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**THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND THE SCOTTISH
REFORMATION**

Bakalářská práce

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Prohlašuji, že jsem závěrečnou práci vypracovala samostatně a použila jen uvedených pramenů a literatury.

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Abstract

The English Reformation was rather a political than a religious event, being performed by the monarchs, who were motivated politically. Therefore, the Church of England was a result of a political compromise between Catholics and Protestants and contained elements of both religions. Because the new religion was imposed on people from above, they accepted it reluctantly. On the other hand, the Scottish Reformation was carried out by Protestant nobility, whose motivation was religious. As a result, the new Kirk was a strictly Protestant church. The lack of understanding of the nature of the Kirk brought about the fall of Charles I.

Introduction

If you ask an average person about the English Reformation, all they will probably know is that Henry VIII had six wives (or Henry VI had eight wives, maybe) and because he wanted to get rid of one of them, he created a new church. When he later needed to get rid of the others, he probably could not afford making more churches, so the unfortunate ladies had to die. However superficial such an answer is, it is at least an answer. But if you ask an average person about the Scottish Reformation, they will probably know nothing. I must admit that I belonged among these people, before I started my project. Therefore I decided to choose this topic, because I wanted to learn something new, while writing my project.

Now, I would like to present what I have found out doing my research. In the first part of my project I will explain the reasons for the Reformation and its development in the European context. In the second chapter, I will describe the course of the Reformation in England. The description will be arranged chronologically according to the reigns of Henry VIII, Mary I, Edward VI and Elizabeth I with a special focus on their motivation. I will close this chapter with a description of the reaction of ordinary people to the Reformation. In the third chapter, I will describe the arrival of Protestantism to Scotland, its acceptance by various classes of people and then the revolution, which finally led to the Reformation. I will also comment on the role, which the Scottish monarchs played in the Reformation. Similarly as the previous one, this chapter will be finished with a description of acceptance of the Reformation by the common people. The last chapter will examine the impact of the two different reformed churches on the events of the 17th century, particularly on the fate of Charles I.

1. The Origin of the Reformation

The Oxford History of Christianity states that the position of the Catholic Church seemed to be unshakable for many centuries. In the middle ages, it was the richest and the most powerful organisation in Europe. It controlled both the public and private lives of all believers, their faith and opinions. Moreover, it used the fear of excommunication¹ to impose its will even on kings and emperors. In the fifteenth century, it could appear at first sight that the situation would stay the same forever, but under the surface the roots of future conflicts had already been growing. (McManners, 1993)

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, as McManners points out, the Church was in a serious moral crisis. On the whole, it was concerned more with secular power and with profit than with care about its members. It did not hesitate to subject its theology to material purposes, such as in case of indulgences², which were sold in order to finance the construction of St Peter's Cathedral. The personal lives of clergy often reflected the decayed state of the Church, but the medieval laymen were not allowed to criticise the Church or even to think critically about it, since they were forbidden to read the Bible and nobody could compare the reality with the ideal. (McManners, 1993)

According to McManners, the situation slightly changed with humanism, which brought the emphasis on the study of the original sources. In the case of theology, this new approach increased the interest in the Bible, at least among clergymen and theology students. Many of those, who were sincere believers, were surprised when they found out that many Church doctrines had no basis in Scripture or they were even explicitly forbidden by it. Some clergymen started to demand that the Church should return to its biblical roots. Despite their good intentions they were treated as enemies by the Church leadership. The reform movements which started in the 14th and 15th century were either suppressed or they had only local influence. In the first years of the 16th century the Church

¹ Exclusion from the Catholic Church inevitably brings eternal damnation, since there is no salvation outside the Catholic Church. (Catechism of the Catholic Church)

² Full or partial reduction of time that one's soul would suffer for one's sins in purgatory. Indulgencies could be given by Pope as a reward for acts of piety (e.g. pilgrimages, good deeds), but they were often sold by medieval Popes. (Encyclopaedia Britannica)

still maintained its medieval position, but in this strained atmosphere, the appearance of a massive reform movement was only a matter of time. (McManners, 1993)

The time came in 1517, when Martin Luther published his thesis against indulgences in Wittenberg, Germany. The legend says that he nailed his pamphlet on the door of his church, however, there is no evidence for it. Nevertheless, whether his work was nailed or not, his ideas created widespread excitement across Germany. The creation of a popular movement was not what Luther intended, he only tried to provoke the Church to discussion, which would lead to correction of doctrinal errors. However, the Church was too arrogant to admit its errors, so it claimed Luther a heretic and excommunicated him swiftly. Although Luther originally did not even think about creating a new church, after the excommunication he had no other choice than to do so. (McManners, 1993)

At this point it is important to mention that Luther did not invent a new religion, but he only strived to restore Christianity in its original form, which had been distorted by Catholicism. Similarly, it is wrong to think that Protestants only sought to remove religious statues from churches and to make some doctrinal changes concerning Mass, Pope, indulgences, purgatory³, intercession of saints⁴ and other unbiblical practice. While these changes were considered necessary, they can be compared to the tip of the iceberg. While these issues were the most visible ones, they were only the logical result of Catholic theology. In comparison with Catholicism, Protestantism brought completely different views and emphasis on the very essence of Christianity. The Protestant teaching can be reduced to five principles: *Sola scriptura*, *Sola fide*, *Sola gratia*, *Solus Christus* and *Soli Deo gloria*. In English, it means that the Scripture is the only source of theology, that the salvation can be obtained only through faith and only thanks to God's grace, which was manifested by Christ's death on the cross and finally that only God can be worshipped and to him all the glory belongs. This teaching was in sheer contrast with the Catholic

³ The place, where the souls of *the saved* (not the damned) had to suffer in fire in order to be purified from their sins. Protestants do not share this view. (Catechism of the Catholic Church)

⁴ A person does not pray directly to God, but prays to the saints, who then should pray to God. Protestants do not engage in this practise. (Encyclopaedia Britannica)

practice, where salvation for both living and dead could be earned only via intercessory mechanism of Masses. While in the Catholic Church an ordinary person did not have to and in fact could not understand their own religion, since the reading of the Bible was strictly forbidden, in the Protestant Church, salvation was highly individual matter, which could be accepted only by personal faith, coming from hearing the God's Word, so a person was encouraged to read the Bible, or at least to listen to sermons, in case of illiterate people. This revolutionary concept of salvation and of religious life on the whole gave the ordinary people a sense of self-esteem, as it made them independent on clergy and contributed to the success of Protestantism, which gained many supporters, first in Germany and then throughout Europe. (McManners, 1993)

2. The English Reformation

The English Reformation was rather a process than a single event. Additionally, this long and complicated process was not straightforward, but there were also some periods of stagnation or regression. (Sheils, 1993)

2.1. The Situation before the Reformation

According to Sheils, England was a country, which had had a heretic tradition long before Luther. Since the half of the 14th century, Lollards, followers of John Wycliffe, had survived as an underground, yet active movement until the arrival of Protestantism. Luther's ideas reached England thanks to the books imported from Europe and soon won their first sympathizers. Nevertheless, Protestantism had only little influence outside the intellectual circles. In 1520s and 1530s, the majority of the population remained Catholic and completely unaware of Protestantism. (Sheils, 1993)

Contrasting with the Continent, Sheils explains, the English people were relatively contented with the Catholic Church. While there was some criticism of the Church, the critics usually dealt just with the individual excesses and did not condemn the Church on the whole. It also appears that the people were quite satisfied with the Catholic religion, since they frequently engaged in various acts of Catholic piety such as processions, pilgrimages and adoration of saints. (Sheils, 1993)

