

REAL AULA MALLORQUESA

THE BULLETIN



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EDITORIAL

In these times of liberalism and plurality it is the accustomed norm to respect the views and beliefs of others. This applies to matters of religion as much as to politics. After various junketings in the Basilica of Assisi, even the Holy Father seems to have given credence to such views. It is salutary for Christian Knights and Dames to be reminded however that all religions have their own different foundations from which they evolve with different codes of belief and practice. For a Christian these simply cannot be all of equal value and validity. For example, the vengeance of the Old Testament, untempered by the forgiveness of the Sermon on the Mount, is not an option open to us, but we can easily forget that in the heat of our anger or the chill of our hatred. Equally, a religion that grows up out of conversion by the sword and continues on that path throughout the centuries, until it culminates in the massacre of innocents in their hundreds and thousands by the destruction of buildings and cities and countries, can only be treated with respect and tolerance if itself it also concedes respect and tolerance of the views and indeed the lives of others. It was not for nothing that the hostilities in response to the tragedy of the 11th September this year began on the anniversary of the Battle of Lepanto, raised to be the Feast of The Holy Rosary, the day when the combined forces of Christendom defeated the infidel who had even then sought to take Europe for Islam by force of arms.

The Editor

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FERRARA 14 APRILE 1333 : UN'INVESTITURA SUL CAMPO

Paolo Sturla-Avogadri

L'imminente ripristino dell'antica Porta San Pietro, chiusa da ormai 370 anni, situata fra l'omonimo baluardo e quello di S. Antonio nella parte meridionale della poderosa cerchia muraria di Ferrara, recentemente restaurata, mi riporta alla memoria il perduto ricordo di una cruenta battaglia combattuta e vinta nella prima metà del XIV secolo.

Indubbiamente questa impresa, sia per il brillante risultato conseguito che per la rilevanza dei contendenti di ambo le parti, è stata di considerevole importanza, tanto di meritare di essere citata, e con orgoglio, anche sulle pietre tombali¹.

Ho detto ricordo perduto perchè, nonostante numerosi illustri storici² ed importanti testi quali il *Chronicon Estense* ed il *Corpus Chronicarum Bononiensis*³ si siano affannati a parlarne con meticolosità e dovizia di particolari, gli autori successivi hanno sempre dimostrato una manifesta ritrosia a trattare questo

¹ Ferrara - Chiesa di S. Paolo : sepolcro di Nicolò dalla Tavola (M. A. Guarini, *Compendio historico .. delle Chiese .. di Ferrara*, Ferrara, 1621, pag.183); Chiesa di S. Andrea : sepolcro di Duccio Gruamonti (M. A. Guarini, *op.cit.*, pag. 369).

² Bonaventura Angeli, Giovanni Bonifaccio, Antonio Frizzi, Marc'Antonio Guarini, Alfonso Maresti, Ludovico Antonio Muratori, Giovan Battista Pigna, Pellegrino Prisciani, Gaspare Sardi, Giovan Battista Verci, ecc.

³ In *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (R.I.S.) a cura di L.A. Muratori.

argomento, forse per piaggeria nei confronti dei Cardinali Legati succeduti agli Estensi nel dominio di Ferrara sul finire del XVI secolo⁴, oppure per una più che giustificata, dati i non facili tempi, preoccupazione di rappresaglie da parte della Santa Inquisizione.

E poichè nel corso dei lavori preliminari di apertura sono stati portati alla luce anche frammenti di lapidi incise, certamente rievocative, non è improbabile che la porta possa essere stata murata nel 1630 dal Governo Pontificio, da poco tempo avvicendato, per eliminare la scomoda testimonianza di un bruciante smacco subito a vittoria ormai scontata.

Quasi come in un film western, quando i coloni assediati sono ormai stanchi, provati e rassegnati ad una crudele morte per mano dei Sioux che già sono penetrati nel campo, ecco arrivare inaspettatamente ed insperabilmente i "nostri" del 7° Cavalleria che salvano la situazione. Lo stesso accade in un altro "set", con altri costumi ed altri protagonisti, ai cittadini ferraresi in quel lontano, freddo e brumoso 8 febbraio del 1333. Non c'erano gli indiani e neppure la cavalleria americana, ma le truppe pontificie da un lato e la cavalleria scaligera sopraggiunta proprio al momento giusto.

Ma prima da entrare nel fatto è opportuno esaminare brevemente, non solo le vicende, ma soprattutto gli strascichi che hanno portato a questo cruento, seppur, rapido conflitto.

Alla morte del marchese Obizzo II (1293), quando i domini di Casa d'Este comprendevano le città e la maggior parte dei contadi di Ferrara, Modena e Reggio e si estendevano anche oltre il Po (nel polesine di Rovigo e nel Padovano), costituendo una delle più importanti, potenti e temute Signorie d'Italia, cominciarono aspre contese fra i suoi tre figli ed eredi (Azzo, Aldobrandino e

⁴ Col duca Cesare, figlio illegittimo di Alfonso II, gli Estensi lasciarono Ferrara per Modena il 29 gennaio 1598.

Francesco) per assicurare a loro stessi e ai propri eredi la successione nel dominio. Venne finalmente raggiunto un effimero accordo, con l'assegnazione della Signoria al primogenito (Azzo VIII), poi interrotto quando questo nel 1305 sposò in seconde nozze Beatrice, figlia di Carlo II di Valois, re di Napoli. Una clausola prevedeva infatti la successione nella Signoria al figlio nato da questa unione. Il malanimo fra gli altri componenti Casa d'Este, che si vedevano così defraudati nelle loro speranze di successione, aumentò nonostante i molteplici vantaggi socio-economici derivanti da questa unione che li imparentava con le maggiori Case regnanti d'Europa⁵.

Frattanto l'ambigua condotta politica perseguita da Azzo lo portò all'inimicizia con numerose Signorie confinanti e con altrettante influenti nobili famiglie modenesi e reggiane, con l'inevitabile risultato dello smembramento dello Stato e la perdita di Modena e Reggio.

Anche a Ferrara le cose non andavano meglio: ai malumori, infatti, si aggiunse l'ostilità popolare dovuta altresì agli arbitrari provvedimenti assunti dalla Signoria e dal Vescovato nei confronti dell'Ordine monastico-militare dei Cavalieri Templari⁶ che nel ferrarese contava una cospicua ed apprezzata presenza.

⁵ La parentela acquisita comprendeva i sovrani : di Francia Filippo IV il Bello, di Sicilia Federico III, d'Aragona Jacopo II, d'Ungheria Carlo Martello ed il futuro re di Napoli Roberto.

⁶ A. Vasina : Estensi e autorità vescovile in Ferrara, da Storia di Ferrara, Ed. Corbo, Ferrara 1987, vol.V, pag. 103-104; P. Sturla-Avogadri : La Chiesa di S. Maria Annunciata di Mizzana "olim Templi", Atti del XII Convegno di Ricerche Templari a cura della L.A.R.T.I., Argenta (FE), 8-9 Ottobre 1994, pag. 23-36; P. Sturla-Avogadri : I Templari nel Modenese, Atti del XV Convegno di Ricerche Templari a cura della L.A.R.T.I., Castrocara Terme, 6-7 Settembre 1997, pag. 33-40.

Dopo la morte di Azzo (1308) la città piombò nell'anarchia e nel caos più completi, divisa anche in due parti: una occupata dai veneziani e l'altra dagli ecclesiastici che rispettivamente appoggiavano contrapposte fazioni della stessa famiglia d'Este. Le ribellioni aumentarono ulteriormente con la ricomparsa dei fuorusciti ghibellini che, capeggiati da Salinguerra III Torelli, volevano impadronirsi della città.

Stanco e disgustato da questo stato di cose, papa Clemente V, onde portare pace in questa terra da troppo tempo dilaniata da faide e discordie, nominò Roberto, re di Napoli, Vicario Pontificio (1312).

