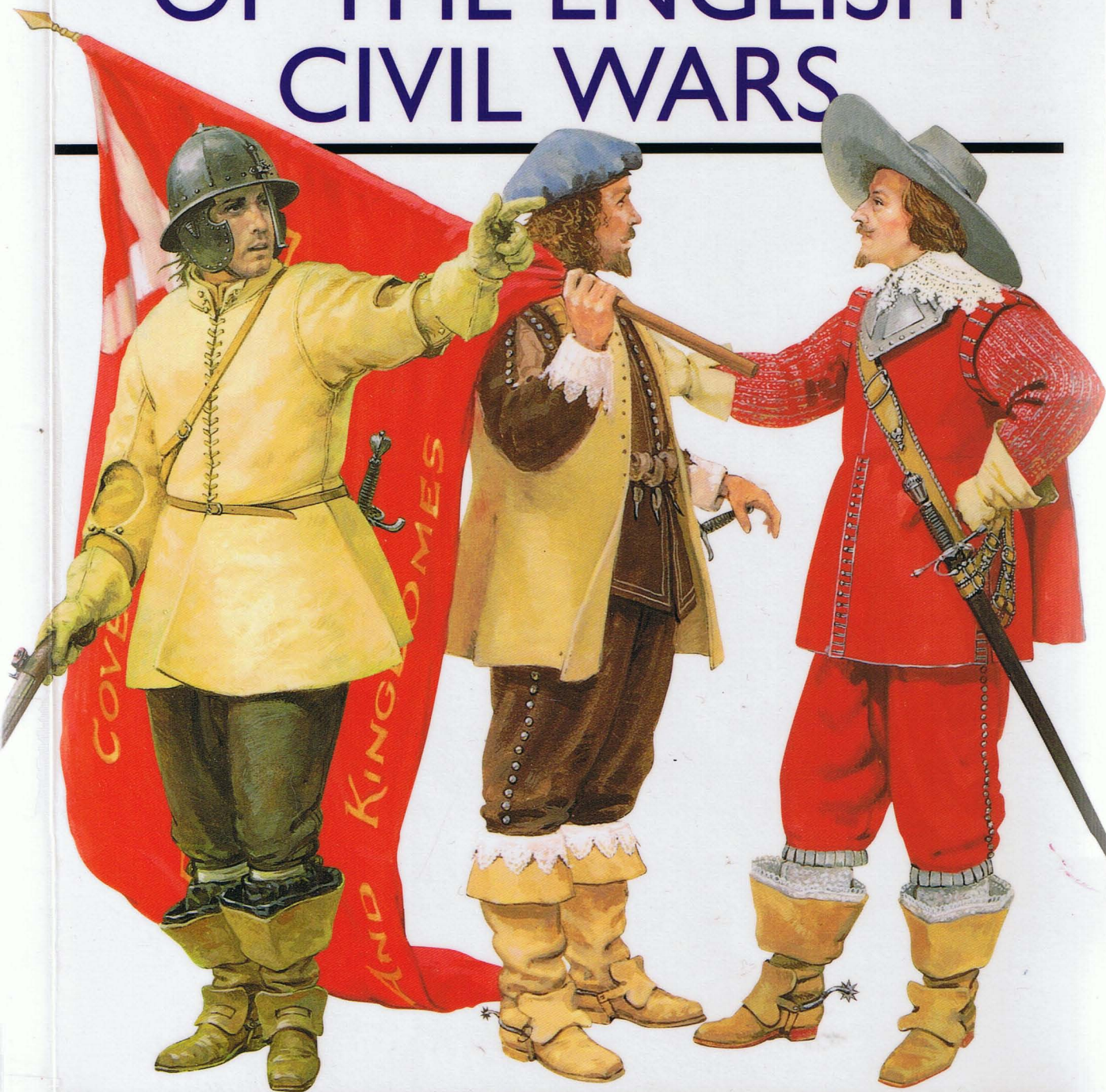


SCOTS ARMIES OF THE ENGLISH CIVIL WARS



STUART REID

GRAHAM TURNER



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SERIES EDITOR: LEE JOHNSON

MEN-AT-ARMS 331

SCOTS ARMIES OF THE ENGLISH CIVIL WARS



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Author's Note

Scottish armies of this period frequently included substantial Highland contingents. Although brief mention is made of Highland troops here, readers are particularly recommended to study this title in conjunction with *Warrior 21 Highland Clansman*.

Certain inconsistencies of spelling are taken from the sources; e.g. generally marquis, and Argyll, but the great Campbell chief is styled Marquess of Argyle.

Artist's Note

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SCOTS ARMIES OF THE ENGLISH CIVIL WARS

INTRODUCTION

In 1603 King James VI of Scotland succeeded the childless Queen Elizabeth I on the throne of England as James I. Thereafter, although frequently professing an intimate attachment to their ancient kingdom, both he and his son King Charles I, who succeeded him in 1625, regarded themselves first and foremost as English monarchs. Scotland nevertheless still retained its own parliament, referred to as the Estates, and therefore its own quite separate system of government. Unfortunately, moves initiated by Charles I in 1633 with the aim of bringing both the Scottish church and legal system into line with English practice proved to be a disastrous mistake.

In 17th century Britain religion and politics were still inextricably mixed, and the monarchy's temporal and religious prerogatives were both the subject of passionate debate among the influential classes. Less than a century beforehand the struggle between Roman Catholic and Protestant had seen religious martyrs burned alive at the stake; and despite Elizabeth's generally successful establishment of the Anglican Protestant church of England created by her father Henry VIII, both her reign and that of James I were intermittently troubled by Roman Catholic conspiracies.

In England a strong dissenting or low-church movement (the Puritans) was hostile to what it saw as Charles' ambiguity towards Catholicism (his queen was a French Catholic), and suspicious of his rumoured future plans for meddling with the Protestant settlement. Simultaneously, on the political front, resentment was growing in both England and Scotland towards the King's autocratic style of rule, which tended to unite very diverse groups in at least temporary opposition to Charles, whatever their fundamental views of the monarchy itself. On his part, Charles was continually frustrated by the grudging and conditional grants of funds controlled by an English Parliament which was increasingly conscious of its own constitutional powers, and of which some influential members were leaders of the Puritan religious movement.

The dominant religious influence in Scotland was the Presbyterian church, whose austere Protestant liturgy and distrust of hierarchy was bound to present an obstacle to Charles'

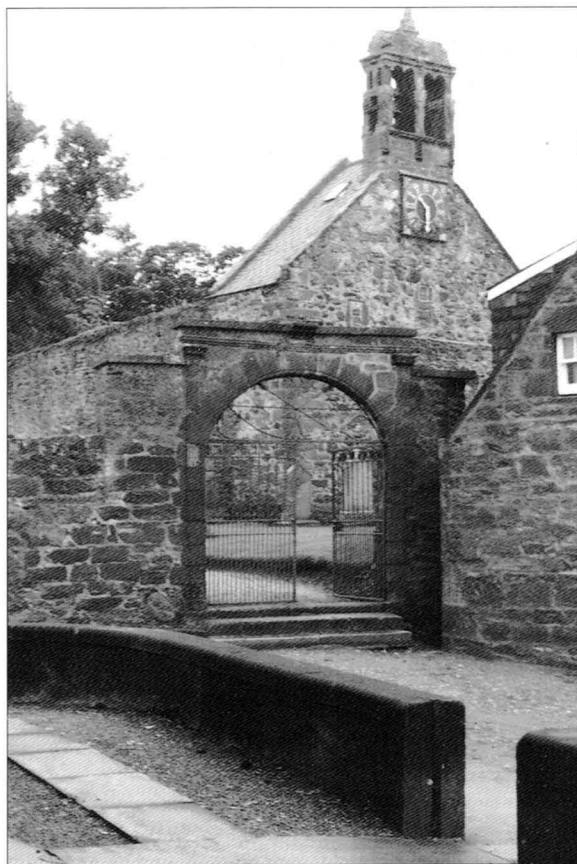
'Recover your pistoll' – a fully armed cuirassier, according to John Cruso, although copied from an earlier work by Wallhausen. At least one troop of Royalist cavalry was equipped in this manner at Megray Hill in 1639 – see commentary to Plate A.



programme. This materialised in 1638 when the so-called National Covenant bound the Scots to oppose the King's initiatives and, by extension, the King himself. As Charles I very quickly discovered, he had to deal not with a rebel faction but with a state which to all intents and purposes, if not in name, had become the Scots Republic.

This particular point should not perhaps be over-emphasized, since except in the heady days of 1639 the Scots army as a whole was notably apolitical. It is of course true that some individual officers were politically motivated, but on the whole the army was not a factional force. Its character was that of a national army, obedient to the Scots government of the day whatever its political complexion.

The Scottish national debate was further confused throughout this period by the coincidental outbreak in 1641 of a violent rebellion in Ireland. Early atrocities committed by the rebels against Scottish settler communities in Ulster put the Scots firmly in sympathy – in the Irish context – with the forces of the state, and Scots troops volunteered to serve there in the King's army. (This rebellion was very far from being a simple two-sided religious war; on the rebel side it would involve both a Confederacy led by the Papal Nuncio, Rinuccini, and an Anglo-Irish Protestant faction, fighting or allying with both Royalist and Parliamentary English forces.)



ABOVE Turriff Kirk today, the scene of the first skirmishes in May 1639.



Brig o' Dee, Aberdeen, scene of fierce fighting on 18-19 June 1639. The Royalists occupied the bridge and the near bank of the river while the Covenanters were posted on the high ground in the distance. The bridge was eventually stormed after the defenders ran out of ammunition.

CHRONOLOGY

- 1638** *28 February* Scots begin signing the National Covenant, committing themselves to oppose King Charles' proposed reforms.
- 1639** *1 February* Mobilisation of Fencibles begins as the breach widens and the Scots and English move towards what will be known as the First Bishops' War, or simply the Scots War.
13 March In response pro-Royalist forces are mustered in the north-east by George Gordon, Marquis of Huntly, but are disbanded shortly afterwards. Huntly is arrested by James Graham, Earl of Montrose, while under safe-conduct.
21 March Edinburgh Castle is stormed by pro-Covenant forces under the command of Alexander ('Sandie') Leslie. The gate is blown in with a petard – an early form of shaped charge – and the castle is taken without loss.
26 March Dumbarton Castle is seized by pro-Covenant forces in order to deny a landing place for Wentworth's army from Ireland.
14 May Another pro-Royalist uprising in the north-east, led this time by Sir George Ogilvie of Banff and some of the Gordon lairds. It opens with a minor success later known as the 'Trot o' Turriff', so-called from the speed with which the pro-Covenant forces fled from the village.
20 May A Scots army under Alexander Leslie assembles on the English border at Duns in Berwickshire. The King marches north to meet it, but except for an unsuccessful cavalry reconnaissance he avoids fighting.
15 June Northern Royalists, now led by Huntly's son Viscount Aboyne, advance southwards but are halted in a half-hearted battle at Megray Hill, some miles south of Aberdeen.
18 June First Bishops' War officially ends in a ceasefire known as the Pacification of Berwick.
18/19 June Unaware of this, the retreating northern Royalists try to hold the line of the river Dee outside Aberdeen; but are defeated by the Earl of Montrose in a two-day battle for the Brig o' Dee.
The burgh of Aberdeen is saved from being sacked by the arrival of a ship bearing news of the ceasefire.
- 1640** *20 August* Outbreak of Second Bishops' War. A Scots army, again led by Alexander Leslie, invades northern England.
28 August Leslie decisively defeats a Royalist force under Viscount Conway at the battle of Newburn on the river Tyne.
30 August The Scots follow up their victory by capturing the city of Newcastle-upon-Tyne for the first time.
26 October Second Bishops' War ends with the Treaty of Ripon.
- 1641** *25 August* The Scots army is disbanded, though three regiments are retained in pay. Alexander Leslie is created Earl of Leven. The Earl of Montrose, hostile to some leading Covenanters of the Marquess of Argyle's party, is arrested on discovery of a pro-Royalist plot.
23 October Outbreak of Irish Rebellion; massacres and widespread 'ethnic cleansing' of Scots settler communities in Ulster by the rebels.
- 1642** *3 February* Raising of Scots volunteer regiments authorized for service in Ulster.
3 April Advance guard comprising the three regiments retained in 1641 lands at Carrickfergus, Ireland; further troops follow shortly afterwards.
22 August Formal outbreak of the (First) English Civil War between the forces of King and Parliament when Charles I sets up his standard at Nottingham.

23 October Scots professional officers serve on both sides in the first major battle of the English Civil War at Edgehill, Warwickshire, between c.11,000 Royalists and c.13,000 Parliamentarians under the Earl of Essex; inconclusive result.

- 1643** 18 August Mobilisation begins of a Scots army for possible service in England.
25 September Scots sign Solemn League and Covenant, committing them to an alliance with the English Parliamentarians against the King, in return for what they mistakenly believe is an English commitment to establishment of the Presbyterian form of worship.
- 1644** 19 January Scots army led by the Earl of Leven invades England across Berwick bridge, but probably only mustering some 2,500-3,000 horse and 10,000 foot rather than the 21,000 men expected.
3 February (England) Leven is only narrowly forestalled from seizing Newcastle-upon-Tyne in a coup de main by the arrival of Royalist troops from the south.
19 February (England) Indecisive cavalry action at Corbridge on the river Tyne when English Royalists under Sir Marmaduke Langdale launch an unsuccessful raid on Scots quarters.
28 February (England) Scots army crosses the Tyne and seizes the port of Sunderland to serve as a base.
7/8 March (England) Royalist probe towards Sunderland led by Marquis of Newcastle is halted at Humbledon Hill.
19 March (Scotland) Royalist uprising in Aberdeen led by Marquis of Huntly.
20 March (England) Scots detachment storms Royalist fort at South Shields, closing the Tyne to Continental gun-runners bringing supplies to the Royalist forces.
25 March (England) Scots army led by Earl of Leven defeats English Royalists led by Marquis of Newcastle in night battle at Boldon, near Sunderland.
12 April (England) Marquis of Newcastle retreats southwards with intention of trying to hold the line of the river Tees, but then hears that Royalist city of York is in danger. Leven hurries the Scots army in hot pursuit.
13 April (Scotland) Brief occupation of Dumfries by Scots and English Royalists led by James Graham, now named by the King as 1st Marquis of Montrose and openly in his service.
20 April (Scotland) Montrose's Royalists hastily evacuate Dumfries and flee to Carlisle when threatened by the Earl of Callendar.
24 April (Scotland) Royalist rebels led by Irvine of Drum storm the burgh of Montrose.
29 April (Scotland) Huntly's Royalist forces evacuate Aberdeen and disband shortly afterwards.
2 July (England) Battle of Marston Moor, outside York. Army of Both Kingdoms led by Earl of Manchester, Sir Thomas Fairfax and Earl of Leven (some 6,500 horse, 700 dragoons and 14,500 infantry) defeats about 6,500 horse and 11,000 foot led by the King and Prince Rupert.
27 July (England) Scots army led by Earl of Callendar blockades Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
29 August (Scotland) Marquis of Montrose raises Royalist standard at Blair Castle to begin new Royalist uprising.
1 September (Scotland) Montrose, with a largely Irish force of c.3,000 infantry, destroys a similar force of local levies (2,500 foot, 350 horse) under Lord Elcho at Tippermuir, and afterwards sacks the burgh of Perth.
13 September (Scotland) Montrose, with 1,500 infantry and 80 horse, routs government force of 2,400 infantry and 300 horse at Justice Mills outside Aberdeen; the burgh is then ferociously pillaged.

