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**Presbyterianism; the Formation, Changes,
and Purposes of Scotland's Covenants
(1557_1690)**

**Dissertation Submitted to the Department of English in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement
for the "Master" Degree in British civilization.**

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Dedication

To the ones that I love

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I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Mr. TEGUIA CHERIF for his unaccountable guidance and patience in directing me throughout this journey. I have been incredibly lucky in the comments I have received from him; his many advices, enlightening, remarks, and especially human attitude, my immense gratitude to him because he has always shown enthusiasm to my work.

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Abstract

The Present study is an attempt to prove that the Great Reformation of the 16th century was an important turning point in the history of Scotland as it proved how different the country wanted to be, especially with England wanting to reshape it according to her own standards. Indeed, since the birth of the country, the Scots remained distinct from the UK despite the many attempts from the side of the English kings to swallow the neighbouring kingdom making it a servant with no will. And the recorded history of both rivals bears witness of such claims. One of these events was the Scottish reformation and the role that the Covenanters had played in reaffirming Scottish identity. For that, it is important to examine what influenced Scottish Covenanters' insurrection and the impact such event had on the Scottish society. This dissertation provides an overview on Scotland's main historical events, emphasizes the era of Evolutions well as its political consequences, and refers to the effects of religion on Scottish society. The research begins with a historical background of the Anglo-Scottish relationship, moving to the topic of Reformation, to finally pave the ground for the discussion of the spread of the reforms movement in England and Scotland. Also, the establishment of the Anglican Church and the Scottish Presbyterian church are discussed in order to highlight their considerable contribution in ushering Civil War in both Scotland and ultimately in England.

Keywords

- Scotland - England - Reformation - Covenanters
- Presbyterianism - Anglican - Identity - Anglo-Scottish

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General Introduction

The disappointing outcome of the 18th September 2014 independence referendum marked a new era in the Scottish history. Strangely enough, this result denied the fact that the Scots are very proud of being Scottish rather than British, that is, it ignored their national belonging and their deep affection for their national heroes, William Wallace and Robert Bruce.

In fact, research related to Scotland and its national distinctiveness from that of England has been abundant. It has been obvious that most, if not all, literature about Scotland scrutinize the evidence that led to its devolution upon England in 1997 and/or the Scottish willingness for independence. And despite all the efforts the British have made to make Scotland literally theirs, all attempts had the same fate of failure.

For that, this research is meant to shed light on one of the many episodes of the Scottish struggle and rebellion to reaffirm their independence and distinct identity the period of Reformation. More specifically, this research work has the objectives of finding the impact of the religious movement through the radical changes in the establishment of Anglican Church of England and the Presbyterian Church of Scotland in the 16th century.

In this respect, the dissertation will attempt to cover some political and religious issues that are considered as the basic principals in the British Reformation policy toward the Scottish Kirk and the Church of England.

The analysis of this issue will be extended by trying to provide an answer to the following questions:

- What were the causes and reasons behind the difference between both Scottish and English Reformations?
- What impact did both have on the Scots and English people?

To the aforementioned questions, the following hypotheses are put forward:

- It is assumed that the problems in the demands, and personal interest on the one hand and in the structure and doctrine of each church on the other were the causes behind the Reformation.
- It is also assumed that the Reformation could have brought positive and negative impacts on both peoples based on the reasons that led to the Reformation, but also on the long history

of ups and downs both countries had with regard to England trying to impose her authority on Scotland

The present dissertation is composed of three chapters; the first chapter focuses on the background of the Anglo-Scottish relationship and presents Scotland as being a distinct country. More precisely, it focuses on religion and political unions between Scottish people (tribes) since the 6th to the 14th century.

The Second chapter deals with the atmosphere of the Roman Catholic Church in medieval ages and its main doctrines. Another important issue in this part is the birth of the Reformation mainly caused by the then church polity and the tide of dissatisfaction it ushered as well as the Protestant challenge it led to under the guidance of Martin Luther. It also highlights one of the most famous reforms in Western Europe, English Reformation and the separation from Roman Catholicism, what made the English church between the Reforms movement and the spiritual renewal. Furthermore, the focus will be on the Scottish Kirk on the eve of the Reformation.

Finally, the Third chapter will discuss the Scottish Reformation and the coming of Presbyterianism in the Scottish Kirk. On the outset of this last chapter; much concern will be cast on the Scottish Covenanters and the role they played in the English Civil War.

CHAPTER ONE**ANGLO-SCOTTISH RELATIONSHIP (6th – 14th C)****Introduction**

The first chapter of this dissertation attempts to provide a clear picture about the context of the current study, Scotland which focuses mainly on the origin of the Scots, and on Anglo-Scottish relationship through highlighting the key events; Origin of the peoples of Ancient Scotland as well as referring to the important historical development of Scotland; starting first by focusing on the indigenous people and the unification of its diverse tribes into a kingdom, to the Anglo-Scottish wars of independence. In other words, this chapter aims at putting the emphasis on how Scotland and the Scots came to be and the elements that made that possible; religion and political unions.

1. Origin of the peoples of Ancient Scotland

During the ice age 2.4 million years ago, Scotland was uninhabited. However, when the ice melted, forests spread across Scotland and then during the Stone Age (30,000 BCE–10,000 BCE), hunters moved there. Then about 4,500 BC, farming was introduced into Scotland. The early farmers continued to use stone tools and weapons and this period is called the Neolithic “New Stone Age” (8,000 BCE–3,000 BCE). The Neolithic people used stone axes to clear forests for farming and they grew wheat and barley. They also bred cattle and sheep. They lived in simple stone huts with roofs of turf or thatch. The finest example of a Neolithic village was found in Orkney¹ after a storm in 1850. The inhabitants lived in stone huts with stone shelves and stone seats inside. They also had stone beds, which were probably covered with straw or heather. By 1,800 BC people in Scotland had learned to make bronze. The Bronze Age (3000 BC – 1200 BC) people continued to live in simple huts and they are famous for their stone monuments which some of them were in circles indicating that such people lived in an organized society.

Although Scotland has a long history, the first documented facts found date back to the 1st century AD, when the Romans invaded Britain. As little written evidence was left by its first people. It was actually thanks to these invaders that records were kept about the region comprising present-day Scotland, and its people whom the Roman called Caledonians and the country Caledonia. (Oakland 29)

¹ A group of islands off northeastern Scotland that was a county until 1975, and is now a council area (an area with its own local government) whose full name is Orkney Islands

2. Indigenous people

Scotland's written history begins with the Romans. The Latter people invaded Scotland in 80 AD under the leadership of Agricola². The tribes in Caledonia resisted Roman invasion and the Romans tried a number of tactics to keep the peace in the north. The tribes advanced into southern Scotland and then marched into the northeast. In 123AD Emperor Hadrian began building a wall to keep out the coming tribes. Later in the Second century the Romans advanced again and in 140 and they built the Antonine Wall from the Clyde to the Forth. However, the Romans finally abandoned the Antonine Wall in 196 AD. Afterward, Hadrians Wall became the frontier. The Romans advanced into Scotland again in 209 AD but only temporarily.

2.1 Picts of Pictland /Pictavia

The ancient Caledonians were called the Picts (from the Latin picti, meaning 'painted') because they painted their bodies (McDowall 20). They were warriors and skilful craftsmen in sophisticated metalwork. They seem to be the earliest dwellers of the north and north-eastern Scotland. They spoke Celtic³ as well as a dead Pictish language. The Picts lived in round huts of wood or stone with thatched roofs. Pictish chieftains built hill forts of stone, wood or earth. Pictish farmers raised cattle, pigs and sheep. They also fished, hunted deer and seals and caught birds. They grew crops of wheat, barley, and rye. They also gathered wild fruits such as crab-apples, sloes, raspberries, blackberries and damsons. Although the vast majority of Picts were farmers some worked as craftsmen such as blacksmiths, bronze smiths, goldsmiths and potters. The Picts were very skilled at making jewelry. They also carved pictures on stones. Upper class Picts spent their days hunting on horseback or hunting with falcons. In the evenings they drank and feasted.

2.2 Britons of Strathclyde

For a thousand years before the last invasion of Britain, many different peoples came to settle in the British Isles. They knew that Britain had rich supplies of wood, meal and farmer produces. The changes that these invaders brought to Britain are still part of our lives today. The people who lived in Britain 2,000 years ago are known as Britons, but they too had come from more eastern parts of Europe. They were of Celtic origin. (Wormald 15) The times in which the ancient Britons

² Agricola was a Roman statesman and soldier, he was a governor of Britain, and he conquered large areas of northern England, Scotland and Wales.

³ An ancient European people who are related to the Celts or their languages, which constitute a branch of the Indo-European family and include; the Irish, Scots, Welsh, and Britons, or of their language or culture.

lived is known as the Iron Age (1200 B.C. and 600 B.C) because they made and used iron tools. In fact, the Celts were very skilled at working many kinds of metal. Most Celts lived by farming. Large family groups farmed the land and raised animals for food and clothing. Traces of their fields can sometimes be seen today, but more obvious are the huge mounds of earth that they built to protect themselves from attack.

2.3 Gaels of Dalriada

The third group of inhabitants of Scotland were the Scots Celtic settlers (also called Gaels), originating from Northern Ireland, who invaded the western Highlands in the 5th century. In the 6th century a people from Ireland called the Scots invaded what is now Scotland, these Irish-Scots ('Scottias' a Briton word meaning 'raider or pirate'). (20) were originally from Northern Ireland, and they spoke Gaelic and in the end they settled in the west of Scotland and Galloway around 500 AD, they settled in what is now Argyll and founded the kingdom of Dalriada. In 843 Kenneth MacAlpin who was king of the Scottish kingdom of Dalriada also became king of the Picts of northern and central Scotland. So the Scots and Picts merged to form a single kingdom. However, the new kingdom of Scotland only included land north of the Clyde and Forth.

