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Prohlašuji, že jsem bakalářskou práci vypracoval samostatně a použil pouze uvedených pramenů a literatury.

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vlastnoruční podpis

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ABSTRACT

This bachelor thesis is divided into two main chapters. The first chapter is dealing with the Reformation in England. The second chapter is focused on the Reformation in Scotland. Both chapters are dealing with the impact of the Reformation on society at the end. The aim of the thesis is to expose that the monarchs and nobility participated in the Reformation due to the economical and political reasons, instead of religion

INTRODUCTION

In whole history of the mankind it can be hardly found stronger or more influential movement than was the Reformation. The word reformation itself has its origin in Latin term *reformationem* which means improvement. Cameron (1991) is persuaded that a philosophical meaning is hidden behind the term. While the form is considered to be the essence, to re-form something is understood as restoring something to its genuine essence: “to recover what it had originally been meant to be” (Cameron, 1991, p.38). In the late medieval society nearly everybody felt the need for the Reformation of the church, however there was not agreement in the matter of the true and ideal form which should be tried to achieve.

It has been presented by Cameron (1991) that by the beginning of the 16th century the church had achieved an extensive amount of authority as well as influence, power and special privileges. Despite its authority, the church faced difficulties of fulfilling its responsibilities. As the majority of positions were created without any ingenious concept, the number of churchmen was increasing gradually and there was not any comprehensive strategy of paying for the religious services in the society. “Issues of money, its collection, distribution, and expenditure, caused much of the Church’s vulnerability at this period” (Cameron, 1991, p. 24).

The authority of church was struck when Portuguese and Spanish sailors discovered new lands, new stars and new people about whom the Bible and the church had never known (MacCulloch, 2004). Moreover two other significant things happened approximately in the same time – the book-printing was invented and the part of population which did not worked in agriculture started to increase. According to MacCulloch (2004) merchants, tradesmen and lawyers became prosperous and due to books, which were now easily available, well-educated people. Reading was occupying more and more prominent part in the intellectual and spiritual life of the laity, which caused shift in their interests and priorities. MacCulloch (2004) holds the opinion that the church failed to register this phenomenon and adapt to it and its member lost their intellectual as well as moral superiority. As a consequence the church became generally unpopular and especially the townsfolk were ready for the message of the Reformation.

Furthermore, there were voices of dissent within the church itself. A colossal central machinery of the church had grown in Rome and each instrument had been used by the popes to increase their supremacy. The pope and bishops had become politicians,

administrators and landowners and the benefices were an article of trade and speculations. The members of the church hierarchy rivalled among each other and usefulness and legitimacy of the pope superiority was questioned. While the bishops and cardinals got rich, the economical situation of the parish clergy was getting worse, which brought its members closer to the ordinary people in their church hierarchy opposing opinions (Teichová, 1968).

Meanwhile the traditional feudal social system was losing its balance. Teichová (1968) claims that the income from the land annuities was not able to gratify the desire for money of the nobles anymore. In the early medieval society the nobles and the church cooperated with one another as both the groups wished to safeguard the social system which they benefited from. In the late medieval society, nevertheless, a part of nobles wish to change the social system, especially the enormous incomes of the church hierarchy which were transferred out of the country to Rome. Thus, the economical reasons poisoned the cooperation between the nobles and the church as the nobles wanted the church money for themselves.

Consequently the position of the church within the society was menaced, yet the church was so interlocked in the society structure that “the Reformation was only established because somebody, somewhere in the political process, very much wanted it to be” (Cameron, 1991, p. 293). The aim of this thesis lies not only in the comparison of the English and Scottish Reformation but also in revelation of the motives of its main protagonists.

1 ENGLAND

During the centuries England was appreciating and strengthening its different distance from the rest of Europe. After losing the Hundred Years War the dream of a continental empire was abandoned and the elimination of all the enemies within the island became the priority. In the period of the Reformation the crucial measures were taken in achieving both tasks, the separation from Europe in the form of severing ties with the Catholic Church and ending the long-lasting enmity towards Scotland was surmounted by the connection of English and Scottish royal houses. The English Reformation, which created a frame of all these events, is described in the following chapter.

1.1 THE SITUATION IN ENGLISH CHURCH BEFORE THE REFORMATION:

The first significant conflict between the church and king in England took place during the rule of Henry II. “The church came with Henry’s attempts to deal with the problem of criminous clerks” (Ibeji, 2011). As it has been described by Johnson (1992), in the times of Henry II more than a hundred thousand clergymen lived in England. However, only a minority lived and worked in parishes or monasteries, the majority of them were friars who wandered around the country, sources of their living were suspicious and a great deal of crimes was committed by them. “Henry, anxious to assert the power of royal justice, claimed that the criminous clerks should be tried in royal courts” (Britain Express, 2012). To Henry’s exasperation, his archbishop Becket rejected. These events took place a long time before the Reformation started. Despite this, both Johnson (1992) and Maurois (1995) agreed that this was the point when disrespectful attitudes to the church became significant among the English population and the aversion has been growing for the next three hundred years.

Johnson (1992) claims that in the 13th century the popes gained dominance over the nomination of bishops. As a result of this a large number of English bishops were Italians and they never entered the English land and if so, then they were interested only in the matters of state. Therefore, no authority had been controlling the common priests and their activities. The priests became indolent and the quality of the pastoral work was decreasing rapidly, which reinforced the unpopularity of the church among the rows of ordinary people. The churchmen have lost their authority also due to their lack of education. According to Johnson (1992) the illiteracy was a common feature among the priest and Maurois (1995) pointed out the example of an unlettered bishop who was installed by the

Black Prince, the eldest son of Edward III. The declining education of priests was scarcely acceptable, while the education of the ordinary people has been increasing by virtue of the invention of book printing, which has enlarged the knowledge of theology among the people (Maurois, 1995).

In addition to this the church did not even know the number of its parishes, Johnson (1992) presents that the number of parishes had been estimated to be about forty thousand, while in fact it was less than nine thousand as it was discovered in a tax survey in 1371. It was stressed, also by Johnson (1992), that the parishes were not distributed equally around whole England. They were located mainly in the wealthy south-east of the kingdom. Thus the negative feelings towards the church were strongest there, because the idleness and cupidity of the churchmen were mostly perceived there. In the west and north of the land the situation was not so much unfavourable as the priests there were not as inadequate as it was in the south and they often had to work hard (Johnson, 1992).

It is estimated that the church possessed a quarter of the whole wealth of the land. A great amount of land was possessed and hired by monasteries, which, according to Johnson (1992) did not fulfil any social function in the end of 13th century. Greed and envy of both the nobles and royalty was aroused by this. Monks often became the target of satirical medieval literature. Especially unpopular has become the monks, who gained a privilege to collect the indulgences from the pope, Leo X (Hume, 1983). It was stressed by Gallaher (2012) that the indulgences, remission of sins for money, were originally authorized by the previous pope, Julius II. "Expecting no extraordinary success from the ordinary methods of collection, Leo X gave this occupation to the Dominicans" (Hume, 1983, vol. III, p. 138). The indulgences were naturally unpopular and criticised by all the reformers, so it is clear that the Dominicans became a very unpopular friar. According to Hume (1983) the collectors themselves lived a very immoral life, spending their time in taverns and gaming houses.

During the three hundred years, since the rule of Henry II to the times of Henry VIII, the discontent with the church had been growing among the people. Therefore hardly anybody did protest when Henry VIII started with victimization of monks and clerks.

1.2 THE BEGINNINGS OF THE REFORMATION UNDER HENRY VIII:

Starkey (2009) deals with Henry's childhood and it has been argued that his childhood experience was very different from the typical childhood of an heir apparent.

Spending time mostly with his mother and sister, seeing his father and the older brother Arthur only rarely, influenced him heavily. Henry VIII had been a popular king since the beginning of his rule. Hume (1983) explains his popularity: “The contending titles of York and Lancaster were now at last fully united in his person” (Hume, 1983, vol. III, p. 84). This theme was described in more details by Starkey (2009) who argues that Henry VII Tudor still belonged to the Lancaster faction and the nobles previously faithful to the York faction were disadvantaged. It was agreed by both the authors that the true end of the War of the Roses came with Henry VIII and the role of Henry’s mother was emphasised in this matter by Starkey (2009).

