

Henrik VIII av England

Inledning

Reformationen var en religiös rörelse, som började i Tyskland när Martin Luther år 1517 spikade upp 95 teser kring hur kyrkan borde agera. Framförallt var Luther kritisk till avlatshandeln. Reformationen spred sig snart till nästan hela norra Europa.

Nedanstående övningar finns i tre nivåer: G, VG och MVG. De är all på engelska och handlar om motiven bakom varför Henrik VIII av England bröt med Rom och den katolska kyrkan.

Du väljer själv på vilken nivå du börjar. Ju lägre nivå du börjar på ju mindre lektionstid har du på dig att göra färdigt de högre nivåerna. MVG-uppgiften lär ta tid (17 sidor på engelska).

Oavsett vilken nivå du börjar på så läser du först en text som ger en bakgrund till Henrik VIII:s liv och styre (Britannia History)

1. Henry the Eight and the Break from Rome [G]
2. The Break with Rome [VG]
3. Övning från Cambridge [MVG]

Material

Följande material finns

- Faktablad från Britannia History
- Henry the Eight and the Break from Rome
- The Break with Rome
- Cambridgeövning (på detta papper)
- Ytterligare en G-uppgift - Henry VIII: Star or Monster?
- Ytterligare en VG-uppgift - Martin Luther the Rebel

Tillvägagångssätt

1. Bestäm dig för vilken nivå du vill satsa på. Man kan gå vidare om man vill.
2. Välj en partner med samma ambitioner
3. Läs faktabladet om Henrik VIII först
4. Hugg in på godbitarna!
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Cambridgeövning

Inledning

Övningen är egentligen gjord för att kunna göras på nätet men eftersom vi inte har någon datasal.

The reign of King Henry VIII is remembered for two separate but linked developments: the king's complex personal life, which led him into no fewer than six marriages, and the process by which Henry broke the English Church's ties to Rome and established a new Church, with himself as its Supreme Head.

The religious changes of Henry's reign are known as the Henrician Reformation, to distinguish them from other religious reform movements taking place at the same time. Although the English Reformation was closely linked to developments in continental Europe, in its details it was distinctive and developed in ways that were peculiar to England.

One such distinctive feature was that the English Reformation did not begin with a theological dispute, as the German Reformation had done, but with a very practical issue: the king desperately wanted to produce a son and heir to his throne. His Spanish queen, Catherine of Aragon, gave birth to a daughter, the Lady Mary, but as her subsequent pregnancies failed it became increasingly obvious that she would never bear Henry a son. When the attractive and ambitious figure of Anne Boleyn appeared at court, Henry grew impatient to end his marriage to Catherine so he could marry Anne. However, for a mixture of political and theological reasons, his wishes were frustrated by the pope, whose permission Henry needed to declare his marriage to Catherine null and void. Henry, encouraged by reform-minded figures at court (including Anne), therefore decided to take the momentous step of ending England's long-standing attachment to Rome and establishing a new royal state Church which, as one of its first acts, would grant Henry the divorce from Catherine that he so ardently desired.

These documents look at some of the issues involved in the Henrician Reformation.

Källa I

For though we have a female heir, which is both endowed with much virtue and grace in many dotes [talents] and gifts, yet if a male might be attained, it were much more sure, if we well perpend [consider] and ponder many urgent and weighty causes: amongst which this one is deeply to be foreseen, that if the female heir shall chance to rule, she cannot continue long without an husband, which, by God's law, must then be her governor and head, and so finally shall direct this realm. But who should that be, with the contentment of the subjects, methinks it were hard to excogitate; for proximity of blood is too great a let [obstacle] to some, otherwise meet [suitable] for that purpose, except we would be so beastly to put our neck eftsoons in the snare of this erroneous prohibited error, which is and has been always detested by the most part of all the famous clerks of Christendom: the punishment whereof were too terrible to be suffered, and also too abominable to be heard of, amongst Christian folk. On the other side, to other some, it were dangerous lest we should make them superiors to us, over whom we claim superiority, seeing that the man must rule the woman: others outward [foreign] meet personages our slender wits cannot comprehend.

