

The Pentland Rising and
Rullion Green

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The Pentland Rising & Rullion Green

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PREFACE

THE following pages detail the history of a little-known episode in the history of post-Restoration Scotland. The Pentland Rising and Rullion Green, it is true, are familiar facts. They inspired an early essay of R. L. Stevenson. But no satisfactory attempt has so far been made to give them that coherence and detail which they deserve. Modern historians have sufficiently displayed the causes which invited the rising. They have also sufficiently indicated the results which flowed from it. For that

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PREFACE

reason I have purposely refrained from a trespass upon familiar ground. But of the rising itself, and of the battle that brought it to a close, no attempt has hitherto been made to construct a detailed and exhaustive account from the materials that are available. To do so is the object of the present monograph.

C. S. T.

KING'S COLLEGE,
OLD ABERDEEN, 9 February, 1905.

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The Pentland Rising and Rullion Green

SIX years and more had passed since Charles the Second had come back to his own. Episcopacy had been restored. Conventicleism, in consequence, had begun.¹

¹Refusing to accept the ministrations of the licensed curates, the nonconformists “were constrained to wander for lack of bread, sometimes to the churches where the old forlorn presbyterian ministers continued their ministry, sometimes to share of the family exercises of the younger ministers, who were outted, but sojourned among them; and sometimes the multitude that came to partake of the family exercises increased so, that the minister was constrained to preach without, and at length to goe to the open fields, which was the cause and original of field meetings in Scotland, which made so great a noise. The first who begune

THE PENTLAND RISING

The familiar Whig-hunting duty of Claverhouse at a later time already was in operation, and as their attitude during "the Troubles" predicted, the shires of the South-West were those which in 1666, as in 1679, called for military observation and control. Stagnant trade added to prevailing discontent; for the Anglo-Dutch War and the rupture of Cromwell's enlightened fiscal union hit Scotland hard. Trouble had already been anticipated by the authorities. An Act of the Estates on 23 September, 1663, had sanctioned the raising of a force of twenty thousand militia infantry and two thousand horse.¹ That generous number had not been realised, but the Government

to preach in the fields were Mr. John Welsh and Mr. Gabriel Semple" (James Kirkton, *The Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland, from the Restoration to the year 1678*, ed. C. K. Sharpe, Edin. 1817, p. 163).

¹ *Acts Parlt. Scot.* vol. vii. p. 480.

NOT PREMEDITATED

had at its disposal a force under Thomas Dalziel of Binns competent to coerce any appearance of active revolt and to police the disaffected area.¹

The rising of 1666 had its origin in an event of sudden, unpremeditated character.² In Kirkcudbrightshire the energy

¹For the forces available in November, 1666, see below, p. 76.

²Roths, writing to Lauderdale 17 December, 1666, describes the rising as the work of "damd ffulls uho hes antisipat ther taym of raysing." Dalziel, writing to Lauderdale 27 December, 1666, expresses the opinion: "It simis this laist [rebellion] if it had not bein mistymd had bein muth moir terrible" (*The Lauderdale Papers*, Camden Society, ed. Osmund Airy, 1884-85, vol. i. pp. 263, 266). The editor (*ibid.* p. 245) quotes Alexander Burnet's opinion, expressed to Archbishop Sharp on 27 November, 1666: "Many things in this rising look like design, but I shall suspect no man." Burnet suspected the insurgents to be acting in correspondence with England and Ireland. The presence of Irish ministers with the insurgent force supports Burnet's suspicion in some degree. Andrew Gray, who commanded that force at first,

SIR JAMES TURNER

of Sir James Turner had already driven the irreconcilables to the hills and mosses for safety. Of their number was Maclellan of Barscobe. His property lay within the parish of Balmaclellan, in the north-east of the county, where at a later time the wife of "Old Mortality" kept her school. On Tuesday, 13 November, 1666,¹ Barscobe

seems to have presented a commission or recommendation from some one in authority. On the other hand, whatever projects of armed resistance were already contemplated, the balance of evidence is wholly in support of the view that "the scuffle at Dalry," as Blackader called it, was not the preconcerted signal for revolt, but a chance event which hurried its perpetrators into an unauthorised and unplanned campaign.

¹Andrew Crichton's *Memoirs of the Rev. John Blackader* (Edin. 1823, p. 136) gives the date as 12 November. Kirkton (p. 229) gives the date as Tuesday, 13 November. Kirkton, who calls the Pentland Rising "ane unsuccessfull attempt made by some of these poor tempted people in the west countrey," describes his narrative as "received from the most understanding upon the party."

AND BARSCOBE

and three companions, sorely pinched by hunger, and frozen by the cold rain in their upland shelter, ventured to descend from the hills towards Dalry. On their way they were passed by three or four soldiers, quartered by Turner in Dalry, driving before them "a company of poor neighbour men" to thresh the corn of an old man, who had fled to escape the fines to which he was liable for non-attendance at church. Barscobe and his companions watched the sad procession with indignation, but "passed it in silence"¹; for Dalry was denuded of its garrison, and food and shelter were inviting. To Dalry they proceeded, and a friendly ale-house gave them hospitality. It was "early in the forenoon," their breakfast was still unfinished, when a village tumult broke in upon them. The

¹ Kirkton, p. 229. Blackader does not mention this incident.

RESCUE OF A PRISONER

soldiers had returned. The defaulter whose corn they had set out to thresh a few hours before was in their hands. In fact, they had secured him in his own house, and, it was declared, "were threatening to strip him naked, and set him on a hot gridiron, because he could not pay his church fines."¹

Barscobe and his fellows left their unfinished breakfast, and hurried to the rescue. They found the prisoner bound. "Why do you bind the old man?" they demanded. "How dare you challenge?" was the retort. A scuffle ensued. The soldiers drew their swords. One of Barscobe's company fired his pistol, "loaden with tobacco stopple." A soldier fell

¹ Blackader, p. 136. Kirkton (p. 229) states that the soldiers, having arrested the absconding defaulter, "were about to bind him, and set him bare upon a het iron gird-iron, there to torment him in his own house."

AT DALRY

wounded, and his fellows surrendered to superior numbers.¹

So far the Dalry incident ranks with those at Enterkin and Inchbelly at a later time as the more or less casual rescue of a prisoner. But having gone so far, Barscobe felt it imperative to go further. The rumour of his exploit "soon reached Balmaclellan, where a party with a minister were at prayer." This small body, "fear-

¹ Blackader, p. 136. According to Kirkton (p. 229) two of Barscobe's party were "almost killed behind their backs and unawares." The wounded soldier was Corporal George Deanes, of Sir Alexander Thomson's company. He petitioned the Privy Council on the ground that he was "barbarouslie shot in the bodie with a great many pieces of tobacco pipes, ten whereof afterward were by the surgeon's care taken out" (*ibid.* p. 230). The wounded corporal was carried on horseback to Turner at Dumfries. He arrived there about six o'clock on the night of 14 November, and declared that he had been shot for his refusal to sign the Covenant (Sir James Turner, *Memoirs of his own Life and Times*, Edin. 1829, p. 148).

TURNER TAKES

ing to be¹ involved" in Barscobe's exploit, took the² curious step of repeating his procedure. Within a few hours of the Dalry *fracas* sixteen of the soldiery quartered about Balmaclellan were made prisoners.¹ Turner himself was not far distant at Dumfries. That he would make "terrible reprisals," Barscobe and his fellows knew well. They resolved to surprise him before he had time to act, and therefore "sent private advertisement through the country, that all who were ready should come in companies to Irongray kirk, on Wednesday night [14 November], that they might enter Dumfries by daybreak."²

At Dumfries Turner was in no position

¹ Blackader, p. 137. From Kirkton's account (p. 231) it appears as if the Balmaclellan episode was the work of Barscobe and his party; that it took place on the 14th, and that one of the soldiers who resisted was killed.

² Blackader, p. 137.

PROMPT MEASURES

to cope with a revolt of even the slenderest proportions. Three months before, half of the infantry under his command had been drafted to Leith for the Dutch war. In October his cavalry had been withdrawn. He had barely seventy men at his disposal, all of whom, save twelve or thirteen at Dumfries, were policing the surrounding district. Barscobe had already reduced his force by nearly one-third. Nor was Turner's health satisfactory. Since March he had "let blood seven times."¹ He took prompt measures, however.

News of the proceedings at Dalry and Balmaclellan reached Turner on the night of the 14th. Corporal Deanes, unhappily loaded with "tobacco stopple," was the bearer of it. Turner sent an instant summons to his men quartered in the neighbourhood to come in to Dumfries

¹Turner, p. 145.

WHIGS LEAVE IRONGRAY

by nine o'clock next morning (15 November) "to ressave pouder, match and ball," and thence to march to Dalry.¹ In the event he went thither, but in other circumstances.

Meanwhile throughout Wednesday, the 14th, the Whigs had drawn cautiously and by unfrequented routes to the rendezvous at Irongray, within striking distance of Dumfries. The call to arms was sudden; the late-comers were not a few. Night had passed into daylight (15 November) before they mustered, in number under three hundred—fifty horse, "provided with cloaks girded over their shoulder for fighting," and about two hundred foot.² About nine

¹ Turner, p. 149.

² Blackader, p. 138. Kirkton (p. 231) gives the Whigs fifty horse and "some few" foot. Turner (p. 145) says he was surprised by "a hundreth and fiftie or therby." The strength of the infantry is perhaps exaggerated by Blackader.

FOR DUMFRIES

in the morning¹ the Whigs approached the bridge which carries the roadway from Galloway into Dumfries. It was unguarded; not even a sentinel watched their approach. Leaving the infantry at the bridge-end, the fifty horsemen rode into the town. A small party of four, Robert Neilson of Corsock among them, hurried forward to Turner's lodgings.² Turner had risen about six. But, as he reported to Rothes, "when I was allmost cloathd, I found my-selfe so indisposd that I was forced to goe

¹According to Blackader (p. 138), "it was ten o'clock before they got to Dumfries." According to "a Manuscript Journal of that short Campaign, written by a very intelligent and inquisitive Person, who was present with them all the time," Turner was surprised between eight and nine o'clock (Andrew Symson, *Tripatriarchikon*, Edin. 1705). Turner (p. 149) also gives the hour as between eight and nine.

²Blackader, p. 138. Wodrow (vol. ii. p. 31), quoting one who was "present with the country army," states that Turner was apprehended "in his chamber in Bailie Finnie's."

SIR JAMES TURNER

to bed againe.” The clatter of horsemen in the street below roused him. Clothed only in his nightgown he appeared at the window and demanded the business of his visitors. They required his surrender. On his own statement Turner offered a bold front : “Severall of them, especiallie Neilson of Corsock, told me that, if I pleasd, I sould have faire quarter. My ansuere was, I needed no quarter, nor could I be prisoner, being there was no war declared. Bot I was ansuerd, that prisoner I must be, or dy; and therfor they wished me quicklie to come doune staires.”¹ On the other side Turner is represented as in hopeless panic, shouting from the window, “Quarters, gentlemen; for Christ’s sake, quarters, there shall be no resistance.” Neilson of Corsock, “a meek and generous gentleman,” soothed his fears (as Turner

¹Turner, p. 149.