Despite the following separation from Rome and pope, Henry had been bestowed the title of defender of the faith for his own tract contradicting with Luther’s propositions (Maurois, 1995). Johnson (1992) argues that the separation from Rome was not originally much connected with the religion, and that it was the clergy, who were not perceived as suitable, not the religion itself. The society was ready to support the king in the quarrel with Rome, however it was mentioned by Johnson (1992) that in the matter of divorce the public opinion did not favour the king. Furthermore, it was clear that if the pope does not confirm Henry’s divorce with Catherine of Aragon, there will be a serious conflict. It was stressed by Johnson (1992) that Henry’s minister and Cardinal Wolsey emphasized that during the negotiation with the pope. Nevertheless, Italy had already been captured by Habsburgs and the pope was practically a prisoner of Charles V, the Spanish emperor, who was protecting his aunt from losing the queenship of England (Churchill, 1998).

It was Thomas Cranmer, a substitute for Wolsey, who proposed that the king did not need an approval of the pope and the invalidity of the marriage could be declared by the prominent theologians (Maurois, 1995). Hume (1983) deals with the king’s appeal to the universities for the proclamation of invalidity of his marriage. “Several universities of Europe without hesitation, as well as without interest or reward, gave verdict in the king’s favour” (Hume, 1983, vol. III, p. 192). Maurois (1995) explains that the king’s request was accepted mainly by the universities in France because France was an enemy of Spain as it tried to prevent the divorce. Beyond the French universities the positive verdict also came from the Italian universities. However, Oxford and Cambridge were not very supportive, as they feared the progress of Lutheranism and the consequences this decision might have on the Catholic religion (Hume, 1983, vol. III).

Together with this factual negation of pope's authority, the English Reformation was entrenched in two law documents the Statute of Praemunire and the Act of Supremacy. The last remains of the pope's authority were dispatched by the Act of Appeals, written by Thomas Cromwell, king's new advisor and the main organiser of the dissolution of the monasteries (Churchill, 1998). The Statute of Praemunire was passed in the 14th century under Richard II. Its aim was to protect England from the power and influence of the pope. "In the event these statutes were of little immediate effect as kings had no desire to enforce them, their importance came at the Reformation" (Steinberg, 1963, p. 283). It has been argued that the law was formulated in a very general and vague style, so it mattered to the interpretation how it was applied (Johnson, 1992). Henry used this current law with new severity to dispose of Wolsey and again in 1530, when all clergymen were indicted for crossing it. In this way he managed to gain one hundred thousand pounds from the diocese of Canterbury and nineteen thousand pounds from York (Churchill, 1998). In protest against the king's supremacy in the spiritual matter his new chancellor, Thomas More, resigned. However, the ordinary clergy submitted without considerable protests. It was explained by Maurois (1995) that the changes enforced by Henry created from the priests a part of state bureaucracy and it was perceived as a way of their creature comforts.

Johnson (1992) claims that the religious aims were never clarified by Henry. It was suggested by Johnson (1992) that Henry did not have any concrete plan in the matter of reforming the church, he just proceeded from one utilitarian business to another. The Act of Supremacy passed in 1534 may be used as an example of this because it is a short and again a rather general document that in fact did not impose anything new (Tudor History, 1995). On the other hand it was pointed out by Maurois (1995) that neither Henry nor the majority of English inhabitants wanted to convert to Protestantism and the Protestants were pursued in the same way as the followers of Catholicism.

1.2.1 The Dissolution of the Monasteries:

It was suggested by Churchill (1998) that the English inhabitants paid considerably lower taxes than the people on the Continent, moreover people living in the northern England constantly suffering from the battles with Scotland did not pay taxes at all in certain periods. Yet Henry needed to increase his incomes and the great possession of the church created an enormous temptation. Randell (1997) describes that the dissolution was implemented in two waves. Firstly, the existence of small monasteries, where less than

twelve monks was living, was cancelled. Churchill (1998) pointed out that there were about four hundred monasteries and their land property altogether was truly significant. The majority of previously monastic land was sold to both the nobility and townspeople. According to Johnson (1992) the crown earned one and half million pounds.

The monks tried to resist but there was not much what could be done. Several monasteries tried to achieve an exemption. In Randell's opinion (1997) their success depended more on the contacts of the abbots than the importance or the helpfulness of the monastery and "even those monasteries whose application for exemption was successful were forced to pay heavily" (Randell, 1997, p. 64). While Maurois (1995) claims that the monks had a poor reputation and hardly anybody advocated them, even if they were quartered, Churchill (1998) pointed out that in the northern England the situation was different. In the poor and backward northern England the church had not such undesirable reputation, there were less clerks and their graspingness was not as obvious as it was in the south-east England. In fact Johnson (1992) claims that a considerable number of clerks at the north of England had to work hard. In addition to this stricter conditions were set and higher rent was required by the majority of the new land owners in the north (Churchill, 1998).

The result came as the Pilgrimage of Grace, an uprising led in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in 1536, protesting against the dissolution of monasteries and new taxes (Hanson, 1997). Randell (1997) argues that a significant number of monasteries provided an active support of the uprising. Churchill (1998) argues that the commander of the English army, duke of Norfolk, was willing to show some mercy but Henry ordered to punish the rebels strictly. It is estimated that altogether 250 rebels were executed. "The head of each house involved was declared a traitor in an act of attainder passed by the Parliament, there was no trial, and sentenced to be publicly executed, normally in his own monastery" (Randell, 1997, p.65). The property of these monasteries was confiscated. After the uprising was suppressed even more monasteries were dissolved, but still hundreds of monasteries survived mainly in the south and west. These included also the richest monasteries in the country, such as Glastonbury or Colchester, however none remained in existence after 1540 (Randell, 1997).

As it was described by Hume (1983), the suppression of the remaining big monasteries was a piecemeal but not peaceful process. Cromwell sent his couriers to each monastery and the abbots were asked to resign voluntary and bestow the property of their

houses to the king as a gift. Randel (1997) is sure that the commissioners were instructed to threaten the abbots and create as much fear as possible. Indeed, they were successful and the majority of monasteries submitted because they hoped for better treatment afterwards. “Where promises failed on effect, menaces and even extreme violence were employed” (Hume, 1983, vol. III, p. 251-252).

It is estimated that at the beginning of the dissolution there were about eight thousand monks and friars and about two thousand nuns (Maurois, 1995) Randell (1997) argues that a part of the monks found another paid employment within the church but the situation of the nuns was considerably worse, as they were not allowed to marry and often were not able to return to their family. Hume (1983) claims that for this reason it was attempted to preserve some women convents but the king refused and the majority of nuns lived the rest of their lives in very poor conditions. In the matter of cultural legacy of monasteries Polišenský (1982) claims that Henry cared about the monastic and clerical documents, ensured that it would be preserved and established what later became the Public Record Office; in Randell’s opinion (1997) a significant number of the illustrated manuscripts in monastery libraries were carelessly destroyed or lost. On the other hand both Johnson (1992) and Maurois (1995) stressed that due to the dissolution of monasteries and the sale of their land a whole new social class, which possessive interest lay in the Reformation, was created and after 1545 left only few people whose possession was not connected with the Reformation.