2.4 Angles and Saxons of Lothian

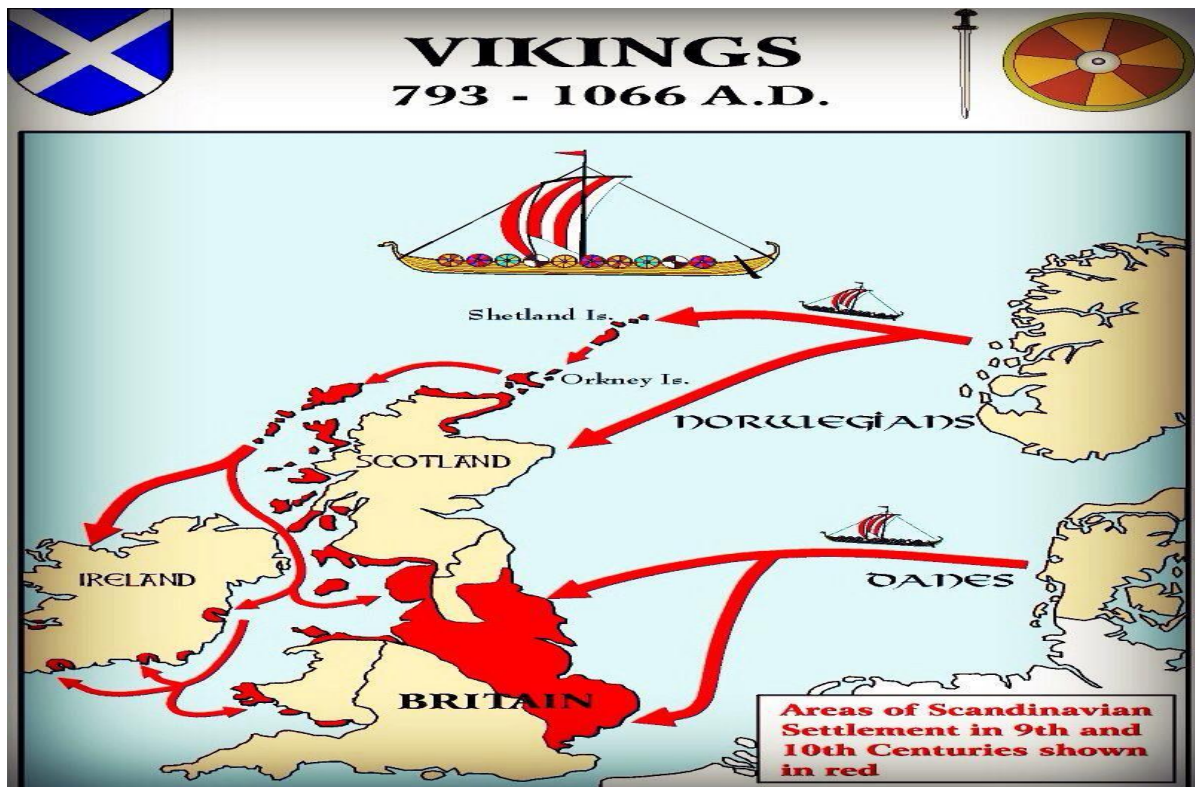
From about the 5th century, a fourth group of people, who arrived in family groups, were known as Angles (Germanic people) from North of Humber River conquered the Scottish Lowlands. They were totally different from the Celts due to their way of life. They used to farm their own individual fields. In fact, the lands there were distributed for farming by the local lord. Such distinguishing lifestyle increased the Angles feeling to develop a non-tribal system of control. Further south in the 6th century Angles invaded Northeast England and they created the kingdom of Northumbria "North of the Humber River". In the early 7th century the Northumbrians expanded into southeast Scotland and as far as Dunbar and Edinburgh.

2.5 Vikings of Scandinavia

The Vikings arrived in Scotland in longboats, attacking buildings and people. They came from Scandinavia; Denmark, Sweden and Norway. They were two types; the first type used to come to Loot and go back home. The Scotti moved into Pictland, where the Picts were too busy or weak to stop the Vikings taking over their lands. The Vikings killed the King of the Picts and his sons. They raided the monastery at Iona in 795. Then in the early 9th century, Vikings settled on different parts

of north England; the Shetland and Orkney Islands. They occupied large parts of the country including Dal Riata. Later in the 9th century, they settled in the Hebrides and in Caithness and Sutherland as well as on the western coast of Scotland. However, the Vikings were the reason behind the unification of Angles, Saxons and Jutes. They were also behind the unification of Pictland and Dalriada because it was obvious and necessary to unite different tribes in order to face the coming enemy, but the military unification was permanent because the Vikings remained there around the 9th c (See Map1)

Map 1: Map of the Scandinavian settlement



nt1 Source: Pinterest, English History (accessed on 2nd February 2020)

2.6 Anglo-Norman

Unlike the previous invasions, this was not an actual military invasion, but rather an invitation. Indeed, in 1124 David the first became king of Scotland. David was the sixth and youngest son of Malcolm III and St Margaret. Contrary to his brothers and father, the new king

was affected and influenced by the English and he was known to have spent his early years in England at the court of Henry I and his wife; David's Sister Edith Matilda or also called Maud of Scotland, who had married Henry I in 1100. David I offered lands to the Anglo-Normans incomers who soon anglicized the lowlands in Southern Scotland. Norman English became the dominant language of court while Gaelic was spoken in the Highlands and Norse in the far North and Isles. Anglo-Norman colonization brought to Scotland an intensive form of power-building historians once feudalism (Wormald 51). Moreover, he brought with him the Bruce family. They were nobles and masters; they came with the feudal system and established themselves in Scotland, and appointed them as royal officials such as sheriffs. He encouraged Anglo-French immigration. On the death of King Henry I of England, the English throne was usurped by his nephew Stephen of Blois Count of Boulogne, despite the claims of Matilda, known as the Empress, Henry's daughter and named successor. In 1138 David I of Scotland invaded England in support of his niece Matilda; the daughter of his sister, Edith. But he was defeated at the Battle of the Standard in Yorkshire. Therefore, in 1139 king Stephen of England faced with his own struggles in England granted David control of Northumbria under the Treaty of Durham and recognised him as king of an independent Scotland (See Map2).

David I introduced a number of political reforms at the level of the executive, judicial and legislative branches as well as he brought lots of administrative changes, all based on English model. David's administrative reorganization and changes in government reshaped the Scottish life. This became known as Anglicization of Scotland. To come to the point, David's reign had a strong impact in bringing close links between Scotland and England. Although these changes helped Scotland to be a strong independent kingdom, they encourage the Scots to proclaim their independence from Great Britain later. (Webster 23)

Map 2: Map highlighting the people of ancient Scotland

Source: Pinterest, Scotland (accessed on 3rd February 2020).

3. Union of Scotland (843)

Before becoming present day Scotland, the land was divided into several parts. So, the unification of Scotland dated back to the late centuries of the first millennium and passed through several steps. First, the unification of the early Scottish kingdom, i.e., between the Celtic tribes of the Irish Scots, Picts and Britons, took place in 843 AD, when the Scots king, Kenneth MacAlpin, was crowned at the Stone of Destiny. The new kingdom became known as Alba in Gaelic and in about the 10th century the land became known as Scotia then as Scotland. Thus, the union was based on numerous reasons, such as religious union and political union. Some of this interesting information has been mentioned in *The Foot Steps of Robert Bruce in Scotland's* book:

Despite their political, linguistic and ethnic divisions all the people of northern Britain had a great deal in common with one another. For a start they were all by this time Christians. This does not necessarily mean that they were all good Christians or that they did not do things which to us, or to the church hierarchy of their own day, would seem decidedly pagan, but they will all have believed themselves to have been Christians and had the rudiments of a Christian education. (Alex Woolf 14)

In the 7th Century, the Celtic branch of the church gave way to the more widespread Roman tradition, and the church in Scotland became more unified. The mediaeval church in Scotland was highly influential and its clergy held great secular power. Education was run by the church. St Columba who went there in 563 converted southwest Scotland to Christianity. He founded a monastery at Iona, which became very important in the history of Christianity in Britain. During the 6th and 7th centuries, Christianity spread across Scotland and by the end of the 7th century all of Scotland was Christian. “The spread of Christianity within the region was one of the main causes in bringing all the tribes together. Moreover, they all shared a common Celtic culture, language and background”. (McDowall 21)

Firstly, Religion was introduced by the Saint Columba who was an immigrant to Scotland in the name of Christianity, spreading the word of God and founding monasteries. St Columba was a native of Donegal in the north of Ireland; he travelled to Scotland in the 560s. The Saint also travelled to the eastern parts of Scotland, where he is credited with converting the Picts to Christianity. He is the most famous example, but there were many other Christian missionaries from Ireland and from other regions. In the sixth century, for instance, a Briton called Ninian travelled north to evangelize the southern Picts.

Knowing that they were different races “Picts, Britons, Gaels, Angles and Saxons, Vikings, and the Anglo-Norman”, it was difficult to imagine they would one day become united, yet and against the all odds, the union did take place, but instead of being political, it was rather religious. Christianity was playing a major role in bringing closeness among Picts and Scots. This was the first sign of union before it become more effective with the Viking incursions. It was actually the frequent defeats by the Norse raiders that the Picts and Scots were forced to end their long-term hostility towards each other and unite in the 9th century to form the Kingdom of Scotland “under a Scottish King, who could also probably claim the Pictish throne through his mother, in this way obeying both Scottish and Pictish rules of Kingship.” (McDowall 20)

In addition to religious union, Scotland also witnessed a political union. Kenneth MacAlpin was the founder of a new dynasty, a dynasty that united the Pictish and Gaelic kingdoms to become the new Kingdom of Alba. It was actually after the defeat of the Southern Picts (9th Century) by Kenneth. Furthermore, the new kingdom was called Alba. However, the new kingdom of Scotland only included land north of the Clyde and Forth. Then Alba became Scotia ‘Scotland’.

King of Dalriada is the first tribal leader on record to be styled King of Dál Riata, which then comprised Kintyre with a few territories on mainland Northern Ireland. From the evidence that exists, he appears to have died in battle against the Picts in Galloway. However, the same legend has it that he had married a Pictish princess and this allowed his son Kenneth to unite the two kingdoms through the Celtic tradition of inheritance through the female line (matrilineal). Kenneth succeeded his father to the crown of Dalriada in 839; this made him the King of the Scots “Dalriada”. Kenneth Mac Alpin had a claim to the Pictish crown through his mother, but his claim was disputed by surviving members of the seven royal houses of the Picts, and Drust X succeeded to the Pictish Crown. Kenneth defeated the Picts in battle in 841. Therefore, there was only one claimant for the Pictish Crown, and Kenneth was crowned King of the Picts and the Scots in 843. He had also created some sort of stability in his relations with the Britons and the Angles who held the lands to the south. Moreover, it was this Kenneth who formally united the Kingdom of Dalriada with that of the Picts. As it turned out, he ruled only for a further three years and was buried on the Isle of Iona. Kenneth MacAlpin has an undisputed legacy; if he cannot be regarded as the father of Scotland, he was the founder of the dynasty which ruled that country for much of the medieval period. Kenneth also killed the aristocracy after he became the King of this new unified Kingdom of the Picts and the Gaels”Scots” which came to be referred to as Alba. So, from here the Kingdom of Scotland grew.