Sheils points out that King Henry VIII firmly stood on the Catholic side and he wrote an anti-Lutheran book, for which he was rewarded by the Pope with the title "Defender of Faith". During his rule, many Protestants fled abroad, including William Tyndale, who translated the Bible into English. (Sheils, 1993)

2.2. The Course of the Reformation

According to Wormald, the unique feature of the English Reformation was that it was not sparked off by a popular movement, but it was initiated and directed by the sovereign. Therefore, the course of the Reformation was so closely connected with the royal person that it can be easily divided into several stages, corresponding with the reign of the individual kings or queens. (Wormald, 1991)

2.2.1. Henry's Break with Rome

Keith Randal suggests calling the process that occurred during Henry's reign rather "The Break with Rome" than "The Reformation", because it was rather a political event than a reform of religion. (Randal, 1998)

2.2.1.1. Henry's Marriage

Randal mentions that Henry married Catherine of Aragon, the widow of his brother in 1509. The marriage of Henry and Catherine was probably happy in the first years, but Henry became disappointed, as Catherine's children died very young, one after another. Henry started to be strongly convinced that he was being punished by God for his "sinful" marriage. He developed the idea on the basis of one verse from Leviticus, stating "*And if a man shall take his brother's wife, it is an unclean thing: he hath uncovered his brother's nakedness; they shall be childless.*" (Lv 20:21) The sense of guilt together with the need for a male heir drove him to the decision to divorce from Catherine. (Randal, 1998)

2.2.1.2. The Divorce

Churchill states that Henry sought for annulment⁵ of his marriage since 1527. Cardinal Wolsey was assigned the difficult task of negotiating with the Pope, as the Pope was the only one who could annul marriage. The case was really complicated, because Henry had married Catherine only thanks to a papal dispensation, as Catherine was Henry's sister-in-law. Thus, the Pope was not eager to divorce Henry, because it would have suggested that his predecessor had made a mistake. Moreover, Catherine was the aunt of Holy Roman Emperor and the Pope doubtlessly did not want to provoke him. (Churchill, 1998)

Understandably, as Churchill explains, the Pope had little motivation to divorce Henry, but he did not reject his demand either. Instead, he decided to prolong the judicial proceeding as much as possible. Henry, having fallen in love with Anne Boleyn, became impatient and turned his anger against both the Pope and Wolsey. Cardinal Wolsey was removed from the position of King's chancellor

⁵ A Catholic marriage could not be divorced, only annulled – i.e. proclaimed invalid as if it never existed. (Encyclopaedia Britannica)

and replaced by Sir Thomas More. Only the death on natural cases probably saved Wolsey from being executed as a traitor. (Churchill, 1998)

2.2.1.3. The First Actions against the Church

Sheils points out that although Henry got rid of Wolsey, the divorce proceeding did not progress at all. Henry, more desperate and angry than before, summoned the Parliament in 1529. (Sheils, 1993) Although this Parliament was later called the Reformation Parliament, Randal suggests that Henry did not plan the break with Rome in advance, but that he was rather undecided what the following step would be. (Randal, 1998)

Randal states that after waiting for two years without any achievement, Henry decided to change the tactic. In 1531, he suddenly accused the clergy as a whole of treason, which they allegedly committed by recognising Wolsey as a papal legate without Henry's permission. However irrelevant the charge was, the threat for the clergy was very serious and its purpose was evident – to bully the Church and indirectly the Pope as well. The Convocation had no other choice than to accept Henry's "generous" offer to withdraw the charge in change for 100,000 and the title "Supreme Head of the Church in England and Wales as far as the word of God allows". (Randal, 1998)

Being pleased with his success, Henry, with the help of Parliament, continued in similar hostile actions against the Church. As Randal states, in 1532, Henry forced the Convocation to accept the Submission of the Clergy, which forbade them to change canon laws without King's approval. In the same year, the Parliament passed the Act in Conditional Restraint of Annates⁶, which stopped 95% of all taxes paid by the English clergy to the Pope. (Randal, 1998)

Keith Randal remarks that the need for divorce became more urgent in December 1532, when Anne Boleyn discovered that she was pregnant. Fortunately for Henry, the aged Archbishop of Canterbury had died recently, so Henry promptly appointed loyal Thomas Cranmer as his successor. Now, Cranmer was commissioned to prepare the legal procedure of the divorce. The Parliament removed the last legal barriers to the divorce by the Statute in

⁶ i. e. taxes from the income of the clergy. (Randal, 1998)

Restraint of Appeals, which forbade all appeals to Pope on religious or other matters and thus removed the Pope from the position of authority. (Randal, 1998)

Now, on 10th May 1533, Henry finally got divorced and legalized his secret marriage with Anne Boleyn. Randal suggest that if the Pope had validated the divorce retroactively, Henry would have probably withdrawn all laws undermining Pope's authority and reconciled with Rome again. As the Pope evidently refused to do so, Henry accelerated the process of separation from papacy. In his effort, he found an invaluable helper in Thomas Cromwell. (Randal, 1998)

Keith Randal states that Thomas Cromwell descended from the family of a blacksmith, but until early 1530s he had managed to enter among the power elite. Although he was a Lutheran, he never placed his personal conviction before his duty to the King. After the divorce, Thomas Cromwell was assigned to execute the final break with the Pope. Under his supervision, the Parliament speedily passed a series of laws that destroyed the last bounds between England and Rome. All payments to Rome were transferred to the royal treasury. (Randal, 1998)

2.2.1.4. The Royal Supremacy

Randal states that the Act of Supremacy came in November 1534 as a response to the Pope, who had declared Henry's marriage to Catherine valid. To secure Henry's position as "The Supreme Head of the Church of England in Earth", the Parliament passed the Treason Act, which defined speaking against the King as treason punishable by death. All King's subjects, especially priests, were required to swear that they agreed with the Royal Supremacy. (Randal, 1998)

Randal points out that all the reforms executed until 1536 concerned only with the organization or property of the Church of England, while its beliefs and practice remained the same as before, except for the role of the Pope, of course. It may be surprising, since the Reformation on the Continent was primarily a religious movement. The explanation lies in the unique origin of the English Reformation. In England, unlike in many other countries, the Reformation was not sparked off by a zealous religious leader, but by the monarch. Therefore,

monarch's personal ambitions, preferences, political and religious views were the determiners of both the theological orientation and practical realization of the reforming process. (Randal, 1998)

2.2.1.5. Henry's Motives

Although Henry's motives for reform have been long disputed, Keith Randal declares that surely they were not religious. All his life, Henry held Catholic beliefs, such as transubstantiation, purgatory and necessity of good works for salvation. He sincerely disliked Lutherans and let himself be praised for "*defending the universal Church against enemies...especially the Lutherans*". (Randal, 1998, p. 37) Until the very last years of his reign, Henry kept hating Lutherans and burning them, as Sheils remarks. Therefore it would be a big mistake to regard Henry as a king favouring Protestants or even as a Protestant. (Sheils, 1993)

