



This battle was researched and assessed against the criteria for inclusion on the Inventory of Historic Battlefields set out in Historic Environment Scotland Policy Statement June 2016 <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/advice-and-support/planning-and-guidance/legislation-and-guidance/historic-environment-scotland-policy-statement/>.

The results of this research are presented in this report.

The site does not meet the criteria at the current time as outlined below (see reason for exclusion).

## Glen Trool

Alternative Names: Glentrool; Steps of Trool; Glentrueil

1307

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### Overview

In 1306, Robert the Bruce crowned himself King of Scotland, starting a new phase of the on-going First Scottish War of Independence that began at Dunbar in 1296. Following his accession there were a series of battles between Bruce and his Scottish supporters and their English and Scottish opponents. These include defeats for Bruce at Methven and Dail Righ (Dalry) in 1306, followed by victories at Glen Trool and Loudoun Hill the next year.

Details of the engagement at Glen Trool are scarce, with the main source being the contemporary Scottish poet John Barbour. However, it appears that an English force attempted to surprise Bruce and his supporters in camp, in a manner similar to their previous victory at Methven, but on this occasion Bruce and his men were ready for them, and were able to rout the English force in turn.

### Reason for exclusion

The precise location and extent of the battlefield is unconfirmed, although it is known to have taken place within Glen Trool in Dumfries and Galloway, in an area south of Loch Trool. The battlefield cannot be defined on a modern map with a reasonable degree of certainty.

In addition to this, the fighting appears to have been on a small scale, in essence more of a skirmish than a pitched battle. Although an early example of Bruce adopting tactics of guerrilla warfare, the outcome did not have a significant long term impact on the future course of the on-going First War of



Independence. Although Glen Trool is notable for the presence of several historically significant figures of the period, the scale and nature of the conflict are not sufficient for it to meet the criteria for inclusion on the Inventory.

## **Historical Background to the Battle**

Following defeats at Methven and Dail Righ in 1306, Bruce's kingship appeared to be over almost as soon as it had begun. With his supporters scattered or imprisoned, and he himself in hiding, his campaign was undoubtedly at its lowest ebb.

Despite the setbacks, Bruce returned in 1307 and quickly gathered a small group of supporters in southwest Scotland, and began raiding and skirmishing with English forces. Bruce and his small force also established a camp in Glen Trool, from where they were able to undertake raids in the surrounding area, while themselves being protected from cavalry attack by the woodlands around the camp.

Despite the remote nature of the camp, news of Bruce's location reached Aymer de Valence, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Pembroke and the English commander, at Carlisle. He decided to attempt another surprise attack against Bruce, having had such great success with this tactic at Methven the previous year, and marched north with around 1500 men (p.288, Barbour).

As he neared Bruce's camp, de Valence allegedly sent forward a woman to spy on the Scots' position. Bruce was immediately suspicious of the woman, however, and she was soon forced to confess her true purpose. With this information, Bruce gathered 300 of his men and advanced on the English force (p.286, Barbour). The English army were made up of knights and esquires (p.282, Barbour). Upon encountering the enemy, the Scottish force charged and routed the English force, despite being heavily outnumbered.

### ***The Armies***

No further information.

### ***Numbers***

No further information.

### ***Losses***

There are no precise figure available for casualties on either side, although Barrow (1988, p.172) states that the English were "caught in a natural ambush, and repulsed with heavy losses".



## Action

In the weeks leading up to the skirmish at Glen Trool, there were a series of other small skirmishes between Bruce's supporters and their English enemies. The strain of this began to tell on the English force, and they were described in Webster (1825, p.61) as:

*“So harassed by their Scotch enemies, that the earl thought proper to repair to Carlisle for fresh orders”.*

While de Valence withdrew his force to the safety of Carlisle, where he awaited the arrival of Lord Clifford with reinforcements, Bruce was also looking to ensure the safety of his men. He established an encampment in Glen Trool, within a wooded area of the valley, *‘lodged in such a narrow place that horsemen couldn't attack him’* (p.284, Barbour), a lesson likely learned from the defeat at Methven in 1306, when Bruce's army were surprised in their camp by de Valence's English force.