19 October (England) City of Newcastle-upon-Tyne stormed by Scots army under Earl of Leven.

27 October (England) Royalists surrender Tynemouth Castle to Scots, but succeed in infecting the army with typhus.

28 October (Scotland) Indecisive engagement between Montrose and Marquess of Argyle at Fyvie Castle in Aberdeenshire.

13 December (Scotland) Royalists seize Inverary as winter quarters.

- 1645** *2 February* (Scotland) 1,500 Royalist infantry and 50 horse commanded by Marquis of Montrose destroy government force of 2,500 foot led by Marquess of Argyle and Campbell of Auchinbrec at Inverlochy.
- 9 February* (Scotland) Elgin falls to the Royalists after the regular cavalry regiment commanded by Lord Gordon defects to Montrose.
- 15 March* (Scotland) Royalists beaten up by cavalry raid on Aberdeen led by Sir John Hurry.
- 30 March* (Scotland) Royalist advance halted at Ruthven on river Isla by government force under Lt.Gen.William Baillie.
- 4 April* (Scotland) Royalist raid on burgh of Dundee ends in near disaster as Baillie catches Montrose in the act and pursues him back into the hills.
- 9 May* (Scotland) Maj.Gen.Sir John Hurry, with 3,000 foot and 300 horse, defeated by Montrose with 1,400 foot and 200 horse in day-long battle of Auldearn, near Nairn, but Royalists too badly weakened to pursue.
- 30 May* (England) Royalists storm Leicester, and massacre Scots mercenaries among the Parliamentary garrison.
- 14 June* (England) The main Royal army under the King and Prince Rupert is decisively defeated by Parliament's reorganized New Model Army under Sir Thomas Fairfax and Cromwell at Naseby in Northamptonshire – the turning point of the First Civil War.
- 28 June* (England) Carlisle surrenders to a Scots force under David Leslie, while the main Scots army under the Earl of Leven moves south into the Severn Valley.
- 2 July* (Scotland) 2,000 Royalist infantry and 200 horse led by Montrose defeat Baillie's 1,800 government infantry and 300 horse at Alford, Aberdeenshire.
- 22 July* (England) Leven's Scots army storms Canon Frome, Herefordshire; the garrison is massacred in retaliation for the Scots killed at Leicester.
- 30 July* (England) Leven begins siege of Hereford.
- 13 August* (Scotland) Royalists move south in an effort to assist the King, and cross the river Forth.
- 15 August* (Scotland) Montrose's 3,000 foot and 600 horse defeat and destroy Baillie's army of 3,000 foot and 350 horse at the battle of Kilsyth.
- 27 August* (England) Earl of Leven raises the siege of Hereford and begins moving north in response to the threat from Montrose; cavalry brigade is sent ahead under Maj.Gen.David Leslie.
- 13 September* (Scotland) David Leslie, with 3,000 horse and 500-plus dragoons and mounted infantry, surprises Montrose, with 1,100 horse and 500 foot, at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, and fragments his force; Montrose is forced to flee for his life.
- 29 November* (England) Scots army under Earl of Leven begins siege of Newark-on-Trent.
- 1646** *29 April* (Scotland) After raising a new force in the Highlands, Montrose lays siege to Inverness.
- 5 May* (England) King Charles I surrenders to the Scots army outside Newark (in preference to submitting to the English Parliamentarians), and afterwards orders all armies and fortresses to surrender likewise.

- 8 May (Scotland) Maj.Gen.John Middleton raises siege of Inverness.
- 14 May (Scotland) Marquis of Huntly, with 1,500 infantry and 500 horse, storms Aberdeen, held by Col.Harie Barclay with 700 foot and 240 horse.
- 5 June (Ireland) Anglo-Scots army under Maj.Gen. Robert Monro defeated by Irish Confederates led by Owen Roe O'Neill at Benburb.
- 30 July (Scotland) Montrose disbands his force at Rattray, near Blairgowrie, and flees abroad. Huntly is subsequently captured and executed.
- 1647** February (Scotland) The Scots armies are 'new-modelled' into a single force of five regular and two Highland regiments of infantry and a number of independent troops of horse. Some local levies also continue in service.
- 24 May (Scotland) David Leslie defeats Montrose's former ally Alasdair MacCholla at Rhunahoarine Point in Kintyre. MacCholla flees to Ireland.
- 5 July (Scotland) Dunyveg Castle surrenders to Leslie.
- 26 December The Scots government changes sides, signing an 'Engagement' with Charles I committing it to support the King and assist Royalist uprisings in England, in return for the definitive establishment of the Presbyterian church in Scotland.
- 1648** 23 March Second Civil War begins with outbreak of a series of Royalist uprisings in England and Wales, lasting until August. Lt.Gen.Oliver Cromwell crushes the western risings at Pembroke in July, and Sir Thomas Fairfax those in Kent and Essex, Colchester finally capitulating in August.
- 4 May Mobilisation of Scots army begins.
- 12 June Scots dissidents defeated by the Earl of Callendar at Mauchline Moor, Ayrshire.
- 8 July Scots army led by the Duke of Hamilton invades England by way of Carlisle.
- 26 July Col.John Lambert defeated by Scots cavalry at Stainmore, and retires to Barnard Castle.
- 17 August Hamilton's Scots army, with English Royalists led Sir Marmaduke Langdale, totalling some 3,000 horse and 9,000 foot, is defeated at Preston by Cromwell's 3,000 horse and 5,600 infantry.
- 19 August Scots again defeated at Winnington; their remaining infantry under Baillie then surrender at Warrington.
- 25 August Hamilton and Scots cavalry surrender at Uttoxeter.
- 5 September Anti-Royalist 'Kirk' party seizes Edinburgh and Stirling Castles as civil war breaks out afresh in Scotland.
- 12 September Pro-Royalist 'Engagers' led by Maj.Gen.George Monro recapture Stirling.
- 1 October Faced by threat of English intervention, both sides agree to disband their forces.
- 1649** 30 January King Charles I executed by English Parliament. Scots immediately proclaim his son Charles II, but stop short of military action.
- 8 May Pro-Royalist uprising led by MacKenzie of Pluscardine is defeated at Balvenie, Strathspey.
- 1650** 27 April Pro-Royalist invasion force of some 1,200 men led by the returning Marquis of Montrose is ambushed and routed by Archibald Strachan at Carbisdale, Sutherland.
- 21 May Montrose is executed in Edinburgh.
- 24 June King Charles II signs the Covenant, and lands in Scotland.
- 25 June Mobilisation of Scots army begins.
- 22 July English army invades Scotland, led by Lord Gen.Oliver Cromwell.

26 July English halted by fortified line linking Edinburgh and Leith. Scots 'scorched earth' policy and cautious manoeuvres frustrate Cromwell's search for a decisive engagement.

28 July Cromwell falls back to Musselburgh and then to Dunbar after outposts beaten up.

12 August English advance on Edinburgh resumes.

27 August Cromwell halted by Scots army under the Earl of Leven at Corstorphine south of Edinburgh.

28 August Further English outflanking move blocked by Leven at Gogar. His army weakened by disease, Cromwell concedes himself outmanoeuvred and retreats to Dunbar.

31 August Leven sends detachment to hold defile of Cockburnspath, blocking the road to England.

2 September David Leslie supplants the Earl of Leven as commander of the Scots army, and prepares to attack Cromwell's 7,500 foot and 3,500 horse at Dunbar, where they are suspected of preparing for evacuation by sea.

3 September Leslie's army – perhaps 8,000-9,000 infantry and 2,500-3,000 cavalry – are decisively defeated at Dunbar in Cromwell's surprise dawn attack led by Gen. John Lambert, which inflicts heavy casualties for marginal English losses.

23 December Edinburgh Castle surrenders.

1651 June Cromwell's advance is again blocked in front of Stirling.

17 July Parliamentary Gen. Lambert crosses Firth of Forth and establishes bridgehead at Inverkeithing.

20 July Lambert defeats Scots under Maj. Gen. Holburne at Inverkeithing.

31 July Cromwell breaks out of the Inverkeithing bridgehead, but Scots army under King Charles II and David Leslie marches south by a westerly route.

2 August Cromwell takes Perth. While Lambert's cavalry shadow Leslie's army, Cromwell races down the east coast and co-ordinates converging forces.

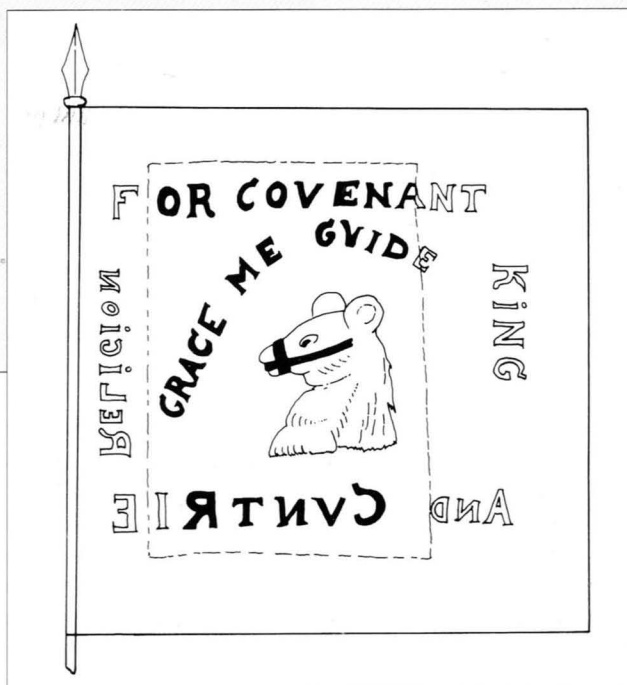
6 August Scots army crosses into England.

3 September Leslie's 16,000 Scots are defeated at Worcester by Cromwell's 20,000-strong regulars supported by some 10,000 additional levies.

21 November Marquis of Huntly surrenders.

3 December Earl of Balcarres surrenders last Scots field army.

1652 26 May Dunottar Castle surrenders.



Colour taken at Dunbar or Inverkeithing (BM Harl.1460 Dunbar no.57). Only the central portion survived to be recorded by Fisher, and the uncoloured lettering is conjectural. The colour is white with a silver bear's head, black lettering and details. The crest and motto belong to the Forbes family, so this must be Colonel John Forbes of Leslie's own colour; the archaic inscription suggests that it may originally have been made in about 1644.

Alexander Leslie, 1st Earl of Leven (1582-1661), commander of the Scots army for much of the period, and arguably one of the best soldiers to fight in the Civil War on any side. Nearly 60 years of age when summoned home to command the Scots army in the First Bishops' War of 1639, 'Sandie' Leslie had spent much of his adult life as a professional soldier on the Continent, first in the Dutch and later in the Swedish service. A loyal senior officer in Gustavus Adolphus' army, Leslie distinguished himself during the Thirty Years' War, particularly in the defence of Stralsund against Wallenstein in 1628, and eventually rose to the rank of field marshal.

In March 1639 he seized Edinburgh Castle without loss. In August 1640 he led an army into England, beat the Royalists at Newburn and occupied Newcastle. After the Peace of Ripon Charles I sought to win over prominent Scots, and enobled Leslie as Earl of Leven; Parliament also rewarded him with a large cash grant. After leading the Scots forces in the Irish campaign of 1642 he returned to command the English expedition in accordance with the Solemn League and Covenant, of which he was a strong supporter. After the joint Parliamentarian/ Scottish victory of Marston Moor in July the Scots marched north to besiege Newcastle. It was to Leven that Charles I surrendered at Newark in May 1646, but the Scots soon handed the King over to Parliament.

Leven argued against the Duke of Hamilton's 1648 expedition in support of Charles which ended in disaster at Preston that August. The King's execution brought the Scots onto the Royalist side, and Leven was present at Dunbar in September 1650, although active command fell to David Leslie (no relation). Captured by the English in August 1651, he was soon released on parole, and lived out his last years on his estates at Balgonie.



MOBILISATION

All of the regular Scots forces differed from contemporary English ones in that with the exception of the Ulster army they were primarily raised by a form of conscription. In each Sheriffdom a Committee of War was appointed and granted wide-ranging powers to raise, equip and maintain soldiers. The actual process involved may best be understood by studying the mobilisation of the Army of the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643.

In the summer of 1642 the First Civil War between King and Parliament had broken out in England. Initially both sides were confident of victory, but after the first campaigns ended in stalemate they began looking for allies. The Scots government was willing to assist the English Parliamentarians, and even before a formal treaty was signed the raising of troops got underway.

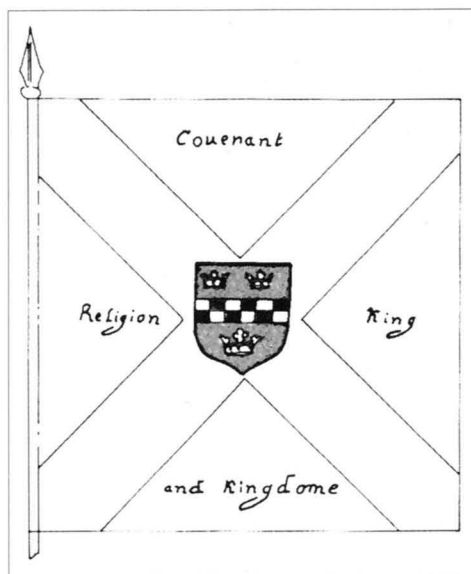
On 28 July 1643 the Estates ordered the levying of five companies of foot and three troops of horse, to be mustered at Leith by 13 September. These men appear to have been volunteers rather than conscripts, and a loan of £40,000 Scots (the exchange rate was £12.00 Scots to £1.00

sterling) was authorized to pay for their equipment. This formation was then used to sieze the important – though undefended – border fortress of Berwick on Tweed (see commentary to Plate C), and thus to prevent any interference in the main levy by English Royalist forces. In the meantime, on 18 August, the full mobilisation began with the issue of a proclamation ordering a general muster within 48 hours of publication.

In Scotland, as in most feudal countries, 40 days' military service was demanded of barons, freeholders (or heritors), and the inhabitants of the numerous Royal Burghs, as a condition of tenure. On receipt of such a proclamation they were bound to present themselves and their retainers aged between 16 and 60 years, with provisions for 40 days; the horsemen were to be armed with pistols, broadswords and steel caps, and infantrymen with muskets or pikes and swords. When they presented themselves at local musters or *wapinschaws* (weapon-showings) they would be inspected by the authorities, and rolls would be compiled of all the *fencibles* – that is, of all those judged fit to carry 'arms defencible'. How strictly these rolls were compiled evidently varied from place to place. A system of fines could be imposed on those who were 'deficient' in either arms or men; but in February 1639 an Aberdeen chronicler named John Spalding noted that *'the Earl Marischal mustered his men, tenants and servants within his lands of Kintore and Skene, and inrolled their names so strictly, that few men were left to hold or drive the plough.'*

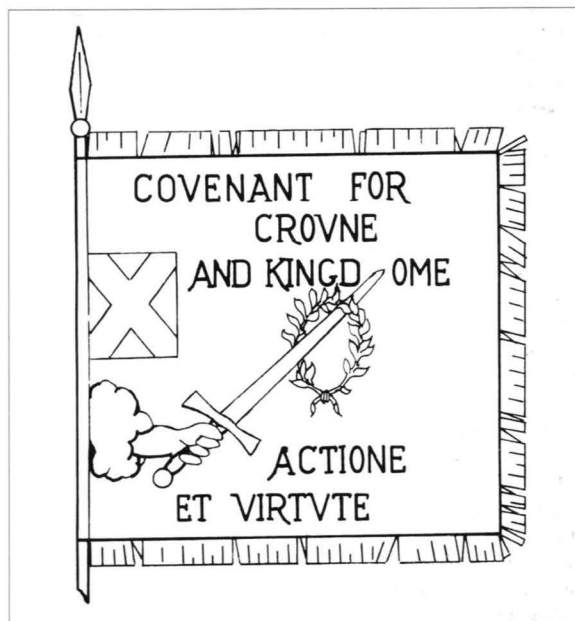
Naturally, there was no intention of carrying out an unwieldy *levée en masse*. Copies of the wapinschaw rolls were passed on to the central government, which used them as a basis for determining how any levies should be allocated in order to form regiments of a uniform size. In 1643 every fourth and every eighth man on the roll was to be conscripted or 'put out', but as a rule in subsequent levies only the eighth man seems to have been taken.

Recruiting could sometimes be brutally direct. In June 1640 the Aberdeen Committee was peremptorily ordered to find 300 men in order to bring Major General Robert Monro's Regiment up to strength. So keen was he to get them that on the 18th of that month he dragged 16 men and

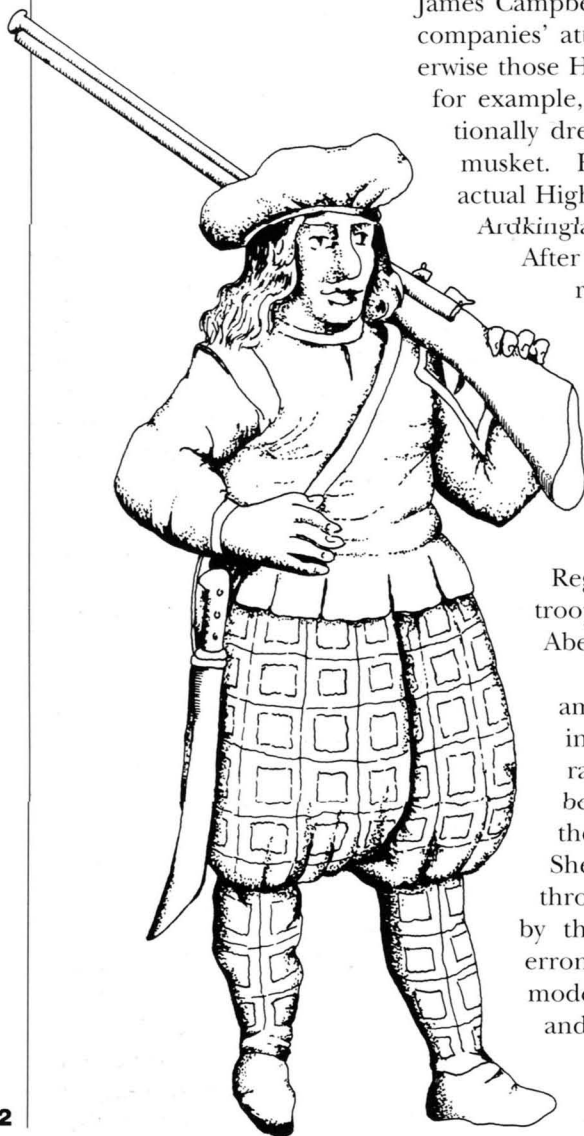


This green colour with a yellow saltire (BM Harl.1460 Dunbar no.72) must also belong to Forbes of Leslie's Regiment. The shield in the centre is evidently intended to display the arms of the old earldom of the Garioch in Aberdeenshire: green, a fess chequy silver and purple, gold crowns. The title had become extinct long before the Civil War and this was evidently a locally inspired device. The company captain's name is unknown. Five similar colours were taken, of which three (70, 71 and 78) had no central device, one (75) had the Forbes stag's head crest, and one (74) the crest of the Christall family – a tree growing through a table, with two ginger cherub heads appearing from clouds above and the motto *PER ANGVSTA AD AVGVSTA* in red on the two upper arms of the saltire.

