



Lambeth Palace Library Research Guide King Henry VIII (1491-1547)

1	Manuscript Resources at Lambeth	2
1.1	Individual Manuscripts.....	2
1.2	Manuscript Collections	4
1.2.1	Wharton Manuscripts (MSS 577-595)	4
1.2.2	The Carew Manuscripts (MSS 596-638)	4
1.2.3	Shrewsbury and Talbot Papers (MSS 694-710, 3192-3206).....	5
1.3	Archival Collections	7
1.3.1	Archbishops' Registers.....	7
1.3.2	Faculty Office Registers	9
1.3.3	Estate Documents and Temporalities.....	9
1.3.4	Carte Antique et Miscellanee (Lambeth Charters)	9
2	Printed Resources at Lambeth.....	10
2.1	Letters of Henry VIII	10
2.2	Henry VIII's Controversy with Luther	10
2.3	Henry VIII and the Church: Official Publications [A Sample Selection].....	11
2.4	Henry VIII's Reign and Propaganda [A Small Sample Selection]	13
2.5	Henry VIII's Personal Library.....	14
2.6	Divorce	14
2.7	English Ecclesiastical Law	15
2.8	History and Political Thought.....	15
2.9	Liturgy and the Bible.....	15
2.10	Reformation Controversy	15
2.11	Sermons	16
2.12	Theology, Canon Law and Philosophy.....	16
2.13	Manuscripts	16
2.14	Dedications to Henry VIII.....	17
2.15	Henry VIII and his Wives	17
2.15.1	Catherine of Aragon	17



2.15.2	The Divorce	17
2.15.3	Anne Boleyn	18
2.15.4	Catharine Parr	18

1 Manuscript Resources at Lambeth

The main manuscript sources for Henry VIII and his reign are held in other repositories such as the National Archives and the British Library but Lambeth Palace Library does hold collections of relevance and several items of special interest. Some of the Lambeth material also relates to Henry's marital affairs.

1.1 Individual Manuscripts

MS 19

Royal pedigree from Adam and Eve to King Henry VIII. Only two of Henry's wives are noted: Katharine, daughter of the King of Aragon, "postea repudiata", and Anne, the present wife.

MS 24, f.49

Instrument issued by Archbishop Warham, May 1530, by order of Henry VIII, denouncing works by Tyndale, Fish and Frith as heretical, including "the translacyon also of scripture corrupted by Willyam Tyndall as well yn the olde Testament as yn the newe". (Also appears in Warham's Register, f.181)

MS 250, f.62.

Copy of charter of Henry VIII, confirming all the privileges and liberties of the University of Oxford;

MS 285

16th century collection of detailed records of royal events and court procedure, including Things to be known and done by an Usher of the King's Chamber and other Officers belonging to the Court upon many extraordinary occasions, such as the delivery of a Queen, the christening of a King's child, the creation of a Prince and the Coronation. (ff.1-17). Accounts of specific events include a list of the attendants upon the King and Queen to Guisnes in 1520, where they met the King of France (ff.18-19), the meeting of King Henry with the Emperor at Douai, also in 1520 (f.27), the christening of Henry's daughter Mary at Greenwich in 1516 (f.38v) and the confirmation of peace between Francis I of France and Henry VIII in 1526 (f.42).

MS 464

"An Apologie for King Henrie the Eighth, compiled in maner of a Dialogue long since by W. Thomas Esquier, Clarke of the Counsell. Lately transcribed and published out of a written Copie extant in the Publique Librarie at Oxford, of the honourable foundation of Sir Thomas Bodley, knight, by Tho. James." Dedicated and sent to Archbishop Abbot in 1616. According to James the work was based on contemporary records and reliable except for "his sharpe censure passed uppon ye person of Q. Anne of Bolesne". But "being of matters of state and not fit for every mans handling ... I have deemed it meeter to consecrate it unto your Graces private librarie (yf it may there finde any corner)". It was written to preserve "ye good memorie of so noble a King".



MS 751

Records of the meetings of Convocation (clerical assembly) of the Province of Canterbury, including those for the reign of Henry VIII. Lambeth holds the main series of Convocation Papers, but the original records for this period are thought to have been destroyed in the Fire of London. These records of the most important proceedings were taken from extracts made earlier by Peter Heylyn and collated by Edmund Gibson in 1701. The original Heylyn extracts were recently rediscovered at St. Paul's and transferred with other Gibson papers to Lambeth (MS 4395).

The records contain, for example, royal writs for convocation and prorogation, decisions on the observance of saints' days, judgements on the calling of a General Council, and such important documents as the submission of the clergy, 1 April 1531, to the charge that the actions of the church courts made them guilty of praemunire (encroachment by the Papacy on the rights of the English Crown). This submission (with payment of a mammoth fine of £100,000), and the later Act of Parliament incorporating it, made the King supreme in all ecclesiastical causes.

MS 760

Order of the Garter. 16th century illuminated manuscript. "The Statutis and Ordinancis of the moost noble ordre of Saynt George, named the Gartyer. Refourmed, explayned, declared, and renewed, by the moost high, moost excellent, [and] moost puyssant prince henrie the viiith".

MS 933, f.122

Letter from John Dowding to Thomas Tenison (later Archbishop of Canterbury), 21 December 1677, enclosing a copy of some letters from Henry VIII to Anne Boleyn. Endorsed by Tenison "Copy of some letters from Henry 8th transcribed from ye Originalls in ye Vatican".

MS 1356

Latin copy of statutes and injunctions for the Cathedral and Metropolitan Church of Christ, Canterbury, 1541. Drawn up but not confirmed by Henry VIII.

MS 2014, ff. 51-60

Copy of the Bull of Pope Paul III excommunicating Henry VIII, 17 January 1538. (He had already been excommunicated in 1533 and 1535.)