Although de Valence's force had been withdrawn to Carlisle, he still appears to have had agents operating in Scotland, and three of these spies soon had a chance to prove their worth. Bruce encountered the men while out hunting alone, accompanied by two hounds. The spies were armed with longbows, for which Bruce taunted and insulted them. This had the seemingly desired effect of shaming the men into attacking the king with swords instead. One of Bruce's hounds came to his aid as he fought the spies, and he killed two of them. The third fled, only to be chased down by the hounds and subsequently killed by Bruce. (p.278, Barbour)

Despite the loss of these spies, word of Bruce's location did eventually reach de Valence at Carlisle. With Clifford now arrived, de Valence decided to return north in the hopes of surprising Bruce in his camp, having been so successful with this tactic at Methven the previous year. Once he had arrived within a mile of Glen Trool, de Valence sent a woman to the Scottish camp to spy on the position. The ruse was unsuccessful, however, as Bruce suspected the women had ulterior motives almost immediately. The woman was forced to confess to her true purpose, and upon discovering the presence of the English army Bruce gathered up 300 of his men and advanced to meet them.

There is speculation as to how many times the two forces met, and it appears there may even be up to three distinct actions. Barbour notes in *The Bruce* that, following the King's arrival in February 1307, Botetourt sent a strike force of 15 knights, 30 esquires and 12 sergeants, with a further 460 archers sent to Valence in Carlisle (p.282, Barbour). On 5 March a strike force of 180 archers, 20 knights and 50 esquires were sent to pursue the king under Botetourt. On 12 March Valence writes that he has lost horses in the pursuit of Bruce at Glentrool, therefore it is very probable that a skirmish occurred on that day. Barbour records this as an attack on the Scottish king. Indeed, Bruce's stone records the attack as having taken place in March.

On 15 April 2,500 English footmen were sent to Carlisle to pursue the king. On 17 and 18 April a smaller force of 10 knights and 23 esquires were sent to Glentrool to pursue the king until 30 April. 300 English archers were sent to Carrick and Glentrool from 10 April to 3 May (p.283, Barbour). This is



considered to be the second and larger attack, resulting in significant losses by the English, and leading up to the Battle of Loudon in May 1307. Bruce flees Glentool for Cumnock by the end of April.

The third encounter may have occurred in June and there is evidence that this was a larger skirmish than those in March and April. An English horse valuation dated to 30 May indicates the beginning of an expedition or foray, and a later undated note at the end of the valuation indicated some were killed in pursuit of Bruce between Glentool and Glenheur of the last day of the army in Galloway. A letter from Valence on 1 June to the English Treasurer agrees 300 infantry to be sent to Carrick and Glentool. Two men were recorded as having been sent on a foray to Galloway from the English court, they were to join a larger force already in Scotland, from 7 or 8 June until 23 June. Other information found in an undated letter by Valence says he has sent 6 men-at-arms and 300 archers to Ayr. Other matters in the letter place the date of this third encounter to after 11 June. Therefore it could be speculated that the last, and largest, fight at Glentool took place between 12 and 23 June 1307.

When the two forces finally met, the Scots quickly went on the offensive. Bruce is said to have killed the closest English soldier with an arrow, before leading his men on a charge into the enemy ranks. The English troops were quickly routed by the Scots, despite their large advantage in numbers, and Bruce in particular is alleged to have killed a number of the enemy.

*“The king a few men of thame slew,  
For thai richt soyn thair gat can ga;  
It discomfit thame all swa  
That the king with his menze was  
All armyt to defend that plar,  
That thai wend throu that tranonting  
Till thai effrayit war suddenly;  
And he thame soucht so angrily,  
That thai in full gret by agane  
Out of the woud ran to the plane.”* (Barbour 1395, 175).

## **Aftermath and Consequences**

Following their defeat by the smaller Scottish force, there appear to have been angry recriminations among the English army. In particular, the quarrel between Clifford and de Vaux culminated in Clifford striking the other man, forcing de Valence to intervene. Clifford also turned on de Valence himself, as described in Lawrie, for:

*“...suffering himself to be surprised by so inconsiderable a handful of Scots, which gave such disgust to the earl, that he left the army.”*

De Valence withdrew the army back to Carlisle once more, but he would soon return, as Bruce began gathering support in Kyle and Cunningham following Glen Trool. In an attempt to counter this, de Valence sent 1000 men under Philip de Mowbray to the area. This army was then ambushed by a small Scottish force of 60 men under James Douglas. The English were forced



back, before de Mowbray charged through the Scots line, losing his sword and belt as he did so, before fleeing to Inverkip Castle, held by an English garrison. The remainder of the English force fled to Bothwell.