Unidentified cavalry cornet taken at Dunbar or Inverkeithing (BM Harl.1460 No.31). Blue field and fringe, white saltire, silver cloud; gold hand, sword, wreath and lettering. The wording predates 1650, which may indicate that the cornet was carried by either Leven's or David Leslie's regiments.



Scots musketeer – detail after Köler, c.1631. The soldiers in this well-known print were probably drawn from descriptions rather than from the life. In this particular case the tartan trews are rather too full above the knees, and what appears to be a butcher knife was almost certainly a dirk.



apprentices from their 'naked beds'; and in September he even press-ganged a party of (presumably Catholic) Spanish seamen who came into the port for fresh water. In the meantime men were also demanded for the Earl Marischal's Regiment, and on 10 August *'seven score burgesses, craftsmen and apprentices were pressed and taken perforce... The honest men of the town, wondering at the manifold oppression, fled, took fisher boats and went to sea, till the storm passed.'*

As if this were not enough, a third predatory colonel named Forbes then arrived in Aberdeen and *'commanded also to press and take up the fourth man per force of both poor and rich and ilk heritor to furnish his prest men with 40 days loan, and arms conform, to the effect this Colonel's regiment might be effectually made up, and those who disobeyed, the soldiers sat down in their houses, and lived upon their goods.'*

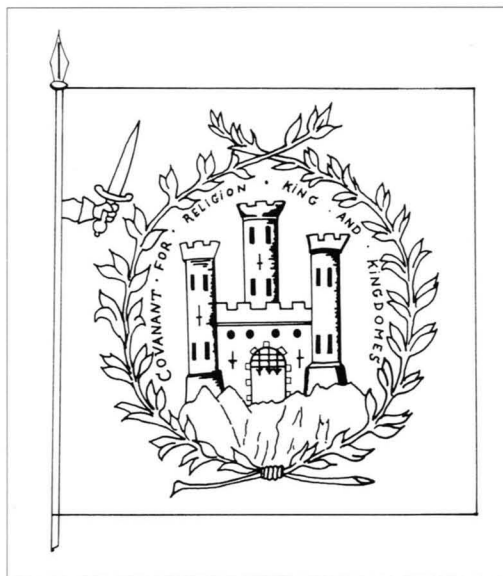
In the early years the recruitment of Highlanders seems to have been comparatively limited. For the most part those who were enlisted – chiefly in Perthshire – were assimilated into regular units such as Sir James Campbell of Lawers' Regiment. In 1640 there had been 'some companies' attached to the Laird of Buchannan's Regiment; but otherwise those Highlanders who marched over the border in the 1640s – for example, in the Earl of Tullibardine's Regiment – were conventionally dressed in coat and breeches, and equipped with pike or musket. However, in Scotland itself increasing use was made of actual Highland regiments, such as Argyle's and James Campbell of Ardkinglas's, for what we may term counter-insurgency operations.

After Dunbar in 1650, manpower shortages also saw regiments recruited in the northern and western highlands included in the regular army; but it must be emphasized that their employment at Inverkeithing and more notably perhaps at Worcester in 1651 was quite exceptional.

While some Sheriffdoms were reckoned capable of raising one or more complete regiments, in other areas a number of smaller contingents had to be combined. This was particularly true as far as the cavalry was concerned. The Earl of Balcarres' Regiment of Horse was quite typical in being allocated four troops from Fife, four troops from the Mearns and part of Aberdeenshire, and 20 men from Angus.

Although it was much easier to raise infantry, a certain amount of re-allocation still had to be carried out in some instances. Tweeddale, for example, was judged capable of raising one regiment for the Earl of Buccleugh and the better part of another one for the Master of Yester; however, the remainder of Yester's men were to come from the Sheriffdom of Linlithgow. This recruitment of regiments through the medium of these local committees, rather than by the exertions of individual officers, has fostered the erroneous idea in some secondary sources that they bore modern territorial titles such as the 'Tweeddale Regiment' and rather more bizarrely, the 'Linlithgow and Tweeddale Regiment'. In a minority of cases – such as Home's Merse Regiment and Rae's Edinburgh Regiment – territorial titles were indeed employed; but these were

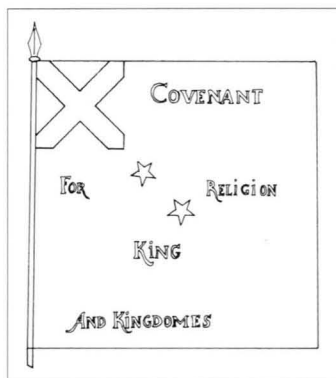
Colour taken at Dunbar (BM Harl. Dunbar 42). White field, green wreath; pale grey castle, red windows, blue-grey rock. Blue sleeve, white cuff, natural hand and silver sword. The arms are those of the City of Edinburgh and the arm and sword device belongs to the regiment's colonel, Alexander Stewart. The lieutenant-colonel's colour (Dunbar 88) was very similar, but had a red field and a much squatter castle without a supporting rock.



exceptional, and in the vast majority of cases regiments were simply known by their colonels' names, e.g. Buccleugh's or Yester's.

Officers

Having been instructed by central government to raise a particular quota of men, the local Committee of War generally had considerable latitude in nominating the officers who were to lead them. In theory this could have led to all manner of abuses, but in point of fact the process was managed



Second captain's colour, Colonel Alexander Stewart's Edinburgh Regiment (BM Harl.1460 Dunbar no.95). Red field, white saltire, yellow stars, gold lettering. Five other colours were taken at Dunbar; 96 had no stars, while 98, 92 and 91 had three, five and six stars respectively. The last, no.56, had neither saltire nor stars.

very sensibly in 1643. The man appointed as colonel was almost invariably a nobleman, drawn from one of the families traditionally seen as the natural leaders of the local community. However, the Estates insisted that his second-in-command – usually the man who would actually lead the regiment in the field – should be a professional soldier. Similarly, while the captain of a company might be a local laird or a burgh council nominee, his lieutenant was supposed to have real military experience. (It should be remembered that Scotland had a long-standing tradition of mercenary soldiering overseas, and that large numbers not only of officers but also of common soldiers had served in Continental armies at various times over the previous century, forming whole regiments and sometimes even brigades.) In the early years this system went a long way towards providing a solid core of experienced officers for the newly levied units intended to serve in the field armies.

On the other hand, the appointment of officers to units levied for policing duties, or even more hurriedly raised for local defence, was not usually so well organized. In the first place, the limited number of available professionals had generally already been snapped up by the regular units; and secondly, local politics played a much greater role. If a unit was raised wholly or partly in a town such as Glasgow, the council may have been able to find the money to hire a professional soldier, but otherwise the choice could be less than inspired. We read that one troop commander appointed in 1640 was *'one Arthur Forbes; who, though he wer none of the wysest nor best commanders yet his father, Mr John Forbese, sometymes minister at Alford, his sufferinge banishment in King James the sixths tyme for opposing Episcopacy, and his sonne Arthur's being seised upon at sea, anno 1639, was caste for some tyme into prison at Newgate, in Londone, by the King's warrant, was sufficient recommendation to preferre him.'*

According to one hostile commentator, Sir Edward Walker, similar criteria were applied following the establishment of a commission for purging the army on 21 June 1650. It is popularly believed that this commission oversaw the dismissal of hundreds of otherwise competent officers who were arbitrarily deemed unreliable on political or religious grounds. In fact its impact was relatively limited, since known 'Royalists'



James Graham, 1st Marquis of Montrose (1612-1650), print after Dobson – the original portrait must have been painted in 1643 just before Montrose rode north to lead a Royalist uprising in Scotland. Never an anti-monarchist although originally a supporter of the Covenant, he served as a colonel in the Covenanting armies of 1639 and 1640. He quarrelled with some other leaders of the movement, notably the Marquess of Argyle, and in 1642, shortly before raising his standard, King Charles I was instrumental in saving him from the consequences of this feud. The Covenanters vainly offered him a senior command in 1643; but mid-1644 found him in the Highlands leading a Royalist force of between 1,000 and 3,500 Scots and Irish against the Covenanters – particularly, his deadly enemies the Campbells – in a remarkable hit-and-run campaign. He showed great skill as a guerrilla general, holding together his motley and unpaid army in a war of sudden raid, ambush and hot pursuit, and forced marches in all weathers.

(continued opposite)

had already been weeded out under a 1649 Act of Classes, and officers had still to be appointed to lead the 1650 levies. The actual number dismissed can probably therefore be counted in dozens rather than hundreds, although the colours of some the regiments involved do show clear evidence of disruption to their organisation.

Arthur Forbes, as it happened, turned out to be a singularly unhappy appointment, for he promptly distinguished himself by running away from a gang of bandits; and was dismissed shortly thereafter after taking up cattle-rustling himself. Otherwise it is important not to over-

At Tippermuir (September 1644), Inverlochy (February 1645), Auldearn (May 1645), Alford (July 1645), and Kilsyth (August 1645) Montrose convincingly defeated raw levies, Campbell clansmen, and veterans of Marston Moor alike, inflicting heavy losses. But his undisciplined army earned great hatred by needless slaughters of the defeated, and merciless and indiscriminate pillaging (as at Aberdeen); and when many drifted away after the victory of Kilsyth Montrose was unable to replace them. He unwisely let himself be cornered at Philiphaugh in September 1645, and David Leslie's Covenanter cavalry cut down most of his remaining men. Taking refuge on the Continent, in March 1650 he returned via the Orkneys with some 1,200 mercenaries. Routed at Carbisdale in Sutherland on 27 April, the fleeing Montrose was betrayed by the MacLeods of Assynt. Condemned for treason, he died bravely on the gallows in Edinburgh on 21 May.

dramatize the consequences of an ideologically driven selection procedure. Religious fanaticism – occasionally bordering on mania – and military effectiveness are not always mutually exclusive. Sometimes the reverse is the case, and the ungodly have no monopoly on talent.

Whilst the colonels were in theory no more than the appointed nominees of the relevant committees, they frequently had considerable influence over how their regiments were raised. This was particularly true, of course, when they themselves sat on or even chaired those committees. In 1643 it was originally intended that Aberdeenshire should produce one complete regiment to be led by Lord Forbes, and that it should also supply large contingents to both Lord Gordon's Regiment and to the Earl Marischal's Regiment, which were also to be recruited in neighbouring Banffshire and the Mearns or



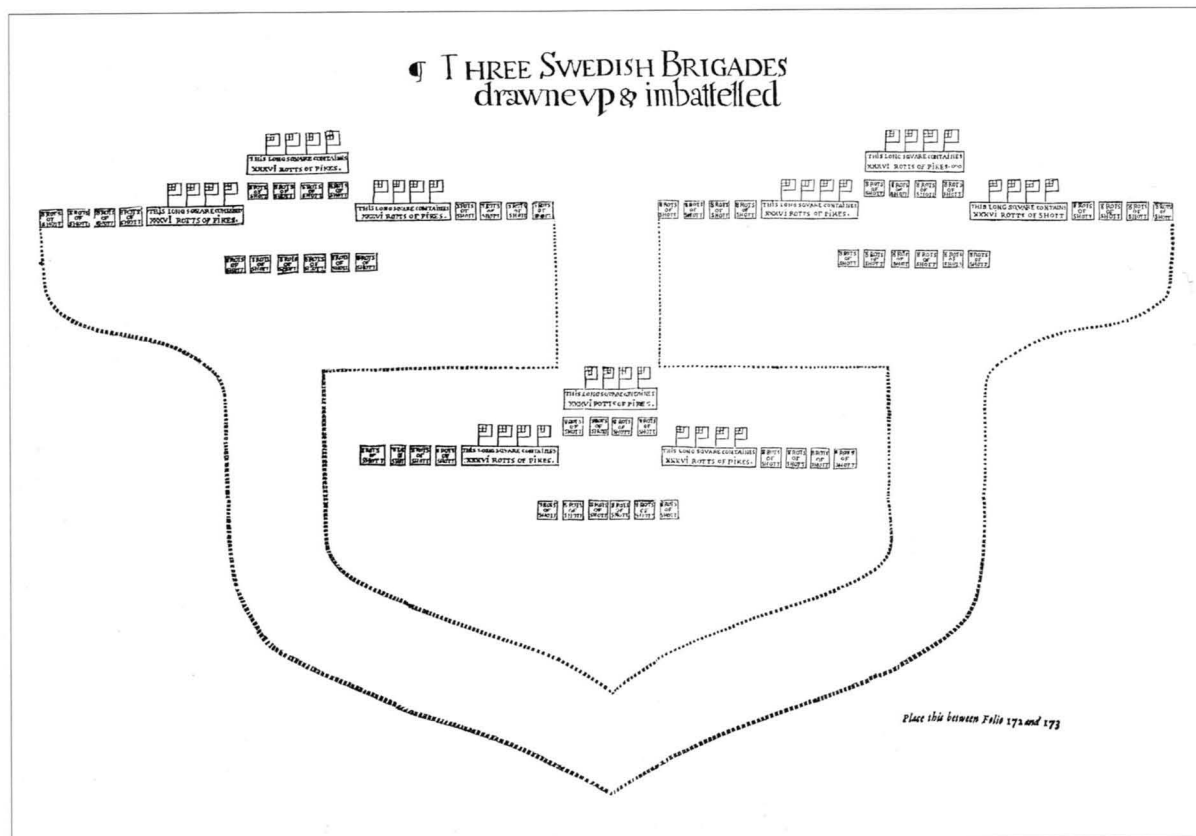
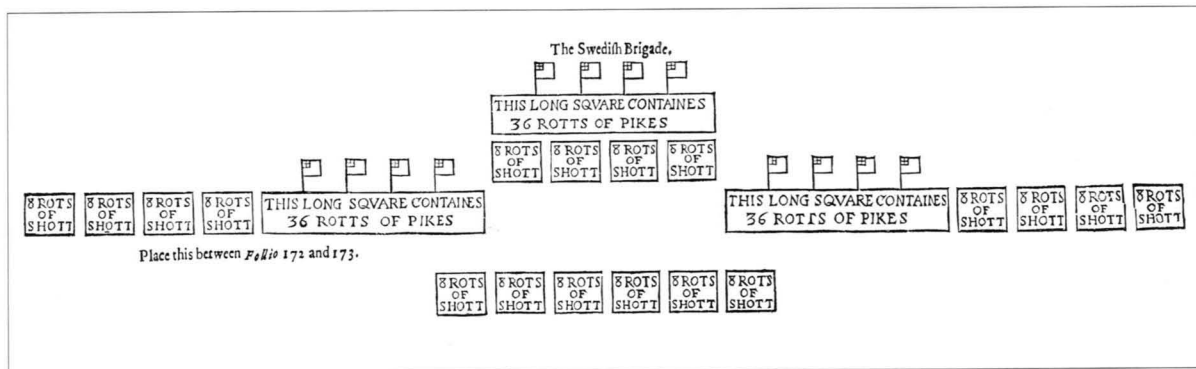
Pikeman from de Gehyn's *Exercise of Arms* (1607). Civil War infantrymen were normally unarmoured, but equipment sent to the Marquis of Huntly in 1639 included 1,000 pikes with swords and armour.

Kincardineshire respectively. However, the Marischal took advantage of Forbes' absence in Edinburgh to persuade the Aberdeen committee to have him excluded – largely, it would seem, as a result of some previous territorial disputes. Lord Gordon, whose family was traditionally in a state of feud with the Forbeses, readily supported this move. Unfortunately neither he nor the Marischal could then agree as to how Aberdeenshire should be carved up between them.

The wrangling, once started, was to continue for well over a year, hampering recruitment and delaying the march of the Aberdeenshire contingents for both regiments. Happily, however, the departure of three companies of the Earl Marischal's Regiment on 16 February 1644 provided John Spalding with the opportunity to record what is probably

BELOW So-called 'Swedish Brigade' as depicted by William Barrieffe; this is actually a regimental rather than a brigade formation. The large blocks consist of '36 rotts' – files – of pikemen, the small of eight files of musketeers.