MS 2341-2

Two volumes of contemporary papers concerning the divorce proceedings against Catherine of Aragon in 1529. They are believed to have belonged to Cardinal Campeggio, the papal legate appointed to hear the case with Cardinal Wolsey. MS 2341 comprises a two part volume written by Nicholas West, Bishop of Ely, in favour of Catherine of Aragon, with marginal and interlinear notes in the author's own hand. MS 2342 contains the opinion of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, as well as other opinions both for and against the Queen, copies of the original papal dispensation for the marriage, and copies of papal letters to Wolsey and Campeggio. Bishop Fisher stated his opinion that no power, human or divine, could dissolve the marriage, and expressed his willingness to lay down his life (as indeed he did) for that belief. He then presented the legates with a copy of his book against the divorce.



MS 2686 f. 1-6v

Part of a detailed contemporary account in French of the coronation of Catherine of Aragon, 1509.

MS 4434

Gambara letter-book. Manuscript book of Uberto Gambara, Papal Nuncio to England, containing fair copies of the despatches received and sent by Gambara whilst in London between 1526 and 1527, including detailed accounts of audiences with Wolsey and with Henry VIII, sometimes in the presence of Thomas More, Archbishop Warham and other bishops and members of the Council. Includes letters from Pope Clement VII to Cardinal Wolsey and Henry VIII. It sets the scene for the English Church and the European political situation at the point when Henry began his pursuit of a divorce in the spring of 1527.

1.2 Manuscript Collections

1.2.1 Wharton Manuscripts (MSS 577-595)

Records on church and state affairs collected or copied by Henry Wharton, late 17th century Lambeth Librarian and noted historian. They include copies of letters between Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey, the gift of the golden rose as a sign of papal esteem, notes on the cathedrals of Henrician foundation and pensions paid to the religious expelled from the dissolved monasteries.

Of particular interest is a copy of the decree of Henry VIII (MS 577) ordering the obliteration of the memory of Thomas Becket. King Henry viewed Becket not as a saint and martyr but as a traitor to his predecessor Henry II. Becket's shrine at Canterbury was destroyed on Henry's orders in 1538 and his name was removed from the church calendar. Archbishop Sancroft's note on the destruction of the shrine is at the top of f.76 Examples of incidences where Becket's name has been defaced can be found at Lambeth in printed material and in MS 368, f.144, a late 13th Century Psalter in which invocations of saints have been obliterated with ink and MS 558, f.260, a 13th Century Psalter from Christ Church Canterbury, in which the memoriae to Thomas Becket have been obliterated with red crayon.

1.2.2 The Carew Manuscripts (MSS 596-638)

These manuscripts were collected by Sir George Carew, during his period in Ireland as president of Munster, for the purpose of writing the history of the island from the reign of Henry II to that of Queen Elizabeth. The work was completed and published by his natural son Sir Thomas Stafford in *Pacata Hibernia*, 1633. There is a copy of this work in the printed books collections at Lambeth.

Most of the records relating to Henry's reign are copies, but they give a good picture of events and administration in Ireland and include some personal material. Henry was determined to enforce effective English rule in Ireland and to impose the Reformation settlement on the Church in Ireland. In 1541 the Irish Parliament proclaimed Henry as King of Ireland (instead of merely Lord of Ireland).

The manuscripts include letters from the King to his Lord Deputy (or Lord Lieutenant) in Ireland and other officers, letters to and from various members of the Irish nobility and senior



clergy, grants, creations and proclamations. For some typical examples:-

MS 603, ff.22, 83, 97,98, 104, 109.

Indentures made between the King and Hugh Burghe, Morice O'Brien, the Ocarrels, the MacGennises, Orwerke, Omagher and others, 1533-34. The submission of the Irish Lords to the King, recorded in the Exchequer in Westminster. Henry is proclaimed King of Ireland (ff.138, 143).

MS 611, ff.27-28

The King's letters to the Commons in Ireland, moving them to contribute towards his charges in suppressing the Geraldines, 1535. The King's letter of thanks to the Clergy of Ireland for the contribution granted him of the 20th part of all spiritual livings yearly, 1535. The manuscript also includes several letters from the King to his officers in Ireland.

MS 613, f.59

Grant of lands made by the King to Donogh O'Brien Earl of Thomond, and letters patent granted by the King to the Earl of Tyrone, and his heir, for the repossession of his manor lands (MS 617, f.157).

MS 632, ff.250-261

Waterford collection. Royal commission given to the mayor and bailiffs of the city of Waterford against the Earl of Kildare; letter from Henry VIII for the swordbearer of Waterford to have a cap of maintenance; three letters from Henry VIII: to the people of Waterford granting a request, to the mayor of Waterford touching the parliament, and to the city of Waterford promising his favour; letters from Henry VIII, to the Mayor of Waterford, touching his sending them aid against the rebels, and another letter, also to the Mayor of Waterford, concerning the Fitzgerald traitor.

A full calendar of these papers may be found in the following published catalogue:

Calendar of the Carew manuscripts preserved in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, 1515-(1628), edited by J.S. Brewer and William Bullen (6 vols., London, 1867-1873).