Following yet another defeat, the enraged de Valence challenged Bruce to open battle, and the Scottish king accepted. In May 1307 Bruce and de Valence met again in battle at Loudoun Hill, and the English suffered yet another catastrophic defeat. De Valence was forced to flee the field, eventually returning to England where reportedly tendered his resignation as commander following his repeated failures against Bruce's smaller forces. The danger presented by Bruce had been recognised by Edward I, however, and he travelled north to lead another expedition into Scotland personally. Before he could achieve this, the English King died, and his son and successor, Edward II, was ill equipped to continue the fight.

With the English threat reduced by Edward's death, Bruce was able to turn his attention northward against his Scottish enemies, including the Comyns. Over the next few years Bruce successfully destroyed his opposition and consolidated his position within Scotland, before moving to capture and destroy English-held castles around the country.

## Events & Participants

The English army was commanded by Sir Aymer de Valence, the Earl of Pembroke. De Valence was a Frenchman by birth but owed his allegiance to the Kings of England for the Earldom of Pembroke. He was a loyal supporter of Edward I and of his son Edward II, fighting for both kings. He was present at Bannockburn in 1314 and helped Edward II escape the field. He was also involved in the arrest of Edward's favourite, Gaveston; the seizure of Gaveston from his custody by the Earl of Lancaster and his subsequent murder in 1312 had the effect of confirming de Valence as an Edward loyalist. His attitude towards Bruce may also be explained by the fact that as well as a loyal servant of the English King, he was also the brother-in-law of John Comyn, murdered by Bruce in 1306.

Barbour names two other individuals on the English side in the battle, Clifford and Vaux. Clifford would appear to be Lord Robert Clifford, 1<sup>st</sup> Baron of Clifford. He fought against the Scots on a number of occasions during the opening years of the First War of Independence, including at Falkirk under Edward I, and was appointed Warden of the Marches and Governor of Carlisle and Nottingham Castle by the king. Following Edward's death in 1307, Clifford was appointed Marshal of England, later becoming the first Lord Warden of the Marches under Edward II, as well as acting as one of the king's counsellors. Clifford was a part of the group of nobles who captured Edward's favourite, Piers Gaveston, in 1312. He was killed in 1314 at the Battle of Bannockburn, the second highest ranking English noble to die there.

The identity of Vaux is less certain, but the two most likely candidates are both named Sir John de Vaux, one the Lord of Dirleton and the other a knight from Northumberland. Of the two, the evidence suggests it was the former, as de Valence had seized Dirleton Castle in 1306 with orders to send de Vaux to



Edward I, and an order issued in 1307 summoned a number of nobles to take up arms against Bruce in Galloway, including de Vaux. However, he may have been compelled to do this by Edward following his capture, as he elsewhere appears to have been a staunch supporter of the Scottish king.

On the Scottish side, Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, led the army. Robert the Bruce is one of Scotland's most famous historical figures. His grandfather was one of the claimants to the Scottish throne in the dispute following the death of Alexander III. Bruce was crowned King of Scots on 25 March 1306 at Perth, after murdering his rival John Comyn, Lord of Badenoch, also known as the Red Comyn, at Greyfriars Kirk in Dumfries. Although Bruce had authored his own coronation, he would become the focus of Scottish resistance to the English occupation. However, his initial efforts were less impressive than his later accomplishments. He suffered defeat to an English army under Aymer de Valence at Methven in June 1306 and again by the forces of John of Lorn, a relative of John Comyn, at Dail Righ in August. Bruce was forced to flee mainland Scotland, while many of his family were killed or imprisoned. While in hiding that winter, the legend of the spider spinning a web is said to have inspired him to return in 1307, where he met with more success. He won an important victory against de Valence at Loudoun Hill in May, and gained further advantage when Edward I died at Burgh-by-Sands, near the Scottish border, in July 1307. With the English threat now drastically reduced, Bruce turned to deal with his internal enemies. All of Comyn's supporters opposed Bruce, at least initially, and he faced a long struggle against them in the south-west and in the north-east. The Battle of Barra two years after his coronation was the critical victory of this campaign, leaving him a relatively free hand to deal with his last few Scottish enemies and then to pick off English garrisons one by one, destroying the captured castles in his wake to prevent the English returning to them. After his overwhelming victory in 1314 at Bannockburn, Bruce was able to turn onto the offensive, raiding into England until a settlement was finally signed in 1328 under the Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton.

