td>
<td>[3 pp.]</td>
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^1 extract: to ‘I have rehearsed.’
[Henry VIII], A Glass of the Truth (1532), via EEBO: STC 11919, images 2–5 (preface), 14–20 (from ‘Syn they take’ to ‘and one heed.’) [18 pp.]

Attacks on the Church

Simon Fish, Supplication of Beggars (1528×1529), in CW vii. 411–22 (also in Foxe’s Acts and Monuments – www.johnfoxe.org in 1583 edn., modern pp. 1038–41) [12 pp.]


L5. Polemic and persecution [98 pp.]

More justifies persecution and defends his conduct


The debate about the heresy laws


Christopher St German, Treatise concerning the Division (1532), ch. 8, in CW ix. 191–3 [3 pp.]

More, Apology, ch. 47 (extract), in CW ix. 155–61 (to ‘to so many.’) [7 pp.]

St German, Salem and Bizance (1533), ch. 15 (extract), in CW x. 355–6 [2 pp.]

More, Debellation of Salem and Bizance, ch. 14 (extract), in CW x. 83–5 (from ‘And where as’) [3 pp.]

More the polemicist


More, *Confutation of Tyndale’s Answer*, extracts, in CW viii/l. [29 pp.]:

| Preface | 7–13 | to ‘some calendars marked.’ * |
|         | 17–28 | to ‘ordynauns and statute.’ * |
| Book 1  | 177–9 | from ‘Now to thentent’ * |
|         |       | from ‘Then he asketh’ to ‘so to do.’ * |


**L6. The royal supremacy [85 pp.]**


(Walter’s edn. online at https://archive.org/details/doctrinaltreatis00tynduoft)


*Articles Devised by the Whole Consent of the King’s Most Honourable Council* (1533), via EEBO: STC 9177, images 2–7 (address and articles 1–5 inclusive) [10 pp.]


Edward Fox, *De Vera Differentia* (1534; trans. 1548), via EEBO: STC 11220, images 63–5 (from ‘But nowe we’ to ‘them they do.’), 69 (from ‘besides that in’ to ‘gate and gate.’), 93 (‘a certen epistle’ to ‘our lordes .&c.’) [9 pp.]

Stephen Gardiner, *De Vera Obedientia* (1535; trans. 1553), extracts, in *Obedience in Church and State*, ed. P. Janelle (Cambridge, 1930), 69–77 (to ‘pleasaunt or delectable.’), 87–109 (from manicule to ‘he had commaunded.’), 115–21 [21 pp.]

**L7. Responses to the royal supremacy [81 pp.]**

*The government*


Thomas Swinnerton, *A Little Treatise against the Muttering of Some Papists in Corners* (1534), via EEBO: STC 23551.5, images 2–4 (to ‘muste be fled.’), 14–15 (from ‘AND nowe to’ to ‘of theyr money?’) [8 pp.]

Simon Matthew, sermon preached at St Paul’s on 28 June 1535, via EEBO: STC 17656, image 27 (from ‘as of late’ to ‘humble your hartis therevnto.’) [2 pp.]
More and the true Church

More, *Dialogue concerning Heresies*, book 1, ch. 25 (extract), in *CW* vi/1. 143–7 (from ‘And so was’ to ‘the ryght vnderstandynge.’) (also in TMS) [5 pp.]

Robert Barnes, *Supplication to Henry VIII* (rev. edn. 1534), extract, in *CW* viii/2. 1054–7 (to ‘bere I hym.’) [4 pp.] *

More’s trials

More, letters [25 pp.]:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Letters, nos. (pp.)</th>
<th>Correspondence, nos. (pp.)</th>
<th>Sourcebook, pp.</th>
<th>TMS</th>
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<td>199 (491–501) *</td>
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<td>54 (215–23)</td>
<td>200 (501–7) *</td>
<td>311–15</td>
<td>17.04.34</td>
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<td>64 (249–53) *</td>
<td>216 (555–9)</td>
<td>347–51</td>
<td>03.06.35</td>
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More on tribulation