1.2.3 Shrewsbury and Talbot Papers (MSS 694-710, 3192-3206)

These manuscripts comprise the papers of the earls of Shrewsbury from the 15th century (mainly from 1538) to 1616. The earls had large estates in Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Shropshire and Herefordshire and were influential figures, both locally and nationally, as lord lieutenants and privy councillors. The papers provide a good picture of domestic and foreign affairs under Henry VIII. They are particularly interesting for Henry's French and Scottish wars. For example:

MS 3192

Much of the material in this manuscript relates to Henry VIII: general administration, the leasing of land, servant matters, court life, royal visits and feasts, foreign policy and wars. They show the King's very active role in affairs of government. A small selection of the letters is listed below:

f.12

Henry VIII to George Talbot, fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, and others, from Bishopthorpe, 8



April 1511. They are to be ready with demilances [from Yorkshire] for the King's "weghtie affaires". Endorsed "haste".

ff.27-31

Thomas Alen to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 28 April and 6 May 1516. Cardinal Wolsey asked today that the Earl come to London for Whitsun, since the Queen of Scots [Margaret Tudor] will be there and the Earl is the "great officer" [Steward] of the King's household. Alen told him that this was not possible because of the shortness of time and plague in the Earl's household. He is to attend Wolsey, to know the King's pleasure, but is confident that the Earl will be excused until next term.

f.41

Thomas Alen to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 8 June 1516. He has sent letters, including one from the King commanding the Earl's presence.

f.49

Henry VIII to the Earl of Northumberland, from Richmond, 7 May 1517, thanking him for attending Mary of Guise on her journey into England and now commanding him and his wife to attend her on her return from York.

f.61

Thomas Cromwell to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Steward of the Household, from Windsor, 9 October 1536. "I would you knew as well as I how the King's Highness reputeth your most acceptable and loyal service". The habiliments and munitions for war which the Earl requested [to suppress Aske's rebellion] are on their way.

f.65

The Duke of Suffolk writes to the Earl of Shrewsbury, requesting a "fat stag" by 5th August, when the King is expected on progress,

f.77

Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, to the Earl of Shrewsbury, [1542]. The Scots will not come to terms and have sent to the King in the hope of a better offer from him. If they do not agree within a week, Norfolk intends to advance again.

f.83

A list of the companies of the army led to France in 1513 by the King in person.

f.125

The Lords of the Council to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 1544, sending with this a copy of the King's answer to the Queen Dowager of Scotland [Mary of Guise].

f.147

The Lords of the Council to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 19 September 1544. The Queen [Catherine Parr] has heard that the King has taken Boulogne "without effusion of blood" and wished the people of the north to know the news.

f.149

The Lords of the Council to the Earl of Shrewsbury, September 1544. The King commands



them to answer the offer of certain Scotsmen living near the Middle March to levy hostages for their good conduct, expressed in articles addressed to Sir Ralph Eure and passed on by Shrewsbury. The King will not accept, unless the Scotsmen promise to serve him against all men without reservation.

f.183

The King to Lord Eure and Sir Ralph Eure, thanking them for their efforts and confirming that he is sending reinforcements, [1544?].

f.195

The King to Lord Wharton, [December 1544]. The Earl of Lennox is to be sent to Carlisle, with Sir Thomas Holcroft and Thomas Bishop, so that he may "have the better occasion to practise with the Scots, and either to find the means that we may get the young Princess [Mary, Queen of Scots] into our hands, or else, by conferences and devisings with them, to enter a jealousy in the heads of the Governor and others, and so to sow division amongst them, or at the least to get intelligence of their doings".

f.313

The Lords of the Council to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 4 March 1545. The King has heard of the death of Sir Ralph Eure and has decided to appoint Sir Robert Bowes Warden of the Middle March in his place. Supplies of provisions are to be sent to the Border from Hull as soon as possible and the Archbishop of York has been told to give Shrewsbury all the profits of the benevolence for the conduct of the war.

f. 325

The Lords of the Council to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lieutenant of the North, and the rest of the Council there, from Westminster, 18 March 1545. The King agrees to a safe conduct for the Master of Kilmaurs to Carlisle for six days. Shrewsbury is to consider which hostages to exchange and inform the King. The King will send Archan to the Earl to consider the fortification of Berwick. Powder is to be dispatched but spears are not available at the moment. Sir George Bowes is to be captain of Norham.

A full listing of these collections can be consulted in the following published catalogues:

A calendar of the Shrewsbury and Talbot papers in Lambeth Palace Library and the College of Arms. Volume I. Shrewsbury MSS in Lambeth Palace Library [MSS 694-710], by Catherine Jamison, revised and indexed by E.G.W. Bill. (Historical Manuscripts Commission. Joint Publication, 6. 1966).

A calendar of the Shrewsbury and Talbot papers in Lambeth Palace Library and the College of Arms. Volume II. Talbot papers in the College of Arms, by G.R. Batho. (Historical Manuscripts Commission. Joint Publication, 7. 1971. [The College of Arms collection is now held by Lambeth Palace Library as MSS 3192-3206])

1.3 Archival Collections

1.3.1 Archbishops' Registers

The Archbishops' Registers were the principal record of archiepiscopal administration and



include much material of importance on Henry's church policy.

1.3.1.1 Warham's Register (William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1503-1532)

Warham's register is the record of the last pre-Reformation archiepiscopate. It includes trials for heresy and the condemnation of Tyndale's English translation of the Bible as heretical (described in MS 24, f.49 above)

Warham was the Archbishop who married and crowned Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon. Among some fragmentary records recently returned to Lambeth having been found in the archives of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (previously stored in the gatehouse of Lambeth Palace and now in the National Archives) was the draft of Archbishop Warham's licence for the marriage of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, 8 June 1509. This licence dispensed with the normal requirement for the reading of banns thrice, merely insisting that they be published once, and authorising the marriage to take place in any church or chapel. The marriage was performed by the Archbishop himself in a private ceremony at the royal palace of Greenwich on 11 June 1509.

1.3.1.2 Cranmer's Register (Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1533-1556)

Cranmer's register is the record of the first post-Reformation Archbishop of Canterbury and is of particular importance for church administration and royal policy after Henry VIII's break with Rome. It includes for example:-

The Papal bulls by which Cranmer was appointed to the see of Canterbury and the Archbishop's protestation at his consecration in March 1533, after the oath of loyalty to the Pope, that this would not override the law of God and his loyalty to the King or hinder the reformation of the English Church (ff.1-5v).

Royal writs from 1539 to 1553 for the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury. (There is more material on Convocation proceedings in Lambeth MS 751 and MS 4395 described above.)

