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The Reformation in England and Scotland in the 16th Century

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Na začátku 16.století dorazily do Anglie a Skotska reformační snahy, které na kontinentu započaly o několik desetiletí dříve. V Anglii i ve Skotsku však probíhala reformace rozdílně. Cílem této práce je ukázat na rozdíly ve formě a způsobu prosazování reformačních myšlenek. Na anglické straně reformace začala pod záštitou a z rozhodnutí panovníka Jindřicha VIII., pokračovala za vlády jeho syna Edwarda VI., a (přes protireformační snahy královny Marie I.) byla dovršena za vlády Jindřichovy dcery Alžběty I. Na straně Skotska byly reformační myšlenky přeneseny do země kazatelem Johnem Knoxem, podporované šlechtou, a do značné míry byly namířeny proti královně Marii Stuartovně. Práce bude sledovat nejen mocenskou linii, ale i linii ideologickou.

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Anotace

Bakalářská práce se zabývá rozdíly ve vývoji reformace v Anglii a Skotsku v 16. století. Práce popisuje politické, sociální a ekonomické dopady změny náboženské doktríny. Popisuje průběh reformace v Anglii, kde reformace začala z politických důvodů jako rozhodnutí krále Jindřicha VIII., zatímco ve Skotsku byla změna náboženského klimatu ovlivněna kázáním Johna Knoxe, duchovního a blízkého spolupracovníka Jana Kalvína, který se vrátil do Skotska ze Ženevy. Anglická reformace hledala střední cestu mezi katolicismem a protestantismem, na rozdíl od Skotska, kde reformace nabrala striktně protestantský směr. Práce sleduje politickou situaci a ideologické proměny té doby.

Klíčová slova: reformace, protestantismus, katolicismus, Anglie, Skotsko, Jindřich VIII., Edward VI., Alžběta I., John Knox, Thomas Cranmer

Annotation

The bachelor thesis deals with the differences in the development of the Reformation in England and Scotland in the 16th century. The work describes the political, social and economic impacts of the change in religious doctrine. It describes the course of the Reformation in England, where the Reformation began from political reason as a decision of King Henry VIII, while in Scotland, the change in the religious climate was influenced by the preaching of John Knox, a clergyman and close associate of John Calvin, who returned to Scotland from Geneva. The English Reformation sought a middle way between Catholicism and Protestantism, in contrast to Scotland, where the Reformation took a strictly Protestant direction. The work traces a political situation and ideological changes at that time.

Keywords: Reformation, Protestantism, Catholicism, England, Scotland, Henry VIII, Edward VI, Elizabeth I, John Knox, Thomas Cranmer

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1. Introduction

Religion was an integral part of man's life for centuries. In medieval Europe, it was Catholicism with the Pope in Rome as a head. To a significant extent, the Church shaped man's perception of the world. To prevent the priests from misinterpreting the Bible from their point of view, only one interpretation of the Bible approved by the Pope in Rome was permitted. Translation of the Bible into other languages was forbidden. This situation began to change in the 15th and especially in the 16th century. The Czech preacher John Huss criticised the Church and its treatment of sacraments, especially the sale of indulgences and church positions, in his preaching and work *De Ecclesia* (1413). For his criticism, he died at the stake in 1415. In England, Wycliffe attacked the medieval Church's structure more sharply and radically than any opponent had ever done and following generations of the Protestant movement regarded Wycliffe and Huss as martyrs and predecessors of Luther. Other reformers were inspired by them. After the publication of Luther's theses in Wittenberg in 1519, reformation ideas began to spread throughout Europe.

Although this bachelor thesis deals with the progress of the Reformation in England and Scotland, it is necessary to briefly mention development of the Reformation movement in Europe, which began more than two centuries earlier than the implementation of Reformation in England and Scotland. The beginning of the Reformation in Europe is described in the introduction of the thesis concerning the ideas of pre-reformation in the 14th and the 15th century (Huss and Wycliffe) and the development of the reformation ideas in the 16th century (Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli). The following chapters, for easier tracking of the development in political issues, correspond with the ruling monarchs of England and Scotland in the 16th century. Through the historical events of the 16th century and the main ideas of reformers, this thesis illustrates the progress of the Reformation in Tudors England, its complicated transition from

Catholicism to the Anglican faith, and the progress of the Reformation in Scotland under the influence of John Knox's sermons.

A common myth about the English Reformation is that it happened half-heartedly, without the intention, as a middle way between Protestantism and Catholicism. “From this story of confusion and changing direction emerged a church that has never subsequently dared define its identity decisively as Protestant or Catholic and that has decided in the end that this is a virtue rather than a handicap.” (MacCulloch 1991, 19) This thesis describes historical events and the development of religious ideas to prove that the development of the Reformation in England and Scotland was not complete at the end of the 16th century. The English Reformation has already been described many times by different authors, in different periods and from many points of view. Therefore, using the available sources in a total amount is impossible. For the thesis, only a selection from biographies of monarchs (available in ePUB format) and articles in scholarly journals, such as the *Journal of British Studies*, *The Historical Journal*, *Anglican and Episcopal History* or *The Scottish Historical Review*, were used. These publications and articles can provide a general view of the course of the Reformation in the 16th century.

2. The Reformation

Education in the Middle Ages was mainly in the hands of the Church, and monarchs had to bow to the authority of the Pope. The Church was rich. In addition to owning about one-third of the land, collecting tithes, and having legal and political power at all levels. Ecclesiastical courts and bishops influenced kingdoms and empires. The rulers of the nation-states had a clear incentive to challenge the authority of the Church and, if possible, to obtain at least some of its wealth. Moreover, it was one of the fundamental causes of the Reformation. Reformed Christianity arose to internally heal the Roman Church by returning to the original biblical principles of faith. Some ideas were accepted, and others were described as heretical and subversive. The Reformers, including Martin Luther, held the Bible as the primary authority and believed that some church teachings were wrong. Over the years, the Church developed some traditions, such as the Marian devotions, which were not in the Bible at all.

There are many other things that the 16th-century reformers disagreed with, such as whether to accept the traditions of the Church according to the Bible or accept the Bible itself, whether honourable deeds were the way to heaven, or whether the way to get to heaven was to believe in God.

Catholicism emphasized free will – whether we go to heaven or hell is fundamentally a matter of choice, what our lives and deeds are. Original sin is removed from a man by the Sacrament of Baptism. If a person lives a virtuous and moral life following God's commandments, he will be ready to stay in heaven. If he were to sin, he could atone for those sins in purgatory. Nevertheless, purgatory is possible in Catholicism. (Hackett 2004) Protestants, on the other hand, held that our fate was rightly decided from the beginning. Every person is ready to stay in heaven, but only living in harmony with God can prepare a person for this journey. Everybody must have repentance in their hearts. Otherwise, they will end up in hell. (Craig 1999) Another point of contention was prayer. Catholics prayed to Mary and the

saints, while Protestants believed they should only pray to God. Furthermore, we must not forget the debate about the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacramental bread and wine, the Transubstantiation in the Eucharist.

Influential figures of the pre-Reformation were two scholars of their time, John Wycliffe (about 1330-1384) and John Huss (1370-1415). Wycliffe, a professor of theology at Oxford University, was declared a heretic in 1377 by Pope Gregory XI. Huss was a preacher and rector of the Czech University in Prague, who was burned in Constance in 1415 as a hardened heretic.

2.1 John Wycliffe and John Huss

In agreement with John Wycliffe, John Huss argued that the visible Church and its structures do not always coincide with the chosen Church of Christ, whose proper boundaries are known only to Christ. John Huss lived at a time of significant moral decay in the Church and did not hesitate to publicly spread his ideas about the heresy of the clergy. Wycliffe experienced some intellectual conversion. His oldest writings reveal that he initially upheld the principles of nominalism but then switched to philosophical realism. *“In his Principium, the ceremonial inaugural lecture at the beginning of his theological teaching activity, he explained that the most important prerequisite for the study of Holy Scripture and theology, in general, was an understanding of realistic logic.”* (Benrath 1965, 200)¹

The Wycliffe demands that all secular provisions in the Church be rejected and that only God's law, as outlined in the Holy Scriptures, which restores the original apostolic status of the Church, applies again, which leads him from a church-critic position to the position of a Reformer. Wycliffe sees the cause of the greed and desire for the earthly property and power

¹ In original: „In seinem Principium, der feierlichen Antrittsvorlesung zu Beginn seiner theologischen Lehrtätigkeit, erklärte er, die wichtigste Voraussetzung für das Studium der Heiligen Schrift und der Theologie überhaupt sei das Verständnis der realistischen Logik.“ (Benrath 1965, 200)

of the Church in the amount of property and power already acquired by the Church since the time of Emperor Constantine. According to Wycliffe, the only possibility of restoring the Church seems to be the expropriation and deprivation of church power by secular power. No one has ever presented such a radical reform program to the medieval Church as Wycliff, and his revolutionary ideas affected the whole Church. Among other things, he initiated the translation of the Bible into English. Wycliffe was declared a heretic by Pope Gregory XI in 1377.

Under Wycliffe's influence, the Czech reformer John Huss gradually recognised the depth of the contrast between the actions of the clergy and the Holy Gospel and also between the law of Christ and the law of the Pope. Huss criticised papal authority, indulgences, monasticism, exaggerated worship of saints, and the clergy's desire for power in his sermons. (Žilka 1929) Huss proved that he supported Wycliffe's ideas when, in 1412, he began to fight against the indulgent sermon used in Prague to promote a crusade against the Pope's political opponent. A comparable situation infuriated Wycliffe about three decades earlier. In 1413, Huss wrote his work *De Ecclesia*, which contains many quotations from Church Fathers and sources of canon law. (Molnar 1966) Like Wycliffe, he demands the purification of the Church and a return to its apostolic origin. Huss's sermons became more radical than ever before until he was invited to the Council of Constance in 1414 to explain his theses. It was no longer just about the reformed preacher's controversial statements but about the Church's doctrine, which he established in writing in its context and consequences. Huss left for Constance, full of hope of discussing his point of view, but as time passed, his confidence waned, and his only vision was to persevere. Huss was burned as a heretic in 1415.