MADE PRISONER

himself admits) : " If you come down to us, and make no resistance, on the word of a gentleman you shall have quarters."¹

On the strength of Corsock's assurance, Turner, scantily clothed in his "night-gown, night-cap, drawers and socks,"² ventured to descend, and made his surrender,³ "which I choosd rather to doe," he afterwards explained to Rothes, "notwithstanding the opposition of my servants, then be murtherd in my chamber."⁴ In fact the crowd that awaited him barely reflected Corsock's considerate attitude. During the colloquy with Turner the

¹ Blackader, p. 138.

² *Ibid.* p. 139.

³ From Blackader's account (p. 139) it appears that Turner was brought down by a party sent to his room for that purpose. Turner suggests (p. 149) that he delivered himself without compulsion, though "some of them [the Whigs] had allreadie enterd the house."

⁴ Turner, p. 149.

SUCCESS OF RAID

“commander” of the Whig force, “Captain” Andrew Gray,¹ had arrived, and, according to Blackader, “presented a pistol or carbine,” and would have shot Turner in his scanty and incongruous attire had not Corsock expostulated: “You shall as soon kill me, for I have given him quarters.”² Turner’s effects were not held equally sacred. His room was ransacked. His papers and money were impounded.³

¹ According to Kirkton (p. 232), Gray was “ane Edinburgh merchant.” Turner (p. 149) describes him as the man “who commanded the whole partie.”

² Blackader, p. 139. Turner, who is probably more reliable on this point, does not accuse Gray of particular vindictiveness. According to his account (p. 149), “I went to the streets in my goun, where many pistolls and suords were presented to my head and breast, till Captaine Gray, (who commanded the whole partie,) made me get on horsebacke.”

³ According to Blackader (p. 139), Turner had already sent to Glasgow “the money he had exacted in oppression.” In his statement to the Privy Council in 1668, Turner declared (p. 223): “When I was surprisid at Dumfreis, the rebells tooke from me, of

ON DUMFRIES

The sudden raid on Dumfries had amply repaid the daring, indeed the rashness, of it. With no very clear idea of what was to be the outcome of the event, Gray and his party deemed it politic to mark the fact that their seizure of one of the Government's officials was not to be construed as an act of political revolt. With Turner in their midst, scantily clad in his night-gear, and mounted on "a little beast bare-backed, with a halter on the beast's head,"¹ his

readie money in the chamber where I lay, and the chamber above it where my clothes were, (which were all likewise lost,) about sixe thousand and sixe or seven hundreth mearks Scots." The "very intelligent and inquisitive Person," quoted by Symson (*Tri-patriarchikon*), admits that with Turner was taken "a Coffer of his, wherein were baggs of Money, Cloaths, and Papers." Turner (p. 150) expressly accuses Gray of seizing the "coffer."

¹According to Turner (p. 150), "the Captaine [Gray] mounted me on his ounge horse, and there was good reason for it, for he mounted himselfe on a farre better one of mine."

GLENCAIRN AND

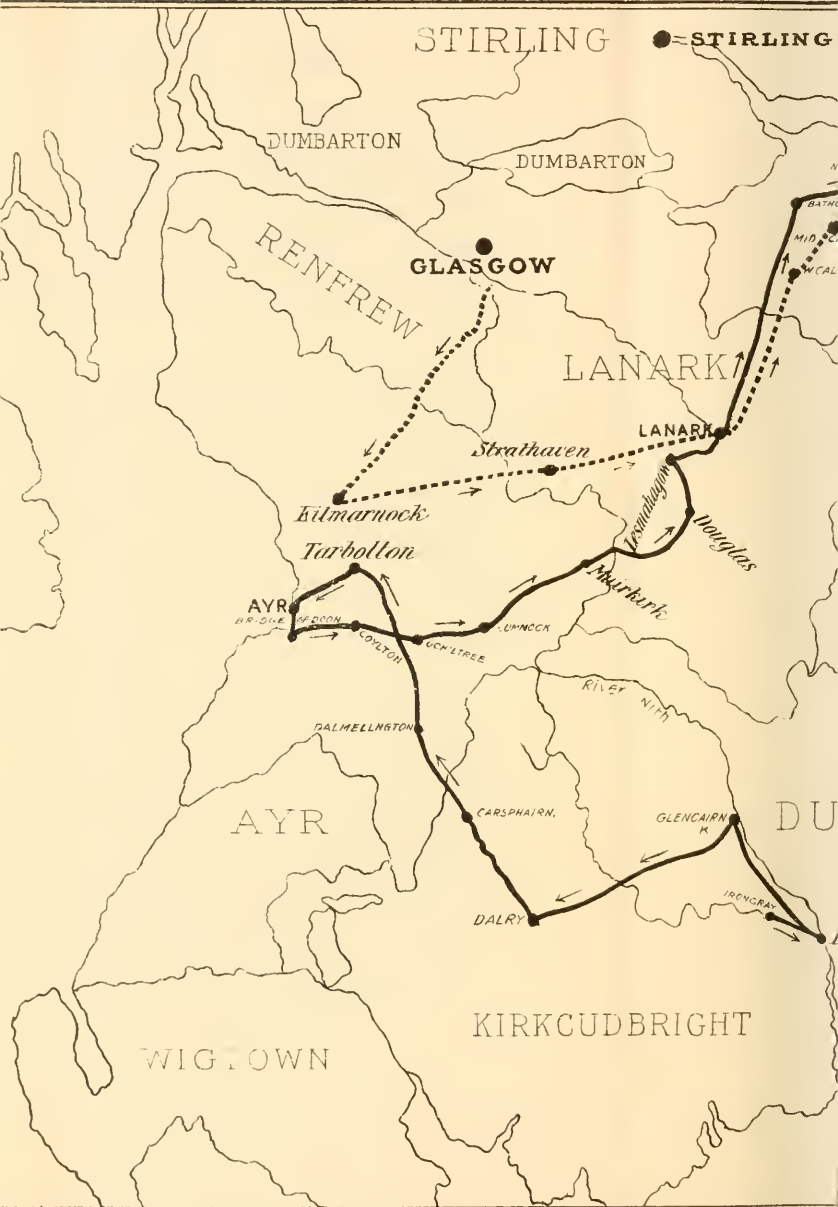
captors proceeded to the Town-Cross, "where, to shew their loyalty, they drank the king's health."¹ Thence they passed through the town, out at the Nether-port, to the riverside "over against" the kirk of Troqueer.² Turner anticipated short shrift. His captors were certainly irresolute. But "after a little consultation," and with consideration for a lightly-clad invalid, they returned to Dumfries.³ The unfortunate man was suffered to clothe himself in a garb more in keeping with a rigorous

¹ Blackader, p. 139. "And there, forsooth, [they] drink the king's good health, a labour they might well have spared, for they hade cruel thanks" (Kirkton, p. 232). Robert Law (*Memorialls*, ed. C. K. Sharpe, Edin. 1819, p. 16) explains: "They declared for the King and the Covenant, and only their quarrell was at the bishops newly sett up in the land."

² It may be remarked that Blackader had been minister of Troqueer between 1652-1662.

³ Blackader, p. 139.

Routes of the Insurgents and the Roy



Forces, 13th—28th November, 1666.



CLACHAN OF DALRY

season.¹ Arms were seized and were distributed to the infantry, who sorely needed them. In the afternoon the whole force marched to the kirk of Glencairn.² At the manse Turner obtained brief rest and hospitality.³

The halt at Glencairn was short. An alarm of pursuit was raised, and the insurgent force resumed the march. "Most part of that night [15 November] was spent in rideing," Turner recalled. A strong guard was in charge of him, one of whom "entertained [him] the whole night with discourses of death." Next morning (16 November) the Old Clachan of Dalry was reached. Turner, with permission, dined with Hugh Henderson, late minister of

¹Turner, p. 150. According to Law (*Memorialls*, p. 17), "It was remarkable, that from the day of the insurrection to the day of their breaking, there was not a fair day, but storm and rain."

²Blackader, p. 140.

³Turner, p. 151.

FLIGHT OF

Dumfries, and that night lodged with "Captain" Gray under the roof of Chalmers of Waterside, who offered "much curtesie and civilitie."¹ Towards midnight, upon a renewed alarm of pursuit, Turner was again placed on horseback, and the whole force moved forward through the night. "Very dark it was, it rained pitifullie, the wind was loud, and the way exceeding bad."² A weary march of eight miles or so brought Turner and his captors to Carsphairn, where Turner was lodged in a "countrey house," and "spent the rest of the night till day in that poore house, as well as I could." Gray was still his companion, but "rested bot little." Gray, in fact, had no mind for further adventure, curiously elevated as he

¹ Turner, pp. 152-53. In Symson's *Tripatriarchikon* the house is described as being "on the other side of the River of Kenn, not far from the Old Clachan."

² The foulness of the weather is elsewhere confirmed. See Kirkton, p. 232.

“CAPTAIN” GRAY

had been to the command of the haphazard adventure. He had already, on the 16th, sent off to safe destination the money and baggage seized at Dumfries. Early on the 17th he decamped, “and was never seene since by any of his ounie partie.”¹

¹Turner, p. 154. Turner’s inference was that Gray, “thinking he had sped well enough, resolvd to retire himselfe before the fire grew hoter.” One who was with the insurgents (Kirkton, p. 232) confirms Turner. Gray, he states, left Turner early on the morning of the 17th in charge of sixteen men, and “was never seen by any of his own party after that.” The same authority, quoted in Symson’s *Tri-patriarchikon*, states that Gray was unknown to those whom he commanded, and that he had brought an order—from whom is not stated—enjoining the insurgents to obey his authority. Gray appears to have conversed with Colonel Wallace a few days after he had left the insurgents. Later he was with other exiles at Newcastle (*Memoirs of Mr. William Veitch and George Brysson*, ed. Thomas M’Crie, Edin. 1825, pp. 49, 391). Turner remarks (p. 153): “I had often enquird what this Captaine Gray was, and by what authoritie he did command these gentlemen he had never seene before; bot I was ansuerd by them all,

INSTRUCTIONS TO

Gray's flight added further ground of indecision to an enterprise which was still without settled plans. At Carsphairn the insurgents remained throughout the 17th, and Turner found better quarters at Knockgray, whose proprietor, a Gordon, was then in prison at Kirkcudbright. His son entertained Turner "very kindlie," mindful of past "favours done to his father."¹ Meanwhile the authorities had received news of

that they knew no more of him, bot that he called himselfe Captaine Gray, and that he had brought ane order with him to them all to obey him. I tooke much pains to learne from whom that order came, whether from one man, as a Generall, or from more men, as a counsell, a committee, or junto; bot could never yet, by any means I could use, come to the knouledge of it." Wallace (*Veitch and Brysson*, p. 391) had the statement from Gray himself, that "he had left them to look to his own safety, being in a very insecure condition then, having been the chief actor in the [Dumfries] business." Wallace believed, however, that Gray had "taken the pett."

¹ Turner, p. 154.