4. The Anglo Scottish Wars of Independence (1286-1314)

From the reign of David I to William III, issues among the two countries remained unchanged. During Alexander III’s reign (1249–86), Scotland witnessed a period of peace, prosperity and economic growth. Although the wars began long before and the main reason was when Alexander III king of Scotland died after falling from his horse. His death brought instability to Scotland and the Scottish witnessed troubles and wars to be independent from the English.

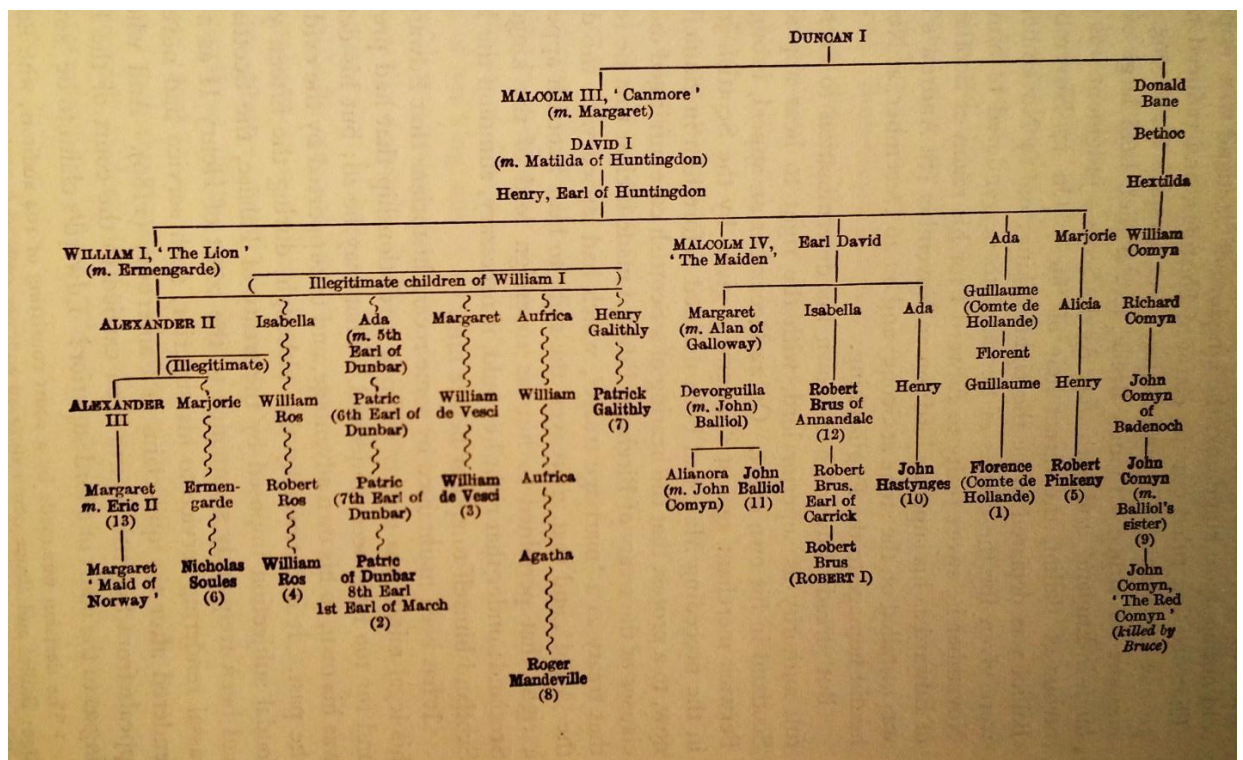
4.1 Alexander III and the Crisis of Succession

Alexander III was the King of Scotland from 1249 to 1282; his reign saw a stable period in Scotland’s history. His reign (1249–86), Scotland witnessed a period of peace, prosperity and economical growth. However, Alexander’s death drove the country into a succession crisis. With the death of the childless King, the Kingdom's hopes rested on the small shoulders of his

granddaughter and heiress Margaret⁴ to the throne of Scotland, the Maid of Norway. She was supposed to be queen of Scotland. Moreover, her uncle King Edward I did not want to lose the opportunity, so he stepped in arranging for his son Edward (who later became King Edward II) to marry the Maid in what would have eventually resulted in a union of the Crowns. “With Scotland threatening to descend into civil war, King Edward I of England was invited in by the Scottish nobility to arbitrate. Before the process could begin, he insisted that all of the contenders recognize him as Lord Paramount of Scotland” (Wikipedia).

The Scottish nobles agreed to this provided that Scotland remained an independent kingdom. However, Edward's dreams of a united Britain soon unraveled with the unfortunate news of the little Maid's death on her way to Scotland to be the queen. Her death meant that the issue of the Scottish succession got more complicated because there was no direct heir to the Scottish throne, as Alexander III's family line had been extinguished. This gave the opportunity to the thirteenth contenders to claim the throne through their dependence. Hence, in order to avoid a civil war, King Edward I was asked to choose the next heir out of the 13 camps (See figure1).

Figure 1: The Competitors graphic below describes the breakdown of the family trees of the thirteen claimants for the crown



Source: Croft, a New History of Scotland (Accessed on 18th February 2020).

⁴ The daughter of King Eric of Norway whose mother died in childbirth

Only two of the Competitors had serious claims to the throne; John Balliol and Robert Bruce. “It was clear at the time that the two most serious candidates were John Balliol and Robert Bruce, the elder” (Young et al. 34). The Great Cause is the name given to the time when Edward I was deciding who had the best claim to the throne of Scotland; “which came to be known as ‘the Great Cause’ in the eighteenth century” (34). Edward I chose John Balliol as the King of Scotland, because the law of primogeniture stated that inheritance passed down the line of the first born in the family and that John Balliol was the grandson of David, Earl of Huntingdon’s eldest daughter, whose family line was connected to that of Alexander III. Balliol was the king’s puppet because he had already accepted Edward I as his overlord and many Scottish nobles did not like the Balliol family, especially the Bruce family. Balliol had not been trained to be a king and Scotland had been without a monarch for almost seven years. Edward I treated John as one of his lords rather than as a king of independent country; he made John pay homage to him to show him that the king of England himself was in charge of Scotland.

5. The English invasions of Scotland (1296)

In 1296, Edward invaded Scotland in revenge for not helping him in France, because Edward I demanded from the king John and all of his lords would have to fight, but the Scottish noble refused because they thought Scotland was free, they did not want to help the English battle and the Scots were friendly with France. Furthermore, a treaty was made between Scotland and France called the ‘Auld Alliance’ in 1296 (the treaty stated that if France was attacked, Scottish forces would come to their aid, and vice versa). The invasion of Scotland by Edward I made King John to escape north towards his family’s lands because even his own nobles would not support him. By midsummer, Edward I had captured the majority of important Scottish castles and he removed the Royal Badge from King John’s clothing, after which John became known as ‘Toom Tabard’ (meaning ‘Empty Coat’). So, John surrendered to Edward on 10 July 1296. The English King also took the Scottish Crown Jewels, the Black Rood (Holy rood) of St Margaret and the Stone of Destiny, on which Scottish Kings were crowned.

In 1297, the country erupted in open revolt, and William Wallace emerged as the first significant Scottish patriot. Wallace killed the English Sheriff of Lanark, in May 1297. He then attacked English soldiers and officials in central Scotland. He was supported by important figures such as Bishop Wishart of Glasgow, the noble Sir William Douglas and Robert the Bruce. He probably avoided capture in the summer months by hiding in Selkirk Forest. On 11 September 1297, the Scottish army faced a strong English army on the outskirts of Stirling, because Wallace

saw himself as 'Commander of the Army of Scotland' and decided to attack the English army at Stirling. Wallace allowed almost half of the English soldiers to cross the Stirling Bridge which was extremely narrow; they crossed before telling the Scots to attack. However, the English were trapped between the Scots army and the river, and the Scots used spearmen to separate the English cavalry from the rest of their army on the other side of the river. Thus, huge numbers of English were killed and many drowned. , this means that the Scots had won the battle of Stirling. After this victory, the Scottish nobles appointed Wallace as 'Guardian of Scotland', and he became official commanders of the Scottish army and would rule Scotland on behalf of King John. Furthermore, Wallace continued to rule Scotland by invading northern England. On 22 July 1298, Edward discovered that Wallace's army was near Falkirk. So the two armies faced each other, the English cavalry drove the Scottish from the battlefield to be able to defeat the Scottish archers, without the protection of either cavalry or archers, the Scottish schiltrons⁵ were vulnerable. As the English charged again, the Scottish schiltrons fell apart. Consequently, the Scottish army was massacred. But William Wallace survived the battle and afterward resigned as Guardian. This gave the opportunity to Robert the Bruce and John Comyn, Balliol's nephew to become the new Guardians of Scotland and they continued the resistance against Edward I. King Edward I offered a generous ransom to anyone who killed or captured William Wallace. Unfortunately, Wallace was eventually betrayed and captured near Glasgow, he was charged with treason. So, he was hanged, drawn and quartered on 23 August 1305 and His limbs were displayed in Stirling, Perth, Newcastle and Berwick. (Tuck 31-32)

By Wallace's execution, the leadership of the Scots shifted to Robert the Bruce, who established himself as the new Scots' King in 1306, and hence the sixth Robert the Bruce (died 1290), grandfather of the future king, he claimed the throne longer before when it was left vacant in 1290, but as we know that Edward I awarded the crown to John Balliol instead. The real Robert appeared at one time among the leading supporters of the rebel William Wallace. There is nothing at this period to suggest that he was soon to become the Scottish leader in a war of independence against Edward's attempt to govern Scotland directly.

Bruce and former Guardian John Comyn had been debating how Scotland should be ruled. They met in Grey friar's Kirk⁶ in Dumfries on 10 February 1306. In the meantime, there was some sort of disagreement and when Bruce left the Church, Comyn was already wounded. Some reports

⁵ It is a compact body of troops forming a battle array, shield wall. The term is most often associated with Scottish pike formations during the Wars of Scottish Independence in the late 13th and early 14th centuries.