2.2 Martin Luther

Almost a hundred years later, in 1512, Pope Julius II called the Fifth Lateran Council to settle disputes between Catholic monarchs and assert papal authority. One of his conclusions was to condemn all theses that contradicted Christian dogma, to restrict the teaching of the clergy about the rationality of the soul, and to regulate university course sequences for the spiritual studies of philosophy and poetry. Just seven months after the end of the Council, Martin Luther (1483 - 1546) published his ninety-five theses, *Disputation of Declaration of Indulgentiarum*, in Wittenberg. He did not want to establish any new Church, but a group of people around Luther wanted to reform the Church; they protested against the situation in Church, so they were labelled Protestants. Luther was excommunicated from the Roman Church as a heretic in 1521 and defended himself at the Council in Worms. He refused to submit and was put under a curse by Emperor Charles V (Edict of Worms).

Luther translated the Bible into German. He translated the New Testament himself, while the collaborators translated the Old Testament. Luther used the original version of the Bible, not the Latin version. The complete translation was published in 1534. Luther's theology of the sacraments was ambiguous; he preserved baptism and the Eucharist but considered them objectively effective only if faith was present.

Luther initially distanced himself from Wycliffe and Huss's teachings. *“For all his high regard for the ‘true martyr of Christ’, as he called him, Luther clearly emphasised what separated him from Wycliffe and Huss: Wycliffe and Huss, he said, fought life in the papacy, but it was his profession, his teaching to attack.”* (Benrath 1965, 216)² Nevertheless, it is undoubtful that the ideas of Wycliffe and Huss influenced Luther.

² In original: „Bei aller Hochschätzung des »wahren Märtyrers Christi«, wie er ihn nannte, hob Luther deutlich hervor, was ihn von Wyclif und Hus trennte: Wyclif und Hus, sagte er, haben

So, the Reformation did not start until the 16th century with Luther's theses. It started earlier, and Wycliffe and Huss stood at its beginning. The demand for the Church's revival and its return to the original ideas and principles caused the Reformation. Luther became the impetus of the pan-European Reformation. However, the strong influence on the Reformation in the British Isles, which this thesis deals with, came from the Swiss reformers, especially John Calvin and his predecessor Huldrych Zwingli.

2.3 Huldrych (Ulrich) Zwingli

Huldrych Zwingli (1484-1531) was a contemporary of Martin Luther. He studied the writings of the prominent humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam. Sometime around 1515, Zwingli met Erasmus in person in Basel. When he was called to Zurich in 1519, he was not yet an opponent of the papacy, but he considered the possibility of purifying the Church according to biblicism. In his works, he noted corruption in the church hierarchy, promoted clerical marriages and challenged the use of images in places of worship. Zwingli likely took the initial impulse from Luther. Unlike Luther, Zwingli preached from the Bible, starting from the Gospel of Matthew, in a way known as 'lectio continua'³ and quickly gained enthusiastic response among the people. (Hackett 2004) So, he continued with the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles, and the Old Testament. The opposition, which consisted mainly of clergy and monks, accused Zwingli of heresy. The campaign in Germany directed against Luther convinced Zwingli of the fruitless of expecting reform within the current structure of the Church. In 1523 Zwingli defended his sixty-seven theses against the Church establishment. He preached the Christianity

das Leben im Papsttum bekämpft, sein Beruf aber sei es, dessen Lehre anzugreifen.“ (Benrath 1965, 216)

³ continuous reading - each reading can take place every day or every Sunday, begins where the previous lesson ended

of morality and asked to improve living conditions. He rejected the Catholic sacraments, the worship of statues and images, rejected celibacy, closed monasteries and confiscated their property, and promoted republican principles in the organization of the church and in the political system. “The climax of this first period of the Zurich Reformation was the first Disputation (1523) when Zwingli argued his Sixty-seven Theses against episcopal representatives: Catholic rituals offended the faith which was alone Christian; Christ was the sole head of the Church; the believers congregated together locally had the right of ecclesiastical self-government and the distinction between priest and layman was null and void; secular authority was legitimate only if based on scriptur “ (Birnbaum 1959, 33-34)

The break with Rome was practically complete; it was now necessary to decide on the internal structure of Zurich Protestantism and its consequences for the life of society. There was pressure to cancel the Mass immediately and to recognize the state's congregational autonomy. In 1523 Zwingli published his major treatise on politics: *On Divine and Human Justice*. In 1525 Zwingli introduced a new communion liturgy that replaced the Mass. In the following years, there was a dispute with the Anabaptists, who demanded the abolition of the Sacrament of Baptism and the rebaptism of adults. Zwingli (unlike Luther) held that infant baptism was merely a symbolic transaction, a promise by parents and the community to raise the child as a Christian. The City Council of Zurich sided with Zwingli and rejected the Anabaptists' proposal. The forcible baptism of an adult was punishable by death. (Birnbaum 1959)

Zwingli's ideas came to the attention of Martin Luther and other reformers. They met at the Marburg Colloquium (1529) and agreed on many points of reformed doctrine but could not agree on the doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. The dogmatic basis of many of Zwingli's reforms was his denial of biblical authority for the efficacy of the sacraments. He rejected the real presence in the Eucharist; the new liturgical order in 1525 introduced a simple memorial service. (Hackett 2004)

Zwingli died in the war against the Catholic cantons. He was succeeded in Zurich by Heinrich Bullinger. Meanwhile, another reformer, John Calvin, appeared in Geneva.

2.4 John Calvin

John Calvin (1509-1564) was a significant figure in developing the system of Christian theology, later called Calvinism, including its doctrines of predestination and the absolute sovereignty of God in saving the human soul from death and eternal damnation. Calvin was a lawyer and theologian. Born and educated in France, he has raised a Catholic but converted to Protestantism sometime between 1529-1533. After religious tensions erupted into violence against Protestants in France, Calvin fled to Basel, Switzerland, from where he subsequently moved to Geneva. William Farel⁴ became his collaborator in Geneva. In late 1536, Farel proposed a creed, and Calvin drafted separate articles on reorganising the Church in Geneva. The document described the frequency and manner of celebrating the Eucharist, the reason and manner of excommunication, the requirement to subscribe to a confession of faith or the revision of marriage laws. The Council accepted the document. In 1542, Calvin published the *Catechisme de l'Eglise de Genève*. Calvin wrote an earlier catechism during his first stay in Geneva, i.e., based mainly on Martin Luther's *Large Catechism*. The first version was organized pedagogically, describing Law, Faith, and Prayer, but the 1542 version was rearranged for theological reasons and dealt first with faith, then with law and prayer. (Foster 1908) Beginning in 1555, Calvin in Geneva sheltered Marian exiles (those who fled the rule of Catholic Mary Tudor in England). Under the city's protection, they formed their Reformed Church under the

⁴ William (Giullaume) Farel (1489 – 1565) was a reformer and preacher who brought the Reformation to francophone Switzerland. His efforts led to the founding of the Reformed Church in Geneva by John Calvin.

leadership of John Knox and William Whittingham, eventually adopting Calvin's ideas on doctrine. And establishment back to England and Scotland. Calvin's most comprehensive expression of views is found in his supreme work, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. The first edition of 1536 consisted of only six chapters, whereas the final edition of the *Institutes* appeared in 1559 and consisted of four books of eighty chapters. Each book was named after statements from the creed. (God the Creator, Redeemer in Christ, receiving the Grace of Christ through the Holy Spirit, and the Society of Christ or the Church). Calvin accepted only two sacraments as valid under the new covenant: baptism and the Lord's Supper (as opposed to the Catholic acceptance of the seven sacraments). He ultimately rejected the Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation and treated the Supper as a sacrifice. Calvin was also involved in political philosophy. Calvin's political theory aimed to protect ordinary people's rights and liberties (Natural Law). (Pryor 2006/2007) He also learned that rulers who rebel against God lose their divine right and must be deposed. Like other reformers, Calvin understood work as a means by which believers expressed their gratitude to God for redemption in Christ and as a service to their neighbours. All were obliged to work; loitering and begging were rejected. However, the idea that economic success is a visible sign of God's grace played only a secondary role in Calvin's thinking. Unlike Martin Luther, Calvin was reticent, contributing to his reputation as cold and unapproachable. "But Calvin was not only a Renaissance humanist. The culture of 16th-century Europe was peculiarly eclectic. Like other thinkers of his time, Calvin had inherited a set of quite contrary tendencies that he uneasily combined with his humanism." (Bouwsma 1989, 72)

Calvin believed, as did Luther, that the salvation of believers by a loving God is sure. Nevertheless, in some ways, he was more radical than Luther. Most of these differences indicate that Calvin was closer to Catholicism. He was traditional in his conviction of the clergy's authority over the laity. Even more significant was Calvin's attitude toward the everyday world.

Luther considered this world and its institutions irredeemable and ready to leave them to the devil, but for Calvin, this world was created by God and remained His kingdom. And every Christian must earn this world.

“Geneva was not alone among them in having distinguished theological leadership. Ulrich Zwingli and Heinrich Bullinger in Zurich and Martin Bucer in Strasbourg also had a European influence that combined with that of Calvin, especially in England, to shape what came to be called ‘Calvinism’.” (Bouwsma 1989, 74)

3. England

After the Hundred Years’ War ended, a power struggle known as the Wars of the Roses broke out in England. Its result was the establishment of a new dynasty, the Tudors. The first Tudor king was Henry VII Tudor. His mother was Margaret Beaufort, a descendant of the Lancastrian branch of the House of Plantagenet, and his father was Edmund Tudor, a half-brother of Henry VI of England. In 1486 Henry married Elizabeth of York, daughter of King Edward IV, who was a member of the Yorkist Plantagenet branch. Henry confirmed his claim to the throne with this marriage, and the connection between the House of Lancaster and the House of York was completed. Henry had to choose suitable spouses for his descendants (princesses Mary and Margaret and princes Arthur and Henry) to restore power and stability to the English monarchy and create a new dynasty. Princess Margaret married King James IV of Scotland in 1503. Princess Mary was briefly Queen of France as the third wife of King Louis XII of France in 1514/1515. For Arthur, Henry’s first-born son and heir apparent to the throne, the Spanish princess Catherine of Aragon was chosen. She was the daughter of Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon, the most powerful catholic monarchs of that time. Arthur and Catherine married in 1501, but the marriage lasted only five months until Arthur’s death. The new heir to the throne of England became Arthur’s younger brother, Henry.