GENERAL DALZIEL

the sudden rising. On the 16th, Stephen Irvine, Bailie of Dumfries, personally reported to the Privy Council the proceedings at Dumfries on the previous day.¹ Rothes, the High Commissioner, was already on his way to Court. On the 17th the Council sent him an account of what had happened, and of the measures which they deemed necessary. In their opinion it was advisable "that the heritors of the several countries, especially of the southern and western shires, and such other as his majesty's council shall think fit, be presently required to sign the declaration concerning the covenant, and that such as shall delay or refuse, be secured and looked upon as enemies to his majesty's authority and government."² On the same day Dalziel was instructed to proceed to Glasgow, and to march thence "to the place at which he shall hear the insurrection

¹ Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 19.

² *Ibid.*

FROM CARSPHAIRN

is come to any head.”¹ A week elapsed before Dalziel was able to fulfil his instructions.

¹ Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 19. Wodrow (vol. ii. p. 13) describes Dalziel as “a man naturally rude and fierce, who had this heightened by his breeding and service in Muscovy, where he had seen little but the utmost tyranny and slavery.” According to Kirkton (p. 225), Dalziel “lived so and died so strangely, it was commonly believed he was in covenant with the Devil.” Captain John Creichton’s vivid picture (*Works of Swift*, ed. Scott, vol. x. p. 157) of Dalziel may be quoted: “He was bred up very hardy from his youth, both in diet and clothing. He never wore boots, nor above one coat, which was close to his body, with close sleeves, like those we call jockey coats. He never wore a peruke; nor did he shave his beard since the murder of king Charles the First. In my time his head was bald, which he covered only with a beaver hat, the brim of which was not above three inches broad. His beard was white and bushy, and yet reached down almost to his girdle. He usually went to London once or twice in a year, and then only to kiss the king’s hand, who had a great esteem for his worth and valour. His unusual dress and figure, when he was in London, never failed to draw after him a great crowd of boys, and other young people, who constantly

TO DALMELLINGTON

From Carsphairn on 18 November the insurgents marched to Dalmellington. Their proceedings had roused elsewhere hopes of a stubborn demonstration against the detested Bishops. John Welch, "outed" minister of Irongray, now as in 1679 was quick to welcome an appeal to arms. At Dalmellington he met the insurgents, having come thither from Edinburgh.¹ Turner received a visit from him at the village inn, where he was quartered. "I calld for a cup of ale," writes Turner, "purposlie that I might heare him say grace. In it, he prayd for the King, the restoration of the

attended at his lodgings, and followed him with huzzas, as he went to court, or returned from it. As he was a man of humour, he would always thank them for their civilities, when he left them at the door, to go in to the king; and would let them know exactly at what hour he intended to come out again, and return to his lodgings."

¹Turner, pp. 155-56. See below, p. 26.

JAMES WALLACE

Covenant, and downfall of Prelacie. He prayd likewise for me, and honord me with the title of Gods servant who was then in bonds. He prayd for my conversion, and that repentance and remission of sinnes might be granted to me. After this the conference broke up, at which were present as many as the roome could well hold.”¹

On the 19th the insurgents advanced to Tarbolton, where their foot quartered in the kirk and kirkyard. Volunteers from Ayrshire and Clydesdale swelled their number somewhat. Hope mounted high, and some urged an advance upon Glasgow. But they “betooke themselves to their second thoughts” on the news that Dalziel was already at Glasgow, and that his forces would join him there next day. Towards midday on the 20th the insurgents, aban-

¹ Turner, p. 157.

JOINS THE WHIGS

doning their northern route, marched southwestward to Ayr. Turner estimated their strength at over seven hundred.¹ On the 21st they rendezvoused near the Bridge of Doon.² Here they received a valuable recruit, James Wallace, whose advent gave promise of competent military guidance. He had served in the Parliamentary army with the rank of colonel in the English Civil War. He had been in action at Kilsyth and at Dunbar, and on both occasions had been made prisoner.³

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 158, 159,

² Turner (p. 162) calls the place Afton Bridge. "From Aire," he writes, "the rebels marched two miles, and passed the water at Afton Bridge, and then drew up in a field." That the insurgents rendezvoused near Bridge of Doon is stated by Kirkton (p. 235), and also by Wallace, who joined them there (*Veitch and Brysson*, p. 395).

³ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* vol. lix. p. 98. Wallace had come from Edinburgh upon the news "that the people in Galloway were in armes." When the news reached Edinburgh, Kirkton writes (p. 234), "some of them

COYLTON

Wallace's arrival was followed by an attempt to organise his motley force. Officers of horse and foot were appointed, and after an interval of two or three hours, the insurgents recrossed the Bridge of Doon. Striking eastward, they quartered that night in the parish of Coylton,¹ having appointed the next rendezvous at Ochil-tree.² On the 22nd the whole force as-

being together, after prayer the question was stated, What they judged their duty in the present juncture? And after several discourses, because it was late, they adjourn the meeting to Mr. Alexander Robison's chamber, at seven in the next morning; where being convened, and having prayed, the question was resumed. All there present agreed it was their duty to assist their poor brethren so cruelly oppressed; only Ferguson of Katloch seemed unclear to appear at that time. However, the rest engaged presently; and among them was Collonel James Wallace and Mr. John Welsh, beside Mr. Robison, who was also a preacher."

¹ Turner, p. 162. He calls the place "Colton."

² Kirkton, p. 235; *Veitch and Brysson*, p. 395. Wallace writes: "The party marched off towards

AND OCHILTREE

sembled, and having heard a sermon from Gabriel Semple, advanced to Ochiltree. The infantry alone entered the village. Part of the horse was left to guard the bridge at Barskimming, "the only passage of the water [Ayr] at the time." The rest were stationed to the east of the town. Wallace and his officers quartered themselves upon Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree, and obtained, Wallace complains, "very cold welcome; but I hope whatever incivilities we had from the lady, she had none from us."¹

Ochiltree; but because it was far in the day, we were necessitated to quarter between Gadgirth and Ochiltree."

¹ *Veitch and Brysson*, p. 395. Lady Cochrane was Margaret, daughter of Sir William Strickland of Boynton, Yorkshire. Sir John was the second son of the first Earl of Dundonald, and at a later time was implicated in the Rye House Plot and in Argyll's rising. Claverhouse married his niece. See my *John Graham of Claverhouse*, p. 154.

REPORTED APPROACH

At Ochiltree on the 22nd the insurgents obtained further reinforcement. John Welch had undertaken to beat for recruits in Galloway. He had left the insurgents at Dalmellington for the purpose. At Ochiltree he brought up his "army," for so "some of the rebels wold needs have it called." "I saw them afarre of," Turner adds, "and reckond them to be neere one hundreth ill armed foot, and some fifteene or sixteene horse."¹ The day did not pass without alarms. The outpost at Barskimming sent word that Dalziel's advanced party was already at Mauchline. Wallace strengthened the guard at the bridge, and despatched one John Ross to reconnoitre towards Mauchline to observe the enemy's movements.² Dalziel, in fact,

¹ Turner, p. 163. Turner lodged at Ochiltree on the 22nd "at the principall alehouse of the toune, where I was indifferentlie well used."

² *Veitch and Brysson*, p. 396.

OF GENERAL DALZIEL

did not advance from Glasgow until the 23rd.¹ But his appearance was imminent, and Wallace's interest was to avoid an immediate engagement. To linger at Ochiltree entailed the danger of attack "before they were in ease."² Clydesdale offered hopes of reinforcement. Even distant Edinburgh was held sympathetic and promising. "That night" (22 November), therefore, writes Wallace, "after prayer to God for direction what to do next, it was concluded that we should march eastward. For there was no staying where we were, and there was no expectation of any

¹ *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 245. John Ross, on the 23rd, ventured beyond Mauchline towards Kilmarnock, because "there was a strong report the Duke's troop was come to Kilmarnock" (*Veitch and Brysson*, p. 397). Ross and most of his party were made prisoners. Ross was executed at Edinburgh on 7 December, 1666 (*ibid.* p. 398).

² Kirkton, p. 236.

DALZIEL AT

farther help from the south and south-west hand.”¹

Dalziel's main body reached Kilmarnock on the 23rd. On the same day Wallace and his force marched from Ochiltree towards Cumnock. Ere they reached the place news of Dalziel's advance was confirmed, and, with it, John Ross's capture. Through the darkness of the afternoon and the early hours of “a most violent, rainy night,” Wallace pushed on to Muirkirk. “What accommodation in that condition we could have there,” he comments, “is known to any who knows that place. The poor foot were forced all night, as wet as if they had been drenched in water, to lie in the kirk, without victuals or much fire.”² Mur-

¹ *Veitch and Brysson*, p. 397.

² *Ibid.* p. 398. Kirkton and Turner both witness to the very unpleasant character of the march. According to the former (p. 236), “in a most tempestuous rainy evening, they sett foreward towards

KILMARNOCK

murs arose, and some urged "that they should follow that business no further, but dismiss the people in the fairest manner they could." Hardier counsels prevailed.¹

Moorkirk of Kyle, through a miserable deep moore, so that they came not to their quarters till two houres within night," and "their foot were forced, wet as they were, to lodge in the church, without any meat and very little fire to drie them." From Turner (p. 164) it appears that the march from Ochiltree was begun at about eleven in the morning. He continues : "Once I thought the rebells intended for Sanquor, to pay there some of their relligious vowes ; one wherof was, to ruine my Lord Drumlanrigs castles and lands, because he was active against them. . . . Bot the saints were wise in their anger, and delayd their revenge till a more fit opportunitie. . . . The way to that church [Muirkirk] was exceeding bad, a very hie wind, with a grievous raine in our faces. The night fell darke before we could reach the place where the foot were quartered, with no meate or drinke, and with very litle fire. I doe confesse, I never sawe lustier fellows then these foote were, or better marchers."

¹ Kirkton, p. 236. Andrew M'Cormick, Robert Lockhart, and Alexander Robison are particularly mentioned as urging the abandonment of the design.

COUNCIL SUMMONED

The morning of the 24th broke "rainie and boisterous." At nine Wallace mustered his force for another stiff march, over roads "rough and mountanous," to Douglas.¹ In the course of it "Captain" Andrew Arnot brought up some forty horse from Cunningham.² Douglas was reached at night-fall. The whole force was ordered into the town, "after they had suppered themselves and their horses." The infantry found their accustomed bivouack in the kirk. Upon a rumour that Dalziel would attempt to surprise them, the more cautious and faint-hearted again raised their voices. A council was summoned to confirm or quell their croaking. "We met all together," writes

¹Turner, p. 165.

²*Veitch and Brysson*, p. 400. Arnot had been sent off from Ayr on the 21st to encourage "some friends in Cunninghame," who dared not stir without support (*ibid.* p. 395). Arnot is described by Kirkton (p. 235) as "a brother of the Laird of Lochrigge."

AT DOUGLAS

Wallace, "and after most serious incalling of the name of God . . . without one contrary voice all resolved on this, that the coming forth to own that people in Gallo-way,¹ they were clear, was of the Lord. . . . So there was no more of that." Other proposals claimed the meeting. Some urged that the Covenant should be solemnly renewed the next day, "being the Lord's day, at some kirk by the way towards Lanark." The ceremony was voted "not safe nor convenient." Dalziel, in fact, heading eastward from Kilmarnock, had reached Strathaven, and threatened engagement imminently. Turner was the subject of a second proposal. For ten days he had been a prisoner. The insurgent force had been joined by many a man who, no doubt, would readily have recorded his conviction that the execution of their persecutor was "of the Lord."

