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**The differences between the Scottish and English Reformations
and their impact after the 1600s**

Bakalářská práce

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Prohlášení:

Prohlašuji, že jsem bakalářskou práci vypracovala samostatně a použila jen
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V Olomouci

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Introduction

The aim of this work is to compare two countries, England and Scotland, during the time of the Reformation in the 16th century. The reason I chose this historical topic was that being a member of a Protestant Church myself, I have often spent time thinking about the reasons for the divisions in the Church and I have found it interesting to study more about the Reformation changes in these two countries whose respective approaches were completely different. As we will see, each kingdom had its own purposes and attained its own degree of progress. Consequently the Reformation in England differed in form from that in Scotland and also from that taking place in Europe at the same time.

While studying the Scottish and English Reformation I found it essential to summarize first of all the Reformation as the whole in Europe. Although the Reformation is a broad term, which had a political as well as a social impact, this work deals mainly with the changes which the Reformation brought to the Church. At the beginning of the first part we will also find a basic explanation of what the term Reformation means.

The second part focuses on the Reformation in England, the beginnings of which were not accompanied by favours toward the Protestants. It also charts many twists and turns the English experienced during the reign of the Tudors in the 16th century.

The third part concentrates on the Reformation changes in Scotland which can be understood in the light of the new Protestant teaching, mainly that of John Knox, which went hand in hand with Scottish patriotism with its fear of becoming a province of a Catholic France.

The fourth part deals with the period after 1603, when Scottish king James VI also became king James I of England. Ruling two kingdoms which took completely different courses during the Reformation was not an easy task. There were two Protestant Churches, both of which had reformed their teachings, the Anglican Church, however, kept its system of bishops with the king as its head. On the other hand the Scottish Kirk was lead by its presbyters.

The concluding part sums up the similarities and differences between both kingdoms in the time of the Reformation. As a result of the comparison between both countries the question arises as to whether the general term Reformation actually fits the definition suggested at the beginning of this work.

My hope is that this work will reveal at least a little bit from the interesting historical topic of the Church Reformation and will help others, as it did me, to understand more about the devisions of the churches, which are often points of dispute.

1 Historical background

1.1 Reformation as a term

To understand better the following context we will first point out the meaning of the word reformation as well as the sense it had in the 16th century.

A term reformation means the efforts for rectification or putting something into its original form. In the connection with the medieval Church it was a general term used for the attempts aiming to rectify the degraded Church (Otto, 1904). In a similar way it is explained by Soltesz (1990) who states that it was a new movement within the Church in the 16th century with its efforts to reform the Church according to the former New Testament Church. That was the reason why the Bible became a very important tool for the reformers, who started to investigate the Bible teaching in the time of the decay of the Church. Among the main reasons of the Reformation movement, Otto (1904) puts a bad example of the lives of the clergy and the wrong development of the Christian teaching deflected from its original source, which were the Scriptures. As an example of the Bible verses, which the reformers might have based their persuasion on, we could quote two passages from the New Testament: 'For by grace are ye saved through faith and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God. Not of works, lest any man should boast.' (*King James Bible, Ephes. 2.8-9*) and 'Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law.' (*King James Bible, Rom. 3.28*).

Britannica (1994, p. 995) states that 'the Reformation is the religious revolution that took place in the Western Church in the 16th century. Having far-reaching political, economic, and social effects, the Reformation became the basis for the founding of Protestantism'.

In the following chapters we will deal with the changes, which the Reformation brought in England and Scotland, but let me summarize very briefly the basic changes carried out generally in the Church. The Reformation annulled the office of priesthood and papacy and the Church started to be controlled by presbyters. It also cancelled ceremonies and sacraments, except the baptism and the holy communion, and started to consider preaching as the most important part of the services. The churches that declared their basis were laid on the Gospel (evangel) were called Evangelical or Protestant Churches (Soltesz,1990).

1.2 The beginning of the Reformation in Europe

The Middle age Church in Europe was one large united complex inferior to the Pope. Its authority grew as a consequence of the close connection of the Church with the political life. The increasing power and wealth of the Church went hand in hand with the spiritual demoralization of the clergy. The discontent with some practices and doctrines, including corruption in the life of the Church, was expressed by some reformers in the medieval Church, such as John Wycliffe or John Hus. The 16th century Europe was influenced by Erasmus of Rotterdam who criticized the morality of the Church and demanded the imitation of Christ as the supreme teacher (Britannica, 1994).

Those movements started preparing Europe for a reform within the Church long before Martin Luther manifested the growing discontent with the Church by writing his Ninety five Theses in 1517. As a pastor and a professor at the University of Wittenburg Luther denounced the sale of indulgences and proclaimed that worshipping of the saints was against the Gospel. As Otto (1904) adds, Luther aimed his protest against the infallibility of the Pope and the Church as well. He also believed that the Scriptures alone were authoritative (*sola scriptura*) and justification was by faith (*sola fide*), not by deeds. He was persuaded that his claim, based in the Scriptures, would be accepted by the whole Church (Soltesz, 1990).

Although it did not meet his expectations and he was excommunicated as a heretic, the movement calling for the change within the Church continued not only in Germany, but also in other countries. We must not forget to mention Zwingli, who supported even more radical belief than Lutheranism and Calvin, who worked out a new doctrine which became the basis for a new Protestant Church in Switzerland. The word Protestant was first used in connection with the people protesting against the decision in Speyer denouncing the Reformation in 1529 (Soltesz, 1990).

However, besides the large spread of the Protestantism over Europe in the middle of the 16th century, there arose big centers of Counter-Reformation as Spain and Italy (Britannica, 1994).

2 The English Reformation

2.1 The roots of the Reformation

Although the English Reformation took place almost in parallel with the Reformation on the Continent in the 16th century, the establishment of a new Church was influenced by completely different factors. As we will find out the rupture with the Roman Catholic Church had almost nothing in common with the emerging Protestant teaching spreading along Europe at the same time.

2.1.1 Lollardy

According to Williams (1979), the roots of the Protestantism in England should not be connected only with the formation of the Anglican Church in the 16th century, but go back to John Wycliffe. It was in the 14th century when Lollards, the Wycliffe's followers, began to doubt some of the basic principles of the Roman Catholic Church. They were discontent with the poor state of the Church at that time and even dared to call the Pope anti-Christ.

The Lollards were not the only ones who had some objections to the existing Church. They were admired by some scholars and nobles who saw the poor quality of the clergy in the Church and demanded more educated priests who would be more enthusiastic Christians. However, Lollards' complaints against the Church with the support of many others, did not persuade the kings and they were driven underground¹.

Except the Lollards, another concern for the Church appeared. It was the distribution of religious writing, which gave people a possibility to think about God independently of the Church. McDowall (1989) stresses the fact that it suddenly meant not only one source of accepting religious information as it had been before. Even an English translation of the Bible had been read and lively commented in pubs (Maurois, 1995).

It seems that Lollards' influence was large. As a result of their teaching, the subsequent Luther's and Calvin's Protestant ideas in the 16th century found prepared ground among English people (Maurois, 1995).

¹ Sheldon (1988) emphasizes, that although forbidden, Lollards had never given up and had still been found among the poor people.

2.1.2 Erasmus and Luther's impact on the scholars

At the beginning of the 16th century a special impulse among the learned arose from studying a new Latin translation of the Greek Testament by Erasmus. Except the translation it included his free-spirited annotations, which inspired many people. Besides that, the English learners were influenced by the Protestant writings of Luther, which spread at Cambridge and Oxford in the twenties. The professors at the universities carefully studied the Scripture and started to understand the evangelical truth in a new personal way. They were naturally considered heretics, some were arrested and what worse, their leader, Thomas Bilney, was sent to death in 1531 (Latourette, 1975).

2.1.3 Tyndale's translation of the Bible

We must not forget to mention William Tyndale, one of the university reformers. He considered an access to the Bible for the people in their mother tongue as a very important instrument of the Reformation. However, his aim was not supported in England so he went to work on the translation abroad and the New Testament in English was eventually published in 1526. The work was rapidly distributed and followed by the reprints² (Sheldon, 1988).