1.3 PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND:

1.3.1 Fall of Thomas Cromwell:

According to Churchill (1998) the English translation of the Bible was printed and the clergy were ordered to support reading the Holy Writ among the people in 1535. However Hume (1983) pointed out that the conservative nobles did not desire other changes than the enforcement of king’s supremacy and neither the king was contended with the doctrinal changes. Thomas Cromwell was hated among the nobles for his poor origin, his power and his opinions. Therefore, they waited for an opportunity to destroy him. It came with the 4th Henry’s marriage with Anne of Cleves. Churchill (1998) described that the international situation did not appear positive for England, the alliance between the catholic superpowers Spain and France was a real threat and England needed allies that could be found only in German Lutheran states. For that reason the marriage

with Anne was concluded and Cromwell represented a key person in the negotiation and Churchill (1998) claims that Cromwell presented her to the king as a charming women. The king himself thought, after the arrival of the new queen, differently and it was the immediate cause of Cromwell's fall. Hume (1983) deals with his accusation of heresy and treason and was sentenced, again without any regular trial, to death. Churchill (1998) mentions that Anne of Cleves was wise enough to agree with a nullification of her marriage. Soon Henry married again to Katherine Howard, a niece of the duke of Norfolk, who was the main Cromwell opponent. These events happened in 1540 but the reactionary period did not last long, both Norfolk and his son were captured and imprisoned in 1546 and Henry VIII died few days after them in 1547. The crown was inherited by Henry's nine-year-old son Edward and the rule was controlled by regents opened to the progress of Reformation changes.

1.3.2 Lutheran Tendencies in the Time of Edward VI:

The main Edward's regent, the duke of Somerset, as well as the archbishop Cranmer were prone to complete the Reformation according to the Lutheran model (Churchill, 1998). Morgan (1992) states that even the young king became a prejudice Protestant. Cranmer wrote the Common Prayer Book, which was passed in the Parliament in 1549 and followed by others liturgical books and the images were ordered to be removed from churches as it is very well described by Hume (1983). In addition to this Churchill (1998) deals with German and Swiss scholars who were asked to lecture at the English universities, where, especially in Oxford as it was mentioned by Steinberg (1963) the Lollards, followers of John Wycliffe's ideas, had a strong position in the previous century. Morgan (1992) mentions that even radical John Knox was offered an English bishopric. The Reformation seemed to be completed at least on paper.

However Maurois (1995) pointed out that people in Cornwall, who spoke their own dialect, understood the language and the sense of the Common Prayer Book less than their traditional ceremonies in Latin. Churchill (1998) also claims that the ordinary people, especially in the east-west coast of the land, did not accept the religious changes. Furthermore there were, especially on the east of England, quarrels about the land which was used more and more for breeding sheep. Maurois (1995) argues that unemployment almost did not exist in the previous medieval society and an enormous discontent among the people was caused. Churchill (1998) writes about several cases of uprising which flamed in England supported by the preachers such as Hugh Latimer. These uprisings

caused the end of lord Somerset's regency, the nobles feared, as Churchill (1998) explains, that England would suffer with the same violent civil war as occurred in Germany. "Cranmer soon came to see that unity could be only achieved at the price of uniformity" (Morgan, 1992, p. 41).

Hume (1983) describes how that the earl of Warwick, who later on created himself duke of Northumberland, became a factual ruler. Under his regency the greed of the ruling class was presented in its full power and the Reformation was nothing but a guise. Churchill (1998) suggested that Warwick's regency survived only due to the fear of nobility from the social riots. Edward VI himself was a weak man with a poor health and it was clear that he will die soon without any descendant. "By right of birth, as well as under Henry VIII's will, Mary, Catherine of Aragorn's Catholic daughter, was the lawful successor" (Morgan, 1992, p. 41). But after king's death Northumberland and the Council proclaimed Jane Grey the queen. Lady Grey as Churchill (1998) explains had a royal blood in her veins and according to the Henry VIII last will, she was next in the row after Mary and Elizabeth, who was clever enough to refuse any participation in such a foolish plan. Northumberland was hated among the whole country and Mary Tudor, as Morgan (1992) mentions, had the support of Norfolk gentry. According to Churchill (1998) London inhabitants themselves opened the gates of their town to Mary.

1.4 CATHOLIC ATTEMPT OF REVERSION:

It has been argued that Mary reached success at the beginning of her rule because she cheated. Morgan (1992) pointed out that her supporters realized the extent of her religious verve only after she was holding the rule in her hands. She was truly devoted to her goal – England's reunion with Rome. "The zealous bishops and priests were encouraged in their forwardness to revive the mass, though contrary to the present law" (Hume, 1983, vol. III, p. 408). Despite the fact that Mary enforced the reunion with Rome and the pope, the parliament refused the proposals to restitution of the monastic land and promoted a law protecting the current owners (Johnson, 1992). Morgan (1992) describes how in November 1554 Cardinal Pole landed in England and how the papal reunion was carried on, after which he tried to convert the people into Catholicism.

Johnson (1992) claims that it was Mary's brutality, which caused a factual waste of the catholic hopes for England. Three hundred people, among them sixty women, were burnt to death because of heresy in three years. Maurois (1995) argues that while mainly

Henry executed mostly monks and friars, Mary sentenced to death secular people. Moreover Johnson (1992) stressed that the executions had a social overtone, some benevolence was bestowed upon the members of higher classes only, which extended the opposition against her.

It is agreed by both Hume (1983) and Churchill (1998) that the decision to marry Spanish prince and heir Philip was Mary's biggest mistake. England was deluged of rumours about Spanish inquisition and its brutality and parliament feared that England might become one of Spanish colonies. Despite the parliament's wishes and lord Wyatt's uprising, she insisted on her marriage (Churchill, 1998). "It was agreed, that, though Philip should have the title of king, the administration should be entirely in the queen; that no foreigner should be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom" (Hume, 1983, vol. III, p. 417). However these promises, when announced, gave no satisfaction to the nation because it was universally suspected that the emperor would promise anything in order to get possession of England. Maurois (1995) refers that Mary failed to give England an heir and it had been agreed that if their marriage would be childless Elizabeth would become the queen. Mary was left by her disappointed husband, who returned to Spain, and died alone in 1558, when the whole royal court was gathered round Elizabeth.

Mary stayed in the mind of people as a cruel queen and a book describing her cruelty written by John Foxe became after the Bible the most popular book in England (Maurois, 1995). However, as Churchill (1998) proposed, except for the religious matter she was gracious and merciful. And some achievements were reached during her short rule: "The financial reforms of Northumberland were completed; the Exchequer was revitalized and reorganized; a blueprint for recoinage was prepared, and was adopted under Elizabeth" (Morgan, 1992, p. 43).

1.5 ELIZABETH I:

"In a nation so divided as the English, it could scarcely be expected, that the death of one sovereign, and the accession of another, who was generally believed to have embraced opposite principles to those which prevailed, could be the object of universal satisfaction" (Hume, 1983, vol. IV, p. 3). Yet Elizabeth during her forty-four-year reign reached an enormous popularity and she became the most glorified queen of all times. Morgan (1992) explains that it was due to her own propaganda which made people ignore many problems. Despite this when she succeeded her sister Mary on the throne, there was

no sign of the magnificent future for her. Elizabeth inherited her kingdom with an enormous debt, more than 250 thousand pounds, and with France controlling Calais and practically ruling Scotland. A large amount of people was discouraged about the state affairs and the situation looked very insecure. Yet, after her death England had a position among the leading powers in Europe (Black, 1994). As it was pointed out by Maurois (1995) Elizabeth ruled in the same absolute way as the French kings and the Parliament was under her control.

Castor (2010) deals with the strangeness of a female monarch. It is written in her article that neither Henry VIII nor the people did expect a woman to become a ruler. The power of the monarch was considered to be male, the king was expected and required to ride into battles and to defend his lands. The origin of the word queen, writes Castor (2010), lies in Anglo-Saxon *cwén*, which does not indicate a female counterpart of a king, only his wife. That is the reason why Henry VIII was obsessed by his desire for having son. "Daughters did not figure in his plans except as blushing royal brides for suitably grateful European potentates" (Castor, 2010, p.38). Castor (2010) stressed that the only previous attempt of a woman to gain the crown in the 12th century led in nearly 20 years lasting civil war. The war ended when her son, who later became the king Henry II, was old enough to claim his crown. So, the throne could be inherited from woman, the Tudors themselves claimed that they had a right to rule England after Margaret Beaufort, a Lancastrian heiress. However, the concept of a female ruler had not been tested yet. Still, according to Henry's last will his daughters should inherit the crown, provided Edward died before he had a descendant. It was due to Henry's great authority that the hereditary rights of the princesses were not challenged during his lifetime, even though both Mary and Elizabeth were during their childhood proclaimed illegitimate by their own father. (Castor, 2010).