More, *Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation*, book 1, preface and ch. 10, in *CW* xii. 3–9, 30–5 (also in TMS) [13 pp.] *

More, *De Tristitia Christi*, extracts, in *CW* xiv/1. 55–9, 101–5, 251–3 (also in TMS) [8 pp.] *

Other responses


- Complaint of Langham vol. vii no. 145 p. 54
- Confession of Edward [Planckney] vol. vii no. 146 pp. 54–5
- Chapman to Cromwell vol. vii no. 629 p. 244
- Examination of Kylbie vol. vii no. 754 p. 289
- Confession of Chansler vol. viii no. 196 p. 75
- Bryan to Cromwell vol. viii no. 278 p. 114
- Thompson and Chapman to Cromwell vol. viii no. 727 pp. 272–3

NB This text is available in Medieval and Early Modern Sources Online (to read online or download as PDFs) and in State Papers Online (to read as computerized text, with links to manuscripts)
L8. More’s posthumous reputation [100 pp.]


Reginald Pole, De Unitate (1536), extracts, in Pole’s Defense of the Unity of the Church, trans. J. G. Dwyer (Westminster, Maryland, 1965), 22–3 (from ‘In the opinion’ to ‘attributed to kings.’), 37–9 (to ‘the supreme head?’”), 238–42 (from ‘There is dissension’ to ‘possession of truth.’) [10 pp.]

Edward Hall, Chronicle... (1550), in Hall’s Chronicle, ed. H. Ellis (London, 1809), 817–18 (to ‘ended his life.’) [2 pp.]

   (Available online at http://archive.org/details/hallschronicleco00halluoft)


Raphael Holinshed and others, The Third Volume of Chronicles... (1587), via EEBO: STC 13569, images 952–3 (from ‘On the nineteenth’ to ‘much of him.’) [2 pp.]

   NB this vol. is the fifth and last result of searching EEBO under this STC number

   Leland’s poem is translated at www.philological.bham.ac.uk/lelandpoems/ (no. 185)

Anthony Munday and others, The Book of Sir Thomas More (c.1592), act 1, scene 2; act 2, scene 3, in Sourcebook, pp. 78–84, 91–100 (also in the Revels Plays series, ed. V. Gabrieli and G. Melchiori (1990), pp. 67–78, 93–110) [17 pp.]

Background reading (class-by-class)

M1. Renaissance humanism


Dowling, D., Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII (Beckenham, 1986), intro. and ch. 1.


M2. The Renaissance prince


M3. Humanist historiography


M4. Church, crown, and laity


M5. Royal service


**M6. The perfect state**


**M7. Humanism and the Church**


**M8. Biblical translation**


**L1. The Lutheran challenge**


L2. The reception of Lutheran ideas within England


L3. The bible in English


L4. The king’s ‘Great Matter’

Haas, S. W., ‘Henry VIII’s Glasse of Truthe’, History, 64 (1979), 353–62

L5. Polemic and persecution

**L6. The royal supremacy**

Ullmann, W., ‘“The Realm of England is an Empire”’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 30 (1979), 175–203.

**L7. Responses to the royal supremacy**


L8. More’s posthumous reputation


General bibliography

Please note: This Bibliography is not comprehensive. It supplements the recommended reading for individual classes. The Bibliography concentrates on monographs and collections of essays rather than on articles, which are the focus of the recommended seminar reading. The best way to identify other works of potential relevance to a long essay is to search online the Bibliography of British and Irish History (BBIH), which is accessible via the eresources@cambridge webpages. Ways of searching BBIH will be demonstrated.

More’s works

This paper aims to illuminate the political, intellectual, and religious culture of early Tudor England through the works of Thomas More. Humanists never stopped composing, and More was no exception: imprisoned in the Tower of London, lacking ink, he purportedly wrote using a coal. This section explains how to make sense of More’s extensive body of work.