¹*i.e.* Barscobe and his companions.

LESMAHAGOW

His death was urged by some in the council. It was alleged that "there was no quarters given him," that in fact Corsock's undertaking was non-official. More honourable opinion prevailed, and "because of some words by the gentleman that took him, and because of his being now, after so long a time, spared ; for these reasons, this motion of pistoling him was slighted — alas ! it is to be feared too much," Wallace concludes.¹

On the 25th the march was resumed towards Lesmahagow. Further reinforcements from Galloway had been eagerly anticipated. They came up about Lesmahagow. Gordon of Knockbreck's two sons and a few others was the sum of them. So small a number was a disappointment.² A two-hours' halt

¹ *Veitch and Brysson*, pp. 401-403.

² *Ibid.* p. 403. "These," writes Wallace, "were the hundred men we had heard were coming from Galloway, for we saw no other."

AND LANARK

near Lesmahagow¹ gave opportunity to complete the "modelling" of the army. - There was great want of officers, not half the number required, of whom "not above four or five that ever had been soldiers before."² Turner estimated their total force at four hundred and forty horse and upwards of five hundred foot. The horse were the better armed, some with swords or pistols, some with both. The foot were armed indifferently with muskets, pikes, scythes, pitchforks, swords, and some with "staves, great and long."³ Lanark was the terminus of the day's march. The horse crossed the Clyde by the ford. The foot were laboriously transported across the river in the single ferry-boat available.⁴

¹ Turner, p. 166. ² *Veitch and Brysson*, p. 404.

³ Turner, p. 167. Turner's figures are exclusive of a party of horse which had been sent on to prepare quarters at Lanark, and of "some other small parties."

⁴ *Ibid.*

COVENANT RENEWED

At Lanark, so soon as the guards were set and the force quartered, intimation was given "that to-morrow morning (God willing) we intended to renew the covenant; and desiring that every one of them would seriously mind that work that night, and come hither again about day-light for that end, we dismissed them to their quarters and several posts. That night the officers and ministers met, and after incalling on the Lord, hearing there were some arms and ammunition to be found in the town, we caused make search, but found few or none."¹ At daylight on the 26th the force assembled to renew the Covenant. Dalziel was reported within two miles of Lanark, and some urged the postponement of the ceremony. "But the devil prevailed not herein," Wallace comments, "though gladly would he that that had not been done." A

¹ *Veitch and Brysson*, p. 404.

AT LANARK

party of ten or twelve horse was sent out towards the point where Dalziel's appearance was expected. A guard was placed at the ferry, and the day's ceremonial was allowed to proceed. "The foot were drawn up about the tolbooth stairs, where Mr. Guthrie did stand: the horse at the head of the town, where Mr. Brysson¹ and Mr. [John] Crookshanks were actors. It was done with as much joy and cheerfulness as may be supposed in such a condition."²

At Lanark the Whig force reached its greatest extent. Some forty or fifty volunteers came in, but Wallace's total strength did not exceed eleven hundred men.³ The

¹ *i.e.* Gabriel Semple. See *Veitch and Brysson*, p. 399.

² *Veitch and Brysson*, p. 405. Turner remarks: "Neither I nor any of my guards were invited to that morning exercise."

³ Turner's estimate is reliable and consistent. At Lanark, he remarks (p. 170), "the rebels were in their greatest strength, which I avow never to have exceeded eleven hundred horse and foot, (if ever they were so

WALLACE MARCHES

number was lamentably weak ; but alluring and false hope of reinforcement beckoned invitingly from Edinburgh. "Immediately after that we had drawn up the whole body" at Lanark, writes Wallace,¹ "it was resolved (because of our friends hereabout that were to come to us that day, and because of many more expected from West Calder, Shotts, Bathgate, and other parts farther off), that we should march towards Bathgate."² Arnot was sent to reinforce the

many)." Kirkton certainly overestimates their strength in the following passage (p. 238): "Here [at Lanark] this rolling snow-ball was at the biggest, having received all the supply they could expect in the west. Their number when here was judged to be near 3000 men, one and other, but neither armed nor ordered; yet many thought that if they would fight, they had best have foughten there, because their defeat and scattering among their friends had been more safe than among their enemies."

¹ *Veitch and Brysson*, p. 406.

² Kirkton comments (p. 240): "Because some unhappy ignorants had informed them that West-Lothian

TOWARDS BATHGATE

party at the ford, "and after a while's stay, to break the [ferry-]boat and come away, he and the other party that watched in the time of renewing the covenant."¹ With the main body Wallace pushed on towards Bathgate. About a mile and a half had been traversed, and the column had "entered in a morass," when a message from the rear brought intelligence that Dalziel's advanced party was on the western side of the ford at Lanark.²

would rise and joyn them, and Edinburgh would befriend them," the resolution was taken to continue the adventure. There would appear to have been some sort of managing directorate of the persecuted Whigs at Edinburgh. Blackader was residing there (*Memoirs*, p. 135). Had the rising assumed serious proportions, its well-wishers would probably have declared themselves. Blackader had made preparations to do so, but abandoned them when he learnt the weakness of Wallace's force (*ibid.* p. 141).

¹ *Veitch and Brysson*, p. 406. Turner (p. 172) gives the name of the commander of the first party sent to the ford as "Mondrogat."

² Turner, p. 172.

DALZIEL COMES UP

From about Strathaven, on the 25th, Dalziel had sent an express to Edinburgh to report "that the rebels had shunned to fight, and that he was following them with his forces, bot thought that he could not ingage them bot by advancing with his horses."¹ Wallace's foot clearly merited Turner's praise. It was an advanced party of horse that proclaimed Dalziel's advent to the insurgents so soon after their evacuation of Lanark. Lauderdale's brother, Charles Maitland of Hatton, was with them, and reported the event to his brother²: "Upon the hill above the Hoorns³ off Clyd within

¹ Privy Council to Lauderdale, 27 November, 1666 (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 246). The express left Dalziel "from Evandale . . . upon Sondag [25 November] at fyve a clock at night."

² *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 249.

³ The editor suggests "Ffoord" as the correct reading. It would certainly seem so. The position which Hatton indicates was above Stonebyres (Kirkton, p. 240).

AT LANARK

a halfe mylne of Lanerk wee discovered the enemies reirgaird off horse lyeing at the heid off the passe¹ on Lanerk syd, and did see ther bodie marching over Lanerk Hill." Their intention, Hatton believed, was to give battle on Lanark moor. Wallace, however, had no mind to risk an engagement. The march before him was a long one, "through pitifull broken moores."² Sending to the rear "to see in what condition their affaires stood," Wallace marched on briskly with the main body. The need for haste was insistent. An hour or so later, Dalziel's main body arrived at the ford and crossed it, "the Earles of Linlithgow and Kellie showing their foot companies good example by wadeing the river first themselves."³ Dalziel pushed on his cavalry.

¹ *i.e.* the ford.

² Kirkton, p. 240.

³ Turner, p. 172. The ferry-boat had been either "dround or broken" (*ibid.*).

DALZIEL QUARTERS

"Wee marched alltogether," writes Maitland of Hatton, "till wee came to Blackwood's hous, a myle be east Lanerk, wher ther is a bridge and a passe. And it is a strange thing thatt such beasts did nott keep thatt ground betuixt the tuo passes, having a towne for intertainementt and a safe retreatt at Blackwood pase."¹ Two or three miles further along the difficult route Wallace was constrained by the nearness of the enemy to face about and await attack.² Dalziel, however, was cautious. The consequences of a check he knew full well. He would risk nothing, and the short

¹ *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 249.

² "Upon this intelligence [of Dalziel's crossing the Clyde] the rebels facd about, and drew up as formallie as the ground could permit. And certainlie if the Generall had comd up that length and attackd them, he had done it with a notable seene disadvantage, the moras being so deepe, and the way so narrow, that hardlie the foot, much lesse the horse, could do any great service" (Turner, p. 172).

AT LANARK

November day was "near night-falling."¹ At the "pass of Blackwood" he halted his main body, both horse and foot, and sent on Hatton to skirmish ahead. "We went on," he reported to his brother, "thre meills esterward to the Mossplatt and followed the enemies track through tuo moss's almost impassable, till we lost day to returne to our bodie, bott gott never a sight off them; bott on they marched soe verie hard, and our command being to follow bot tuo meill, we went three till moss separatt us." Abandoning all thought of pursuit in the gathering darkness, Dalziel drew back his forces to Lanark and quartered there for the night.²

So soon as Dalziel's disinclination to attack was understood, Wallace continued the march towards Bathgate. In the course

¹ *Veitch and Brysson*, p. 407.

² *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 249.

LOWRIE INVITES

of it William Lowrie of Blackwood rode up upon an informal embassy from the Duke of Hamilton, who was with Dalziel, "to see if possible effusion of blood might be shunned, and what we would be at." "This," adds Wallace, "I heard he spoke of to some. He pretended to no written commission, but only verbal; neither did he apply himself to any amongst us who were at that time specially concerned to be spoken to."¹ Wallace therefore pushed on. Bathgate was reached "two hours within

¹ *Veitch and Brysson*, p. 406. Turner (p. 172) confirms Wallace: "Mr. Laurie of Blackwood was brought to them; what his errand was I know not, but if it was to intimate the proclamation and act of grace, he did it with so little noyse, and to so few, that not all their officers, much lesse their soldiers, knew any thing of it; neither did he so much as give me any hint of it, though he and I rode a full houre together." For the proclamation to which Turner refers (dated 21 November, 1666) see Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 20. For a note on William Lowrie of Blackwood, see Kirkton, p. 239.

NEGOTIATIONS

night." "We went into an house," writes Wallace, "such as it was, and after prayer did consider what we should do next: back we might not go, the enemy being in our rear. After much debate, it was thought fit that we should march to-morrow early on the way towards Edinburgh; being confident that, before we could come that length, we would hear from our friends at Edinburgh; as likewise our friends in West Calder and Shotts, or thereabouts, would come to us that way, and meet us to-morrow." Hardly had that conclusion been come to before an alarm of Dalziel's approach was raised, "and though it was a dreadfully dark (though but a little past the height of the moon) and foul night, yet after that long wearisome march that day before, we were necessitated to draw forth, and calling in the guards, to march at twelve o'clock at night, in one of the

WALLACE'S TROOPS

darkest nights (I am persuaded) that ever any in that company saw. Except we had been tied together, it was impossible to keep together; and every little burn was a river.”¹ Stragglers and deserters were numerous.² When a halt was called at New-bridge early in the morning (27 November),

¹*Veitch and Brysson*, p. 407. Regarding the alarm at Bathgate, John Howie of Lochgoin (*The Scots Worthies*, Glasgow, 1837, vol. i. p. 578) states: “There had been a company of gentleman met [at Bathgate], who, upon hearing their [*i.e.* the insurgents’] approach, fled hard into Lithgow, alarming them with great fear.” According to William Veitch the alarm at Bathgate was occasioned thus: “Night coming on, and [as] no quarters could be had for such a number, they were forced to stand with their arms without in the field. And a great snow coming on like to discourage the company, some of the officers, thinking it was better to be marching than standing in such a posture, gave a false alarm that the enemy was approaching” (*Veitch and Brysson*, p. 29).