Growing up, as Elizabeth did, being proclaimed illegitimate and banished from the royal court by her father, she had a truly distressful childhood (Churchill, 1998). Hume (1983, vol. III) pointed out that she was only three years old when Anne Boleyn, her mother, had been executed. Yet, she gained a very good education. Black (1994) claims that she spoke French and Italian as good as English and she learned also bases of Latin and Greek. In Porter's opinion (2010) it was her stepmother and last queen of Henry VII Katherine Parr who brought love, direction and order into the life of young Elizabeth as well into the lives of others Henry's children.

Elizabeth's religious persuasion is an object of disagreement. Despite MacCaffrey's suggestion (1993) of the queen's Protestantism as the simplest explanation for her acts, Maurois (1995) argues that a Catholic cross was kept in her personal chapel. In favour of Elizabeth's Protestant orientation speaks the significant influence of her stepmother, Kateryn Parr, whose Protestantism is well known, as she composed a religious book called *Prayers or Meditations* (Dolman, 2009). Despite this, as it is claimed by Johnson (1992), the attitude of the queen towards the religion was very cold and pragmatic. In her opinion the religion should serve the society and should not cause problems. The lack of religious fervour is supported by Maurois (1995) who claims that the Catholic coloured windows installed by Mary were left in the churches.

1.5.1 The Restoration of the Church of England:

According to Sheils (1993) the Catholic opposition consisting of Mary's supporters was still strong at the beginning of Elizabeth's rule in England. Hume (1983, vol. IV) describes that in order not to frighten the followers of Catholic religion, the queen kept eleven advisors of her sister but their authority was balanced by adding eight new counsellors who were known for their Protestant opinions. For Morgan (1992) England became officially a Protestant country again in 1559 after the Act of Supremacy and Act of Uniformity were passed and another important document called Thirty-nine Articles of Religion followed in 1563.

Black (1994) stressed that clergy was given no opportunity to get involved in the progressing changes, except the parliamentary negotiation, as the synod, the official church organ – later called the General Assembly, was intentionally ignored. Hume (1983, vol. IV) argues that the official change of religion was deliberately delayed till the meeting of the new parliament because it has been estimated that the elections would weaken the Catholics. Such presumption proved to be correct and the House of Commons widely supported the restoration of Protestantism. In addition to this Sheils (1993) mentioned that not only Catholics but also radical Protestants were in small number in the House of Commons. The situation in the House of Lords was, nevertheless, very different because the Catholics were represented mainly by bishops, who were nominated during the rule of Mary Tudor, had a narrow majority here. And the Act of Supremacy was firstly rejected by them. However, "during the Easter recess the government scored an important public victory against the Catholics as a result of a disputation between eight Protestant and eight Catholic divines" (Sheils, 1993, p.54). After that the Act of Supremacy was ratified.

The royal supremacy was restored. If anyone refused to vow and acknowledge the queen's supremacy, he could not hold any office. When anyone directly denied the supremacy, all his possession was confiscated and he was tried for treason. Crown gained again the right to nominate the bishops and the bishops were prohibited to transmit their incomes from the country. And English language became again the liturgical language, instead of Latin. The religious ceremonies preserved, nevertheless, some similarities with catholic mass and Elizabeth was not willing to permit any other way of worship (Hume, 1983, vol. IV).

It was argued by Sheils (1993) that the religious agreement, which was reached under Elizabeth, might be perceived as the real foundation of the Church of England. Hume (1983, vol. IV) describes that from ten thousand parishes, which were in England, only a little over hundred priests refused to accept the new order. For the rest of them, even if they probably did not agree entirely, the living source was more important than the religious principles. As it was pointed out by Johnson (1992), the task of clergy was practising religion not defining it. However Hume (1983, vol. IV) deals with the refusal of bishops, whose majority rejected Protestantism and rather faced an ejection. By this the number of bishops was reduced to fourteen (Hume, 1983, vol. IV).

It has been suggested that Elizabeth's aim might have originally been only to re-establish the religious principles of her father, the royal supremacy and the break with Rome, but she was encouraged by her advisor William Cecil to revive the Prayer Book and the Protestant doctrines (Morgan, 1992). Sheils (1993) stressed that the original and more conservative Prayer Book from 1549 was favoured by the queen, however the more radical edition from 1552 was promoted by some members of the House of Commons. This might have been caused by the return of immigrants who had absconded from Mary's tyranny. Especially the Protestant clergy returned from Switzerland indoctrinated by the radical Calvinism. However, according to Sheils (1993) recent research does not suggest that a Protestant opposition to the Elizabeth's policy was organised while the religious changes were passed in the Parliament. And the Elizabeth's preference of the less radical Prayer Book is explained as an attempt at facilitation of passing the law in the House of Lords.

1.5.2 Dealing with Catholics:

As it has been already mentioned, Protestantism and the Church of England were embedded, yet Elizabeth was not zealous in victimization of the Catholics. In Maurois's

opinion (1995) nobody was executed in the first decade of her reign and the financial punishments were preferred, for example twelve pence had to be paid for an omission of an Anglican mass. Morgan (1992) claims that there were over 225 Marian priests who had separated from the Church of England and remained in Catholic creed. According to Sheils (1993) Catholicism survived not only in its traditional stronghold in the north of England but also in the south. "Outside London, the South East, parts of East Anglia, and towns such as Bristol, Coventry, Colchester and Ipswich, Catholicism predominated at Elizabeth's accession: the bishops and most parochial incumbents were Marians, and committed Protestants were few" (Morgan, 1992, p. 46). Morgan (1992) explains that Protestantism with its focus on studying the Bible was more academic and intellectual religion than Catholicism, so it was not truly attractive to uneducated countrymen who steeped in the old traditions and rituals. The government's tolerance to the Catholics can be explained by their isolation from Rome and the pope. When Catholics were forbidden to participate in the Anglican mass by the pope in 1562, it took four years than this prohibition was publicly known (Sheils, 1993). The capability of Elizabeth to cooperate with Catholics was shown also in her foreign policy, concretely in her alliance with Catherine Medici who ruled France (Churchill, 1998).

However, after Elizabeth was declared to be a heretic by the pope and after Bartholomew's massacre in France, she was pushed by her counsellors to greater severity (Maurois, 1995). Morgan (1992) suggested that the persecution of Catholics was also intensified by the increasing fear from the Spanish invasion. And Churchill (1998) stressed the role of Jesuits friar whose members infiltrated into England and goaded English Catholics into a rebellion. Despite this Morgan claims: "It was the challenge of Anglicanism, rather than the threat of persecution, that succeeded in forcing Catholicism into minority status" (Morgan, 1992, p. 48). Yet, the persecution of Catholics grew and Johnson (1992) argues that the number of executed people was finally approximately the same as during the rule of queen Mary but the executions ordered by Elizabeth were spread in considerably longer time period. Also as it has been pointed out by Johnson (1992) all the convicts had a proper trial and were sentenced to death for treason not for heresy.

Churchill (1998) argues that the most considerable problems with Catholics are connected with Mary Stuart Queen of Scots who was a descendant of Henry VII and her claim on the English throne was not neglected especially by the Catholic nobles in the

northern England. As Wormald (2007) describes Mary Stuart escaped Scotland in 1568 due to the uprising and searched for protection at Elizabeth. Churchill (1998) claims that Mary was at the centre of political intrigues and conspiracies focused against Elizabeth. Elizabeth's advisor Walsingham tried to persuade his queen that it is necessary to execute Mary Stuart but Elizabeth refused several times. Finally her counsellors convinced her and Mary Stuart was executed in 1587 (Maurois, 1995).