BOTTOM This brigade formation of three regiments, again taken from Barrieffe, appears to have been employed by the Scots army at Dunbar in 1650.





James Livingston, Earl of Callendar (d.1674), colonel of Foot in 1644 and major-general under the Earl of Leven. He was second in command to the Marquis of Hamilton during the disastrous 1648 campaign.

A post-Restoration depiction of the Marquess of Argyle; note the use of plaids, and the 'bushes' or bunches of ribbons in the bonnets.



the most detailed description of any group of soldiers to serve in the Civil Wars, north or south of the border.

CLOTHING AND EQUIPMENT

Infantry

Spalding wrote that '*Upon Frydday, 16th of Februar Captane Strathauchin marchit out of Abirdene with sex scoire ten soldiouris, capitanes, and commanderis, furneshit out by the said burghe upone their owne charges and expensis. Ilk soldiour wes furneshit with tua sarkis, cot, breikis, hoiss and bonet, bandis, and schone; ane suord, ane muscat, pulder and ball, for so mony; and utheris sum ane suord, and ane pik, according to the ordour; and ilk soldiour to have sex schillinges ilk day, during the space of 40 dayes, of loan silver. Ilk tuelff of thame had ane baggage horse worth fyftie pundis, ane stoup, ane pan, ane pot, for their meat and drink, togidder also with thair hyre or levie or loan money, ilk soldiour estimat to ten dollaris, and in furneshing and all to 100 merkis.*'

By any standard the Earl Marischal's men described above were extremely well equipped. Nevertheless, the provision of '*ane stand of gray clothes, tua sarkis (shirts), tua pair of schois*' also recorded by Spalding in 1640 was typical of the early Scots armies. Although no sealed patterns have survived – if indeed they ever existed – the evidence clearly points to their being clothed fairly similarly to their English counterparts. Clothing ordered for English soldiers serving in Ireland in 1646, for example, was to be made up using 2.5 yards of woollen cloth per suit together with a quantity of canvas for lining and pockets. This is sufficient for a simple pair of knee breeches and the *foure-tailed coate*

mentioned in a 1651 petition from Fife. Coats ordered for the English New Model Army were specified to be *three quarters and a nail long*, i.e. 29 and one quarter inches; while this might at first appear an odd measurement it is in fact a half width of broadcloth. Buttons are nowhere mentioned but were almost certainly made by the soldiers themselves from twists of cloth. Archaeological evidence suggests that such buttons were universally used in Scotland at this time.

Scots soldiers also received pieces of *lining* or linen from time to time. This was presumably in order to make themselves pairs of drawers. In February and March 1645, for instance, some men of Colonel William Stewart's and the Earl of Cassillis' Regiments received a cash allowance in lieu of the half yard of linings to which they were entitled; and a cargo of *French linings* was consigned to the troops in Aberdeen in October 1646.

Shirts were normally made of *harden*, a very coarse form of linen. Just how coarse it was may be gauged by the fact that in 1640 Major General Robert Monro ordered a quantity of this material

for tentage. Before it could actually be delivered the weather must have improved, for he had it made up into shirts instead.

Generally speaking hose or stockings were cut from woollen cloth – usually kersey, to judge from purchases. However, since knitted stockings became a staple export from Aberdeen in the 17th century it would be reasonable to expect their widespread use by Scots soldiers, particularly if raised in the area. Incidentally, the *bandis* mentioned in Spalding's account were not lawn collars, but garters for the stockings.

The low shoes worn by infantrymen tended to be lightly constructed by modern standards. Those made in Aberdeen for the Master of Forbes' Regiment in 1640 were only single-soled. Some attempt was made to ensure a reasonable fit, and another 1640 requisition specified that they should be *10 and 11 insche at the least*. This was very much in line with contemporary English contracts, and corresponds to the modern British shoe sizes 7 and 8 (US 8 and 9).

The famous Scots bonnet, or *Scotch blew capp* as it is frequently referred to in English documents, was almost invariably knitted and felted – rather in the manner of the contemporary Monmouth cap – although there is some archaeological evidence for cheaper ones made up from scraps of

woven cloth.

These bonnets were almost universally worn by both officers and men. When the officers of Robert Monro's Regiment were made Freemen of Aberdeen they were reported to have marched out of the town with their burgess tickets stuck in their bonnets. Indeed, so universal was their use throughout Scotland that most soldiers wore their own, and the possible issue of bonnets to the Earl Marischal's Regiment in 1644 was exceptional.

Another characteristically Scottish item carried by soldiers but not generally included in clothing issues was the plaid. This was not necessarily the voluminous article associated with Highlanders, but was generally of more modest dimensions and could just as easily be woven in a tweed pattern as tartan. A typical example excavated from Quintfall

Musketeer as depicted by de Gehyn (1607). While the clothing styles are inappropriate, this provides a very useful illustration of his equipment. There is no evidence that musket rests were used after 1639-40.



Hill in Caithness measured only 8 feet 6 inches by 5 feet – very much in line with sizes quoted in contemporary commercial documents. The plaid served as a mantle or cloak by day and bedding by night, and was generally agreed to be inseparable from its owner. One English traveller commented with some astonishment that he had even seen men wearing them while ploughing!

Armament

The arming of the Scots infantry was quite straightforward and, with the exception of the detachments of halberdiers formed in 1647, none of them were ever issued with armour. All soldiers carried swords, generally referred to as *whingers* or *hangers*. These were usually either curved-bladed weapons with birds-head hilts of native manufacture, or else cheap straight-bladed Dutch imports of dubious quality.

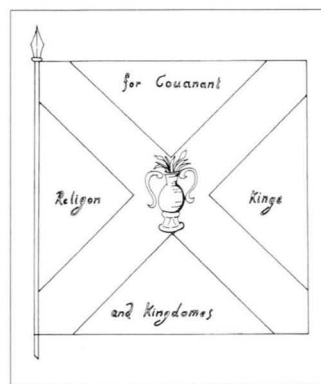
The primary weapons were of course the matchlock musket and long pike described by Spalding. The 1644 levies for the Earl Marischal's and Lord Gordon's regiments had the two musketeers for every pikeman prescribed in the mustering instructions, but not all units may have been so well equipped. When the Earl of Tullibardine's Regiment was mustered outside Newark early in 1646, for example, there were three musketeers to every two pikemen in the ranks.

Some locally raised units were even less well provided for. In 1639 Sir William Forbes of Craigievar raised a regiment in the Aberdeen area; but while the men were found easily enough, arming them was a different matter. In desperation he ordered the local inhabitants to surrender their own weapons under pain of death. The resultant haul may not have been all that he hoped: *'The oldtoun people trembling with fear of this uncouth charge came all running to Mr. Thomas Leslie's house with some few muskets and hagbutts, others with a rusty sword, others with ane headless spear. The Laird of Craigievar took up all, both good and bad and divided them amongst his own armless soldiers.'*

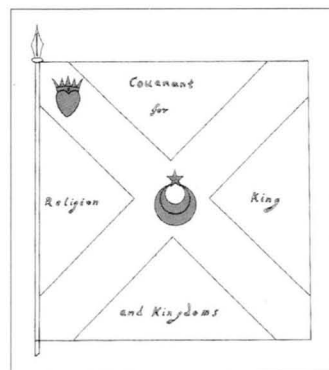
Even in later years there were shortages; in July of 1645, for instance, the Inverness-shire levies raised by the Earl of Seaforth had to be content with a single shipload of 150 pikes and 150 muskets sent up from Edinburgh. Nevertheless, the fact that the shipment was made at all underlines the point that Highlanders were frequently expected to be properly equipped rather than relying on the buccolic collection of swords and axes with which they are popularly depicted.

Other weapons were in use, besides those carried by some temporary Highland levies. Detachments of halberdiers were authorized in 1647 (see Plate G); Lochaber axes were considered an acceptable substitute for pikes in units levied for local defence; and in 1648 baggage men, each charged with looking after two pack horses, were ordered to be armed with a sword and half-pike.

As to other equipment, the Scots ordnance papers reveal that the individual musketeer carried his ammunition in a 'collar of bandoliers' or powder chargers. Famously these were sometimes nicknamed the 'Twelve Apostles', as originally there were twelve chargers suspended from the collar. In actual fact the number of chargers should have corresponded to the bore of the musket. The ordinary ammunition scale for all musketeers during the Civil War period was a pound apiece of powder and ball, which made up 12 rounds for a soldier armed with a



Colour taken at Preston (no.7). Blue field, white saltire, slightly askew bronze lily pot with green foliage. The device is taken from the arms of the burgh of Old Aberdeen, which identifies it as belonging to Captain Leslie's Company of Sir Alexander Fraser of Philorth's Firelocks (see Plate F1).



Colour taken at Dunbar (no.82); green field, white saltire, red devices. Sir David Home of Wedderburn's Regiment; at least seven other colours were taken, each distinguished by heraldic cadency marks. The heart indicates that the company commander was named Douglas, but the significance of the central device is uncertain; another of the regiment's colours (Dunbar no.76) bore the plain red crescent identifying the second captain.



'The marching Postures of ye Harquebusiers', as depicted in John Cruso's *Militarie Instructions for the Cavallrie*. Most Scots cavalrymen were equipped in this fashion in the 1640s, but lancers may have predominated in 1650.



'common musket' (hence the origin of the designation '12 bore'), who therefore did indeed require 12 chargers for the powder. However, the same quantity of ammunition produced 14 rounds for the slightly lighter 'bastard' musket. In 1666 the Scots Privy Council ordered militia muskets to be of '16 balles', but whether such muskets were carried in the Civil War years is perhaps open to question. At any rate the different calibres variously required collars with 12, 14 or 16 powder chargers, although it seems to have been quite common for individual ones to get lost from the collar on campaign. There is no evidence for the use of prepared paper cartridges by Scots infantry.

Cavalry

Traditionally Scots armies were chronically short of cavalry. The biggest problem was not providing the men or the equipment, but finding sufficient suitable horseflesh. Most troopers were mounted on 'light but weak nags', according to Lord Saye and Sele; and it is noticeable that only those units equipped as lancers were regularly able to take on English cavalry on equal terms. On the other hand the Scots lancers proved so effective in Ireland that the Earl of Castlehaven's rebel cavalry flatly refused to face them at all unless provided with armour.

In the early days, however, there was a distinct tendency for troopers to carry as many firearms as possible. In 1639 John Spalding saw some very heavily armed cavalymen laden down with *'five shot, with a carabine in his hand, two pistols by his sides (presumably stuffed into his boots) and other two by his saddle'*. Not surprisingly this was reckoned to be a touch excessive, and later only a pair of pistols *'of ane lairge boare'* (musket balls were served out for them) and a sword were called for. Considerable use was certainly made of those pistols, for in the five months preceding the battle of Marston Moor the Earl of Eglinton's Regiment shot away no less

than 688 pounds of powder. Unfortunately there is no indication of how much powder was used by the regiment at Marston Moor, but the Earl of Dalhousie's Regiment drew 50 pounds shortly afterwards.

At the time, according to the Ordnance Papers, each cavalry regiment was organized in two squadrons, one of which was armed with pistols and the other with lances. However, in later years the proportion of lancers increased dramatically, and all of the cavalry levied in 1650 were ordered to provide themselves with lances.

Dragooners

'Dragooners' were in theory no more than mounted infantrymen, travelling about the countryside on horseback but dismounting to fight. In practice, however, in the Scottish service as elsewhere, they displayed an increasing reluctance to get down off their horses. At the beginning of 1644 only a single regiment, commanded by Colonel Hugh Fraser, marched south with Leven's army, but at least two cavalry

Another post-Restoration print, depicting a Lowland Scot swathed in a plaid over basically English-style costume, and wearing a bonnet with a bunch of ribbons.



regiments also had a troop of dragoons attached. Other dragoon regiments appeared from time to time, largely engaged on counter-insurgency duties in Scotland, but independent troops appear to have been the norm. All of them were equipped with matchlock muskets rather than firelocks.

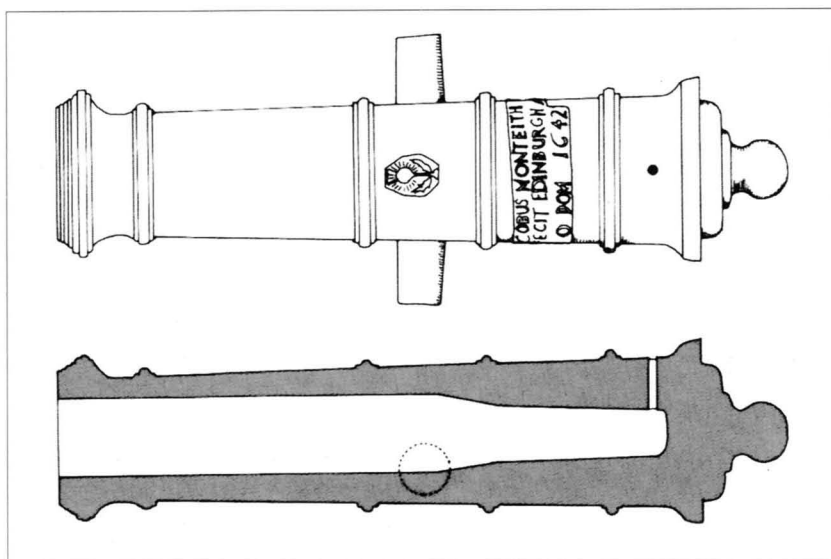
Artillery

In 17th century armies the train of artillery was not only responsible for bringing up and firing a variety of cannon, but also encompassed the supply of ammunition, 'new and fixt' muskets, pikes, half-pikes, lances, swine-feathers, and other more or less lethal bits of equipment, together with more mundane items such as digging tools, axes, horseshoes, nails, rope, hides and so on.

On the whole the Scots armies tended to be well supplied with artillery. In 1640 Sir John Conyers, an English scout, reported rather breathlessly that the invaders had no fewer than eleven 'cannon' – by which he presumably meant large siege guns – as well as 54 smaller guns and no fewer than 80 'frames'. In 1644 Leven's train was even larger, and comprised:

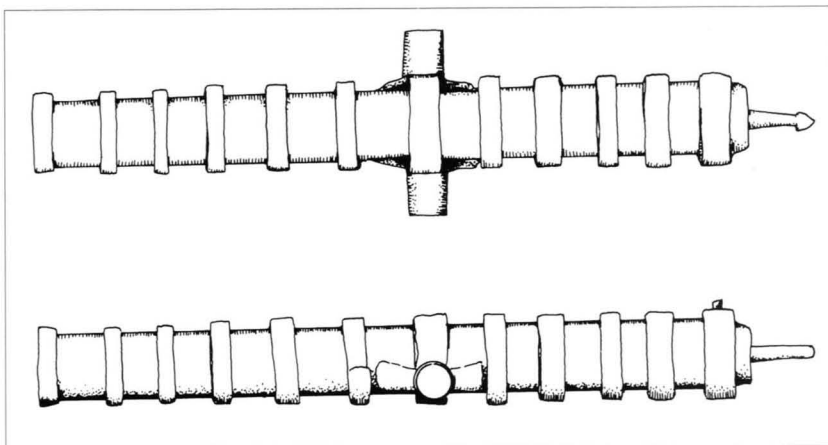
- 8 brass demi-cannon (24lb shot)
- 1 brass culverin (18lb shot)
- 3 brass quarter-cannon or 'cartows' (12lb shot)
- 9 iron demi-culverins (9lb shot)
- 48 brass demi-culverins (9lb shot)
- 8 petard mortars
- 88 'fframes' (3lb shot)

Frustratingly little is known of the 'frames' or 'fframes', although one brass barrel survives, together with a description by James Gordon of Rothiemay: *'Some short feeld peeces, of three foot longe or thereby, which for all that, were of an indifferent wydness, and did shoot ane indifferent great ball. Thes peeces (commonly nicknamed Deer Sandyes Stoups, as being the invention, or so thought of Colonell Alexander Hamiltoun, master of the artillerye, who*

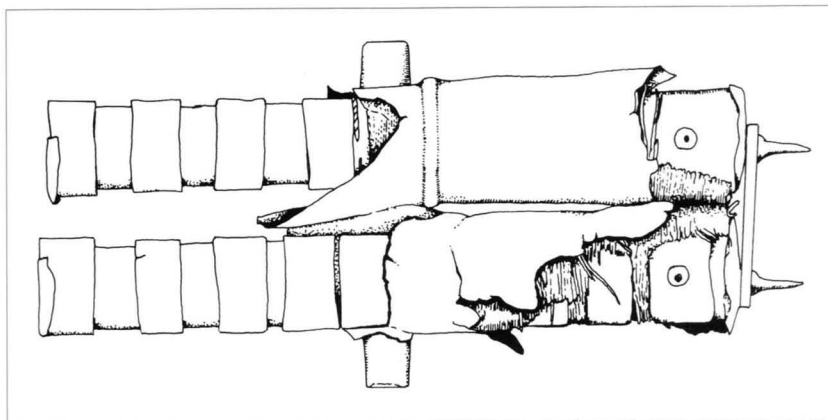


3lb cannon cast by James Monteith in the Potterrow, Edinburgh in 1642. This 30in-long barrel was presumably mounted on one of the 88 'fframes' which accompanied the Scots army in 1644.