And as touching any marriage within this realm, we think it were hard to devise any condign [suitable] and able person for so high an enterprise: much harder to find one with whom the whole realm would and could be contented to have him their ruler and governor. Wherefore we think the establishment of titles [claims to the throne] is not so surely rooted nor yet so entirely maintained by the female as by male...

A Glasse of the Truthe (London, 1532)

Frågor

1. What is this source about? What does it seem to have been written for?

Gå vidare

When you have thought about this, gå vidare till nästa sida för att find out more about this extract.

A Glasse of the Truthe

A Glasse of the Truthe was a propaganda pamphlet in support of Henry VIII's case for a divorce, published in September 1532, around the time that Henry and his Council finally decided to set in motion the proceedings that would lead to Henry's marriage to Anne Boleyn and to the annulment in May 1533 of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon. It meets the common objection that, as Henry had an heir already, there was no urgent need to take further steps to secure the succession.

A French translation was specially printed in October 1532 to be distributed among French councillors and courtiers when Henry and Anne crossed the Channel to meet King Francis I of France at Boulogne that autumn and secure French political support for their marriage.

Frågor

2. Which of these statements best reflects the argument of the text?

i) Men must rule kingdoms: it is the law of God and it is a grave error to think otherwise. Those who argue against it will suffer terrible punishment. It is dangerous and beyond all comprehension to let women be superior to men. It is also against God's law for a queen to marry a subject.

ii) We have a perfectly good female heir, but a male would be better because men should govern. Not only is incest wrong and rigorously punished, but it is also wrong to let women claim superiority over men. It is impossible to conceive of a queen marrying a foreigner, and a long search has not found any eligible English husband for the Lady Mary.

iii) A male heir would be better, because a woman must marry, and she will either have to marry a close relative, a foreigner, or a subject, each of whom, for different reasons, is unacceptable.

Gå vidare

När du har svarat på fråga 2 gå vidare till nästa sida

Facit

iii) is the closest to the meaning of the passage.

Fråga

C. What seems to be the significance of:

“with the contentment of the subjects” the mention of the punishment for incest?

Svar

The bulk of the text is devoted to setting out, in the form of a dialogue between a lawyer and a theologian, the various arguments against the validity of Henry's first marriage. This in itself indicates the importance Henry's government placed on gaining public acceptance for the divorce, both to avoid the risk of an uprising and to enable Henry to stand up to foreign opposition.

However the preface, from which this passage comes, sets out the wider context by considering the issue of having a queen regnant – i.e. a queen reigning in her own right. It assumes that a queen must marry and that this will in itself prove an insuperable barrier. Not only does it raise the question of the husband's dominant role with regards to his wife, but the husband's origins must count against the match wherever he might come from. Firstly, there are political objections: it argues that it would be unacceptable to allow a Scot or Frenchman to rule England when the kings of England claim sovereignty over both those kingdoms, while marrying an English nobleman would cause resentment among all the other nobles and lead to trouble. Were Mary to marry a foreigner, the Glasse argues, 'proximity of blood' (because the Spanish royal family, from whom Mary was descended through her mother, was so closely related to all the royal houses of Europe) would bring Mary within the 'prohibited error' of incest and thus render her and her realm liable to divine vengeance. This might be considered the weakest part of the argument, but the emphasis on the horror in which incest is held helps to strengthen it considerably.

Thus the Glasse of the Truthe set out an agenda which would not only make the political case for the divorce but would also hang over the question of royal marriage and the succession throughout the reigns of Mary I and Elizabeth I.

Gå vidare

När du har svarat på fråga C, och läst svaret, gå vidare till nästa sida

Source 2

And Jehosophat the king did constitute Levites and priests, and the ancient heads of Israel, that they should judge the judgement and the causes of the Lord, towards all the inhabitants of the earth. ...