On the other hand, Randal argues, it would be a big mistake to think that Henry reformed the Church just because he wanted to divorce his wife. Henry's motivation was surely a more complex issue than just the desire to divorce Catherine of Aragon. Another motivation was added by his counsellors, Thomas Cranmer and Christopher St. German, who introduced him to an innovative concept of English history. They explained to him that once upon a time England had been an empire, independent in both temporal and spiritual matters, with no obligations to the Pope. In the previous centuries – they claimed – the Popes had robbed England of its ancient privileges. From that time on, Henry was convinced that Pope's supremacy was an offence to his kingship and he was determined to remove the papal control in order to renew the faded glory of his empire. (Randal, 1998)

2.2.1.6. The Dissolution of the Monasteries

Randal explains that although Henry technically became the Supreme Head of the Church of England with all the privileges and responsibility, he did not intend to carry out his duties in person, but he appointed Thomas Cromwell as his vicegerent in spiritual matters. His first great task was to execute the dissolution of the monasteries. Scholars agreed that Henry's motivation for the dissolution was solely financial. Indeed, Henry never attempted to justify it

religiously. The dissolution started with the lesser monasteries in 1536 and proceeded to the larger ones in the years 1538-40. (Randal, 1998) In 1536, the dissolution brought on a rebellion, called The Pilgrimage of Grace, in the most conservative Catholic areas. (Sheils, 1993) After the uprising was suppressed brutally, everybody was afraid to oppose the King and the rest of the dissolution was performed without resistance. (Randal, 1998)

2.2.1.7. The Doctrine of the New Church

Although religion played only a marginal role in the Break with Rome, Sheils explains that Henry felt that the newly created church needed some unifying creed, so he entrusted the Convocation with the task of summarizing the doctrine. Therefore, in 1536, Thomas Cranmer published the Ten Articles of Faith, which were not a piece of systematic theology, but they rather presented the attitude of the Church of England to the most controversial religious issues. Out of the ten articles, nine were purely Catholic, such as approval of prayers to saints or the use of images in churches. (Sheils, 1993)

Sheils states that while the King had no intention to change any of the religious doctrines, not all the influential men shared his opinion. Although very few radical Lutherans held some important office, there were many men in the higher positions who were not satisfied with the extent of Henry's reform and wished to go further. Their success depended on their influence on the King and on their competences. For example, the two Protestant bishops, Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Shaxton, could preach and teach Scripture in their dioceses, however, they could not change the Church of England on the whole. (Sheils, 1993)

2.2.1.8. The Role of Thomas Cromwell

Keith Randal argues that Thomas Cromwell, as King's vicegerent in spiritual matters, was in the best position to influence the doctrine. Instead of opposing to Henry, he planned to use his position to introduce some Protestant elements to the Church of England. He had to proceed patiently and slowly and to sacrifice a great part of his beliefs in order to uphold at least some of them. As a means of his policy, he used injunctions, in other words, instructive letters addressed to the bishops. They were instructed to remove from churches all

suspicious things, such as relics or shrines, which may become an object of idolatrous⁷ worship. Which was even more important was the instruction to keep one copy of English Bible available in every parish church. (Randal, 1998) Sheils mentions the publication of the Great Bible in 1539 as another Cromwell's success. He, together with Cranmer, managed to persuade the King that an authorized vernacular Bible was necessary to replace Tyndale's "heretic" version. (Sheils, 1993)

2.2.1.9. The Return of Catholic Dogmas

Randal suggests that for a few years, it seemed that Cromwell's cautious approach might have been successful. However, while the King let Cromwell do his policy for some time, he let him do so only for the sake of negotiations with German Lutheran princes. As the alliance with them definitively failed, Henry had no reason to tolerate Protestant ideas in his church. (Randal, 1998) According to Sheils, Henry had proved sufficiently in the past that he was a master of surprising vigorous attacks on the Church and he planned to use this strategy again. In 1539, Henry asked the House of the Lords six questions on the most controversial religious issues and he demanded answers according to the Catholic tradition. The answers were then passed by the Parliament as the Act of Six Articles. The act declared belief in transsubstantiation⁸, in the necessity of auricular confession⁹, denied Communion in both kinds¹⁰ to laity, ordered the priest to keep celibacy and allowed private Masses. The King also tried to weaken the influence of vernacular Bible by prohibiting its reading to the lower classes. Defeated Protestant bishops Latimer and Shaxton resigned, seeing their reforming efforts thwarted. (Sheils, 1993)

Sheils mentions that the return of Catholic orthodoxy was accompanied by a new wave of persecution of Protestants, which lasted until the last years of

⁷ Idolatry is the worship of inanimate objects.

⁸ A Catholic belief that during the Eucharist the substance of the bread and wine change into the *real* body and blood of Christ, while retaining the form of bread and wine. It is one of the biggest controversies between Catholics and Protestants. Protestants regard the bread and wine as mere symbols of body and blood. (Encyclopaedia Britannica)

⁹ A Catholic believer has to confess every sin to a priest in order to be forgiven. (Catechism of the Catholic Church)

¹⁰ Priests received bread and wine, laymen received only bread.

Henry's reign. One of those sentenced to death was Thomas Cromwell, executed in 1540 for treason and Lutheranism. (Sheils, 1993)

2.2.1.10. The Role of Catherine Parr

Sheils states that the situation became slightly more endurable for the Protestants after Henry married Catherine Parr in 1543. Under her influence, burnings became less frequent. The greatest success of Catherine Parr's clique was the securing of Protestant education for young Prince Edward, Henry's only son. Henry did not oppose her probably only because he was troubled enough by his poor health. (Sheils, 1993)

2.2.2. Edward's Reformation

Churchill mentions that in 1547, when Henry VIII died, his son Edward was only nine, so a council of regents had to be established. The composition of the council radically changed in favour of Protestant Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, who became the only regent with almost unlimited power. (Churchill, 1998) Together with Thomas Cranmer he started pursuing a really Protestant church reform. The first Edward's Parliament ordered the dissolution of chantries. A chantry was a chapel, in which a group of monks sang Masses for the soul of their sponsor or of his dead ancestors. Sheils points out that the act of dissolving thus showed the disapproval of the idea of purgatory and intercessory¹¹ Masses, which two doctrines made up the core of Catholic religious life. The next steps of Somerset's government followed the set course. Injunctions, similar to Cromwell's ones, commanded to remove all the objects of veneration from churches. (Sheils, 1993) According to Fincham and Tyacke, the thoroughness of the execution of this command depended on the religious conviction of the people responsible for every individual church or area. (Fincham & Tyacke, 2008)

Sheils points out that not only the outward appearance of the churches was altered, but also the form of the religious services was modified. Latin Mass

¹¹ Mass can be dedicated to a concrete deceased person in order to shorten the time, which the person spends in purgatory. (Catechism of the Catholic Church)

was replaced by English Liturgy¹², prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer. The book was made with the intention to be accepted by everybody: Catholics, moderate and radical Protestants. Therefore, it was deliberately ambivalent in the controversial points. The architects of the change aimed to shift the focus of the divine service from the Eucharist to a Scripture based sermon, while they tried to perform the reforms in such way, which would not disturb ordinary people. Therefore, the new service retained the outward form and structure of Mass. (Sheils, 1993)

The Book of Common Prayer was introduced into churches by the Act of Uniformity in 1549. Despite being designed to be convenient for everybody, it sparked riots in Cornwall, where the conservative Catholic population demanded the return of Latin. The rebellion resulted in loss of life and in the downfall of Somerset. His position was given to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. He, as a devout Protestant followed the same course as Somerset. (Sheils, 1993)