Surviving example of one of the 'leather' guns built by James Wemyss in 1651. This one lacks both the rope binding and the leather skin, but gives a good impression of the light inner tube and reinforcing rings.



Surviving example of twin-barrelled 'leather' gun, still retaining some of its rope binding and leather skin. Surprisingly, some 20 examples of this type of weapon survive in Scotland, but only one in Sweden.



himself was nicknamed Deer Sandye) wer the ordnar feeld peeces that afterwards for some time wer made use of. Apart from this all that can be said is that they were carried on pack-horses, and their name suggests that they were mounted on some kind of frame rather than a wheeled field carriage.

In 1648 James Wemyss replaced 'Deer Sandye' as General of the Artillery, and set about constructing a new train of so-called 'leather' guns; these were actually constructed with an iron tube, reinforced with iron bands and wrapped around with rope, only the outer skin being leather. Wemyss was a nephew of the gunfounder Robert Scott, who had tested a 'leather' cannon in Stockholm in 1628. Although King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden famously purchased copper-barrelled, leather-covered weapons from the Austrian Wurmbrandt (who seems to have copied the idea from Philip Eberhard of Zurich in 1623), these light 3- and 6-pdrs. were more novel than effective, and saw only limited use with the Swedish army; they were not taken across to Germany during the Thirty Years' War. In the Scots service, unlike the earlier guns, they were usually mounted in pairs or even in fours, although it seems likely that the lighter barrels were only suitable for firing hail shot – an early form of canister.

The chief value of the 'frames' was their great mobility. In 1640 two of them were even mounted in the tower of St. Michael's church at Newburn. However, the actual frames on which the barrels were mounted appear to have been a touch fragile; two were returned as

BELOW, LEFT A very unusual colour taken at Dunbar (no.16); blue field, white saltire, grey cloud, blue-clad arm; natural hand, sword and crown. The other devices are: red lion (Wemyss?); silver bear (Forbes); black cross (Sinclair); and red heart (Douglas). The central device appears on Scots coinage of the period, but the combination of no fewer than four heraldic devices in the corners is odd. One possible explanation might be that it belongs to the General of the Artillery's Regiment, which was formed of drafts from other units. Another colour taken at Dunbar (no.38) had the same central device and a red star in the canton, together with the Murray motto *TOVT PREST* on the sinister arm of the saltire.

BELOW, RIGHT A rare survival from the Civil War: a colour belonging to Colonel William Stewart's Regiment, 1644-1648. White saltire on field quartered blue and red; thistle in natural colours; gold lettering.

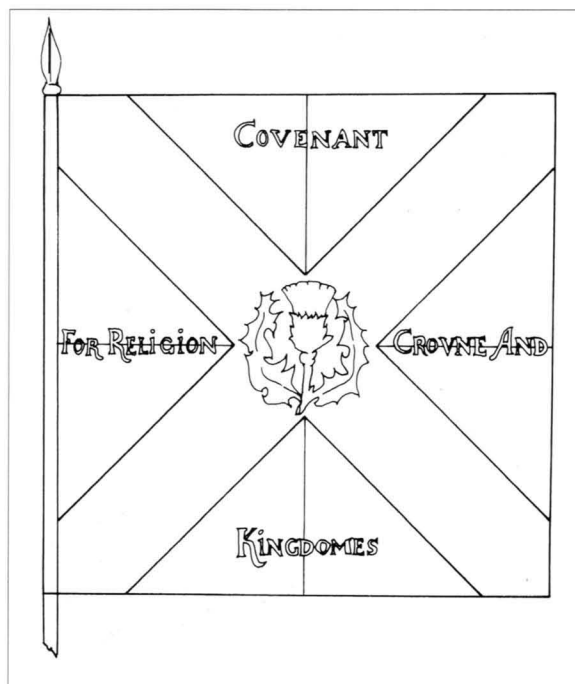
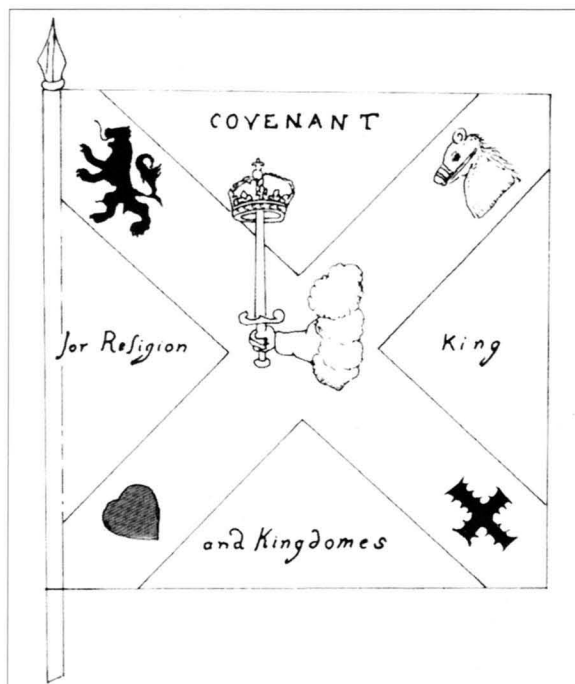
'brokin' at Boldon Hill in 1644, and since brass guns are not normally prone to bursting it may be assumed that it was the wooden frames which gave way. This certainly happened at Killiecrankie in 1689. General Mackay had three leather guns with him, but they *'proved of little use, because the carriages being made too high to be more conveniently carried broke with the third firing.'*

Scots gun carriages were not painted, as was the practice in most armies, but instead coated with tar.

PAYING FOR THE ARMY

When regiments were first levied the local Committee of War had not only to find and equip the men, but also to provide them with the statutory 40 days' pay. Thereafter, if they were to be retained in service, responsibility for paying them passed to central government. In 1640 it had been hoped that this could in turn be financed by levying a 10 per cent tax on land, but this proved to be impractical. Even the requisitioning of plate and soliciting of 'donations' made little difference in the longer term, and the Committees were ordered to contribute a third of their mens' wages over and above the tax. In time even this proved inadequate, and ultimately the Committees were not only burdened with a monthly assessment or 'cess', but also given direct responsibility for paying and maintaining any troops passing through or quartered in their area.

This could involve a fair amount of bargaining. In Aberdeen in 1639 the Royalists had demanded six Scots shillings per day for each soldier, but when Lord Sinclair's jailbirds were quartered there over the winter of 1641-42 they only received *'the ordinarie allowance of four shillingis for ilk*



MEGRAY HILL, 1639

1: Volunteer cuirassier

2: Musketeer, Aberdeen Militia

3: Ensign, Aberdeen Militia



ULSTER, 1642-44

1: Musketeer, Sinclair's Regiment

2: Ensign, Leven's Lifeguard of Foot

3: Pikeman, Home's Regiment



ARMY OF THE SOLEMN LEAGUE
AND COVENANT, 1643-44

- 1: Captain, Earl Marischal's Regiment
2: Ensign, Marquess of Argyle's Regiment
3: Dragoon, Fraser's Regiment



STRATHBOGIE REGIMENT,
ABERDEEN, 1644

- 1: Ensign
- 2: Drummer
- 3: Pikeman



IRISH BRIGADE, 1644-45

1: Ensign 2: Pikeman

3: Clansman, MacCholla's Lifeguard





PRESTON, 1648

1: Musketeer, Fraser's Firelocks

2: Ensign, Keith's Regiment

3: Lancer

GRAHAM TURNER 198

DUNBAR, 1650

1: Halberdier

2: Trooper of Horse

3: Ensign, Alexander Stewart's Regiment



MOSS TROOPERS, 1650-51

- 1: Captain Augustine
- 2: Moss trooper with cornet
- 3: 'Cravatte'

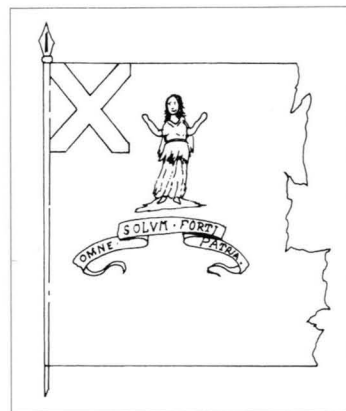


sojour in the day. 'It is a measure of the increasing poverty that three years later the Earl of Lothian's only asked for 12 shillings per week, but even this bargain offer proved too much; and it was only when the demand was repeated a month later, this time with menaces, that the money was forthcoming.

Threats were also necessary in England. In 1644 and afterwards the English Parliament should have paid the Scots £21,000 sterling every month for the upkeep of Leven's army. Not surprisingly, this formidable sum was rarely forthcoming, and this in turn meant that the Scots army had frequent recourse to free quarters and plundering, or at the very least demanding 'subsistence money' from the local authorities. At times this got dangerously close to the German practice of *Brandschaating*, or armed extortion; but while the Parliament vigorously protested at the resultant abuses, no real effort was made to alleviate the situation.

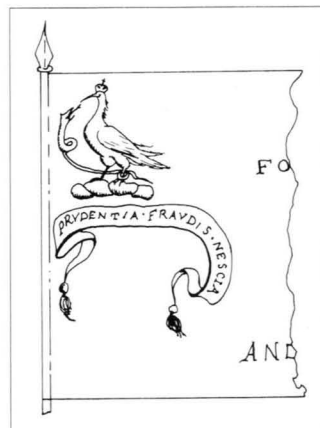
Garrisons presented their own problems. The armies, rapacious as they were, could usually be counted upon to move on before the local economy was irretrievably ruined. A garrison on the other hand was a permanent fixture, and in order to curb some pretty outrageous behaviour the Estates published the following set of regulations on 7 November 1645:

- (1) That each regiment or garrison has a local assignation on some shire or shires for paying its quarterings and entertainment out of the monthly maintenance of October and November 1645 only.
- (2) That each regiment appoint a collector, who must be resident within the shire, to receive what is due from each shire and heritor (landowner).
- (3) That the collectors receive rolls of what is due from each heritor from the shire committees of war or the previous collectors, and appoint a day (at least ten days after intimation is given) for bringing in the maintenance to the collector. The names of any who fail to pay are to be reported to the shire committee of war, which shall give warrant for free quarterings on the deficients (unless they have just reasons for not paying anything). If the shire committee and the collector fail to give up the rolls of what is due, soldiers shall be quartered on them.
- (4) Every officer and soldier must pay for what he gets in meat or provisions for men and horses.
- (5) The allowance in quarters for each trooper shall be three quarters of oats or corn for each horse at 6 shillings and 8 pence a peck, 2 shillings for straw every 24 hours, and 8 shillings a day for his own meat and drink.
- (6) That no violence be offered to any man, woman or child and that no horse, mare, ox, cow, sheep or fowl be taken by officers or soldiers except for money.
- (7) That any disorder or violence done by soldiers be redressed by the officers; if they do not punish offenders (after complaint and proof) the officers shall be responsible for the wrong.
- (8) That a list be set down of the money allowed for quarterings of horse, foot and dragoons.
- (9) When any difference arises between the collectors of a regiment and any person or heritor in the shire, the issue shall be decided by the shire committee of war.



ABOVE Colonel's colour (?), Lord Balfour of Burleigh's Regiment (Dunbar no.126). Black field, white saltire; the Maiden standing on a green base has bare feet and arms, gold hair, skirt and belt. Underneath is a gold scroll with red edging and lettering. Some 13 tattered black colours with white saltires overall, but no company distinguishing marks, were also taken at Dunbar; they presumably belonged to this regiment.

BELOW Colonel's colour, Lord Balmerino's Regiment (Dunbar no.41). White field, gold crest on silver and red orle; red edge to scroll. The regiment was probably incomplete when destroyed at Dunbar, and none of the company colours can be identified.



(10) That no officers or soldiers hinder the gathering of the maintenance of previous months on any pretext.

The reality, of course, was that the army was a barely tolerated nuisance even when it was protecting the local community. When Colonel George Forbes of Millbuie levied 20 recruits from Banff in the summer of 1646, he had to sign a bond promising to repay to the burgh the cost of arming and clothing them. This was bad enough; but when the regiment was disbanded only a couple of weeks later, the government took considerable persuading to take on the debt. It was hardly surprising therefore that all too often officers and men simply took what they needed without troubling themselves as to legal niceties.

FLAGS AND STANDARDS

Infantry Colours

Scots colours generally followed a quite distinctive style, although it has to be emphasized that there were no written regulations governing their appearance, and that consequently, while they broadly conformed to certain accepted principles, they did not adhere to them rigidly or uniformly – even within the same regiment. Only two or three actual examples survive, but fortunately nearly 200 captured at Preston, Dunbar and Inverkeithing were meticulously recorded by an artist and sometime Royalist officer named Fitzpayne Fisher.

As in most Western European armies, each company within a regiment had its own colour, and in conformity with Continental (but not English) practice, the regimental colonel's company had a white colour. Generally speaking the colonel, if he were armigerous, placed his crest and motto in the canton; in other cases a thistle frequently appeared there instead. As to the remaining companies, a few regiments placed a white saltire or St. Andrew's cross in the canton, but in most regiments the saltire was spread over the entire sheet.

Nearly all colours bore a more or less standardized inscription in addition to any family mottos. In the early years there was a certain lack of consistency and the following variations are recorded in various sources: FOR CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT (1639); FOR RELIGION THE COVENANT AND THE COUNTRY (1639); FOR THE COVENANT RELIGION THE CROWN AND THE KINGDOM (1644); and FOR RELIGION COUNTRY KING AND COVENANT (1644). In 1650, however, all colours were ordered to bear the legend COVENANT FOR RELIGION KING AND KINGDOMS.

Regiments were distinguished one from another by varying combinations of tinctures. Some units adopted the national flag – a white saltire on blue – but most opted for something dif-

Colonel's colour, Sir George Preston of Valleyfield's Regiment (Dunbar no.48). White field, black unicorn head; gold eye, mane, horn and beard; scroll with red edge and black tassels.



ferent. The actual choice seems to have rested with the local Committee of War, and consequently there was continuity of style over successive levies, and almost certainly some re-use of older colours by new regiments. White saltires on red were particularly popular with units raised in Aberdeenshire, the Mearns and Forfarshire, while most Fife regiments seem to have displayed yellow colours; otherwise the choice of tinctures was apparently quite arbitrary. Only two instances can be identified – Argyle's and Home's regiments – where they were based on the principal tinctures of the colonel's own arms: a yellow saltire on black in the former case, and a white saltire on green in the latter.

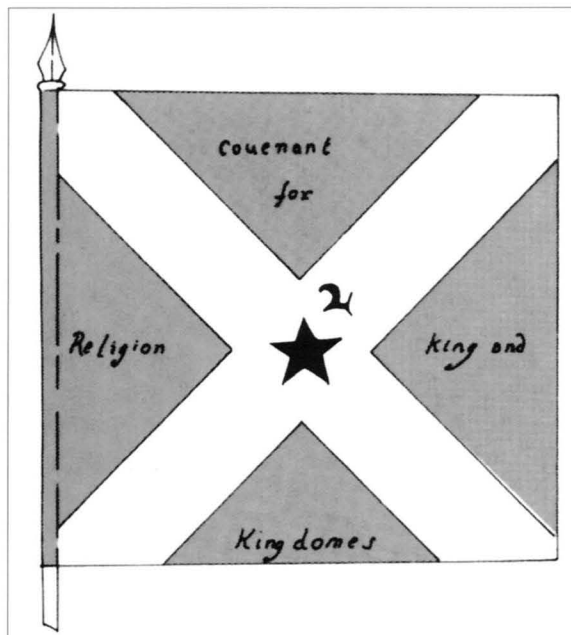
On the other hand, considerable use was made of heraldry in distinguishing the several company colours. Usually this took the form of the captain's family crest or a device taken from his arms, but sometimes burgh or other local heraldry appeared. A notable example was the set of colours which Sir James Balfour had made for the King's Lifeguard of Foot in 1650. All seven had a plain blue field bearing the motto COUENANT FOR RELIGONE KING AND KINGDOMES on the reverse. On the obverse the King's colour bore the arms of 'Scotland, England, France and Irland quartered'; the lieutenant-colonel's had a silver unicorn, and the major's a golden lion; while the four captains' were distinguished by three *fleur de lis*, the 'arms of Scotland', three lioncells gradient, and the Irish harp respectively.

There was evidently no consensus on the use of heraldic devices and other symbols. A number of colours surrendered at Preston were identified by varying numbers of stars within a wreath at the centre of the saltire. Others simply bore a thistle in the centre – the significance of this is unknown but it seems possible that it may have denoted the major's company. However, other units seem to have had a promiscuous mixture of colours distinguished either by stars in the centre or by the captain's own crest or motto instead.