1.5.3 Dealing with Puritans:

According to Johnson (1992) more serious issues were caused by the Puritans than Catholics. Johnson (1992) pointed out that Puritans reached much more power and influence than would be customary regarding their number. It was caused by their close cooperation and their significant position at the universities, which helped them to occupy a considerable number of seats in the Parliament. Puritans published a large number of pamphlets assaulting the church organisation. Hume (1983, vol. IV) deals with the replacement of Grindal, the archbishop of Canterbury, due to his forbearing attitude towards the Puritans. Grindal was replaced by John Whitgift in 1583. It has been argued by Johnson (1992) that only four Puritans were executed during Elizabeth's reign. However, a large number of them were imprisoned.

As it has been described by Hume (1983, vol. IV), a considerable part of Protestant clergy emigrated from England when Mary Tudor was ruling the country. They fled abroad mainly to Geneva and Frankfort, where they familiarized themselves with radical Calvinism. After Elizabeth was enthroned, they returned to their native country. The respect among other people had been earned by their eagerness and previous suffering. The returned clergy wanted to establish the new religion that was based on Calvinism. (Hume, 1983, vol. IV) Churchill (1998) explains that a presbytery, a council created from older and more experienced members of the church, had a main authority, so they did not respect the authority of priests and bishops. Black (1994) pointed out that Puritans saw a logical result of the Reformation in complete emancipation from the Catholic and Romanist traditions. They wanted to pure church from all the Catholic traditions, rituals and ceremonies, so they were called Puritans. Johnson (1992) pointed out that Puritans had one thing common with extreme Catholics, the religion was considered to be the most important aspect of life. While for the majority of Englishmen religion stood on the edge of their interests (Johnson, 1992). Despite Puritans were secretly supported by Elizabeth's most favoured ministers, such as Cecil or Walsingham, the queen was not open to

Puritan's practices and principle (Hume, 1983, vol. IV). Black (1994) argues that the Parliament was strictly controlled by Elizabeth to prevent any attempt to help the Puritans and no opportunity of suppressing these radical innovators was missed.

As it was mentioned before the Puritans occupied positions at the universities, where Puritanism was spread. "In 1570, Thomas Cartwright gave his celebrated lectures in Cambridge on the Acts of the Apostles, sounding a major blast against episcopacy and in favour of kind of Presbyterianism advocated by Theodore Beza, Calvin's successor" (Acheson, 1993, p. 11). Despite the fact that Cartwright was forced to leave England, as it is argued by Acheson (1993), a discussion about the bishops' authority had already been started. By the end of the 1570s, a Puritan congregation requesting a church based on apostolic ideas had been established. Thus Puritans did not consider the Elizabethan Reformation to be rigorous enough and they wanted to separate from the Church of England. Churchill (1998) pointed out that their ideas were spread mainly by giving lectures, sermons, printing pamphlets and flyers.

Acheson (1993) argues that Puritan separatism had been suppressed as apolitical movement by the end of Elizabeth's reign. Despite some religious tension and controversy, there was nearly no evidence of growing separatist tendencies at the end of the sixteenth century and only a minority of people was interested in radical religious activity (Acheson, 1993). In Acheson opinion (1993): "It would be a mistake to read back into this period the developments of the seventeenth century and to assume that such developments were inevitable" (Acheson, 1993, p. 18).

1.6 THE IMPACT OF THE ENGLISH REFORMATION:

In MacCulloch's opinion (2004) there were as many Reformations as there were Tudor monarchs, if Henry VII is not considered. Yet, a complex impact of all these events can be discussed. According to Sheils (1993) for majority of English population neither the political consequences of the break with Rome, nor the new relationship between the monarch and the church did matter the most. Ordinary people were interested in more practical things. Yet the Reformation changed the country and people of all ranks in society were influenced. It has been argued that the repression of the Pilgrimage of Grace enlarged the division of the kingdom into a poor and backward North and progressive and commercial South (Sheils, 1993).

The essential role in the process of the Reformation was played by the gentry, as the majority positions in the House of Commons were occupied by them. The economical position of gentry was reinforced due to the bargain of the former monastic land and they had the biggest interest in the maintenance of the Reformation. This enrichment prepared the gentry to become a leading political power in England. Yet, before the reign of Elizabeth the number of Protestant gentry remained rather insignificant. It was only during the reign of Elizabeth, when the gentry fully converted to Protestantism because of the Protestant preachers and teachers (Sheils, 1993).

Apart from the gentry, towns also played an important role in the Reformation. Sheils (1993) argues that towns were the centre of trade and the dissolution of the monasteries created several opportunities to make a profit. News, information and ideas were exchanged there as well as goods therefore the effect of towns on the Reformation is undoubtedly positive. However, the prohibition of religious guild, which had been a part of the dissolution, created significant complications in that moment because the guilds played a major role in the medieval society. Furthermore, some of the towns participated in the riots provoked by the dissolution of the monasteries. Consequently, Sheils (1993) writes, there was a mixed effect of the Reformation on the town communities.

Sheils (1993) claims that the spiritual leaders of the new religion were well educated, mostly in Cambridge, however the parochial clergy were not educated very well and it was suggested that its members were demoralized by the dissolution of the monasteries. On the other hand the translation of the Bible and the publishing of Prayer Book encouraged a study of the local clergy. Stephen Wilson, a former friar, might be used as an example because he was explaining the Protestant ideas and principles to people of Northampton, where he lived. Yet, in its majority the parish clergy stayed rather passive in the whole process of the Reformation and it has been argued that they had less influence than the laity (Sheils, 1993).

It has been stressed by MacCulloch (2004) that the majority of English Protestant clergy and people doubtfully saw themselves as a part of an international Protestant movement, despite the continental origin of Protestant ideas. Yet, in Elizabeth's reign the awareness of significance of the contacts with the centres of Protestantism and Calvinism was growing, especially among the Puritans. MacCulloch (2004) is convinced that at least several protagonist of the Church of England worked in favour of the whole Protestant movement and understood their religious identity at the international level. However, it

was not only due to the traitorous activities of Puritans that the narrower connection with the other Protestant churches was not realized. Johnson (1992) argues that English people wanted a church and religion that would serve them and not the religion which needed to be served. Consequently, keeping the medieval Christian traditions the Church of England has definitely been unusual among the other Protestant churches in Europe. MacCulloch (2004) holds the opinion that the Reformation was generally considered to happen over the channel. People in England did not regard themselves to be Protestants, they saw themselves as Anglicans.

According to MacCulloch (2004) the Reformation in England can be considered to be neither success nor failure. The reign of Mary Tudor has been pointed out as a reason for the survival of Catholicism in England which caused division and plurality not only in the sphere of religion but also in the political and cultural life. It has been argued that in the time when Elizabeth was succeeded, the possibility of imposing a complete religious uniformity seemed to be remote for any ruler.

2 SCOTLAND

Martin Luther, the founder of the Reformation movement, should have said: “If you think properly of the Gospel, please don’t imagine that its cause can be advanced without tumult, offence and sedition... The word of God is a sword, it’s war, ruin, offence, perdition and poison. If I am immoderate, at least I am simple and open“ (The Scottish Reformation, 2012). Scottish people were deeply religious as the church was there an important part of everyday life. Thus, the words of Luther were taken seriously as one of the most sever church organisation was created in Scotland. The significant features of this transformation and its impact are described in this chapter.

2.1 THE BEGINNINGS OF THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION:

According to Scott (1993) religion has played a crucial part in medieval Scotland, influencing the majority of both cultural and intellectual aspects. The significant majority of skilled administrators, lawyers and teachers belonged to the clergy. On the other hand the clergy were influenced by literature and its ideals. Catholic or Protestant, all of them shared the ideas of the Reformation (Scott, 1993).

Scott (1993) claims that the close cooperation between the state and church and its similarity was the most crucial problem for the early Scottish reformers. “Ruling monarchs and the nobility, who had much to gain from annexation of Church property, saw no difficulty in simply subordinating the church to the authority of the monarch” (Scott, 1993, p. 54). The reformers and Protestant promoted the medieval “doctrine of the Two Kingdoms”, which espoused the idea of independent church. This conflict did not stay only in the political sphere but with growing force of the Reformation, asking for piety and deeper spiritual emotions, it influenced and involved the majority of people, mainly through education (Scott, 1993).