2.2 The formation of the Church of England

According to Williams (1979), the longings for reforms in the existing English Church, as mentioned in the previous section, had little relation with the changes of the 1530s, which will be described subsequently. As he believes, the real Reformation movement was started by the scholars and ordinary people who acted independently of the Government. The course of the official English Reformation was in fact dictated by the king's personal desires and a self-will, which had nothing in common with the Protestant theology³. McDowall (1989) agrees that the official break with Rome was a political step when Henry wanted to gain the full control of the Church in England for himself.

2 Tyndale's biblical translation, which was finished by Coverdale, was the first printed English bible and certainly prepared the way for the following reforms (Sheldon, 1988).

3 Henry's refusal of the Protestant thoughts can be seen in his work against Luther's teaching, because of which the Pope even called him the defender of the faith (Maurois, 1995). The faith, mentioned by the Pope, counted of course for the Catholic faith.

2.2.1 The first thoughts of the reforms

The first of the Tudor rulers, Henry VII, considered the wars not good for business and believed the future wealth of the country depended on the international trade. It was just during the time of his reign when the Protestant reformers, influenced by the Reformation in Europe, used the peaceful time as an opportunity for meditation and research (Maurois, 1995). The thoughts of the Reformation spread quickly among humanists at universities and a new young king Henry VIII, as an educated person, soon made friends among them. At first, Henry was not interested in the governing very much so Thomas Wolsey, as the king's chancellor and the archbishop of York, used the opportunity and centralized all the church and secular power to himself (Maurois, 1995).

2.2.2 Henry's desire for the divorce

Despite the fact, that Henry was a friend with the English humanists, who were influenced by Protestantism, the suspense between him and the Rome was a different matter. It was not the religious teaching, but it was a question of his divorce. Due to Henry's disability of having sons, male successors, he started to consider his marriage against the God's will. His first wife, Catherine of Aragon, was a widow of Henry's brother and the king even found verses in the Scriptures that confirmed his persuasion about the invalidity of his marriage. It could seem, Henry's desire to get divorced really originated in his conviction about breaking the God's laws by marrying his brother's wife. He believed that the Pope would admit the invalidity of his marriage and would allow him to divorce with no problems. However, the Pope, influenced by Catherine's nephew, the Roman Emperor Charles V, stood against the divorce (Latourette, 1975).

Nevertheless, the refusal of Henry's request by the Pope did not scare the young king off. By the advice of Thomas Cranmer, a theologian, Henry turned to the universities to consult the validity of his marriage there. The theologians mostly confirmed Henry's opinion that according to the Scriptures, the first king's marriage was not valid (Sheldon, 1988). When his persuasion, that his divorce was actually according to God's will, was sufficient, he decided to face the Pope and brought the Church in England under his control.

It seems from the previous text, Henry acted not only on the basis of his personal desire, but he had sincerely been looking for the reason of the infertility of his marriage and understood the problems as a consequence of God's punishment for his disobedience to the Scriptures.

2.2.3 The establishment of the Church of England

Although the separation of the English Church from Rome came into being in the time when the Protestant thoughts were getting into England, the official split-up with the Catholic Church did not mean the disagreement with the Catholic belief. The Henry's ideal was an Anglo-Catholic Church, which respected the Catholic doctrine, but had an English sovereign as the head instead of the Pope (Sheldon, 1988).

Between the years 1529 and 1536, the new laws were passed which made Henry the Supreme head of the Church in England. England became politically a Protestant country, but the faith of most people was still Catholic. As a result of the changes, the Pope's name was erased from all the Prayer books. The taxation by Rome was transferred to Henry and the king also obtained the right to nominate the bishops. The papal power was entrusted to the Archbishop of Canterbury. After such changes, Henry, as the head of the church, was given the right to reform it. His first marriage was recognized as lawless and under the blessing of Cranmer, a new archbishop of Canterbury, Henry married a new wife, Anne Boleyn.⁴ In consequence of his acts, Henry was excommunicated from the Roman Catholic Church (Latourette, 1975).

2.2.4 The Parliament and clergy support for Henry

The question that probably comes up to our minds now is how it was possible that the Catholic parliament agreed to all the new laws, which were the basis for the separation from the Catholic Church. The reasons of the Parliament agreement are well explained by Maurois (1995), who believes that the English reforms were not just a king's whim but it was a religious form how to express the private and language patriotism of the English nation. They seemed to understand very well that two taxes, two judges and two lords were not necessary. Latourette (1975) adds, that the fact that touched the English patriotism even more was the Papal interference just in ecclesiastical affairs.

Though the clergy were representatives of the Church, they had always felt more political delegates and most of them voted for Henry. Besides that the poorer clergy understood their agreement with the king would mean the security for them. They also welcomed the possibility of canceling the celibacy. However, not all the Catholics agreed with the denial of the Pope and the acknowledgement of the king as the head instead. Such

⁴ After Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn, Henry had four other wives. The third one, Jane Seymour, gave him a son, a future English king Edward (MONGELLO, 1997).

devoted Catholics as Thomas More or cardinal John Fisher, who refused, were executed (Maurois, 1995).

2.2.5 A new doctrine

According to the new laws, the Church power was completely subordinate to the king and the Parliament. Therefore the character of the Church was dictated from above (Elton, 1995). Then it was easy for the king and his ministers to appoint such Protestant bishops who would preach about the Royal Supremacy from the pulpits. The press was employed to publicize the same facts and the writers of reformist opinions were also remunerated (Williams, 1979).

Ten Articles, as a new doctrine of the Church of England, were promulgated in 1536. Although the king was not a follower of the coming Protestant teaching, the doctrine stressed not only the importance of teaching people the Bible truths, but also emphasized Protestant thoughts about the justification before God by faith and confession. However, three years later the Parliament passed Six Articles which were much closer to the Catholic doctrine than the previous one. They approved transubstantiation⁵, the celibacy of the clergy and disapproved communion in both kinds. As we can see, Henry remained loyal to the Catholic teaching and did not stand up for the Protestants, who suffered as well as the Papists (Sheldon, 1988, Latourette, 1975).

In spite of the Catholic direction under the rule of Henry, some steps towards Protestant principles were taken. An English Bible, based on Tyndale and Coverdale, was published and largely distributed. The Bibles were placed in every parish and could be read by all who wished. No doubt the publication of the Bible assisted the spread of the reform (Boyle, 2000).

2.2.6 The dissolved monasteries and other reforming steps

Among those, who refused the oath against the Pope were the Catholic monks. Their bravery, however, meant fatal consequences for them. Thomas Cromwell, the king's chief minister, was given an allowance to dissolve the monasteries⁶ (Maurois, 1995). It was not difficult to accept such a cruel decision about the monks even publicly, because many

⁵ Transubstantiation is the belief that the bread and wine of the Communion service become the actual body and blood of Jesus Christ (Latourette, 1975).

⁶ Elton (1995) quotes that 800 monasteries were deleted from an English map.

monks lived in huge wealth and comfort and did not lead religious lives⁷.

After the attack on monasteries, other reforming steps were carried out. Cromwell fought against the holy paintings, Latimer burnt the statues of the virgin Mary and Cranmer investigated the corpse remains of the saints. Besides those, Canterbury pilgrimages were cancelled, too. Despite of Henry's Catholic sympathy, which was already mentioned, it is clear that some Protestant ideas were accepted. Maurois (1995) speculates about such changes and thinks that if the Protestant reformers had been allowed to do what they personally wished, they would certainly connected the Church with the Lutherans.

2.3 The Edwardian period

The period of a double persecution, both the Protestants and the Catholics, was finished by Henry VIII's death in 1547. The reign of his baby son Edward, controlled by the Protestant nobility, marked a decisive period in the history of the English Church when the Anglo-Catholic system was transformed into the Protestant one.