In 1649, by way of an experiment, it appears that heraldic cadency marks were applied to denote the seniority of each captain in the regiments levied that year:

- 1st Captain: label
- 2nd Captain: crescent
- 3rd Captain: mullet
- 4th Captain: martlet
- 5th Captain: ring
- 6th Captain: fleur de lis
- 7th Captain: rose

The experiment was evidently unsuccessful, however, for most of the examples recorded by Fisher are disfigured by the addition of rather crudely drawn arabic numerals – frequently quite at variance with the seniorities indicated by the cadency marks. This almost certainly reflects the disruption caused by the 'purging' of supposedly unreliable officers shortly before Dunbar.



Second captain's colour, Preston of Valleyfield's Regiment. Red field, white saltire, black distinctions. Raised in 1649, this regiment's colours were originally distinguished by heraldic cadency marks, but the purging of 'ungodly' officers before Dunbar dislocated seniorities. The star would normally indicate the third captain's company. Three other colours were taken at Dunbar: the first captain's (no.100) correctly bore a black label with a roman 'I' beneath; the third captain's (no.49) had a black crescent – normally denoting second captain – and an Arabic '3' above and to the left; while the fourth captain had a black martlet facing left and a reversed Arabic '4' above and to the left.



Cavalry cornet taken at Dunbar or Inverkeithing – presumably belonging to a colonel's troop. White field, green wreath, gold crown with red cap, gold lettering, white and gold fringe.

Cavalry Cornets

As in England, cavalry cornets were much more individualistic in style, although to judge by those recorded in Fisher's paintings they too followed the Continental practice of identifying the colonel's own troop by means of a white cornet irrespective of what the other troops carried. Less commonly perhaps, at least one regiment, Colonel Sir Walter Scott's, had a large unadorned white saltire on a blue field measuring 5 feet 3 inches by 4 feet 4 inches.

The devices placed upon the cornets were normally heraldic rather than political. In some instances the usual COVENANT FOR RELIGION KING AND KINGDOMS legend was worked into the design of the obverse, but quite frequently it is missing. In such cases it is more than likely that the reverse of the cornet was quite plain and bore the legend in place of the device recorded by Fisher. This was certainly the case with the three cornets made for the King's Lifeguard of Horse, which fought at Worcester under the Earl of Eglington. According to Balfour they were blue, fringed with gold, and all bore the same motto as foot colours on the reverse. On the obverse side

one bore a crossed sword and sceptre below a crown, and the motto *Noblis Haec Invicta Miserunt*; another had a crowned thistle proper within a circle formed by the old Scottish motto *Nemo Me Impune Lacessit*; while the third bore a white saltire and the motto *Pro Religion Et Patria*.

No dragoon cornets appear to be among the trophies from Preston and Dunbar, but it is more than likely that they conformed to the usual swallow-tailed form common to most European armies. In 1646 a set of six complete 'colours' for Lieutenant-Colonel Blair's Dragoons cost £155 14s Scots – about £16.00 sterling.

THE ARMY AT DUNBAR

The Scots order of battle at Dunbar on 3 September 1650 can be very largely reconstructed from a rather garbled English intelligence summary (BM Harl.6844 fol.123). This was evidently compiled by interrogating prisoners and is supplemented by other evidence, including Sir James Balfour's list of the more prominent Scots casualties and Fitzpayne Fisher's paintings of captured colours. Where positively identified, details of regimental colours have also been added. Those units marked * were completely destroyed.

Infantry:

General of the Artillery
Lord Balfour of Burleigh

Lord Balmerino*

Made up of drafts from other units
Lumsden's Brigade; black colours
with white saltire
Incomplete?

Sir Geo.Buchannan of Buchannan	Probably blue, white saltire
Sir James Campbell of Lawers	Brigade commander
Sir William Douglas of Kirkness	Lumsden's Brigade; yellow, black saltire
Sir John Haldane of Gleneagles*	Lawers' Brigade; probably blue, white saltire
Maj.Gen. James Holbourne	Brigade commander
Colonel John Innes	Brigade commander; r.1649; red, white saltire
Sir Andrew Ker of Greenhead	r.1649; blue, white saltire
Lord Kirkcudbright*	Probably incomplete
Colonel John Lindsay of Edzell	Red, white saltire
Master of Lovat	Probably only 3 companies
Sir James Lumsden*	Brigade commander
Maj.Gen.Colin Pitscottie	Brigade commander; r.1649; yellow, black saltire
Sir Geo.Preston of Valleyfield	r.1649; red, white saltire
Sir Thomas Ruthven of Freeland*	Probably incomplete
Colonel Alexander Stewart*	Lawers' Brigade; red, saltire in canton
Sir David Home of Wedderburn	r.1649 – very weak; green, white saltire

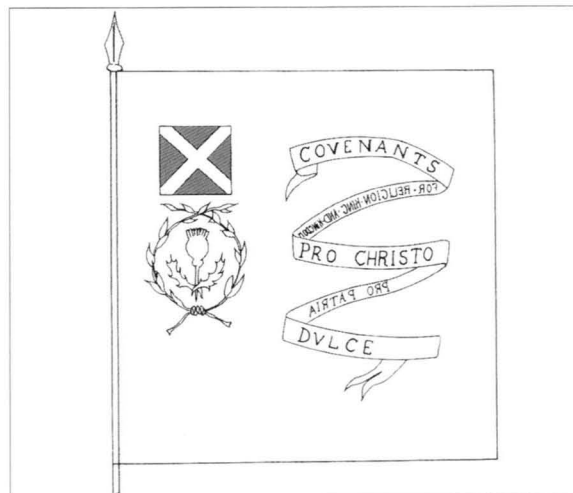
Other infantry regiments which may have been present are Lord Coupar's and Colonel John Forbes of Leslie's, although it seems much likelier that their colours were actually taken at Inverkeithing in the following year.

Cavalry:

Note that the numbers of troops making up each regiment are uncertain, since orders to levy cavalymen appear to have been implemented only with great difficulty.

Sir Robert Adair of Kinhilt	1 troop (from Ulster)
Sir Charles Arnott	3 troops
Lord Brechin	3 troops
Sir John Brown of Fordell	5 troops?
Colonel Gilbert ('Gibby') Carr	2 troops
Earl of Cassillis	?
Col.Thomas Craig of Riccarton	2 troops
Sir Arthur Erskine of Scotsraig	3 troops
Master of Forbes	3 troops
Sir James Halkett	3 troops
Colonel Robert Halkett	2 troops
Lieut.Gen.David Leslie	4 troops?
Earl of Leven	5 troops?
Lord Mauchline	3 troops
Maj.Gen.Robert Montgomerie	3+ troops
Colonel Water Scott	5 troops?
Colonel William Stewart	2 troops
Colonel Archibald Strachan	Incomplete

Colonel's colour, Sir Andrew Ker of Greenhead's Regiment, taken at Dunbar (no.69) and identified by the motto. White field, blue panel with white saltire; thistle and wreath proper – red binding on wreath; gold edge and lettering on scroll. The apparent 'mirror writing' arises from the fact that paint applied directly to silk without a base having first been applied shows straight through to the other side. Alternating the orientation of the inscription made it easier to read from either side.



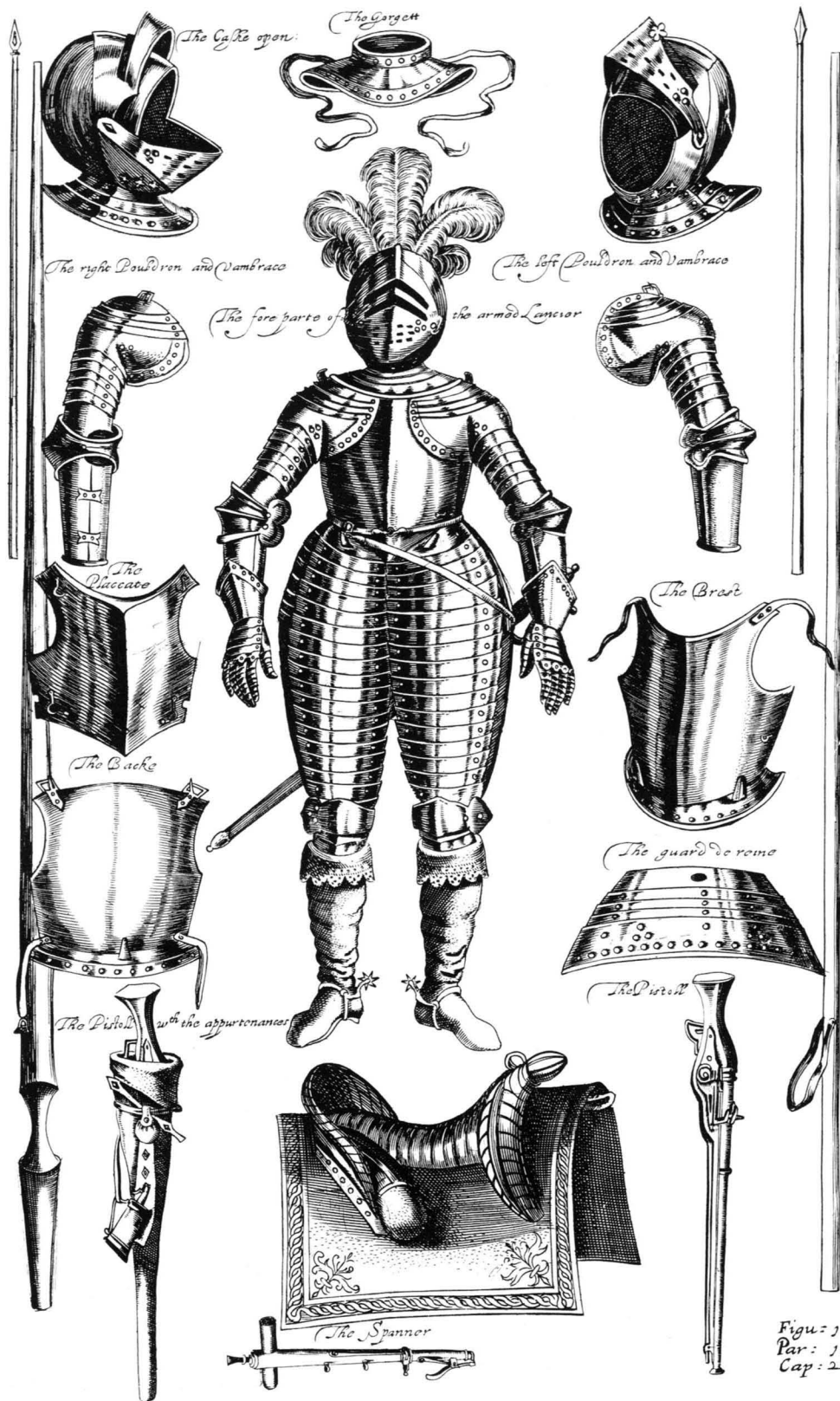
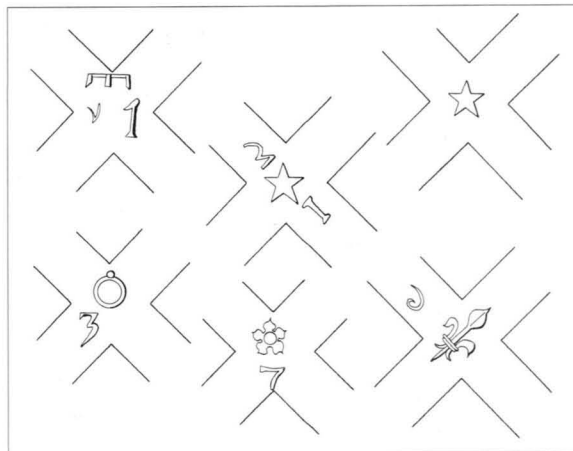


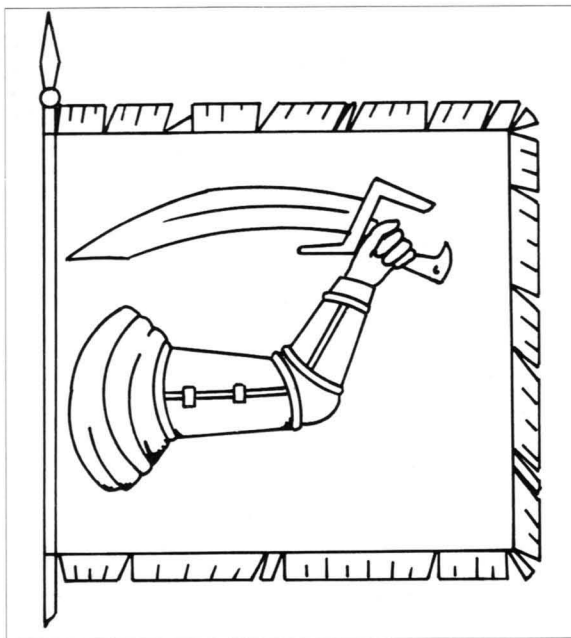
Fig: 1.
Par: 1.
Cap: 22

A: MEGRAY HILL, 1639

LEFT Cuirassier equipment as copied by John Cruso from an earlier work by J.J.von Wallhausen. Although incomplete in not depicting the buff coat worn underneath by the 1640s, this provides a good picture of the kit worn by some Royalist cavalymen at Megray Hill in 1639 – see Plate A. There is also a useful depiction of the heavy military saddle, and on the right the style of light lance carried by something like half of the Scots cavalry.



Oddly enough, although they were more or less coerced by the Marquis of Huntly into leasing both pikes and muskets, the Aberdeen Militia fielded only musketeers. Four companies totalling some 500 men served at Megray Hill.

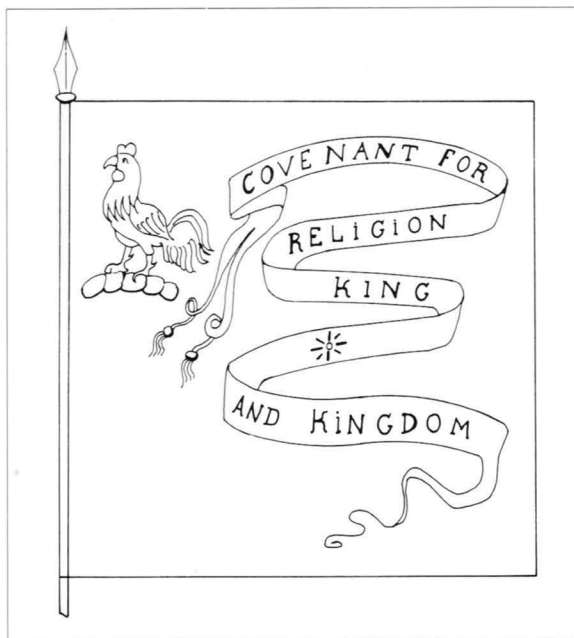


LEFT One of at least two cornets taken from Sir Charles Arnott's Horse at Inverkeithing (Dunbar no.73). Red field with gold arm and sword – Major William Johnstone's Troop. The other (no.97) was badly torn but bore a yellow star in the canton, and a sword point uppermost next to the staff, identifying it as Lieutenant-Colonel Govan's. There was also an indecipherable gold inscription on three lines, and the remains of a white and red fringe.

RIGHT Colonel's colour, John Innes' Regiment, taken at Dunbar (no.45). White field, golden cockerell with red beak, crest and wattles, on a blue and white orle; black and red verge to the scroll. The captains' colours appear to have been red with white saltires, with red cadency marks and contradictory numerals by way of distinctions.

Plate A2, representing one of these militiamen, wears a form of cassock known as a mandilion, and the ubiquitous knitted blue bonnet; his equipment as described by Spalding comprises matchlock musket, staff or rest, a sword (in this case a very common Dutch pattern) and a 'collar of bandoliers' for his ammunition. While the latter were convenient in allowing the soldier to carry pre-measured charges of powder they were far from robust. When the burgh of Elgin kitted out a small draft for Robert Monro's regiment in the following year they were given collars with eight, nine, ten and eleven chargers; the others had presumably been lost, for only two or three men were lucky enough to be given 'full bandoliers'.

The ensign, A3, is one of the four serving with the Aberdeen Militia. This reconstruction is based on a 1651 reference to white colours with the town's arms, and an illustration of those arms in a 17th century heraldic register. After retreating from Megray Hill the Aberdeen Militia held the Brig (bridge) of Dee against the Earl of Montrose for two days before being overwhelmed when they ran out of ammunition. On this occasion they appear to have lost just one man; ironically, five years later they would lose 118 out of some 500



officers and men in trying to defend the burgh against another attack by Montrose, this time at the head of a Royalist army...