Purtroppo per i ferraresi le cose peggiorarono: ogni eventuale sospetto di sedizione venne inesorabilmente soffocato nel sangue, i ghibellini furono cacciati e le loro case distrutte, anche Francesco d'Este fu ingiustamente e ferocemente ucciso ed i cittadini, vessati da esorbitanti tasse e balzelli, erano anche taglieggiati, umiliati e depredati dai mercenari catalani⁷ che componevano la guarnigione del re di Napoli.

Finalmente, dopo cinque interminabili anni, a seguito di una sanguinosa rivolta, nel corso della quale i soldati catalani vennero massacrati, il 15 agosto 1317 il popolo ferrarese richiamò in patria ed acclamò Signori di Ferrara marchesi Rinaldo, Obizzo e Nicolò (figli di Aldobrandino) ed Azzo e Bertoldo (figli di Nicolò).

Papa Giovanni XXII, succeduto a Clemente V, inizialmente non volle accettare questo cambiamento e minacciò di scomunicare gli

⁷ Veterani della guerra dei Vespri Siciliani, disoccupati dopo la pace di Caltabellotta (1392), combatterono in Tracia, Macedonia e Tessaglia per poi porsi al servizio del re di Sicilia. Erano di origine moresca aragonesa, la maggior parte montanari e pastori, trasformati in combattenti professionisti nel corso del sec. XII, passarono successivamente in Catalogna al servizio di Pietro IV. Il nerbo era costituito dagli "almogavari" (dall'arabo al-mâghawir = razziatori).

Estensi, ma quando questi consegnarono le chiavi della città ai Legati Pontifici, di buon grado dovette convenire che la ribellione era certamente dovuta al malgoverno del sovrano partenopeo, tolse l'interdetto che gravava sulla città e, anche se contravoglia, nominò gli Estensi "Vicari Pontifici". Da questo memento, con la signoria di Rinaldo II d'Este, le condizioni economiche e sociali della città cominciarono a prosperare; questa soddisfazione non era però condivisa dalle Signorie delle città limitrofe, specialmente quelle della Romagna, particolarmente legate allo Stato Pontificio, che non vedevano di buon occhio l'espansione ferrarese e ne temevano lo sviluppo, non perdevano quindi occasione per fomentare malumori.

Arriviamo così, in una clima di tensione, all'anno 1333 quando il Legato Apostolico Cardinale Bertrando del Poggetto, per ritorsione contro gli Estensi, che avevano inviato due contingenti armati, uno a Brescia occupata da Giovanni re di Boemia, in aiuto degli Scaligeri (e comandato dallo stesso Rinaldo) e l'altro (comandato dal fratello Obizzo) per recuperare Modena occupata dai Pio di Carpi, mosse improvvisamente alla conquista di Ferrara.

Facevano parte di quella mastodontica macchina da guerra non sole le truppe pontificie italiane e francesi (la sede papale era ad Avignone), ma anche le milizie guidate dai Signori delle città alleate della Romagna: i Manfredi di Faenza, gli Ordelaffi di Forlì, i da Polenta di Ravenna, i Malatesta di Rimini. Anche il re di Boemia, per accelerare una vittoria peraltro già prevista, inviò con ottanta "uomini d'arme" il Maresciallo di Francia conte d'Armagnac che fu posto al comando dell'esercito.

Nel gennaio di quell'anno, muovendo dal "Castrum Argentae", l'armata ecclesiastica, devastati Boccaleone e Benvignante e "pigliate con la forza la Bastia fatta a Consandoli con Nicolò fratello di Rinaldo, Jacopo Aldighieri et quaranta uomini

valorosi"⁸, proseguì la sua inarrestabile avanzata verso Ferrara che fu cinta d'assedio. Con la complicità di alcuni ferraresi traditori "venero nel polecine di San Giorgio: preso il ponte e havuto il Borgo di Sotto vi si attendarono e dal polecine di Sant'Antonio"⁹ " i nemici da principio entrarono nella ghiara, che come hora è nella città, così all'hora si trovava tra essa e la riva del Po"¹⁰.

"Agli 8 di febbraio avendo gli ecclesiastici dato un gagliardo assalto alla Porta di San Pietro incominciarono ad entrar dentro, ma oppostosi valorosamente Guecello Tempesta Avogaro di Trevigi¹¹ che l'istesso giorno era con diligenza sopraggiunto da Mastino¹² mandato in soccorso con dugento uomini d'arme tedeschi¹³, conservò la città da sì evidente pericolo e ributtò gli assalitori, de' quali molti restarono morti"¹⁴.

L'importanza di questa battaglia e l'impegno profuso dai difensori ci vengono confermati dal *Chronicon Estense* che definisce "maximum praelium" e lascia sottintendere anche le difficoltà incontrate per neutralizzare i nemici già penetrati "usque plateam communis"¹⁵, e della quale "eransene ormai resi padroni"¹⁶.

⁸ G. Sardi : *Historie ferraresi*, Ferrara 1556, lib. V, pag. 169.

⁹ G. Sardi : *ibidem*.

¹⁰ G.B. Pigna : *Historia de'Principi d'Este*, Ferrara 1557, Cap. IV, pag. 269-337.

¹¹ I Tempesta della Marca Trevigiana, dello stesso ceppo dei padovani Camposampiero, Signori di Noale, Briana, Brusaporco (Castelminio), Resana, Scorzè, Stigliano, Trebaseleghe, ecc., furono nomibati Avocati (dialettale Avogari) del Vescovo di Treviso (25.iv.1158). Con Guecello II ebbero la Signoria di Treviso (4.i.1327-18.vii.1329) che dovettero cedere agli Scaligeri.

¹² Mastino della Scala, Signore di Verona, Treviso, ecc.

¹³ Taluni storici dicono trevigiani, altri addirittura Cavalieri Teutonici.

¹⁴ G. Bonifaccio : *Historia di Trivigi*, Venezia 1744, cap. IX, pag. 349.

¹⁵ *Chronicon Estense*, da R.I.S. di L.A. Muratori, tomo XV, parte III, pag. 101.

L'arrivo dei "nostri", cioè dei 200 cavalieri scaligeri fu tempistico e provvidenziale come non mai, perchè "furono in quel giorno salute della città, perchè Guecellone col suo valoroso drappello assalì i nemici con tanta forza, che gli costrinse a rinculare a poco a poco, e abbandonare fuggitivi i posti occupati. Non ebbero poi le genti della Chiesa più coraggio di assalire la città, ma si misero a stringerla con forte assedio"¹⁷. "Più di due mesi durò l'ostinato assedio"¹⁸.

Ma il 10 di aprile, mentre Obizzo restava di presidio nella città assediata, il marchese Rinaldo e Guecello, che ne sosteneva il peso maggiore, fecero una sortita assalendo da più parti i nemici e "diedero loro una memorabil sconfitta, nella quale molti restaron morti, molti prigionieri, e molti con la fuga si salvarono. Furono prigionieri, oltre molti altri personaggi, i Signori della Romagna sopra nominati (che poi si scambiarono col Marchese Niccolò d'Este, che a Consandoli era prima stato dagli Argentesi fatto prigioniero) ed il Conte d'Armagnac, che non taglia di cinquantamila fiorini si riscosse"¹⁹.

Mentre il Legato Apostolico Cardinale del Poggetto fuggiva, prima a Bologna, poi a Firenze ed infine ad Avignone, dove certamente non avrebbe ricevuto i complimenti da papa Giovanni XXII, a Ferrara il 14 dello stesso mese si festeggiava la vittoria e la conquista di alcuni territori fra cui l'Argentano.

¹⁶ A. Frizzi : Memorie per la storia di Ferrara, Ferrara 1793, vo. III, pag. 258.

¹⁷ G.B. Verci : Storia della Marca trevigiana e veronese, Venezia 1786, tomo X, lib. IX, pag. 34.

¹⁸ A. Frizzi : *ibidem*.

¹⁹ G. Bonifaccio, *op. cit.*, pag. 350.