Henry VIII was a well-educated young man. One of his prominent teachers was Erasmus of Rotterdam, who became the most celebrated scholar of that age and other theologians. Erasmus met Henry for the first time in the summer of 1499 and for the second time when Erasmus stayed in England between 1505 and 1507. Although Erasmus' ideas inspired Henry's following life, "the dominating influence of Prince Henry's childhood, however, was not his mother or his maternal grandmother but Margaret Beaufort." (Erickson 1980a). It is said that Margaret Beaufort was the most commanding personality in the royal family, a bigoted Catholic who believed that the Tudors' accession to the throne was God's will. Her opinion was essential for King Henry VII and Henry VIII as well. Margaret Beaufort was a strong and imposing woman. It is supposed that she influenced Henry's bride choice because Catherine of Aragon was for Venerable Margaret more than acceptable. Catherine was brilliant, learned and strongly religious young woman. Henry wanted to marry Catherine after Arthur's death, but Henry VII disagreed with this marriage over the issue of dowry payment for the first Catherine's marriage with Arthur. Despite his father's will, Henry married Catherine immediately after acceding to the throne, shortly after Henry VII's death, in 1509.

3.1 Henry VIII (1509 – 1547)

The reign of Henry VIII could be divided into two parts. The first part lasted about 25 years, like his marriage to Catherine of Aragon. By this time, Henry was a humble son of the Roman Catholic Church. Subsequently, Henry turns away from Rome, and in the second part of his reign, the Reformation movement in England began. Was the break of England from Rome for religious or political reasons? And was Henry a Protestant?

The most significant changes during second part of Henry's reign, after the break from Rome, were the destruction of monasteries, the destruction of the cult of saints and the publication of the Bible in English. At the beginning of his reign Henry decided to align

England's interests with the papacy's. Henry gathered around him a group of learned among whom he felt free to discuss his views and observations. "They provided the special sort of companionship his own restless intelligence craved – the communion of minds and the exchange of ideas." (Erickson 1980a) Henry was brought up with faith in God's purposes and Henry's reign as God's will. He fought against the enemies of the Pope alongside the allies of Rome. His conviction was that if England stood on the side of Rome, God and law would be on the side of England. Henry supported the cult of saints, as evidenced by his frequent visits to churches and chapels during royal journeys and offerings. His favourite saint was St. Edward, and his patron was St George. "St George's status among Henry's patron saints was confirmed at the king's funeral, for the sacred banners displayed at the corners of his hearse were those of the Holy Trinity, Our Lady, Saint George, and King Henry VI." (Rex 2014, 13) Henry often visited the shrines of St. Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey or Our Lady of Grace in Southampton, but also Good King Henry at Windsor during the first ten years of his reign. Royal expenditure on these shrines and votive objects was prohibited in 1538.

In 1521 *The Defence of the Seven Sacraments (Assertio Septem Sacramentorum)*, written by Henry VIII, was published. However, Henry started to write *The Defence* in 1519, allegedly with the assistance of Thomas More⁵, immediately after Martin Luther attacked indulgence and structure of the Church. This treatise was dedicated to Pope Leo X, who rewarded Henry with the title Defender of the Faith (Fidei Defensor) in October 1521.

Nevertheless, one thing was disappointing for Henry; he had no male heir. Their only daughter Mary survived all of Catherine's pregnancies, and Henry was afraid he would die without a male heir. Henry considered the absence of a male heir to be divine punishment and

⁵ Thomas More (1478-1535) had a distinguished political and intellectual career before entering the King's service in 1518. He became Lord Chancellor in 1529 but resigned in 1532. In 1534 More was sent to the Tower for refusing the Act of Supremacy, and a year later was executed.

looked for the reasons for this punishment in the Bible. The idea of divine vengeance in human affairs was natural to sixteenth-century men and women. They understand mystic explanations as natural. Any mystic explanation of the absence of a male heir worked with force on Henry's alert imagination. Henry considered his options for getting a son and a dynastic successor. One of those options was to cancel his marriage with Catherin of Aragon. Catherine was older than Henry and probably could not have a baby anymore.

In 1527 Pope Clement VII was asked for the annulment of marriage with Catherine. The fundamental reason for this step was that Henry's marriage was null and void because he acted contrary to the Bible. Henry found a passage in *Leviticus 20:21* confirming his statement for marriage annulment (he married his brother's wife). In the late 1520s and 1530s Cardinal Wolsey⁶ “coincidentally offered support for those pressures which Henry VIII was placing on the pope and on the church in England to persuade them to grant his divorce.” (Bernard 1993, 5) Two envoys, Gardiner⁷ and Foxe⁸, were sent to the Pope to negotiate the annulment of the marriage of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon. Before leaving England, Wolsey had instructed Gardiner and Fox to tell the Pope that if Henry got no satisfaction at the papal court, he would find other means of satisfying his conscience and ridding himself of his present wife. They said this now, adding that, should he look for a judgment elsewhere, “the king might be forced to live out of the laws of holy church.” (Erickson 1980a) Because Catherine was an aunt to Charles V of Spain, the Holy Roman Emperor, the powers of Catholic Europe stood against Henry's intention to divorce Catherine. Not only Catholic Europe but even Martin Luther

⁶ Thomas Wolsey (1473-1530) an English statesman and Catholic cardinal and Henry VIII's Lord Chancellor.

⁷ Stephen Gardiner (1483-1555) an English Catholic bishop and politician during the English Reformation period.

⁸ Edward Foxe (1496 – 1538) - Bishop of Hereford, co-worker of Stephen Gardiner, probably assisted in drafting the Ten Articles of 1536.

opposed divorce. They all supposed that the main reason for the annulment of Henry's marriage was not a break of divine law but Henry's endeavour for marriage with Anne Boleyn, Catherine's lady-in-waiting.

In 1530 and 1531 Henry carefully studied the collection of passages compiled by a group of scholars. These texts “provided support for the argument that England was an autonomous realm and, on that account, immune from papal authority. This theory buttressed two companion ideas that were much in Henry's thoughts during these years: that as king he had a God-given responsibility for the souls of his subjects, and that inhering in his crown was an ultimate, ultra-royal sovereignty - an imperial power - which made him supreme in both church and state within his domain.” (Erickson 1980a) The idea that the King had some moral responsibility for the spiritual and material well-being of his subjects was deeply rooted in the medieval understanding of kingship. Henry reinforced this belief. This statement led to the separation of England from the Roman Catholic Church and the establishment of the Church of England. The convocation in 1531 declared Henry the head of the newly established Church in England. The clergy were heavily taxed, and papal taxes were passed to the Crown. Careful control of monastic customs and income began, which in 1536 led to the dissolution of smaller monasteries and, a few years later, to the liquidation of the entire monastic establishment. Nevertheless, Henry endowed the two newly established monasteries and had prayers offered for himself and his wife. The first real change for cathedrals came in 1538, along with the prohibition of pilgrimages and shrines. Almost every cathedral and many monasteries had a shrine containing the remains of the saints, to which processions took place every year. The most famous of these shrines was St Thomas Becket⁹ in Canterbury. “The dissolution of the

⁹ St Thomas Becket (1118-1170) Chancellor of England and Archbishop of Canterbury during the reign of King Henry II, was murdered in Canterbury Cathedral. He is venerated as a saint and martyr in the Roman Catholic Church and in the Anglican Communion.

monasteries in the later 1530s was perhaps the most striking consequence of the break with Rome.” (Rex 2014, 20)

In 1532 the Catholic religious leader Archbishop of Canterbury William Warham¹⁰ died. In his place, with the approval of the Pope, Thomas Cranmer¹¹ was appointed as a trusted supporter of the annulment of the marriage with Catherine. Just as the death of Archbishop Warham opened the way for a unilateral English solution to the divorce crisis, Thomas Cromwell shows that the Reformation would be a political gift. The rejection of papal supremacy came in the context of not allowing a quick divorce, as Henry requested, according to the progress of the resolution of the divorce crisis. Even when Henry believed the Pope would resolve his divorce, he defended the papacy against Luther. However, it is clear from the following letters that in connection with the Pope's refusal to resolve Henry's divorce issue, Henry changed his opinion on the papacy and threatened the Pope “to open the eyes of other princes, who, not being learned as he was on such subjects, were in absolute ignorance of the fact that the Pope's true and legitimate power was very small in comparison with that which he had tyrannically usurped.” (Rex 2014, 30) On 28th May 1533 Archbishop Cranmer declared the King legally married to Anne Boleyn.

A series of statutes were made that radically changed the shape of the Church of England, severing its time-honoured ties to Rome and the Pope and making the clergy subordinate to the King in both spiritual and secular matters. The First Act of Annates from 1532 forbade the English prelates to send any income to the Pope; the following year the Act in Restraint of Appeals denied the authority of the Pope in England. In the following time he is

¹⁰ William Warham (1450-1532) was the Archbishop of Canterbury. He protested all Acts concerning the Church passed by the parliament; he attempted in vain to strike a compromise during the Submission of the Clergy.

¹¹ Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556) was a leader of the English Reformation and Archbishop of Canterbury during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary I.

called the bishop of Rome. In the Act of Supremacy¹² the King's absolute, unchallenged headship of the Church was declared. "This legislation, however, simply asserted that the English kings had always been supreme heads of the Church within their domains." (Betteridge 2012, 46) Although the Commons disagreed with the King's divorce, they accepted the break with Rome and the attack on spiritual independence with surprising approval.

Religious Reformation began in England, and the monarchy's security was henceforth part of it. Henry's subjects had to choose between the Pope and the King, and the few who sided with the Pope had to be sacrificed. Defying the King was treason. For the future of England, the transformation of the Church and its connection with dynastic interests was of fundamental importance. On 11th July 1533, Pope Clement VII issued a sentence of excommunication against Henry VIII. "The document was final and unconditional, but the pope held out one last opportunity for reconciliation. If the king changed his mode of life and took Katherine back the sentence would not be declared, he wrote; he waited in vain for a response from England.." (Erickson 1980a)

Henry sought support for the Reformation from the Lutheran principalities of the Schmalkaldic League¹³, although he was disappointed when they did not support his marriage to Anne Boleyn. In 1536, English representatives at Wittenberg reached a tentative agreement with Lutheran leaders on a statement of faith. However, when the Schmalkaldic League sent emissaries to the court of Henry VIII in 1538 to find a theological consensus, they failed to reach a compromise. The English refused to speak out against private masses or to allow priests to marry. Nor did they adopt the Lutheran custom of offering bread and wine to the laity at Mass. The Lutheran negotiators were surprised when they presented their written arguments to

¹² The legal basis of the Supremacy was the Act of Restraint of Appeals (1533).

