

## I.

A CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF FLODDON, 9TH SEPTEMBER 1513. FROM A MANUSCRIPT IN THE POSSESSION OF DAVID LAING, Esq., LL.D., V.P.S.A. SCOT.

The Manuscript paper, which I take this opportunity of bringing before the Society, fell into my hands accidentally, having obtained it, about two years ago, from a sale of autographs at London. In the catalogue its title was sufficiently vague, viz.,—“*Batayle agaynst the Skottes.—M.S.*” There being neither description nor date, it was impossible to form any conjecture what it might be. On receiving it I had no difficulty in observing that it contained an account of the Battle of Floddon, on the 9th September 1513. Some provincialisms seem to denote that the writer was a Northumbrian. It consists of four detached leaves or eight pages, on paper, written in a hand of the earlier part of the sixteenth century; the outer leaves being wanting. The narrative does not differ much in its statements from the account given by Halle, 1548, and reprinted by Grafton, 1569, in their Chronicles. But any contemporary statement of what occurred on the most calamitous day for Scotland that has been recorded, cannot fail to be possessed of some importance. At present it is not my object to illustrate or examine the details of the narrative.

As the MS. makes no mention of finding the body of James IV., which Halle states was taken to Berwick, and there identified by the Earl of Surrey, and by two of his courtiers, who had been taken prisoners, we may conclude, that the following communication had previously been transmitted to its destination.

It is well known that various reports obtained credence at the time respecting the fate of the King. Pitscottie mentions these in detail, and his statement so far explains the difficulty of identifying his person. He says that, after the battle, the English “came throw the Feild, seeking thair noble and principall men that wer slaine, and to have spyed if they could have seine the King of Scotland. But they could not find him, albeit thay fand sundry in his luferay; for the same day of the Feild he

caused ten to be in his awin luferay, lyke unto his awin present apparell, amangis quhom wes twa of his awin guard: the one called Alexander M'Cullo, and the other the Squyer of Cleisch, who wer both verrie lyk in makdome to the King," &c. There can, however, be no kind of doubt that the King's body was actually discovered and carried to London, and deposited in the monastery of Sheen (or Richmond), the fact of his excommunication by the Pope having precluded his interment in the church of St Paul's, as proposed by his brother-in-law, Henry the Eighth.—See the Appendix to Dunbar's Poems, 1865, vol. i. pp. 287-292.

The above notice was prepared before it occurred to me to examine the contemporary printed account of the Battle; and I was therefore rather surprised to find that they were identically the same. This, however, did not lessen the value of the MS. upon comparing the two copies. The printed account has the following title:—

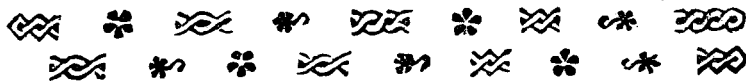
“HEREAFTER ENSUE THE TREWE ENCOUNTROR BATAYLE LATELY DON BETWENE ENGLANDE AND SCOTLANDE. IN WHICHE BATAYLE THE SCOTTISHE KYNGE WAS SLAYNE.” At the end, “Emprynted by me, Richard Faques, dwellyng in Poulys Churche Yerde.” No date; four leaves 4to. Of this tract only one copy is known. A fac-simile of it was “*Reprinted 1809, under revise of Mr Haslewood*”—a sufficient guarantee for its minute accuracy; and this I have been enabled to verify by actual comparison of Haslewood's reprint with the original tract, which evidently was defective in the middle. It was purchased, at that time, by the Marquess of Blandford, and at the sale, known as the White Knights' Library, in 1819, it brought L.13, 13s. It is now preserved in the library of S. CHRISTIE-MILLER, Esq. of Craigentenny, at Britwell House, Buckinghamshire.

While this printed tract supplies the deficiencies at the beginning and end of the Manuscript, the latter fortunately contains what is of greater historical importance, the middle portion wanting in the printed tract which relates to the Battle itself, and thus furnishes a complete copy of what may be considered in the light of an Original State Paper. It is now printed with no other alterations than correcting the punctuation, rejecting ordinary contractions in MSS. or printed books of that age, and using capital letters for proper names. Of the two, the MS. is the more accurate.