The only other individual named by Barbour on the Scottish side is Sir James Douglas. Born around 1286, Douglas would become one of Bruce's most trusted allies, and he is known for being a skilled and battle-hardened knight, famed for his courage and his ferocity. While the Scots called him "The Good" Sir James, his nickname among the English was "The Black Douglas", such was his reputation among them. His assault on Douglas Castle, the forfeited seat of the Douglas family, on Palm Sunday 1307, was a particularly gruesome affair which became known as the "Douglas Larder". He was present at many of Bruce's battles, including Bannockburn, and was also involved in a number of raids into England in the years after that victory. Shortly before Bruce's death in 1329, he asked that Douglas take his heart to the Holy Land in honour of a vow the king had made to go on crusade, as Bruce was now too ill to carry this out. In 1330 Douglas set out for the Holy Land with the king's heart in a silver casket, but he was killed in battle fighting against a force of Moors at Teba in Spain. Douglas' remains and Bruce's heart were both returned to Scotland after the battle by Sir William Keith of Galston.



## **Context**

Scotland had a chequered history in the medieval period, emerging from the early Historic period as a united kingdom of Scots and Picts under Cínaed Mac Alpin [Kenneth Macalpine] in 843 AD, although some parts of the modern geographical territory remained beyond the control of the kings of the Scots. It was really with the Battle of Largs in 1236 when the Norwegians were defeated that the Kingdom of Scotland came into existence. England had long been a source of pressure from the south, and there had been cross-border raids on both sides. However, the pattern changed somewhat with the succession crisis following the death of Alexander III in 1286. The agreed heir to the throne was Margaret the Maid of Norway (Alexander's granddaughter). Margaret died in 1290 on her way to be crowned, leaving Scotland without an undisputed successor to the throne.

The Guardians of Scotland then asked Edward I of England to decide on a successor from the numerous competitors for the Scottish throne. This process was known as the Great Cause which resulted in a total of 14 claimants, including Robert Bruce the Contender and John Balliol, battling it out for the Scottish crown.

This competition provided Edward I an opportunity to reduce Scotland. When he was brought in as the president of the court of inquiry to the dispute he insisted on recognition of his overlordship before agreeing to lead the court. The Scottish nobility would not agree to this, but were prepared to accept him as overlord on a personal basis. This was sufficient for Edward, along with control of several royal castles, and he led the court that decided on November 17, 1292 in favour of John Balliol.

This was accepted by most of the nobility; John's claim was based on primogeniture in that his link to the throne was one generation closer to the throne, while Robert's claim was through being closer in blood link than John. However, the guiding principle for succession to the throne in Scotland was primogeniture, and John's claim was the better one under that system.

Unfortunately for John, his coronation as king was not the success he would have hoped for. Edward had clearly seen the selection process as a route to bring Scotland under his control, and he treated Balliol as his feudal underling, repeatedly humiliating him and refusing to treat him as a fellow-monarch. It is worth noting that there was another element to the relationship between Edward and Balliol; as a young man, Edward was caught up in the events of the Second Barons' War. This was where the English nobility tried to maintain the provisions of the Magna Carta on Edward's father, Henry III; as a part of the events leading up to the fighting in 1263-4, Edward had a group of councillors imposed upon him, amongst whom was John Balliol the elder, father of the John Balliol that Edward was now humiliating. While the elder John does not appear to have had a great impact on the conduct of the young Edward, it is possible that the events of the Great Cause gave Edward the opportunity to get revenge for a period when the nobility were able to dictate to him. It also indicates that much of his attitude to the situation was



complicated by the cross-border nature of many of the nobility. The Balliols were Anglo-Normans and had no connection with Scotland until the marriage of John the Elder to Dervorguilla of Galloway. The family of Robert the Bruce also consisted of Anglo-Norman lords that had moved into Scotland but who also held considerable lands in England as vassals of the English Crown. In these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that Edward refused to accept either man as an equal and brother-monarch.