Furthermore, Hezekiah did appoint the priests and the Levites in their order to wait by course, every man according to his office, for the burnt offerings and peace offerings, to minister and to thank and to pray in the gates of the lodge of the Lord...

Josias also did ordain priests in their offices, and commanded many things.

By all which it may appear, that Christian kings be sovereigns over the priests as over all other their subjects, and may command the priests to do their offices as well as they do [command] others: and ought by their supreme office to see that all men, of all degrees, do their duties whereunto they be called either by God or by the king. And those kings that do so, chiefly do execute well their office. So that the king's highness, taking upon him as Supreme Head of the Church of England to see that as well spiritual men as temporal do their duties, does neither make innovation in the church nor yet trouble the order thereof: but does as the chief and the best of the kings of Israel did, and as all good Christian kings ought to do. Which office good Christian emperors always took upon them in calling the universal councils of all countries in one place and at one time to assemble, to the intent all heresies troubling the church might be there extirpated.

NOTE: Jehosophat, Hezekiah and Josias were all kings in the Old Testament; Levites were a type of Jewish clergy.

Questions

3. From the evidence, does this appear to be from a private letter or from a printed tract?

Gå vidare

För att få svaret på fråga 3 gå vidare till nästa sida.

Svar

The passage is from a letter written by Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, and John Stokesley, Bishop of London, and sent to Cardinal Reginald Pole. The letter is dated ca. 1537. It was sent, but not necessarily printed, at the time: the earliest surviving copy is a text printed at London in 1560, during Elizabeth's reign. Printing it not only bolstered the case for royal governorship of the Church, but it helped confound Catholic objections, since both Tunstall and Stokesley were prominent opponents of the religious changes of Henry's reign.

Fråga 4

4. What appears to be the relevance of the reference to kings of the Old Testament to the situation in England in the 1530s?

Svar

Breaking the link with Rome and assuming the headship of the Church himself was fraught with risks for Henry VIII, and he needed to use strong arguments to bolster his position against objections at home and abroad. Central to the case for the royal supremacy of the Church was the argument that it could be defended by biblical and historical precedent. Cuthbert Tunstall and John Stokesley therefore wrote this letter attacking the supremacy of the Pope and upholding that of the king, arguing that the authority which the kings of ancient Israel (Jehosophat, etc) exercised over their priests in the times of the Old Testament should be a model for Christian kings in the times since the New Testament. They further claim the Christian Roman Emperors of the 4th and 5th centuries as precedents for the exercise of this biblical authority over clergymen by Christian rulers.

The invocation of biblical authority and 'imperial' precedents was central to the establishment and defence of the Henrician royal supremacy. Henry came to see himself increasingly in the light of an Old Testament king, most obviously in his personal copy of the Psalms, which included a series of handsome illustrations showing King David (then believed to be the author of most of the Psalms) with the facial features of Henry himself.

Fråga 5

5. What might be deduced from the evidence here about the recipient of the letter?

Gå vidare

För att få svaret på fråga 5 gå vidare till nästa sida.

Svar

Reginald Pole was Henry VIII's cousin. He had acquired a first-class Renaissance education in Italy at the king's expense, but by the early 1530s he found himself increasingly alienated from Henry's policies. Spurning almost certain promotion to the archbishopric of either York or Canterbury, Pole returned to Italy. After the execution of John Fisher and Thomas More in 1535 for denying Henry's claims to royal supremacy over the Church of England, Pole composed a powerful and sophisticated refutation of the king's position, his *Defence of the Unity of the Church*. Although it was not printed until some years later, Pole sent a manuscript copy to Henry and his Council, and various English scholars were commissioned to refute Pole in turn, including Tunstall and Stokesley.