Under the control of the Protestant nobility, the first Prayer Book started to be used. It contained complete forms of the services for the worship in English so it helped the new Church to gain its aesthetic prestige. Using the Book of Prayers was even made compulsory by law, which caused religious uprisings in some shires. One of the biggest one was in Cornwall, where the farmers, revolting against unemployment⁸, protested against the Prayer Book as well because they wanted to use their traditional Prayer Book in Latin (Maurois, 1995).

Four years later a new revision of the Prayer Book was completed and contained much more Protestant views, for example, the altar was called a table and the priests were called ministers. Except the Prayer Book, a Protestant creed was recorded in the Forty Two Articles. It was the fully reformed theology, prepared by Cranmer and Ridley. The changes in the liturgy presented a Protestant form of worship, which included involvement of laity in the ceremony. All the links to the Catholic doctrine were left out, but some of the old forms were kept (Williams, 1979).

The reforms, made by the Edwardian government, included destroying the images, confiscating the church ornaments, permitting marriages of the priests and imprisoning the opponents of the reforms. While the Protestantism was established by the Acts of the

⁷ The properties were sold or given to the English gentry and as McDowall (1989) believes it was done mainly as a guarantee of their devotion to the king.

⁸ The ground owners changed growing corn to sheep farming to gain bigger profits and it was the reason of unemployment (Maurois, 1995).

Government, it was not accepted by the nation in general. It could be seen in Northumberland's unsuccessful try to change the succession of the next English ruler, a Catholic Queen Mary, to a Protestant Jane Grey⁹. It was welcomed with a lack of public sympathy and it was Mary, a Catholic queen, who finally gained the throne (Sheldon, 1988).

2.4 England under the reign of Catholic Mary

McDowall (1989) is persuaded that except a few devoted bishops, the changes made by Edwardian government were more aimed at seizing of the Church wealth than the establishment of spiritual discipline. Sheldon (1988) agrees that the Protestant scheme was introduced but he stresses the fact that it did not have its roots in the hearts of the English people. As a result, the Edward's successor Mary¹⁰ did not have much difficulty in nullifying the doctrinal and liturgical reforms. It took her less than two years to return the country to Papal authority.

It is clear the comeback of the Catholicism was quite fast, but it was severe as well. The fierce persecution of the Protestants, including not only the priests, but ordinary people as well, created the queen a nickname „Bloody Mary“¹¹. The Protestant priests were usually burned at the places they were well-known. As people were watching their deaths they were fascinated by their courage. A French ambassador Noailles described the scene of a burned Protestant by these words: 'He went to death as if he was walking to his wedding.' (Royle, 1981, p.11). Among hundreds of the martyrs were the Protestant bishops Riddley and Latimer who were burned back to back at one stake. Another victim was the archbishop of Canerbury Cranmer as Mary had never forgotten that her mother's divorce was brought about by his advice¹² (Royle, 1981).

Williams (1979) is persuaded that if Mary did not die so soon, the Roman Catholic Church in England might have been fully renewed again. When she died, after only five

9 Under the influence of the Protestant nobles, Edward excluded his Catholic sister Mary and appointed Jane Grey, his Protestant cousin, the queen. However, after 9 days, Mary reached London, gained large support and Jane was imprisoned and later even murdered (Kucerova, 2010).

10 Mary was Henry VIII's daughter of the first marriage with Catherine of Aragon and she was a devoted Catholic. After Edward's death the nation preferred Mary to Catholic Jane Grey and welcomed her with a great glory. Most people wanted a return of the national Catholicism of Henry VIII and also hated Rome (Maurois, 1995).

11 Kucerova (2010) points out, Mary burned three hundred protestants in a single day.

12 Some of the victims had a chance to recant their Protestant belief, but Cranmer was an exception. Despite the fact, that he was so weak he denied the principles of the Reformation, for which he had labored so long, he was condemned to death anyway (Royle, 1981).

years of her reign, England was officially harmonized with the Roman Catholic faith, but people were neither absolutely Catholic nor Protestant.

2.5 Elizabethan reign (1558-1603)

The beginning of Elizabethan¹³ rule was welcomed by almost all the English. The queen did not love war¹⁴ and was able to face the extremes surrounding her. She managed to stand between France and Spain, the Roman Catholic and Calvinist faiths. She did not make quick and sudden conclusion, but was seeking for a compromise. Although she was considered being a Protestant, she had turned to Catholicism during Mary Tudor's reign (Maurois, 1995).

2.5.1 Elizabethan compromise

Elizabeth preferred a sort of Protestantism which remained close to the Roman Catholic religion, but she firmly refused the papal headship. She wanted to have full control of the Church within her borders and was made a Supreme governor of the English Church. The new Protestant liturgy, which followed, introduced the new creed of the Church. It included a Catholic form of the services, however, at the same time it cancelled using Latin and obeying the Pope (Maurois, 1995, Sheldon, 1988).

2.5.2 The control of universities and Episcopal visitations

The transformation to the Protestantism involved training of the Protestant clergy and the teaching of the Anglican doctrine so the government took control of Oxford and Cambridge universities. It meant, that no one could gain the University education unless he had subscribed to the oath. The bishops, who refused to conform, were substituted by the new Protestant ones (Maurois, 1995).

The faithfulness to the Protestant faith, dictated from above, was demanded and controlled by Episcopal visitations. They checked the destruction of the monuments of idolatry and superstition, the end of selling indulgences, burning of the Catholic books, devastating of the statues and images in local parishes. The strictness of the new orders can also be seen in the fines that were demanded for any absence from the services (Williams, 1979).

¹³ Elizabeth was the second daughter of Henry VIII and his second wife Anne Boleyn (Maurois, 1995).

¹⁴ Although Maurois claims Elizabeth did not like wars, it does not mean she did not fight at all. She won over the Spanish armada in 1588 and despite the fact, the main reason of the Spanish loss was the bad weather, the English used it as the opportunity to celebrate Elizabeth and the Protestant England. Although there were other victorious battles of the Spanish armada over the English in the following years, the English never admitted the fact (Hribkova, 2011).

2.5.3 The Roman Catholic revival

Despite the orders and the controls, in some areas, where the local conservatism was tough, for example in Lancashire, many Catholic symbols survived. Some recusant priests even provided masses in secret. In contrast with such brave ones, many Catholic sympathizers formally conformed, because they did not want to lose their posts. Despite the social pressure, the Catholic numbers in some areas increased (Williams, 1979).

In the early Elizabethan reign the queen tolerated the Catholics if they subscribed formally, but later, as Maurois (1995) claims, some affairs made her behave more strictly. One of the events was the establishment of Catholic seminaries¹⁵ abroad and another was an excommunicating bulla promising the papal forgiveness to anybody who would murder the Queen.

The Catholics grew in number despite the fact, that the Crown methodically encouraged the Protestant divines through the press and pulpit. The most known among the Catholic plots was a Babington conspiracy aiming to kill the Queen. The treasonable movements of the Romanists plus the fear of a foreign intervention augmented the loyalty of the majority to the Queen and the national Protestant Church (McDowall, 1989).

Catholic population was reduced but never completely destroyed. For sure, the Elizabethan reign deprived the Catholics of social and political influence. Although many parishioners were not interested in the religious teaching, by the end of the Elizabethan reign the English could be called a Protestant nation (Williams, 1979).

2.5.4 The growth of Puritanism

According to Latourette (1975), much more influential and numerous than the Catholics were the Puritans. They wished to purify the Church of the corruption and wished to establish a Presbyterian form of the Church. They issued two admonitions to the Parliament, denouncing the government by bishops and demanding the government by presbyters. However, the archbishop stood for the Elizabethan policy of uniformity and increased repressing the Puritans. The Parliament even passed a law ordering those who would not conform to leave the country.

¹⁵ Sheldon (1988) states, the Catholic priests from the foreign seminaries as well as the Jesuits entered England about 1580. The reason of their arrival was to revive the Roman Catholic devotion.