Inoltre, riconoscendo l'alto valore dimostrato dal marchese Rinaldo, Guecello Tempesta lo investì della dignità di Cavaliere²⁰ : "post hoc Dominus Advogarius de Trevixio decoravit militem Dominum Raynaldum Marchionem Estensem"²¹, "come si portava il costume di que'tempi, che di poi anche continuò che anche i Principi per testimonio del valore ricevevano quel grado di cavaliere antico"²², "per farsi di questa dignità onorare negli eserciti vittoriosi, non dai loro più nobili Baroni, ma dai più valorosi Capitani"²³. A sua volta "egli appresso conferì lo stesso onore al Marchese Obizzo suo fratello, poscia al Marchese Bertoldo suo cugino, e ad altri nobili Signori. Paga doppia fu sborsata a'soldati, che tutti ritornarono alle lor case carichi di preda e di gloria. Rimase però in piedi buona parte dell'esercito Scaligero, imperciocchè noi lo troviamo a Pavia ad aiutare il Visconte"²⁴ e alla conquista di Modena dove l'immane Guecello fu anche testimone-giurato, insieme a Nicolò della Tavola e Galeazzo de'Medici, per l'acquisizione di quella città dalla Signoria Estense.

Possono sembrare davvero eccessivi lo zelo e l'impegno dimostrati dall'Avogaro a favore degli Estensi, ma non è così. Egli infatti, oltre ad adempiere al proprio dovere di comandante delle truppe scaligere aveva almeno due altri validi motivi : il primo era il doppio vincolo di parentela che lo legava alla Casa d'Este (erano infatti i Tempesta il ramo cadetto dei padovani Camposampiero da sempre imparentati ed alleati con gli Estensi, insieme avevano combattuto e sconfitto Ezzelino da Romano; inoltre la moglie di

²⁰ Solo chi era già Cavaliere poteva nominarne altri. Guecello Tempesta aveva ricevuto il "cingolo militare" dell'Ordine di S. Giorgio d'Austria da Mainardo V, conte di Gorizia, durante la guerra per la difesa di Padova contro Cangrande della Scala (20 agosto 1320).

²¹ *Chronicon Estense*, op. cit., pag. 102.

²² G.B. Pigna, op. cit., pag. 271-339.

²³ G. Bonifaccio, *ibidem*.

²⁴ G.B. Verci, op. cit., pag. 37.

Guecello era Caterina Maltraversi dei conti di Lozzo, cugina dei Signori di Ferrara). L'altro motivo era certamente dato da un giustificato risentimento nei confronti di papa Giovanni XXII a cui non poteva perdonare le vane promesse d'aiuto da lui ricevute nel 1328 per salvaguardare la Signoria di Treviso che, pur se onorevolmente, fu costretto a cedere allo strapotere di Cangrande della Scala.

Il 23 di novembre del 1338 moriva in Padova Guecello Tempesta Avogaro di Treviso e con nobilissimi funerali veniva sepolto da Ubertino da Carrara nella Basilica del santo, accanto ai cugini Camposampiero.

La famiglia Tempesta Avogari (poi Avogadri), per sopravvenuti contrasti con gli Scaligeri, l'anno seguente si trasferiva in Ferrara accolta dalla Corte Estense memore delle benemerienze acquisite.

CAPTAIN JOHN PATON OF MEADOWHEAD

Fay Stothers

John Paton was born at Meadowhead in Ayrshire in 1614. His grandmother Janet Muir of Rowallan, whose ancestry traces back to the kings of Scotland, married Matthew Paton tenant of Warnockland a farm on the Rowallan estate. Their daughter Janet Paton married a cousin John Paton in Meadowhead and their son was Captain Paton. Warnockland was part of a marriage portion granted by King James IV when his former mistress Margaret Boyd married John Muir of Rowallan. Captain Paton was married twice. The first marriage was in 1656, when he married Janet Lindsay whose father was tenant in Airtnoch, which adjoins Meadowhead. They were married in Fenwick parish church by William Guthrie. There is no record of his second marriage to Janet Miller, but an entry in the Fenwick register in 1679 notes that David, son of John Paton and Janet Miller in Meadowhead, was baptised on January 3rd. There were seven (six surviving) children from this marriage, the eldest, a daughter, being 14 in 1684. All of Captain Paton's descendants are from this second family.

WILLIAM GUTHRIE AND FENWICK

William Guthrie was the eldest son in a Forfarshire family. He was born in Pitforthly near Brechin in 1620 and studied at St Andrews University, where he came under the influence of two prominent covenanting ministers. The first was his cousin James Guthrie and the second Samuel Rutherford, who held the chair of theology at St Mary's College. In order to pursue a calling in the ministry of the Gospel, William Guthrie surrendered his

right of succession to the Pitforthly estate to one of his brothers. He then became tutor to Lord Mauchline eldest son of the Earl of Loudon. Shortly after his appointment he was invited to preach in Galston. Among the congregation were some Covenanters from Fenwick who were so impressed with William Guthrie's preaching that they wanted to have him appointed as minister in the new church at Fenwick. There were difficulties, however. Lord Boyd, the superior, was an unbending Royalist and he mistrusted anyone who came commended by the Earl of Loudon. For a time settlement was postponed; but the objections were overcome in the end and William Guthrie was ordained in 1644. William Guthrie had a charismatic personality and was a fine preacher. He made a profound impression on those who came in contact with him, one of whom was Captain John Paton. He became well known in Scotland and was present at the skirmish at Mauchline Moor. In 1650 he was with the defeated army at Dunbar. Many attempts were made to persuade him to leave Fenwick for other posts but he remained there until 1664, when he was suspended from office by Archbishop Fairfoul. The fact that he survived in office for four years after the restoration of Charles II was surprising. It is said that this was due to that beautiful courtesy which won for him, Protester that he was, a kindlier consideration than was extended to his fellows. He died of a painful illness in 1665 at the age of 45.

THE THIRTY YEARS WAR AND GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

In his early years John Paton worked on the farm at Meadowhead but, still in his teens, he enlisted in a Scots army which went to Germany and fought under the leadership of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. The Thirty Years War (1618-48) was an unmitigated catastrophe for Germany and for Europe. The suffering it caused was beyond reckoning. Nominally a war between Protestants and Catholics, it originated in the ambition of the Hapsburgs to obtain political control of Germany.

Gustavus Adolphus entered the war in 1630. He allied himself with Richelieu of France and fought for the Protestant cause against the Hapsburgs. Gustavus was a brilliant administrator and a skilful soldier. He was a great leader and inspired great loyalty among his troops. These troops were mainly Swedish, but Scots and Germans also fought with him. He enlisted men of all religions, but Lutheranism was the official creed of his troops. Prayers were held twice daily and each man was provided with a pocket hymnbook of songs suitable for battle. He cared unceasingly for the welfare of his men. Each man was equipped with a fur cloak, gloves, woollen stockings, and boots made of waterproof Russian leather. Because of his valour and good conduct, John Paton was commissioned on the field of battle by Gustavus Adolphus. During this period John Paton met many of the people who were to play an important part in his life when he returned to Scotland. Gustavus Adolphus was killed in battle on 16th November 1632. That night over his whole camp, among the Swedes, Scots, English, Irish, Poles, French and Dutch, there hung the silence of unutterable sorrow. After this John Paton returned to Meadowhead to turn once again to farming.