Hereafter ensue the trewe encountre of  
Batayle lately don betwene .Englade ande  
Scotlande. In whiche batayle the .Scottis-  
he .Kynge was slayne. ~~~~~



The maner of thaduaficelynge of mylord of  
Surrey tresourier and .Marshall of .Englande  
and leutenente generall of the north parties of th  
e same with .xxvi .M .men to wardes the kyn-  
ge of .Scotti and his .Armye vewed and nom-  
bred to an / hundred thoulande men at theleest.



HEREAFTER ENSUE THE TREWE ENCOUNTRE OR BATAYLE LATELY DON BETWENE ENGLANDE AND SCOTLANDE: IN WHICHE BATAYLE THE SCOTTISHE KYNGE WAS SLAYNE.

¶ The maner of thaduauncesyng of my Lord of Surrey tresourier and Marshall of . Englande and leutenunte generall of the north parties of the same with . xxvi. M. men towards the Kyng of Scottes and his . Armye vewed and nombred to an hundred thousande men at the leest.

Firste, my sayd Lorde at his beyng at Awnewik in Northumbrelande the iij. daye of. Septembre the v. yere of the Reygne of Kyng Henry the. viij., herynge that the Kyng of Scottes thenne was remoued from Norhame and dyd lye at Forde Castel and in those partyes dyd moche hurte in spoylyng robyng and brennyng, sent to the sayde Kyng of Scottes Ruge Cros pursueante at Armes to shewe unto hym that for so moche as he the sayde Kyng contrary to his honour all good reason and conscyence, and his oothe of Fidelite for the ferme entartnyng of perpetuall peas betwene the Kyngis hygnes our. Souerayne lorde and hym, had inuaded this Raalme spoylad brente and robbyd dyuers and sondery townes and places in the same. Also had caste and betten downe the Castel of Norhame and crewella had murdered and slayne many of the Kynges liege people he was commen to gyue hym baytal. And desyred him that for so moche as he was a Kyng and a great Prynce, he wolde of his lusty and noble courage consent therunto and tarye the same. And for my sayde Lordes partie his Lordeshyp promysed the assured accomplyshement and perfourmance therof as he was true knyght to God, and the Kyng his mayster The Kyng of Scottes herynge this message reynued and kepte with hym the sayd Ruge Cros pursueante and wolde nat suffre hym at the tyme to retourne agayne to my sayd Lorde.

The. v. daye of Septembre his Lordshyp in his approchyng nyghe to the borders of. Scotlande, mustred at Bolton in Glendayll and lodged that nyght therein that felde with all his armye.

The nexte day beyng the .vi. daye of Septembre the Kyng of Scottes sent to my sayd Lor of Surrey an harolde of his called Ilaye, and

demaunded if that my sayde Lorde wolde iustefye the message sent by the sayd purseuaunte Ruge Cros as is a foresayd sygnefyinge that if my Lorde wolde so doo it was the thyng that moost was to his joye and comforte. To this demaunde my Lord made answere, afore dyuers lordes knyghtes and gentylnen, nyghe iiii myles from the felde where ys the sayde harolde was appoynted to tarye, bycause he shulde not vewe the Armye that he commaunded not oonly the sayde Ruge Cros to speke and shewe the seyde werdes of his message But also gaue and comytted unto hym the same by Instruceyon sygned and subscrybed with his owne hande whiche my sayde lorde sayd he wolde justefye, and for so moche as his Lordshyp conceyued by the sayde Harolde how. joyous and comfortabe his message was to the sayde Kyng of Scottes he therfore for the more assuraunce of his message shewed that he wolde be bounden in. x.M.li and good suertes with his Lordshyp to gyue the sayde Kyng batayle by Frydaye next after at the furthest If that the sayde Kyng of Scottes wolde assyne and appoynte any other Erle or Erles of his Realme to be bounden in lyke maner that he wolde abyde my sayde lordes comynge And for so moche as the sayd kyng of Scottes recyued styll with hym Ruge Cross purseuaunte and wolde nat suffre hym to retourne to my lorde my sayde lorde in lyke and semblable maner dyd kepe with hym the Scottesshe. harolde Ilay and sant to the sayd Kyng of Scottes with his answere and further offer as is afore rehersed. A gentylman of Scotlande that accompanied and came to my sayde lorde with the sayde harolde Ilay and thus Ilay continued and was kepte close tyll the comynge home of Ruge Cros, whiche vas the next daye after; and thenne Ilay was put at large and lyberte to retourne to the Kyng of Scottes his maystere to shewe my lordes answres declaracyons and goodly offers as he had hade in euery behalve of my sayde Lorde.