¹³ A defensive alliance formed by the Protestant territories of the Holy Roman Empire formed during the Reformation in February 1531.

defend their views, and the King himself wrote the answer to them. Henry studied the drafts line by line, critically evaluating each word and jotting down alternative options in the margins of the documents. He often made dozens of edits. Henry's religious policy has been seen as fluctuating and inconsistent. Henry accepted the traditional understanding of the Mass and, for example, in 1536 attended the Corpus Christi procession with his wife, Jane Seymour. It seems that Henry used the claims of reformers to break the influence of the Pope rather than for Church reformation, although he was sure that the Reformation in any part of the Church would be necessary. He tried to find the middle way. "He was anti-papal, against the monasteries, against superstitious and idolatrous abuses, but he was also opposed to novelties, to justification by faith alone, and upheld something like traditional teaching on the mass." (Bernard 1998, 333)

For 16th-century people, religion was one of the elementary certainties in life. People were devoted to external forms of religion, masses, rosaries, and saints. They were religious, although they hated the clergy. In the early 1530s there was an agreement between the King and the people on religious matters, but by the middle of the decade, this favour had waned. Nevertheless, in the 1530s these elementary certainties began to disappear due to the Reformation. "Cardinal Pole¹⁴ regarded the Henrician Reformation as both a crime and a scandal. Not only did it make the English Church schismatic, but, as Pole pointed out, it placed an ungodly combination of temporal and spiritual authority in Henry's hands." (Betteridge 2012, 130) New treason laws provided a legal framework to convict disloyal subjects. People watched and reported each other. Subjects were constantly warned by proclamations, sermons, or pamphlets of their duty to report treasonable words and the punishments that threatened them if they kept what they heard to themselves. The allegations came in by the hundreds. The King's

¹⁴ Reginald Pole (1500-1558) was an English prelate who broke with King Henry VIII over Henry's antipapal policies and later became a cardinal and a powerful figure in the government of the Roman Catholic Queen Mary Tudor.

friend and former Lord Chancellor Thomas More disagreed with the changes in the Church and society. Despite his long-standing friendship with Henry, he refused to recognise the Act of Supremacy. Denial was seen as treason, and he was sentenced to death. After the execution of More and Fisher¹⁵ in 1535, opposition to everything the Reformation Parliament had achieved grew. The deaths of More and Fisher marked the end of an initial positive stage in the English Reformation.

The break with Rome was a theological, even a spiritual matter for Henry. “The Reformation can be seen as the process of working out the Protestant desire for reform of the established church, a much longer ongoing development, and one that was constantly threatened on all sides.” (Bates 2010, 1051) There were a series of royal prescriptions concerning faith, each succeeding one contradicting the previous one. England had become a kingdom without legal certainty on the matter of faith. Therefore, there was a particular resentment among the people because they felt that Henry was manipulating their faith, that is, the faith of their ancestors.

After 1538, followers of Zwingli (Sacramentaries) and Anabaptists, who advocated adult rebaptism, began to arrive in England from the Continent. Unlike the Lutherans, these radical reformers had no stable leadership and were seen by moderate Protestants as carriers of dangerous ideas and social anarchy. The new Church of England severed its ties to Rome and entered a period of consolidation. In May 1539, the *Ten Articles* were replaced by another doctrinal formula, the *Six Articles*, which marked a return to Catholic orthodoxy and a final rejection of Lutheran principles. “Henry justified his reformation on the grounds that its aim was to return the English Church to the truth of Catholic Christianity.” (Betteridge 2012, 45)

¹⁵ John Fisher (1469–1535) was an English Catholic bishop, cardinal, and theologian, confessor, and close friend of Margaret Beaufort. Fisher was executed by order of Henry VIII during the English Reformation for refusing to accept him as the supreme head of the Church of England.

The *Six Articles* then remained the official doctrine for the rest of Henry VIII's life; this claim legitimised the Henrician Reformation in a fundamental way.

In 1544 the use of Cranmer's English liturgy (but not the English Service of Holy Communion) was permitted. Unlike the Roman Mass and Protestant liturgies, Cranmer's 'Lord's Supper and Holy Communion' does not include any form of Confession in its entrance ceremony. Holy Communion differs from the Roman Mass only in isolated points. However, it is essential that "this is not the *Confiteor* with its appeal for the intercession of angels and saints, but a general confession of sins to God. At the same time, it is precisely a confession of our manifold sins and wickedness which we from time to time most grievously have committed by thought, word, and deed." (Hackett 2004, 29) Liturgical conservatism can be explained by the striving for continuity with the Middle Ages. However, by the 1540s Cranmer had moved to a Reformed position that saw sin as a matter primarily between the individual and God—making the mediation of saints or the Church problematic. In the following year, an English prayer book was also permitted.

Cranmer was particularly interested in rendering the liturgy in the vernacular, as well as making it more understandable through simplification. Cranmer rejected Catholic Eucharistic theology and practice. His work *A Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ* (1550) compared the Church in England to a garden full of weeds. The reason of Cranmer's endeavour was reading from the Bible in the vernacular during the Communion and reduction of Sacrament to two from seven, the Baptist and the Eucharist, like Luther.

Finally, he believed that uniformity throughout the empire was important as a symbol of national identity. Thomas Cranmer adapted the *Sanctorale calendar* (breviary) into the vernacular to bring the Church closer to the people. With the vernacular breviary, the use of Scripture decreased and became more scattered as legends and homilies about saints were

named more often. Only major holidays and Sundays had Scripture classes. The reform of the *Sanctorale calendar* was extensive. Only the festival days remained, commemorating New Testament saints - the Annunciation and Purification of the Virgin Mary, the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, the feasts of the apostles and evangelists, Saint Stephen, the Holy Innocents and Saint Michael and all the angels together with the feast of All Saints. The complexity of the original church calendar necessitated a more straightforward format for laypeople. Thus, the *Sanctorale* reform was not as extreme as it might have been entirely in the hands of the more radical reformers. In 1541, an edited version of the breviary was published, which excluded any reference to the Pope and St Thomas Becket. Soon after, at a meeting of Parliament on 21st February 1542, Cranmer announced that it was the King's will. Cranmer also created the first *Book of Common Prayer (1549)*.

An interesting lady of this time was Catherin Parr, the sixth and last wife of Henry VIII. Catherine and her ladies often engaged in religious discussions. After these sessions, Catherine discussed the same topics with her husband. Her opponents believed that her influence over the King was considerable, and there was no doubt about her direction in religious matters. Moreover, Catherine urged Henry at every opportunity to pursue the Reformation of the Church zealously. Although Henry enjoyed their debates together, this prompting often led him to conclude that Catherine felt that Henry was doing little for the Reformation, which drove him to the brink of fury. "Queen Catherine's piety showed itself not in austerity but in serious study. To her belief and religious devotion were matters worthy of much thought and concentration, and she labored to put her spiritual gleanings into written form. In her Prayers or Meditations, published in 1545 and exceedingly popular, she expressed in mystical language her search for illumination." (Erickson 1980a) The Lamentation of a Sinner is the most important work, which Catherine compiled throughout her marriage to Henry. In this work, Catherine laments the ignorance of her blind life and describes her awakening in a holier way. The Lamentations gives

much of the credit for her enlightenment to Henry, who, like Moses, led England out of the thrall of Rome. Due to her position, Catherine Parr had considerable influence on Henry's successors, Edward and Elizabeth—especially Elizabeth, who grew up with her after Henry VIII's death. Nevertheless, not only *The Lamentation* used Henrician propaganda to justify the Reformation. Another important work is *A Remedy for Sediton*. It is “a sophisticated work with many classical and biblical references all designed to defend Henry VIII's Reformation and in particular the Royal Supremacy.” (Betteridge 2012, 44)

If we go through the Henrician Reformation, we can claim that Henry was not a Protestant because his religious views never really changed. His prevailing idea was Catholicism without a Pope. Henry himself claimed to be taught by Erasmus of Rotterdam, his teacher for a brief time and whom Henry had met before he acceded to the throne. Henry had always been sympathetic to Erasmus' criticism of Catholic piety and theology, but at the time of the break from Rome this became Henry's public policy. Interestingly, even in the 1540s he had funeral masses celebrated for his wife, Queen Jane Seymour. Henry did not like novelties and extremists. He tried to find a middle way and used the reformation ideas for his political goals. “Fortunately, there is a substantial body of source-material through which to reconstitute and analyze Henry's religious development: his own writings; other texts written under his supervision; texts authorized by him; and contemporary descriptions and assessments of his religious beliefs and practices.” (Rex 2014, 2)

3.2 Edward VI (1537-1553)

After the death of Henry VIII, his son Edward VI (1537-1553)¹⁶ became the new King. Under the supervision of Lord Protector Edward Seymour¹⁷, 1st Duke of Somerset, he continued the church reformation started by his father. However, he does not have his father's authority or education to complete this endeavour. His government struggled with economic and social problems that culminate in rebellions. As a result of these circumstances, Edward Seymour was executed, and the new Lord Protector became John Dudley¹⁸, 1st Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland, who mainly pursued his political interests.

Economic problems and social unrest marked Edward's reign. "To this economic ferment was added religious instability on an unprecedented scale. The unsettling of the traditional faith by King Henry in the 1530s, and the subsequent alterations in doctrine - the most recent of these the introduction in 1549 of the Book of Common Prayer, a rendering into English of the missal and ritual of the Catholic breviary - brought relatively moderate doctrinal change. But they ushered in a climate of radical theological speculation and rampant hostility to the old faith that took public and violent form." (Erickson 1980b)

During the reign of Edward VI, works of Protestant reformers were published that could not be published during the reign of Henry VIII, for example, by the gospellers Hugh Latimer¹⁹

¹⁶ Son of Queen Jane Seymour, third wife of Henry VIII.