⁶ "Kirk" is the Church of Scotland as distinct from the Church of England or from the Episcopal Church in Scotland.

say that Bruce's companion, Kirkpatrick, went back in to make sure Comyn was dead. Besides, other reports say that it was Bruce himself who killed Comyn. Bruce had killed someone in a holy place which meant he had committed sacrilege (a crime against the Church). As a result, Bruce was excommunicated⁷. However, Bruce still had the support of Bishop Wishart of Glasgow. He forgave Bruce and helped him to organize his coronation. So, Bruce was crowned King of Scotland on 25 March 1306 and the coronations took place at Scone, where the Scottish Kings were traditionally crowned. The ceremony took place without the Stone of Destiny and the Scottish Crown Jewels, and there were only a few supporters present and the ceremony was led by the Countess of Buchan. He suffered a number of set-backs in his first few months as King.

Bruce returned to the mainland in early 1307 and was more successful because he defeated a small English force at Glen Trool, and in May 1307 he also defeated the main English force at Loudoun Hill. Moreover, in July 1307 Edward I died without subduing the northern kingdom. His son, Edward II (1307-1327), a weak king as compared with his father, was disastrously defeated by Robert the Bruce.

Furthermore, by 1314, Bruce had managed to recapture all of the Scottish castles from the English, apart from Stirling and Berwick, and the most significant event that happened on 23, 24 June 1314 was the Battle of Bannockburn which was a key date in Scottish history. Edward II's army had a large number of knights and longbow men. These men were the elite in what was a highly-professional, battle-hardened army. Unlike Edward II's army, Bruce did not have a large number of archers or knights within his army. Bruce's army consisted mainly of spearmen. Nevertheless these pike men could form a deadly wall of spears 'schiltron' which could prove devastatingly effective against cavalry charges and Robert deployed his army in a strong defensive position. The battle lasted two days, but Bruce defeated the English vanguard on the first day. In the end, Robert's victory at Bannockburn led to Scotland gaining independence from England. But, Bruce realised that he would have to secure Scotland's independence peacefully; so he needed to get support from the church, and 6th April 1320 a letter was sent to Pope John XXII in order to argue for Scotland's freedom from the English and to achieve their main goal which is; the idea of nationalism. The letter was sent by the nobles of Scotland, it was very important because it explained why Scotland should be independent, and the more considerable is that the nobles supported Bruce as their King 'testimony as one voice'. The letter became known as the 'Declaration of Arbroath'. (Young et al. 84-97)

⁷ Expelled from the Christian Church by the Pope.

Therefore, by the coming of Edward III (1327-1377), the Treaty of Edinburgh of 1328 brought peace to both countries. The Treaty recognised Robert I as an independent sovereign of Scotland and as the King of Scots. As a result, Scottish independence was guaranteed. Eventually, by King Robert's death in 1329, Scotland had become a battlefield among the weak kings, the Crown, and powerful nobles. The struggle for supremacy had continued for two centuries. (Keen 86-88)

In few words, religion was very considerable for the Scottish people; the history of Christianity in Scotland goes back to 400 CE, although the institution itself did not become the established Church of Scotland until 1560, following the Reformation, and the work of John Knox and others. The 16th century was the age of the European Reformation: a religious conflict between Protestants and Catholics which divided Western Europe for over 150 years, and continues to do so until this day in certain areas. The Church of Scotland is a mainstream Protestant Christian church, but like all churches it has developed its own authentic and individual character.

Conclusion

To sum up, this chapter has presented Scotland as being a distinct country. It has provided an overview about the major events that took place in Scotland since 6th till the 14th century. Thus, it is obviously seen that the Scottish spirit of religion, which dated back to 400 CE and continued. Despite all the efforts the British had made, the future Scottish generations will keep claiming their beliefs. Therefore, in the next chapter, a focus will be on the Scottish reformation and troubles within the union.

CHAPTER TWO**TROUBLES WITHIN THE UNION (1500-1572)****Introduction**

The tragedy of the English Reformation was smaller but not simpler than that whole Reformation. On all sides there was spiritual pursuit, heretic efforts as well as much that was short-sighted. So, the second Chapter discusses the difference between Scottish and British people in their identity; especially religious identity. And then one will focus on the Scottish Reformation and Counter Reformation. In this part one will attempt to address the radical changes that took place in the Church of Scotland. Firstly, details will be provided on the Scottish Kirk on the eve of the Reformation, and the state of the church. Then the last point will be about the important part that contains Scottish converts led by John Knox in 1559.

1. The Scottish Identity

It is believed that the Scottish national identity differs from that of the British. Specifically, even the two nations constitute the same country, the Scottish tend to reveal their feeling of belonging to the individual nation rather than to the whole unit. This reality is reinforced by McCrone David (2000), who states that:

People living in Scotland give much higher priority to being Scottish over being British. This holds broadly true for gender, social class, religion and region. Nevertheless, most people claim dual identity, and that Scots still remain 'British' in significant numbers. Compared with Wales and England, people in Scotland are much more likely to emphasise their Scottishness over their Britishness than either the Welsh or the English. (2)

In view of that and as a piece of evidence, the pride of being Scottish rather than British can be seen or read in both their cinema and literary heritage, in which they profit from showing off their nationhood by means of glorifying their national heroes such as William Wallace and Robert Bruce, as well as presenting satisfaction to their famous poets and novelists such as Robert Burns or Walter Scott.

1.1 Scotland and Religious identity

After centuries of domination by the Roman Catholic Church in Europe, many voices and opinions appeared with a new theology and opinions dealt about the truth of scripture “The Holy Bible” and how the true faith in God should be expressed, this new intellectual movement has developed to be a series of reforms against the Catholic Church.

Above all, it was a long time ago, all Christians were part of one church, led by the pope, the church started to become corrupt, people had to pay taxes to support the church; which exhausted many poor people. Furthermore, many churchmen were greedy in their job, also the bishops were from wealthy families, no poor could become bishops in a church in addition to the simony¹, when buying and selling church position’s nepotism. The authoritarianism² and the Feudal system³ of the church in religion, economics and politics even in its treatment of people and the hierarchical system impressed the people and others provoked his anger to embody it in series of reforms and correct the teaching and practice of the Roman Catholic Church, calling it back to obedience to God’s word.

1.2 State of the Church

Throughout the middle Ages (Medieval period 5th_15th), Scotland had always been run by not one but by two rulers; the reigning monarch and the church. It was the king who collected the taxes, called men to battle and laid down the law. But most ordinary people owned their true allegiance not to him but to the Catholic faith. Clerics such as bishops; abbots and even the pope himself had always been a key part of Scottish society, they were often close to the king, and no monarch could rule without church’s decision. (Craig 117)

By the end of the 15th century, the church had become hugely wealthy. It had vast power and authority over the land, hug abbeys, and fine cathedrals; but it was also, too corrupt and it had slaves to sow the seeds of its own destruction. Despite its power and its influence; many ordinary Scots had simply stopped going to church by 1500; the situation had become so bad that bishops were living in splendour and Scottish cathedrals were some of the most glorious buildings in the

¹ Buying or selling of something spiritual or closely connected with the spiritual. The name is taken from Simon Magus who endeavoured to buy from the Apostles the power of conferring the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

² Lack of concern for the wishes or opinions of others.

³ Feudalism was a combination of legal, economic, military and cultural customs that flourished in Medieval Europe between the 9th and 15th centuries. It is a system which starts from the king to the serfs.

country. While ordinary priests were on the edge of poverty, and their churches were literally falling down through neglect.

2 Reformation (1517-1648)

The term "Reformation" is commonly used to indicate the beginning of Protestantism and all the Christians who deviated from the Roman Catholic Church in the 16th century. Other historians like MacCulloch describe the Reformation as the greatest religious movement rather politics in 16th century, it was a revival of Biblical and New Testament theology; instead of one Reformation. Many different ones emerged out of broadly shared movement for ecclesiastical reforms: the Lutherans, the Anglican, the Scottish, and the Calvinist. (15)

The Radical Reformation started when people began to criticize the Roman Catholic Church such as John Wycliffe (1320-1384), John Huss (1360-1415), and Georama Savonarola (1452-1498) who spoke out against the papacy for its "wordiness" and "corruption". It was apparent as many clergymen were too fat, had illegitimate children and very rich. Besides, some critics had claimed that the church dogma and doctrine itself contained errors and gaps; but the Catholic Church had resisted such challenges and considered its most dangerous critics as Heretics.

But the English Reformation started in the reign of Henry the 8th. Henry VIII was a Roman Catholic and the head of this church was the pope based in Rome. The Roman Catholic faith believed in marriage for life, and did not recognise divorce. The widowed were free to re-marry; this was an entirely different issue. But husbands could not simply decide that their marriage was not working, divorce their wives and re-marry. The Roman Catholic Church simply did not allow it. Moreover, this put Henry VIII in a difficult position, because he decided to rid himself of his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, after she had failed to produce a male heir to the throne and she was considered too old to have more children. He had already decided who his next wife would be; Anne Boleyn. But divorce meant excommunicate⁴ him. Such threat was actually the way the Catholic Church used to keep people under its control.

Another approach Henry used to make a special appeal to the pope so that he would grant him a special "Papal Dispensation"⁵. The pope refused the offer and by 1533 the King's anger was such that he ordered the Archbishop of Canterbury to grant him divorce so that he could marry Anne Boleyn. Eventually, the Archbishop granted Henry VIII his divorce, against the wishes of the pope

⁴ A kind of banishment, a punishment that is handed out by a church when one of its members breaks some important church rule.

⁵ A permission from the pope for someone to do something contrary to canon law, especially to dissolve marriages

which placed the King as head of the church and in that sense; his divorce was perfectly legal, in his eyes. In 1533, few were brave enough to be against him. Furthermore, these events effectively lead England to breaking away from the Roman Catholic Church based in Rome and create the Church of England, commonly the Anglican Church.