²“It was believed they lossed more than the half of their poor army, who stuck in the clay, and fainted by the way” (Kirkton, p. 240).

ARRIVE AT NEWBRIDGE

the jaded rebels looked “rather like dyeing men than souldiers going to conquer.”¹

It was “about fair day light” on the 27th when Wallace and his weary troops drew up on the east of Newbridge. “O what a sad sight was it to see the condition we were in,” he recalled. “Except some of the chief officers, there was not a captain present with the horse, save one.”² “That night,” Turner declares, “fortie horse were too many to have routed them all.”³ The

¹ Kirkton, p. 240.

² *Veitch and Brysson*, p. 408.

³ Turner, p. 176. Turner, who remarks (p. 174) that the advance to Bathgate made him doubtful whether Wallace “intended for Edenburgh or Glasgow,” adds, regarding the march to Newbridge, that “the raynie and boysterous weather, the darknes of the night, and deepnes of the way, occasioned a most disorderlie march ; for after they were three or foure miles on their way, most of them, both horse and foot, went into houses on the hie way, and by my persuasion, so did my guards too. We stayd in a

PREPARATIONS MADE BY

Government held other views of the situation. On 21 November the Council had issued a proclamation against the insurgents and such as should harbour or assist them.¹ On the same date, on the ground that "the insurrection at Dumfries and the western shires is grown into an open rebellion," the fencible persons in the Lothians, Fife, Perth, "except the country of Athole," Stirling, Dumbarton, the Merse, Teviotdale, Tweeddale, Clackmannan, "the Forest," Angus, and Mearns, were ordered to mobilise at dates between 23 and 29 November.² On 23 November the fencible men of Renfrew, Ayr, and Lanark were also summoned.³ On 26 November the prevailing anxiety is marked by the Coun-

poore house, till daylight [on the 27th] summond us to horsebacke."

¹ Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 20.

² *Ibid.* p. 21.

³ *Ibid.* p. 23.

THE GOVERNMENT

cil's order for payment of £10 sterling for horsemen to scour night and morning for intelligence of the insurgents' movements. The cannon from the Castle were placed at the city's gates. No person was allowed to pass in or out of Edinburgh without permission. A large quantity of "lances and pole-axes" was hurriedly ordered from Culross, Dunfermline, and elsewhere.¹

To the insurgents, halting at Newbridge in the early morning of the 27th, the outlook seemed dismal and hopeless. A fresh alarm, that Dalziel was "hard at hand, marching unto the same bridge," added confusion to despair. "Judge any man," writes Wallace, "of the posture we were in, having no officers to command the few we had together." Hurriedly a guard was placed to hold the bridge, while the main body "marched off to take up some fit

¹ Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 26.

RENEWED ATTEMPTS

ground or other to fight on." Lowrie of Blackwood again came up, having ridden forward from Dalziel, who, he declared, was no nearer than Calder. So the alarm subsided.¹ No intelligence had reached the insurgents from their friends at Edinburgh. None the less it was resolved to advance to Colinton to encourage their timid well-wishers.² About ten o'clock (27 November) they drew up, two squadrons of horse, and one of foot. Turner numbered them at "few above one thousand." A sermon preceded the march. The preacher "desird them to remember that Covenant and oath of God, which they had suorne the day before, and that they were obliged to cary themselves not onlie pieouslie to God, bot civillie and discreetlie to man. He assurd them, their friends [in Edinburgh] were readie to ressave and embrace them with

¹ *Veitch and Brysson*, p. 408. ² *Ibid.* p. 410.

AT NEGOTIATION

open armes, and furnish them with all necessities for backe and bellie, as also with all things might render them able to encounter their enemies; armes and amunition assuredlie he meant." The address, Turner comments, "though it was not unworthie a Christian, (thogh a rebell,) yet did it not at all please me; for by it I perceavd the minister conceavd the toune of Edenburgh to be his oune. Bot before he sleepd, I was disabused, and he was disappointed."¹

So soon as the advanced party had set forth towards Colinton, Lowrie of Blackwood again desired to confer with Wallace and his colleagues. "All that he had to say was, in short," Wallace declares, "to see if he could persuade us to lay down arms upon an act of indemnity, which the duke [of Hamilton] (said he) would

¹Turner, p. 176. He describes the minister as "either one Guthrie, or one Oglebie."

THE WHIGS

labour to procure. He had no written commission." Wallace was not inclined to negotiate through a suspicious channel, and Lowrie returned to Dalziel.¹ Wallace continued the march. The road to Colinton took the insurgents, for some part of its course, in full view of Edinburgh Castle, but "at such a distance that the guns of it could not reach them." At Colinton they halted, in a position which, "by reason of a church and churchyard,

¹ *Veitch and Brysson*, p. 410. In 1679 Lowrie supported the cause of the Whigs, and in 1682 was condemned to death, a sentence which never was carried out. Upon his first visit to Wallace the insurgents imagined that he intended to join them. Finding that he had come as an emissary from Hamilton, Wallace "withdrew without a good night" to him, and others urged that he should be made a prisoner (Kirkton, p. 238). Upon his second visit, when the insurgents were at Newbridge, they had given him "admonition to take heed to his way, and so they parted" (*ibid.* p. 241). Hence Wallace's reserved attitude towards him on his third appearance.

HALT AT COLINTON

a stone bridge, the water, because of the great raines unfoordable, was defencible enough against infalls.”¹ From Edinburgh at length came a faint flicker of encouragement. James Stewart of Goodtrees sent a communication urging them “to come as near Edinburgh as possible, where they would get assistance both of men and other necessaries.” The leaders met to discuss the invitation, and William Veitch was sent to find out what ground there was for Stewart’s assurance.²

Wallace founded little hope upon Veitch’s mission. Blackwood, and with him the Laird of Barskimming, rode into Colinton soon after Veitch’s departure. Blackwood brought a promise from Dalziel that he

¹Turner, p. 177.

²*Veitch and Brysson*, p. 29. Veitch was made prisoner at the Windmill, and was carried to Lord Kingston, in command of “the main-guard without the West Port,” who liberated him (*ibid.* pp. 33, 35).

WHIG COMMUNICATION

would not proceed to extremities until he was assured that the Whigs absolutely rejected the chance of accommodation. He also had undertaken in their behalf that they would refrain from hostilities until he had reported his mission. His action was wholly unauthorised. "All that we said to Blackwood that night," remarks Wallace, "was, as to his parolling in our name, we did not understand this way of his; howbeit it was very like there would none of us wrong other that time, being both foul and dark; and if he stayed that night he might see it." Blackwood therefore remained at Colinton. Early next morning (28 November) Barskimming "slipped away," not unknown to Blackwood, Wallace conjectured. Veitch had not returned. The insurgents' force had sunk to "not above 800 or 900 men, and these most part without arms." The

TO THE GOVERNMENT

outlook was cheerless. Prudence counselled acceptance of Blackwood's proffered mediation. So a communication to Dalziel was drafted, of the following tenor: "That because of the intolerable insolencies of the prelates and their insupportable oppressions, all ways of remonstrating or petitioning being taken from us, we were necessitated to draw together, that jointly we might the more securely petition his Majesty and council for redress; but in respect that his excellency was not there [at Edinburgh], by whom we intended to present our supplication, to interpose for a favourable hearing thereof, and that we knew not when the council-day would be, we did desire of his excellency not only to be acquainted with the diet, but that we might have a blank-pass to a person whom we might send with our petition; and we had desired the same gentleman

FAILURE OF

who had come to us from his excellency might have the answer, who would be careful of its coming to our hands." The letter was despatched by Blackwood,¹ "who promised with all speed to have the return at us very soon."² Dalziel forwarded Wallace's communication to the Council,

¹ Wallace, mistrusting Blackwood, desired to send "a commissioner with Blackwood to Dalyell" to treat with him. Blackwood declared that "their commissioner would not be acceptable, because he was ane outlaw." Blackwood therefore went alone (Kirkton, p. 241).

² *Veitch and Brysson*, pp. 411-414. Turner (p. 178) assured Rothes that "Mr. Richard of Barskemmine . . . acted his part very handsomlie. He intimated to all he could either meet or speake with, (without any feare of the rebells,) his Majesties act of grace, and the Privie Councells proclamation; which did produce so good effects, that it diminishd their number at least one hundreth before nixt morning." At Newbridge Turner had estimated the insurgents at about one thousand. The desertions at Colinton would bring their number to nine hundred, which corresponds with Wallace's estimate. Kirkton (p. 242) gives them "not exceeding 900 spent men."

NEGOTIATIONS

and that body, on the 28th, informed him that they were "no ways satisfied" with it. Their utmost concession was, that provided the insurgents laid down their arms, they would be allowed to "petition for mercy."¹ It does not appear that Dalziel was able to communicate to Wallace the Council's reply.²

In the early hours of the fateful 28th, an event took place which further undermined the insurgents' reliance upon the negotiation to which they were invited. Dalziel and his own force had no part in it. About two or three in the morning, a party of "loyall gentlemen," seem-

¹ Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 30.

² Kirkton's account (p. 242) is clear to the fact, that at the moment when Dalziel's force appeared at Rullion Green, the insurgents "were still in expectation of some peaceable conclusion from Blackwood's negotiation." Dalziel entrusted Blackwood with the duty of carrying Wallace's letter to the Privy Council (Kirkton, p. 241).

THE INSURGENTS

ingly Lothian heritors, riding out from their quarters in the Canongate, fell upon the Whig outpost at Colinton. They met with a stout resistance and retired.¹ The event quickened Wallace's resolution to extricate his force from a position clearly hopeless. Even while Blackwood was conveying the petition to Dalziel, it was resolved to retreat to safer surroundings.²

A "sore night of frost and snow" had given place to "a fair frosty day"³ when early on the 28th the insurgents moved out from Colinton. Dalziel barred the direct route to the haven of their own

¹ Turner, p. 179. The insurgents lost one man.

² Kirkton, p. 242.

³ Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 32. Veitch states (*Veitch and Brysson*, p. 41): "It having been snow and frost the night before, the day was pretty clear and sunshine." Wodrow's authority, it may be noted, was Veitch himself.

RETREAT

country. But by skirting the eastern front of the Pentlands, and trusting to the well-tried marching-powers of their foot, there offered the chance of winning back to Clyde or Teviot, there to recruit or disperse. Failing a successful engagement it was the single avenue of hope. So crossing the Braid Burn and passing Dreghorn Castle,¹ they headed eastward, making for Dalkeith, as it appeared to Turner. But so soon as they struck the Linton road the eastward march was abandoned. With Edinburgh in the rear, Wallace marched his force southward towards Linton and Biggar.² Crossing

¹ Maitland of Hatton states (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 249) that Dalziel's original plan was "to have dropped downe on them at Dreghorne, Sir Robert Murrays brothers house."