¹⁷ Edward Seymour (1500/1506-1552) was a maternal uncle of king Edward VI, 1st duke of Somerset, the Protector of England during the part of reign of King Edward VI (1547-49).

¹⁸ John Dudley (1504-1553) was the Protector of England during the part of reign of King Edward VI (1549-53), and lady Jane Grey's father-in-law.

¹⁹ Hugh Latimer (1485-1555) was an English Protestant who advanced the cause of the Reformation in England through his vigorous preaching and through the inspiration of his martyrdom.

or Robert Crowley²⁰. The writers of the mid-Tudor period had a significant influence on those that followed them. Robert Crowley was critical of how the monastic wealth was confiscated, as most of it ended up in the hands of the gentry. He believed it should have been used to promote the Reformation. Lord Protector Edward Seymour tended towards more radical reformed doctrines. “The effect of this policy may be seen in the unrestrained publication and circulation, under the auspices of the crown, of revolutionary texts that Henry VIII had prohibited: the *Book of Common Prayer*, the *Book of Homilies*, Erasmus' *Paraphrases of the New Testament*, and English translations of the Bible.” (King 1976, 9) After the repeal of Henry VIII's doctrinal legislation, reformers from the Continent came to England in large numbers, expecting the official faith to move further to the left. “Lacking the enormous power and prestige of the late King, Henry VIII, Seymour encouraged this massive propaganda effort in order to popularise his controversial Protestant reforms in the doctrine and ritual of the Church of England. Protector Edward Seymour directed Parliament to repeal all treason and heresy statutes legislated since the reign of Edward I, including Henry VIII's *Act of Six Articles* (1536), prohibiting the expression of religious opinion without crown approval. For the first time works by Calvin were printed in English translation, including a letter Calvin sent to Seymour after his imprisonment; the Protector himself translated this. Forty-four of the tracts, or roughly eleven percent of all books printed during the protectorate, argue for the adoption of a Protestant communion service in the vernacular.” (King 1976, 1, 3)

In 1548 Archbishop Cranmer attempted to modify the central rite of the Church, the Mass, and the *Book of Common Prayer*. The main architect of the first *Book of Common Prayer* (1549) is considered by most contemporary scholars to be Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. Cranmer initiated reforms of the liturgy far beyond its translation into the

²⁰ Robert Crowley (1518-1588) was an English Puritan, social reformer, and Christian Socialist prominent in the vestiarian (church vestments) disputes of Elizabeth I's reign.

vernacular. In the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* preface, Cranmer mentioned the complexity of the liturgies. The evolution of the *Book of Common Prayer* is interesting. For example, in the first *Book of Common Prayer* (1549) the feast of St Mary Magdalene was preserved, which is no longer in the second *Book of Common Prayer* from 1552. “However, the current version of the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* modified this rubric further.” (Strout 2018, 320) In 1550, a treaty was signed, which negotiated the end of the war with France, and England was ready to continue the reform. “In the same year, Cranmer published a new Ordinal carefully omitting any notion of a priest offering sacrifice and instead emphasizing his role as a pastor and teacher.” (MacCulloch 1991, 7) The *Ordinal* was a set of rules ordering the various Service changes.

On the initiative of Archbishop Cranmer, England was hosting many prominent continental Protestant refugees. Among them was Barnadine Ochino, the author of *A Tragedy or Dialogue of the Bishop of Rome*. Ochino was one of the influential foreign Protestant reformers during Edward VI’s reign. *A Tragedy or Dialogue of the Bishop of Rome* is “clearly written from the Protestant perspective. However, it does implicitly criticise the Henrician Reformation on the basis of its detrimental stifling effect on public debate and the circulation of learned counsel within the polity.” (Betteridge 2012, 91)

“The crucial struggle came in 1550-1551. It all depended on whether Northumberland would be consistent in his backing for Hooper²¹, an English friend of the Zurich reformers who frequently found Cranmer a disappointment; Hooper might lead the English Reformation to be as thoroughgoing as anything in Switzerland.” (MacCulloch 1991, 6) However, these negotiations failed due to Hooper's lack of interest in compromise. Although he was to be

²¹ John Roy Hooper (1495 – 1555) was an English churchman, Anglican Bishop of Gloucester, later of Worcester and Gloucester, a Protestant reformer, and a Protestant martyr. A proponent of the English Reformation, he was executed for heresy by burning during the reign of Queen Mary I.

appointed Bishop of Gloucester, he refused to be consecrated in traditional vestments, which he considered a concession to the papacy. These concessions were a frequent cause of disagreement between Hooper and Cranmer. It was not only for these reasons that Hooper and other Swiss theologians condemned Cranmer's liturgical work. However, Cranmer created a definition of reformed doctrine and law. In 1552 the *Ordinal*, revised in some details in a Protestant direction, became part of the whole new *Book of Common Prayer*, which survives virtually unchanged as the standard for Anglican worship.

From Edward's reign's beginning, especially in 1548, England was subject to social unrest. In the spring of 1549, a series of armed uprisings broke out. Two uprisings were crucial among them. The establishment of Protestantism caused the first. "In the spring of 1549 Parliament passed the Act of Uniformity, which among other things made the use of the first Edwardian prayer book compulsory from Whit Sunday, 9th June." (Betteridge 2012, 93) This rebellion, called The Prayer Book Rebellion or Western Rising, broke out in Devon and Cornwall. The new doctrine banned traditional pilgrimages and processions. This change led to a worsening of the already poor economic conditions of the subjects, as markets and folk festivals were linked to pilgrimages and processions in many places. All these changes led to an explosion of anger. The rebellion was suppressed, and its leaders were executed within two months of its beginning. The second rebellion, which Robert Kett led, was a response to the building of fences by wealthy landowners. The rebellion quickly spread throughout the region, it is believed that it was not a spontaneous outburst of anger, but the rebellion was prepared beforehand. The other uprisings continued until the year 1551.

Nevertheless, the reign of young King Edward was ending. In early 1553, Edward fell ill and died in the summer of that year at the age of fifteen. The Reformation of the Church in England was not complete. Despite a document written by his own hand, which calls lady Jane Grey the heir to the throne, his sister Mary Tudor comes to power.

3.3 Mary I (1553-1558)

Mary Tudor's reign has long been the focus of research. Our knowledge of this period is influenced by Foxe's *The Actes and Monuments* (1563)²², a book written during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I by prominent Protestant John Foxe²³. After the death of the young King Edward VI, for a brief time (9 days), Edward's cousin Jane Grey, whom Edward had designated as his successor and successor to the throne before his death, became Queen. Edward, and Dudley, wanted a Protestant sovereign. However, according to the Act of Succession and Henry VIII's last will, Princess Mary was the rightful heir to the throne. Mary soon took over as Queen Mary I. Lady Jane Grey was executed for treason along with her husband, Guildford, and father-in-law John Dudley. Queen Mary's reign is often described as the Counter-Reformation, a return to Catholicism.

Mary was born on 18th February 1516 and was the only surviving child from the marriage of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon. She was raised as a Catholic. Immediately after taking over the reign, she released Stephen Gardiner from imprisonment. Stephen Gardiner was declared as Bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellor. On 1st October 1553, Gardiner crowned Mary at Westminster Abbey. Gardiner's advent sermon in 1554 was significant for his future career. "In this text Gardiner used the trope of sleep to suggest that the religious changes of the 1530s and 1540s took place without his conscious knowledge, as though he had been in a dream, a nightmare, for the last 15 years and was only now waking from it." (Betteridge 2012, 131)

²² Full title: *The Actes and Monuments of these Latter and Perilous Days, Touching Matters of the Church*

²³ John Foxe (1516/1517 – 1587), an English historian and Puritan preacher

Cardinal Reginal Pole was the other and far more important man of Mary's reign. During his exile in Rome, Pole met the Jesuits, so it was only a matter of time if he asked Ignatius of Loyola for help with the Counter-Reformation and a return to Catholicism in England. "But when Loyola wrote to Pole in 1555 suggesting that the time was right to develop a strong college of English Jesuits to train men for Counter-Reformation work under Mary, Pole answered politely but coolly and in the most general terms, giving no encouragement to Loyola's idea." (Pogson 1975, 3-4) Although Pole was entrusted with the powers of the papal legate to help restore Catholicism in England, he did not make full use of not living up to the expectations. The Pope often criticized him for not asking the Jesuits for help, even though the attack on heretical doctrines was the Pope's and, therefore, Pole's priority. The reason why Pole did not fulfil his legate powers may have been the fact that he was faced with a full range of different problems: political rivalries, real Protestant beliefs, financial and political hostility to Rome in influential areas, and above all the tremendous confusion of loyalties and beliefs in many minds after the schism. However, the return to Catholicism was demanding and cruel. "Pole conceived of the Marian Reformation as a collective act of penance in which the entire English nation was brought to recognize and repent the sins it had committed since the 1530s." (Betteridge 2012, 131)

Queen Mary's reign is known as the time of the burning of heretics, but death at the stake was not the usual punishment. Property confiscation was a more common punishment than other sentences. This punishment had been in the English law code since 1382, but Mary made it more severe. It also applied to lands and the property of those who fled into exile. For this purpose, a special committee was established. "Unlike in cases of heresy and felony, both real and personal property was forfeit exclusively to the crown." (Cavill 2013, 883-884)

Many people welcomed Mary's accession to the throne. She was their lovely princess, the daughter of their good Queen Catherine of Aragon. However, Protestants feared she would

undo the Reformation in England. The Reformation, which began in the 1530s, had only taken complete form last year with the passing of the second *Act of Uniformity* and the introduction of the revised *Book of Common Prayer*. The communion service in the new-prayer book did not resemble the Mass and was at base a commemoration rather than a miraculous reenactment of Christ's sacrifice. Mary sought to restore England to the arms of Rome. She restored masses, sacraments, and religious customs embedded in folklore. She tried to get England to petition the Pope in Rome for forgiveness and readmission as an erring penitent. Mary's regime was openly committed to the complete restoration of the ceremonies of the Church. Among clergy forced voices that making the Bible in English available to the laity was unwise. "The conflict was in part merely another round in the scholarly debate about the adequacy of English as a medium for the expression of high truths." (Loach 1986, 138)

Like her father, Mary dealt with the issue of succession and the monarch's duty to assure England of an heir to the throne. Therefore, it was necessary to solve the issue of marriage. Philip of Spain appeared as the strongest ally. He was Catholic and distantly related to Mary (Mary's mother, Catherine of Aragon, was the great-aunt of Philip of Spain). Mary married Philip, Prince of Spain, in 1554. Most scholars would agree that the Spanish marriage did nothing to help Mary. "Philip as king of England remains a shadowy figure, and his relationship with Mary appears less straightforward the more it is investigating." (Loades 1989, 556) During her reign, Mary was accused of bringing the nation under a foreign yoke by marrying a Spaniard, not giving an heir, impoverishing the people with taxes, and scourging them with merciless burnings and persecutions. Finally, Mary lost Calais and demanded more English troops and coins be sent abroad to aid his ungrateful husband.