The breaking point for the Scots came in 1294 when Edward summoned John and the Scottish lords to join his army in France as his feudal vassals. This was a rejection of the sovereignty of the Scottish nation, and was unacceptable to the king and nobility alike. In 1295, the Scottish nobility had concluded that John was totally compromised, and they elected a council of twelve to run the affairs of the kingdom. In an attempt to gain a counter to the power of Edward, the council made an alliance with Philip the Fair of France, the start of the Auld Alliance. However, this was a declaration of war against Edward, and a rejection of his claim to overlordship, which Edward could claim as an act of rebellion.

Edward invaded in 1296, razing Berwick and massacring the inhabitants; his army under the Earl of March went on to win a victory at Dunbar after which John Balliol was forced to abdicate. William Wallace and Andrew Moray continued the fight against Edward and were able to resist him quite effectively, particularly with the victory of Stirling Bridge in 1297, but Philip provided no assistance from France, and in the end agreed a settlement with Edward, leaving him free to concentrate on suppressing Scotland. Edward's attitude was that the Scots were rebels against his authority; this was the terminology he used throughout, and it was the justification for the treatment of Wallace upon his capture in 1305.

Edward's control of Scotland seemed assured at this point, but in 1306, Robert the Bruce, grandson of the Competitor and previously a supporter of Edward against the Balliol loyalists, came out in open rebellion against him through the murder of John Comyn and having himself inaugurated as King of Scots at Scone in March 1306. Edward was enraged by this, again treating it as a rebellion, and declared that there would be no quarter for Bruce or his supporters. He despatched Aymer de Valence with an army to deal with Bruce; Valence, who was a brother-in-law of Comyn, inflicted a heavy defeat on Bruce at Methven in June 1306. Bruce was then defeated a second time at Dail Righ by a force of Macdougalls, losing most of his men, and following this the remainder of Bruce's army was dispersed and he was forced to flee the mainland, going into hiding, possibly on Rathlin Island or in the Western Isles. At this point the legend of the spider spinning a web is said to have inspired him to continue his efforts.

Two of the King's brothers returned to the mainland at Loch Ryan but were swiftly captured and executed. However, Bruce himself returned to the mainland in early 1307 at Turnberry, and he has changed his tactics to focus on guerrilla warfare, engaging English forces at Glen Trool and culminating in the Battle of Loudoun Hill where he put Valence's army to flight in April 1307. Edward I then travelled north to personally lead another invasion against



Bruce, but the English King died at Burgh-by-Sands in Cumbria in July, before he could cross the border. Although his son, Edward II, continued the campaign briefly, it soon came to an end. Edward was soon too distracted by internal difficulties in England to effectively deal with Bruce, being preoccupied with problems at home caused by the hostility of the English barons to Edward's favourite Piers Gaveston.

Edward's problems in England provided Bruce an opportunity to solidify his position in Scotland. He began a campaign to remove his internal enemies, taking control of castles at Inverlochy, Urquhart, Inverness and Nairn and defeating the forces of the Comyns at the Battle of Barra and the MacDougalls at the Pass of Brander, at the same time as he was building his own support and strength. Once he had secured his own position among the Scots, he turned his attention once more to the English. Most Scottish castles remained in English hands and Bruce began to seize these one by one, before destroying them to prevent their reoccupation by his enemies. By the end of 1309, Bruce was in control of much of Scotland, and was finally able to hold his first parliament at St Andrews.

By 1313, only a few Scottish castles remained in English hands. This included Stirling, which was besieged by Bruce's brother Edward in June 1313. Edward then made an agreement with the English governor of the Castle, Philip de Mowbray. Under this, Mowbray agreed to surrender the castle if not relieved before 24 June 1314.

Meanwhile, Edward II's political problems had been partially resolved by the killing of Gaveston in 1312 and the submission of the Earls of Lancaster, Arundel, Warwick and Hereford in September 1312. The agreement made by de Mowbray made it politically unacceptable for Edward to leave the castle to its fate, while Bruce had also added Roxburgh and Edinburgh to the re-captured castles. Edward raised a large army and marched north to relieve the siege, although many of those present in the army had recently been his enemies.