Sheils claims that although Edward's active involvement in religious policy was limited, he supported the course towards Protestantism, because he was a sincerely devoted Protestant. If he had lived to the adult age, he would have certainly continued in reforms, but he unfortunately died at the age of fifteen and he was succeeded by his Catholic sister Mary. (Sheils, 1993)

2.2.3. The Counter-Reformation

Churchill states that Edward, being seriously ill and childless was afraid of what would happen, if his older sister Mary had succeeded him. Mary, being daughter of Catherine of Aragon, had been brought up in the Catholic faith and did not hide her determination to restore Catholicism in her realm, had she become the Queen. (Churchill, 1998)

According to Duffy, after Mary acceded to throne in 1553, the Protestants' pessimistic predictions were fulfilled. Queen Mary brought England back under the Pope's control, abolished all already achieved reforms and renewed the medieval heresy laws. Some Protestants saved their lives by fleeing to Europe. Those who for whatever reason stayed in England were often forced to either

¹² i.e. a set order of prayers.

renounce their faith or die. This was especially true for those who were well-known Protestants in Edward's era. Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, bishops - John Hooper, Nicholas Ridley and Hugh Latimer were burned at stake, as well as 279 other people - clergymen, merchants and even women. (Duffy, 2009) Fortunately, Sheils states, not all the Protestants were killed, many of them escaped the persecution by hiding "*in woods, barns and solitary places*". (Sheils, 1993, p. 76) Even in these harsh years they managed to organize their meetings, prayers and Bible study, usually in private houses or outdoors. Under these extreme circumstances, the faithful Protestants learnt that they were able to practice their faith successfully without any official church. This knowledge and the close ties between believers outlasted the period of Marian persecution and were to emerge again in the form of Puritan movement. However cruel Mary's rule was it did not last long. Mary died in 1558, being deeply unpopular with her subjects. (Sheils, 1993)

2.2.4. The Elizabethan Settlement

According to Maclean, Elizabeth's accession to throne was accompanied by a feeling of insecurity across the society. She had survived her sister's rule by hiding her true opinion and thus nobody was absolutely sure what her religious conviction was. (Maclean, 1991) Nonetheless, Sheils states, as she started pursuing her religious policy, she proved that she was not a Catholic. She summoned the Parliament in order to return the religion to the state in which it was in Edward's time, which was called "The Settlement". The Parliament passed two important laws in 1559, the Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity. The first of them revived that issued by Henry, changing only Elizabeth's title from "Supreme Head" to less provoking "Supreme Governor". The Act of Uniformity made it obligatory for everybody to visit Sunday services and set the fix order of worship according to the new revised version of the Book of Common Prayer. (Sheils, 1993)

For the sake of unity and stability, Elizabeth was willing to mix Catholic and Protestant theology and to make compromises. She was in a difficult position between Catholics and radical Protestants and therefore she tried to satisfy the both sides. Therefore, the divine services outwardly resembled the Catholic Mass by the use of items such as candles and priestly vestments in order to

appease the Catholic public. The purpose of the Settlement was not to decide, which religious group was right, but to unify the nation religiously and to prevent conflicts. By leaving a big space for interpretation, Elizabeth showed that she was relatively tolerant in a sense; what she demanded was outward conformity with the Settlement. She did not persecute anyone for what they thought or believed, unless they expressed their opinion in public. (Sheils, 1993)

2.2.4.1. The Origin of Puritanism

In order to avoid “unfruitful religious disputes” and religious extremism of any kind, Elizabeth forbade unlicensed preaching. By such actions, Sheils claims, Elizabeth bitterly disappointed those sincere Protestants who had been struggling to keep their faith during Marian persecution. Those people, who had found refuge in reformed communities in Europe, were very influenced with what they had seen here. Many of those people had experienced the life in Geneva, where John Calvin had gone further than Martin Luther in his zeal for reform. The English refugees considered his church to be the best reformed one and hoped that Elizabeth would follow its example. Instead, they were forced to participate in half-Catholic ceremonies and to give up independent preaching, which was the most effective way of spreading their faith. These people, once again forced to go underground, gave origin to the Puritan movement. (Sheils, 1993)

2.2.4.2. The Problems within the Church of England

While the Puritan movement was flourishing, the Church of England struggled with apathy and indifference. (Sheils, 1993) Geoffrey Parker explains that a significant part of clergy had outlasted Henry, Edward and Mary while remaining in their positions, which documented their adaptability, but not the strength of their conviction. After so many changes, the clerical profession was not attractive for young men. The empty positions were filled with priests, whose education was very poor and whose personal lives were at least dubious. Given these circumstances, the Reformation proceeded very slowly. (Parker, 1992) Moreover, as Haigh points out, there were many secret Catholics among the priests, deliberately inhibiting the progress of Protestantism. When the

Archbishop Edmund Grindal moved to York, he was horrified by the amount of religious images kept in churches, 11 years after they were ordered to be removed. (Haigh, 1981)

2.3. The Impact of the Reformation in England

Parker mentions that there are several approaches to the assessment of the success of the Reformation. The first approach concentrates on the legal status and on the outward appearance of church, regardless the faith and feelings of the people. In other words, the Reformation was completed when particular laws were passed and put into effect. Applied to England, the Reformation is dated by the Act of Supremacy. (Parker, 1992) Nevertheless, Randal doubts Henry's Reformation to be Reformation at all, because its theological positions were strictly Catholic. (Randal, 1998) The introduction of Protestantism which occurred during Edward's reign was thwarted by Marian counter-Reformation and thus did not take root in the Church of England. Therefore, scholars (Sheils, 1993) argue that Elizabethan Settlement was the crucial point for the establishment of Protestantism in England. The Act of Uniformity from 1559 enforced predominantly Protestant theology and liturgy, yet with many Catholic elements, and made everybody attend services. (Sheils, 1993)

For many secular historians this state signifies the triumph of Protestantism, but, as Parker explains, the Protestant writers would consider such state of the church a failure, unless the people were convinced Protestants. The aim of reformers was not to make people sit in church, but to make them understand and believe. (Parker, 1992) For this reason the popular acceptance of Protestantism should be taken into consideration.

2.3.1. Popular Acceptance of the Reformation

Sheils states that the majority of the people did not want the Reformation and they were very reluctant to accept it. It was probably not because they were so convinced Catholics, but simply because nobody attempted to explain them the biblical basis for the changes, which occurred in their churches. Not knowing the Bible, the people clung to visible expressions of religion, such as statues, pilgrimages, monasteries and rituals. Such things provided them a firm point in the dangerous and unintelligible world around them. Therefore, the mere

destruction of traditions without any explanation brought only chaos to the lives of common people. Nevertheless, it does not mean that the people were fundamentally anti-Protestant. The researches of distribution of Protestantism showed clearly that it spread mainly in those areas, where the preachers were active, in other words, the preaching was the most effective and sometimes the only way of evangelizing the illiterate people. In this way, Hugh Latimer managed to establish a vital centre of Protestantism around Bristol, which survived even the Marian Persecution. (Sheils, 1993)

For obvious reasons, Sheils explains, there are not many tools for surveying inner thoughts of people living 500 years ago. The historians usually research into last wills, which often contain statements of belief (Sheils, 1993) or, as David Gaimster writes, they have to resort to indirect evidence, such as decorated pottery, which sometimes indicates the religious preferences of its owner. (Gaimster, 2004) Another possible method is to research into people's active involvement in the destruction of religious images after Edward's Injunctions. (Fincham & Tyacke, 2008)