Despite the intellectual superiority of the clergy, education started to expand among the laity in the 15th century. Wormald (2007) pointed out that the majority of administration officials in the court of James V, who ruled from 1528 to 1542, did not belong to the clergy. These people with humanistic education were even more open to the ideas of Reformation than the clergy. However, the Lutheran literature was prohibited by the Parliament in 1525 and Patrick Hamilton, who had been distributing these books, was burnt to death in 1528. Despite this, the Reformation ideas were not suppressed. In addition to this James V took advantage of the pope’s fear of the Reformation. In

exchange for supporting Catholicism the king was gaining larger control and power over the church. The bishops were nominated by the king, a considerable amount of ecclesiastical benefits glided into the king's hands and bishops paid very high taxes from their incomes. While officially the Catholic Church was supported, in the same time James V supported a considerable number of Protestant artists, mainly satirists. James V died in the age of thirty, leaving only one heir – his new born daughter Mary (Wormald, 2007).

It was pointed out by Hume (1983, vol. III) that during Mary's childhood the regents did not get the growing religious tension under control and the situation was becoming more violent every day. As an example Hume (1983, vol. III) describes the assassination of Cardinal Beaton, which was committed in 1546. According to Wormald (2007) the assassination had been organized by Scottish reformer John Knox but he fell into the hands of Catholic faction and was sent to France to the galleys. France wished to keep Scotland in the Catholic side to have an ally in the possible was with England. Despite this, according to Wormald (2007) James Hamilton, the earl of Arran, who sympathized with the Reformation and wished a rapprochement between Scotland and England, gained the regency in 1543. Acts permitting a distribution of the Bible in English were passed. Negotiation on the engagement of Mary and English prince Edward was started.

“The protector, before he opened the campaign, published a manifesto, in which he enforced all the arguments for that measure” (Hume, 1983, vol. III, p. 348). It was argued that creating one empire on the one island is natural. However, the Scottish people did not like the idea of losing their independence in a union with England. A wave of protests against Arran's policy rose, which was effectively used by Mary De Guise, the queen mother, and the Parliament did not pass the deal with England. Young Mary was engaged to dauphin Francis in July 1548 and she left Scotland immediately. So the period of reformist zeal was replaced with the period of patriotism which was strangely connected with Catholicism (Wormald, 2007). Yet, English protagonists of the connection between England and Scotland did not concede, England and Scotland were in a war (Hume, 1983, vol. III).

2.2 REGENCY OF MARY DE GUISE:

It was argued by Wormald (2007) that the dynastic importance of Mary Stuart and the importance of the alliance between France and Scotland had been demonstrated in a significant financial support of Scotland which forced lord Somerset to withdraw English troops from Scotland in 1550. Soon after that the right of Mary Stuart to the English crown was proclaimed. Scottish parliament had been assembled into an abbey near Haddington and the regency was officially entrusted into the hands of Mary De Guise who was trusted because of her well-known antagonism towards England (Wormald, 2007).

Wormald (2007) pointed out that Mary De Guise reached the main power in Scotland approximately in the same time when Mary Tudor became the queen of England. Thus, both the kingdoms, or at least their rulers, preferred Catholicism. Yet, they were still enemies as Mary De Guise represented the alliance with France, while Mary in England enforced the alliance with Spain. Wormald (2007) considers these facts for evidence that the true interests of monarchs lay in power not in religion.

In Wormald's opinion (2007) Mary De Guise had originally planned to repair the damages caused in a past decade of riots and wars but the fortification of borders with England had to be a priority. Scotland was still generously supported from France, yet a special tax, which would affect mainly the nobles, was proposed in 1556. The following strong protest of the nobles was taken in advantage by John Knox who had escaped from French prison and after spending some time in Geneva, returned to Scotland in 1555. The Protestants in Scotland were unified and radicalized by Knox, however in 1556 they were not strong enough and their scuffles were easily suppressed. Knox was consequently prosecuted for heresy but he was amnestied by Mary De Guise because she did not want to antagonize Scottish Protestants. After that Knox returned into Geneva, where he published his famous pamphlet denouncing the rule of women called *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Regiment of Women* (Wormald, 2007).

Wormald (2007) argues that Mary De Guise exerted every effort to keep political balance between Catholics and Protestants, both the groups had approximately the same profit from the French money being spent all over the country. In order to reach more money to gain more supporters the ecclesiastical lands were hired. The middle classes profited but small farmers impoverished. As a result of this policy Mary managed to prevent an uprising for a considerable period of time. Even after the wedding of Mary Stuart with French dauphin in 1558, she did not try to suppress the Protestants. The

reaction to this marriage was a convocation of church officials who should assure Mary of their support (Wormald, 2007). Black (1994) has, nevertheless, moderately different opinion. It has been argued that the French influence was perceptible in the government, in the army, in the each sphere of society. Black (1994) claims that Scotland was directed towards forfeiture of its independence. Both Black (1994) and Wormald (2007) agree that the imperialistic ambitions of De Guise family culminated in 1558.

2.2.1 Civil war in Scotland:

It was pointed out by Hume (1983, vol. IV) that Mary De Guise had not been able to restore the reputation of Catholic Church in Scotland and “the clergy, alarmed with the progress of the reformation, attempted to recover their lost authority by a violent exercise of power” (Hume, 1983, vol. IV, p. 20). And Black (1994) argues that the followers of Protestantism united themselves around a part of dominant Protestant nobility and called themselves the Congregation. The death of Mary Tudor and the accession of Protestant Elizabeth in England encouraged the Scottish Protestants. A petition supporting the Reformation and denouncing the sinful life of priest and prelates was presented to the regent and to the Parliament (Hume, 1983, vol. IV). Wormald (2007) pointed out that John Knox arrived back from Geneva in this critical time and he transformed the Protestant petitions into an uprising. According to Black (1994) Knox’s militant opinions based on Calvinism overcame even the most severe and radical doctrines in Europe. In 1559 a civil war started in Scotland. Black (1994) deals with the destruction of Dominican, Franciscan and Carmelite monasteries in Perth. Also the ancient church of Scone, where the kings of Scotland had been crowned for centuries, was destroyed without hesitation. Black writes that Knox claimed: “We mean neither sedition nor rebellion against any just and lawful authority, but only the advancement of Christ’s religion and the liberty of this poor realm” (Black, 1994, p. 41).

Black (1994) claims that at the beginning of the uprising Mary De Guise, devoted to her policy, tried to find a middle course between the Protestants and the Catholics. Yet due to the brutality and vandalism, which was advocated by Knox, the queen-regent was soon convinced that no religion reform was happening in the country but subversion of her authority and an attempt to usurp her crown (Black, 1994). Therefore, Mary De Guise summoned French army. Hume (1983, vol. IV) claims that it had about two thousand French soldiers. Wormald (2007) argues that this event led into a change of rebel’s policy, the uprising was started to be presented as fight for the freedom of Scottish nation and

Protestantism was identified with patriotism. Hume describes: “The regent, with the few forces which remained with her, took shelter in Dunbar, where she fortified herself, in expectation of a reinforcement from France” (Hume, 1983, vol. IV, p.26). The leaders of the uprising, above all lord James Stuart and duke of Chatelrault, formally voided the Guise’s regency and claimed to be faithful deputies of Mary Stuart and her husband. In fact, as Wormald (2007) pointed out, the English support was negotiated and John Knox considered the connection of England and Scotland to be necessary. Elizabeth’s advisor Cecil was prone to support the Scottish affairs, however Elizabeth hesitated. Finally, in 1560 she agreed to provide military help but she declared that she did not impeach Mary’s authority over Scotland. Wormald (2007) argues that French army resisted English troops with little success and after the death of Mary De Guise in June 1560, they resigned and the treaty was signed at Edinburgh. Moreover France officially accepted Elizabeth’s right to the English throne and, as it was stressed by Black (1994) both England and France undertook not to interfere in Scotland.