3 The Scottish Reformation

3.1 Historical background

The dominant religion in Scotland has been Christianity since 6th century and as well as in other countries it has always been connected with the political and social life. The 15th century, a century preceding the Reformation in Scotland, is connected with the growing importance of the towns including the increasing significance of the middle class. From this fact it is evident that the calls for the social, political and ecclesiastical changes appeared long before the Reformation movement in the 16th century and as a consequence the Catholics shared the similar intentions with the Protestant reformers (Smith, 1993).

Besides the growing strength of the middle class the Scottish nobles also gradually became more and more powerful. It happened due to the early deaths of several Scottish kings when the rule of the country was left in the hands of the nobles until the kings' sons were old enough to be able to reign.

England and Scotland, two parts of one large island, were two different kingdoms. The separation was underlined by the Scottish friendship with France, which was reinforced by the alliance¹⁶. The link between Scotland and France influenced the course of events many times in the Scottish history. For instance, when England joined the fights by Holy League against France, the Scottish king James IV was alarmed. It was the Auld Alliance, which bound Scotland to help an attacked France so the Scottish king declared war on England. A huge carnage at Flodden took place in 1513, where James and the other Scottish key figures were killed.

A new king James V was a baby at that time. The country was ruled by a regent Albany who stood for the traditional anti-English tie with France. As an opposition there were the Douglases, who wished a closer relationship with England. The Douglases made Albany give up and then, being in power, kept the 14-year-old king in fact as a prisoner. After two years, James managed to flee and was ready to reintroduce laws and order in the country.

3.2 The new Reformation thoughts

The new Reformation thoughts spread in Scotland almost immediately after the Lutheran teaching appeared in Europe in the beginning of the 16th century. The new

¹⁶ The Auld Alliance was an alliance between Scotland and France that guaranteed that if either country was attacked by England, the other country would invade English territory (McDowall, 1989).

Protestant teaching, based on mercy and forgiveness through faith, was accepted quite quickly by the Scots whose Church did not have such authority it used to have before¹⁷. The official religion was in a bad state. Some episcopal churches were even vacant and it was not an exception that the ecclesiastical posts were given to the sons of nobles who enjoyed the revenues but not the duties (Latourette, 1975).

Under the influence of the new Reformation thoughts, the Scots started to see Christianity from a different point of view. The teaching had something of a great power. Sheldon (1988) is persuaded that the new Protestant teaching was based on a strong conviction and eagerness of the Protestants, who were absolutely devoted to the truth of Gospel on which they based their faith.

Among the first reformers of the twenties was Patrick Hamilton. He returned from Germany and his great zeal of the Lutheran teaching soon bothered the Scottish clergy so much that he was condemned to death as a heretic. Knox's (1982, p.8) opinion that 'The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church', was soon confirmed, because the new Protestant thoughts were not stopped after the first Protestant martyrs but they were largely spreading.

However, the head of the Church, the archbishop David Beaton, stood strictly against any attacks on the Catholic doctrine and many Protestants refuged abroad. The closest destination for the refugees was England, where the Pope's authority was abolished by Henry VIII.

3.3 Henry's interference in Scotland

In the forties, the Scottish Church still did not welcome any attempts for changes in beliefs and it was England that wanted Scotland to embrace the Protestantism. Maclean (1970) claims that the main reason of the English was not spreading the Protestant ideas in Scotland but their intention to make the country a part of their kingdom. The English king Henry VIII proclaimed himself a Lord Superior of Scotland which naturally made James V, the Scottish king, angry and he decided to invade England. It was a large battle of Solway Moss which ended in victory of the English army, where many Scots died, including the king.

When James V died, in 1542, his daughter Mary was just a week old baby and was

¹⁷ Wormland (1991) states that Robert Marshal, the rector of the Aberdeen at grammar school, was teaching Lutheran ideas from 1521. The Act of Parliament in 1525, forbidding Lutheran literature being brought to Scotland also shows the fear of spreading Protestant thoughts there.

crowned nine months later. She was an important figure of the Scottish history from the very beginning of her life because as a baby she was offered a marriage to an English prince Edward. The marriage was agreed by the Scottish lords, including the regent Arran, who received money from the English king to be willing to agree. The only intention, which the English had in mind, was another attempt to gain Scotland this way (Maclean, 1970).

According to McDowall (1989), by this time the Scottish were not in agreement. Some preferred friendship with Protestant England and agreed with the marriage and others were faithful to the alliance with France and wanted to stay Catholics. In the end, the Scottish Parliament turned down the marriage agreement and as a response, Henry started burning and destroying the south of Scotland. It is evident his aim was to gain the control of Scotland either by the marriage or force. Wormald (1991) adds that Henry definitely believed his opinions were identical with God's and wanted the Scots to understand this fact. However, as we learned from the English course of the Reformation, Henry's changes in the Church had nothing in common with the Protestant teaching.

3.4 The suppression of Protestant teaching

The fact, that the reformed views were not welcomed in the Scottish Church, could be seen in suppressing anti-Catholic teaching. As Knox (1982) pointed out not even the allowance to read the Scriptures¹⁸ in the tongue they understood meant acceptance or at least tolerance for the new reformed Protestant views. An example is a martyr George Wishart, who preached openly about the Protestant belief and was burnt for anti-Catholic views in the mid forties. It did not last long until the cardinal Beaton was killed in revenge by the Protestant noblemen. The nobles barricaded themselves in St Andrews castle and together with John Knox¹⁹ as their chaplain, hoped for aid from the Protestant England. Instead of the awaited help from England, it was the Catholic French who reached the castle and the disappointed Protestants were captured and taken to the galleys.

The English purpose to gain Scotland, either by arranging the marriage or by

18 The Scots welcomed the possibility of learning more about the true Christianity by reading the Bible, English translation, and Maclean (1970) thinks, studying the Scriptures assisted the development of a spontaneous movement of the dissent with the existing Church.

19 Donmachie (1989) points out the fact, that at first Knox was an ordained Catholic priest. As Britannica (1994) states, when he came to St Andrews he was an unknown man. However, during the stay in the castle, Knox's famous sermon convinced many and a great spokesman of Protestantism was found. Knox went even further than other reformers when preaching about papacy as Antichrist.

invading, included the release of the Scottish Protestants from a French Catholic bondage. These fights, which were called and remembered as Rough Wooing, continued also after Henry's death. However, the English victory, which took place at Pinkie, did not help much, because it drove the lost Scots back to seek help at their French allies. And what more, to strengthen the traditional bonds with France, little Queen Mary was sent to France²⁰ to marry a French prince.

Under the treaty of Boulogne in 1549, the English withdrew their forces from Scotland, which meant the weakening position for the Protestants. The archbishop of St Andrews called two councils which determined the basic tenets of the Catholic belief and when Catholic Mary Tudor succeeded in England in 1553 there was no ally for the Scottish Protestants so they were isolated.

3.5 The increasing influence of the Protestantism

3.5.1 The Protestants' isolation as well as toleration

However, the isolation brought along also an advantage for the Scottish Protestants and it was the fact they stopped being in the spotlight. Besides, the regent Mary de Guise, did not concentrate on the situation of the Scottish Protestants much because she was busy with the French Huguenots. The Protestants had never given up and as it may sound strange, they were even step by step gaining a position of importance. Under the regency of Mary de Guise, the Scots were generally afraid of joining Scotland to France.

3.5.2 John Knox and Mary de Guise

A leading Protestant John Knox, who had become a disciple of Calvin in Geneva, was persuaded that the truth about God could be searched only in the Bible and his lively preaching included criticizing the corrupting state of the current Catholic Church. His words were often aiming at the Scottish regent, Mary de Guise. In contrast with Wormald (1991), as mentioned above, Knox described the regent in his book as a woman 'who used every opportunity to cut the throats of all in whom she suspected any knowledge of God' (Knox, 1982, p.110). Knox encouraged private family worship and weekly meetings of the believers to study and discuss the Bible. He believed that the bishops could be replaced by

²⁰ Mary was accompanied to France by the Scottish noblemen' families including her special friends, the four Maries – Mary Seton, Mary Beaton, Mary Livingstone and Mary Fleming. Not only did the little queen learned to sing but she also played the lute, the cittern, the harp and the harpsichord (FitzGerald, 1987).

the elders who would gradually emerge from these expanding meetings.