Unlike his uncle⁶ Henry VIII in England, James V avoided theological changes to the church. His death in 1542 left the infant Mary, Queen of Scots as his heir, allowing a series of English invasions later known as the Rough Wooing⁷. At that time, England was in the process of Reformation (Protestantism); while, Scotland remained under the authority of the Roman Catholic Church (Catholic Restoration) due to its French connections. For that reason, Henry VIII of England tried to convince James V to adopt the Protestant Reformation, but he refused. In 1561, James V's daughter, Mary Stuart (1542-1567), she grew up in France then returned to Scotland. She had many confrontations with Protestant nobles, Protestant reformer John Knox and even with half-brother James Stuart, 1st Earl of Moray. (Dawson 208)

2.1 Scottish Kirk on the Eve of the Reformation

Church of Scotland "The Kirk", as it is commonly known. It is the only church that has specific top level statutory recognition. The church reformed in 1560 by "a bottom-up" movement within the Kirk itself. Scottish Kirk is a Scottish word meaning Church of Scotland; the church was responsible for education, health, welfare and discipline. It was very important for Scottish people, it concerned as a spiritual line linking between the god and the individuality.

Moreover, by the end of 15th century, the church had become hugely wealthy. It had vast power and authority over the land, huge abbeys, and fine cathedrals; but it was also, too corrupt and it had slaves to sow the seeds of its own destruction. Despite its power and its influence; many ordinary Scots had simply stopped going to church by 1500. The situation had become so bad that bishops were living in splendor and Scottish cathedrals were some of the most glorious buildings in the country, while ordinary priests were on the edge of poverty, and their churches were literally falling down through neglect.

⁶ Henry VIII was James V's uncle as the former's sister Margaret Tudor was James IV's wife and subsequently James V's mother.

⁷ Was a war between England and Scotland on December, March 1543 -1515.

2.2 Protestant Challenge

Besides all this, the Catholic Church itself encouraged beliefs to pray to Mary and Jesus, but during the late 16th, criticism became stronger. There were reports that priests, monks and nuns did not behave as well as they should. Some felt that the Catholic Church was more interested in money and power rather the worship and repair people, for example the Church sold Indulgences for those who had confined sins for a fine paid to the church people's sins would be forgiven, even a sin like murder could be forgiven and when dead, the church said that one would go to heaven.

Reformation also called Protestant Reformation, the religious revolution that took place in the Western church in the 16th century. Reformation became the basis for the founding of Protestantism, one of the three major branches of Christianity. Martin Luther and John Calvin were its greatest leaders. They reached political, economic, and social effects. Actually, the Reformation started when a German monk called Martin Luther nailed his protest (Ninety-five Theses)⁸ about practices of the Roman Catholicism church on the door of the chapel in Wittenberg in 1517 to declare it a new era in Europe by changing its religious side.

The Reformation changed the religion and made Protestantism the new religion in the country. At the same time, many people and governments adopted the new doctrine between Protestant⁹ and Catholic because their differences in beliefs such as the Protestants believed that one could not buy their way to heaven and opposed the sale of the indulgences. They felt that the church was corrupt also attacked the Cult and Saints, they belief that relics¹⁰ were fake which could not cure illness or perform miracles. They considered that the Catholics used them to make money. In other words, the Catholic Church believed that stories and images could be used to help know their religion; they were supporters of Mystery Plays for religious celebrations and festivals.

In the Catholic Church, services were in Latin which entailed that only a few people could read the Bible and be informed about what happened in the church. Protestants emphasized about the general approach of the people to the concept of the bible and everyone should have the chance to read it, which necessitated translated and printed versions of the Bible into English and Welsh.

⁸ This event came to be considered the beginning of the Protestant Reformation; propositions for debate concerned with the question of indulgences

⁹ Refers to protest; the rising complaint against church's doctrine and practices. Meaning those that were to protest and eventually break with the church.

¹⁰ A historical artefact surviving from an earlier time; a part of a deceased holy person's body or belongings kept as an object of reverence.

During the 16th century Europe and Scotland saw various events; a religious revolution broke out changing the country change it forever. Martin Luther's theses and Calvin's principals quickly spread over the land, also the age of the Reformation against church polity started in Scotland, as the book of Martin and Tyndale's translation of New Testament entered Scotland they were received with great interest. Disillusion with the Catholic Church brought Protestantism to Scotland. There was no doubt that things had to change. The historian and author Father Mark Dilworth, a former keeper of the Scottish Archives and an authority on the Scottish Reformation says that the Catholic Church itself recognized this. They realized that it needed reforming and things needed to be straightened out. Dilworth adds "but they wanted to leave the basic structure of the church intact, the reformers felt that everything needed to be tidied up". They wanted the whole basis of religious observance to be altered.

Many people began to take their faith seriously; one of them Patrick Hamilton (1504-1528) the first martyr of the Scottish Reformation also known in Scottish history as the "first person who died for his faith".

2.3 Martin Luther

Martin Luther (1483-1546) was a German monk, priest, professor, and church reformer. He criticized many aspects of the Roman Catholic Church of his day, including the complex system of sacraments a monk and theology in Wittenberg. Martin feared that the Latin Church had become too corrupt to provide people with guidance, especially about the salvation through good works. The church believed that people could go to Heaven by doing things like charity, helping the sick or making a donation to the church. Thus, he suggested that the Church needed Reformation, and it had to be of the whole world not only the pope. Martin reread the Biblical Gospel and conclusively broke from the Roman Catholic Church due to strong disagreement over several things which he felt were Anti-faith and Anti-Christ, his difference of opinion with the Catholic Church was asked the question "of how the Catholic church will save the people to enter heaven".(Dawson 107)

During the Protestant Reformation, the church's conflicting tendencies toward both corruption and reform coincided with the highly personal struggle of Martin Luther, who asked an essentially medieval question: "How do I obtain a God who is merciful to me?"¹¹ Luther at first attempted a medieval answer to this question by becoming a monk and by subjecting himself to fasting and discipline. The answer that he eventually found, the conviction that God is merciful not

¹¹ Martin Revolution. The Reformation. Fact and summary .History.com. <http://www.history.com/topic/reformation>.

because of anything that the sinner can do but because of a freely given grace that is received by faith alone, was not utterly without precedent in the Roman Catholic theological tradition, but in the form in which Luther stated it. There appeared to be a fundamental threat to Catholic teaching and sacramental life. Luther denounced the entire system of medieval Christendom as an unwarranted human invention foisted on the church. (Dawson 108)

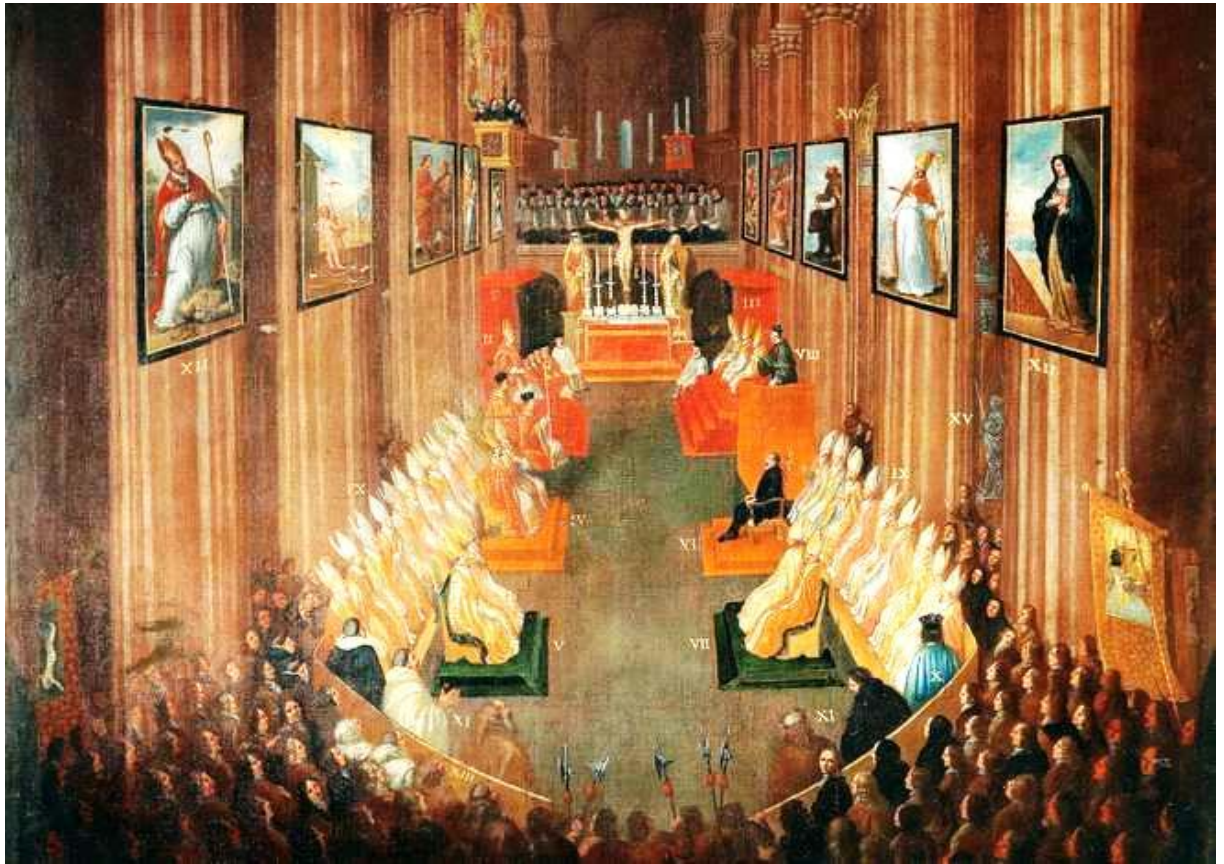
Furthermore, Luther's unsparing attacks upon the moral, financial, and administrative abuses of the church were initially prompted by the sale of indulgences in Germany by the Dominican friar Johann Tetzel. Luther insisted throughout his life, however, that the primary object of his critic was not the life but the doctrine of the church, and not the corruption of the ecclesiastical structure but the distortion of the gospel.

3 The Counter Reformation (1545-1648)

Counter-Reformation, was called Catholic Reformation or Catholic Revival, in the history of Christianity, and revolved around the Roman Catholic efforts directed in the 16th and early 17th centuries both against the Protestant Reformation and toward internal renewal. The Counter-Reformation took place during roughly the same period as the Protestant Reformation, actually (according to some sources) beginning shortly before Martin Luther's act of nailing the Ninety-five Theses to the door of Castle Church in 1517.

Moreover, Counter Reformation was already upon its way; like the Roman Catholic Church, soon to be restructured by the Council of Trent (see Appendix 01), reinforced by the Jesuits¹²; The Jesuits helped carry out two major objectives of the Counter-Reformation: Catholic education and missionary work. They established numerous schools and universities throughout Europe, helping to maintain the relevance of the Catholic Church in increasingly secular and Protestant societies. Besides to be backed by the crusading king of Spain, was setting itself to recover its lost dominions; and Protestantism had to stand to its defense.