Many of More’s works were first printed in the sixteenth century. These editions are the earliest that you can consult. They are available through Early English Books Online (EEBO). Each printed work is identified by a unique Short-Title Catalogue (STC) number. For further advice on using EEBO, see the Appendix below. Modern editions of More’s work are much easier to read, however. It is recommended that you consult these modern editions in the first instance.

The standard scholarly edition is The Complete Works of St. Thomas More, published by Yale University Press in fifteen volumes (sometimes with two or three parts). The edition is
abbreviated here as CW; volumes and part numbers are indicated by Roman and Arabic numerals respectively: e.g. CW iii/1 = Complete Works, volume three, part one. The Complete Works comprise:

CW i English Poems, Life of Pico, Four Last Things
CW ii History of King Richard III
CW iii/1 Translations of Lucian
CW iii/2 Latin Poems
CW iv Utopia
CW v Responsio ad Lutherum [= Response to Luther]
CW vi Dialogue concerning Heresies
CW vii Letter to Bugenhagen, Supplication of Souls, Letter against Frith
CW viii Confutation of Tyndale’s Answers
CW ix Apology of Sir Thomas More
CW x Debellation of Salem and Bizance
CW xi Answer to a Poisoned Book
CW xii Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation
CW xiii Treatise upon the Passion, Treatise to Receive the Blessed Body, Instructions and Prayers
CW xiv De Tristitia Christi [= On the Sorrow of Christ]
CW xv Letters to Dorp, Oxford, Lee, and a Monk; Historia Richardi Tertii [= History of Richard III]

Where More wrote in Latin, CW (almost always) provides a modern English translation. Where More wrote in English, CW reproduces the original text, that is, without modernizing its spelling, punctuation, capitalization, or grammar. Although such a text can appear daunting, persevere: the more you read, the easier this will become. Reading the text aloud can help. There are also glossaries at the back of CW volumes to identify unfamiliar or obsolete words. The full-scale Oxford English Dictionary (available as an electronic resource) is also useful.

The Yale project also produced a series entitled The Selected Works of St. Thomas More (abbreviated as SW), where spellings etc. are (almost always) modernized:

SW i Selected Letters, ed. E. F. Rogers (1961)
SW ii Utopia, ed. E. Surtz (1964)
SW iii History of King Richard III and Selections from the English and Latin Poems, ed. R. S. Sylvester (1976)
SW iv Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation, ed. F. Manley (1978)

More’s better-known works – such as Utopia, the History of King Richard III, and the Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation – are available in other editions, usually with modernized spelling and punctuation: e.g. the best student text of Utopia is ed. G. M. Logan and R. M. Adams, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (rev. edn., Cambridge, 2002). Many of More’s writings are available on-line through the Center for Thomas More Studies (www.thomasmorestudies.org/library.html). Some texts are reproduced in their original form, others in modern type. The lengthy introductions and extensive critical apparatus in CW are valuable, so even if you read another edition, you may still wish to consult the notes there.
One way of distinguishing between More’s works is by chronology: when did he write them?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c.1496–1504</td>
<td>English Poems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.1496–1516</td>
<td>Latin Poems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.1504–5</td>
<td>Life of Pico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.1505–6</td>
<td>Translations of Lucian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.1513</td>
<td>History of King Richard III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1515</td>
<td>Letter to Dorp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1516</td>
<td>Utopia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1518</td>
<td>Letter to Oxford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1519</td>
<td>Letter to Lee; Letter to a Monk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1520</td>
<td>Letter to Brixius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.1522</td>
<td>Four Last Things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1523</td>
<td>Response to Luther</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1526</td>
<td>Letter to Bugenhagen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1529</td>
<td>Dialogue concerning Heresies; Supplication of Souls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1531</td>
<td>Dialogue concerning Heresies (2nd edn.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1532</td>
<td>Confutation of Tyndale’s Answer, books 1–3; Letter against Frith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1533</td>
<td>Confutation of Tyndale’s Answer, books 4–8; Apology; Debellation of Salem and Bizance; Answer to a Poisoned Book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1534–5</td>
<td>Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation; Treatise upon the Passion; Treatise to Receive the Blessed Body; Instructions and Prayers; On the Sorrow of Christ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Care is needed here, however: the date of composition is not always certain, and – as we see in a moment – the date of composition is not the same as the date of publication. More also revised some of his works in subsequent printings.