3.5.3 The Lords of Congregation

In the late fifties, partly as a result of Knox's efforts²¹, some of the anti-French nobility drew up a covenant whose supporters – the Lords of Congregation - pledged themselves to break with Rome and set up a reformed national Church. They promised before God and the congregation to forsake the congregation of Satan with all the superstitions and idolatry. It looked trustworthy when they claimed that achieving their religious ends was for the good of the commonweal which included freeing Scotland from sinking into a provincial status of France (Maurois, 1995).

Knox encouraged the people by preaching. He persuaded them that they have the right to oppose even violently those, who endangered their Protestant religion. As a response to such activities Mary de Guise banned the Protestant preaching, which meant the beginning of the civil war. The Lords of Congregation moved into Edinburgh where Knox was chosen as a minister.

3.5.4 The end of the French alliance

A Protestant queen Elizabeth from England decided to support the Scottish rebels and as Sheldon (1988) states, ten thousands English troops joined the Protestant lords. France did not step in as it was busy with its own problems with Calvinists and Huguenots, which deflected their attention from Scotland.

In 1560 a Scottish Catholic regent Mary de Guise died and the French gave up. The Lords of Congregation formally replaced the Auld Alliance with France with a new one with England and the French had to evacuate Scotland. The only response of the young Queen Mary, a Catholic living in France, was her sympathies for the defeated French (Britannica, 1994).

3.6 The Protestant victory

3.6.1 A decisive step in the transformation of the Church

The Parliament used the opportunity and without royal authority, adopted a Confession of faith in 1560, written by Knox and abolished the Roman Catholic religion.

²¹ Donmachie (1989) states that Knox's preaching in 1555 was so persuasive that it affected many influential lords such as Argyll, Lord James Stewart and Maitland.

Although neither the Acts of Parliament nor the Treaty of the Lords of Congregation with England were ratified by the Queen, the Protestant victory continued to remain (Maurois, 1995). Even when Mary's husband, a French king, died, Mary seemed to put her seeking for another continental husband before the care of her kingdom. Such a behavior of the queen gave at least the Scottish Protestants time to change the Kirk into a Presbyterian, democratic Church without a hierarchy. It had no bishops, but was governed by a General Assembly. The leaders of the Kirk emphasized the importance of personal belief and the study of the Bible.

The secular and religious leaders of the Protestant Party were joined at the beginning by the fight against France and the Catholic Church. However, the unity soon fell apart when the Protestant laity refused the Book of Discipline which would mean to give up the church inheritance.

In the past the nobility took it as the fact that the Church had been subordinate to the monarch and the Parliament, but this time the situation tremendously changed. The Protestant lords considered God as the only proper lord and ruler, which naturally lead to basic disagreement (Smith, 1993).

3.6.2 Mary's return to Scotland

According to Maurois (1995), when the queen Mary returned from France in 1561, the Protestant consolidation or Catholic restoration was still open. Although Scotland had been ruled by Protestant Lords for one year in that time there was still a large number of the Catholics. Smith (1993) states, the close relationship of the Church and the State had always signified that the religion represented by the ruler should be identical with the religion of the nation. However, Mary did not follow the tradition and decided not to restore the Catholic religion, but to remain a Catholic herself. Her ambiguity, which is characteristic for her reign, was confirmed when she kept the Protestants, who had held the offices of the state before her return. Wormald (1991) explains Mary's reasons for the Protestant dominated Council as a result of her hope for the English throne. Despite her household was Catholic and pro-French, her public policy was pro-English, which allowed the Protestants to consolidate their position. She simply placed greater importance on the English succession than on the counter-Reformation, for which she would need support of the Catholics.

3.6.3 Knox versus Mary

In contrast to Maurois (1995), as stated above, Sheldon (1988) emphasizes, that Scotland was a realm where even Mary's private mass was considered as an alarming offence²². Knox publicly criticized the Queen, not only because of her Catholicism but for being a female queen as well. He considered both facts against God's will (Stewart, 2000). He used every opportunity to show the nation that Mary was not a queen the Scottish nation needed. On the day of her arrival from France, the weather was very bad and foggy and Knox explained the situation to his listeners as God's warning of sorrow and darkness connected with Mary's arrival.

It did not last long until Mary recognized Knox as her great enemy and was convinced that either her or him would have to step aside (Britannica, 1994). Although Mary manifested, she did not want to change the religion in Scotland, she secretly exchanged letters with the Pope and the Catholic king Philip II. According to Sheldon (1988), what more clearly indicated the possibility of the restoration of Catholicism was Mary's wedding with a Catholic Darnley in 1565. Wormald (1991) describes Darnley as reckless, idle, self-important and often drunken, who refused attending Catholic masses, but was neither dedicated to Protestantism. The Queen's contradictoriness can be seen in her decisions when on one side she supported the papists and on the other she appointed a new Protestant bishop.

3.6.4 The Scottish Protestants against their Queen

Mary's renewed contacts with the papacy was of course a matter of concern for the Protestants, who saw her reliance on the Catholic foreigners as something, that they could not tolerate. The fear of restoring Catholicism joined the Protestant lords with a jealousy and arrogance of Darnley against the Queen. Darnley believed the gossips and was jealous of Rizzio, Mary's secretary, and Protestants lords suspected Rizzio as a 'papal agent' so the victim was chosen. He was stabbed to death. As Wormald (1991) understands the murder, Rizzio was just a victim of a dangerous political division, formed by Mary, which had lasted since her arrival.

It was probably this brutal conspiracy, which changed Mary's character for ever. Mary's thoughts of revenge together with her new love caused the plot to murder Darnley. In the hope of getting rid of Darnley, she started to support Protestant ministers and the

²² Protestants tried to burst into Mary's private chapel and disrupt her Mass on the first Sunday after Mary's return to Scotland (Wormald 1991).

Kirk. She even pardoned the Protestant lords, who had the biggest reason to hate Darnley for his desertion after Rizzio's murder. She did not want to divorce her husband and lose her reputation publicly but she supported secret plotting to murder him. A house with Darnley inside exploded²³ and nobody had doubts that the main plotters were Mary and Bothwell, her new lover (Wormald, 1991).

Mary married a dubious Protestant Bothwell in less than two months later, which set both, the Catholics and Protestants, against her. What probably helped to gain the general support was also Knox's preaching about Mary as an adulteress and a co-murderer.

Bothwell's opponents, known as the Confederate lords, decided to take an action. They wanted to punish Darnley's murderers and stepped out to face Mary. As a result, Bothwell escaped and Mary was forced to abdicate in 1567. She was imprisoned and although she was a queen, she was treated disrespectfully by Protestant lords.

Mary's Protestant brother Moray was appointed a Regent, which was widely accepted, and her baby son James was crowned a king. The coronation was held as a Protestant ceremony where Knox preached (Latourette, 1975).

Although Mary was defeated, she never gave up. She escaped from her captivity and with her supporters tried to regain her power. Nevertheless, Moray defeated her and she fled to England (Stewart, 2000).

After Knox's death, a new Protestant leader Andrew Melville went even further in his theological opinions than Knox, when he claimed that it should have been the Church which would be in charge of the State affairs. He gradually changed the Church of Scotland into a Presbyterian organization, which was not later welcomed by a young king.

3.7 Mary in England

Meanwhile, Mary was in England. The English queen Elizabeth did not welcome her friendly, as Mary hoped, but imprisoned her and decided to judge her. She called a conference to investigate if Mary was or was not guilty of Darnley's murder. Elizabeth herself doubted Mary innocence and preferred Moray controlling events in Scotland. At first, the Scottish lords accused only Bothwell but later, under the Elizabethan pressure, Moray revealed the casket letters²⁴, which accused Mary of the murder openly. The

23 Stewart (2000) claims that Darnley was not inside the exploding house but escaped to the garden where he was killed by Douglas and his men as a revenge for Darnley's betrayal of their participation in Rizzio's murder.

