The likes of Pykas alone could never have made a Reformation without the king. Early in his reign, Henry VIII was a staunchly orthodox Catholic, famously penning *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum (Defense of the Seven Sacraments, 1522)* against Martin Luther’s *Babylonian Captivity of the Church*. As long as the king opposed Luther, there was little chance that English reformers would amount to anything more than a cabal of vocal but powerless intellectuals haunting Cambridge taverns. But by the late 1520s Henry was starting to question not only his marriage, but the Church that had sanctioned it, as will be obvious from the following love note to Anne Boleyn. The book Henry mentions was a treatise he was composing on the unlawfulness in Scripture of his marriage to his dead brother’s wife, Catherine of Aragon, a marriage which had not produced the son and heir he desired. To judge from the letter, was Henry’s interest in Anne more physical, emotional, and/or intellectual?

Mine own sweetheart, this shall be to advertise you of the great elengeness [loneliness] that I find here since your departing.... I am right well comforted in so much that my book maketh substantially for my matter; in looking whereof I have spent above four hours this day, which caused me to write the shorter letter to you at this time, because of some pain in my head; wishing myself (especially an evening) in my sweetheart’s arms, whose pretty duckys [dugs, breasts] I trust shortly to cusse [kiss].

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Henry’s decision to press forward with “the King’s Great Matter” by pressuring the pope for an annulment, and intimidating his own clergy for support -- ultimately, by employing his Parliament in an arguably revolutionary way -- opened up religious debate and gave former heresies an airing in his kingdom (see Bucholz and Key, chapter 3). This, along with Henry’s questioning of the papal power to grant the dispensation which made the marriage possible, alarmed the Church hierarchy. What does Lorenzo, Cardinal Campeggio’s (1471/2–1539) letter reveal of those anxieties? What are the bases for Henry’s arguments? What are the bases for those of the papal envoy? How does Queen Catherine’s position complicate matters?

The king visited me privately, and we remained together alone for about four hours, discussing only two things. First, I exhorted him not to attempt this matter, in order to confirm and clear his conscience, to establish the succession of the kingdom and to avoid scandals; and that if he had any scruple, he could have a new dispensation.

In the second place, we disputed whether the prohibition [in Scripture, against marrying his brother’s widow] existed in the Divine Law, or whether the pope could grant a dispensation; and if he could, whether the dispensation would be valid. His majesty has so diligently studied this matter that I believe in this case he is a great theologian and jurist. He said most plainly that he wanted nothing else than a declaration whether the marriage is valid or not; he himself always presupposing the invalidity; and I believe that an angel descending from Heaven would be unable to persuade him otherwise.

We then discussed a proposal for persuading the queen to enter some religious house. With this he was extremely pleased, and indeed there are good reasons for it. In all other matters the king is determined to allow her whatever she demands, and especially to settle the succession on her daughter in the event of his having no male heirs by another marriage. It was concluded that I and the cardinal [Wolsey] should speak to the queen about this on the day following.

Being conveyed in a boat by the cardinal we went on Saturday 24th to execute this mission. The cardinal and I conversed alone with the queen about two hours. Her majesty replied to us that she knew the sincerity of her own conscience; and that she wished to die in the Holy Faith and in accordance with the commands of God and the Holy Church and she wished to declare her conscience only to Our Lord, and that for the present she would give no other reply.
<hn>Henry reacted angrily to the Answer of the Ordinaries, saying that the bishops “be but half our subjects, yea, and scarce our subjects.” Why? Fearing worse, on May 15, 1532, they submitted. Compare this document with document 3.4 on the role of the monarch and royal prerogative. What has changed?

<ex> [We] offer and promise in verbo sacerdotii [on their sacred word] here unto your highness, submitting ourselves most humbly to the same, that we will never from henceforth presume to attempt, allege, claim..., or to enact, promulge, or execute any canons, constitution or ordinances provincial, or by any other name whatsoever they may be called in our Convocation in time coming..., unless your highness by your royal assent shall license us to make promulge, and execute the same, and thereto give your most royal assent and authority.

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4 Hall’s Chronicle, 788.