THE COVENANT

The Scottish Kirk had existed since 1567. Its doctrine was based on an extreme Calvinist position, embodied in a Confession of Faith. In this reformed Kirk ministers were elected by their congregations and discipline was entrusted to lay elders. Moreover, the Kirk had been given the right by King James VI to call General Assemblies, which dealt with matters of religion and discipline. Charles I, however, was determined that uniformity of religion should prevail in his two kingdoms. Little did he realise the resentment that the new prayer book would arouse. "What he was doing," Gardiner remarked, "he did from a love of order, combined with sheer ignorance of mankind." But this resentment was not created solely by his attempt to

insist upon the use of the new prayer book at Easter 1637. The Scottish nobility were at one with the leaders of the Kirk in resisting the claims of the bishops in both Church and State. They were united in opposing a new regime, of which this liturgy was the symbol, being foisted upon their ancient kingdom. The decision to impose the prayer book formulated in London upon the Scottish Kirk resulted in riots in Edinburgh. The National Covenant of Scotland was recast and sworn in 1638, expressing the solidarity of the Scottish Lowlanders against the English interference with their religious way of life. Relations between the Scots and the King became increasingly bitter and in 1639 King Charles I prepared for war. This civil war between Charles and his Scottish subjects was not in fact fought over the new liturgy. The King had by now provoked a Scottish national movement against him, led by the Presbyterian ministers.

THE SCOTTISH ARMY

The Scots formed an army to fight King Charles I. Professional officers such as Captain Paton, who had returned from fighting in the Thirty Years War in Germany, trained the Lowland farm worker recruits in the military arts. The Covenanters invited Alexander Leslie to command this army. Alexander Leslie was one of the most noted soldiers of his time. He was a volunteer in Lord Vere's regiment in Holland and soon rose to the rank of captain. He then went to Sweden, where he entered the service of Gustavus Adolphus. It is reported that he behaved so gallantly that he was raised to the rank of Lieutenant-General and then of Fieldmarshal. Charles could not form an army, due to lack of funds and lack of enthusiasm of the militiamen from southern England. He did, however, possess a small but splendid band of cavalry which crossed the border from Berwick on Tweed on Whit Monday 1639. When the mounted English soldiers saw the vast line of Scottish infantry, they recoiled. The campaign was aborted and peace was concluded. Charles had no

intention of keeping his side of the bargain and again attempted to raise an army against the Scots. This time, the Scots did not wait to be invaded, but led by Alexander Leslie, they crossed the Tyne and defeated a party of the King's troops commanded by Lord Conway. The King was obliged to accept the treaty of Ripon (21 October 1640) by which he agreed to allow the Scottish army to remain in Northumberland and Durham and to pay its expenses there until the final terms were settled. At the treaty with the King at Ripon, General Leslie was one of the parliament's commissioners and the King was so pleased with his behaviour that he created him Lord Balgonie and Earl of Leven.

THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT

Five years after the National Covenant of Scotland had been signed at Greyfriars Church in Edinburgh, the English Civil War was in progress. On Monday 25th September 1643, in St Margaret's Church, Westminster, the Solemn League and Covenant was sworn by two hundred and fifty members of the House of Commons and by the divines of the great Westminster assembly. The aims of this Covenant were basically similar to those of the Scottish League and Covenant, but they included England and Ireland as well. There was also an attempt to limit the authority of the King. In the opening months of the Civil War the Parliamentary armies had not met with much success. The Solemn League and Covenant helped Parliament to enlist the aid of the Scots. Not all Scots approved of the Solemn League and Covenant, because of its attempt to curtail the authority of the King. One of the most prominent of these was James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, who earlier had been an enthusiastic supporter of the Scottish Covenant.

THE CIVIL WAR

In 1643 John Paton again went to war. He joined the Scots Army, under the leadership of Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven. This army was sent to the assistance of Parliament's forces against the King. Meanwhile the Marquis of Montrose warned the King that a Scottish invasion of northern England was imminent. Charles I appointed Montrose as his Captain-General in Scotland. Montrose was a brilliant soldier. With his army of Highlanders and Irish he defeated the Scots at Tippermuir, Bridge of Dee, Inverlochy, Auldearn, Alford and Kilsyth. Into ten or eleven months in 1644 and 1645 Montrose crowded triumphs sufficient to last most generals a lifetime. Unfortunately each of these battles was followed by dreadful carnage, which made Montrose one of the most hated men in Scotland. One of the aims of Montrose and his army was to persuade the Scots army to return to Scotland by distracting it from the rear. This did not happen and the Scots army linked with Fairfax on 20th April 1644 and together they laid siege to York. The commanders round York learned on 28th June that Prince Rupert was on his way in an attempt to relieve the siege. They marched out to meet him and led their armies to Marston Moor, four miles west of York. The battle was won by the Parliamentarians. Some say that the Battle of Marston Moor was won because of the brilliant tactics of Alexander Leslie. Oliver Cromwell is also given credit for the victory and was henceforward nicknamed "Ironsides". After the battle of Marston Moor, the Scots went on to besiege Newcastle upon Tyne which fell to them on 19th October. John Paton returned to Scotland. He joined the army opposing Montrose and served with the rank of captain. He is said to have behaved with great gallantry, particularly at Kilsyth on 15th July 1645, when the Covenanters were badly defeated. The Marquis of Argyll, who was with the Covenanters, fled for safety to Berwick on Tweed, while other fugitives rode as far as Carlisle. The Scottish Army in England had no alternative but to abandon the siege of Hereford and

dispatch the bulk of their cavalry home. David Leslie was a cousin of Alexander Leslie. He fought at Marston Moor and then returned to command the army which opposed Montrose. This army defeated Montrose at Philiphaugh in September 1645. Montrose went into exile on the Continent for four years. After Philiphaugh John Paton returned home. In 1646, when a small party of Covenanters were attacked at Mauchline by General Middleton on the Monday after the celebration of the Lord's Supper, he and all those present who carried arms made a stout resistance. Paton is said to have that day killed eighteen of the enemy with his own hand. Eventually the victorious English Parliamentarians decided to pay off the Scottish Army, furnishing the first instalment of the money in January 1647. In the same year Alexander Leslie was appointed Lord-General of Scotland.

THE COVENANTERS AND THE KING

The next series of events started with the execution of King Charles 1 in 1649. The Covenanters, angry with an English Parliament for having the impertinence to execute a Scottish monarch, proclaimed Charles II as King on 5th February 1649. On 22nd February persuaded Montrose to return from exile and appointed him Captain-General in Scotland, with instructions to form an army by recruiting the Highland clans. There followed a disastrous campaign with this army in Ireland. As a result in 1650 Charles entered into negotiations with the Scottish Commissioners who met him at Breda. He signed a draft agreement, known as the Treaty of Breda. By this Charles promised to swear to the two Covenants. This committed him to impose a Presbyterian system on England as well as Scotland; to recognise the legality of the purged Scottish Parliament; to repudiate his arrangements with Ormonde and Montrose and to forbid the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion anywhere in his dominions. In return the Scottish Commissioners invited Charles to Scotland to be crowned King. Thus the Covenanters

neither then, nor after Charles's arrival in Scotland on 23rd June 1650, committed themselves to fighting for his restoration to the English throne. Charles therefore betrayed Montrose, who had fought so loyally for him and for his father. Montrose was defeated and captured at Carbisdale by Colonel Strachan. He was tried and executed as a traitor in Edinburgh, in 1650. Cromwell's response to these events was to lead an army northwards. On 22nd July, he crossed the Tweed. He was opposed by a large Covenanting army led by David Leslie, who had fought with Cromwell at Marston Moor. Alexander Leslie had helped to raise this army and served in it as a volunteer. On 3rd September Cromwell won a major victory over the Scots at Dunbar. Alexander Leslie was captured shortly after this, when attending a royalist meeting. He was imprisoned in the Tower of London and suffered many hardships. He obtained his liberty by the mediation of Queen Christina of Sweden, the daughter of King Gustavus Adolphus. He went to Sweden to express his gratitude, and was received there with great respect, in honour of his former services. He retired to his seat, Balgonie in Fife and died there at a very advanced age on 4th April 1661.