More’s works can also be categorized by genre:

1. Humanistic works: Translations of Lucian; Life of Pico; Latin Poems; History of King Richard III; Letter to Martin Dorp; Utopia; Letter to Oxford University; Letter to Edward Lee; Letter to a Monk; Letter to Brixius

2. Controversial works: Response to Luther; Letter to Bugenhagen; Dialogue concerning Heresies; Supplication of Souls; Confutation of Tyndale’s Answer; Letter against Frith; Apology; Debellation of Salem and Bizance; Answer to a Poisoned Book

3. Devotional writings: English Poems; Life of Pico; Four Last Things; Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation; Treatise on the Passion; Treatise to Receive the Blessed Body; Instructions and Prayers; On the Sorrow of Christ

Another way of distinguishing More’s works is through language. Sometimes More wrote in English, sometimes in Latin. Utopia, for instance, was not translated into English until 1551. Uniquely, More seems to have written simultaneous Latin and English versions of the History of King Richard III.

Another distinction is whether works were printed in More’s lifetime. Some of More’s works were first published in the edition prepared by More’s nephew William Rastell in 1557 called
The Englysh Workes (STC 18076). The Center for Thomas More Studies divides this long work into sections (www.thomasmorestudies.org/library.html: listed as ‘Complete Works’).

The publication history of More’s works and also their reception can be traced through:


Works on More

The earliest life of More was written by his son-in-law William Roper in around 1557. First printed in 1626 (as The Mirrour of Vertue in Worldly Greatnes), it is now available in several editions, including:


Roper’s work was purportedly prepared as an aid for an ‘official’ biography that the More family commissioned Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, to write around 1557. The manuscript was completed by New Year Day’s 1559, but – following the accession of Elizabeth I – was not printed. The work was first published as The Life and Death of Sir Thomas Moore, Knight, sometymes Lord High Chancellor of England, written in the Tyme of Queene Marie, ed. E. V. Hitchcock, Early English Text Society, orig. ser., 186 (1932).


There are many more modern biographies, including:


Other major studies are:


More and his times are also the subject of the journal *Moreana*. First published in 1963, the journal is available in the UL and also online from 2001 onwards.

Primary sources

Consulting additional primary sources could greatly enhance a long essay. Many primary sources for the early Tudor period are manuscripts, however. The principal governmental collection – called the State Papers – is held at at the National Archives (formerly the Public Record Office) at Kew. These records have been digitized as State Papers Online, 1509–1714 (SPO). SPO is available online via the eresources@cambridge webpages. SPO reproduces the document as images. It links each document to a calendar entry and sometimes provides a transcript as well, so you may not need to decipher the original.

Documents in SPO and many others have been calendared and partly transcribed in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, ed. J. S. Brewer, J. Gairdner, and R. H. Brodie, 21 vols. in 36 pts. (London, 1862–1932), which is usually abbreviated as *LP*. Another collection provides transcripts of some of the reign’s principal documents: *State Papers Henry VIII*, 11 vols. divided into 5 pts. (London, 1830–52). Individual volumes of *Letters and Papers* and *State Papers* can be downloaded as PDF files through Medieval and
Early Modern Sources Online (MEMSO), which is accessed via the eresources@cambridge webpages.

The following collections of modern primary sources may also be helpful:


*English Historical Documents*, v: 1485–1558, ed. C. H. Williams (London, 1967) [available online via the eresources@cambridge webpages]


See also works listed under ‘Literature and politics’ for authors of the early Tudor period.