In 1535, Henry VIII launched a nationwide 'visitation' – or enquiry – into England's monasteries and religious houses. The main purpose of this was to ensure that each and every one of England's monks signed up to the royal supremacy in person, but it also aimed at investigating and improving their moral condition. The visitation was organised by Thomas Cromwell, a loyal political administrative servant who had helped Henry draft the legislation breaking the link with Rome and whom in 1535 Henry appointed Vicegerent in Spirituals, i.e. the administrative head of Church matters under the king.

Source 3

By this bringer, my servant, I send you relics, first two flowers wrapped in white and black sarcenet that on Christmas Eve, *at the very hour when Christ was born*, will spring and burgeon and bear blossoms, *which has been proved*, says the Prior of Maiden Bradley. Ye shall also receive a bag of relics, wherein ye shall see strange things ... as God's coat, Our Lady's smock, part of God's supper *from the Lord's Supper*, *part of the rock on which Jesus was born in Bethlehem* – belike there is in Bethlehem plenty of stones and some quarry, and make their manglers of stone. The scripture of everything shall declare you all; and all these of Maiden Bradley, where as is an holy father Prior, and hath but six children, and but one daughter married, yet of the goods of the monastery trusting shortly to marry the rest. His sons be tall men waiting upon him, and he thanks God he never meddled with married women, but all with maidens the fairest could be gotten, and always married them right well. The pope, considering his fragility, gave him licence to keep an whore...

(The words given here in italics were written in Latin in the original.)

Fråga 6

6. What is this document about?

Gå vidare

För att få svaret på fråga 6 gå vidare till nästa sida.

Svar

This is an extract from the report of Dr Richard Layton, one of Cromwell officials, on the moral and material state of the Priory of Maiden Bradley. It is dated Bristol, 24 August 1535.

Fråga 7

7. Which of these statements best conveys the meaning of the passage?

- i) The Prior of Maiden Bradley is an old rogue, peddling false relics and seducing every pretty girl he can get his hands on.
- ii) Strange and miraculous things are to be seen at Maiden Bradley and here are some of them. The Prior is a family man and has been falsely accused of seducing married women. He actually has official permission from Rome to keep a prostitute, should he so choose.
- iii) The truth or otherwise of these relics from Maiden Bradley can be determined by reading scripture. The holy father Prior hopes to marry off his children soon; he always ensued that every girl he had an affair with got a husband.

Svar

i) is closest to the meaning of the passage.

Fråga 8

8. What can be inferred from the tone of the passage about the reliability of the writer?

Svar

Dr Richard Layton was one of the busiest of Cromwell's agents, and his reports are always lively and often wickedly funny. His evident scepticism about the prized relics of Maiden Bradley Priory speaks for itself, and he exudes satirical respect for the manliness of the Prior, the proud and theoretically celibate father of six children, who preys only on the prettiest virgins and does his best to provide for them and for their offspring by embezzling the resources of his monastery. Layton always tells a good story. On another occasion he boasted of catching an Abbot in flagrante delicto, breaking down the door of his bedchamber with a pole-axe and capturing his 'tender damsel' as she sought to make her escape. But he was no more bound than most raconteurs to a strict regard for unvarnished truth: there was no papal licence for this Prior to keep a mistress. No doubt, though, somebody had told him there was: Layton, an instinctive muckraker, reported every malicious whisper and casual rumour as though they were sworn testimony.

Fråga 9

9. Apart from adding to the gaiety of the Court, what might have been the purpose of reports like this?

Svar

Reports such as these created the atmosphere in which the decision was taken at Court to set about closing down the kingdom's smaller monasteries. The mixture of fact, fiction, and salacious scandal that fills the letters of Layton and his colleagues was summarised in one of the dodgiest dossiers ever presented to Parliament, the *Comperta compertorum*. Its recital of sexual abuse and enormities on an apparently heroic scale and systematic basis provided Parliament with the moral impetus it needed to overcome the taboo of sacrilege associated with seizing the property of the Church and to authorise the King to acquire the assets of all monasteries worth less than £200 a year net.