B: ULSTER

On the outbreak of the Irish rebellion in November 1641 the Scots government agreed to provide ten infantry regiments to stiffen the loyalist forces in Ulster. This contingent included what were in effect three penal units: Lord Sinclair's, Robert Monro's and Robert Hume's, which had not been disbanded with the rest of the Scots army after the Treaty of Ripon in the previous year. One anonymous chronicler spared no adjectives in his condemnation of them: '*...and thes was adulterers, furnicators, thieves, murderers, drunkards, sabbath breakers, who were given up by the minister of every parish.*' Not surprisingly, perhaps, when Sinclair's men eventually marched for Ireland their departure from Aberdeen was greeted with some relief: '*They did no good but meikle evil daily, debauching, drinking, whoring, night walking, combating, swearing and putting sundry honest women servants to great misery whose bodies they abused.*' Once in Ireland their appearance soon grew as ragged as their morals, and Plate B1 is closely based on a contemporary woodcut bewailing the neglected condition of English troops there.

The hurried despatch of the three penal regiments was followed by the recruitment of the other seven which the government was pledged to provide. Unlike most Scots units these were not comprised of conscripts. On 2 May 1642 Spalding noted '*drums beating daily through Aberdeen, for soldiers to march for Ireland in the Earl of Lindsay's Regiment under Major Borthwick.*' Alexander Leslie, recently ennobled as 1st Earl of Leven, was appointed General, and as such in addition to his own regiment of foot he was entitled to have a Lifeguard of Horse (which included a kettledrummer) and Foot. The latter comprised 10 officers and NCOs and 107 men at the end of June 1642, and by 14 September there were 122 of them. Unfortunately after that date no further pay

musters took place, which was to cause some considerable embarrassment two years later. **Plate B2** represents the ensign of Leven's Lifeguard of Foot with a colour copied from his arms. Interestingly enough, a Scottish regiment serving in Germany in 1635 was reported to have 'huge red flags in the corner of which there is a white cross of St. Andrew on a blue field', and it is very tempting to link the two.

The Ulster army quickly became a law unto itself, which was perhaps a natural consequence of recruiting it from jails, officering it with mercenaries and then neglecting to pay it. As early as 1642 a Presbyterian minister named Patrick Adair had complained that the officers *'...had no inclination towards religion except in so far as the times and State who employed them seemed to favour it.'* When the Solemn League and Covenant was agreed with the English Parliamentarians in 1643 it was initially planned that the Ulster army should be shipped across to their assistance. However, this plan foundered on its flat refusal to go anywhere until its substantial arrears of pay were met. There for a time the matter rested; but early in 1644 three of the regiments returned to Scotland without orders and - worse still - two of them, including Sinclair's penal battalion, readily offered to change sides during a Royalist uprising, in the vain hope that the Rebels might pay them. In the event the rebellion collapsed without their assistance, but the mercenary spirit survived; both they and a large composite battalion brought over to Scotland by Colonel Robert Home (the titular commander of Leven's Lifeguard) consistently proved mutinous, as General Baillie discovered when he delivered an exhortation before the battle of Alford in 1645:

'...and when he looked for a cheerful answer the red regiment (Home's) commonly called the red cottes with two old regiments more on whose valour he most relied, told him plainly that they saw no just quarrel; for Montrose and the Gordounes were the Kinges subjects als well als they, and the Irishes, altho they were strangers, ware the Kinges subjects, professing too there obedience to his Majestie als well als they, and all of them professed no quarrell but the maintenance of the Kinges Royall prerogative which he was no good subject that would refuse.'

Not surprisingly this nonsense *'did mightelie perplex there General'*, but it was money rather than fair words which returned them to obedience. This is one of a number of contemporary references to Home's men being redcoats, and one of his pikemen is reconstructed as **Plate B3**; the garments were presumably supplied from English stocks. The sword is Dutch, as is the broad-bladed pike, one of thousands purchased by Thomas Cunningham, the Scots government's agent at Campveer. After the battle of Benburb in 1646 one of the defeated officers bitterly complained that a contributory factor in the disaster had been the fact that their pikes were broad-bladed, *'which are the worst in the world.'*

C: THE ARMY OF THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT

C1: Captain, Earl Marischal's Regiment Captain George Keith of Aden commanded a company in the regiment raised in Aberdeen and the Mearns by his elder brother William Keith, the 7th Earl Marischal. Keith's company was evidently one of the three from this regiment which joined the army in time for the initial crossing of the border, for he signed for

ammunition and swine-feathers on 8 February. The remaining companies did not arrive until the early summer, and consequently the regiment was not present at Marston Moor, but it subsequently took part in the sieges of Newcastle, Hereford and Newark. George Keith is reconstructed here largely from a mercer's bill presented to him on 27 May 1644:

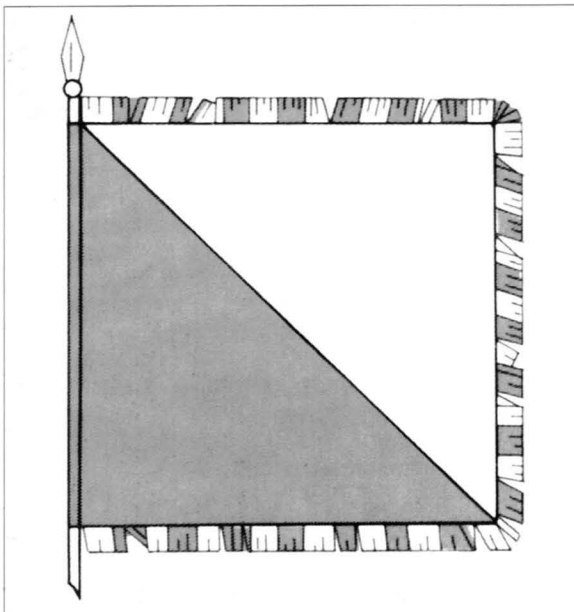
2 ells mixt Spanish cloth at 25s ye ell.	02 10 00
11 drop of silk	00 01 10
2 demibeaver hatts and two bands	02 04 00
4 dison of silk buttons	00 10 00
13 drop more silk	00 02 02
1 pr pearle cullor silk stokings	01 10 00
1 pr buckskin gloves	00 10 00
9 yards silver and silk ribbon at 2s ye yard	00 18 00
6 yards of changing satin ribbon at 10d ye ell	00 05 00
4 ells of scarlit cloth at 20 shillings ye ell	04 00 00
4 disane and ane half of gold and silver long-tailed buttons at 14s ye dosan is	03 03 00

George Keith was something of a snappy dresser, with a particular predilection for fashionable hats. The four ells of scarlet material will have been sufficient for this coat and breeches, based on a near-contemporary portrait of a Dutch officer. (At only 37 inches a Scots ell very nearly equated to an English yard). There are in fact a number of references which suggest that scarlet coats were associated with professional soldiers at this time; for example, a contemporary ballad describes a Royalist officer, Nathaniel Gordon, putting on a *'scarlat coat which he wore being a Sergeant'*.

C2: Ensign, Marquess of Argyle's Regiment One of the smallest regiments to cross the border was Argyle's, which formed the garrison of Berwick upon Tweed. Only three of the company commanders - Major Hugh Crawford and Captains



'Present and give Fire': cuirassier firing a pistol, held tilted with the lock uppermost - i.e. with the priming pan immediately above the touchhole - to increase the always dubious chances of a clean ignition of the main charge.



Red and white cornet, Major-General Sir John Browne's Regiment (Dunbar no.93), taken at Inverkeithing. The cornet belonging to his lieutenant-colonel, William Bruce (no.47), had the field reversed and was countercharged with a silver and red *fleur de lis* surrounded by the inscription *COVENANT FOR RELIGION KING AND KINGDOME* arranged in a circle; the fringe was white and blue.

Dunottar Castle; this nearly impregnable fortress did not surrender to Colonel Thomas Morgan until 26 May 1652, this event marking the end of the English Civil Wars.



George Hall and Ninian Stewart - can be identified, and it seems likely that this was in fact the 'Levied Regiment' raised by the Estates in August 1643. Lord Sinclair was originally nominated as its colonel, but he then appears to have been given command of a larger regiment raised by the senators of the College of Justice in early 1644 - in addition to the penal regiment he had taken to Ireland. Just to confuse matters even further, Argyle also had a regiment serving with the Ulster army, and would go on to raise a third for counter-insurgency operations in Scotland. Unlike the regiment serving in Berwick, the latter were both Highland units. The marquess also had a Lifeguard of Horse, authorized on 6 January 1644. The Estates invited volunteers for the unit who could provide their own horses and equipment, promising not only to pay them at the customary rate but also to pay their footmen as well, providing that these were accounted with 'snap gunnes and swordis'.

The colour illustrated here was described as carried by the regiment in 1644; another was surrendered at Preston in 1648, and a third was taken either at Dunbar or Inverkeithing. The black and yellow tinctures, taken from Argyle's arms, are repeated in the bunch of ribbons attached to the ensign's bonnet. It appears that this was a common practice; on 8 January 1644 Sir Thomas Hope recorded in his diary: '*item, this day gevin to the sojours of craighall, quho goes under Captain Moffat, ilk of them thair collers of blew and zellow silk ribbons, quhilk cost 4 merks.*'

C3: Trooper, Colonel Hew Fraser's Dragoons Initially the Scots army had only a single regiment of dragoons or mounted infantry, commanded by Colonel Hew Fraser of Kynneries. While the regiment's recruiting area is not identified, the fact that a high proportion of the officers evidently came from Inverness-shire suggests that most of the rank and file did likewise. This was probably because there were

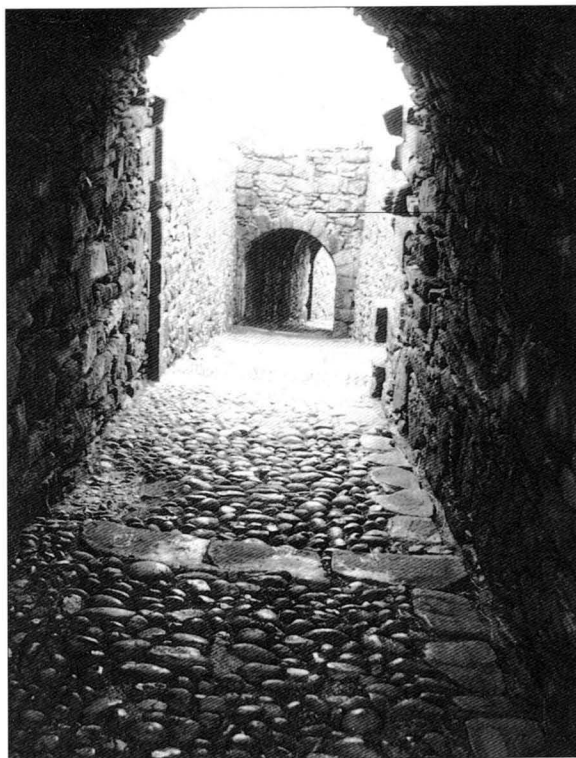
insufficient good horses in the area to produce a proper cavalry regiment. At any rate, only four troops or companies were present at Marston Moor, where they made something of a reputation for themselves - even though the records show that they can only have fired four or five rounds apiece. Afterwards they served at Carlisle and Philiphaugh before being converted into a regiment of Horse at the end of 1645. One troop was present at the siege of Newark, and a muster report on 17 January 1646 notes rather unflatteringly that they were *'lately Dragoones and not yet armed as troopers; more than that there's some have pistols by ther sydes nor have they horses fit for troopers.'* The reference to pistols by their sides presumably means that they had them thrust into their boot-tops rather than in saddle holsters. Intriguingly, however, there is no record of their ever having been issued with any pistols when they turned in the matchlock muskets and 'collars of bandiliers' with which they were originally equipped.

D: STRATHBOGIE REGIMENT, ABERDEEN, 1644

One of the most resilient Royalist units, the Strathbogie Regiment was first raised in 1639, and won a neat little victory at Turriff north of Aberdeen on 15 May. Subsequently it served at Megray Hill, and a detachment led by Captain Nathaniel Gordon took part in the defence of the Brig o' Dee. Disbanded at the end of the First Bishops' War, it was again raised by the Marquis of Huntly in 1644. On this occasion a detachment took part in the storming of the burgh of Montrose on 24 April, but Huntly, finding himself unsupported, disbanded his forces shortly afterwards. Nevertheless his rather more resolute son Lord Gordon raised the regiment yet again in 1645, and it led the crucial Royalist counter-attack at Auldearn.

As a symbol that they were fighting for King rather than country the Royalists made extensive use of the Royal lion rampant on their colours rather than the national saltire adopted by the Estates. **Plate D1** is an ensign carrying one of the colours made during the Royalist occupation of Aberdeen in March and April 1644: *'He (Huntly) causit mak sum ensignes, quhair on ilk syde wes drawin ane red rampand Lion, having ane crown of gold above his heid, and C.R. for CAROLUS REX, haveing this motto, FOR GOD, THE KING, AND AGANIST ALL TRAITTOURIS, and beneth, GOD SAVE THE KING... The Marquess and his followeris weir ane blak tefftie about thair crag, quhilk wes ane signe to fight to the death, bot it provit utherwayes.'* The scarlet riding coat indicates that he is one of the professional soldiers retained by Huntly to train his levies.

Plates D2 and D3 represent a drummer and pikeman respectively. While there may very well have been some Highlanders serving within its ranks, the Strathbogie Regiment was a regular formation properly drilled by professional soldiers and equipped with pikes and muskets, a point explicitly confirmed by Spalding on 21 April: *'Thair cam over ane guard out of the toune about 60 musketeiris and pikoneiris, with twa cullouris, ane drum, and ane bag pipe.'* In this case the clothing worn by both is based on that excavated from Quintfall Hill in Caithness. The drummer, perhaps foreseeing hard times ahead, is wearing two coats.



The main entrance at Dunottar Castle – a narrow, easily defended passage only wide enough for four men abreast.

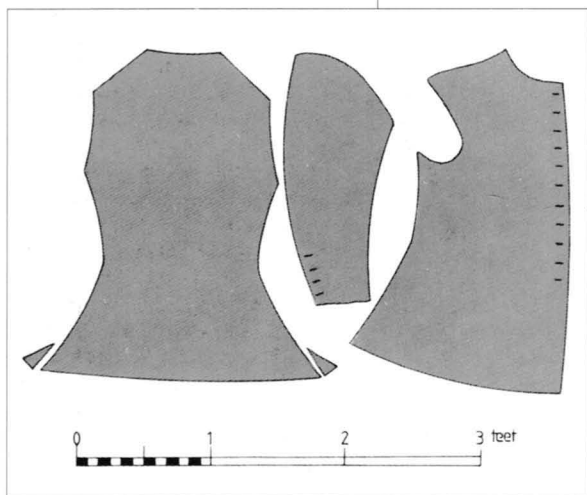
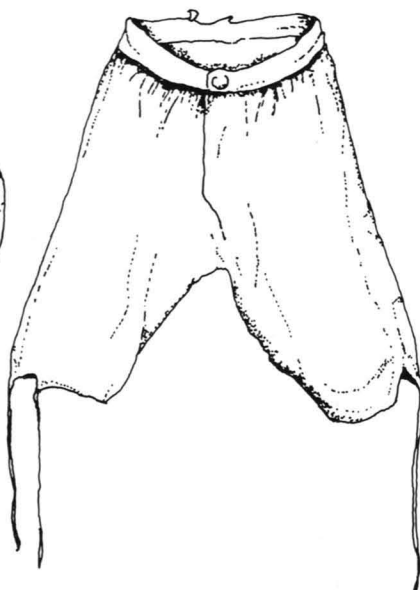
E: THE IRISH BRIGADE, 1644-45

After the Cessation or ceasefire in Ireland on 15 September 1643 most of the English regiments serving in Leinster and Munster were recalled in order to reinforce the Royalist armies in England. In time substantial numbers of Irish soldiers were recruited for the same service, and in the summer of 1644 a mercenary brigade was despatched to Scotland. There it formed the nucleus of the Royalist army raised by the Marquis of Montrose. While this is frequently portrayed as little more than a Gaelic warband of exiled MacDonalds led by the celebrated Alasdair MacCholla, the composition of the brigade's three regiments, commanded by Colonels Thomas Laghtnan, James MacDonnell and Manus O'Cahan, was actually quite complex. John Spalding, who several times recorded their passage through Aberdeen, described them as *'about 1500 Irishis, brocht up in West Flanderis, expert soldiouris, with ane yeiris pay.'*

A surviving roll of the brigade's officers confirms that the greater part of them came – originally at least – from Ulster and Connaught rather than the Scottish highlands; some were even Anglo-Irish Catholics from the Pale. The Hebridean exiles appear to have accounted for only the three or four companies which generally formed MacCholla's Lifeguard. Attrition, and the creation of a small dragoon unit under Captain John Mortimer of O'Cahan's Regiment, reduced the brigade to just 500 men by the summer of 1645. About half of them were then killed at Philiphaugh on 13 September – or executed afterwards; but the survivors soldiered on under various Royalist leaders until the end of the war.

Clothing recovered from a 17th century corpse at Quintfall Hill, Caithness. Coin evidence dates it to the 1690s, but the style seems unchanged since the Civil War – the low stand collar seems to have gone out of fashion c.1650. All buttons are ‘dumplings’ made from cloth scraps.