Survey and works of reference


For More’s contemporaries, in the first instance consult:


Literature and politics


**Politics and political culture**


The pre-Reformation Church


Rex, R., *The Lollards* (Basingstoke, 20002).


The European Renaissance


Humanism in England

Levy, F. J., Tudor Historical Thought (San Marino, CA, 1967).
McConica, J. K., English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI (Durham, NC, 1965).

The Reformation and Protestantism

Pettegree, A., Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion (Cambridge, 2005).

The Break with Rome


**Appendix: using EEBO**

Early English Books Online (EEBO) is a valuable resource for studying early modern printed works. EEBO effectively provides photographs of the pages of the books. Several set primary sources are only available through EEBO. The following is intended to provide a brief guide, which reinforces the practice in workshops.

Access EEBO via the eresources@cambridge webpages. On the EEBO homepage, click on the search button. You should now be on the ‘basic search’ page. This page allows you to search the collection.
From this page, you can find More’s works by entering his name (‘More, Thomas’) in the ‘author keyword’. Using the option to the right of the text box (‘Select from a list’), identify your Thomas More precisely. His exact entry reads:

More, Thomas, Sir, Saint, 1478–1535.

You can ‘limit by date’ your search. This enables you, for instance, to find works by More published between 1529 and 1531. Similar author searches can be conducted for other contemporary authors.

You can also search for particular works using the title search. Results here are more unpredictable, as often the modern shorthand title is not the contemporary one. Early modern titles were very long, and are thus usually abbreviated.

For instance, the Life of Pico is actually entitled:

Here is co[n]tayned the lyfe of Johan Picus erle of Myra[n]dula a grete lord of Italy an excellent co[n]ning man in all scie[n]ces [And] vertuous of lyuing. with dyuere epistles [and] other warkis of the seyd Johan Picus full of grete science vertew and wysedome. whos lyfe [and] warkys bene worthy [and] digne to be redd [and] ofyn to to be had in memorye.

You can also find particular works using their Short-Title Catalogue number (STC). The 1510 edition of the Life of Pico, for instance, is STC 19897.7. To bring up this work, enter in the text box called ‘bibliographic number’ the following:

STC and 19897.7 [the ‘and’ is essential]

– and click the blue ‘Search’ button. On the results screen, view the work by clicking on the icon of a camera.

Within a work, move between pages and adjust the size of the image using the commands and the boxes at the top and bottom of the screen. Enter a number in the ‘Go to image number’ and click ‘Go’ to move to another image. Click on ‘<< Previous image’ or ‘Next image >>’ to move to the immediately preceding or succeeding image. Use the textbook at the bottom with a percentage figure to adjust the size of the image that you are viewing. You can also download and print the image using the commands on this screen.

If you wish to read a whole work, it can sometimes be easier to download the entire text rather than load each image in turn. To do this, you need to add a work to your ‘marked list’. Above the image, on the left hand side of the screen, there is an option box (‘Add this record to your Marked List’). Having ticked this, then click on the ‘marked list’ heading in the top right of the screen. You will now be given the option of downloading the whole work in various formats. Downloading the work will enable you to print several pages at one time.

Now you have the images of the work in front of you: but they do not look like a modern book. EEBO reproduces works as they were printed: it is the equivalent of a facsimile. Sixteenth-century printers used a Gothic script (black-letter type) which is seldom seen today. This takes some getting used to, but you will improve with practice.
Printers also used some conventions which may confuse you at first. Here are the most common:

- Double ‘ff’ (lower case) – stands for ‘F’ (capital)
- The long ‘s’ – looks like a long ‘f’ without the cross bar
- The letters ‘u’ and ‘v’ – very commonly used the other way round
- The letters ‘i’ and ‘j’ – used interchangeably
- The obsolete letter thorn – looks like a ‘y’, but means ‘th’: e.g., most commonly, ye = the (unless it really is a ‘y’, in which case ye = you) (thorn is occasionally seen today in the faux-archaic sign ‘ye olde tea shoppe’)
- Use of superscript characters with abbreviations – e.g. y^t = that
- Merging of words – e.g. thexample = the example
- Omission of letters, esp. ‘m’ and ‘n’ – marked with an accent over the nearest letter: e.g. instāce = instance

For some works, EEBO additionally provides a full text transcription in modern computer type. This is accessed from the results page by clicking on a ‘full text’ icon, which looks like a page, folded on the top right, with text on it.