24 The casket contained Mary's secret letters and sonnets to Bothwell, which looked like the evidence of Mary's conspiracy of the murder (Zweig, 1993).

Scottish lords were cleaned by the judge and Mary was imprisoned for the suspicion of the complicity of the murder. Elizabeth was not sure how to decide about Mary and in a year time she proposed the Scots to restore her on the throne. Mary promised to divorce Bothwell and guaranteed the Protestant religion. Nevertheless, the proposal was rejected and Mary stayed in England. Elizabeth did not enforce Mary's restoration because she was actually glad that Moray stayed in power (Wormald, 1991).

Zweig (1993) declares that Mary did not even surrender when her position was hopeless, she was imprisoned and her nation turned against her. She secretly cooperated with France, Spain and Rome and tried to persuade them to free her. She wanted her allies to understand her rescue as a deed of anti-reformation.

3.8 The king James' youth

As it was already mentioned, when James VI was a baby, the Scottish rule was in the hands of the regents. One of them, the regent of Lennox, wanted to make the young king Catholic which was not of course popular among the Protestants. A Catholic king would most likely lead to the Catholic uprisings so the Protestant lords decided to kidnap the king and took over the government. Some time later the king managed to flee from his captors, proclaimed himself a king and his captors were executed. The fear of the Protestant lords of converting James to a Catholic faith proved to be of no effect because James remained Protestant. Maclean (1970) considers James' reason of remaining Protestant as his desire to succeed to the English throne.

As mentioned above, the Scottish Protestant Church came into being in spite of the Queen Mary's Catholic belief and the Protestant theological views, represented in the second Book of Discipline in the eighties were not welcomed by king James, either. The fact, he disliked presbytery could be seen in his try to make the Scottish Parliament pass laws confirming the appointment of bishops. A prompt dissent followed and Presbyteries and Synod were allowed to get together again.

3.9 Mary's interference in the Catholic plots and her death

Compared to bad treatment in the captivity in Scotland, Mary was still treated as the Queen in England. Nevertheless, except the murder of her husband she was later accused of a Catholic conspiracy against the English Queen. As a consequence of this fact, the English determination to execute Mary revived greatly. Besides the plot, Mary named Philip of Spain her heir and he decided to invade England. Elizabeth decided not to wait

for anything else and at last signed the death warrant so after 19 years of captivity, Mary was executed. As McDowall (1989) mentions, on the day of her death she dressed in red which showed her contempt to the lies against her. To show her conviction of the Catholicism, she refused an offered Protestant priest and prayed loudly in Latin²⁵. The English believed Mary was guilty, either she was considered a conspirator herself or only agreed with the Elizabethan murder by her signature. However, not all the historians agree. Zweig (1993) accuses Cecil and Wasingham, the English statesmen, as those who drew Mary to their plan to get rid of her by agreeing with the Elizabethan murder. According to Stewart (2000) it was even confirmed by a lawyer two hundred years later that Mary's letters to Babington were false with Mary's false signatures.

It is interesting, that when James found out about his mother's death, he condemned the murder only formally. He seems to have been a clever diplomat. As he was promised the English crown, he accepted the Elizabethan version of mistake (Zweig, 1993). So did the other countries.

James tried to acquire the Crown respect again, after his mother's catastrophes, and managed to convince the Catholic and Protestant nobles of his royal authority.

²⁵ The executor needed three hits to be successful and then a little dog hidden under her dress ran out whining noisily (Stewart, 2000).

4 The consequences of the Reformation after 1603

4.1 The beginning of Stuarts' reign in England

4.1.1 James' succession

When Elizabeth died in 1603, James VI finally inherited the English crown as **James I**. As mentioned in the previous text, he inclined to episcopacy and that was the reason why he was satisfied with the existing Church of England. James believed in the divine right²⁶ and considered the episcopacy as a natural ally of the monarchy.

4.1.2. The King James Bible

When James succeeded at the beginning of the 17th century, the country had two opposing versions of the Scriptures. One of them was the Genevan Bible, which was favorite among the Puritans and its tone sounded as if against the monarch. On the other hand, the Bishops' Bible was biased in favour of the monarch. James decided to unite this splitted inheritance by a new translation of the Bible, which would be for the Puritans as well as the bishops, for educated as well as ordinary people. The fixed rules for the exact and truthful translating were set and after long and hard work of the scholars, the new Bible was issued in 1611 (Nicolson, 2011). Despite the fact, that James inclined to episcopacy, Latourette (1975) considers the publication of the King James Version, how the new Bible was called, as a step towards Protestantism. It has more copies than any other book in English and enriched the English language with more than two hundred typical phrases and sayings, which have already been used for more than four hundred years (Nicolson, 2011).

4.1.3 No support for the Puritans and Romanists

With the James arrival, the English Puritans hoped for his support, but the king made it clear he was not going to support them²⁷. On the contrary of their expectations it was a hard time for them and some started to leave for Holland or the USA (Maurois, 1995). Despite the king's disapproval, the Puritans were active and they gradually gained political and religious strength. Some would have been content with a limited episcopacy

²⁶ The divine right of kings was a theory when the rule of the king was above any earth authority, the king derived his right to rule directly from the will of God. The king felt responsibility only to God, not anyone else (Latouette, 1975).

²⁷ Puritans were a significant group of the English Protestants who emphasized the seriousness of life, the stress on a personal responsibility to God (Sheldon, 1988).

and others were zealous for the presbyterian system (Latouette, 1975).

In spite of James inclination to episcopacy he condemned also the Romanists. They plotted against him and the biggest Catholic conspiracy occurred when they tried to blow up the Parliament buildings with the aim to destroy the king²⁸. The attempt was not successful and what more, it caused that the anti-Catholic feeling arose. As a punishment a new oath of renouncing the Pope was devised (Latouette, 1975).

4.2 Stuarts versus Parliament

4.2.1 Jame's dissolution of the Parliament

James' belief in divine right lead to his decision to dissolve the Parliament in 1611, because he saw the hostility of the Puritans there. James did not agree with the request of the Parliament that his laws would have been valid only when the Parliament approved them. He stressed his divine right and the episcopacy, a communion table was turned into an altar and some bishops publicly invoked the saints and prayed for the deads. The Puritans were shocked when James issued his 'Declaration of Sports', which encouraged people to amuse themselves on Sunday afternoons. It was a total opposite of what the Puritans agitated for. As a result of the king's acts, many Puritans left for America (Sheldon, 1988).

4.2.2 The suspense between the Protestant and Catholic belief

When James set out for Scotland for the first time, in 1617, he demanded changes, which would conform the Kirk to the Anglican model. No wonder, that as an answer he faced large dissent.

The suspense between the Protestant and Catholic belief lasted throughout the whole reign of James. The Protestant worries even intensified after James' death, when his son Charles married a Roman Catholic princess. The fact, that worried the Protestants most of all, was that the marriage opened a possibility of a future Catholic successor. On the other hand, the king saw the Puritans too dangerous, which made him support the Anglican Church. However, his Catholic marriage found no tolerance among Anglican clergy (Stewart, 2011).

²⁸ The conspiracy got to be known as Gunpowder plot, which is associated with Guy Fawkes, the significant Roman Catholic who was one of the main conspirators. The English commemorates this event with fireworks (Latouette, 1975).

4.2.3 Charles and the Scottish National Covenant

The Parliament, getting more and more managed by the Puritans, who separated from the Anglican Church, restricted money for the king. It resulted in dissolving the Parliament and Charles, believing in his divine right, reigned on his own. According to Stewart (2000), his reign was successful and the nation admired him.