The same daye my Lorde deuyded his Armie in two bataylles that is to wytte in a vaunwarde and a rerewarde and ordeyned my Lorde Hawarde Admorall his sone to be Capitayne of the sayde vaunwarde and hymselfe to be chefe Capitayne of the rerewarde.

In the breste of the sayd vaunwarde was with the sayde Lorde Admorall ix. thousande men and under Capitaynes of the same breste of the batayle was the lord Lumley, Syr Wyllum Bulmer, the baron of Hylton and dyuerse other of the Bysshopyrche of Duresme, under.

Seynt Cuthbertis banner the Lorde Scrope of Vpsall, the Lorde Ogle, Syr Wyllyam Gascoygne, Syr Cristofer Warde, Syr Johnn Eueringham, Sir Walter Griffith, Syr Johnn Gower, and dyuers other Esquyres and gentylmen of Yorkeshyre and Northumberlaed And in ayther wyng of the same batayle was iii. M. men.

The <sup>1</sup> Capitaine of the right wyng was Mayster Edmonde Hawarde, sone to my said Lorde of Surrey, and with hym was Sir Thomas Butler, Sir John Boothe, Sir Ric. Boolde, and dyuerse other Esquyers and gentilmen of Lancashyre and Chasshire.

The Capitaine of the lefte wyng was oolde Sir Marmaduke Constable, and with hym was Mr William Percye his sonne in lawe,<sup>2</sup> William Constable his brodir, Sir Robert Constable, Marmaduke Constable and William Constable his sonnes, And Sir John Constable of Holdernes, with dyuers his kynnesmen, allies and oder gentilmen of Yorkshyre and Northumberlande.

In the brest of the battell of the said rerewarde was .v. thousande men, with my said Lord of Surrey, and vnder Capitaines of the same, was the Lorde Scrope of Bolton, George Darcy sonne and heyr to my Lorde Darcy, Sir<sup>3</sup> Philipe Tylney broder in law to my said Lorde of Surrey, Sir John Rocliff, Sir Thomas Methine, Sir William Scargill Sir John Normavell, Sir Rauff Ellincar, Sir Ric. Abdeburghe, and dyuers oder Esquyers gentillmen and comyns of Yorkshir. And in ather wyng of the said rerewarde was .iiij. thousande men.

The Capitaine of the right wyng, was the lord Dacre of the Northe, and with hym .xv. C. of the Busshop of Eleis men, sent frome out of Lankashir, And the capitaine of the left wyng of the said rerewarde, was Sir Edwarde Stanley accompanied hooly with dyuers knyghtts and gentilmen of Lancashire.

My Lorde of Surrey beyng thus ordered and accompenyed as is afore said removed upon .vi. myles to a ffelde callid Woller Haghe withynne .iiij. myles of the king of Scottes, wher as every man myght se, how the said king of Scottes did lye with his Army upon an high hill in the egge of Cheviotte, withynne .ij. myles of Scotlande, wherunto he had removed

<sup>1</sup> The manuscript leaves commence with this paragraph.

<sup>2</sup> The black-letter tract has "his Sona-Elawe."

<sup>3</sup> Here the printed tract breaks off with the words *Lorde Darcy, Sir.*

from Forde Castell, ovir the watir of Till, and was enclosed in thre parties, with three great mountaynes, soe that ther was noe passage nor entre vnto hym but oon waye, wher was laied marvelous and great ordenance of gones, that is to wit .v. great curtalles .ij. great colveryns .iiij. Sacres and .vi. great Serpentynes as goodly gones as haue bene sene in any realme, And beside theme, wher othir dyuers small ordenances, and the same day at night my Lorde and all the army did lye upon the said grounde callid Woller Haghe.