¹² Members of the Roman Catholic Society of Jesus founded by St. Ignatius Loyola in 1534 and devoted to missionary and educational work.

Appendix 01: Opening Session of the Council of Trent (1545)

Source: Britannica, Scotland Reformation (accessed on 25th March 2020)

4 John Knox and the Scottish Converters (early 16th)

John Knox is considered to be the greatest reformer in the history of the Scottish Reformation (see Appendix 02). John was born in 1514, his father was William Knox who fought the Battle of Foldden and his mother was an educated woman named Sinclair. John went to St. Andrews University where he studied the Bible and Augustine and became committed to the reformation doctrine. John is also known for the famous work “the History of the Reformation in Scotland”. Furthermore, he began his preaching career at St. Andrews Castle following the death of George Wisheart (1513-1546) who studied in Germany and Switzerland. In 1546 he returned to Scotland and preached powerfully protestant ideas on Romans in Dundee and E. Lothian. In 1546, George executed and burnt at the stake by Cardinal Beaton for heresy at St. Andrews. In 1546 Beaton himself was murdered by

Protestants led by John Knox in St. Andrews castle, After the Battle of Pinkie in 1547, English garrisons, in position along the border, distribution English translation of the Bible to local people. Thus, Knox declared officially the beginning of the Reformation in Scotland and he did not stay at St. Andrews long, because the French navy attacked the castle on the instructions of the Queen Mother, Mary of Guise. (Dawson 136)

Appendix 02: The Statue of John Knox on the Mound, Edinburgh.



Source: Printest, Scottish Reformation (accessed on 2nd April 2020)

From 1542 Scotland was governed by a Protestant leader Regent Arran who supported John and helped them spread the Protestant beliefs; Knox was angry with Catholic practice and the behaviour of the Pope. Firstly, he passed a law that allowed people to read the Bible in their own language; he appointed the Protestant Thomas Guillame to preach around Scotland.

After Wishart's death in 1546, Knox thought to continue the work of his colleagues, who had captured St. Andrews castle, some of the Protestants in castle called Knox to become their minister. A few days later he accepted the call. In summer of 1547 French warships attacked the castle. Knox was taken prisoner, kept abroad in one of these ships and forced to row it in chains with other galley slaves. However, after 19 months he was set free and went to England where Archbishop Cranmer was working to promote the Reformation, and he was appointed as a preacher in Berwick. In reality, Knox attacked the Roman Catholic mass¹³ as idolatry because it was created by the brain of man and not commended by God. Also, Knox wanted to but the Bible as a single source in all doctrine and beliefs. So as one knows, Knox was captured and imprisoned in the French galleys. On his release, he went to England where he became a priest in the Anglican Church, and gained a position of authority under the Protestant King, Edward VI. But Knox's bad luck had not ended. King Edward was soon succeeded by Mary I who became notorious for her brutal treatment of Protestants. Mary's reign of terror led Knox to flee to the continent like many other Protestants, where he eventually settled in Geneva. In 1559 John Knox returned permanently to Scotland where his preaching and direction played a crucial role at the beginnings of the Scottish Reformation. So, it was there that Knox began working with John Calvin, the founder of Calvinism, and influenced by Calvin's doctrine "an influential form of Protestant teaching". Besides he was a chaplain to King Edward VI, he was also involved in the formation of Second English prayer book. Moreover, in the "Bible commonwealth" Knox came to believe fully in Calvinism, in the right of the true church to impose strict rules of conduct and beliefs on the individual, also in the right of the people to rebel against a civil authority against false doctrine. Knox called Calvin's Geneva "the most perfect school of Christ that even was on the earth, since the days of the Apostles". (136-139)

John Knox learnt the principals and practice of Presbyterian Church; he waited for the supports to grow for the first Reformation in Scotland to build the Church of Scotland "Kirk". Finally, John Knox died on December 24, 1572. Two days before his death he said, "I have been in meditation these last two nights concerning the troubled church of God, the spouse of Jesus Christ,

¹³ The term mass is derived from the ecclesiastical Latin formula for the dismissal of the congregation. It is the central act of worship of the Roman Catholic Church, which culminates in celebration of the sacrament of the Eucharist.

despised of the world, but precious in His sight. I have called to God for it, and I have committed it to her Head, Jesus Christ". (Wormald 107)

Conclusion

During a long period in history, Roman Catholic Church was the single church at that time dominating Western Europe and Great Britain. For many centuries, it played a virtual in everyday life, the church controlled politics, religion even economics. The power of the church made them more corrupt and with a sick theology, false doctrine and tyrannical policy. In spite of these problems, Martin Luther challenged Roman Catholicism and gave Christianity a new doctrine far from Latin Church. Martin proved himself as the leader of the Protestant Reformation in Western Europe. The Reformation was spread over the world at that time, in England Henry VIII broke from the Roman Church and declared himself the supreme head of the church, in Scotland George Wisheart created a new road for the Scottish church.

This chapter tries to give an overview of the Reformation in 16th century, and has been concerned primarily with the difference between the English Reformation and more precisely the Scottish one. The purpose of this work has given a the historical background to the study of the Scottish reformed church in 16th century, mainly the events on the eve of Reformation led by John Knox, which are the most important factors that affected on the establishment of Presbyterian church in Scotland. In the following Chapter, the focus will be on the Scottish Church after the Reformation and its main consequences.

CHAPTER THREE

ERA OF EVOLUTION (17TH CENTURY)

Introduction

The Scottish Reforms may be the result of the great reforms movement in Western Europe led by Martin Luther in 1517, as English Reformation, but for a variety of reasons, the results were the covenanters aimed to end the Roman Catholic presence and limit the authority of the pope. In this Chapter, one will discuss the Scots after the reformed church, and more precisely about the English Civil War.

1 The Religious Evolution

By the early 16th century, the hostility between England and Scotland broke out again. Although a decade of peace was re-established in James IV's reign (1488-1513), declaring war on France in 1512 by Henry VIII renewed their opposition since Scotland had still been France's ally. Later, James IV was decisively defeated then killed by the English in the battle of Flodden Field in 1513. His son, James V (1513–1542), also supported France and was opposed by nobles. (Menzie 179)

1.1 Reformation and the Church

The religious Reforms in the 16th century created new churches with special characteristics that made them different completely from one another; in beliefs even in the structure and in his way of worship.

In England the Reformation was established by the crown and for the crown leading the church to strongly be linked to the monarch as he became head of the church, but in Scotland the Reformation was established by the people such as Knox.

Therefore, the Christ was seen head of the church in Scotland not the monarch, because he was just a member. This means that Scottish church with its Presbyterian system was free from state and crown interference, which the later Stuart monarch resented and continually challenged until 1690. The English Reformation had some unique features, it was a compromise and this is still reflected today in the Church of England which is a "broad" church, when King Henry VIII broke with Rome for dynastic and financial reasons. Contrary to what happened in the Scottish

Reformation, which it was radical, thorough and uncompromising other snipped at the branches of popery but he (Knox) strikes at the roots to destroy the whole. (Marshall 2014)

The English reformation is also the mother of most of all churches, both the church of England and the church of Scotland adopted the Westminster confession, establishing Reformed, Calvinist doctrine but the church of England return as back to Episcopal Church Government which was hierarchal while the church of Scotland adopted the Calvin's democratic Presbyterian system of church government; and up to now Calvinism is still affecting the Scottish Church. (Keddie 1993)

1.2 The Ideological Differences

The 16th century was the birth of two churches (Church of England and Church of Scotland), but with new theology, faith and doctrine that made them different from each other till now.

As well, Church of England is the Mother church of the worldwide Anglican Communion which referred specifically to the Church of England. It is tradition Christianity comprising churches with historical connection to the Church of England and with similar beliefs. Anglicanism is the third largest branch of Christianity in the world with 70 million Adherents in 38 provinces spreading across 161 countries¹. To be clear, the doctrine of the Anglican Church is an interesting mix of Catholicism and Protestant Reformation theology.

However, the Scottish church is completely different. The Church of Scotland or the established church in Scotland; is the official church in Scotland, Calvinist in doctrine and Presbyterian in constitution. In 1560 John Knox reformed the established church along Presbyterian lines, but there were repeated attempts by Stuart monarch to impose Episcopalism and the Church of Scotland was not finally established as Presbyterian and adopted Calvinist doctrine and Presbyterian in constitution. The main beliefs are found within the Bible; in the Old and New Testaments; Scottish church like all mainstream churches accept the doctrine of the "Holy Trinity": that God is considered as Father, Jesus Christ as the Son and the Holy Spirit and in the church it sees Jesus Christ as the only head of the church.. (Sidwell 209)

Besides, the Scottish church believes that God demonstrated his love for the humanity through his son Jesus Christ and offers to reconcile people to each other and to God. Also, the church believed God wants the world to be a just place where people show concern for others and

¹The history of the suffering of the Church of Scotland from the restoration 1560. London; 2013. Intrenet Archieve.web accessed on 15may 2020

treat each other with equality and respect, it believes that God is present in today's world, and he exists alongside people in a spiritual form. The Holy Spirit provides strength, security and peace.

2 Scottish Reformed Church

The Church of Scotland (the Kirk) was founded by John Knox in 1559; it is Presbyterian and Calvinist, when the kings of Scotland were also ruling in England they tried to transform it into a branch of England as Anglican church but they failed. It was only at the end of the 17th century, in 1690, after a long struggle, that the Church of Scotland was once more governed according to the Presbyterian system.

The Scottish reformed church became a national church but it was separate from the state. Indeed, the sovereign was not the head of the church as was the case for Anglicans. John devoted followers of Calvin, aimed at preserving the spiritual independence of the church.

2.1 Knox and the Birth of Scottish Reformation

The Reformation was a turning point in Scottish history. At the religious level it signified the end of five hundred years of dominance and corruption of the Roman Catholic Church. The Reformation split the church into Catholic and Protestant factions; creating two roads to salvation. So, it was very important to people that the Scottish state chose to travel down the right road, when Lutherans books in Latin started to appear in Scotland. The radical message which they carried quickly made a strong impression on many Scots. The Scottish Reformation was divided into two phases, the first Reformation and the establishment of a Protestant religion, started in 1560 but there were tensions to come with the return of Mary Stuart as both a Catholic queen and widow of Francis II of France, on 20 August 1561 when she tried to return to Scotland to the obedience of Rome. Moreover, the second phase was when the parliament met in the same year and passed more laws in favour of the Reformation.