THE BATTLE OF WORCESTER

Charles was crowned at Scone on 1st January 1651 and accepted as the nominal Commander-in-Chief of the Scottish army. David Leslie with the remains of the army defied the English south of Stirling and along the lines of the River Forth. Cromwell succeeded in crossing the Forth and cut the lines of the Scots army. Charles decided, against Leslie's advice, to march into England to sever Cromwell's communications and the army, including Captain Paton, marched south. Charles hoped that the English Royalists would rally and give him assistance, but his hopes were dashed. Exhausted, the army finally reached Worcester on 22nd August 1651. Cromwell attacked on 3rd September. The Royalists attempted to attack Cromwell's position and were defeated. After the Battle of

Worcester John Paton returned to Meadowhead. This must have been a very settled period for him. He married in 1656.

RESOLUTIONERS AND PROTESTERS

In the late 1640s there were moves afoot to ameliorate the very stringent terms of the National Covenant. The Church and some of the stricter Scottish peers disapproved of this and early in 1649 the Act of Classes was passed. It declared that there were persons who had unfitted themselves for occupying positions of trust and power. They included Royalists and Episcopalians and lukewarm Covenanters. They were to be excluded from holding office for specified periods of time. Scarcely had the Act of Classes become law, when Charles I was executed. The Scots, horrified by this, became loyal once more to the King. Men excluded from power by the Act of Classes were welcomed back by the Scottish Parliament, which rescinded the Act. The Assembly of the Church ratified this decision. Some protested, however, clinging fast to the older austere method of fighting God's battles with none but God's soldiery. These were the Protesters and those who opposed them and approved of the abolition of the Act of Classes were known as the Resolutioners. When Charles II was restored to the throne, it was inevitable that some relaxation in attitude should come. The Resolutioners had cogent reasons to allege in their defence. It was difficult to reject good fighters merely because they abhorred the Covenant or associated with men who did. The Protesters would have none of this. They felt that the Cause entrusted to them was sacred and that it could not be entrusted to unworthy hands. John Paton was also one of them. The Assembly condemned them but they had a great deal of support from their congregations. The Church was nearly split in two. Each side had its own preachers who regularly criticised each other in a virulent fashion.

SCOTLAND UNDER OLIVER CROMWELL

The Scots disliked Oliver Cromwell. He was a statesman but he felt none of their stubborn loyalty towards a King who had perversely thrown away his right to rule. He was a man of religion but they differed radically from him. Oliver signed the Solemn League but in his eyes the bond was not the sacred and awful symbol which it was to the Presbyterian Scots. He was an Independent, in favour of a far wider toleration than they could abide. Yet the strong and stable discipline of Cromwell was an untold blessing to these censorious Kirkmen. The Scotland of the years of the Commonwealth had its grave moral blemishes but, side by side with the more painful features of the period, there were the blossom and the fruitage of genuine religion. It was said that " every paroche hade a minister, every village hade a school, every family almost hade a bible, yea in most of the country, all the children of age could read the Scriptures". The man who, more than any other, helped to secure for the land this Sabbatism of restful godliness was misunderstood, resisted and denounced. There was great rejoicing in both England and Scotland on 29th May 1660 when Charles II, now thirty years of age, was restored to the throne.

THE DRUNKEN PARLIAMENT

After the Restoration Scotland remained Presbyterian but Charles II appointed people to power who were antagonistic to this ideal. He managed to do this because there were wide disagreements between Resolutioners and Protesters. Also the aristocracy was very poor, with lands sequestrated. They saw support of the King as a way to regain their lost fortunes. The Covenanters were mainly from the middle classes and the peasantry. They did not have the political influence to oppose these appointments. For a few months in 1660 Charles II ruled Scotland through the old Committee of Estates. But on New Year's Day 1661 a Scottish Parliament met in Edinburgh. Nine

years had passed since a similar meeting and the men assembled, all carefully chosen by the King, Charles's Commissioner who directed the Parliament was John, Earl of Middleton. He is described as being "without human pity or religious faith". He swore to support the Covenant and fought in the campaigns of 1644 and 1645. David Leslie held him in great esteem at that time. He then became a supporter of Charles II. He was a good soldier, but was too violent, arbitrary and revengeful to be a wise, civil governor. His habits were gross and brutish and he was never sober. Middleton and his colleagues made Charles II virtually an absolute monarch and heaped insult upon the Covenant. They constructed an Oath of Allegiance in which every jurisdiction apart from the King's was renounced. In coming years it was to be an effective weapon of persecution. This was called the Drunken Parliament because its members were drunk most of the time when they robbed the nation of its liberties, checked social progress and did what they could to stifle religious life. The Drunken Parliament did more than pass laws fraught with mischief and misery. It sent to violent deaths the leaders of the Protestant section of the Church, whose advocacy of the Covenant was most unfaltering and outspoken. The Marquis of Argyll and James Guthrie were both executed.

SHARP OF THAT ILK

Lord Middleton and the nobles who abetted him were not the worst foes of the Church. They had for a prompter a man described as "a man whose life of calculating meanness happily has few parallels". Cromwell disliked him intensely and called him "Sharp of that Ilk". Sharp, whose name corresponded with his nature, was cunning, clever and governed consistently by self-regard and self-interest. He was minister at Crail and sided with the Resolutioners. For months at a stretch he was absent from Crail and was busy with political intrigues in London. Mostly through Sharp's scheming and double-dealing, the Privy Council announced in 1661 that the Bishops were to be

restored. James Hamilton, once active in the Kirk, received the diocese of Galloway, Andrew Fairfoul became Archbishop of Glasgow. Robert Leighton was sent to Dunblane and James Sharp was now the titular head as Archbishop of St Andrews.

SCOTLAND UNDER THE BISHOPS

The second session of Middleton's Parliament began in May 1662 and brought back the Bishops to the benches of the House, restoring their accustomed dignities, privileges and jurisdictions. It decreed that congregations no longer had the right to choose their own ministers. It also stated that preachers ordained since 1649 must receive sanction from the bishop of the diocese or else vacate their charges. The west of Scotland was the headquarters of the Covenanters. Archbishop Fairfoul found that not one of the younger ministers under his superintendence would acknowledge his authority and ask for his sanction. When Middleton heard about this he was furious. The Privy Council therefore met in Glasgow and declared that all the ministers who should have failed by 1st November to obtain the authorisation of patron and bishop must leave their parishes. Fairfoul believed that the ministers would not be prepared to leave their salaries and their parishes. He was very startled to discover that about four hundred Scottish clergymen, rather than wound conscience by accepting their holy office from any but Jesus Christ, abandoned stipend, parish and home in the middle of winter. The Privy Council was furious with Fairfoul for precipitating a crisis. They realised that they had committed a huge error in tactics and extended the day of grace until 1st February of the following year. But the deed was done and neither allurements nor threats could persuade the ousted ministers to come back. This presented the Bishops with the huge problem of filling the empty places. One solution was to appoint illiterate farm boys from the highlands. Landlords in the north were heard to curse the Presbyterian pastors because, since they forsook their parishes, not a boy could be got to

watch the cows. The next problem was how to fill the empty churches. Heavy fines were imposed to enforce attendance, but the people refused to be coerced. The Scots' Mile Act was then passed which required the recusant ministers not to reside within twenty miles of their former parishes, nor within six miles of Edinburgh, nor within three miles of any royal burgh. It scarcely mattered, however, how far the loved and familiar preachers were driven away. They could not be separated from their faithful congregations. Religious services began to be held in private houses and soon in the open fields. These meetings were called Conventicles and are famous in the chequered story of the Covenant. In 1663 Middleton fell from favour and Sharp and the Earl of Rothes ruled Scotland through the Privy Council. The Archbishop went to London to persuade the King to bring back the Court of High Commission for the summary trial and conviction of all recusants. He was appointed president of this court, which had absolute powers. Its verdicts were final; frequently they were pronounced without any evidence being produced. These were frightful times for the Covenanters. Harsh fines were imposed on men and women of rank who attended the field preachings or permitted them on their estates. Women were whipped in the streets for attending conventicles and boys were sold as slaves and sent to the plantations in Virginia and Barbados. The Court declared it seditious to give a morsel of bread to one of the hunted preachers. In the churchyard of Fenwick Church there are the graves of the martyrs --Robert Buntine and James Blackwood, executed in 1666; James White, shot at one of the Moorland farms; John Fergushill, George Woodburn and Peter Gemmill, killed in 1685. John Paton must have known them all. It is amazing that William Guthrie managed to continue as minister in Fenwick until 1664. At four o'clock in the morning in July he mounted the pulpit for the last time. The congregation assembled in the cool and clear summer dawn. Twice over he mounted the pulpit making an interval between sermons, in the end, dismissing the people before nine. At noon the Curate of Calder, the only man

willing to perform the ungracious task, arrived with an escort of twelve soldiers to suspend William Guthrie from office.