And conceivng the said King of Scottes to lye soe stronglye as is afore-said and that ther was a fair plaine at the nethir parte of the said mountaines callid Mylnfelde, my said Lorde of Surrey tarryed upon the same grounde, all the next daye, the vij<sup>th</sup> day of Septembr and the nyght after trustyng that the King wolde have removed dounwarde to the said grounde to have gyven hym battell, And seyng that the said King of Scottes contynued still in the same mountaine without removyng in any wise and all his ooste with hym, my said Lorde doutyng of the said Kings aboid and tarrying, because it was suspect, he wolde have fled away in the night, insomyche that he was withynne .ij. myles of his oune realme sent unto hym Ruge Cros pursivaunte at harmes, And eftsoones required hym to come doune to the said plaine of Mylfeilde, wher was conveyent grounde for the metyng of twoe Armyes, or to a grounde bye, callid Floddon or to any othir indifferent grounde for twoe batells to feght vpon.

At this tyme the King waxed angry, and displeased towarde my said Lorde, and wold not spek with Ruge Cros pursivaunte, but had reporte of his message, by a gentillman which made relacion ayeine of the same to Ruge Cros on this maner with like termes: The King my maister wills that ye shall shewe to Therle of Surrey, that it besemeth hym not, being an Erle, so largely to attempte a great prince, his grace woll take & kepe his grounde and felde at his oune pleasour, and not at the assignyng of Therle of Surrey, whom the King my maister supposith to deall with some wichecrafte or sawcery because he procureth to feight vpon oon the said grounde. The said Ruge Cros having this answer, returned ayeine to my Lorde and shewed his lordship the same.

My said Lorde of Surrey conceivng that the King of Scottes did contynually rest and remaine in the said foretres invironde with the said mountain and that he wolde not in any wise remove frome the same to any

othir indifferent grounde to abide or gyve batell, removed his ffelde the viii<sup>th</sup> day of Septembre being our Ladies day the Natiuitie, and passed ovir the water of Till, and contynually all that day went with the said hoole Army in aray, in the sight of the said king of Scottes, at the furthest frome hym withynne two myles, and that night loged vnder a wodside callid Barmor Wode directly ayeinste the King aforesaid, and his army Albeit, ther was an hill betwene the hoostes for avoiding the daunger of gonne shoote, and notwithstanding ·iiiij· or ·v· daies afor passed ther was litle or noe wyne, ale, nor bere, for the people to be refreshed with but that all the hool army for the mooste parte wer enforced and constreyned of necessite to drynke water, duryng the same tyme and season without comfote or truste of any releiff in that behalve, My said Lorde of Surrey, and the said army, the said daunger and wantyng of drynke notwithstanding, coragiouslye avaunced forewarde to get betwene the said King of Scotts and his realme of Scotlande countenansyng to goo towarde Scotlande or Barwike, The said King conceiving this and as it is confessed fered that my said Lorde and the Army of Englande wolde haue gon in to Scotlande, did cause his tents to be taken vp, and kepyng the height of the mountaine, removed with his great power and pusaunce of people out of the said great forteress towarde Scotlande, And furthwith the Scottes by thair crafty and subtill emaginacion did sett on fire all such thair fylthy strawe and litter wher as they did ly and with the same made suche a great and a mervelous smoke that the maner of thair araye therby couth not be espyed, Immediatly, my Lorde Hawarde with the vawarde, and my Lord of Surrey with the rewarde in thair mooste qwyke and spedy maner avaunced and made towarde the said King of Scotts as faste as to thaim was possible in aray, and what for the hilles and smoke long it was or the aray of the Scotts couth be conceived, and at the laste, thay appeired in ·iiiij· great batells.

And as soone as the Scottes perceived my said Lordes to be withyn the daunger of thair ordenance thay shote sharpely thair gones which wer verray great, and in like maner our partye recounterde them, with thair ordenance, and notwithstanding that othir our artillery for warre couth doe noe good nor advantage to our army because they wer contynually goyng and advansyng vp towarde the said hilles and mountaines, yit by the help of God, our gones did soe breke and constreyn the Scottishe great



army, that some parte of thaim wer enforced to come doune the said hilles towarde our army, And my Lord Hawarde conceiving the great power of the Scottes, sent to my said [Lorde] of Surrey his fader and required hym to advaunce his rerewarde and to joine his right wyng with his left wyng, for the Scottes wer of that might that the vawarde was not of power nor abull to encounter thaim, My said lorde of Surrey perfutely vnderstanding this with all spede and diligence, lustely, came forwarde and joynd hym to the vawarde as afor was required by my said Lord Hawarde, and was glad for necessite to make of two battalles oon good battell to aventure of the said · iiij · batelles.