The years from 1560 to 1561 was a worship simplified, evangelism, care of the poor and more education, so the ordinary people could read the Bible. Instead of the out ward forms of Roman Catholicism, public worship was now based around reading, preaching and singing from God's words.

The reformers aimed at an improvement of manners to create a godly society with a protestant discipline, Protestantism had localized the focus of religion actively to the Parish² Kirk. John Knox one of these reformers and the leader of Scottish Reformation, who gave a special faith to the Church of Scotland and one doctrine led by Calvin's church by the abolition of Catholic doctrine, inserting the Presbyterian system in the Church of Scotland.

Thought his powerful influence Knox helped to bring the Reformation to Scotland and helped bring Scotland to the pure Gospel. Whereas, many other Reformers preached and expounded on the Doctrine of justification by faith alone. But Knox emphasized on the "idolatry of the Mass"³ in most of his sermons. The great preacher played a virtual role in the starting of religious reform in Scotland, it started when John returned to Scotland as the spokesman of the Reformation against Catholicism, especially when Scotland was at the edge of civil religious war and the Scots were now ready to end the existence of Rome once and for all.

The conflict between Regent Mary of Guise (Marie de Guise) and the Protestant preacher because of her Catholic faith did not stop John from the reformist idea. A few weeks after John Knox's arrival a proclamation banned any one from preaching the sacrament without a bishop's authority. Knox's life from the time of his return to Scotland in May 1559 is a part of the history of his country. He went back to Scotland, asking for prayer that he would. Knox began the work of reformation as reformer and preacher, he was seen as reformer because he wrote the Scots Confessions of Faith 1560, and it was an important document and the first Scottish Protestant Confession of faith, which explained what the Reformed Church believed in.

Not only did John Knox write the Scots Confessions, but in the same year he wrote his ideas for the new Reformation in Scotland in the First Book of Discipline, with the help of a committee of churchmen. He wanted a number of changes such as the new Protestant church to gain the properties and lands of the Catholic Church. Also the superintendents without any specific religion powers would organize the church in their areas. The third change represented on the congregations who were to play a key role in the new church by appointing their ministers and the Protestant church provided education and looked after the poor.

² A small administrative district typically having its own church and a priest or pastor.

³ Knox; a vindication of the Doctrine that the sacrifice of the Mass is idolatry 1550.

It is a book of church polity⁴ outlined the constitution and financing of the Reformed church. Now; the church had a new theology, Calvinism also a new polity which is Presbyterianism. The first Book was Knox's efforts put into a book, the polity that would be practiced in the new reformed church in Scotland.

On 15th August 1560, Scotland officially became a Protestant state with the mass outland and the Pope's jurisdiction denied. However, it was not until 1567 that the Act of 1560 was ratified, when Queen Mary of Scots was forced to abdicate.

Moreover, the question of who would finance the new church was left undone even though the Old Catholic could still legally demand church income. The Queen refused to endorse the policies of the Reformation parliament but nonetheless on the 20th December 1560, the first General Assembly of the new church met in Edinburgh. Mary; the eighteen years old daughter of Mary of Guise arrived from France and was crowned Queen Mary of Scots. (Farser, 1969)

2.2 Presbyterianism in Scotland

Since the Protestant Reformation in 1560, the Presbyterian form became a characteristic of Scotland as national church "Kirk", but was a foreign system originating from the USA and brought to Scotland largely by Andrew Melville. (Andersen 109)

Moreover, Presbyterianism is one of the earliest religions to come from the Reformation, and it has long prided itself on tradition and deep faith. The church's unique hierarchy helped America in its early development as a democracy, and its belief in voting and elections are a hallmark of the church.

Presbyterianism comes from the Greek word for elder Presbuteros⁵ and is a system of church government originally developed by John Calvin a 16th century French reformer and developed later in Scotland by John Knox. It is distinct from other government in that it uses a representative from of government that includes layperson and clergy as opposed to the episcopacy government which gave power to the king (monarch) rather than the people.

Rev. David Hanson defined the Presbyterianism as a term of government, meaning rule by elder; instead of the pope. Presbyterianism said that people have the right to collect leaders in the

⁴ Polity is the operational and governance structure of a church or of a Christian denomination. It also denotes the ministerial structure of a church and the authority relationships between churches; the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland, British politics and Scottish Independence.

⁵ The modern English words "priest" or "presbyter" are derived etymologically from Presbyteros; is the most commonly used term for elder in the New Testament.

church, those leaders who are the ones to exercise leadership of the government in the church and oversee the congregation.

Furthermore, in Presbyterianism, Jesus Christ is the head of the church. Each congregation elects elders who meet together as a session to make decisions about the congregation. The Minister is an elder with a special responsibility for teaching and preaching, minister and elder from each congregation in a certain area also meet together as a Presbytery every few months to make decisions about the churches in that area. Once a year a minister and elder from each congregation meets as a Synod or (if the church is very big) a General Assembly to make decisions on the church in the whole country. (Koji 100)

In Episcopalianism, the King or Queen is usually seen as head of the church. The church is ruled by Archbishops and Bishops. Most of the kings during the Reformation and Covenanter period preferred Episcopalianism because it was easier for them to control. They would only have to try and influence the Archbishops and Bishops, rather than each individual elder and minister. At the Reformation, many Episcopalians still tried to spread the teaching of the reformers though and in England. John Knox worked alongside “Archbishop Cranmer”, who was a leader of the English Reformation and Archbishop of Canterbury during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and, for a short time, Mary I. He helped build the case for the annulment of Henry's marriage to Catherine of Aragon, which was one of the causes of the separation. However Knox refused the offer to become a bishop.

2.3 The Coming of Presbyterian Church in Scotland (17th century)

The Reformation period lasted from 1560 to 1690. Knox gave to the Church of Scotland a confession of faith and liturgy modelled on Calvin's church at Geneva; he also produced the abolition of episcopacy, through the setting up of the Presbyterian governance in Scotland church. And with the death of this greatest reformer, the first phase of the Scottish Reformation can be said to have ended and at the same time the rise of a new phase and new church program that ignored the Episcopacy polity.

2.4 Presbyterian Rule in Scottish Church

Since the Reformation of 1560, the Presbyterian form became characteristic of the Scottish Kirk. This system was originally from USA, brought to Scotland by John Knox and Andrew Melville. It is a term of government in Scottish church, where Jesus Christ is the head of the church, each congregation elects elders who meet together as a session to make decision about the

congregation. A minister in a elder with a special responsibility for teaching and preaching. (Hodge 20)

The Queen is not the supreme governor of the Scottish church, as she is in the Anglican Church. The sovereign has the right to attend the General Assembly but not to take part in deliberations. The Oath of Accession includes a promise to « maintain and preserve the protestant Religion and Presbyterian Church government». The Queen maintains warm relation with the Church of Scotland where she worships when in Scotland and from which the chaplains of the Royal Household in Scotland are appointed.

The Scottish Kirk is not the state-controlled and neither the Scottish nor the Westminster parliaments are involved in Kirk appointments. The Scottish Kirk's governance is maintained by the Presbyterian system courts, which means no person or group has the absolute authority in the church, the Kirk does not have one person who acts as the head of faith, as the role of the Lord God's. Its supreme rule of faith and life is through the teaching of the Bible; the church government is organized on the basic of Courts mainly along lines set from 1560 to 1690. Each of these courts has committees; the parish, and governed locally by Kirk session.

The Kirk Session consisting of the ministers and a number of elders known as the presbytery, there are 47 presbyteries meeting as rule once a month. Moreover, the presbytery Synod corresponding in area to dioceses where the membership of the court is the same as that the presbytery, the minister and an elder from each parish within the bound of the Synod, the Supreme Court is the General Assembly meeting every May in Edinburgh under the presidency of an annually appointed minister known as the Moderator. Its decisions are final subjects, in matters affecting the constitution of the church, to the "Barrier Act" by which a measure passed by one Assembly must be referred to the presbyteries and come up for final settlement at next Assembly. The Moderator during his year of office has the title of "Right Reverend" and takes precedence at court after the Royal Dukes.

2.5 The Reign of James VI (1603-1625)

When Queen Mary abdicated from throne in 1567; while her son still boy. Scotland was governed by a series of regents who ruled until his son James VI assumed in 1587; also become the king of England under the name of James the first (1603-1625). The third king from the Stuart line to deal with the Reformation believed in the "Divine right of the king" which is a political and religious doctrine of royal and political legitimacy. It asserts that a monarch is subject to no earthly

authority, deriving his right to rule directly from the will of God, and that the king should have complete power over everything, even religion.

He often came into conflict with the church, and tried to control the General Assemblies of the Scottish church and force them to restore the episcopacy policy and gave again authority to the bishops on the Church of Scotland; this gave the rise to a series of agitation against the king led by Knox's spiritual successor, Andrew Melville had called James "God's silly vassal" and said that there were two kingdom in Scotland and one was the Kirk, and in this kingdom James could not be a king or lord but only a member "there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland.' As well as King James "There is Christ Jesus, the King of the Church" whose subject James VI is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member". (Dawson 138-139) In few words, this outlined Melville's views that the Kirk received the authority from the God, not state and monarch.

Andrew Melville (1545-1622) father of Scottish Presbyterianism, Melville strongly believed that the government should have no control over the church also wanted to make sure that church was organized the way it was in the New Testament. He said that the church should be Presbyterian. For him episcopacy naturally accorded better with absolute monarchy" better a compliant Episcopacy than a stubborn Presbyterian" also "Monarchy and Presbytery get along like God and the devil".