Source 4

The Fantasy of Idolatry

*First, we will gather
Of our heavenly Father,
Among his commandments ten,
Written as no fables,
But in Moses' tables
To be kept of all Christian men.*

*Where that he saith
To the children of faith,
'I am your God and King;
Other gods have you none,
But me alone,
To love above all thing.*

*Idols and images
Have none in usage
Of what mettle so ever they be,
Graven or carved;
My will be observed,
Or else can you not love me.*

... ..

*This should suffice
All those that be wise;
But we, of a stubborn mind,
Be so hard hearted,
Will not be converted,
But rather still be blind.*

*Running hither and thither,
We cannot tell whither,
In offerings candles and pence
To stones and stocks
And to old rotten blocks
That came, we know not from whence.*

*To Walsingham a gadding,
And to Canterbury a madding,
As men distraught of mind;
With few clothes on our backs,
But an image of wax,
For the lame and for the blind.*

*To the Holy Blood of Hailes,
With your fingers and nails,
All that you may stretch and win;
Yet it would not be seen,
Except you were shriven [absolved],
And clean from all deadly sin.*

*There were we flocked,
Louted and mocked;
For now it is known to be
But the blood of a duck,
That long did suck
The thrift from every degree.*

... ..

*Also Delver Gathaene,
As (says the Welshman)
Brought outlaws out of Hell,
Is come with spear and shield,
In harness to burn in Smithfield,
For in Wales he may not dwell.*

*The Forest the friar,
That obstinate liar,
That willingly is dead;
In his contumacy
The Gospel did deny,
And the king to be supreme head.*

NOTE: Walsingham in Norfolk was the site of a popular and much-visited shrine of the Virgin Mary. Canterbury Cathedral contained the shrine of St Thomas of Canterbury (Thomas à Becket). “Flocked” and “louted” mean a combination of mocked, deceived and treated with contempt.

Fråga 10

10. This is obviously a poem of some sort, but what sort of verse might it be? In what form might it originally have been seen?

Svar

The Fantasy of Idolatry was a popular ballad written by one William Gray, a member of Cromwell's household, in support of the campaign of iconoclasm (the destruction of images) to cleanse England from what they now saw as the pollution of idolatry (the worship of idols in place of God). Like all such ballads, it would have been printed on a single sheet of paper, as a 'flysheet', for wide circulation. Most such ballads have long since disappeared: this one survived only because the Elizabethan writer John Foxe copied it into his famous history, the Acts and Monuments of the English Martyrs, generally known as 'Foxe's Book of Martyrs'.

Fråga 11

11. What is the significance of the references to Walsingham and Canterbury?

Svar

After the opening section, which sets out the scriptural basis for rejecting the use of images in worship, Gray sneers at Walsingham and Canterbury, where the shrines of the Virgin Mary and of St Thomas Becket were the most popular in England. 'A gadding' and 'a madding' suggests foolish people setting off on a pointless journey. It suggests that these places of pilgrimages are actually fooling the ordinary people of England.

Fråga 12

12. From the internal evidence of the ballad, what might be the meaning of the references to 'the Holy Blood of Hailes' and 'Delver Gathaene'?

Gå vidare

För att få svaret på fråga 12 gå vidare till nästa sida.

Svar

The Holy Blood of Hailes was supposed to be the actual blood of Christ. It is dismissed here as duck's blood (it was ritually burned at Smithfield in February 1538). 'Delver Gathaene' (or 'Darvell Gadarn') was a popular pilgrimage image brought from Wales to London to be burned on 22 May 1538. It was said that, according to an ancient Welsh prophecy, 'this image should set a whole forest on fire', and that Henry VIII took the opportunity to give this prophecy cruel and bizarre fulfilment by having a Roman Catholic dissident, Friar John Forest, burned alive for heresy (while simultaneously hanging in chains for treason) over the bonfire of the image.