Commissions and letters concerning administrative, financial, political and ecclesiastical affairs, showing the relationship between Crown and Church after the 1534 Act of Supremacy declared the King to be Supreme Head over the Church – for example, Cranmer's mandate issued on instructions from the King to set up the Great Bible in churches. Heresy trials from 1538 derived from special commissions sent to the Archbishop by the King. The increased financial demands of the Crown on the Church are also registered.

Records concerning the administration of vacant sees by the Archbishop, metropolitanical visitations, and episcopal appointments. These include Cranmer's presentation (on the King's instructions) of the pallium (previously granted only by the Pope) to the newly appointed Archbishops of Dublin (1536) and of York (1545).

Of particular interest are the records of the annulment of the marriage between Henry VIII and Anne of Cleves, 1540 (ff.141-146v). The King had been pleased by the portrait painted of his proposed fourth wife, but was bitterly disappointed by the reality. Much against his will, Henry married Anne on 6 January 1540 but by July the clergy of the realm had been



commissioned to decide whether the marriage should be declared null and void. Unsurprisingly they decided as required and the marriage was annulled on 9 July 1540 on the grounds of pre-contract and non-consummation.

The Archbishops of Canterbury and York were ordered by the Privy Council to keep the “acta” of the case in their archives. They include the detailed accounts of witnesses. The disgraced minister Thomas Cromwell, among others, testified that Henry had been most reluctant to go through with the marriage: “ If it were not to suffice the world, and my realm, I would not do that I must do this day for none earthly thing ”. As Henry claimed that consummation had been impossible with Anne, Dr Buttes his doctor had to provide proof from the royal nocturnal emissions that the King would be capable with another bride. Anne acquiesced in the annulment and received a handsome settlement including Hever Castle, the former home of Anne Boleyn.

1.3.2 Faculty Office Registers

The Court of Faculties of the Archbishop of Canterbury was established in 1534 as part of the Henrician Reformation to deal with dispensations, licences, faculties, etc. which had previously been granted by the Pope. The first two registers still survive and are among the earliest administrative records of the Church of England after King Henry’s breach with Rome. The majority of the records are routine, but include material of considerable relevance to contemporary church affairs, such as dispensations for ex-religious from the newly suppressed monasteries to hold benefices with change of habit.

1.3.3 Estate Documents and Temporalities

The medieval Archbishops of Canterbury held great estates in Kent, Surrey, Middlesex and other counties. These collections include contemporary accounts, court rolls, leases, maps, surveys, correspondence, etc. The records from Cranmer’s time as Archbishop reflect the “great exchange” between himself and Henry VIII, whereby the Archbishop received a number of former monastic estates in Kent and Lancashire in (unequal) exchange for some of his more valuable properties in Kent and Surrey.

1.3.4 Carte Antique et Miscellanee (Lambeth Charters)

This series also includes material on the “great exchange” between Cranmer and Henry VIII in the form of royal letters patent, indentures, grants, etc. (CM XII/XIII).

Other items of interest are:

CM IV/8

Confirmation by Henry VIII to William Ticeherst, former Prior of Lesnes, diocese of Rochester, of indult for plurality formerly obtained by him from the Pope. 7 Sept 1537. There are several similar royal confirmations in the series for an individual indult (permission) originally given by the Pope.

CM VIII/1

Contemporary copy of a royal grant by Henry VIII to the Lord Mayor and citizens of London. Including grants of parish churches and rectories and an almshouse.



CM VIII/38

Copy of a decree of Henry VIII ordering the payment of tithe from London parishes at 2s. 9d. the pound and 16 ½ pence the half pound. 2 April 1533.

CM XI/77

Contemporary copy of Henry VIII's patent to Richard Grafton and Edward Whytchurche, citizens of London, to print the mass book, gradual and other service books, suitably altered, for a period of seven years., [1543?].

CM XI/83

Copy of a letter from Henry VIII to William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, concerning the Archbishop's case about probate of wills against the Bishops of Winchester, London, Lincoln, Exeter and Chichester, which is pending at Rome and which the King has taken into his own hands January 1513.

[Grant of land and privileges to Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, by Henry VIII as part of an exchange between them. 7 June 1542. = CM XII/12

2 Printed Resources at Lambeth

Lambeth Palace Library holdings include several hundreds of contemporary printed works relevant to the life and reign of King Henry VIII. Many of the works bear the gold-tooled initials or coats of arms of Archbishops Whitgift and Bancroft showing that they date from the Library's original collections. A sample selection is listed below, arranged in date order within sections:-

2.1 Letters of Henry VIII

An epistle of the moste myghty & redouted Prince Henry the viii ... written to the Emperours maiestie and A Protestation made for the most mighty and moste redoubted kynge of Englande ... that neythe his hyghenes, nor his prelates ... is bounde to come ... to the pretended councell ... at Mantua. (London, 1538). STC 13081.3, 13081.5 and 13090 (English version) and STC 13080.3 and 13082.3 (Latin version).

Love-letters from King Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn: some in French, and some in English. To which are added, translations of those written in French. With an appendix, containing two letters from Anne Boleyn to Cardinal Wolsey, with her last to Henry the VIIIth. (London, 1714). ESTC t139785. First edition.

2.2 Henry VIII's Controversy with Luther

Martin Luther, *De captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae*. (152-? Early edition, unidentified in bibliographies).

Luther attacked various aspects of the Mass including transubstantiation and the denial to the laity of communion in both kinds. He also reduced the seven traditional sacraments of the Church to three. This was the book that prompted Henry to write his *Assertio*, thus starting their famous war of words.

Henry VIII, *Assertio septem sacramentorum adversus Martin Lutheru[m]*. (London, 1521). STC 13078.

Archbishop Cranmer's copy of Henry VIII's famous work, which gained the King the papal



title of Defender of the Faith. It is a defence of the traditional seven sacraments of the Church against Luther, who had already been excommunicated by the Pope for his doctrines. The work is of adequate but not outstanding theological erudition. This copy was given to Archbishop Lang by the American philanthropist, J. Pierpont Morgan, as a Christmas present in 1938. Lambeth holds several other editions of the work.