Nevertheless, the crisis grew by the king Charles' attempt to apply an Anglican model of the Church in Scotland in the late thirties. He was a devoted Anglican and disliked the Kirk with his Presbyteries. He believed it was his duty to change the Kirk into a similar Church as the Anglican Church was. As Sheldon (1988) emphasizes, the king made no efforts to reconcile the minds of the Scots. He simply tried to make Kirk accept the new organization of the bishops and the new liturgy, where the extempore prayers were substituted with a Revised Prayer Book. It led to large riots as a sign of resentment. The opposition in Scotland became more organized and soon a committee, known as the Tables, was formed. It drew up a document, known as the National Covenant, which reminded people their refusal of the Catholic doctrine in 1581 and pointed out clearly how it was broken by Charles' innovations.

As Maclean (1970) understands that, the accepting of the National Covenant did not have only religious importance but it was the national feeling that joined the Scots against being transformed into an English province. It can remind us the similar worries which joined the Scots against their regent Mary de Guise and her pro-French policy in the previous century. The enthusiasm for the Covenant was growing and the Tables was in a short time considered by most of the Scots as their government. Although Charles proclaimed the decisions not valid, the General Assembly deposed all bishops and abolished the Prayer Book. The large expenses of the two bishops wars²⁹, which followed, made Charles negotiate and after 11 years he called the Parliament (Maclean, 1970). On the contrary of the king's wishes, the famous Long Parliament decided to murder the archbishop and handed the king complaints against his reign without the Parliament (Stewart, 2000).

²⁹ The Bishops wars were conflicts between Charles I who enforced episcopacy, the system of the Church government, in Scotland and the Scottish Presbyterians who desired the government without bishops (Stewart, 2000).

4.3 The Civil war and the reign of the Puritans

With no financial support from the Parliament, Charles had to leave for Ireland to face the Catholics' uprising³⁰ there. When he returned, London did not allow him to enter. He gathered an army of Royalists and a Civil war began. The war contained a political problem, that the Parliament required laws forbidding the king to reign without the Parliament and a religious problem of Puritans versus cavaliers, the king's side. The Scottish Church entered into a covenant with the English Parliament, which brought most of the Scottish army against Charles and made the Puritans' victory over the king easier.

The situation developed in favour of the Parliament. Charles was judged by the Puritans and later executed. The leader of the Parliament army, Oliver Cromwell, defeated a new king, Charles II, who escaped to France. This fact meant for the Scots, as well as for the English, they stayed without a king under the Cromwell's power. At first, the Puritans had a big support, but later it was clear the Parliamentary army was connected with brutality and religious persecution.

Another big change occurred in 1653, when Cromwell dissolved the Parliament and made himself a Lord Protector. He forbade using the Common Prayer Book, celebrating Christmas, Easter, sports, entertainment, closed the theaters and freedom of word was suppressed. By the time of Cromwell's death even the Puritans sought the king's protection.

4.4 Growing power of the Parliament during the reign of Stuarts

Charles II³¹ returned from exile and agreed with the Parliament on a restricted king's power and also renewed the Anglican Church. He tried to have the kingdom tolerant for all religions. This was the time, when the monopoly of the Anglican Church was broken and the king could reign only in content with the Parliament. The Test acts of the seventies even forbade any Catholics to become a king. Kucerova (2010) claims the English could still see the tendency of the Stuart kings to the Catholic faith and the absolute power. The disagreements between the Parliament and the kings continued in the reign of king James II, when his religious tolerance was not acceptable for the part of the Parliament, the Whigs, and he was forced to leave the country (Stewart, 2000). The growing power of the Parliament was confirmed by the Glorious Revolution³² later in the century.

30 In Ulster in 1641, the Irish Catholics rose up to face the Protestants, who occupied their villages (Stewart, 2000).

31 Charles II had a nickname 'a gay king', probably due to the facts that he loved art, the London theaters were reopen and it was a big welcomed change compared to the Puritan rule of Oliver Cromwell (Kecerova, 2010).

32 Glorious revolution took place in 1688 as a political result of the Parliament disagreement with James II. The Parliament and the Anglican Church were angry at the king, because of his religious tolerance to the Catholics.

5 A comparison of the differences between both countries

In the previous text we learned about the Reformation in two countries, England and Scotland. Although they are situated next to each other and the Reformation took place there in the same century, we could see the features of both differed a lot. This final part briefly summarizes the similarities and differences of both countries.

5.1 At the outset

The very beginning looked similar in both countries. The Reformation thoughts spread in England and Scotland in the twenties of the 16th century after Lutheran teaching appeared in Europe. The educated learners studied the Scriptures and began to accept them in a different way. They emphasized the importance of personal belief and stood against the decay and greed of the clergy, who were mostly anxious to get rich and powerful. The eagerness and the strong conviction of the reformers brought along refusal including the imprisonment and the first victims, such as Patrick Hamilton in Scotland and Thomas Bilney in England.

5.2 The first steps of the English and Scottish Reformation

5.2.1 The establishment and the features of the Church of England

What happened in England during Henry's reign was a separation from the Roman Catholic Church but had nothing to do with a Protestant theology. The doctrine of the Church was kept and the biggest change was the replacement of the head of the Church, the English king instead of the Pope. One of the reasons which lead Henry to separate from Rome, how it is mentioned by Maurois (1995), was he did not want his sovereignty to be subordinate to a distant foreign power. This opinion, to be free from Rome, was shared not only by the king, but ordinary people as well. Williams (1979) claims it is evident that Henry's reform introduced predominance of the secular power over the religious, but the establishment of Protestantism was another subject. Nevertheless, Boyle (2000) believes that Henry's promptings for a divorce certainly speeded up the process of the Reformation, which would reach England anyway. Although Henry VIII was a king in England, he

They decided to invite William of Orange, a husband of James' Protestant daughter Mary, to invade England. The revolutionary action lay in the fact that William was not made the king by inheritance but by the choice of Parliament (McDowall, 1989).

played an important role in the efforts to break up with Rome in Scotland as well. When Henry declared he wanted to spread Protestantism in Scotland, either by marriage of his son or by war, he more likely wanted to gain control over Scotland than anything else.

A period of Henry's rule was good neither for the Protestants nor for the Catholics. The devoted Catholics, who refused to give up the Pope, were executed as well as the Protestants, spreading the Lutheran teaching. Despite the fact, that the character of the Anglican Church was dictated from the king, who refused Lutheran teaching, some Protestant steps were gradually made. However, most people agreed to the separation of Rome but were satisfied with keeping the old way of the ceremonies at the same time. Maurois (1995) claims that according to a genuine Anglican, Henry's reform did not mean the breakup with the past as the Anglican Church stayed catholic, whose meaning is universal. Sheldon (1988) describes the reformed Church in England as the one with more hierarchical and ritualistic cast than in any other reformed country.

5.2.2 The first attempts for spreading the new Protestant teaching in Scotland

In Scotland the Protestant thoughts were not welcomed, either. Those, who spread the new teaching, were imprisoned or even burnt as heretics. The Protestant lords, who killed a cardinal as a revenge for the murder of a Protestant preacher, were sent to galleys. The alliance between Scotland and France, two Catholic countries, strengthen the pro-Catholic feeling and when a young Mary was sent to marry a French prince, it extended the possibility of continuation of the Catholic rulers.

5.3 The Protestant doctrine

5.3.1 The changes towards Protestant teaching in England

A decisive period for the Protestantism in England was Edward's reign. Actually it was the reign of the new Protestant nobility who got to power and money mainly due to the sale of the monasteries. To keep their positions they knew they had to continue towards the Protestant religion. However, not all of the Protestant nobles were greedy but became devoted Protestants. The complete forms of the services and worship, including participation of the laity, were established and the Protestant creed was recorded. The doctrine accepted the Calvinistic principles but the Church structure of the bishops stayed unchanged (Elton, 1995).