According to Sheils, all the indirect evidence suggests that Protestantism started to be accepted by larger numbers of people in 1540s, mainly in the South and the East of England, especially in London, while the North and the West remained Catholic. Various reasons for this distribution have been mentioned, including proximity to universities, contacts with Protestant merchants from Europe or stronger presence of Lollards. Despite this generalization, the situation was much more complicated and often strong Protestant groups existed inside the most Catholic communities and vice versa. Nevertheless, Protestantism did not become majority religion in the time of Henry and Edward. Even in the Elizabethan period, the people accepted the Reformation only slowly and reluctantly and the ignorant clergy did not help them either. The only ones interested in winning the hearts of people were ironically those Puritans, who made some concessions in order to maintain their offices and to be able to work with common people. However, the number of preachers was small and therefore most of the people were won for the Elizabethan Church not by preaching, but by emphasizing the continuity with the Catholic tradition and by a notion of stability. For these reasons, in 1570s the majority of the people

identified themselves with the Church of England and the Reformation could be considered completed. (Sheils, 1993)

3. Scotland

According to Wormald, the Reformation in Scotland occurred later, but more dynamically than in England. Apart from England, the official reform of religion was preceded by the acceptance of Protestantism among nobility and middle class people, who played a substantial role in the enforcement of the Reformation. (Wormald, 1991)

3.1. The Political Situation

Jenny Wormald writes that at the time when the Reformation started on the Continent, Scotland was ruled by James V from the House of Stuarts. He was in a weak position, incomparable with Henry VIII. The English kings were more authoritative and their power was not limited by nobles, which was a consequence of the previous century when the old nobility died in the War of Roses and it was replaced by a new one, loyal to the king. On the other hand, the Scottish kings were more dependent on the support of nobility, since their authority had been weakened by the long periods of minority rules and regencies. (Wormald, 1991)

3.2. The Church before the Reformation

These days, Maclean claims, the moral of the Church in Scotland was outstandingly bad even by medieval standards. The priests did not care about their parishioners, but they were busy searching ways to enrich themselves. Many church officials lived in luxury and appeared in public with their concubines and children. As if it was not bad enough, the Church was tangled up with political affairs, which was accompanied with abundant corruption. Therefore, Pope Eugenius IV was not exaggerating, when he called the Scottish priests “Pilates rather than Prelates”. No wonder that at the beginning of the 16th century the Church had already lost its authority in the eyes of many ordinary people. (Maclean, 1991)

3.3. Protestantism in Scotland

While the people lost their confidence in the Church, they by no means lost the faith in God. Therefore, when the first copies of Tyndale’s English Bible were

brought to Scotland, the people were eager to read them in order to learn the truth about the basis of Christianity. (Maclean, 1991)

3.3.1. Popular Acceptance of Protestantism

Reid gives evidence that the Scripture spread at first among the members of literate middle class, such as merchants and master craftsmen. Reid explains that these people had good predispositions to embrace the Protestant faith. They tended to be intellectual, rather than mystical. Because of their profession, they were pushed to be rational and make plans, unlike farmers, who relied on various superstitions to secure a good harvest. The endlessly repeated mysterious ceremonies of the Catholic Church were therefore very suspicious to the individualistic and independently thinking tradesmen. Instead of relying on clergy in the question of salvation, they preferred to look into the Bible and decide for themselves, what the truth is. As soon as they had the opportunity to read the Scripture in English, they did so and then many of them became convinced Protestants, eager to spread the faith to other people. Those who were sailing to Holland were bringing from here large amounts of Tyndale's New Testaments. Some others became preachers, who help to bring the Protestant faith among illiterate people. Until 1540s, the Protestant movement was dominated by the middle class. (Reid, 1947)

In parallel with their success among the tradesmen, Protestantism was spreading in the academic circles. Wormald states that as early as 1521, the Lutheran ideas were taught at Aberdeen grammar school. Thanks to the fact that many students were of noble origin, Protestantism found its way among nobility. (Wormald, 1991) Maclean adds that this was also the case of the first Protestant martyr, Patrick Hamilton, who was an educated priest from a noble family. He preached until 1528, when he was burned at stake. While his sermons won many people for Protestant faith, much more people got interested in it after they saw him die bravely. During 1530s and 1540s many members of gentry and nobility joined the movement and soon became its leading force. They usually did not preach, as Patrick Hamilton did, but they protected Protestant priests and lay preachers. (Maclean, 1991)

By that time, according to Wormald, both the Church and the King were seriously worried by the danger of Protestantism. While the Church attempted to avert the threat by a reform from inside, James tried to fulfil his duty to protect the Catholic Church by initiating two laws against heresy. These laws provided a legal basis for ongoing persecution of Protestants, however, the extent of the persecution cannot be compared e.g. with Mary Tudor's burnings, for only seven Protestants were burned, contrasting with Mary's 284 victims. (Wormald, 1991)

3.3.2. The Role of Protestantism in Politics

Wormald points out that in 1543, after King James died the new religion started to play a crucial part in foreign policy. The King's only offspring, daughter Mary, was only few days old and a regent was needed. Having defeated his rivals, Protestant James Hamilton, Earl of Arran became the Regent. In the first year of his regency, the Parliament passed a very important law, allowing reading of the Bible in English. This law was welcomed warmly, as John Knox commented *'Then might have been seen the Bible lying upon almost every gentleman's table. The new Testament was born about in many men's hands...'* (Wormald, 1991, p.73)

Whereas this law was important for further spread of Protestantism among literate population, the next decision of the Parliament was important for the future orientation of the whole country. The Parliament agreed to negotiate about marriage of little Mary and Henry's son Edward. Wormald suggests that had these negotiations been successful, the traditional Scottish orientation on France would have ended and Scotland would have entered a new era of cooperation with England, heading for likely unification of the two countries. (Wormald, 1991)

Nevertheless, Wormald adds, many nobles were not able to cope with the danger of the loss of Scottish independence and the negotiations were interrupted. After this failure, Arran converted back to Catholicism and joined Cardinal in an attempt to negotiate a marriage treaty with France instead. Henry was particularly offended by Scots' refusal of the marriage and he reacted by sending his troops to plunder Scotland. These raids were given an ironic name "Rough Wooing". Besides killing and looting, Rough Wooing had one very

interesting aspect. As a means of propaganda war, Henry decided to send English Bibles to Scotland in order to convert Scots to Protestantism and thus turn them against their Catholic government. Even more interesting fact is that the Scots eagerly accepted the Bibles and even asked the English for more. Wormald finds it very ironic that while Henry denied the Bible to his own subjects, he provided it to Scots. Thanks to the Bibles a lot of Scots converted to Protestantism and many of these new Protestants collaborated with England. The collaboration forced Arran, although otherwise tolerant, to clamp down on the Protestants. (Wormald, 1991)

3.3.2.1. The Murder of Cardinal Beaton

Consequently, according to Maclean, many Protestants were forced to leave the country. However, many of them returned, including George Wishart, an educated nobleman, who became a travelling preacher. On his journeys, he was accompanied by a young priest named John Knox. For two years, he was able to preach throughout the country without being chased. In 1546, however, he was arrested by Cardinal David Beaton and burned to death. Just as Patrick Hamilton's execution, his death caused the opposite reaction than the Cardinal intended. Instead of being intimidated, the Protestants were unified by the threat. Nevertheless, a lot had changed about the Scottish society during the previous 18 years. During 1540's many members of gentry and nobility had converted to Protestantism and the Protestants formed a significant part of Scottish society. In case of persecution much would have been at stake. Therefore, some of the nobles, who were used to solve conflicts by violence, decided to avenge George Wishart. In May 1546, a group of George Wishart's friends suddenly attacked Beaton's castle and murdered the Cardinal. The castle was then besieged by French soldiers in service of Mary de Guise, the Queen Mother. After one year of siege, the castle was eventually captured and its defenders, including John Knox, were sent to forced labour on French galleys. (Maclean, 1991)