The Protestant exile played a significant role in that time, especially in Geneva. "English exiles faced the unique problem of explaining England's rejection of the Protestant message

when Queen Mary Tudor had returned their country to the Roman Catholic fold.” (Dawson 2018, 439)

This congregation of English Protestants, established in Geneva, had more than two hundred members and was the largest congregation in Europe these days. It was characterised by considerable productivity and faith in the future of Protestantism. The Genevan exiles assumed that a new translation of the Bible into English would allow more people to study and practice the Protestant faith and avoid the mistakes of the Edwardian Reformation in the future. In addition to scholars and nobility, many stationers and foreign printers who had lived and worked in England until then went into exile. They printed other Protestant publications, tracts, pamphlets, and books in exile.

The death of Queen Mary I in November 1558 finished Pole’s endeavour for catholic revival in England. Most of the exiles could return home. In the spring of 1559, with the accession of Queen Elizabeth, England returned to the Protestant side of the confessional division in Europe. “The Marian period witnessed a concerted nationalist campaign which illustrates how problematic it is to claim that there was a causal relationship between Protestantism and the development of a national consciousness in England.” (Betteridge 2012, 168)

3.4 Elizabeth I (1558-1603)

At the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the Protestants were a small minority in England, but many of that minority were in London. When they assembled by hundreds, the effect was one mighty voice. Like her father, Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth tried to find a middle way to Reformation. She did not accept extremists, but she did not hesitate to punish those who refused. Elizabeth did not want a violent change but a gradual change that the subjects would better accept after all the upheavals. The Council helped her in this complex work.

Queen Elizabeth I was the only daughter of Henry VIII and his second wife, Anne Boleyn. She was raised by her father's last wife, Catherine Parr, a highly influential woman. Elizabeth was highly educated. English Protestants and Protestants in Europe expected that Elizabeth would continue in the Reformation, which began during the reign of Henry VIII and Edward VI and return England to the Protestant side. Elizabeth was supported by her subjects, who showed their affection to her.

Elizabeth stuck to proven personalities among her councillors, and her Council resembled the Council from the reign of her brother Edward VI. The councillors were mainly Protestants, except Archbishop Heath, whom Nicholas Bacon soon replaced. At first, there were eighteen councillors; then, their number was reduced to twelve. At their head was William Cecil, a devoted supporter of Queen Elizabeth. Cecil had long since won Elizabeth's complete trust and reliance. Other councillors were also said to be close to the Queen, among them John Mason and Thomas Parry, but Cecil himself associated intelligence and sensitive understanding of his Queen. He was to serve that Queen and her realm with tireless diligence and determination for four decades. Although he remained true to his Protestant views, he made himself indispensable to Mary and Pole, even though both were fully aware of Cecil's obligations to Elizabeth. Although it was Cecil's duty to support the reigning sovereign, regardless of her faith or politics, he did not repress his private opposition to Queen Mary Tudor's policies for a moment.

As a shield against Catholic powers who wanted to use the treatment of Catholics in England as a justification for an invasion was used Cecil's dedication to Elizabeth in his short work *The Execution of Justice in England (1583)*. "It does not claim to be anything more than a justification of the Elizabethan regime's treatment of Catholic priests and sympathisers. Its message to such people is that the Jesuits and others the regime was torturing and executing were not dying as religious martyrs but as traitors." (Betteridge 2012, 220) In connection with

the separation of England from Rome, Elizabeth demonstrated her mastery of intrigue. She kept the Mass in her chapel with minor alterations, delayed religious reform in Parliament and kept her ambassador in Rome. Doing so, she prevented papal excommunication and delayed the invasion of England by the Catholic powers of France and Spain.

In 1568 Mary Stuart escaped from Scotland to England. James Stuart, 1st Earl of Moray, half-brother of Queen Mary, became a regent in Scotland for James VI. Mary asked for Elizabeth's protection even though they had never met before. Elizabeth accepted her but ordered her internment. So, Mary was more of a prisoner than a guest. The arrival of Mary Stuart in England sparked a Catholic revival, as many considered Mary Stuart, the rightful heir to the throne. This situation rightly worried Elizabeth. Once again, religious fervour threatened to merge with political grievances, and these ambitions would stir up rebellion. Mary Stuart had supporters in England, and actions to support her, liberate her and put her on the English throne began almost immediately. "On November 14, 1569, three hundred armed horsemen rode to Durham Cathedral and, bursting into the sanctuary, overturned the communion table and broke it in pieces. They snatched up the Protestant service books and English Bible, and burned them in a huge bonfire. As crowds gathered they destroyed or defaced every other symbol of Anglican worship they could find, until the great Norman cathedral stood as it had a generation earlier, a Catholic shrine." (Erickson 1980b) This attack was a high point of the Northern Rising. Worshipers came to the city to be freed from the excommunication they had brought upon themselves by conforming to official Protestantism. Masses were sung, prayers were said, sermons were delivered with great fervour and devotion. Not all who knelt to join the Catholic celebrations came willingly; some were driven to the point of the sword. After ten years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, England recovered from the horrors of the times of Mary Tudor's reign, again feeling religious intolerance and the struggle of Catholics (supporters of Mary Stuart) and Protestants. The government may have had little to fear from grandmothers obstinately

repeating their rosaries. However, they had much to fear from the Catholic powers of Europe, who could be expected to aid the English Catholics. The conspirators in the North were already benefiting from this help. Nevertheless, at the heart of the danger lay Mary Stuart. However, help from Scotland was surprisingly not to be expected. Scottish regent Murray and the Council of England, led by William Cecil, were concerned about the presence of Catholic leaders on the Scots-English border. Both governments were worried about the possibility of continental powers getting involved. In the late 1570s, Catholicism was reawakened in England, supported from within by popular piety since Protestantism was still the 'new religion' among the ordinary people, and from without by a new generation of zealous young priests trained for martyrdom in the seminaries of Douai and Rome. A single priest could reconcile up to eighty former Protestants to Catholicism daily. The extent of the religious transformation almost exceeded expectations. It had to be stopped immediately. Urgent and consistent enforcement of the anti-refusal laws reached new heights in the summer of 1580. At the very least, they were fined twenty pounds for each month of absence from Church. Constant resisters were interned in castles or other fortified places, and their goods were forfeited to the government unless they agreed to submit. Surprisingly, many older priests kept alive the memory of the Old Catholic Empire, some of them silently and devoutly performing Mass without interruption since the time of King Henry. The lawyers, the nobility, and even to a significant extent, the royal court were strongholds of the ancient faith.

The Church that Elizabeth re-established at the beginning of her reign was a church built on compromises and concessions. Many Catholics never accepted it, though most of them outwardly conformed to its customs; many Protestants began early in the reign to form a Puritan 'counter-church' within it, committed to the moral transformation of society as a whole. Many of the most energetic and able members of the Elizabethan Church of England included them. Sincere Puritan ministers met weekly for Bible study and prayer and tried to remove every trace

of sin from their lives. Inspired lay parishioners joined these weekly 'prophecies' and were absorbed in the holy mission of exposing and correcting wrongdoing in themselves and others. The strength of the Puritan movement lay in its radical, uncompromising view of the human condition. Nothing short of absolute devotion to piety is to be tolerated. "The Puritan movement represented a bitter sense of betrayal that the state of suspended animation represented by the defeat of Hooper in 1550-51 was never ended by official moves of further reform. The difference between the conformists who agreed to take high office in Elizabeth's church and the Puritans who often fiercely opposed them was the degree of regret that they felt about this situation, and the degree to which they accepted that nevertheless the Reformation could be advanced using the existing imperfect structures." (MacCulloch 1991, 15)

But it was not only the Catholic exiles who urged Philip to help them remove Elizabeth and install Mary Stuart in her place. It was Pope Gregory XIII himself who asked Philip for this. As the 1580s began, he began to attack Elizabeth's kingdom on several fronts. He sent military expeditions to Ireland and missionaries to England to revive the Roman faith and, with it the determination to change the government. Gregory XIII declared that to tolerate the assassination of a ruler who was an enemy of the true faith was to do right in the eyes of God. "Through his secretary of state, the cardinal of Como, Gregory XIII had proclaimed that since Elizabeth was the cause of such injury to the church of Rome and was responsible for the loss of so many Catholic souls, anyone who sent her out of the world would not be committing any sin." (Erickson 1980b) Philip of Spain indeed agreed with this statement. He never approved of Elizabeth, neither as a sister-in-law nor as a future wife nor a ruler. Philip promised the Pope that he would rescue Mary Stuart from her captivity and help her regain her rightful place as Queen of England. Revenge of Elizabeth was now close for Philip, for with the combined fleets of Spain and Portugal at his disposal, he could finally face Elizabeth's small but powerful navy in an invasion launched from his own Portuguese coastal ports.

Along with the revival of Catholicism, pamphlets, libels, and broadsheets denouncing Queen Elizabeth and the merciless persecutors who served her appeared in large numbers. To counteract the gossip, Elizabeth had an official policy statement issued against dissenters that emphasised Elizabeth's mercy and leniency and her habit of pardoning at least some of those condemned to be executed. Actions for the support and recovery of Mary Stuart also continued. In the fall of 1583, a Catholic plot was discovered to land an invading army in Sussex and proceed to liberate Mary Stuart. Therefore, in the summer of 1584, the royal Council prepared a document called the *Bond of Association*, which committed its signatories to pursue to death any person on whose behalf the assassin might act.