Martin Luther, *Contra Henricum regem Angliae Martinus Luther*. (Wittenberg, 1522). Luther's withering response to Henry VIII's *Assertio*. This is a presentation copy from Luther to his friend Sebaldus. It includes two annotations in Greek and Latin, supposedly also in Luther's hand, proclaiming that "truth will conquer" and that "a good book will not be approved by the many." Lambeth also has a 1522 copy of the Latin Vulgate Bible, with manuscript notes said to be by Luther.

Henry VIII, *Serenissimi ac potentissimi regis Angliae ... ad illustrissimos ac clarissimos Saxoniae principes, de coercenda abigendaq[ue] Lutherana factione & Luthero ipso, epistola; item, illustrissimi principis ducis Georgii ad eundem regem rescriptio*. (Cologne, 1523).

Letter from Henry VIII to the rulers of Saxony urging them to take action against Luther.

John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, *Assertionis Lutheranae confutatio*. (Antwerp, 1523). One of several replies by various authors (including Sir Thomas More) to Luther's answer to Henry's *Assertio*. Contains a classic exposition of the main differences in theology between the Reformers and their opponents.

John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. *Defe[n]sio Regie assertionis co[n]tra Babylonica[m] captivate[m] ... In qua respondet pro illustrissimo, eode[m]q[ue] doctissimo Anglo[rum] Rege Henrico. VIII. fidei defensore, ad maledicentissimum Martini Lutheri libellu[m], in eund[em] Rege scriptu[m] plusq[ue] impudentissime*. (Cologne, 1525).

Another defence of the *Assertio* against Luther, bound with another work by Fisher published in the same year defending the sacred nature of the priesthood against Luther.

Henry VIII, *Literarum, quibus ... Henricus octavus, rex Angliae ... respondit, ad quandam epistolam Martini Lutheri ad se missa[m], et ipsius Lutheran[ae] quoq[ue] epistol[ae] exemplum*. (London, 1527). STC 13085.

Luther was mistakenly led to believe that Henry had become more sympathetic to the reformed position, and in 1525 sent him a fulsome letter of apology. This work includes Luther's 1525 letter and Henry's most ungracious response. Lambeth also has a 17th century manuscript copy of the English version of this work. "A copy of the letters, wherin kyng Henry the eyght made answere unto a certayn letter of Martyn Luther, 1526." (MS 703. ff.45v-63)

Martin Luther, *Auff des Königs zu Engelland Lester schriff Titel, Mart. Luthers Antwort*. (Wittenberg, 1527).

The use made by Luther's enemies of his letter of apology drove him to a further response, the last of the series of letters and treatises exchanged between Henry VIII and Luther.

2.3 Henry VIII and the Church: Official Publications [A Sample Selection]

Most official Church publications after the break with Rome were issued under Henry's name or at least had his tacit approval. Related material in which Archbishop Cranmer was particularly involved is described in more detail in the source guide on Cranmer



Articles devised by the Kynges highnes maiestie, to stablyshe quietnes and unitie amonge us ... (London, 1536). STC 10033. The Ten Articles, the first reformed articles of faith issued by the Church of England, adopted by Convocation at the behest of Henry VIII. This copy comes from the King's own library.

The institution of a Christen man, conteynyng the exposytion or interpretation of the commune crede, of the seven sacramentes, of the x. commandementes, and of the Pater noster, and the Ave Maria, Justification & Purgatory. (London, 1537). STC 5163. This work, commonly known as the Bishops' Book, was a compromise between Protestant and conservative factions. It never received explicit royal authority but was dedicated to Henry VIII by the bishops.

A necessary doctrine and erudition for any Christen man, sette furthe by the kynges maiestie. (London, 1543). STC 5168.7 and other editions. Known as the King's Book, because of the preface written in the King's name, this is primarily a revision of the Bishops' Book of 1537 more in keeping with Henry's own conservative preferences. "We fynde entered into some of our peoples hartes, an inclination to sinister understandyng of scripture, presumption, arrogancye, carnall liberty, and contention, we be therfore constrayned ... to sette furth with the advise of our clergy suche a doctrine and declaration of the true knowledge of God ... wherby all men may uniformly be ledde & taught the true understandyng of that whiche is necessary for every Christen man to know ..."

The byble in Englyshe ... with a prologe by Thomas archbyssshop of Cantorbury. This is the byble apoynted to the use of the churches (London, 1540). STC 2070. The Great Bible was published in 1539. This is the first edition to include Cranmer's Prologue, in which he argued that everyone should be able to read the scriptures in English. Lambeth has several other early editions. The title page illustration, which has been attributed to Holbein, depicts Henry VIII, Thomas Cranmer and Thomas Cromwell distributing Bibles, while the people cry "Vivat Rex".

The epistles and gosselles with a brief postil upon the same. (London, 1540. STC 2968.5 and 2969.5. These were drawn up by "divers learned men", one of whom is thought to have been Cranmer. By the King's injunction the liturgical epistles and gospels were to be used in English during services.

The primer, set forth by the Kynges Maiestie and his clergie, to be taught, lerned & read, and none other to be used throughout all his dominions. (London, 1545). STC 16034. Also Latin edition of same year, STC 16042. Primers were popular devotional works for the laity. This was the first officially authorized attempt to standardize such publications. Henry disliked the lack of uniformity.

The psalmes or prayers, taken out of holy scripture, commonly called the Kynges psalmes. (London, 1590). STC 3011.3. A selection of psalms made by Bishop John Fisher for Henry VIII, published with prayers attributed to Catharine Parr. This edition has a crowned rosette-badge and the initials of Elizabeth I on the covers.