² Turner's account is as follows (p. 180): "At first, when they began their march [from Colinton], I imagind they intended for Dalkieth, and so to Tiviot-dail. Bot when I saw them leave that road, and take the way of Linton, I knew not what to thinke, and

DALZIEL FOLLOWS

the Glencorse Burn at Flotterstone he passed House of Muir, and called a halt on Rullion Green, to await stragglers and snatch some hasty refreshment.¹ It was

perhaps the rebels knew not what to do.” Kirkton (p. 242) states, that “turning the east end of Pentland Hills, they take the way to Biggar.” Wallace’s account (*Veitch and Brysson*, p. 415) is as follows: “We marched away straight [from Colinton] to Inglistown Bridge, in about the point of Pentland Hills, and sent off, as before, some for bringing in provisions by the way. Some we sent to Tiviotdale to signify our being here, and our expecting them.” Ingliston Bridge I conjecture to be the bridge over Glencorse Burn at Flotterstone.

¹ Kirkton, p. 242. Turner calls the spot Gallow Law. His account is as follows (p. 180): “Some foure or five miles from Edenburgh, at a place called the Gallow Law, (ane ominous name,) they made ane halt, bot did not draw up, waiting for their reare, for many had stayd behind lookeing for their breakfasts.”

The six-inch Ordnance Map gives confusing details. Its site for the battle was the site of the brief halt. The so-called Covenanters’ “Encampment” which it shows was approximately the site of the battle.

IN PURSUIT

about noon,¹ when danger presented itself from an unexpected quarter.

The story turns to Dalziel. After his failure to overtake Wallace on the 26th he had quartered that night at Lanark. On the 27th, following Wallace's track, he had intelligence six miles from Lanark that the insurgents were at Bathgate. Pushing forward, he quartered at night at Calder House, near Mid Calder.² On the 28th, Dalziel advanced to Currie, and crossed Leith Water at the bridge. His intention was to fall on the insurgents about Dreg-horn. But news reached him which wholly changed his plans. Wallace, he learnt, instead of continuing his advance upon the capital, had marched "by the back off Pentlan Hills."³ Dalziel understood the

¹ *Veitch and Brysson*, p. 41.

² *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 249. Maitland calls the house "Calder Torphicenis hous."

³ *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 250.

OPPOSING FORCES

move—the Whigs were heading for flight or for a new recruiting ground in Teviotdale. His position at Currie enabled him to cut them off from that line of retreat. From Currie, following the valley of the Kenleith Burn, a roughish route bearing south-eastward enters the Pentlands between Harbour Hill and Bell's Hill, beyond which the Glencorse valley carries the track straight to the Linton road at Flotterstone, hard by Rullion Green.¹ Dalziel resolved to adventure the short cut. Tracking past St. Catherine's Hope, his advanced party, led by the Earl of Airlie's brother, came about noon in sight of the Whigs bivouacking on Rullion Green, hard by the roadway southward of the valley which Dalziel's troops were threading.²

¹ See Bartholomew's map, *The Pentland Hills, showing Public Paths*.

² *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 250. The ruins of St. Catherine's Chapel are submerged in the Glencorse

MEET AT RULLION GREEN

It was about noon¹ when the insurgents, from their bivouack at Rullion Green, saw the foreparty of Dalziel's troops advancing from the west over the hills from Currie. "I was so alarmd" at the sight, Turner declares, "that I forgot my breade and cheese. When I saw the partie appear numerous, I presentlie apprehended it was the Generalls forpartie, or forlorne hope, especiallie when I calld to mind that Bar-skemmine had told me, that the head quarter the night before had been at West Calder. It provd to be as I thought."² William Veitch, who reached Rullion Green about

reservoir. A letter from Edinburgh on 28 November, 1666, states: "They [the Whigs] fled before the general, retiring towards Edinburgh; but he, being confident of the activity and loyalty of And. Ramsay, lord provost, cut a nearer way through, and fell in with them out of Edinburgh, for hearing that the citizens were in arms to oppose them, they had turned homewards" (*Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1666-1667, p. 295).

¹ *Veitch and Brysson*, p. 41.

² Turner, p. 181.

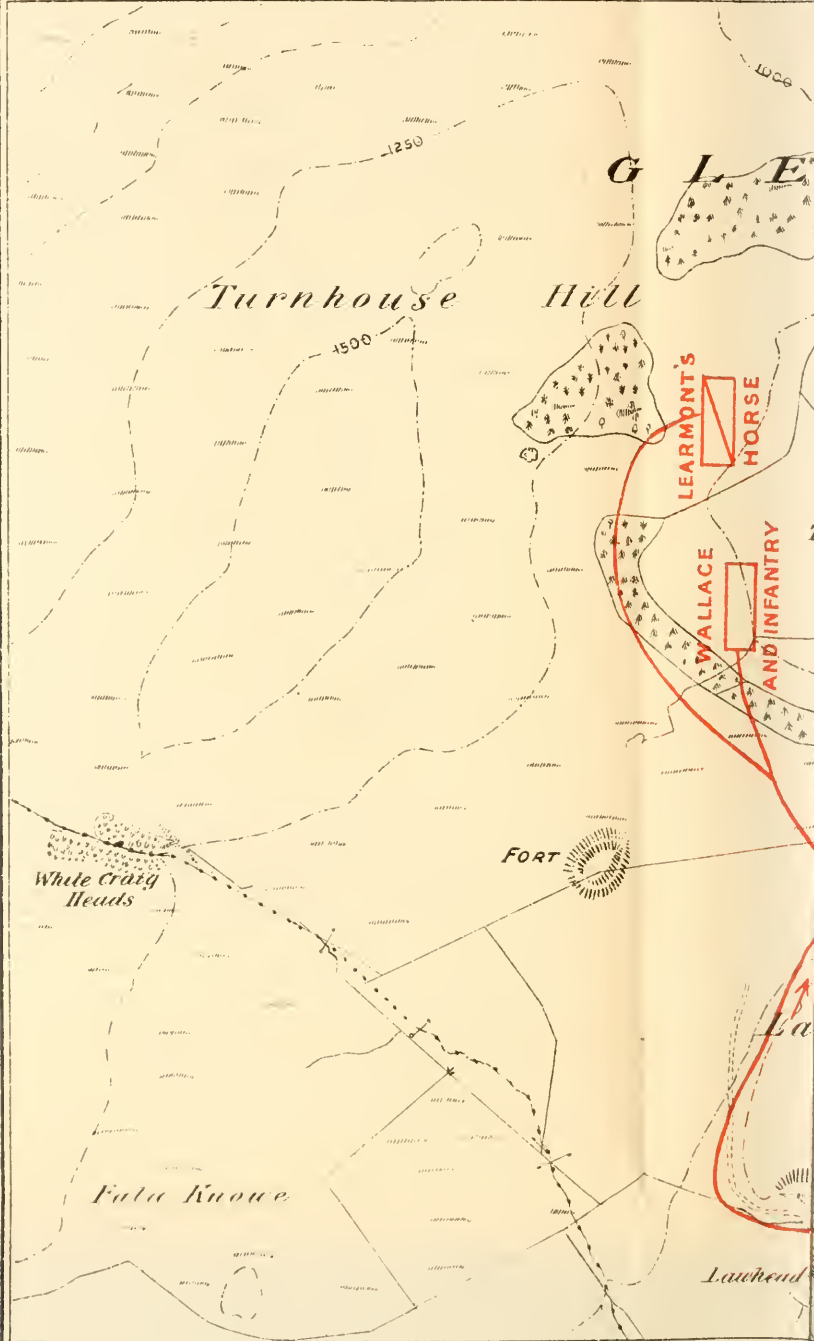
WALLACE DRAWS UP

noon, found a "select party of [Whig] horse" already hurrying to the higher slopes¹ of Turnhouse Hill. Turner offered Wallace half-hearted encouragement: "Sir, be not surprised, for this may prove to be a partie of your ounes, which I saw ride up ane other hill a little while agoe." "They are tuo blacke² to be a partie of ours," Wallace replied, adding: "fy, fy, for ground to draw up on." "You had best look for it elsewhere, for heere there is none," Turner advised. To seize the high ground was obvious. Wallace needed no prompting on that score. Horse and foot marched quickly off the low ground at Rullion, and, going "round about the Gallow Law," drew up on Turnhouse Hill prepared for battle.³

¹ *Veitch and Brysson*, p. 41.

² *i.e.* numerous.

³ Turner, p. 181. What Turner calls "Gallow Law" would certainly appear to be Lawhead Hill. See the accompanying map. Turner seized the opportunity to escape. See his *Memoirs*, p. 185.