Opposition to Mary and support for Elizabeth grew among subjects. And then, in 1586, they set a trap for Mary that provided the evidence needed to convict her of treason. We know this as the Babington Plot. Mary Stuart approved in writing the plan to assassinate Elizabeth. When she was tried at Fotheringhay Castle in October 1586 by a panel of commissioners appointed by the Queen, her guilt was confirmed. As the sovereign, as the guardian of the lives of her people and the safety of her nation, Elizabeth had no choice but to order to issue the proclamation of Mary's death sentence and to sign the order authorising her execution. Queen Mary Stuart was executed on 8th February 1587.

As one act of revenge for Mary Stuart's death, King Philip II assembled his Armada and attempted to destroy the English fleet and dethrone Elizabeth. The Armada set sail on 12th July 1588 to conquer England. The Queen personally went to support her troops at Tilbury, Essex. When the invasion failed, and the hitherto invincible Armada was destroyed, it increased Queen Elizabeth's prestige and the cult of the Queen. "To the venerable sanctity of monarchy was now being added the worship of Elizabeth as a Protestant symbol, a symbol of deliverance from evil. She was coming to be seen as a national talisman, a luck-bringing treasure, and her physical frailty and lack of an heir only served to make her all the more precious.." (Erickson 1980b)

Queen Elizabeth died on 24th March 1603; her heir was James VI Stuart, a son of Mary Stuart, with whom the Second Treaty of Berwick was signed in 1586, which created a Protestant defensive pact between England and Scotland. During the reign of James VI, England and Scotland united in one realm, but English Church and Scottish Church have never been united. “Elizabeth died: a synthesis that had not yet been blended from a mixture of conformist jure divino arguments, the Catholic hankerings of a handful of clergy, the rationalism and neotraditionalism of Hooker and a suspicion of systematic Calvinism. The situation only began to change in the reign of James I, when a diplomatic revolution in England's overseas alliances involving a rejection of the long-standing commitment to the Calvinist leadership in the Netherlands was one factor in helping anti-Calvinist clergy into positions of influence in England. Throughout Elizabeth's reign, those theologians who opposed Calvinism in all its forms were systematically prevented from publishing or preaching their views apart from a very limited and partial toleration within the universities.” (MacCulloch 1991, 16, 17)

4. Scotland

Until the 16th century, Scotland struggled with a period of unstable government. It was caused by a series of ruler-princes, but regents ruled instead. There was a constant struggle for power between two factions in Scotland. The leader of the first faction was John Stewart, the 2nd Duke of Albany. He was regent until 1524 and favoured France as an ally of Scotland. Archibald Douglas, 6th Earl of Angus, leader of the second faction, preferred a pro-English policy until James came to power in 1528. The government of James V was accompanied by the suppression of reformation efforts, the conclusion of an agreement with France on mutual assistance in the fight against England and the support of Catholicism. Queen Dowager Mary of Lorraine also championed this agreement, despite the opposition of much of the Scottish nobility. In 16th-century Scotland, a man appeared who had a significant impact on the country's history, John Knox (1514-1572), who was the leading figure of Protestantism in Scotland.

4.1 James V (1528-1542)

James V began his reign in 1528, and during his reign (1528 – 1542), he did not tolerate heresy and several outspoken Protestants were persecuted. The most famous was Patrick Hamilton²⁴, who was burnt as a heretic at St Andrew's in 1528. James restored the Auld Alliance with France²⁵ and, on 1st January 1537 fulfilled the Treaty of Rouen of 1517 by marrying Madeleine of Valois, daughter of King Francis I of France. Madeleine died shortly after the wedding, and in 1538 James married Marie of Lorraine, a member of the French Catholic noble

²⁴ Patrick Hamilton (1504 – 1528) was a Protestant Reformer in Scotland. He was found guilty as a heretic and burnt at the stake in St Andrews as Scotland's first martyr of the Reformation.

²⁵ An alliance between Scotland and France against England made in 1295.

family de Guise. Because of the alliance with France, James refused to meet with Henry VIII. in 1541. Henry took this as an insult, and the situation resulted in the Battle of Solway Moss. Defeat in this battle and the death of his young sons led to James' premature death in December 1542, a week after the birth of his daughter Mary.

4.2 Regency (1542-1560)

After the death of king James V, his newborn daughter Mary became Queen of Scotland. When Mary was only six months old, on 1st July 1543, the Treaty of Greenwich was signed. After their defeat at Solway Moss, the Scots made peace. They agreed with a marriage between the infant Queen Mary and Prince Edward of England. This connection would lead to a union of the kingdoms. Mary of Lorraine, a queen-regent during Mary Stuart's childhood, did not want to accept The Treaty of Greenwich. The Scottish Parliament repudiated the treaty terms in December. Queen-regent began to push a pro-Catholic pro-French agenda in co-operation with Cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews and a papal legate in Scotland from 1544. Mary of Lorraine managed the marriage between her daughter and French dauphin, Francis. Mary left Scotland and moved to France, where she was educated and upbringing as a royal princess by the French court, among children of French king Henry II. In 1558 Mary Stuart married French dauphin Frances in Paris.

In Scotland in the 16th century, voices called for the Church's Reformation. One of these voices was John Knox, a reformer and preacher who was a close associate of John Calvin during his time in Geneva. John Knox was one of the men who formulated and printed the Scotch Confession, which was to be one of the important books at the time of the Scottish Reformation.

During the reign of Edward VI, Knox lived in England. Lord Protector Dudley saw Knox as a useful political tool and offered him the bishopric of Rochester. Subsequently, Knox was offered a vicarship in London. However, Knox refused both posts and preached in

Buckinghamshire until the death of Edward VI. After the accession of Mary Tudor to the throne and the reestablishment of Roman Catholicism in England in January 1554, he went to the Continent, to Switzerland, on the advice of friends. In the 16th century, many anti-Catholic preachers lived in Geneva, a Swiss reformed city under the control of John Calvin. “In November 1555, a group of English-speaking exiles constituted themselves as a congregation and elected Christopher Goodman and John Knox as their co-ministers. During the four years of its existence, this congregation was characterized by its immense productivity and by its faith in the future of Protestantism in Britain and Ireland.” (Dawson 2018, 439) Knox gained experience and knowledge of Reformed theology and the Presbyterian establishment from Calvin. Knox asked himself questions related to the position of the sovereigns. He considered the Catholic monarch an idolater who acted contrary to God's word. He dealt with the question of subjects' disobedience against such a sovereign. He sought answers from other Protestant theologians of the time. “He broached the question of disobedience to Calvin, who sent him to Zurich to meet with Bullinger, and to Lausanne to talk with Pierre Viret.” (Greaves 1976, 4) Knox temporarily returned to Scotland in 1555. Through his preaching, he won many prominent men to Protestantism. After returning to Switzerland, he worked on his famous work *The First Trumpet Against a Monstrous Regiment of Women*, published in 1558. *The First Trumpet Against a Monstrous Regiment of Women* warns against the rule of women, Mary of Lorraine, and Mary Tudor, and of course, Mary Stuart, who married the French dauphin in 1558 because the rule of women is contrary to the Bible. The impact of the document became apparent later when Knox was returning from Geneva to Scotland in 1559. Elizabeth, who became Queen of England in November 1558, refused to issue him a passport to travel through England. Although Knox did not target Elizabeth, she was not sovereign at the time of the pamphlet's publication, and he offended her deeply, and she never forgave him.

Knox's personality, however, ensured that he remained a powerful force on the Scottish scene. Knox created a new order of ministry in Scotland, which the Reformed Church in Scotland eventually adopted. In August 1560, Knox and five other ministers were asked to write a new Confession. The Scottish Confession was presented to Parliament in a few days, voted on, and approved. Parliament then passed three essential bills: the first abolished the powers of the Pope in Scotland, the second condemned any doctrine and practice contrary to the Reformed faith, and the third prohibited the celebration of Mass in Scotland. "In August 1560 the Scottish Reformation Parliament adopted a Protestant Confession of Faith and the new reformed Kirk adopted the essential texts produced by the Genevan exiles." (Dawson 2018, 441).

Knox and other ministers were tasked with organizing the newly reformed Church, the Kirk²⁶. A description of Kirk's organization is elaborated in the *Book of Discipline*. The Kirk was to be funded by the inheritance of the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland. But much of the wealth was now in the hands of the nobility, who refused to give up the property. For this reason, the *Book of Discipline* was not approved, and the final decision on its adoption was postponed due to the return of Mary Stuart from France to Scotland.

The Scottish Reformers held a parliament in the summer of 1560. The authority of the Pope in Scotland was abolished, the Scots Confession was adopted, and the Catholic Mass was banned. Knox's main contribution to the Scottish Reformation was made before Catholic Mary Stuart's return to Scotland in 1561. (Fleming 1905)

4.3 Mary Stuart (1560-1567)

Mary returned to Scotland on 19th August 1561 after the death of her husband, dauphine Francis, in December 1560. "Exactly how different her new kingdom was from her old one, the

²⁶ the national church in Scotland that adopted the Presbyterian faith during the Reformation in the 16th century.

young Queen was speedily to discover on her very first Sabbath in Scotland. Up till that morning there had been, in Knox's phrase, nothing but 'mirth and quietness', but on the Sunday Mary, who had been assured by Lord James of the private practice of her religion, ordered Mass to be said in the chapel royal at Holyrood.” (Fraser 2010) Preparations for the Service were familiar to people because the country had only been Protestant for one year. People screamed that they did not want to suffer the idol again. Fortunately, the reformers did not penetrate the chapel, and Mary, her relations and French servants attended a Mass. Since the Reformation in 1560, Scotland's national Church had been Presbyterian. John Knox and his associates had completed changing Scotland from Roman Catholicism to Protestantism.