In 1587; Melville was Moderator of the General Assembly which draw up the Second Book of Discipline 1578. This book set out Presbyterianism as the way the church should be run but the parliament in the same year passed the Black Act. (Kirk 90)

In 1581 the king's confession against Roman Catholicism was signed by the king and people across Scotland. Melville proposed a new church organization from which bishops were excluded but the tension between James and the Presbyterians eased for a while following the re-establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland 1592, when king James VI was pleased with the church, got rid of the Black Acts and passed the Golden Act. The Kirk had planned for 13 presbyteries, giving the Kirk control over such matters are the appointment of Ministers, disciplinary matters and the attendance of representative at the General Assembly, it appeared at this point that the Kirk could become independent of the king and influence of nobles. (Maclead, 1998)

For the decisions at parish level were made through the Kirk Sessions which was made up of elders and deacons, Kirk Sessions set appropriate standards of behaviour, fined individuals for wrong-doing, and amongst other things, stressed the need for attendance at daily and Sunday services. This strict discipline gave the Kirk influence and authority over members of the congregation. In 1612, full Episcopacy was introduced in Scotland. In 1618, James brought in his worst laws yet “The Five Articles of Perth”. The five Articles were⁶:

- 1) Kneeling rather than sitting at the Lord’s Supper.
- 2) Private Communion.
- 3) Baptism not withheld longer than one Lord’s Day and administered privately where necessary (it means if the baby was about to die).
- 4) Confirmation by bishops.
- 5) The observance of holy days such as Christmas and Easter.

These forced five Episcopal and Roman Catholic worship practices on the church, including kneeling at communion and celebration of Christmas and Easter. Ministers and preacher who refused to accept them were removed from their churches or put in prison such as Andrew Melville became a prisoner in Tower of London. In addition, King James died in 1622 and followed by his son Charles in 1625.

3 Scottish Covenanters (17th century)

Any of the Scottish Presbyterians who at various crises during the 17th century subscribed to bonds or covenants, notably to the National Covenant (1638) and to the Solemn League and Covenant (1643), in which they pledged to maintain their chosen forms of church government and worship. After the signing of the National Covenant, the Scottish Assembly abolished episcopacy and in the Bishops’ Wars of 1639 and 1640 fought to maintain their religious liberty. The financial difficulties into which these wars brought the crown led to the English Civil War. Subsequently, by the Solemn League and Covenant (September 1643), the Scots pledged their assistance to the parliamentary party in England on the condition that the Anglican Church would be reformed. The Covenanter army thereafter took part in the English Civil War and received Charles I’s surrender in 1646. In December 1647, however, Charles agreed to the Solemn League and

⁶ The Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland, British Politics and Scottish independence.
Accessed on 01st May 2020

Covenant and secured military assistance from the Scots. They also fought for Charles II, who signed the covenant in June 1650. In both campaigns they were defeated by the English.

The religious settlement forced upon Scotland by the Commonwealth rule failed to satisfy the more rigid Presbyterians. The restoration of the English monarchy in 1660, however, began the Covenanters period of martyrdom. All legal sanctions of Presbyterianism were removed, episcopacy was re-established, and covenants were denounced as unlawful oaths. For 25 years the Covenanters suffered brutal persecution, and three rebellions (1666, 1679, and 1685) were cruelly suppressed. After the English Glorious Revolution (1688–89) an ecclesiastical settlement re-established Presbyterian Church government in Scotland but did not renew the covenants.

4 Scotland in the 17th and the early 18th Centuries

Charles I (1625-1649) grew up in England and had no idea about Scotland and its institutions. Moreover, Charles I ascended to the English throne following the death of his father, King James I. In the first year of his reign, Charles offended his Protestant subjects by marrying Henrietta Maria, a Catholic French princess. He later responded to political opposition to his rule by dissolving Parliament on several occasions and in 1629 decided to rule entirely without Parliament. In 1642, the bitter struggle between king and Parliament for supremacy led to the outbreak of the first English Civil War. He also believed in the Divine Right of Kings. This led into continual conflicts with Parliament, which was dissolved three times. Accordingly, the third Parliament met and presented the Petition of Right⁷, which he accepted for the reason that he was in need for money. In the next year, he dissolved that Parliament. In 1637, Charles I tried to impose Anglican forms of worship, known as Liturgy, in Scotland. Such Anglican forms did not satisfy the Scottish Presbyterians. (Mackie et al. 203)

Eventually, in 1638 they started to collect signatures, known as “National Covenant”, as a national support for opposing Charles’ project. The “National Covenant” led to two wars⁸, in which they tried to invade northern England (Mackie et al. 205). The defeat of the Scots cost too much money. Besides, the turn of events in Scotland horrified Charles, who was determined to bring the rebellious Scots to heel. However, the Covenanters, as the Scottish rebels became known, quickly overwhelmed the poorly trained English army, forcing the king to sign a peace treaty at Berwick (June 18, 1639). Though the Covenanters had won the first Bishops’ War, Charles refused to admit victory and called an English parliament, seeing it as the only way to raise money

⁷ A statement demanding that Charles should make certain reforms in exchange for war funds.

⁸ Bishops' Wars (1639-1640).

quickly. Parliament assembled in April 1640, but it lasted only for three weeks “and hence became known as the Short Parliament”.

Therefore, he was obliged to call the so-called Long Parliament in 1641, in which he ensured his non-kept promises in dissolving it again. He again called Parliament to end the rebellion starting in Scotland, but his demand was refused. Such rejection was the spark for the English Civil War (1642-1649), when both sides raised armies. (209)

4.1 The English Civil Wars (1642–1651)

The presence of a large number of Scottish troops in England should not detract from the fact that Scots experienced their own domestic conflict after 1638. In Scotland loyalty to the Covenant, the king, and the house of Argyll resulted in a lengthy and, at times, bloody civil war that began in February 1639, when the Covenanters seized Inverness, and ended with the surrender of Dunnottar castle, near Aberdeen, in May 1652.

Another opportunity for Scotland to be detached again from England was in the reign of Charles II (1660-1685). The political scene during his reign witnessed the appearance of the two main political parties in England, namely the Whigs (Liberals), who were anti-Catholicism and the Tories (Conservatives), who favoured the monarchy. Few years later, there were many crises between the Scots and William who passed English Bill of Rights in 1689, which necessitated the English monarch to be always Protestant and governed by the laws made by Parliament. The supporters of King James II, most of them were Irish Catholics and Scottish Catholic Highland minorities, were against the English monarchs. (Mackie et al. 279-280)

Map 3: England during the Civil Wars (1645)



Source: Maps of World Current, Credible, Consistent available online (accessed on 02nd May 2020).

4.2 The Execution of King Charles I (1649)

The Parliamentarians were led by Oliver Cromwell⁹, whose formidable Ironsides force won an important victory against the king's Royalist forces at Marston Moor in 1644 and at Naseby in 1645. As a leader of the New Model Army in the second English civil war, Cromwell helped repel the Royalist invasion of Scotland, and in 1646 Charles I surrendered to a Scottish army. In 1648, Charles was forced to appear before a high court controlled by his enemies, where he was convicted of treason and sentenced to death. Early in the next year, he was beheaded.

⁹ Was an English general and statesman who led the Parliament of England's armies against King Charles I during the English Civil War and ruled the British Isles as Lord Protector from 1653 until his death in 1658

Therefore, the monarchy was abolished, and Cromwell assumed control of the new English Commonwealth. In 1658, Cromwell died and was succeeded by his eldest son, Richard, who was forced to flee to France in the next year with the restoration of the monarchy and the crowning of Charles II, the son of Charles I. Oliver Cromwell was posthumously¹⁰ convicted of treason, and his body was disinterred from its tomb in Westminster Abbey and hanged from the gallows at Tyburn.

As a result, throughout the 16th and 17th Centuries the Reformation was taking effect in Western Europe. It came to Scotland in 1560, where it soon gathered momentum. John Knox was a fierce campaigner for Protestant principles. He was famous for arguing with Mary Queen of Scots, a devout Catholic, over Roman beliefs and practices that he believed were idolatrous. Knox and his colleagues wrote an important declaration of faith, known as The Scots Confession. The document was accepted by the Scottish Parliament in 1560. Attempts were made to impose the same Episcopal form of church government that was used in England on the Church of Scotland during the reigns of both Charles I and Charles II, but these were successfully resisted. Therefore, in 1690, under William of Orange who had supported and promoted the Reformation on the continent of Europe, Presbyterianism was recognised as the official form of government in the Scottish Church.

Conclusion

To sum up, this chapter has presented Scotland as being a distinct country. It has provided an overview about the major events that took place in Scotland during the Scottish Reformation. Furthermore, this chapter has been concerned primarily with the result of the Reformation on each church (Anglican Church and Scottish Presbyterian church). Also, the chapter deals with the Scottish Covenanters and the English Civil War. Thus, it is obviously seen that the Scottish spirit of nationalism, which dated back to the first century AD would continue. Despite all the efforts the British had made, the future Scottish generations would keep claiming their independence.

¹⁰ Describe something that happens to a person after the death of the originator, whether it happens to their estate, their life's work, or the memory of them that remains.

General Conclusion

To go over the main points, then, the recorded history of Scotland reveals the fact that it has totally a distinct social structure from that of England. Even though the crowns were united in 1603 and the two parliaments were combined in 1707, the Scottish nationalism reappeared for almost two centuries and a half to claim mainly the Scots' national identity via their devolution upon the UK.

During a long period in history, Roman Catholic Church was the single church at that time dominating Western Europe and Great Britain for many centuries, it played a virtual role in everyday life, the church controlled politics, religion and even economics.

Such power made the clergymen more corrupted with a sick theology, false doctrine and tyrannical policy. In spite of these problems, Martin Luther challenged Roman Catholicism and gave Christianity a new doctrine far from Latin Church.

Martin proved himself as the leader of the Protestant Reformation in Western Europe. The Reformation was spread over the world at that time, in England when Henry VIII broke from the Roman Church and declared himself the supreme head of the church, in Scotland when Goerge Wisheart created a new road for the Scottish church.

This work tries to give an overview of the Reformation in 16th century and how it developed in England and Scotland, from being an enlightening idea to becoming theory and religious movements cross Western Europe with standard goals and principals.

The first part was about Scottish origins, and specifically it concerns about religion in which one presents the definition of Medieval Roman church to its origin and false doctrine. It presents also Reformation thought on church policy in Scotland and England under the Tudor and Stuart dynasties (1515-1610), then the establishment of Anglican Church and Scottish Presbyterian Church.

The Second part indeed gives more importance to the impact of the reforms movement in the structure of each church and the achievement in the religious side between the Anglican Church and Presbyterian Church of Scotland. It shows that the most important side that makes Anglican Church completely different from the Presbyterian Scottish Kirk is the way, patterns and customs. This chapter contains the best example of the Reformation success in Great Britain since the sixteenth century with new doctrines, a new head and new churches in the Christian world. Finally, the main

focus was about the English Civil war that was a reason of changing the Scottish religion into Presbyterianism, and this result denied the fact that the Scots are very proud of being Scottish rather than British.

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