And for so myche as the Scottes did kepe thaim seuerall in iiij. batelles therfor my Lorde of Surry and my Lorde Hawarde sodenly wer constreynd and enforced to devide thair army in oder iiij. batelles, and ells it was thought it shulde haue bene to thair great daunger and jeoperdy.

Soe it was that the Lorde Chamberlaine of Scotlande<sup>1</sup> being Capitaine of the first bataill of the Scotts, ferceley did sett vpon Mr. Edmonde Hawarde Capitaine of th'uttermoste parte of the felde at the weste side, and betwene thaim was soe cruell batell that many of our partye Chesshirmen and other did flee, and the said Maister Edmonde in maner left alon without socour, and his standerde and berer of the same betten and hewed in peces, and hym self thrise strykyn doune to the grounde, how be it like a coragious and an hardy yong lusty gentilman he recoverd againe and faught hande to hande with oone Sir Davy Home, and slew him with his oune hande, and thus the said Maister Edmonde was in great perell and daunger till that the lorde Dacre like a good and an hardy knyght releved and come vnto hym for his socour.

The secunde batell came vpon my Lord Hawarde, The thirde batell wherynne was the King of Scottes and mooste parte of the noble men of his realme came ferceley vpon my said Lord of Surrey, which two batelles by the help of Allmyghtty God wer aftir a great conflict venquessed, overcome, bettyn doune and put to flight, and few of thaim escaped with thair lyves, Sir Edward Stanley being at the vttermoste parte of the said rerewarde on th'Est partie, seing the fourth batelles redy to releiff the said King of Scottes

<sup>1</sup> The printed tract resumes here with the letters *de, beyinge Capitane, &c.* It is likely, therefore, that the two inner leaves of the sheet would have supplied the defective portion.

batell, coragiously and like a lusty and an hardy knyght, did sett vpon the same and overcame, and put to flight all the Scotts in the said batell And thus by the grace socour and help of Allmyghtty God victory was given to the realme of Englande, and all the Scotissh ordenance wonne and brought to Ettell and Barwike in surtie.

¶ Heraftir ensueth the Names of sonderey Noble men of the Scottes slaine at the said batell and feld called Brainston Moor.

first the King of Scotts  
 The Archebusshop of Saint Andrews  
 The Busshop of Thiles  
 The Busshop of Ketnes  
 Th abbot of Ynehaffrey  
 Th abbot of Kilwenny  
 Therle of Mountroos  
 Therle of Craforde  
 Therle of Argyle  
 Therle of Lennox  
 Therle of Lencar  
 Therle of Castelles  
 Therle of Bothwell  
 Therle Arell. Constable  
 Lorde Lowet  
 Lorde Forboos  
 Lorde Elweston  
 Lorde Juderby  
 Lorde Maxwell  
 Mac. Keyn  
 Mac. Cleen  
 John of Graunte  
 The Maister of Angwis  
 Lorde Roos  
 Lorde Sempill  
 Lorde Borthike  
 Lorde Askill  
 Lorde Dawissie

Sir Alexander Setton.  
 Sir John Home  
 Lorde Culwen  
 Sir Davy Home  
 Cuthbert Home of Fastcastell

Over and above the said persons, ther ar slaine of the Scottes vewed by my lorde Dacre, the nombr of xi. or xii. thousand men and of Englishmen slaine and taken presoners vpon 'xij' C,—Dyvers prisoners are taken of the Scottes, but noe notable personne, oonly Sir Willm Scott knight counceleur of the said king of Scottes, and as is said a gentilman well lernyd, Also Sir John Forman knight broder to the Busshop of Murrey, which Busshop as is reported, was and is mosst principall procurour of this warre ; and an othir callid Sir John of Coolchome ; many othir Scotissh presoners couth and myght haue be taken but thay wer soe vengeable and cruell in thair feightyng that when Englishmen had the better of thaim thay wold not save thaim, though it soe wer that dyuers Scottes offerd great somes of money for thair lyves.