THE PENTLAND RISING

For a while the Covenanters submitted to the persecution in silence, but eventually they rebelled against the perpetrators of these intolerable cruelties. The rising started in Galloway where Sir James Turner was in command of the troops. Turner was a Thirty Years War veteran, who had fought on both sides in that conflict. In November 1666 four Covenanters came to Dalry looking for food and shelter. Some of Sir James Turner's troops were quartered there and, when the Covenanters entered the village, they were ill-treating an old man who could not pay the heavy fine exacted on him for absence from church. The four Covenanters drew their swords to protect the old man and the villagers rallied to help them. The soldiers were disarmed and taken prisoner. These Covenanters, knowing that retribution would follow, continued in arms. With the help of others they captured further groups of soldiers. By this time their numbers had grown to about one hundred and eighty men, some mounted, but all armed in some way. On 15th November they entered Dumfries and captured Turner himself. The insurrection spread like wildfire and came as a very great shock to the Privy Council, which sent an army of 2,000 foot and 500 horse. Commanding the army was General Thomas Dalziel who marched out from Edinburgh at the head of his army. Up from Galloway came the insurgents into Ayrshire. Despite appalling weather their numbers increased as they came. Their leader was James Wallace of Auchans, a skilled soldier who had fought for Parliament in the Civil War. Along with him, other trained officers joined the army - Major Learmont, Captain Arnot and Captain Paton of Meadowhead. These three men had stood shoulder to shoulder at Worcester with Thomas Dalziel himself. Under the tuition of such instructors the undisciplined crowd was transformed into a company of capable soldiers. Turner, an

unwilling traveller with this army, was driven into admiration. The Covenanters were at Lanark on 25th November. The next day they renewed the Covenant and published a Declaration which asserted their unchanged regard for the King but declared against various iniquities, such as fines, imprisonments and the iniquities of the High Commission Court. The Covenanting army was at its peak at Lanark, but many of them wanted to march on Edinburgh where they expected to gain more support. The weather was dreadful and they did not gather the support they expected. When they were within five miles of Edinburgh, they discovered that the city was preparing to resist them. Colonel Wallace led his men round the eastern end of the Pentland Hills and rested on an incline. Through a pass on the other side of the glen three thousand of the enemy appeared, the horsemen leading the way. The Covenanters were in an advantageous position and fought bravely, but eventually they were overwhelmed by sheer weight of numbers. The marvel is that, ill armed and exhausted, they had behaved with such gallantry and maintained their ground for so long. John Howie told a story of the flight of Captain Paton. Dalziel saw him go, and, knowing his prowess, ordered three troopers to follow him. They came upon him at a marshy pool. Three Galloway men were with difficulty, pulling their horses onto the opposite bank. When they saw the troopers closing in on Captain Paton, they shouted. "What will you do?" He answered gaily that he had but three antagonists with whom to reckon. Urging his horse forward, he leaped the pool and faced his enemies. His sword descended on the head of one of them and split it in two. The soldier's horse stumbled back into the bog, taking with it the other two troopers who were close behind. "Take my compliments to your master," John Paton said to them as they struggled in the mire, "and tell him that I cannot sup with him tonight." Howie adds that he himself had seen the famous sword. It was counted to have twenty-eight gaps, which made his children observe that there were just as many years of the persecution as there were broken pieces of its edge. James

Wallace fled to the Continent. The survivors who were captured were dealt with by James Sharp; mercy was not a word in his vocabulary. Many were hanged and many were sent as slave labour to Barbados. After Pentland Captain Paton was forced to stay in concealment, sometimes at home and sometimes in other parts of the country. During this period of persecution he married a second wife by whom he had six children.

THE BLINK

The excessive cruelty of the regime of Sharp and Rothes became so bad that the responsibility of ruling Scotland was taken over by Lord Lauderdale. Milder men and milder measures came into operation and the Covenanters had a breathing space for a few years. This period became known as "The Blink." In greater numbers than ever they met for worship on the hillsides and in the fields and enjoyed for the time being an easing of their burden. The chief feature of these years of the Blink was the granting of two Indulgences in June 1669 and in 1672, which were a permission to ousted ministers to reoccupy their churches. Unfortunately this permission was hedged in by stringent conditions and subject to strict control by the State. Very few of the banished ministers accepted these conditions and returned to their churches. Furthermore this led to further divisions among the Covenanters - Indulged and Nonindulged. The ministers who had not accepted the Indulgences continued with the field preachings. The State argued that the churches were once more available to these ministers and brought out heavier penalties against them. The fines for holding services in private houses were increased. In the field conventicles a reward of thirty pounds was given to anyone who arrested the minister. A free pardon was automatically given if the minister or any of the congregation was killed in the process.

THE HIGHLAND ARMY

The Earl of Lauderdale continued to be a firm favourite of Charles II and as a result was made a duke. Efforts were made by the Duke of Hamilton to remove him from power, but to no avail. The penalties against the conventicles became more severe and for a few months they were abandoned. They soon started up again however. Lauderdale's response was to raise a Highland army and send it to the west of Scotland. In February 1678 about 9,000 men entered Ayrshire. This army encountered no opposition but spent its time robbing and pillaging. Hamilton again went to London in an attempt to overthrow Lauderdale. Again the King opposed him. In order to protect his favourite Lauderdale, the King gave orders that the Highland troops must leave the countryside which they had laid waste.

THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP SHARP

Archbishop Sharp had continued in office throughout the twelve years of Lauderdale's administration. Nobody detested the conventicles with such virulence or meted out such punishment to men and women who frequented them. In the spring of 1679, a year after the Highlanders had left the west, he drafted a new edict which gave liberty to kill any man who went armed to or from a meeting in the fields. On Friday 3rd May 1679 he was travelling to London to obtain the Sovereign's consent to this edict, when his coach was stopped by some Covenanters who shot and killed him.

JOHN GRAHAM OF CLAVERHOUSE AND DRUMCLOG

The death of Archbishop Sharp did not end the persecution of the Covenanters. One of the most enthusiastic opponents of Presbytery was Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh. an

outstanding lawyer who had just been made King's Advocate. His schemes against the Covenanters were carried out by John Graham the elder son of Sir William Graham of Claverhouse, who in 1678 was put in charge of a company of dragoons and sent to Dumfriesshire to deal with people who persisted in attending Conventicles. He accomplished nothing very notable but in May 1679, after the assassination of the Archbishop, events began to crowd thick and fast. On 29th May eight armed men entered Rutherglen. Their leader was Sir Robert Hamilton. It was the King's restoration day and a bonfire blazed in the main street. The visitors extinguished the flames and, proceeding to the town cross, they read a declaration condemning the conduct of the Government. They burned the Acts of Parliament and Privy Council, which for nineteen years had been launched against the Covenanted Reformation. John Graham was at Falkirk and, as soon as he heard what had happened, he set out to avenge the affront. He stopped for the night at Strathaven where he heard rumours about a field preaching to be held near Loudon Hill. He decided to investigate. The place of the meeting was a gentle slope at the foot of which the moorland became a swamp through which ran a stream. It was Sunday morning 1st June and a large crowd had gathered. Thomas Douglas was to be the preacher. Scarcely had the service begun when a watchman fired a gun, the alarm signal. Those who had weapons separated themselves quietly from the rest, advising their friends to secure their own safety as best they could. When John Graham and his soldiers came in sight of them, he found these armed men drawn up in battle order upon the most advantageous ground. Each side was evenly matched for numbers, about 240, but the soldiers had the advantage in guns and ammunition. The Covenanters, who included John Paton, advanced down the slope, singing the seventy-sixth psalm. The Royalists fired first and from across the swamp the Covenanters answered. John Graham sent some horsemen to discover a suitable path across the bog but the horses staggered and stumbled. Then the Covenanters had their opportunity.