2.4 Henry VIII's Reign and Propaganda [A Small Sample Selection]

The Lambeth holdings of works of political propaganda on contemporary events and controversies of the reign are of particular interest. Such material appears in various sections of this source guide. Below is a very small selection of some additional works of this nature.

Hereafter ensue the trew encountre or ... betayle lately don betwene Engla[n]de and Scotlande. (London, 1513?). STC 11088.5.

The earliest surviving English news pamphlet, which describes the battle of Flodden, with woodcut illustrations. It is very rare and the Lambeth copy has only survived because it was used as endpapers in the binding of a completely different work.

Christopher St. German, *A treatise concernynge the division betwene the spirytualtie and temporalitie.* (London, 1532). STC 21587.

St. German was a strong supporter of the power of King in Parliament. This work particularly attacks the procedures of the church courts.

Edward Fox, Bishop of Hereford, *Opus eximium de vera differentia regiae potestatis et ecclesiasticae ...* (London, 1534). STC 11218.

An early defence of the royal supremacy. Lambeth also has the 1548 English translation by Henry, Lord Stafford.

Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, *De vera obedientia oratio ...* (Hamburg, 1536. Originally published in England the previous year.)

This defence of the royal supremacy caused Gardiner considerable embarrassment when he became Chancellor to the Roman Catholic Mary Tudor. Lambeth has 1553 editions of a Protestant translation of Gardiner's Latin original.

Sir Richard Morison, *A lamentation in whiche is shewed what ruyne and destruction cometh of seditious rebellyon.* (London, 1536). STC 18113.3.

Against the Lincolnshire rebels. They should know "howe moche they be bounde to love and trewely serve kynge Henry the VIII". Morison seems to have been a professional propagandist on behalf of the King.

Sir Richard Morison, *A remedy for sedition, wherin are conteyned many thynges concernyng the true and loyall obeysance that comme[n]s owe unto their prince and soveraygne lorde the kynge.* (London, 1536). Another work on the same theme.

Sir Richard Morison, *Apomaxis calumniarum convitiorumque, quibus Ioannes Cocleus ... Henrici Octavi ... famam impetere ... studuit.* (London, 1537). STC 18109.

Defence of Henry VIII against the Roman Catholic apologist.

Sir Richard Morison, *An invective ayenste the great and detestable vice, treason, wherin the secrete practises, and traterous workinges of theym that suffrid of late are disclosed.* (London, 1539). STC 18112.

Yet another offering by the indefatigable propagandist, stressing the overtrustfulness of Henry's nature and the ingratitude of the conspirators.



Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, *A sermon ... made upon Palm sondaye last past before the maiestie of our soverayne lorde Kynge Henry the VIII ... in erth next under Christ supreme heed of the Church of Englande*. (London, 1539). STC 24322.

Propaganda did not have to be blatant but could be pervasive. As well as the King's grandiloquent title, the sermon included a warning against the "vyce and synne of disobedience", the duty of subjects and the pride of the Bishop of Rome.

Tracy, Richard, *A supplycacion to our moste soveraigne lorde Kynge Henry the eyght ...* (Antwerp, 1544). STC 24165.

Conversely, this work, though presented as an appeal, is implicitly critical of the King's lack of progress in reforming the Church in England. "Graunte ... moste mercyfull father ... that whan his grace shall knowe and perceyve (by thy gyfte of goodnes) theyr [the clergy] most detestable wayes ... that he wyll earnestly go aboute to se a redresse ...". The author, who wisely published the work anonymously, and abroad, does apologize to the King for his bluntness.

A very unusual propaganda publication appeared shortly after Henry's death, written in Latin by Bernardino Ochino, who had been given a prebend in Canterbury Cathedral in 1548. The work was translated by John Ponet, Cranmer's chaplain, as *A tragoedie or dialogue of the unjuste usurped primacie of the Bishop of Rome ...* (London, 1549). STC 18770.

It comprises several dramatic dialogues with a cast including Satan and Beelzebub, and one in which Henry VIII, Archbishop Cranmer and a Papist are the protagonists. The dialogue where Christ eulogizes King Henry and his son must however take pride of place as a propaganda masterpiece.

2.5 Henry VIII's Personal Library

Lambeth holds the largest collection outside the British Library of items from the library of Henry VIII. They were probably obtained from the royal library by Archbishop Bancroft. Most of the title pages have the royal inventory numbers on them and have only recently been identified and listed in *The libraries of King Henry VIII*, by James Carley (London, 2000). Many of the blind-stamped bindings are fine examples of the craft, and some have royal significance, showing Henry VIII's initials, the royal arms, the Tudor rose and Catherine of Aragon's pomegranate.

2.6 Divorce

Edward Fox, *Gravissimae atq[ue] exactissimae illustrissimaru[m] totius Italiae et Galliae academiaru[m] censurae ... ducere relictam fratris mortuisine liberis ita sit de iure divino et naturali prohibitum*. (London, 1530). STC 14286. Opinions of the Italian and French universities on the invalidity of Henry's marriage to Catherine of Aragon.

Thomas Abell, *Invicta veritas. An answer, that by no maner of lawe it may be lawfull for ... Kinge Henry the Ayght to be divorsid*. (Luneberg, 1532). Contains the King's own irate annotations (including a note in Latin on the title page basically saying "Rubbish").

Joannes Ludovicus Vives, *Non esse neque divino, neque naturae iure prohibitum, quin Summus Pontifex dispensare possit, ut frater demortui sine liberis fratris uxorem legitimo matrimonio sibi possit adiungere ...* (Antwerp, 1532).



Manuscript dedication to Catherine of Aragon who had been the author's patron. Work written to prove that a papal dispensation could legitimately allow a man to marry his brother's widow. Bound with other works probably from the royal library.

2.7 English Ecclesiastical Law

Constitutions p[ro]vinciales and of Otho and Othobone. Translated in to Englyshe. (London, 1534).

Articles devised by the Kynges Highnes Maiestie, to stablyshe christen quietnes and unitie amonge us. (London, 1536).