Edward's army met Bruce's just outside Stirling at Bannockburn. The Scottish victory there effectively gave Bruce complete control of Scotland while crippling Edward's authority in England. This in turn allowed Bruce to begin raiding into England to attempt to force Edward to accept Scotland's status as a nation, and he reclaimed Berwick in 1318. He also continued the war by opening a new front in Ireland, where Edward Bruce was killed in 1318, and appealing to the Pope for support with the Declaration of Arbroath in 1320. Bruce was finally granted papal recognition as King of Scotland in 1324. However, despite his defeat at Bannockburn and his on-going struggles in England, the English King would not relinquish his claim to Scotland. Edward II was deposed by his Queen in 1327 and replaced by his 14 year old son Edward III. It was in 1328, with the Treaty of Edinburgh–Northampton which recognised Scotland as an independent nation and relinquished any English claim to the throne, when the First Scottish War of Independence came to a close.



## **Battlefield Landscape and Location**

The battle took place in Glen Trool in Dumfries and Galloway. This glen is dominated by Loch Trool and steep slopes on either side of the loch, particularly on the south-east, which is where the battle is thought to have taken place. A combination of historical, primary sources and map sources, such as the First Edition and subsequent Ordnance Survey maps, does suggest the battle took place in this approximate location. However, the precise location of either army, or the main areas of combat and routes of movement cannot be defined with any certainty.

### ***Location***

No further information

### ***Terrain***

Several small streams are located close to Loch Trool, which sits at the heart of Glen Trool, and the area contains a further nine small lochs. The Glen is surrounded by lofty hills, with those immediately to the north and south rising out of the very edge of the loch, with the eastern hills giving way to woods and meadows and those to the west almost barren of trees after the previous oak wood had been cut down many years ago. The geology of the region consists predominantly of greywacke and clay slate, with granite boulders in some areas, while the soil is mostly dry and gravelly in character.

The Merrick, the highest peak in southern Scotland, towers over Loch Trool. The summit possesses panoramic views across the whole of Dumfries and Galloway and is accessible by a pathway popular with climbers and hikers (<http://www.gallowayforestpark.com/loch-trool-i14.html>).

### ***Condition***

Analysis of historical Ordnance Survey maps makes clear that, perhaps because of the remoteness of the area combined with the precipitous character of the hills on which the Battle of Glen Trool was fought, the land remains undeveloped. Therefore, it is highly possible that a rich and undisturbed body of material evidence from the battle may survive *in-situ*.

## **Archaeological and Physical Remains and Potential**

Because of the scale of this battle and the lack of any development in the vicinity of the battlefield, it is most likely that archaeological evidence remains. Hand-to-hand fighting in a defined battlefield area would result in the deposition of a variety of physical remains. Arrowheads, damaged weapons and armour and personal accoutrements like buckles and buttons, as well as equipment for horses, would have been lost or abandoned during the action



and subsequent flight. Any future archaeological work in the area may shed important new light on the physical remains of the battle.

## **Cultural Association**

Bruce's Stone, which overlooks the scene of the battle, is a tablet of stone on which an inscription commemorates the battle of Glen Trool and ascribes a date of March 1307; however, other sources put the date at June of that year. The stone is located at the end of a short trail along a craggy hillside overlooking Loch Trool. In more recent times, the 700th anniversary of the Battle of Glen Trool was commemorated with pipers and oral histories on 31 March 2007 by a contingent of Bruce descendants and historians who met at the top of the glen by the side of Bruce's Stone. Bruce's Stone is designated as a listed building at category C (see LB52395 for the listed building record).

Another large boulder known as Bruce's Stone is located in the centre of a moss at nearby Craigencallie, which Bruce is said to have leaned against while awaiting his men to collect the booty left behind after they had made a surprise attack and once again defeated an English army (Johnston 1834-45, 125).

## ***Commemoration & Interpretation***

No further information.

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The battle of Glen Trool is not widely documented in either primary or secondary sources and no rigorous modern assessment of the battlefield has been attempted other than this report. The background to the conflict is illustrated by some contemporary sources, particularly the Scottish poet, John Barbour. As to reports of the battle action, the sources provide very little detail on specific actions taken by either side during the course of the fighting.



Perhaps unsurprisingly, this Scottish victory went unrecorded by hostile English historians, including John of Fordun and Peter Langtoft.

(All website addresses were last accessed on 24 August 2017.)

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