Turnhouse Hill

G L E

1500

1250

1000

LEARMONT'S
HORSE

WALLACE
AND INFANTRY

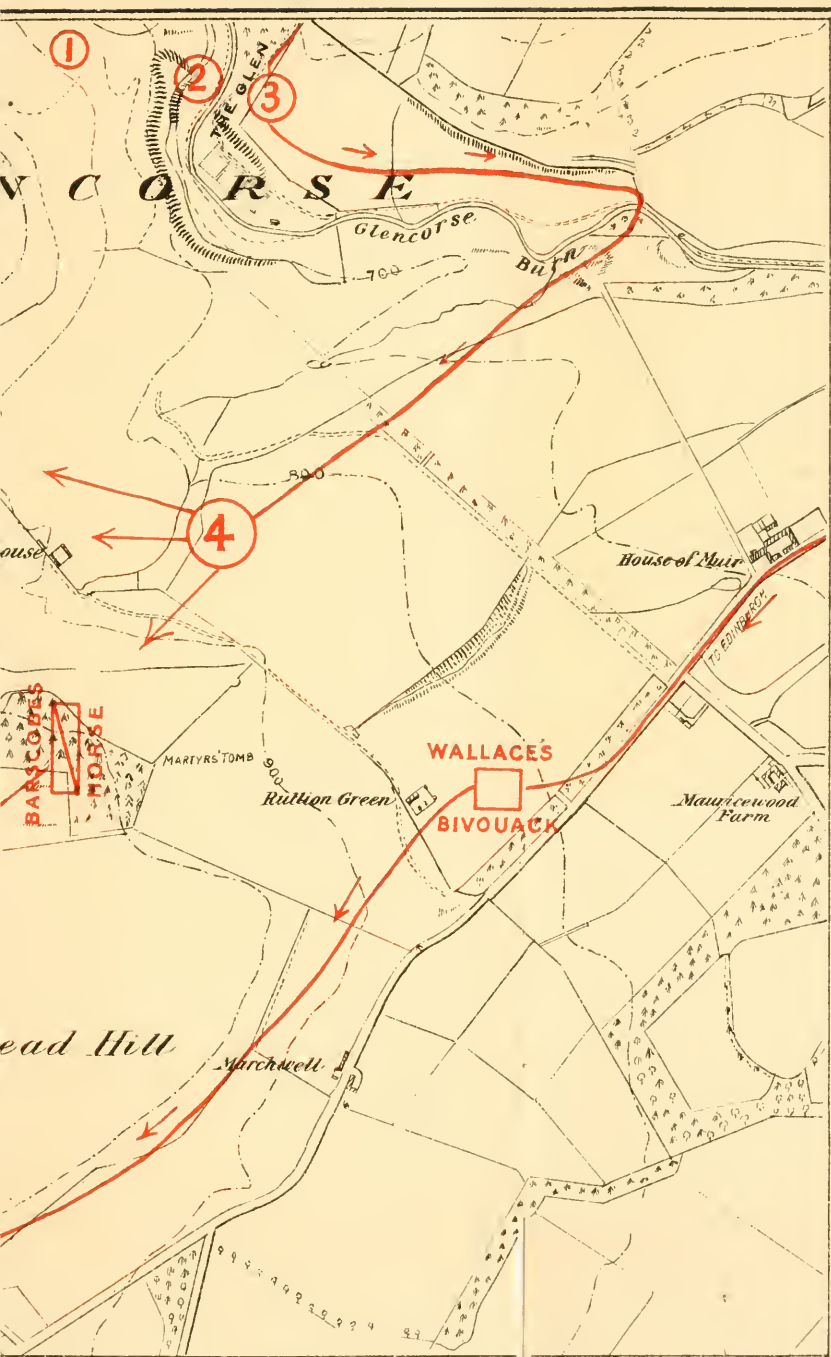
FORT

White Craig
Heads

Fata Knoue

La

Lauchend



ON TURNHOUSE HILL

The *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland*,¹ in stating the traditional site of the battle, is content to echo Hill Burton's remark, that "neither the spot itself, nor any part of the range of the Pentlands close to it, corresponds with the description of the ground taken by Wallace—a ridge running north and south, and rising abruptly on the north end."² But even if other evidence were wanting, the *data* which Hill Burton found in Wallace are sufficient to indicate Turnhouse Hill as the scene of the engagement. Its highest ridges, running north and south, attain an altitude of fifteen hundred feet, and fall to the east towards Glencorse Burn. On the eastward slope the battle was fought.³ Maitland of

¹ Ed. Francis H. Groome, 1901, p. 1415.

² *History of Scotland*, ed. 1876, vol. vii. p. 172.

³ A visit to the locality enabled the present writer to examine the ground in the light of the various and mutually agreeing contemporary accounts of the battle.

DISPOSITION OF

Hatton, however, describes the position held by Wallace with detail which puts the battle-site beyond doubt. He found the insurgents "on the syd off the turnehous hill, which is the westmost, greattest and highest off pentlanhills, and the tope off it doeth just resemble the tope off Arthur's seatt."¹ The resemblance to the height standing sentinel above Edinburgh is in fact striking. For a defensive engagement the position was admirably chosen. It could be reached only by a steep and stiff ascent. Maitland of Hatton experienced its difficulty, and found it "of that presipes that it were mutch ffor a double horse to

¹ *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 250. Kirkton's account (p. 142) is equally expressive. Wallace drew up, he says, "upon the back of a long hill running from the south with a low shoulder, toward the north, where it hade a high steep shoulder." These two points, as will be shown, represented respectively the right and left of Wallace's position.

THE WHIG FORCE

ryd up itt, and the hindmost nott to ffall off.”¹

Arrived on the plateau whereon stands the Martyrs’ Tomb, Wallace divided his small force into three bodies, along a front facing eastward. Upon the southern “low shoulder” of Turnhouse Hill he posted a small body of Galloway horse under Barscobe’s command.² They held the right of the position.³ Upon the north, where

¹ *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 251. The pedestrian who climbs up to the plantation wherein is the Martyrs’ Tomb (which marks the right of Wallace’s position) will appreciate Maitland’s remark. By “double horse” he means a horse bearing two riders.

² Kirkton, p. 242. The number of horse on this quarter was no more than about eighty (*Veitch and Brysson*, p. 419). According to Kirkton (p. 243) it was no more than thirty.

³ There is no means of conclusively determining the position of this body. But from Kirkton’s description I have little doubt that it was on the site occupied by the existing plantation, and probably a little westward of the Martyrs’ Tomb.

DALZIEL'S FOREPARTY

the hill had "a high steep shoulder," Wallace posted the main body of his horse under Learmont,¹ nearest to the point whence attack threatened.² On the centre were drawn up "the poor unarmed footmen." Wallace took position with them.³

Wallace had moved up his force from Rullion Green under the concealing cover of Lawhead Hill.⁴ His appearance on the Turnhouse slope fronting Glencorse Burn proved that an elusive foe was at

¹ Kirkton, p. 242. Veitch calls them the "select party" (*Veitch and Brysson*, p. 41). A letter from Edinburgh on 27 November, 1666, speaks of Learmont as "Jos. Learmont, a foolish fellow, not worth 500 l" (*Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1666-1667, p. 295).

² Kirkton's "high steep shoulder" on the north is clearly distinguishable, I think, as one surveys the position from the Martyrs' Tomb. The accompanying map indicates it.

³ Kirkton, p. 242.

⁴ This is, I think, a fair inference from Turner's statement, already quoted. See above, p. 64.

HALTS IN INDECISION

length run to ground and ready to stand. To attack him was hazardous. Dalziel's main body was still toiling in the rear. The foreparty, whose appearance had compelled Wallace's hasty move from Rullion Green, was numerically weak.¹ Access to the insurgents' position also was difficult. Between the two forces there intervened Glencorse Burn and a "great glen."² Dalziel's foreparty halted in indecision. After

¹ Maitland describes it as "our ffor partie, being tuentie tuo horse, the third partie of our full forlorne." It was commanded, he states, by the Earl of Airlie's brother (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 250). The van of Dalziel's force was under the command of Lieutenant-General William Drummond (Turner, p. 181). Wodrow (vol. ii. p. 13) describes him as "brother to the Lord Madertie, a person some more polite, and yet abundantly qualified for the work in hand, being many years in the Muscovite service with the former [Dalziel]."

² Wallace explains (*Veitch and Brysson*, p. 416): "Now there was a great glen betwixt us, so as neither of us could have access to other. There we stood brandishing our swords." Kirkton (p. 242)

DALZIEL'S FOREPARTY

viewing the enemy "a long time,"¹ an attack across the intervening valley was deemed impracticable. It was resolved, however, to try conclusions with the leftward body of the insurgent force, the mounted men under Learmont. Retracing its steps, the foreparty crossed Glencorse Burn and ascended the Turnhouse Hill to a point north-east of the position which Wallace held.² Wallace detached an equal force

describes Dalziel's advanced party as "upon ane opposite hill," the two armies being separated by "a great descent betwixt them." Both statements exactly describe the position viewed from the Martyrs' Tomb and looking towards Glencorse Burn.

¹ Kirkton, p. 242.

² Wallace's account (*Veitch and Brysson*, p. 416) is as follows: "Now their foot was not come up, only were coming. A party of their horse (I think to the number of fifty or thereabout) seeing they could not come at us here, they take away westward." Kirkton (p. 242) describes Dalziel's foreparty as being sent "to squint along the edge of the hills, and to attack their left hand."

ATTACKS LEARMONT

from his left to meet the threatened attack. Arnot was in command.¹ Both parties, Wallace narrates,² marched "along the side of their own hill, towards an even piece of ground,³ to which both of them came. They were not long asunder when once they were there. After they had discharged their fire, they closed, and for a considerable time stand dealing with swords." The insurgents lost two of their ringleaders, John Cruickshank and Andrew M'Cormick, Irish ministers, and "main instruments of the attempt."⁴ More than one saddle of

¹ Kirkton, p. 242. According to Veitch (*Veitch and Brysson*, p. 41), Robert Maclellan of Barmagechan and John Cruickshank were the leaders.

² *Veitch and Brysson*, p. 416.

³ Kirkton (p. 242) calls it "a piece of equal plain ground." The conjectural site of the skirmish is marked upon the accompanying map.

⁴ Kirkton (p. 243) is even more emphatic than Wallace. He calls Cruickshank and M'Cormick "the great instruments to persuade the people to this

DALZIEL AWAITS

the troopers was emptied.¹ Caution, and the advisability of awaiting the main body, rather than a decisive repulse, impelled Dalziel's foreparty to retire.²

undertaking." M'Cormick has already (see above, p. 31) been mentioned as urging the abandonment of the rising. He was commonly called "the good-man" (Kirkton, p. 236). Rothes describes him (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 254) as "one Mr. Andrew Mackcornock, ane Irish minister, who was active upon the plot in Ireland with Blood."

¹ Maitland writes (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 250): "We lostt on man off the Duk's troupe, and tuo hurtt. On was ours off the generals."

² As both sides claimed the victory the suggestion in the text is probably sound. According to Wallace (*Veitch and Brysson*, p. 416): "At last the enemy runs; and if they had not retired by a way that there was no dealing with them, alongst the side of a steep hill, it is like there had not many of them gone home." The two parties, Kirkton states (p. 243), "fought it stoutly for a considerable time, till at length, notwithstanding all their advantage, Dalyell's men run." Wodrow's informant (vol. ii. p. 32) declares that General Drummond "himself owned afterwards to Mr. James Kirkton, from whom I have the account, that

HIS INFANTRY

News of the skirmish had been carried to the rear. Dalziel's main body of horse hastened up in support, and joined by the foreparty, drew up upon high ground westward of Glencorse Burn. There they awaited the arrival of the infantry.¹ Wallace threw

if we had pursued the chase, in the confusion they were under, the general's army might have been ruined." Veitch tells a more remarkable story (*Veitch and Brysson*, p. 41): "Drummond and his party were instantly beat back, to the great confusion and consternation of their army; hundreds whereof, as they were following disorderly through the hill sides, threw down their arms and ran away." This, certainly, is gross exaggeration. On the other side Maitland declares (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 250): "Our ffoor partie . . . ingadged ther forlorne off eightie horse and beatt them, though they had the advantage off the ground, even to a presipes."

¹ Maitland's account (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 250) is as follows: "We, getting nottice off the ingadgmentt, march with the wholl horse (our ffoot being tuo myles behind) up a streatt hill becast ther hill, so straitt that we could hardly keep the seddle. Ther was a glen betuixt us and them, and a great sidlens

DALZIEL CROSSES

out a party of foot to threaten their position. Thereupon Drummond, satisfied that the nature of the ground offered no opportunity for successful assault on that quarter, marched across the Glen and drew up on the other side of the burn, fronting at safe distance the insurgents' main position on Turnhouse Hill.¹

or presipes, which we behoved to pase iff we charged them, and wher horse could hardly keepe foott, we drew all up there." Wallace describes the position as "no ways accessible for horse to do them any hurt" (*Veitch and Brysson*, p. 417). Kirkton (p. 243) calls it "a place unaccessable for horsemen." Wallace further defines it as on "that side of the glen that lay on the west hand." Its position is therefore clearly indicated, and is marked upon the accompanying map.