2.8 History and Political Thought

Antonius de Rosellis, Tractatus de potestate Imperatoris ac Pape ... qui apellatur Monarchia. Editus per ... d[omi]n[u]m Antoniu[m] de Rosellis de aretio. Una cu[m] replica inquisitoris Germanie fratris Henrici Institoris. (Venice, 1487). Comparison of imperial and papal power.

Hartmannus Schedel, Liber cronicarum. (Nuremberg, 1493). First edition of the Nuremberg Chronicle, a history of the World since the Creation. Generally considered to be the most lavishly illustrated of all incunabula, with a total of 1809 woodcuts.

Francesco Patrizi, De regno & regis institutione, opus profecto & historiarum varietate & sententiarum gravitate commendandum. (Paris, 1531). On the institution of kingship.

Pragmatica sanctio et co[n]cor ... (Lyons, 1530). Definition of royal and papal powers, particularly the recent concordat between the King of France and Leo X.

2.9 Liturgy and the Bible

Biblia latina cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra ... (Nuremberg, 1497, Part 4 only).

Expositio hymnorum totius anni secundu[m] usum Sarum. (Antwerp, 1520). STC 16128.3. Hymns according to the traditional English use of Sarum. With the gold-tooled arms of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon.

Novum Testamentum Latinum, ad antiquissima Graecorum exemplaria, quam diligentissime castigatum: inq[ue] latinam phrasim transfusum, quicquid erat idiotismi vel Graeci vel Hebraei ... per B. Galterum Deloenum. (London, 1540). STC 2799.

A revision of the Vulgate Text of the New Testament by Walter Delaine, who presented this copy to Henry VIII. With covers by the "Flamboyant Binder".

2.10 Reformation Controversy

Alphonsus de Villa Sancta, Problema indulgentiarum, quo Lutheri errata dissolvuntur et theologoru[m] de eisde[m] opinio hactenus apud eruditos vulgata astruitur. (London, 1523). Written against Luther at the command of Catherine of Aragon, termed "Defendress of the Faith." Probably a presentation copy.

Joannes Cochlaeus, *Septiceps Lutherus, ubiq[ue] sibi, suis scriptis co[n]trari[us], in visitatione[m] Saxonica[m]*. (Leipzig, 1529).



In this diatribe Luther is satirised as a seven-headed monster of inconsistency. The binding, with the royal arms and the arms of Catherine of Aragon and using the tools of the Westminster royal library binder, would suggest that this work belonged to Henry VIII's library, although there is no inventory number.

2.11 Sermons

John Longland, Bishop of Norwich, *Sermones ... habiti cora[m] illustrissimi regis Henrici octavi ... Anno do. M.D.XVII.* (London, 1527) and *Ioannis Longlandi dei gratia Lincolniensis episcopi, tres conciones reverendissimo Domino do. Waramo Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo totius Angliae primati merito nuncupatae.* (London, 1527). STC 16797 and 16790.

2.12 Theology, Canon Law and Philosophy

Baptista Trovamala, *Summa casuum conscientiae.* (Nuremberg, 1488)

Hieronymus Taiapetra, *Summa divinarum ac naturalium difficultium quaestionum Romae in capitulo general. fratru[m] minoru[m].* (Venice, 1506)

Durandus de Sancto Porciano, *Expectatissime suo merito laudatissime in quatuor sententiaru[m] libros questionum plurimaru[m] resolutiones ... a Magistro Jacobo Merlino recognite.* (Paris, 1508)

Joannes Franciscus de Pavinis, *Baculus pastoralis ad dirige[n]dos in via[m] pacis pedes visita[n]tiu[m] & visitatoru[m].* (Paris, 1508). Instructions for those conducting visitations. Blind-stamped binding with arms of Henry VIII and Catharine of Aragon, but not listed by Carley as being part of Henry's library.

Angelus Carletus, de Clavasio, *Summa angelica de casibus conscientie.* (Zurich, 1515)

Bartholomaeus Sibylla, *Speculu[m] peregrinaru[m] questionu[m] eruditissimi viri Bartholomaei Sybille Monopolitani, tres decades complectens, in quibus varie questiones de animabus rationalibus in coiuncto [et] separatis, deq[ue] angelis bonis [et] malis multisq[ue] aliis scitu dignissimis [et] ad ipsas responsiones ponuntur; ex theologoru[m], juris pontificu[m], philosophorum ac astrologoru[m], campis floris excerptum.* (Lyons, 1516)

Rainerus de Pisis, *Pa[n]theologia; id est, Toti[bus] theologie summa.* (Lyons, 1519)

Claude de Seyssel, *De divina providentia tractatus.* (Paris, 1520)

Mirabilis liber qui p[ro]phetias revelationesq[ue] necno[n] res mirandas preteritas, presentes at futuras aperte demonstrat. (Paris, 152-?)

Franciscus de Puteo, *Cathena aurea super Psalmos.* (Paris, 1530)

2.13 Manuscripts

MS 34

First part of Richard Rolle's commentary on the English Psalter. 15th century. A companion volume to the British Library manuscript Royal 18 C.XXVI.



MS 187.

Bernard of Clairvaux's sermons on the Song of Songs. 12th century.

MS 437

Meditations and sermons by Fathers of the Church. 15th century.

2.14 Dedications to Henry VIII

Numerous works were of course dedicated to the King of which Lambeth has several, including editions of the Bible, expositions of the psalms, official publications of the Church, religious treatises on various subjects, political tracts, works of scholarship, and John Leland's groundbreaking antiquarian studies.

Of particular poignancy is the work by Robert Barnes, *A supplicacion unto the most gracyous prynce H. the viii.* (London, 1534). STC 1471. Barnes, an evangelizing Lutheran, here expounded the basic principles of Protestantism rooting them in the teachings of the Bible. In 1540 he was one of three Protestant "heretics" executed with three Catholic "traitors" (as a sign of Henry's evenhandedness).