They knew the bog well and were through the swamp and grappling with the dragoons before they realized what had happened. The soldiers were routed and Drumclog was a triumph for the Covenanters.

THE BATTLE OF BOTHWELL BRIDGE

After Drumclog the Covenanters decided that they must hold together because of the retaliation, which they knew would come. They grew rapidly in numbers. Within three weeks the 250 had multiplied to about 6,000. Soon they were so formidable that the rebellion began to trouble the authorities, not only in Holyrood but in Whitehall. Unfortunately and fatally the Covenanters could not agree between themselves. Disputes arose between the different factions. John Paton agreed with the strict views of the extreme Covenanters. It was said of him that "he was not loud-tongued and insistent on promulgating his tenets". There was no neutral zone. Everyone was compelled to declare himself for the party of rigour or for that of comprehension. The Covenanters continued to fight among themselves while a large force, sent from London, joined up with the Scottish army to oppose them. The principal command of the King's army was held by the Duke of Monmouth who was prepared to negotiate with the Covenanters, but those with extreme views would have none of this. On 22nd June 1679 5,000 Covenanters faced the royal army of 15,000 men. The combatants faced each other on opposite banks of the Clyde. Between them was the old steep and narrow Bridge of Bothwell. The Covenanters were without unity, without buoyancy, without competent generalship. Many did their best and fought bravely but the royalist victory was resounding. About 40 Covenanters were killed and 1,500 taken prisoner who were taken to Edinburgh, where some were executed. The rest were very badly treated. Some escaped but many died. Eventually, when there were only 250 of them left, they were shipped off to the American plantations. Off the coast of Orkney the ship sank in a

storm. The Covenanters were locked in the hold and only sixty escaped. When Bothwell Bridge had been fought and lost, silence fell on the Kirk. The silence would have been unbroken if it had not been for the voices of two or three of the straitest sect of the Covenant. Their testimony increased in determination and vehemence. John Paton was proclaimed a rebel and a large sum was offered for his head.

THE KILLING TIME

Some people refer to The Killing Time as the twenty-eight years of the Persecution which lay between the coming of Charles II in 1660 to the advent of King William in 1689. Many however refer to a shorter period between 1684 and 1688. In this time many Covenanters were hunted, caught and executed. John Paton was an old man now and the privations of a soldier's career had added to his age. In August 1683 he was in the house of a friend Robert Howie of Floack in the parish of Mearns, when a party of five troopers commanded by Cornet Lewis Lauder arrested him. Contrary to his practice, he was not armed. His host offered him both sword and pistol. Ten years before, he would have welcomed the offer and fought the dragoons single-handed; that day he declined the suggested aid. He was well stricken in years, he said, and worn with fleeing from place to place. He added that he had no fear of death for his portion of Christ's love and redemption was sure. At that point his captors were not aware of his identity, imagining him to be some venerable preacher of the Covenant. It was when they passed a farm farther on and the farmer at the door exclaimed in amazement "Captain Paton! Are you there?" that they discovered the value of their prisoner. He was taken first to Kilmarnock, where his eldest daughter by his second marriage got access to see him. He was subsequently taken to Ayr, Glasgow and Edinburgh. General Dalziel saw him as he was led, bound into the capital. They had fought together at Worcester thirty-two years before. The General embraced the prisoner.

"John," he said, "I am both glad and sorry to see you. If I had met you on the way before you came hither, I should have set you at liberty; but now it is too late" Captain Paton's trial did not take place until the spring of 1684. He was condemned on his confession that he had been at Bothwell and sentenced to be hanged in the Grass Market on 23rd April. Twice over, perhaps through the intervention of Dalziel, the execution was delayed. The Clerk of Council noted in his books: "John Paton, in Meadowhead, sentenced to die for rebellion, and thereafter remaining in mosses and moors to the high contempt of authority, reprieved till Friday come sen'night and to have a room by himself, that he may prepare more conveniently for death." It was an unusual clemency but the interval was soon ended. On 9th May he was executed.

It was reported that he died "most cheerfully", as indeed he had always lived. His last testimony shows how thoroughly he had listened to the lessons William Guthrie taught from the pulpit of Fenwick Church. "There is no safety," he declared, " but at Christ's back; and I beseech you, improve time, for ye know not when the Master calleth, at midnight or the cock-crowing. Seek pardon freely and then He will come with peace. Seek all the graces of His Spirit-the grace of love, the grace of holy fear and humility". It is said that General Dalziel obtained a reprieve from the King but that, falling into the hands of Archbishop Paterson, it was held back until after the execution.

In Fenwick Church near the pulpit in a glass case is Captain Paton's small bible, which he gave to his wife when he was on the scaffold. In the cemetery at Fenwick Parish Church is a monument to Captain John Paton which reads-

*"Sacred to the memory of Captain John
Paton late in Meadowhead of this parish
who suffered martyrdom in the*

*Grassmarket Edinburgh, May 9th,
1684.*

*He was an honour to his country, on the
continent, at Pentland, Drumclog and
Bothwell, his heroic conduct truly evinced
the gallant patriot. In social and domestic
life he was an ornament, a pious christian,
and a faithful witness for truth in
opposition to the encroachment of
tyrannical and despotic power in Church
and State. The mortal remains of Captain
Paton sleep amid the dust of kindred
martyrs in the Greyfriars Chuchyard,
Edinburgh, and near this is the burying
place of his family and descendants.*

*Who antichrist doth thus oppose
And for truth's cause their lives lay down,
Will get the victory o'er their foes
And gain life's everlasting crown."*

THE CORONATION OF THE KINGS OF ARAGON

Stephen Screech

Magnificence of dress and architecture was an essential tool of royal government in the Middle Ages. Royal pageantry combined the two and on no occasion more than a coronation. The coronation of the Kings of Aragon was second to none in this and we have many detailed records of the exact proceedings, particularly in the codification of the ceremonial carried out on the order of Pedro IV, not for nothing called the Ceremonious.

When Alfonso the Battler conquered Saragossa in 1118 he found himself in such a wealthy and magnificent city that he at once made it his capital. The Beni Hud dynasty of Arabs, which had ruled over it, had left behind a breathtaking palace, the *Aljaferia*, which rivals the architectural splendours of Seville, Granada, Toledo and Cordoba. He promptly made it his palace. Only a few years thereafter began the construction of the Cathedral (*El Seo*) on the site of the main mosque of the city on a scale and in a manner intended to overawe. In early gothic style it is unusually broad and gives an impression of great height throughout with side aisles of a height equal to the nave. The ogival vaulting of the ceiling is encrusted with gilded pendants and bosses in the Moorish manner and the red marble pavement mirrors its pattern with rays emanating from the yellow marble bases of the pillars. It was before the High Altar of the Cathedral that the Kings of Aragon were crowned in an elaborate ceremony.

The King had fasted for three days. On the Saturday evening a lengthy and gorgeous procession of the members of the Royal

Family and the grandees of the Kingdom, at the end of which was the King on a richly caparisoned white charger, would wend its way from the *Aljafería* through the narrow streets thronged with people to the Cathedral. The King himself was richly dressed in white silk, symbolising his state of his marital chastity and purity as a devout knight of Our Lady, with a scarlet velvet mantle embroidered with his arms and scarlet velvet buskins, the red conveying his blood that he would be prepared to shed for his people and his country. At the Cathedral's great West Door he would be met by all the assembled archbishops and bishops and abbots of his realm in full pontificals, as well as the canons of the Cathedral. The King prayed before the High Altar on which were placed his arms and he venerated the Cross. He spent the night in prayer in the Sacristy of the Cathedral unaccompanied except by a very few of his retainers.