The following early editions of More’s works (i.e. to 1558) have full text transcriptions:

- *Merry Jest* 1516 STC 18091
- *Life of Pico* 1525 STC 19898
- *Dialogue concerning Heresies* 1529 STC 18084
- *Supplication for Souls* 1529 STC 18092
- *Confutation of Tyndale’s Answer*, pt. 1 1532 STC 18079
- *Answer to a Poisoned Book* 1553 STC 18077
- *Apology* 1533 STC 18078
- *Confutation of Tyndale’s Answer*, pt. 2 1533 STC 18080
- *Debellation of Salem & Bizance* 1533 STC 18081
- *Letter against Frith* 1533 STC 18090
- *Utopia* 1551 STC 18094
- *Dialogue of Comfort* 1553 STC 18082

These transcriptions are computer-generated, however, so many of the features of the original text remain. The computer cannot always accurately interpret printing conventions – such as the abbreviation of words – so some of the text is garbled. One way round this problem could be to read these transcripts and check on the original images where there are problems: the transcripts provide links to the original image.

You should cite bibliographical details from contemporary printed works in the same way as you would ordinary printed works: include the author’s name, the title, the place of publication, and the date of publication. As early modern titles are often excessively long,
you may shorten them appropriately, especially if the work is now known by an abridged title. It can be a good idea to give the STC number in references (for example, in square brackets after the place and date of publication).

There are three ways of numbering pages in contemporary works:

1. **Page numbers**: where available, you should use them, obviously.

2. **Folio numbers**: a folio is two pages. As you look at an open book, the page on your right is one side of the folio: this is called the *recto* (abbreviated as ‘r’). If you turn over that page, the page now on your left is the other side of the same folio: this is called the *verso* (‘v’).

   Your reference would appear as follows:

   fo. 2r  
   fo. 8v  
   fo. 10r–v [to cite both sides of one folio]  
   fos. 2–10  
   fos. 2r, 8v, 10r–v

   Other common abbreviations for ‘folio’ are ‘f.’ and ‘fol.’. Their plurals are, respectively, ‘ff.’ and ‘fols.’.

3. **Signatures**: this contemporary referencing system was designed to help binders assemble books in the correct order. Signatures usually combined upper- and lower-case letters and numbers: e.g. ‘Aiij’, which we would write as ‘A3’; or Aaiij (Aa3).

   Your reference would appear as follows:

   sig. A3r [for *recto*]  
   sig. B12v [for *verso*]  
   sig. G8r–v [for *recto* and *verso*]  
   sigs. A3–B12

   Commonly many pages of a book have no number on them. In such cases you should find the last preceding page, folio, or signature number and then count forwards from it.

   Some parts of a work – particularly introductions and prefaces – will have no numbering system. In these cases, you should refer instead to the ‘Introduction’ or ‘Preface’ in your reference.

   All three referencing systems commonly use Roman, rather than Arabic, numerals, which can be written rather differently from the modern manner. For instance: CXCviiij = 199. Note here the mixing of upper- and lower-case letters; the use of four ones rather than ‘iv’; the last ‘i’ written as a ’j’.

   When taking notes, you may find it helpful also to record the EEBO image number, as this will allow you to find the page again quickly, if – for example – you wish to check a quotation. To ensure that you locate set passages correctly, all references to set primary
sources on EEBO use image numbers. References for the long essay, however, should not use image numbers, but rather one of the contemporary methods outlined above.