¹ Wallace states (*Veitch and Brysson*, p. 417): "Upon the foot's approach they were forced to quit that side of the glen that lay on the west hand, and to go over to the east side of the glen, where they stayed till their foot came up. In this condition we stood fore-against other: neither of us could well come at other where we stood." Maitland (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 250) confirms Wallace. He writes: "And the tuo

GLENCORSE BURN

It was already past three o'clock, and the November day was closing in. Another hour passed before Dalziel's infantry came up.¹ Upon their arrival the whole force crossed Glencorse Burn and drew up on the lower slope of Turnhouse Hill, whose ridge Wallace held above them.² On his right

generall persones Dalziell and Drummond (whos excellent conduct in all this matter I most admeire) fynding this disadvantage, we marched doune agane, crosed the watter and went up to ane other hill nott soe high be-east and oppositt to them." Kirkton (p. 243) also calls the position "a bank more easterly," where "they stopt till all their foot came up." See the map.

¹ *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 250.

² The evidence available to identify Dalziel's position is as follows. Kirkton (p. 243) says that Dalziel "drew up his army upon the skirt of the same hill, where Wallace hade the ridge, and Dalyell hade the skirt beneath him, which is the Rullion-green." Maitland's account (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 250) states, that upon the arrival of his infantry, Dalziel "marched doune southward toward Losleine [? Rullion] and drew up all on the bottom on the south side off the hill wher the enemy stood; this made them drawe doune

BEGINNING OF

Dalziel placed the Life Guards, Rothes's troop of horse, and that of Lieutenant-General Drummond. On his left were his own, Hamilton's, Atholl's, and Airlie's troops. The infantry were in the centre,¹ but were

to the skert of ther hill toward us." Wallace writes (*Veitch and Brysson*, p. 417): "When their foot came up, their whole horse and foot came down off the hill towards a moor beneath us on our right hand; and there they drew up in battle array, thinking to provoke us to quit our ground, and to fight them on even ground. We perceiving how numerous they were, being at least (whatever they were more) in all three times our number, resolved we would not quit our ground. There we stood only fronting other." Dalziel, I conclude, crossed Glencorse Burn west of Flotterstone, and drew up, fronting westward, at the base of the slope whose crest is now fringed by the plantations which shelter the Martyrs' Tomb.

¹*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 250. The military establishment at this time consisted of two regiments of foot, six troops of horse, and two troops of the Guards. The two infantry regiments are said by Wodrow (vol. ii. p. 13) to have been commanded by Dalziel and the Earl of Newburgh (Sir James Livingstone). Of the six troops of horse he mentions the

THE ENGAGEMENT

held mainly in reserve.¹ It was near sunset when the engagement began.² Detaching a considerable body of horse from his right,³ supported by a flanking party of foot, Dalziel launched them against the left of Wallace's position. "After some mutual communion what was fit to be done," writes Wallace,⁴ "whether to fight them, if put to it, that same night, because, if we delayed that night, (as we

Duke of Hamilton, the Earls of Annandale, Airlie and Kincardine among their commanders. He estimates the full strength of the establishment at about three thousand foot, besides horse. Law (*Memorialls*, p. 16) gives Dalziel's strength as six hundred horse and two thousand foot.

¹ *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. 1. p. 251. Maitland states: "Our ffoot stood for a reservæ. Nor could they fyr unles they had killed our men off the horse."

² *Ibid.*

³ The horse numbered fifty, according to Maitland (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 250).

⁴ *Veitch and Brysson*, p. 417.

TEMPORARY SUCCESS

readily might, if we had pleased) we might expect, whatever we might be fewer, the enemy would be no fewer; after prayer it was resolved, that if the Lord in providence did order so as we were put to it, we should put ourselves in his hand, and quit ourselves of our duty." Dalziel's close attack resolved the dilemma. "We found ourselves forced to give them a meeting," Wallace continues, "and so a party of near as many¹ were sent down from our left hand to meet them; and in respect there had come a few of their foot upon the flanks of their party, a few of our foot were sent off with ours to encounter them." The rival parties met. A volley was fired. Both fell to swords at close quarters. But the advantage of the ground was with

¹ Maitland (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 250) declares that they were double the number—one hundred against Dalziel's fifty.

OF THE INSURGENTS

the insurgents. Aided by the declivity their foot routed the body opposed to them. Dalziel's horse abode no longer, and galloped down to the main body.¹

Dalziel's tactics were simple—to turn the left of the insurgents, and, forcing a general evacuation of their position, to compel a disorderly retreat along the lower ground, which his left would be adequate to deal with. He therefore ordered a second attack from his right. It had no better success than the first.² In the de-

¹ I have followed Wallace here. Maitland (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 250) substantially confirms him. He states: "The engadgmentt begunne by a commanditt partie off 50 off our right wing off horse, receaved by the rebells by 100 of ther horse: ours did gallently, and they stuck in others birse for a quarter off ane hour; and ours being borne by weight from so greatt a precipes, they reteired a litle."

² According to Wallace (*Veitch and Brysson*, p. 418): "So soon as the enemy see their horse put to flight, immediately there is another party commanded off their

LEARMONT

velopment of it the Duke of Hamilton narrowly escaped capture or death.¹ A third time Dalziel ordered his right to assault the stubborn position. His perseverance was at length rewarded. Wallace's left was driven back to its position on the ridge,² and Learmont, commanding

right hand, and quickly advances towards the relief of their own men. Upon this, another party is sent down from our left hand to meet them. After these two fresh bodies had grasped a while together, the enemy runs, and, in the view of all, this party of ours did so hotly pursue them, that they chased them far away by their body." Kirkton (p. 243) states that Wallace's left drove Dalziel's horse "beyond the front of their army." Maitland (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 251) gives another view of the engagement: "Our right hand of our right wing charged and forced back the enemy to the ground and bodie. And they returned unbroken."

¹ Hamilton was protected from a threatening blow by James Ramsay, Dean of Hamilton (*Veitch and Brysson*, p. 43).

² Wallace's account (*Veitch and Brysson*, p. 419) is as follows: "Upon this [repulse of Dalziel's second assault] advances the rest of their horse that were on

REPULSED

on that quarter, barely regained it in safety.¹

It was already dusk,² and darkness threatened to cheat Dalziel of his quarry. Learmont's repulse had already called down a rightward party of Wallace's horse. With the enemy no longer solid and unshaken upon the height, Dalziel seized the moment

their right hand, and forcing back our party, a party of our horse on the right hand were sent off." Kirkton (p. 243) states that Wallace's left was forced to "retire up the hill to their old station." Maitland (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 251) infers that this third attack of Dalziel's right completed the success already achieved by the previous assault. "And by order," he writes, "our left hand off our right wing charged and mad them reill."

¹ Veitch (*Veitch and Brysson*, p. 43) states that Learmont's horse was shot under him, and that he, "starting back to a fold-dike, killed one of the four that pursued him, and mounting his horse, came off in spite of the other three."

² "At daylight going," says Veitch (*Veitch and Brysson*, p. 43).

DEFEAT OF THE WHIGS

to engage their whole line while their left was still in some confusion. His left, which so far had not engaged, threw itself in overwhelming strength upon Wallace's right, tempted from its position by the critical fortune of Learmont's party. The latter, finding the brunt of attack transferred to the right, struggled to reinforce that quarter, but in the effort, threw the intervening foot into confusion. Dalziel pushed his advance steadily.¹ There was no time to rally, and in the gathering darkness the insurgents broke and fled.²

¹ Turner (p. 186) observed Dalziel's "whole bodie of foot and left wing of horse advance with much courage and in very good order, with trumpets sounding, and drums beating."

² The account I have given appears to focus the meaning of the various contemporary narratives. Maitland (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 251) writes: "We on the left hand, seeing a part off our right wing reteire, did presentlie charge the enemies horse on the right wing. And by the tyme we had received ther fyre,

AT RULLION GREEN

The fifteen days' rebellion had met its hapless and inevitable end. At the best it was a haphazard and ill-concerted effort.

thos off ther left wing that were reilling thrust amongst ther oun ffoot [and] disordered them. And tho pressing to assist ther right wing of hors, yet helped to putt them in confusion. And soe all off them rune for it through the hills." Wallace gives the following account (*Veitch and Brysson*, p. 419): "Now their whole body of horse on their left hand were unbroken; and upon these two parties [on Dalziel's right] being engaged, their whole left hand of horses advances. Now we had no more but a matter of fourscore horse to meet with their whole left hand. Always, all marches up towards other, but being oppressed with multitude we were beaten back; and the enemy coming in so full a body, and so fresh a charge, that having us once running, they carried it so strongly home, that they put us in such confusion that there was no rallying, but every man runs for his own safety." According to Veitch (*Veitch and Brysson*, p. 43), "The last encounter was at daylight going, where the enemy's foot, being flanked with their horses on each side, firing upon the Whigs, broke their ranks, their horses not being used with fire; then the troops upon the right wing of the enemy broke in upon them and pursued them; and had taken and killed many more, if the night had not prevented them."

THE GOVERNMENT'S

Had it been other than sudden and spasmodic its story might have run another course. For the bitter controversies which cleft the Whigs in 1679, to the paralysis of serious military achievement, were absent in 1666. Wallace, as a leader, was incomparably superior to Robert Hamilton, and had at his back a force which, if small in number, showed qualities which compelled respect.¹ But nine hundred devoted men, however stout their spirit, were a puny force to menace a system entrenched in authority. "Such an undertaking," Kirkton² admits, "was for a man

¹Turner's praise of their marching qualities has already been noticed. An Edinburgh news-writer, writing on 30 November, 1666, reported: "The army say they never saw men fight more gallantly than the rebels nor endure more; the general was forced to use stratagem to defeat them" (*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1666-1667, p. 301).

²"This was the end," writes Kirkton (p. 245), "of that poor party, and it was a wonder they proved so

AMPLE REVENGE

of miracles." The authorities took an ample revenge. The prisons and the executioner had their prey.¹

Rullion Green was near its first anniversary before the Government oscillated briefly

brave on the day of their defeat, considering either the constitution or conduct of such an army. They had no matter to work upon, their number being so small; a handful of poor naked country lads who had never seen war. They had few officers, and those had no authority; every private sentinel would either be satisfied about the secrets of their council of war, or was in hazard of clamouring the company into a mutiny, and then deserting the party upon a scruple."

¹Wallace's estimate of the insurgents' losses in the battle and pursuit is probably the most accurate. He puts them at about fifty killed and eighty prisoners (*Veitch and Brysson*, p. 429). Kirkton (p. 244) agrees with Wallace in putting the number killed at about fifty. Maitland (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 251) clearly overstates the number at about four hundred killed in the battle and pursuit. Dalziel's losses are generally admitted to have been trivial. For the Government's punitive measures see Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 397.

SIGNS OF TOLERANCE

to moderation.¹ In August, 1667, the army was disbanded, except the Horse and Foot Guards.² A month later Rothés was relieved of the Commissionership. Indemnity for those concerned in the Pentland Rising followed in October. Lauderdale came to power amid these signs of more tolerant dealing. They flickered fugitively, and by 1670 were extinguished. Nine years later, Covenanting Israel, groaning under Rehoboam, was again in revolt. With what tragic failure at Bothwell Bridge is familiar.

¹ See the Privy Council's resolution of 13 September, 1667, in *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. ii. p. 52; and a letter of Lauderdale to Sharp on 2 October, 1667, in *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, vol. i. p. 263.

² Kirkton, p. 263.

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