2.3 PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND:

According to Hume (1983, vol. IV) it had been agreed in the Treaty of Edinburgh, that a parliament would be soon assembled. This Parliament is called reformatory by Wormald (2007) and it was described how the pope and Catholic religion were refused, the mass was prohibited and Protestant doctrines were approved. Hume (1983, vol. IV) adds that whoever officiated Catholic mass or was present in it, was chastised with confiscation of property and corporal punishment for the first time, for the second time such person was banished and for the third time executed. Also the previous system of jurisdiction was abolished and replaced by the Presbyterian form of justice (Hume, 1983, vol. IV) Nevertheless, as it was pointed out by Wormald (2007), the complete reform of church and state proposed by John Knox that is described in his First Book of Discipline was not even discussed.

Hume deals with the attempt of Catholic clergy to keep some of their privileges: “The prelates of the ancient faith appeared, in order to complain of great injustice committed on them by the invasion of their property, but the Parliament took no notice of them” (Hume, 1983, vol. IV, p. 32). The last hope of Scottish Catholics was their young queen living in France and these reformatory statutes, when presented to her, were refused. Wormald (2007) stresses that by this refusal Mary also refused to acknowledge

Elizabeth as a legitimate queen of England. Scottish Protestants, nevertheless, were not concerned about their queen's opinion and the statutes were applied immediately (Hume, 1983, vol. IV). Despite this refusal Wormald (2007) suggests that Mary supported the Reformation by her decision about division of one-third of ecclesiastical incomes between the Protestant pastors and the state.

The treaty had also arranged the system of Scottish government, Hume (1983, vol. IV) describes that the queen should choose seven people from twenty-four people who had been nominated by the Parliament. The parliament itself should choose five more people and the whole administration should be held by these twelve people. Mary also had not the right to make war or peace without consent of this council.

2.4 SCOTLAND UNDER QUEEN MARY:

It was speculated by Black (1994) that if Mary's Husband Francis II had lived, she would have never arrived back to Scotland as the land had nothing comparable to the comfort she was enjoying in France. Actually, as Wormald (2007) pointed out, Francis II unexpectedly died in winter 1560 and the queen of Scots found her further abode in France disagreeable and returned to Scotland in August 1561. Fraser (1993) explains that Mary had been growing up in France Scotland was therefore a completely foreign country. France was an ally of Scotland but Fraser (1993) claims that Scottish nation was considered to be boorish and primitive, which must have influenced also Mary's attitudes and opinions. Moreover the opinions which Scots had about Mary were neither truly positive as well: "Mary was virtually an unknown quantity in Scotland at the time of Francis's death, and what little was known of her was feared" (Fraser, 1993, p. 111). As Fraser (1993) pointed out the political situation in Scotland was, at the time of Mary's arrival, abnormal. No royal government had been there since the death of Mary De Guise and under official leadership of Hamilton duke of Chatelherault, the kingdom was ruled by a Protestant government in which members belonged Lord James Stuart, the queen's stepbrother, and also the extremist reformer John Knox (Fraser, 1993).

Whereas in Fraser's opinion (1993) Mary was very intelligent and she could not be manipulated easily, Black (1994) claims that her education was in no way comparable to the remarkable education of Elizabeth. Regardless of her education Mary was not a capable ruler. It was stressed by Maurois (1995) that the emotions influenced the queen's decision considerably more than the rational judgement. Still, with her annuity as the

French queen-dowager and the money reached by the sale of the ecclesiastic property, the glory of the royal court was restored. A considerable travels around the country were undertaken in order to increase her popularity (Wormald, 2007).

As it has been already mentioned, the Mass was strictly prohibited in Scotland but Mary Stuart was a member of the Catholic Church. Wormald (2007) deals with an agreement concluded by Lord James and the queen. Private Mass was promised to the queen and she promised not to interfere into the Protestant settlement of state affairs from 1560. Furthermore the official recognition of Mary's hereditary right to the crown of England was attempted to reach by Lord Stuart. This attempt failed but the deal was regarded as suitable by both the queen of Scots and the majority of her subjects. However John Knox and other radicals protested and tried to interrupt the first Mass the queen ordered to be said in the chapel royal at Holyrood Palace (Wormald, 2007). The protests against the Mass were described by Fraser: "Patrick Lindsay, the future Lord Lindsay of the Byres, went so far as to shout out in the courtyard that the idolatrous priest should be put death" (Fraser, 1993, p. 152). According to Wormald (2007) it was Lord Stuart who appeased the rioters and enabled the Mass to be said.

Fraser (1993) argues that after this incident Mary asked Knox to meet her in Holyrood and the first of many dramatic dialogues between the young queen and nearly 50-year-old reformer started. After hours of arguing Knox agreed to tolerate the queen and her private religious ceremonies. The right to oppose and to overthrow an unworthy monarch, who affronted the word of God, was nevertheless strictly advocated by Knox. However Mary should object that Knox meant that all the people would be obliged to obey his church, yet she would follow the church of Rome because she was persuaded that this was the true church of God. Knox answered that she was not able to judge that and was, consequently, accused of speaking churlishly to the queen (Fraser, 1993).

2.4.1 Earl of Darnley:

Black (1994) is convinced that Mary wanted to get Elizabeth under pressure and therefore the search for a suitable Catholic husband was started. The general opinion is that even Mary would prefer someone from France or Spain, Scottish nobles did not wish to be ruled by a foreigner, also England tried to prevent Scotland from creating a new powerful alliance. Therefore, the earl of Darnley was chosen in 1565, not only he was Catholic but also the following heir to the English throne after Mary (Wormald, 2007).

Wormald (2007) has presented that both the Protestant lead by Knox and the powerful nobles feared of the Catholic changes. Despite this Hume (1983, vol. IV) claims that the marriage was accepted by the general public and the queen was admired and beloved by the ordinary people. Yet, the nobles were incensed that all their attempts of the friendly relations between England and Scotland were destroyed by Darnley. A plot was organized by the nobles but as Hume (1983) writes the nation did not want to participate in the rebellion and Wormald (2007) adds that also Elizabeth did not wish to intervene. Consequently, the plot ended without success and its leader Duke of Chatelherault was dismissed from the country as well as his collaborators.

The royal court became more and more openly Catholic. Yet, the nobles let the queen persuade them that there would not be any Catholic overturn referring to the uncrowning of her husband and arguing that Darnley had no participation in the royal power (Wormald, 2007). According to Hume (1983, vol. IV) the endeavour to debilitate Protestants were increasing. The cardinal of Lorraine made significant effort to decrease the clemency of the queen. The Parliament was summoned at Edinburgh in order to denounce the banished lords. The indignation of Protestants was increasing and it culminated in March 1566, when Mary's Italian secretary and lover David Rizzio was brutally assassinated in the presence of the pregnant queen (Wormald, 2007).

It has been described by Hume (1983, vol. IV) that initially the queen was allured by Darnley but her feelings were gradually subsiding. Wormald (2007) is convinced that Darnley was involved in the Rizzio's assassination. Darnley hoped that the elimination of Rizzio would bring him back into the queen's favour, yet the reality was different: "Instead of winning the crown matrimonial as a reward for his share in the murder at Holyrood, he found himself loathed and despised by the queen (...) and regarded with a mortal hatred by Morton, Ruthven and the other accomplices whom he had abandoned and betrayed on the following morning" (Black, 1994, p. 99). Yet, Wormald (2007) argues that the assassination had its benefits, the queen was discouraged after the incident and the conciliation was sought again. Both Catholic and Protestant nobles participated in grandiose celebration of the birth of queen's son. Only his politically isolated father was missing (Wormald, 2007).

2.4.2 Bothwel and Mary's Fall:

In nearly no time Mary had a new favourite and that was the earl of Bothwel. "The earl of Bothwel was of considerable family and power in Scotland; and though not

distinguished by any talents civil or military nature” (Hume, 1983, vol. IV, p. 84). Maurois (1995) was convinced that Darnley was murdered at the command of queen and her lover. Yet, Wormald (2007) has opposed that the queen’s participation has never been proved. Bothwel was tried but the court was manipulated and Bothwel was relieved. The queen, subsequently, eloped with Bothwel who married her in March 1567 (Wormald, 2007).