Fråga 13

13. What significance should be attached to the fact that this is in verse?

Svar

Ballads, often sung to a catchy tune, were a popular and often effective means of spreading news and information to a largely illiterate population. Ballads and their lyrics could be bought from pedlars, but a single singer could spread the story in a ballad to many others. The humour contained in ballads has a strong appeal, and a large number of verses added to the sense of enjoyment, as witness the length of many traditional folk songs that survive today. This evidence suggests not only the ingenuity of the Henrician government in getting its message into the taverns and market places of the kingdom, but also its awareness of the importance of bolstering support at grass-roots level for what was bound to be an unpopular policy of breaking up shrines and clamping down on pilgrimages.

Gå vidare

För att få lösa resterande frågor gå vidare till nästa sida.

Source 5

Look carefully and closely at this source and try to answer the questions that follow.



Fråga 14

14. Where might this picture originally have been seen? What might have been its purpose?

[By kind permission of the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge.]

Svar

This is the title page of the 'Great Bible' issued by King Henry VIII. It was printed in black and white, but it was quite common in the sixteenth century for wealthy owners of well-produced books to pay for their pictures and initials to be coloured in by hand. It made the books look a little more like medieval illuminated manuscripts, which even then had great prestige value. This magnificently illustrated copy of the Bible is now in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge, where an oral tradition holds that it was Thomas Cromwell's personal copy. But historians do not always trust oral traditions...!

Fråga 15

15. The figure to the left of the central figure of Henry VIII is Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury. He also appears to the left of the central text panel. The equivalent figures to the right of the king and of the panel represent Thomas Cromwell, the Lord Privy Seal.

- How do we know who each man is?
- What are they doing in the picture?
- What might be the significance of when they appear bare-headed and when wearing their hats?

Svar

Cranmer and Cromwell are clearly identified by the heraldic devices further down the page. (In editions printed after Cromwell's execution in 1540, his heraldry is cut out of the picture, leaving a blank circle.) At the top of the picture they are shown bare-headed in submission to the king, who wears the crown imperial as a sign of his authority. In this position of submission to royal authority, they are shown receiving the word of God, in the form of the Bible translated into English. Further down the picture they are shown wearing their headgear, Cranmer his mitre and Cromwell his cap, as a sign of their authority over their subordinates, who are shown receiving the word of God in their turn, for dissemination to the people.

Fråga 16

16. What is happening at the bottom of the picture?

Svar

A clergyman, with his bonnet to indicate his educated status, passes on the Word to the people by preaching from his pulpit, while a middle-aged layman reads the Bible aloud, perhaps to his family – the women and children listen, but do not read for themselves. The response of the people is a simple expression of heartfelt loyalty: most of the word-banners carry the Latin phrase *Vivat Rex*, or in one case in English, 'God save the king'. Convinced as he was that the Bible clearly taught the doctrine of the royal supremacy, Henry had a touching faith that publishing it in English would educate his subjects in their duty of obedience to him.

Fråga 17

17. Find the image of God. What might we deduce from it about the relationship between God and Henry VIII?

Svar

God appears through the clouds above Henry's throne; he is by no means as prominent a figure as the king, who is shown in the centre of the picture, wearing his 'imperial' crown and handing out copies of the Bible labelled Verbum Dei ('the Word of God'). Henry is shown again in the upper right corner of the picture, kneeling in prayer before his creator, with his imperial crown now placed humbly on the ground before him, though this image is much smaller and less prominent than the strong central figure of Henry enthroned. Henry is thus shown as a servant of God and, in private at any rate, a humble one; however, the dominant image is of the king, as a reminder to people that the king represents their route of communication to the Almighty.

Thus, this title page of Henry VIII's 'Great Bible' is a perfect visual summary of Henry's own view of his Reformation, encapsulating his theology of obedience and his ideal of the social order as a hierarchy of deference.

Fråga 18

18. Finally, take all these sources together and look at the following statements. For each statement decide to what extent it is supported by the evidence of these extracts. It may be shown to be true; shown to be probably true; shown to be possibly true; shown to be untrue; or not shown (which does not necessarily mean it is not true, merely that no evidence for it has been shown here).

a) The English people generally supported Henry VIII's decision to marry again and to break with Rome.