3.3.2.2. Mary de Guise's Attitude to Protestants

After the danger of a Protestant rebellion was averted, the Regent concentrated mainly on securing the marriage of young Mary with French dauphin and

dealing with Protestants was put off. On the whole, Wormald states, during Arran's regency the persecution of Protestants was relatively low, Bibles were available and preachers were preaching with little difficulty. The Rough Wooing was still going on and Edward's regent Somerset continued in Henry's strategy of religious propaganda war. (Wormald, 1991)

In 1548 the marriage negotiations progressed so far that little Mary was sent to live in France with her father and mother-in-law. (Wormald, 1991) One year later, the Rough Wooing was finally stopped by the Treaty of Boulogne. After her daughter had been safely sent to France, Mary de Guise could pay more attention to Scottish affairs. In 1554, she finally managed to get rid of Arran, to whom she gave the title of Duke of Chatelherault as a kind of compensation and she became the Regent herself. (Maclean, 1991)

Meanwhile, the number of Protestants was still growing, which fact Mary de Guise appeared to ignore, as Wormald points out. Of course, she was aware of what was going on, but she decided not to see it. Undoubtedly, she was a determined Catholic, but she chose not to impose her faith on her subjects as violently as it was common in her time. Her attitude to Protestants was not caused by religious tolerance, but by her pragmatism. She could not afford to make enemies out of the Protestant nobles, whose support was essential for securing the French marriage. She was not afraid of a Protestant uprising in the country, because she thought that the Scottish Protestants were harmless, since they had lost their main ally, England, after Mary Tudor's accession. (Wormald, 1991)

3.3.2.3. The Work of John Knox

In the meantime, as Maclean states, John Knox had been released from galleys in 1549. Not being broken by his traumatic experience, he immediately started working on church reform. After four years in England, he moved to Geneva, where he was strongly influenced by John Calvin. From this time on, John Knox yearned to establish a similar church in Scotland. (Maclean, 1991)

After years of waiting, in 1555, he decided to return to Scotland, as Wormald mentions. As he was back home, he immediately started preaching and he sent Mary de Guise a long letter in which he tried to persuade her to become

Protestant. He wrote the letter in a very straightforward and confrontational manner, which was totally inappropriate for communication with a monarch. Nevertheless, while spreading his faith, John Knox never cared about etiquette. As he was absolutely convinced that he was true, he made his lifelong goal to tell the truth to everybody and he subjected everything to this goal. (Wormald, 1991)

After two years of preaching in Scotland, Wormald states, he returned to Geneva having been pleaded by English refugees. There, besides serving as a pastor of the English speaking community, he wrote his most aggressive pamphlet, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, in which he attacked not only Mary Tudor and Mary of Guise, but also the idea of female rule on the whole. This work earned him a lifelong hostility of Elizabeth I, although it was not primarily intended against her. (Wormald, 1991)

3.3.2.4. The Lords of the Congregation

In 1557, Maclean states, the Protestant nobles felt that time had come to start political activity. Five the most powerful Protestants – called “The Lords of the Congregation”– publically promised to “*maintain, set forth, and establish the most blessed Word of God and his Congregation*” (Maclean, 1991, p. 90), in other words to establish a Protestant national church. This bound gained support among all social classes and gave confidence to undecided Protestants. (Maclean, 1991) Wormald writes that at the time when Protestants were getting stronger and declared their demands publicly, Mary de Guise still considered them a weak harmless group. The bishops doubted the correctness of her calculation and in 1558 they tried to eliminate the Protestant preachers on their own, but they were ordered by the Regent to leave the Protestants alone. (Wormald, 1991)

3.3.4. Spontaneous Protests against Catholicism

In April 1558 the Archbishop took an untypical step and burned Walter Myln, an old priest who had become Protestant. Wormald declares that the execution, which had been intended to demonstrate the power of the Catholic Church and to give confidence to half-hearted Catholic believers, resulted in the very opposite. The Catholic population seemed to ignore the message, while the Protestant

public clearly showed their sympathy towards the martyr. Day after day, the inhabitants of St Andrews came without fear and heaped a pile of stones as an improvised monument on the execution site. Since then, no Protestant was burned in Scotland. (Wormald, 1991)

Jenny Wormalds provides another illustration of Protestants' confidence. She describes that in Edinburgh the local people refused to participate in the annual procession to honour St Giles, the patron saint of the city, and threw his statue into the lake instead. The Catholics did not give up and borrowed another statue from nearby monastery, only to be destroyed as well. (Wormald, 1991)

3.4. The International Situation

Wormald points out that the Protestants were not safe completely, especially after two crucial events happened abroad. Firstly, the English Catholic Queen Mary died in 1558 and was succeeded by her Protestant sister Elizabeth. The isolation of the Scottish Protestants, which had been the reason of Mary de Guise's tolerance towards them, was now over and the Protestants feared that they could easily become a target of repressions as possible traitors. Secondly, the long war between Spain and France had ended and the rulers of both states turned their attention towards heretics in their realms. As Scotland was very closely attached to France, there was a real danger that the massive persecution of Protestants, which was going on in France, would expand to Scotland. (Wormald, 1991)

Maclean mentions that in this tense atmosphere John Knox finally returned to Scotland and attracted big crowds to hear his passionate sermons. In many cities, such as Perth, St Andrews, Stirling and Linlithgow, mobs of poor townspeople, having heard Knox's sermons against idolatry, destroyed many churches. (Maclean, 1991)

3.5. The Revolution

Reid states that John Knox was surprised by such violent impact of his sermon and called the crowd "a rascal multitude". On the whole, the leading reformers tended to distrust the lower classes, because they often get out of control. (Reid, 1947) Nevertheless, Maclean states, after the incident happened, there was no

way back, so the Protestant leaders decided to continue in the process which had started quite chaotically. Perth became a centre of Protestantism, all churches were stripped of religious pictures and Mass was forbidden. This was considered a rebellion, so the Regent sent her soldiers to deal with the rebels. The Lords of the Congregation did not hesitate and summoned their armies too. The Earl of Argyll and Lord James Stewart were sent by the Regent to suppress the rebellion, but they changed sides immediately after they reached Perth. (Maclean, 1991) Then Lords of the Covenant officially deposed the Regent, accusing her of failure to take counsel from nobility. At that time they were joined also by Chatelherault, who eventually converted back to Protestantism. (Wormald, 1991)

Wormald points out that these people were in a quite difficult position, for they were not very happy that they had got engaged in an armed struggle against their Regent. (Wormald, 1991) As James Kirk points out, many modern writers have doubted the earnestness of their intentions and have suggested that they used the religion only as an excuse for their selfish aims. Nevertheless, James Kirk states that these authors do not take into consideration the mentality of 16th century people. Nowadays, sin, damnation and salvation occupy little space in people's minds, but in those days it was the other way round. Those days, many people, including the nobility, were willing to risk or even sacrifice their lives for the sake of salvation. In view of this, James Kirk argues that the motives of Scottish Protestants were really religious, while material reasons played only a marginal role and therefore it is unfair to consider them just ordinary rebels. (Kirk, 1984)