The Christian Service misused John Knox to proclaim Queen Mary as someone who wanted to push Scotland back to the Roman Catholic Church. This Knox's proclamation led to conflict between him and Queen Mary openly. “Catholicism as a spiritual force had temporarily retreated into the mists by the time Mary reached the shores of Scotland. One of the factors in this retreat was the remarkable lack of Catholic leadership at the time, which meant that too little was done to rally the Catholics at the moments of crisis.” (Fraser 2010) Although Mary tried to be tolerant in the Confession of the Faith, Knox's followers, and Knox himself, tried to find any mistake and imperfection in her reign and her personality. It was contra-productive for Mary when she married inappropriate men, and she declared herself the Queen of England. This declaration, supported by marriage with Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley²⁷, in 1565, made an insurmountable obstacle between her and Elizabeth, Queen of England. Mary demonstrated her strength in Catholic Confession through this marriage celebrated according to the Roman Catholic rite. This marriage did not take long; lord Darnley died under unexplained

²⁷ Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley (1545-1567) was the second husband of Mary, Queen of Scots, father of King James I, and direct ancestor of all subsequent British sovereigns

circumstances the following year. Only three months later, Mary married James Hepburn, 4th Earl of Bothwell, who was suspicious of lord Darnley's murder.

Disordered personal life, unsuitable marriages and repeated conflict with the aristocracy, whose power Mary tried to suppress, led to Mary's forced abdication. On 24th July 1567, Mary was forced to abdicate in favour of her son James and flee to England. James Stuart, 1st Earl of Moray, half-brother of Queen Mary, became a regent.

4.4 James VI (1567-1625)

“On 29th July James was crowned King of Scotland at the Protestant Church, just outside the gates of Stirling Castle, at the tender age of thirteen months. Letters of commission signed by the ex-queen were read out – one established a regency in the name of Moray and after him Morton, during the King's minority; one resigned the Crown and kingdom on Mary's behalf; a third appointed a Council to act with Moray.” (Fraser 2010) James's government ratified the Reformed church settlement. The *Concordat of Leith* (1572) allowed the King to appoint bishops with the consent of the Church. The new Presbyterian party in the Church, whose members wanted equal conditions for all ministers and freedom from the control of the King, rejected this compromise. In the *Second Book of Discipline* (1578), they demanded that the new Church receive all the wealth of the old Church, that a system of courts governs it, and that the state should leave the Church alone but be ready to take its advice. James was not strong enough to resist immediately. Gradually, however, he showed his determination to run the Church in his own way through his bishops. In 1583 James took over the government. In 1584 the Edinburgh Parliament made King James Head of the Kirk, although according to Calvin's rules, the monarch cannot be the head of a church. “In the General Assembly of 1586, a compromise was reached, allowing a diminished form of episcopacy whereby men were honoured by the Crown with the title of bishop but also acted as ordinary ministers. However,

in the following year their status was diminished when a parliamentary act of annexation allocated the secular revenues of ecclesiastical benefices, principally those of episcopal and monastic properties, to the Crown in support of its rising costs.” (Croft 2003, 27) From 1586, James continued to take steps to give him more control over the General Assembly.

Trouble erupted in 1596 at a time of tension and fear of a return of Catholicism when the General Assembly launched actions against the Catholic nobility without the King's agreement. Preacher David Black called King James the child of evil in an outrageous sermon. However, the riots of 1596 convinced King and the mainstream membership of the Church that a consensus was necessary. “After the winter of 1596 of 1597, a steady change of attitude set in, from which both sides benefited. It seems also to have been those dangerous few months that decided James that he must move more vigorously to revive episcopacy.” (Croft 2003, 30) James did not want to copy the English Reformation but suggested that the Church could benefit financially from his actions. King James appointed Scottish bishops, who were suggested by the General Assembly and remained responsible. James faced many complicated religious challenges during his reign in Scotland and England and found the Scottish Reformation inordinate. “The true character of the Elizabethan and Jacobean church: a church which found the Swiss Reformations more congenial than the German, which reflected this alignment in its theology and practice, and in which discontinuity with the pre-Reformation past was more characteristic than continuity.” (MacCulloch 1991, 14)

5. Conclusion

Historical events show us that the history of the Reformation was complicated. However, reformation ideas were similar in England and Scotland. “To analyze Edwardian, Elizabethan or Jacobean theology is to find the Church of England ranged firmly alongside churches in the Reformed and Calvinist tradition rather than those in the Lutheran camp: nearer Zurich and Geneva than Wittenberg.” (MacCulloch 1991, 10)

The Reformation in England was a long-term one. It took place from the 1530s to 1662, when the last version of the Book of Common Prayer, still in use today, was published. In the first phase, Henry VIII used Luther’s ideas to break free from the influence of the Roman Catholic Church. He allowed himself to be named head of the Church of England, abolished the powers of the Pope over English priests, confiscated the property of monasteries, and banned pilgrimages and processions to worship the saints. Henry tried to find a theological consensus with the Lutherans, but he did not want to accept differences, such as the marriage of priests or the custom of offering bread and wine to the laity at Mass. His son Edward VI. and his regents wanted to continue the Reformation with more vigour. While Edward Seymour tended towards a less radical reform, John Dudley was a staunch Protestant and wanted to convert all of England to Protestantism, even by force.

Archbishop Thomas Cranmer remained the impetus in this process of Reformation. Many works, which could not have been published during the lifetime of Henry VIII, were published during the reign of Edward VI. Archbishop Thomas Cranmer revised the Sanctorale calendar and wrote Ordinal, the set of rules ordering various changes in Service. The Sanctorale calendar was translated into the vernacular and simplified. The most significant achievement was compiling the 1549 Book of Common Prayer. However, the new doctrine, in conjunction with the poor economic situation in the kingdom, led to a series of uprisings that indicated the non-acceptance of a new doctrine from subjects despite the use of the vernacular.

The subsequent Catholic intermezzo represents another possibility for development in 16th-century England. Queen Mary I retained most of the changes introduced by her father but rejected the drastic changes made by Seymour and Dudley during her brother Edward's reign. However, unlike her father, she considered the Pope the head of the Church and believed that her rule was the work of God. Her close adviser was Cardinal Reginald Pole, the papal nuncio, who was definitely not inclined to tolerate Protestantism. By marrying a foreigner, Philip of Spain, Mary lost popularity among her subjects and encouraged foreign exile in actions against her rule. Protestant refugees settled mainly in Geneva, where John Knox and John Calvin took over their protection. After the death of Mary Tudor, these refugees returned to England, and some went to Scotland with Knox.

Elizabeth's reign was the most significant contribution to the Reformation. When she came to the throne, Protestants were in the minority in England. She tried to take small steps, but steadily. She tried to find a middle way, just like her father. Nevertheless, she did not hesitate to punish those who opposed her. Her reign faced many religious uprisings; several times, she became the target of religious fanatics who considered her a usurper of the throne and a heretic. Elizabeth, to temporarily prevent her excommunication and the incursion of Catholic powers into England at the beginning of her reign, had masses celebrated in her chapel, but in a modified version, postponed the adoption of some religious reforms and kept her ambassador in Rome. The situation became complicated after the arrival of Mary Stuart in England in 1567. Mary Stuart's stay in England initiated Catholic uprisings because Mary was, for some, the rightful heir to the throne, although Henry VIII excluded the Stuarts from the succession. Many Catholics in England and Scotland, and especially in Spain and Rome, wanted to see her on the throne. In addition to supporters of Mary Stuart, Puritans also appeared in England. They were advocates of pure Calvinism who found their way to power a century later under Oliver Cromwell. During the reign of Elizabeth, the Puritans were prevented from

preaching and publishing their views, so they had little influence on the Church. “Queen Elizabeth’s forceful views on her own role as Supreme Governor of the church left little room for Calvin’s ideas about the independent voice that the church ought to possess.” (MacCulloch 1991, 11)

In Scotland, the Catholics had no unifying leader or strong core, so the Reformation was rapid when John Knox returned to Scotland in the late 1550s. The Reformation in Scotland began de facto in 1560 and ended in 1567 when Mary Stuart fled to England. After Mary fled to England, Scotland was wholly converted to Calvinism (Presbyterianism). King James VI was brought up in Calvin's teaching. Knox and his fellows Protestants wrote the new Scottish Confession; Parliament passed laws that abolished the authority of the Pope and prohibited the celebration of Mass and the practice of any doctrine incompatible with Protestantism. The new organization of the Scottish Church (Kirk) is elaborated in the *Book of Discipline*. This work was not accepted in 1560 due to the return of Mary Stuart from France, but the *Second Book of Discipline* was accepted in 1578.

At the time of Elizabeth’s death, the Reformation in England had not been completed, and the situation began to change only during the reign of James I (James VI of Scotland). Although Elizabeth tried to anchor the Church during her reign, she did not wholly succeed. The development was influenced by Catholic leaders in the North of England and by Protestants who returned from exile. Under Calvin’s influence, they wanted to purify the Church and ultimately gain complete independence. After the unification of England and Scotland into one empire in 1603, James I continued the Reformation. The Calvinists, strong in Scotland, were tolerated only to a limited extent in England. During Elizabeth’s reign, they were not allowed to speak and publish openly. This opportunity was given to them by James I when a long-term commitment to the Calvinist leadership in the Netherlands was refused.

This thesis is focused on the main differences in the development of the Reformation in England and Scotland in the 16th century. The Reformation began earlier in England than in Scotland. In England, the Reformation was led by monarchs. In contrast, in Scotland, it was led by John Knox, a Calvinist theologian who had returned from exile in Geneva to promote the Reformation. In England, the Reformation resulted in the establishment of the Church of England, which remained predominantly Catholic in its liturgy and sacraments, but rejected the authority of the Pope. In Scotland, the Reformation had the effect of emphasizing the authority of the Bible and the autonomy of the local church. The Reformation in England had significant political consequences as it led to a break with the Catholic Church and the establishment of the English monarch as head of the Church of England. In Scotland, the Reformation had a political impact as it led to the overthrow of the Catholic monarchy and the establishment of a Protestant government. In England, the Church of England remained a powerful institution that played a significant role in society. At the same time, in Scotland, the Presbyterian Church was more democratic and egalitarian in its structure and was seen as a vehicle for social reform and progress. While the Reformation had some common features in England and Scotland, the differences in timing, leadership, and the forms of Protestantism that emerged had significant consequences for the development of both countries in the following centuries.

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