5.3.2 The growing impact of the Protestants in Scotland

The situation in Scotland was different. While Mary de Guise with her pro-French policy supported Catholicism, the Scots started to be afraid of being made a French province. They saw the regent's sympathy and interests in the French and the possibility of a French heir of the Scottish throne. Preaching by the Protestants, mainly by Knox, influenced some nobles so much that they decided to set up a reformed national Church. Knox's appeals seemed to be convincing as he claimed they needed to defend their faith and the Scottish rights as well.

5.3.3 Protestant England and its help for the Scots

The encouragement and help for the Scots arrived from England. After the rule of the Catholic Mary, when she consolidated England back to Catholicism, Elizabeth reestablished Protestantism there. Actually, it was a kind of Protestantism with more Catholic features than the Edwardian one including Catholic forms of services. Compare to Scotland, the Protestantism in England was dictated from the monarch. The faithfulness to the monarch, not the Pope, was even strictly controlled by the system of inspections and university education was forbidden for those who did not subscribed to the oath. It was the English queen, Elizabeth, who sent the troops to Scotland to help the Protestant lords to face the French and the Catholic regent, which helped the Scottish Protestants win. Maclean (1970) points out the remarkable small number of the Protestant victims in Scotland³³, which the Reformation brought along, compare to hundreds of killed in England.

5.3.4 A different attitude of the English and Scottish monarchs

Although it is disputable when exactly the Protestantism in England began, the establishment, although formal, was definitely in the hands of the monarchs, whereas in Scotland neither the regent nor the queen supported it. And what more, there was even no reaction from the queen when the Scottish Protestants renounced the obedience to the Pope. The Scottish Confession of faith was written by Knox, a preacher, without the monarch's approval, whereas in England it was the monarchs or the governing nobles who managed the progress there.

In contrast to the Anglican Church, the early Kirk was simple and unadorned. The

³³ There were seven Protestants killed before the Reformation and two Catholics after it (Maclean, 1970).

English kept its bishops, liturgy and used a Prayer book while in Scotland the Church was lead by presbyters, the services involved participation of the laity and the liturgy was soon abandoned in favour of spontaneous prayers (Royle, 1989).

After Mary's arrival in Scotland, the Protestants consolidated their position as the queen kept the Protestant Parliament. From the position of the queen, Mary might have tried to stand up for Catholicism, but she neither did that nor she supported the Protestants. After Mary's disasters with her love and murder, the Protestant lords could not bear that any longer and deposed her. Compare to England, it is evident, that the course of the Reformation changes in Scotland remained in the hands of the Protestant lords regardless of the queen.

5.4 A connection with the politics

5.4.1 The attitude to Catholicism

In spite of the fact that England was ruled by Elizabeth, a Protestant ruler, the English Catholics experienced a revival during her reign. On the other hand in Scotland, it was James, a king, who did not like the established presbytery and tried to enforce a Catholic custom, to appoint the bishops. Maurois (1995) points out James' opinion, which was 'no bishops, no king'. The Scots rejected the attempt and later even stood against the following Stuart king when joining the English Puritans rather than giving up their own persuasion and belief. The disunity between the Scottish nation and the Stuart kings continued until the Glorious revolution when finally the king was chosen by the choice of the Parliament, not by the inheritance.

5.4.2 The influencing aspects

It is clear the Reformation in both countries was very closely connected with the politics. In England, the breakup with the Catholic Church was based on Henry's efforts to centralize the state power from a distant Rome to himself and in Scotland it was closely connected with the fear of becoming a province of Catholic France. It is interesting that it was the monarchs in England who dictated the course of the Reformation in their own country in contrast to Scotland where the Protestantism was initiated and enforced despite the monarchs.

5.4.3 The growing power of the Parliament

The period after 1603 when the Stuarts ruled in both countries was the time of the disagreements between the kings and the Parliament. On one side there were the kings, who believed in divine right and preferred episcopacy to presbytery, which was naturally disagreed by the Parliaments that gradually got used to greater power during the previous period. The Scottish Parliament played an important role in the transformation of the religion into the Protestant Kirk and the power of the English Parliament grew as it was used by the Tudor monarchs for ratifying their wishes. Just as the Scottish nobles faced their Catholic queen Mary in the previous century, they joined the English Parliament and stood up against their own king rather than to renounce their conviction. The great power of the English Parliament was seen clearly when they killed the king as a result of the political and religious disagreement.

Conclusion

As it was stated in the introduction, this work focused on two countries during the time of the Reformation in the 16th century. In my view the most surprising fact was how much the changes in the Church were linked with political and social life. I was struck by the great difference between the role of the Church in the 16th century and the position it occupies today. At the time of the Reformation it appears that any genuine desire for the renewal of the degraded Church was inseparably connected with a longing for power and independence.

In my opinion the strong connection between the Church and society is clearly evident when we consider the impact made by the publication of the King James Bible which influenced the development of the English language enormously. This precise translation has been used, alongside other more readable translations of the Bible, for over four hundred years. It reminds me of the Czech 'Bible Kralická', which is still considered to be a more accurate translation than most modern versions.

Another interesting feature of this period is the age of the monarchs. Mary Stuart, widely criticized for not taking enough interests in the Scottish situation, was only nineteen years old when she was expected to deal with the uneasy situation by taking an uncompromising attitude with regard to the religious problems. Her son James was still a teenager when he escaped from his captors and was ready to take over the government. And finally Henry VIII, who was responsible for such major changes as the establishment of a new Church, was only over thirty years old when he dared to oppose the Pope.

I believe that regardless of the great differences in the purposes and the progress in both countries, it is indisputable that the enormous reforms of the 16th century still have a significant impact on the present. In my opinion the Reformation also contributed to the formation of a modern democratic society in both countries. The great monopoly of the world Church with the Pope as its head was broken and the creation of new national Churches began.

When mentioning national Churches, I would like to point to one more similarity between the English and Czech Churches, which occurred to me during the course of research. I think, that the Anglican Church is regarded as a national Church, in many respects a middle way between the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant Churches, which reminds me of the Czech Hussite Church in our country which is also a national Church with many Catholic aspects.

The great upheavals in the Church in the 16th century are generally considered as

the period of the Reformation, however, in my opinion the attempts at reforming the Church had taken place long before this period and continued afterwards. I can only assume that these efforts may not have been so noticeable but their importance is undisputed. The opinion of Filipi (2008), that reformation is actually a process in progress aiming towards the renewal of the Church according to the example of the New Testament Church, is for me quite acceptable. However, the Reformation in the 16th century, in England, Scotland as well as in other countries, undoubtedly represents the most important stage in the beginning of the formation of the Protestant Churches.

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ANOTACE

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Název práce:	Rozdíly mezi skotskou a anglickou reformací a jejich vliv na dobu po roce 1600
Název v angličtině:	The differences between the Scottish and English Reformations and their impact after the 1600s
Anotace práce:	Tato bakalářská práce se zabývá obdobím Reformace v Anglii a ve Skotsku v 16 století. Popisuje rozdílné příčiny vzniku a odlišný průběh tohoto hnutí v obou zemích. Také se zaměřuje na důsledky, které Reformace přinesla, přičemž se vedle politického a sociálního dopadu věnuje hlavně změnám v církvi samotné. V neposlední řadě přibližuje dobu poreformační, kdy oběma zemím panoval společný král, který se musel vyrovnat s rozdíly v nově vzniklých reformačních církvích v obou zemích, ale i nelehkou situací politickou.
Klíčová slova:	Anglie, Skotsko, Reformace, církev, papež, Bible, Protestantismus, charakteristika, srovnání, důsledky, Jindřich VIII, Jakub I, Jan Knox
Abstract:	The thesis is focused on the period of the Reformation in England and Scotland in 16 th century. It describes different beginnings and the course of the movements as well as it deals with the consequences in both countries. Besides political and social impact it pays attention mainly to changes in the Church. Last but not least is the part of the time after the Reformation when both countries were ruled by the same king who had to cope with big differences in new reformed Churches in England and Scotland and also face the uneasy political situation.
Key words in English:	England, Scotland, Reformation, Church, the Pope, Bible, Protestantism, description, comparison, consequences, Henry VIII, James I, John Knox