BELOW Pattern for the Quintfall Hill coat. Both garments are unlined; the cloth is now a sandy brown colour, but this is probably the result of peat staining.



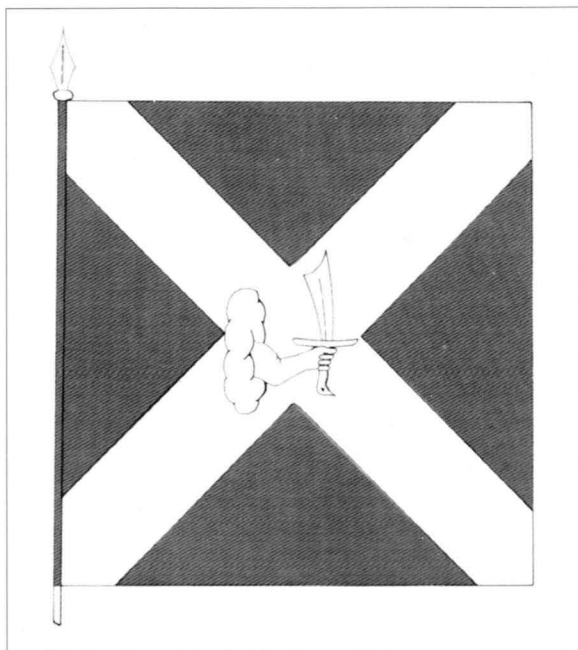
The figures in this plate represent the three principal constituents of the brigade. **Plate E1** is an Anglo-Catholic officer such as Captain Mortimer, probably with previous experience in the Spanish Army of Flanders. No detailed descriptions of their clothing survive, but it is known that a considerable amount of ‘rich apparell’ was seized for the use of the officers from Perth and Aberdeen. Furthermore, when Alasdair MacCholla’s servant was captured during the retreat from Dundee in 1645 we are quaintly informed that he was carrying his master’s hat, cloak and gloves. The ensign itself is one of a number described in the *True Informer* which can be linked to the embarkation of the brigade in the summer of 1644. All bore a red saltire on a yellow canton, with the crown and cypher beneath. Otherwise there does not appear to have been any uniformity as to their colouring – others were white, green, purple and blue. However, all were distinguished – like this example – by their very overt Catholic imagery; one, for example, was white with a ‘blood red crucifix with the motto AQUUM EST PRO CHRISTO MORI’, while another was red, bearing ‘the name of Jesus’ and the motto IN NOMINE JESUS OMNE GENU FLECTITUR.

Plate E2 represents a pikeman of the brigade. At the Justice Mills fight in 1644 Montrose was described as ‘cled in cot and trewis as the Irishes wes clad’, and this particular reconstruction is based on contemporary political cartoons –

including some on cavalry cornets – which invariably depict Irish rebels wearing plain white trews, grey coats, and what appear to be Monmouth caps. Many secondary sources suggest that the soldiers serving in the brigade were armed only with muskets, but there are a number of contemporary references to pikes. George Wishart, Montrose’s chaplain-cum-biographer, states that at Tippermuir they were very poorly armed: they had, he says, neither swords nor long pikes (*hastis longioribus*), which clearly implies that some of them had the half-pikes so common in Irish warfare. In any case conclusive evidence for the presence of pikemen comes from Patrick Gordon of Ruthven, who relates how one of the Irish regiments saw a slain Royalist officer into his grave with all the usual courtesies including ‘trailing of pikes, and thundring vollie of muskets.’

Plate E3 represents a clansman of MacCholla’s Lifeguard. He is based on a figure in one of three prints depicting Highland mercenaries at Stettin in c.1631. While there is certainly evidence that some of MacCholla’s men carried broadswords, this particular individual has a dirk, a matchlock musket and a bow. This surprising combination is recorded in pre-war wapinschaws (though naturally it was much commoner to carry one or the other), and the use of bows was certainly quite widespread at the beginning of the war; and specific mention is made of archers serving on the Royalist left at Tippermuir. Secondary sources frequently identify them as belonging to John Graham of Kilpont’s Regiment, but they were in fact a contingent of Keppoch MacDonnells – Kilpont’s men actually being equipped with pikes and muskets.

The sleeveless tartan coat is recorded in all three of Köler’s prints and is shown here as an alternative to the rather better-known belted plaid. In the original prints the bows appear to be the composite type carried by Tartars and other eastern irregulars in Polish service, which will presumably have been more familiar to the artist. In actual fact



Colour taken at Preston (BM Harl.1460 Preston no.60): red field, white saltire; arm, sword and cloud proper. Note the absence of any inscription. Captain Erskine's Company, Colonel George Keith's Regiment – see Plate F2.

Highlanders are known to have carried yew longbows. It is unclear exactly how the bow was actually carried and the original print rather unconvincingly depicts it fully braced; in this reconstruction the bow is simply slung by means of a piece of cord which can also serve as a footstring when bracing the weapon.

F: PRESTON, 1648

The army which surrendered at Warrington is surprisingly well documented, thanks to a detailed list of the surrendered units presented to the English Parliament on 25 August 1648, which can in turn be cross-checked against a painted record of their colours prepared by the former Royalist officer Fitzpayne Fisher (BM Harl.1460).

F1: Musketeer, Fraser's Firelocks The Scots armies appear to have made little use of firelocks (flintlock muskets, as opposed to the common matchlocks) by comparison with their English counterparts. Some 120 such weapons were parcelled out between various regiments in 1644, but the only known regiment of firelocks was a small unit raised in Aberdeenshire in 1648 by Sir Alexander Fraser of Philorth and commanded by Captain John Fraser. He and Captain Leslie, two lieutenants and two ensigns surrendered at Warrington together with four sergeants and 150 soldiers. It is tempting to interpret the prisoners as representing just two companies. Two colours can be associated with the regiment, albeit one identification is rather tentative. The first has a blue field with a white saltire and a representation of a bronze lily pot in the centre – derived from the arms of Old Aberdeen (see page 19). The other, rather tattered example is

a white colonel's colour with what may have been Philorth's cockerel crest in the centre.

F2: Ensign, Colonel George Keith's Regiment This unit was raised by the same shire committee which recruited the Earl Marischal's Regiment in 1643. This time command was given to his younger brother and heir, George Keith (see Plate C1). During the fighting in and around Preston, Keith commanded the Scots rearguard holding the Ribble bridgehead. He himself was captured there, and the heavy fighting doubtless explains why the five colours which can be identified in BM Harl.1460 are notably gashed and torn. All of them were red with white saltires. The same combination of tinctures was presumably used by the earlier Earl Marischal's Regiment; but unlike his brother George Keith had little time for the Covenant, and none of the 1648 colours bore the prescribed inscription proclaiming support for *Covenant, Religion, King and Kingdoms*. Their decoration was largely confined to heraldic devices, such as a tree for Captain Wood and a hand and sword for Captain Erskine. The attribution of the tattered colour depicted here is unknown. Eight officers, including five ensigns, four sergeants and just 130 men surrendered at Warrington. Keith himself was subsequently released and commanded a brigade at Worcester in 1651.

F3: Lancer The cavalry regiments raised in 1648 were both unusually weak and grossly over-officered. Most had only three troops commanded by a colonel, lieutenant-colonel and major. On the whole, however, they performed rather better than might have been expected, perhaps because to judge from anecdotal evidence they had a higher proportion of lancers than in earlier years. The unidentified 'J.B.' who contributed the section on cavalry to the 1661 edition of Barrieff's *Young Artilleryman* commented that lances '...are now generally laid aside, and not used at all in our late Civil Wars, only some few that Duke Hamilton had when he invaded England in 1648, but their lances were but Half-pikes, and their Defensive Armes very mean, so that they were of no great use to them then.' On the other hand the Scots lancers seem to have been able to more than hold their own in the narrow hedge-lined lanes, and in the early stages of the fighting were quite effective at slowing down the English advance.

The individual shown here is wearing a plaid over his buff coat. This was a necessary precaution in heavy rain, since the buff leather absorbed rainwater like a sponge and took days to dry out after a thorough wetting.

G: DUNBAR, 1650

The army which fought at Dunbar was an unstable mixture of units raised for internal security duties in 1649, or even earlier, and more recent levies called out in anticipation of the English invasion. The *Brief Relation* states that there were 18 regiments of foot, and an intelligence summary (BM. Harl. 6844) identifies 15 of them. If a hypothetical total of 1,000 men were to be allowed for each of the 15 to 18 battalions estimated to have been present, this would explain Cromwell's frequently quoted estimate of 16,000 foot. If, on the other hand, a much more realistic average of 600 men per battalion is allowed – as indicated by surviving muster figures which reveal many of the older units down to about 300-400 men – then the true figure must have been nearer 9,000-10,000 foot, although even this may still be too high.



Post-Restoration depiction of Archibald Johnstone of Wariston, a leading Covenanter. Note the plaid thrown over his shoulders, the bonnet and ribbons, and the distinctive hanger.

RIGHT Knitted Scots bonnets from (top) Dava Moor, near Cromdale, Tarvie in Ross-shire; and Quintfall Hill. The Tarvie bonnet is very similar to those depicted by Köler.

G1: Halberdier When the army was 'New Modelled' for counter-insurgency work in 1647 the establishment of each regiment was to include 72 halberdiers equipped with back, breast and headpieces. The reason for recruiting them was not explained, but during the later Jacobite War of 1689-92 many Scots regular units deployed parties of halberdiers forward of the main fighting line in order to break up a Highland charge. Presumably those detachments formed in 1647 had the same function.

The individual depicted here wears a fairly typical Continental infantry armour of munition quality, and carries a Scottish halberd of the style often referred to as a Lochaber axe but actually of Lowland Scots manufacture.

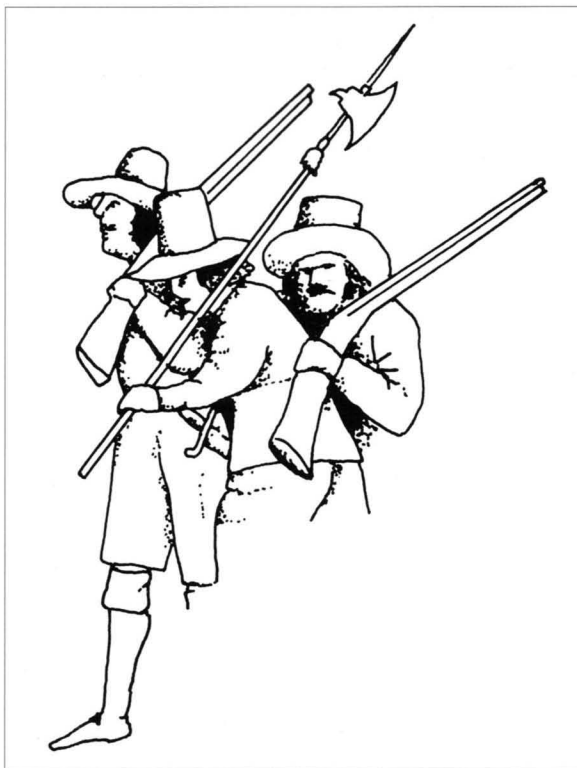
G2: Trooper of Horse No fewer than 19 cavalry units are listed in the English intelligence summary. However, most units had only three troops and a few were represented by only a single troop. If a total of around 50 troops were present

each with an average of 50 men this would produce a total of only 2,500 Scots cavalry at Dunbar. This is probably too low, and some units may have had more than three troops; but it is hard to find any justification for increasing the number to any significant extent.

There is little evidence for the use of armour by Scots cavalry except for helmets, and most simply got by with buff coats. The trooper's helmet depicted here was called for in most mustering orders, but if it could not be had a 'steill bonnet' was reckoned acceptable. In recent years the latter has been identified in many secondary sources with the old semi-closed burgonet style, but in fact the term actually relates to simple pot helmets such as morions and cabassets. It simply translates as a 'tin hat'. All of the new levies ordered to be raised in 1650 were to be armed with lances, but some of the older units such as David Leslie's still had firearms.

G3: Ensign, Colonel Alexander Stewart's Regiment Cromwell began the battle with an attack on the Scots right wing and initially destroyed Sir James Lumsden's Brigade. However, an anonymous Scottish chronicler then describes how 'Two regiments of foot fought it out manfully, for they were all killed as they stood (as the enemy confessed)'. Another states that resistance was only broken after a troop of English horse took them in flank and charged 'from end to end'. This was Sir James Campbell of Lawers' Brigade; his own regiment escaped virtually unscathed, but the two regiments which were cut up appear to have been Colonel Alexander Stewart's and Sir John Haldane of Gleneagles', since both these officers were killed, as were the latter's lieutenant-colonel and major. Gleneagles' colours can tentatively be identified in BM Harl.1460 as a rather plain set with white saltires on blue, but Stewart's Edinburgh Regiment certainly had these rather striking red ones. All but one of its colours were taken at Dunbar, and the tenth was more than likely the red colour seen when the garrison of Edinburgh Castle sur-





Edinburgh Militia, based on a detail from a contemporary print. In 1633 the city's Trained Band turned out for the Scottish coronation of Charles I dressed in white satin doublets, black velvet breeches, and feathered hats.

rendered. It seems likely that these colours or very similar ones would have been carried by the earlier Edinburgh Regiment commanded by Colonel James Rae at Marston Moor in 1644.

H: MOSS TROOPERS

The 1650s saw the appearance of a Scots equivalent to the irregular Croat and Tartar light cavalry so common on the Continent. These were the 'Moss Troopers', or as they were more familiarly known, 'Mossers'. The term is frequently applied in secondary sources to the border raiders of the 16th century, but in fact the earliest recorded use of the term is in 1646, and it did not gain real currency until the English invasion of 1650. After the rout at Dunbar many of the fugitives formed marauding bands instead of rejoining the army. Initially the Mossers were simply involved in highway robbery and the capture or murder of stragglers and unescorted messengers. As time went on, however, the sole practitioners were either killed off or forced into the larger bands and shifted their activities farther north. As the Scots regulars were progressively defeated or scattered, it soon

'Jockie' – a well-known and extremely useful contemporary illustration of a Scots soldier from a satirical print of 1650. Note particularly the style of the coat, and the open-kneed breeches.

appeared that only the Mossers were still offering any resistance; as a contemporary catch put it:

*Leslie for the Kirk, and Middleton for the King,
But De'il a bit will ony fecht, but Ross and Augustine.*

H1: Captain Augustine Little is known of Augustine's background, except for a statement by Sir James Balfour that he was 'a heigh Germane being purged out of the army before Dunbar Drove, bot a stout and resolute young man and lover of the Scotts natione'. It is more than likely, however, that he was the Captain Augustine Hoffman who served in David Leslie's Regiment at Marston Moor. While many irregulars were little more than marauding bandits, Augustine frequently operated under regular army control. On the night of 13 December 1650 he undertook his most celebrated coup. Crossing the Forth at Blackness with 120 men, he made for Edinburgh. The burgh was in English hands, but he bluffed his way in at the Canongate Port, then galloped up the length of the High Street and safely into the castle. There he dropped off a quantity of powder and other supplies, before bursting out again half an hour later. Remarkably, he not only got away without the loss of a single man, but even contrived to bring back five prisoners. By way of a reward for this exploit he may have received a colonel's commission, and he certainly commanded a regiment at Inverkeithing. Afterwards he and another celebrated partisan, Captain Patrick Gordon (alias 'Steilhand the Mosser') were active in the area between Aberdeen and Inverness. Their men were amongst the very last to disperse at the end of the war, and Augustine himself fled to Norway in January 1652.

This reconstruction is largely based on a contemporary German print of a marauding cavalryman, but with the addition of a Swedish cavalry helmet – some Scots cavalry were reported wearing a newly landed consignment of Swedish armour near Dundee in the summer of 1651.



H2: Moss Trooper This Mosser quite typically has his pistols thrust into the tops of his boots. The red coat may have been acquired from an English prisoner, or from a captured supply boat carried into Bute in February 1651 with a cargo which included 700 red coats, 250 carbines and 500 muskets. The cornet appears in BM Harl.1460. Although the colours and cornets recorded there were all supposedly taken at Dunbar there is in fact good reason to believe that many of them, including this one, actually came from Inverkeithing. The quite distinctive German style – unique in the collection – suggests that it may have belonged to Augustine's Horse.

H3: Cravatte The majority of Mossers were light cavalrymen, but Augustine was reported to have some infantry with him near Aberdeen late in 1651. This particular figure, however, is based on one of the Stettin prints, and on a reference by Graham of Deuchrie to a piratical band of musketeers who called themselves 'Cravattes' (a common corruption of Croats) during Glencairn's Rising two years later. Most of the insurgents at this point were mounted, but oddly enough a regular infantry regiment with blue colours, commanded by the Earl of Atholl, took part in the attack on Dunkeld. This was apparently the same regiment which he had raised in 1651 and maintained in the hills throughout the English occupation.

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