According to Hume (1983, vol. IV) the whole Europe was shocked by the news of these events and all the Catholic supporters of the queen abandoned her. It has been argued that lords of Scotland gathered themselves into a league to obtain justice in less than a month. The queen of Scots surrendered on 15th June 1567 and was imprisoned in Loch Leven castle (Black, 1994). In Wormald’s opinion (2007) the compelled abdication of Mary caused an intense disputation about the essence of royal power because the theory about godly origin of the royal power was doubted. Consequently, the abdication of Mary had a significant influence on the political opinions of whole Europe (Wormald, 2007).

Mary managed to escape from her prison in 1568. Black (1994) pointed out that the regents ruling in the name of young James might be sure about the support of people, as the negative picture of Mary was intensified by Knox and Protestant teachers, who had truly significant authority among the people. Several nobles, impelled by their longing for power, supported the queen and Wormald (2007) is convinced that her faction was capable of winning the Scotland back. Yet, as Hume (1983, vol. IV) pointed out she fled to England after the first lost battle searching protection by Elizabeth. Maurois (1995) claims that despite Mary’s involvement in several Catholic conspiracies against Elizabeth, the queen of England protected her as long as it was possible. Nevertheless, Mary was executed in 1587 (Wormald, 2007).

2.5 THE IMPACT OF THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION:

The Scottish Reformation was started by no authority but by the members of the parochial clergy. As a result of this the created Protestant Church guarded its independence from the crown. Any kind of hierarchy or bishop’s authority was strictly refused and the equality of all priests was strongly believed in. The beginnings of the Reformations were closely connected with humanism. According to Wormald (2007) the needs for the Reformation were caused mainly by the revolutionary changes in the education, which was heavily influenced by the humanistic ideas. *De jure regni apud*

Scotos published by George Buchanan, who was a teacher of the future king James VI, is considered to be the most open and radical proclamation of human rights and their sovereignty in the 16th century (Wormald, 2007). Despite the humanistic changes in education and society, Wormald (2007) is convinced that the initially self-confident Scottish nation was changed by the late Calvinist Reformation criticising dance, music and theatre into depressed and anxious people.

However the concept of reading the Bible and belief in its importance caused the spread of education in Scotland and till the 19th century Scots had better education than the rest of the Europeans (McDowell, 1997). It has been pointed out that Protestant spiritual literature, prayer books and bibles were imported from England and written in English, and consequently Scottish language was influenced by this phenomenon (Education Scotland, 2011). MacMulloch (2004) adds that the language changes were accelerated after the King James Bible was published.

The population of Scotland was growing during the whole 16th century. As a result of this the economic and social tension increased and the number of the poor people and beggars enlarged. It has been planned by Knox to supply all poverty-stricken people, but such an ambitious programme appeared to be unrealistic. “Few Scots stayed on poor relief for very long since it was regarded as a temporary measure rather than a permanent support as it became increasingly in England” (Scottish History, 2011). Moreover, a permission to beg needed to be received, as the deserving and undeserving poor people were differentiated. The poor people who had been labelled as undeserving and subsequently detected while begging were punished. Despite all these restrictions, there were still more people in need than the resources designated for helping them. The foundations of the future middle class were laid during the Reformation in Scotland as it was in England. And the Protestant Church was again closely connected with new classes who took a significant part in economical profit of the country. The general opinion is that Protestantism had a positive impact on the business (Scottish History, 2011).

Wormald (2007) mentions also the discreditable effects of the Reformation – the witch-hunts. Despite the emphasis of education the new religion reinforced superstitions. John Knox had preached against the witchcraft several times and consequently the Parliament passed an Act against the witches in 1563. Even John Erskine of Dun, who happened to be a nobleman with university education, led a witch-hunt in 1568. It has been argued that this particular witch-hunt as well as the other ones served as a way for

liquidating enemies (Wormald, 2007). Moreover, it has been suggested that even the Reformation succeeded, the church still suffered the same complaints as in the times of Catholicism, such as the attendance of the church and above all the possession of the parishes. The poverty of priest was a prominent sign immediately after the reformation. By the beginning of the 1603 the majority of priest had, nevertheless, become sufficiently wealthy (Scottish History, 2011).

According to Pettegree (2011) the rapprochement between Scotland and England was one of the most important effects of the Reformation. “For much of the sixteenth century England and Scotland hated each other with all the passion of warring neighbours” (Pettegree, 2011). Yet, the Protestant religion blunted the Scottish aversion. Both the Protestant reformers such as John Knox and the ruling nobles sought the alliance with England. The correlation between Protestantism and the rapprochement with England became perceptible especially when the Lords of the Congregation fought against Mary De Guise. Furthermore, when Scottish king inherited the English crown, it happened with the general assent of all English nobility as well as the Parliament.

CONCLUSION

With regard to the differences between English and Scottish reformation, which was one of the focuses in this thesis, the most significant difference lies in the position of the monarchs. In England the whole Reformation was evoked by the decision of the king and the ruler held a pivotal role during the whole process, either it was Catholic Mary or, even more significantly, Elizabeth I. In Scotland, on the contrary, the kings and queens were not as influential as in England because the Reformation was started by the philosophers and reformers. In Addition, the opinions of rulers in Scotland were not as evident as it was in the England. Even the House of Stuart as well as their French relatives favoured Catholicism and thus both religious groups were supported as it was shown in the case of James V and Marry De Guise.

The position of the reformers represents another essential distinction. The people, who might be considered as the reformers, such as Thomas Cranmer, the author of the Prayer Book, or Thomas Cromwell, the organiser of the dissolution of the monasteries, were faithful dependants of their king. However, in Scotland the reformers, especially John Knox, stood in the opposition of the ruling women while both Mary De Guise and Mary Stuart were willing to engage in the discussion. Yet, even in Scotland the Reformation could not be realized without the cooperation with the rich and the powerful. Such allies were found in the Scottish nobility.

Concerning the motives of the ruling class, it appears that the religion and desire for the true faith were not the crucial ones. An intriguing feature is that the different religious positions led into remarkably similar acts. In the name of the Reformation the property of the church was sold in England. Scottish monarchs professed to belong to the Catholic Church, their actions were, nevertheless, nearly identical – the church property was sold too, only it was done in the name of strengthening the central authority.

Consequently, it might be presented that the demand for political stability and desire for land and other possession which belonged to the church were the true reason for monarchs and nobility to support the idea of Reformation.

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Resumé

Tato práce je zaměřena na analýzu anglické a skotské reformace, popsání hlavních rozdílů a dopadů reformace na společnost. Dále na zdůraznění faktu, že panovníci a šlechta, jejichž podíl byl pro úspěch reformace klíčový, se nezajímali o náboženskou reformu ale o finance a politickou moc

Anotace

Jméno a příjmení:	Radek Stehlík
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Rok obhajoby:	2012

Název práce:	Reformace v Anglii a ve Skotsku
Název v angličtině:	Reformation in England and Scotland
Anotace práce:	Tato práce je zaměřena na analýzu anglické a skotské reformace, popsání hlavních rozdílů a dopadů reformace na společnost. Dále na zdůraznění faktu, že panovníci a šlechta, jejichž podíl byl pro úspěch reformace klíčový, se nezajímali o náboženskou reformu ale o finance a politickou moc.
Klíčová slova:	Reformace, Anglie, Skotsko, mniši, žeravé řády, katolictví, protestantismus, puritánství
Anotace v angličtině:	The thesis is focused on the analysis of English and Scottish Reformation, on the description of the main differences and the impact of the Reformation on the society. Furthermore, the emphasis is placed on a fact, that the monarchs and nobility, whose participation was necessary for the success of the Reformation, were not concern about the religious reform but about finances and political power.
Klíčová slova v angličtině:	Reformation, England, Scotland, monks, friars, Catholicism, Protestantism, Puritanism
Přílohy vázané v práci:	
Rozsah práce:	41
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