It is to be noted that the ffelde began betwene 'iiij' and 'v' aftur noone, and contynued withyn night, if it had fortunod to have been further afore night many mo Scotts had bene slaine, and taken presoners. Loving be to allmyghtty God all the noble men of England, that wer vpon the said ffelde booth Lorde and knightte ar saiff frome any hurte and noon of thaim wantyng, save oonly M. Harry Gray [and] Sir Humfrey Lisle booth prisonners in Scotlande Sir John Gower of Yorkeshire and Sir John Boothe of Lancashire boith wantyng and as yitt nott founden.

In this batell the Scottes had many gret aduantages that is to witt, the high hilles and mountaines, a great wynd with thaim, and soden raine, all contrarie to our bowes and archers, It is not to be douted, but the Scotts faught manly, and wer determynned outhir to wynne the ffelde or to dye, they wer also as well appointed as was possible at all points with armes and harnes, Soe that few of thaim wer slaine with arrowes, how be it the billes did beat and hew thaim downe with some paine and daunger to Englishmen.

The said Scottes wer soe plainly determynned to abide bataill and not to flee, that thay put frome thaym thair horses and also put of thair boitte

and shois, and faught in the vampis of thair hoses every man for the moost parte with a kene and a sharp sper of . v . yerds long, and a target afor hym, And when thair speres failed and wer spent, then thay faught with great and sharp swerdes, makying litle or noe noes without that that for the mooste parte, any of thaim wolde desir to be saved.

The ffelde wher the Scottes did logge, was not to be reproved but rather to be comendid gretlye, for ther was many, and a great nombr of goodlye tents and mych good stuff in the same, and in the said felde was plenty of wyne, bere, aill, beiff, multon, salt fissh, cheis and othir vitailles necessarye and counvenyent for such a great army, Albeit our army doutyng that the said vitailles had bene poisoned for thair distrucion, wold not saue but vtterly thaim distroied.

¶ Hereafter ensueth the Names of such Noble men as after the ffelde wer made Knyghtes for thair valiaunte actes in the same, by my said Lorde Therle of Surrey.

ffurst my Lorde Scrope of Vpsall  
 Sir Willm Percy  
 Sir Edmonde Hawarde  
 Sir George Darcy  
 Sir Willm Gascoigne the yonger  
 Sir Willm Middelton  
 Sir Willm Maleuoray  
 Sir Thomas Bartlay  
 Sir Marmaduk Constable the yonger  
 Sir Christopher Dacre <sup>1</sup>  
 Sir Jhonn Hoothome  
 Sir Nicholas Appleyarde  
 Sire Edwarde George  
 Sir Rauf Ellerear the yonger  
 Sir Johnn Wyliyby  
 Sir Edwarde Echinghame  
 Sir Edwarde Musgraue  
 Sir Johnn Stanley

<sup>1</sup> The manuscript breaks off with the name of Dacre. The names that follow are supplied from the black-letter tract.

Sir Walter Stonner  
 Sir Nyniane Martynfelde  
 Sir Raffe Bowes  
 Sir Briane Stapleton of Wyghall  
 Sir Guy Dawny  
 Sir Raffe Salwayne  
 Sir Richarde Malleuerey  
 Sir William Constable of Hatefelde  
 Sir William Constable of Carethorpe  
 Sir Christofer Danby  
 Sir Thomas Burght  
 Sir William Rous  
 Sir Thomas Newtoun  
 Sir Roger of Fenwyke  
 Sir Roger Gray  
 Sir Thomas Connyers  
 My Lorde Ogle  
 Sir Thomas Strngewase  
 Sir Henri Thiuates  
 My Lorde Lumley  
 Sir Christofer Pekerynge.  
 Sir John Bulmer.

¶ Emprynted by me  
 Richarde Faques dwellyng  
 In Poulys Churche yerde.

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A facsimile of the title page of the black-letter tract, with the wood-cut, is prefixed to p. 143, Mr CHRISTIE-MILLER having, while these pages were at press, kindly entrusted me with the use of the original for this purpose. The appearance of the leaves show clearly that their preservation was owing to their having served as fly-leaves to some other book.