In the morning the King rose at dawn and heard Mass privately. He then showed himself to the people so that, when later they were asked if they would accept him as their King, they would be able to recognise him. At daybreak the clergy had assembled and were vested, then calling the King from the Sacristy where he had changed from secular to ecclesiastical robes. He put on in particular a crimson and gold embroidered velvet dalmatic as if a deacon of the church, as the helper of the priesthood, just as the deacon is the assistant of the priest. He processed once more to before the High Altar, the royal insignia being borne by Princes of the Blood or high nobles of the kingdom.

There then followed his knighting. A King who was not also a knight would have been an anomaly. The poor of the world were very much at the mercy of the rich and powerful : yet in the vows of the ceremony of knighting the King pledged himself to a just and equitable rule on the basis agreed by his forefathers. If the King were already a knight, he would rededicate his arms to the service of God and of his people. He also pledged God's church and make war on its enemies. The prelates then formed a circle

round the altar on which the insignia had been placed. The King prostrated himself at its centre in prayer²⁵. The Princes and nobles left the circle. If the King were not already knighted, two Princes or nobles would affix his spurs. The Metropolitan blessed the shield, the lance and the spear handing same to the King. The King girded his sword. The King put on his sword-belt, then drew the sword²⁶ and knighted himself. With his clenched right hand he struck himself on the left cheek²⁷, he and the Metropolitan praying the while. If any royal Princes present were not yet knighted the King might dub them also. He was then conducted to the sacristy once more, at which point High Mass began.

This gave the King a short pause to rest until the Epistle. After this and before the Gospel was sung there took place the ceremony of the coronation and the anointing. The King had been escorted once more into the body of the Cathedral to his lesser throne surrounded by Princes, nobility and clergy. He made his profession of service to God, the Church, his country and his people, after which he was led before the Metropolitan at his own throne²⁸. Various questions were put to the King to test his fitness to serve God and the people²⁹. The people were then themselves

²⁵ *Senyor Deu a tu ha plagut ...* Lord God to Whom it has pleased ...

²⁶ *E aço fet lo rey traga le spaha del foure e devant tot le poble de cara esbrandescala tres vegades.* Having done which the King drew the sword from its scabbard and before all the people in front of him hebrandished it three times.

²⁷ *E feta aquesta oracio lo rey ab la ma sua dreta donse un colp en la templa esquerra.* Having finished this prayer the King then strikes himself with his right hand on his left cheek.

²⁸ *Reverent pare demana sancta Mare Esgleya que aquest alt e illustre cavaller al qual per successio legitima lo regne se pertany per dignitat reyal consagrets.* Holy Mother Church requests the Reverend Father to consecrate in the royal dignity this high and illustrious knight to whom the realm belongs by legitimate succession.

²⁹ *Vis fidem sanctam a catholicis viris tibi traditam tenere et opera justa observare ? Vis sanctarum ecclesiarumque ministrorum tutor et defensor esse ? Respondeat el Rey: Volo.*

asked if they would have this man as their king³⁰ to which they shouted in reply “*Fiat ! Fiat ! Amen!*”³¹. The Archbishop then took the holy oils and anointed the King on the breast and the shoulders³². The practice of anointing kings goes right back to the Old Testament when the oil was rather applied to the head. In Christian ceremonies of coronation the oil is applied to the breast and shoulders since “the government shall be upon his shoulders”. The privilege of the anointing had been conferred upon the Archbishops of Saragossa, the Primate of Aragon, by Pope Innocent III: By this ceremony was conveyed the spiritual authority of the King.

Interroget: Vis regnum tuum a Deo tibi concessum secundum iustitiam Patrum tuorum regere et defendere ? Respondeat el Rey: Volo. Do you wish to hold the holy faith which has been handed down to you by catholic men and to observe just actions ? Do you wish to be the protector and the defender of the Holy Church and its ministers ? To which the King replied: I do. He asked: Do you wish to rule and defend your kingdom which has been conferred to you by God in accordance with the justice of your forefathers ? He replied: I do.

³⁰ *Sabets vosaltres a ell pertanyer lo regne per legitima successio.* Know ye that to him belongs the realm by legitimate succession.

³¹ *E nos conescem e creem a aquell pertanyer lo regne per legitima successio. E sia respost per tots los circumstants : Dea gratias. E aço acabat lo metropolita diga sobre lo rey les oracions següents.* We both know and believe that to him belongs the realm by legitimate succession. And all those standing around reply: Thanks be to God. Thereupon the Archbishop recites over the King the following four prayers ...

³² *E lo metropolita prenga del oli sanctificat e faent creu uncten lo cap dels pits del rey e apres les sumitatts de cascuna de les spatles dient les paraules següents: Ungo te in regem bujus populi in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. E feta la unccio segons que dit es lo metropolita ab un bell drap de lin torch e munde los lochs unctats.* The Archbishop took the holy oils and made the sign of the Cross on the breast and on each of the shoulders of the King, saying the following words: I anoint thee as King of this people in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen. And having finished the anointing the Archbishop took a fine linen towel and wiped the places which he had anointed.

After various prayers the Archbishop blessed the crown which the King took from the altar and put on his own head³³. The crown is a symbol of the earthly authority vested in the King by virtue of his descent, which is deemed to continue unending as his descendants continue without end. Since this does not derive from a spiritual source it was not deemed right for the Church to impose the crown. In like manner the King took possession of his orb and sceptre. He was then ceremoniously conducted to his major throne on which he sat wearing the crown and holding the orb and sceptre. There was then sung the *Te Deum*.

The High Mass continued with the Gospel. At the Offertory the King traditionally offered twelve gold coins in memory of the twelve Apostles. At the end of the Mass and before the final blessing the Archbishop recited further prayers over the person of the King who remained sitting on his major throne

If the King were already married, his Queen would also be crowned in the course of the same ceremonies. Having fasted for one day, on the day of the Coronation itself the Queen would process from the palace to the West Door of the Cathedral where she would be met by the bishops of the realm in pontificals, who would escort her to her throne near the High Altar. After the coronation of the King she would be led before the High Altar followed by leading noblewomen of the kingdom carrying her regalia which was put on the altar by the bishops. Attended by two ladies she would prostrate herself before the altar, the ladies moving away. The Archbishop then anointed her in the same manner as the King. The King stepped forward taking the crown

³³ *E aquesta oracio dita lo rey prenga la corona de sobre laltar e ell matez posles en lo cap senç ajuda dalcuna persona.* Once this prayer had been said the King took the crown from off the altar and placed it himself upon his head without the help of any other person.

from the altar and himself crowned the Queen³⁴. He then presented her with her orb and sceptre and her gold ring which she wore on her right hand. At the Offertory the Queen gave seven gold coins in memory of the seven cardinal virtues.

By a solemn procession of the King and the Queen, the Royal Family, the clergy, the nobles and myriad retainers in the service of all the foregoing, the whole party made its slow and solemn way back to the palace of the *Aljaferia*, allowing the people the maximum opportunity to see and recognise their ruler. Having regained the palace, gifts were presented to the King and Queen by all present and the feasting began.

³⁴ E aço fet lo rey que aquí sia present vestit ab les sues insignies reys prenga la corona del altar e posla en lo cap de la reyna. And this being done the King, being there present robed with his royal insignia, he takes the crown from the altar and places it on the head of the Queen.

Notes for contributors

Articles for submission should be typewritten on A4 paper on one side only, with double spacing for editing. Text can also be submitted in data format (RTF or Word Documents) on diskettes. References should be added separately. Please note : no type proof will be sent to authors before printing.

We regret drawings or images cannot be accepted for inclusion within The Bulletin.

Documents can be accepted in English, Italian, French, Spanish and German. Authors of non-English articles are requested to supply a string of key words or a short abstract which will be subsequently translated by the Editorial Board. The Board declines any responsibility for errors or omissions in the translation.

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