- Definitely true
- Probably true
- Possibly true
- Definitely untrue
- Not shown by the evidence

Svar

Definitely true: There is no evidence in these sources to support this contention. In fact the direct evidence they contain about popular belief is relatively thin.

Probably true: This cannot be inferred from the evidence here. The direct evidence about popular beliefs contained in them is relatively thin.

Possibly true: This is not incorrect: it is certainly possible, particularly with regard to the king's divorce and remarriage. However, the direct evidence in these documents is relatively thin.

Definitely untrue: Although there is evidence that the authorities anticipated opposition, the evidence here is not extensive enough to support such a definite judgement.

Not shown by the evidence: In the absence of more direct evidence about the state of popular beliefs, this is the best possible response.

b) With only a few exceptions, English Church leaders supported Henry's claim to be Supreme Head of the English Church.

- Definitely true
- Probably true
- Possibly true
- Definitely untrue
- Not shown by the evidence

Svar

Definitely true: Historically this is correct and it might be inferred from these sources; however, it is not explicitly demonstrated, still less proved.

Probably true: This is a reasonable inference from the sources, not least from the issuing of the Bible and the fact that even Catholics like Tunstall and Stokesley were prepared to defend it.

Possibly true: This cannot be accounted wrong, though we might infer more definitely from the sources than this allows for.

Definitely untrue: There is no evidence to support this, and some evidence to the contrary.

Not shown by the evidence: Strictly speaking this is correct; however there is enough evidence about the Church leaders to go further than this allows for.

c) English people were angry when they realised that the Catholic Church had been deceiving them.

- Definitely true
- Probably true
- Possibly true
- Definitely untrue
- Not shown by the evidence

Svar

Definitely true: Although the evidence may be read to suggest that the Henrician authorities thought this, there is no evidence shown here to show that this is in fact how people felt.

Probably true: We may think this, but this is to impose modern thinking on the sixteenth century. There is not enough evidence here to support this verdict.

Possibly true: It is certainly fair to infer from the evidence that some people might feel this: it is quite possible that the Henrician authorities read the people correctly at least to some extent, as in the frontispiece to the Great Bible, and the Fantasy of Idolatry could well have got its point across. This answer is therefore sustainable in line with the evidence.

Definitely untrue: The evidence is not firm enough to allow for this judgement.

Not shown by the evidence: It is not directly shown by the evidence, and in this sense this judgement is correct. However, since historical evidence is often indirect, it is possible to make some inferences about possible reactions to the revelations.

d) The Henrician authorities were uneasily aware of the strength of popular opposition to their religious changes.

- Definitely true
- Probably true
- Possibly true
- Definitely untrue
- Not shown by the evidence

Definitely true: The documents definitely show the Henrician authorities going to considerable trouble to get the message of the changes across to ordinary people, including the frontispiece to the Bible and the ballad. The Bible picture suggests the importance placed upon preachers and laymen in spreading the word about the changes, which underlines the importance of evidence like the letter to Cardinal Pole – the clergy had to be convinced of the case for Henry’s supremacy of the Church. ‘Uneasily aware’ is a subjective judgement, but the evidence certainly does allow us to state with confidence that the authorities were aware of the possibility of popular opposition and took steps to address it. In this sense, this judgement is correct.

Probably true: Although the evidence is strong enough to warrant ‘definitely true’, this is a perfectly acceptable judgement, reflecting the historian’s proper caution in dealing with evidence.

Possibly true: The evidence here of the lengths to which the authorities went in putting the message across to ordinary people is stronger than this judgement allows for.

Definitely untrue: There is no evidence to support this and plenty to refute it.

Not shown by the evidence: There is clear evidence of the Henrician government taking steps to win over popular opinion. In the days before democratic voting, governments only felt the need to do this if they feared that otherwise trouble would ensue.