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. Pitsocttie 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 Iuferay; 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 makkome 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 TEREW ENCOUNTRE OR BATAYLE LATELY DON BETWENNE ENGLANDE AND SCOTLANDE. IN WICHEN BATAYLE THE SCOTTISHE KYNGE WAS SLAYNE." At the end, "Emprynted by me, Richard Paques, 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 Craigentinnny, 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.
Thereafter enlue the trewe encounter of
Bacaye lastep don betwene, Engleand and
Scotlande. In whiche bataple the Scotts
he Kynge was Jayne.

The maner of the aduance ynge of myloryd of
Surrey crolourie and, Marshall of, Engleande
and leucetenite generall of the north ptyes of th
esame withvixien men to wardes the kyn
gede, Scotts and his Arinve weved and non/
bred to an/hundred thousande men at/theleek.
HEREAFTER ENSUE THE TREW ENCOUNTER OR BATAILLE LATELY DON BETWEEN ENGLANDE AND SCOTLANDE: IN WHICH BATAILLE THE SCOTTSHE KYNGE WAS SLAYNE.

The maner of thadunaencesynge of my Lord of Surrey tresourier and Marshall of Englande and leuetenunte generall of the north parties of the same with xxvi. M. men towards the Kynge of Scottes and his Armye vowed and nombred to an hundred thousands men at the leest.

Firste, my sayd Lorde at his beynge at Anewwik in Northumbrelande the iiiij. daye of Septembre the v. yere of the Reygne of Kynge Henry the viij., herynge that the Kynge of Scottes themme was remoued from Norhame and dyd lye at Forde Castel and in those partyes dyd moche hurte in spoylyng robynge and breynnynge, sent to the sayde Kynge of Scottes Roue Cros pursuauante at Armes to shewe unto hym that for so moche as he the sayde Kynge contrary to his honour all good reason and conscyence, and his oothe of Fidelite for the ferme entartnynge 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 Kynge 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 accomplishshement and perfourmance therof as he was true knyght to God, and the Kynge his mayster The Kynge of Scottes herynge this message reyued and kepte with hym the sayd Roue Cros pursuauante and wolde nat suffre hym at the tyme to retourne agayne to my sayd Lorde.

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

The nexte day beynge the viij daye of Septembre the Kynge of Scottes sent to my sayd Lor of Surrey an harolde of his called Ilaye, and
demanded if that my sayde Lorde wolde justefye the message sent by the sayd purseuant Ruge Cros as is a foresayd sygnefyng that if my Lorde wolde so doo it was the thynge that moost was to his joye and conforte. To this demaunde my Lord made answere, afore dyuers lorde knyghtes and gentylmen, nyghe iii myles from the felde where ys the sayde harolde was appoynted to tarye, bycause he shulde not vewe the Armye that he commanded not onely the sayde Ruge Cros to speke and shewe the syde werdes of his message But also gaue and comytted unto hym the same by Instruccyon sygnd 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 Harold how joyous and comforte his message was to the sayde Kyng of Scottes he therfore for the more assurance 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 commynge And for so moche as the sayd kynge of Scottes recyuued styll with hym Ruge Cross purseu-aunte and wolde nat suffre hym to retourne to my lorde my sayde lorde in lyke and semblable maner dyd kepe with hym the Scottesshe. Harold Hay and sant to the sayd Kyng of Scottes with his answere and further offer as is afore rehersed. A gentylman of Scotlande that accompanyed and came to my sayde lorde with the sayde harolde Hay and thus Hay contynued and was kepte close tyll the commynge home of Ruge Cros, whiche was the next daye after; and thenne Hay 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 behalue 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 by chefe Capitayne of the rerewarde.

In the breste of the sayde 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 Wyllym Bulmer, the baron of Hylton and dyuerse other of the Bysshopyche of Duresme, under.
AN ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF FLODDON.

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

The Capitaine of the right wynde was Mayster Edmonde Hawarde, sone to my said Lorde of Surrey, and with hym was Sir Thomas Butler, Sir John Boothe, Sir Ric. Boole, and dyuerse other Esquyres and gentylmen of Lancashyre and Chasshire.

The Capitaine of the lefte wynde was oolde Sir Marmaduke Constable, and with hym was Mr William Percye his sonne in lawe, 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 Northumberlaude.

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 Philip Tylney broder in law to my said Lorde of Surrey, Sir John Rocliff, Sir Thomas Methine, Sir William Scargill Sir John Normavell, Sir Rauff Ellircar, Sir Ric. Abdeburghe, and dyuers oder Esquyres gentillmen and comyns of Yorkshire. And in ather wynde of the said rerewarde was • iij • thousande men.