2.15 Henry VIII and his Wives

There is also considerable material in the Lambeth manuscript collections.

2.15.1 Catherine of Aragon

Alphonsus de Villa Sancta, *Problema indulgentiarum, quo Lutheri errata dissolvuntur et theologuru[m] de eisde[m] opinio hactenus apud eruditos vulgata astruitur.* (Londini, 1523). Written against Luther at the command of Catherine of Aragon, here called the Defendress of the Faith, possibly as a companion volume to Henry VIII's *Assertio*. Blind stamped binding with the royal arms, the Tudor rose and the pomegranate symbol of Catherine of Aragon. From the library of Henry VIII. Probably a presentation copy. (Other bindings at Lambeth include royal arms and symbols but they could be used for decorative purposes only and may not prove ownership.)

Desiderius Erasmus, *Christiani matrimonii institutio ... opus nunc primum & natum & excusum.* (Basle, 1526). First edition of this work on Christian marriage, written at the request of Catherine of Aragon and dedicated to her.

Ludolphus de Saxonia, *Vita Christi ex evangeliis et scriptoribus orthodoxis per Ludolphum Saxonium, sacri ordinis Carthusiensium, excerpta...* (Paris, 1534).

Mary Tudor's copy of this popular life of Christ, elaborately bound by the King Edward and Queen Mary Binder. This may originally have been a gift from Catherine of Aragon during the period of her final East Anglian exile. An undated letter by Catherine states that she will send her daughter Mary "two books in Latin; one shall be *De Vita Christi* with a declaration of the Gospels."

2.15.2 The Divorce

John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, *De causa matrimonii serenissimi Regis Angliae liber.* (Alcala de Henares, 1530).



One of the seven or eight defences of Henry VIII's marriage to Catharine of Aragon penned by Fisher. Only this one was printed, from a copy smuggled out of England.

William Tyndale, *The practyse of prelates: whether the Kinges grace maye be separated from hys Quene ...* (Antwerp, 1530). STC 24465.

A virulent attack on prelates in general and Cardinal Wolsey in particular, whom many held responsible for the King's proceedings. Henry was greatly angered by the attack on his plans for divorce.

Edward Fox, bishop of Hereford, *The determinations of the moste famous and mooste excellent universities of Italy and Fraunce, that it is so unlefull for a man to marie his brothers wyfe that the pope hath no power to dispence therwith.* (London, 1531). STC 14287. (Lambeth also has the Latin edition from Henry's own library.)

Divino implorato praesidio ... ad instantiam praeclari D. excusatoris illustrissimi ac invictissimi Regis Angliae, Nos Sigismondus Dondolus ... et Michael de Conradis ... illustrissimi Regis ... advocati, in sacro publico consistorio, praesidente summo Pontifice cum suo sacrosancto Senatu infrascriptas conclusiones pro tenui posse nostro sigillatim, ac singulariter defensare conabimur... (London, 1532). STC 21310.

Minutes of the hearing of Henry VIII's suit for divorce at Rome.

Thomas Abell, *Invicta veritas. An answer, that by no maner of lawe it may be lawfull for ... Kinge Henry the Ayght to be divorsid.* (Luneberg, 1532).

This copy comes from Henry's own library and contains the King's irate annotations (including a note in Latin on the title pages basically saying "Rubbish").

Joannes Ludovicus Vives, *Non esse neque divino, neque naturae iure prohibitum, quin Summus Pontifex dispensare possit, ut frater demortui sine liberis fratris uxorem legitimo matrimonio sibi possit adiungere ...* (Antwerp, 1532).

Manuscript dedication to Catherine of Aragon who had been the author's patron. Work written to prove that a papal dispensation could legitimately allow a man to marry his brother's widow. Bound with other works probably from the royal library.

Nicholas Harpsfield, *Historia anglicana ecclesiastica ... Adiecta brevi narratione de divortio Henrici VIII ab uxore Catherina & ab ecclesia catholica romana discessione, scripta ab Edmundo Campiano, nunc primum in lucem producta, studio & opera R.P. Richardi Gibboni.* (Douai, 1622).

Includes the first edition of Campion's near contemporary account of the divorce.

2.15.3 Anne Boleyn

Love-letters from King Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn: some in French, and some in English. To which are added, translations of those written in French. With an appendix, containing two letters from Anne Boleyn to Cardinal Wolsey, with her last to Henry the VIIIth. (London, 1714). ESTC t139785. First edition.

2.15.4 Catharine Parr

Catharine Parr, The lamentacion of a synner, made by the moste vertuous lady quene Caterine, bewailng the ignoraunce of her blind life, set foorth [and] put in print at the instant



desire of the right gracious lady Caterine duchesse of Suffolke. (London, 1548). STC 4828.
Henry's last Queen had strong Protestant leanings. The work includes a preface by William Cecil, later Lord Burghley

Desiderius Erasmus, *The first [and second] tome or volume of the Paraphrase of Erasmus upon the Newe Testamente*. (London, 1548 and 1549). STC 2854 and 2854.7.
An English translation of this work was instigated by and dedicated to Queen Catherine Parr, and one of the translators was Princess Mary. By the injunctions of 1547 it was ordered to be placed in all parish churches.

Margaret d'Angouleme, queen of Navarre, *A godly meditation of the soule, concerning a love towardes Christ our Lorde, aptlye translated out of French into Englishe by the right highe and most vertuous Princesse Elizabeth ...* (London, 1580?). STC 17321.
Originally translated by Elizabeth as a girl for her last stepmother, Catherine Parr. First published in 1548.

The psalmes or prayers ... commonly called the Kynges psalmes. (The Queenes prayers). (London, 1590). STC 3011.3.
The psalms were selected for Henry VIII by Bishop Fisher, but the Queen's prayers were attributed to Catharine Parr.