Maclean states that while fighting, the nobles tried to open negotiations with Elizabeth. Her reaction was cold at first, because she still felt offended by Knox's First Blast. (Maclean, 1991) Wormald claims that only after her minister Cecil intervened, she reluctantly agreed to help the Scottish rebels. The war continued for almost a year without a decisive victory, because the Protestants were helped by English, whereas the Catholics were helped by French. Eventually, the war was not ended by a military victory, but by the sudden death of Mary de Guise. (Wormald, 2007) As Mary of Guise was dying, her enemies Argyll and Stewart gathered around her bed to give her comfort, proving that in

Scotland the personal relationships often overreached the religious or political conviction. (Wormald, 1991)

3.5.1. The Treaty of Edinburgh

Wormald remarks that the kingdom was left without any monarch present for fourteen months, because the legitimate Queen Mary lived in France with her husband. During these fourteen months, Scotland completely changed. The Treaty of Edinburgh was signed in July 1560, securing the withdrawal of both English and French soldiers and recognizing Elizabeth as the Queen of England and Mary as the Queen of Scotland. The treaty did not determine the religious affiliation of the country, but let this question be decided by the Parliament.

3.6. The Reformation

Wormald states that once the Parliament was allowed to discuss the religious questions, the Protestants were the masters of situation. As a result, the Reformation was performed very quickly. All the legislation needed for the Reformation was passed in six week, which sharply contrasted with Henry's Reformation Parliament, which worked for seven years. (Wormald, 1991)

Such a big difference in the speed of the Reformation was caused by totally different position of Scottish and English Protestants. Randal states that in England, the Protestants played almost no part in the reform. The legislative process followed the course determined by King's interests and thus did not proceed straightforwardly, but in accordance with King's current needs. Moreover, in the initial stage, even the King was not sure what exactly he wanted to achieve. (Randal, 1998) On the other hand, Maclean explains, the Scottish Protestant nobles had developed a very clear conception of ideal church many years ago. Additionally, they were in such position that they, apart from their English counterparts, did not have to resort to compromise. (Maclean, 1991)

These circumstances allowed them to implement the reform in accord with radical Calvinist thinking, which prevailed among the Scottish Protestants. As a first step, the Parliament abolished Pope's domination over the Scottish church, forbade the hearing of Latin Mass and annulled all anti-Protestant laws. Then,

the composition of confession of faith for the new church, now called the Kirk, was arranged. The Confession of Faith, written by John Knox and five other John's, declared clearly that salvation comes only by faith. No place was left for ambivalence or compromises with Catholicism. (Maclean, 1991) Actually, according to Wormald, the Scottish reformers were the very opposites of English moderate churchmen, such as Thomas Cromwell. John Knox and his colleagues were not willing to make the smallest compromise in the matters of faith and they despised those who were. Wormald mentions that the Confession was accompanied by The First Book of Discipline, which served for organizational purposes. It abandoned the episcopacy and introduced a form of collective leadership, called presbytery. The new church was governed by Kirk Sessions of lay ministers on the local level and by the General Assembly on the national level. (Wormald, 1991)

Wormald suggests that maybe the most interesting aspect of the Scottish Reformation is that the structures and the property of the old church remained intact. The monasteries were left to disappear naturally and their property was not confiscated. One of possible reasons for it is the power of personal bonds between nobles. The Protestant nobles did not want to do anything what would harm their Catholic friends who held the benefices of the old church. The nobles did not mix their religious beliefs with their secular duties, which they proved by comforting Mary of Guise as she was dying. (Wormald, 1991)

3.7. Mary Queen of Scots and Her Influence on the Reformation

While the reforms were in progress, Mary Queen of Scots finally arrived to her kingdom. Her husband had died tragically in December 1560 and Mary had been sent back to Scotland. (Maclean, 1991) According to Wormald, her arrival worried the Protestants, because she was a Catholic and everybody remembered Mary Tudor. However, she made it clear by her first actions that no counter-Reformation was to take place. In fact, she went in her tolerance towards Protestants even further than her mother. While Mary de Guise simply ignored them and let them live, her daughter enabled them to gain power in her kingdom and even helped them. She deliberately chose to ally herself to Protestant Lord James Stewart and on the other hand she dealt cruelly with the Catholic Earl of Huntly. Similarly, when the Kirk was struggling with the lack of money, she did

not use the opportunity to crush it, but she financed it, ironically, by money provided by the former Catholic archbishop. (Wormald, 1991)

Her behaviour was incomprehensible for her contemporaries, since the modern concept of religious tolerance was absolutely unknown in the 16th century, as Wormald explains. Concerning her personal faith, she was determined Catholic and she steadfastly insisted on her right to hear private Masses in her chapel, while the same was denied to her Catholic subjects. No wonder, that the Catholics were convinced that she is unconcerned about her subject's salvation, so her tolerance was perceived as a failure and not as a virtue. (Wormald, 1991)

If ecumenism was not the reason why she was happy to tolerate Protestants and even to help them, then the explanation can lie in her attitude towards Scotland. It is well-known fact that Mary never got used to her country and always hoped to succeed her cousin Elizabeth and to move to England. Her desire for succession later became almost obsession, so historians presume that she was willing to do anything in order to please Elizabeth, even if it meant to give up the counter-Reformation. (Wormald, 1991)

Since Mary did not intrude into Kirk's internal affairs, the churchmen soon accustomed to freedom and took it for granted. The ministers were proud of the Kirk being "the best reformed church" and they were very prone to see themselves as the highest moral authority. While the local ministers controlled the morals of their parishioners, the high-ranking ministers, such as John Knox, asserted the right to admonish and criticize the nobility and even the Queen. Jenny Wormald states that Mary herself was even reported to burst into tears after Knox criticised her marriage. (Wormald, 1991)

3.8. The Impact of the Reformation in Scotland

Maclean compares Scotland to England, stating that Scottish people accepted the Reformation with little difficulties. Almost half of the population were Protestants, who had been worshipping God in the Protestant way long before it was enacted by law. If the rest of people did not enthusiastically welcome the changes, they at least did not disagree with them, since very few people felt pity for the corrupted Catholic Church. (Maclean, 1991)

With the popular opinion on their side, the reformers did not have to maintain any outward signs of Catholicism in the Kirk, as Elizabeth I did in the Church of England in order to make uneducated people accept her Settlement. Instead, the reformers were free to follow the example of Calvin's Geneva and purify the Kirk from every unbiblical practice. In fact, they resembled Puritans a lot. (Maclean, 1991)

Maclean described the religious life in the parishes as based strictly on the Bible. The focus of the services shifted from Eucharist to long sermon delivered by ministers. The ministers also refused any formal liturgy, but they preferred spontaneous prayers. Everything that could tempt anybody to idolatry, it means all religious images and statues, was removed from churches and destroyed. The churches were deliberately left undecorated, so that nothing could distract the believers from worshipping God alone. (Maclean, 1991) Parker states that people attended services in such great numbers, that they sometimes did not fit into the church. They did not only go to church on Sunday, but they participated actively in various religious activities. The believers, both men and women, often read the weekly portion of Scripture in their own Bibles. (Parker, 1992)

Since the Scottish Reformation originated as a grassroots movement and it was not imposed on the people from above, Maclean states that the Scottish people were proud of their Kirk and were determined to defend it, if somebody had intruded into it. (Maclean, 1991)