The Capitaine of the right wynde, was the lord Dacre of the Northe, and with hym • xv. C. of the Bussshop 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 fielde callid Woller Haghe withynne • iij • 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 Cheviott, withynne • ij • myles of Scotlaede, wherunto he had removed

1 The manuscript leaves commence with this paragraph.
2 The black-letter tract has “his Sona-Elawe.”
3 Here the printed tract breaks off with the words Lorde Darcy, Sir.
from Forde Castell, ovir the watir of Till, and was encloosed in thre parties, with three great mountaynes, see that ther was noe passage nor entre vnto hym but oon waye, wher was laied marvelous and great ordenance of gonnnes, that is to wit · v · great curtalles · ij · great colveryns · iiiij · Sacres and · vi · great Serpentynes as goodly gonnnes 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 conceivyng the said King of Scottes to lye soe strongly as is afore-said and that ther was a fair plaine at the nethir parte of the said mountaines callid Mylnefelde, my said Lorde of Surrey tarryed uppon the same grounde, all the next daye, the viijth day of Septembr and the nyght after trustyng that the King wolde have removed downwarde 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 pursivante at harmes, And eftsoones required hym to come doune to the said plaine of Mylnefelde, wher was convenyent grounde for the metynge of twoe Armyes, or to a grounde bye, calld Floddon or to any othir indifferent grounde for twoe batells to feght vpon.

At this tyme the King waxed angry, and displeased towards 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 wold 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 wichecraffe or sawcery because he procureth to feight vpon oon the said grounde. The said Ruge Cros having this answer, retorned ayeine to my Lorde and shewed his lordship the same.

My said Lorde of Surrey conceivyng 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 ffele the
viii"th day of Septemhre being our Ladies day the Natiiutie, and passed ovr
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 woodsie 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 "iiij" 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
hoole army for the mooste parte wer enforced and constreyned of necessite
to drynke water, duryng the same tyme and season without comforte or
truste of any releiff in that behalue. 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 towards Scotlande or
Barwike, The said King conceiving this and as it is confessed fered that
my said Lorde and the Army of Engelande wolde haue gon in to Scotlande,
did cause his tents to be taken vp, and kepyng the height of the moun-
taine, removed with his great power and pusaunce of people out of the
said great forteress towards Scotlande. And furthwith the Scottes by thair
crafty and subtill emaginacion did sett on fire all such thair fylthy strawe
and litter whey 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 rerewarde in thair mooste qwyke and spedy maner
avaunced and made towards 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, they appeired
in "iiij" great batells.

And as soone as the Scottes perceived my said Lordes to be withyn the
daunger of thair ordinance thay shote sharpely thair gonnes which wer
verray great, and in like maner our partye recounterde them, with thair
ordinance, and notwithstanding that othir our artillary for warre couth doe
ne good nor advantage to our army because they wer contynually goyng
and advansyng vp towards the said hilles and mountaines, yet by the
help of God, our gonnes did soe breke and constreyn the Scotisshe great
army, that some parte of thaim wer enforsed 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 renewarde 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 perfity understanding
this with all spede and diligence, lustely, came farerwe and joyned
hym to the vawarde as afor was required by my said Lord Hawarde, and
was glad for necessite to make of two battales oon good battell to aventure
of the said · iiiij · batelles.

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

Sue it was that the Lorde Chamberlaine of Scotlande\textsuperscript{1} being Capitaine of
the first bataill of the Scotts, ferely did sett vpon Mr. Edmonde Hawarde
Capitaine of th'uttermoste parte of the feld at the weste side, and be-
twene thaim was soe cruell batell that many of our partye Cheshirmen 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 thrice 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 ferely vpon my said Lord of Surrey, which two batelles by the
help of Allmyghty 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 vettermoste parte of the said renewarde on
th'Est partie, seeing the fourth batelles redy to releiff the said King of Scottes

\textsuperscript{1} The printed tract resumes here with the letters \textit{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 Allmygghty 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 Archebussshop of Saint Andrews
- The Busshop of Thiles
- The Busshop of Ketnes
- Th abbot of Ynchaffrey
- 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 Dawissic
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 councelour 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 Scotish presoners couth and myght haue be taken but thay wer soe vengeable and cruell in thair feightyng that when Englisshmen 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 ‘iiiij’ and ‘v’ aftur noone, and contynued withyn night, if it had fortuned 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 prisoner in Scotlanye Sir John Gower of Yorkshire 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 arrows, how be it the billes did beat and how 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 shoes, and fought in the vampis of their hoses every man for the moost parte with a kene and a sharp sper of v. yers long, and a target afor hym. And when their spores failed and wer spent, then thay fought with great and sharp swerdes, makying little or noe noes without that that for the mooste parte, any of thaim wolde desir to be saved.

The sfielde 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 sfielde 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 poisonned for thair distruccion, wold not saue but ytterly thaim distroyed.

¶ Hereafter ensueth the Names of such Noble men as after the sfielde 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
Sir Jhonn Hoothome
Sir Nicholas Appleyarde
Sire Edwarde George
Sir Rauf Ellercar the yonger
Sir Johnn Wyliyby
Sir Edwarde Echinghame
Sir Edwarde Musgraue
Sir Johnn Stanley

¹ 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 Stringewase
Sir Henri Thiuates
My Lorde Lumley
Sir Christofer Pekerynge.
Sir Johnn Bulmer.

Emprynted by me
Richarde Faques dwellyng
In Poulys Churche yerde.

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.