4. The Aftermath of the Reformation

In the following decades, the two completely different churches did not collide because they were separated by the border. (Maclean, 1991)

Maclean states that troubles began in 1601, after Elizabeth I died and James as her closest relative succeeded her. Now, England and Scotland were connected into the personal union and Scottish King James VI, now James I of England moved to London. Here, he was impressed by the magnificent English court and the ceremonies of the Church of England. The *Via Media*¹³ suited his religious preferences, as he was definitely not a Catholic, but he disliked the austerity of the Kirk and its independence. He supposed that the introduction of the English model, in which the bishops were directly appointed by the king, would add him some authority. From that time on, he started to introduce elements of Anglican worship into the Kirk, ignoring the feelings of Scottish Protestants. (Maclean, 1991)

Wormald remarks that Charles I, having left Scotland at the age of three and having been brought up as an Anglican, was determined to finish his father's work and to bring the Kirk into conformity with the Church of England. He lacked the understanding of the difference between English conformist churchgoers and Scottish Protestant zealots, so he did not realize how dangerous it was to touch the Scottish religion. He was not warned by the riot, which accompanied the introduction of the Book of Common Prayer into Scottish churches. (Wormald, 2007)

Wormald describes that people, even the women, threw stones, sticks and chairs on the minister reading from the prayer book. After the violence subsided, the Scots tried to persuade the King by petition to let them keep their religion. On 28th February 1638 hundreds of representatives of gentry, nobility, burghs and clergy signed the National Covenant. It was a religious document, not a political one and therefore it did not challenge King's authority. While thousands of people joined the Covenant, the King did not learn the lesson and still insisted on Scots' immediate submission to his orders. (Wormald, 2007)

¹³ The theology of the Church of England was sometimes called *Via Media*, i.e. the middle way between Catholicism and Protestantism. (Sheils, 1993)

Given these circumstances, Wormald declares, a war was unavoidable. Finally, two wars called the Bishops' Wars were fought, the first in 1639 and the second in 1640. Having lost both of them, the King considerably weakened his position in England. In order to pay the war costs, Charles summoned the Parliament, which later proved to be a fatal step, since the Parliament rose against him. (Wormald, 2007)

Macleane claims that after the war began, the Scots were undecided, whose side they should join. They were willing to support those, who would have secured them the right to maintain their religion. The English Puritans, who had taken over the leadership of the revolution, offered them not only to keep the presbytery in Scotland, but also to introduce it to England. The Scots accepted their offer and joined the Parliamentary army. The Scottish help proved to be vital for the victory of Parliament. The Scots even captured the King as he escaped from England. Even though the situation had gone so far, the Scots were still willing to take King's side, if he would have agreed to let them keep presbytery. Nevertheless, he refused their offer, so the Scots handed him over to Parliament, who executed him a year and half later, in 1649. His stubborn insisting on the Anglican liturgy and the lack of understanding for Scots' religious feeling thus led to his death. (Macleane, 1991)

Conclusion

The Kirk differed from the Church of England in every possible aspect; in theology, in worship, in the form of leadership, in its position in state and in its acceptance by the public. All these differences originated from the completely different ways in which both churches were established.

While the Reformation of the Church of England was initiated and directed by absolute rulers during all its stages, the Kirk originated thanks to a popular movement, which was started by middle class people and then it was overtaken by nobility. The attitude of the House of Stuarts to Protestants can be described as more or less passive resistance. While James V fought them insufficiently, Mary de Guise chose to ignore them and Mary Queen of Scots even supported them.

The level of religious motivation for reforms also differed in these two countries. In England, Henry VIII initiated the separation from Rome from mixed personal motives, which included his desire to get divorced, his urge to produce an heir, the financial need and the ambition to dominate the English Church. Edward and Mary were really religiously motivated, yet by different religions and Elizabeth acted again from pragmatic motives, especially from the need to stabilize the social situation in England. On the other hand, the Scottish Protestants were motivated by their search for salvation and material reasons played only a minor role.

Consequently, the reforms in England were performed in a way, which should please the majority and therefore the Church of England retained many outward signs of Catholicism and its theology was sometimes deliberately ambivalent in order to prevent controversies. The population accepted the new Church slowly and mainly not because of their inner conviction. While the Church of England struggled with apathy and ignorance, the Kirk struggled rather with boundless enthusiasm sometimes leading to fanaticism. The Scottish Protestants were very radical and refused to seek compromise in the matters of faith.

The lack of understanding of these differences caused troubles to English kings James I and Charles I, when they attempted to introduce Anglican worship to

Scottish churches. The events resulting from this ill-fated effort culminated until they reached their peak by the execution of Charles I.

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Resumé

Bakalářská práce se zabývá popisem vzniku protestantských církví v Anglii a ve Skotsku, jejich srovnáním a popisem jejich vlivu na dramatické události 17. století. Porovnáním obou církví a okolností jejich vzniku byly ujištěny značné rozdíly v jejich organizaci, teologii, náboženské praxi a v míře jejich popularity mezi obyvatelstvem. Dále bylo zjištěno, že míra angažovanosti jednotlivých panovníků, šlechty, městského a venkovského obyvatelstva v reformačních událostech v obou zemích se značně lišila. Konečně bylo zjištěno, že právě tyto odlišnosti hrály významnou roli v politických událostech 17. století, především pak v anglické občanské válce a při svržení a popravě Karla I.

ANOTACE

Jméno a příjmení:	Lenka Pelíšková
Katedra nebo ústav:	Katedra anglického jazyka
Vedoucí práce:	PhDr. Světlana Obenausová, MLitt, Ph.D.
Rok obhajoby:	2012
Název práce:	Rozdíly mezi reformací v Anglii a ve Skotsku
Název v angličtině:	The Differences between the English and the Scottish Reformation
Anotace práce:	Tématem práce je popis a porovnání průběhu reformace v Anglii a ve Skotsku. Práce se věnuje roli jednotlivých panovníků v obou zemích a jejich motivům. Práce se dále zabývá rolí, kterou v reformaci sehrála šlechta, střední třída a prostí obyvatelé. V závěru práce je nastíněn vliv, který rozdíly mezi oběma nově vzniklými církvemi měly na politický vývoj v 17. století, zejména na občanskou válku.
Klíčová slova:	Anglie, Skotsko, reformace, protestantismus, katolicismus, anglikánská církev, presbyteriánská církev, víra, náboženství, teologie, Jindřich VIII., Eduard VI., Marie I. Tudorovna, Alžběta I., Jakub V. Stuart, Marie de Guise, Marie Stuartovna, Jakub I. Stuart, Karel I., John Knox, Martin Luther
Anotace v angličtině:	The project deals with the description and the comparison of the course of the Reformation in England and Scotland. The project deals with the role of the individual rulers and with their motives. Additionally, the project examines the role of the nobility, middle class and village people in the Reformation. Finally, the project provides an overview of the consequences, which the differences between the two churches had on the political development in the 17th century, especially on the Civil War.
Klíčová slova v angličtině:	England, Scotland, Reformation, Protestantism, Catholicism, the Church of England, the Kirk, faith, religion, theology, Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary I Tudor, Elizabeth I, James V Stuart, Marie de Guise, Mary Stuart, James I Stuart, Charles I, John Knox, Martin Luther
Rozsah práce:	44
Jazyk práce:	Angličtina

