

THE BATTLE OF PINKIE, SEPT. 10, 1547

As represented in unpublished drawings in the Bodleian Library

By SIR CHARLES W. C. OMAN., K.B.E., *President*

More than forty years ago I was looking through miscellaneous unidentified drawings in the Bodleian Library, along with Edward Byron Nicholson, the then Librarian, a man of energy if also of some eccentricity, who swept through all the holes and corners of the University Library like a whirlwind, discovering many things of which nothing was known, and others which had been casual gifts of many years back, of which a bare record had been made, but no identification had ever been attempted. In the genial and lengthy reign of 'Bodley Coxe,' which extended over such a long stretch of the late Victorian period, things which interested the old librarian or his immediate subordinates were duly dealt with, but things which did not were often thrust into a drawer and forgotten. This was especially the case in the coin-room, where I found whole packets of coins in the original postal envelopes in which they had arrived from the donor, no attempt having been made to incorporate them in their proper places in the University cabinet. I am bound to say that these gifts were often very trifling ones, and that when a really important presentation had been made, due acknowledgment seems to have been carried out. But there was much evidence of casual administration, in cases where the authorities were not interested in the gift.

Nicholson, as I have said already, was determined to find out exactly what his library contained, and being a man of immense energy, who worked on for hours after the Library had been closed, and the staff sent off, turned up all sorts of curious and neglected items. Among the miscellaneous and unidentified drawings he came (in the Gough Room, as Eng.

Misc. 13R) upon a very long paper roll, a foot high by five feet long, containing a series of battle-pictures, obviously of sixteenth-century date, from the character of the cannon shown in them, and the way in which troops were drawn up in square clumps of pikes, with men armed with missile weapons on each side. There was no explanatory legend on the roll, nor any single name written above any of the towns, villages, or harbours shown in the pictures, save a cryptic 'Silla' and 'Yesco' written in the top margin of the second plate. The only inscription legible, indeed, was set in the margin of the very latest scene 'John Ramsay Gentyllman, without money,' with below in another hand 'Symon Peter'—evidently some joke of the time. I presume that Ramsay was the artist who drew this curious set of pen-drawings.

Nicholson gave me the roll to inspect, and asked me what battle it could possibly represent. I found it not very hard to solve the riddle. The stages of interpretation were :—

(1) This is a battle between English and Scots, for the masses of men on one side have flags of St. George flying in the midst of them, and those on the other have St. Andrew's crosses. There are many cannon in use, so it must be a sixteenth-century fight.

(2) The battle is being fought near the sea ; it cannot therefore be either Flodden or the Rout of Solway, which were inland fights.

(3) Nor can it be Ancrum Moor, or any other minor combat between English and Scots, for the number of troops shown is very large, and both sides are well furnished with artillery.

(4) There remains only to be considered Pinkie, which was fought with large armies on each side, quite close to the sea, and with artillery playing a notable part in the development of the battle.

(5) After Pinkie we know that the majority of the routed Scottish army fled toward Edinburgh. And here, in the picture, the thousands of little figures from the broken Scottish central column are rushing

over a long hillside toward a town which (1) lies below a towering castle (2) has one great church not far from the foot of the castle, and another in lower ground at a distance from it—obviously St. Giles above and Holyrood Abbey below, (3) at some distance below the castle hill southward is a fortified port with ships—clearly Leith. (4) Above the lower church in the plain rises a very high and precipitous hill, with cliffs on one side: this can only be Arthur's Seat, looking down on Holyrood.

I was therefore able to reply to the Librarian that this was obviously a series of pictures representing the battle of Pinkie, and so it was labelled, and catalogued as M.S. Engl. Misc. C.13.R, and placed in a long cardboard box. And there it has remained till to-day, unused (I believe) by any one save myself, who made some reference to it when I was writing twenty years ago the Tudor military chapter in the big 'Social England' series edited by Traill and Mann. Dr. Madan, when making a list of the rearranged manuscripts, put a short notice in the printed catalogue to the effect that this had been identified by me some years back, and undoubtedly represented the battle of Pinkie. But I doubt if a single person save Dr. Madan and myself was aware of its existence or interest.

The series of pictures are drawn with pen and ink on long slips of very fine and thick paper, water marked with a ewer or ornamental jug, and obviously of sixteenth-century make. Five of these slips have been used, carefully gummed together, the first comparatively narrow—only about eight inches broad, the last (containing the views of Edinburgh and Leith) of an extra length, and the three central ones, representing three successive phases of the battle, all of about the same size. The only colours used, to brighten the pen and ink drawings, are red, yellow, and black. There are no blues or greens, the sea and the hills being both rendered in varying shades of black. One unfortunate result of the want of blue is that the Scottish standards, which should all have shown St. Andrew's saltire on a blue ground, have it instead

on a red ground. This misuse of what Scots used to call the 'auld blue blanket' is much to be deplored.

Oddly enough, there is one other plan of Pinkie, which can be compared with these drawings of John Ramsay's: it is that which William Patten drew, to illustrate his account of the battle, contained in his little black-letter volume called 'The Expedition of the Worshipful Duke of Somerset into Scotland,' which is both absolutely contemporary evidence, and written by an eyewitness, though not by a soldier. It contains a little ground-plan of the battle, in modern style, which throws much light on the story, being neatly drawn and easily comprehensible. It is odd that for Pinkie, first of all English battles, we should have a diagrammatic plan drawn, and not merely one but *two*. I shall be using Patten's narrative, for personal touches, repeatedly while telling of the action. He was a most interesting observer, and given to anecdote and descriptive paragraphs, while he occasionally interlards with quotations from the Bible and the Classics. As a source he is infinitely superior to any other that we possess, English or Scottish, but his book having appeared immediately after the campaign was over, and before its futility had been recognised, is somewhat overbalanced by his excessive admiration for his patron the Lord Protector Somerset, who can (of course) do no wrong in his eyes.

I was wholly unaware—and so I think was every one else—that Ramsay's interesting sketches had been utilized soon after the battle by an unknown engraver, who had combined the whole five of them, by an ingenious amalgamation, into one vast panorama, which synchronized (in defiance of history) all the events of the day. There is but one copy of it surviving, but this had been reproduced for the Bannatyne Club in 1826, and lurked forgotten among the publications of that worthy society. Its existence was discovered only this year, by Colonel Crookshank, one of our members, who informed me of it soon after I had delivered the lecture of which this paper is the reproduction. (See below, Appendix by Colonel Crookshank.)

The engraving had, of course, to be much compressed in order to get all the events into one picture. The cavalry skirmish on September 8th is seen taking place in the top left-hand corner of the plate. In Ramsay's drawings Inveresk Church appears three times, with the Scottish army placed in different angles to it. The engraving shows only one movement, and one representation of the church, omitting the original outmarch of the Scots. But the movement shown is a composite one, for while the charge of the English horse is shown in one part of the field, some of the Scots are depicted not only as breaking up, but as in high flight towards Edinburgh, and pursued by dispersed cavalry as far as Arthur's Seat and Leith—this though their main body is shown still standing fast under its standards.

The engraving has developed two details of which only sketchy indications are given by Ramsay. The one is the position of the English fleet, close in-shore : the drawings only indicate a ship or two, where the engraving has many large vessels. The second is the use by the Scots of their cannon, at the moment of the English cavalry charge : they are shown on the flanks of the great phalanx : two of these on the left wing are double-barrelled guns, such as were not unknown in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Ramsay lays no such stress on them. On the other hand, the view of Edinburgh and Leith, carefully depicted in the last of the five drawings, has been cut down and almost reduced to nothing. The engraver was only interested in the fight, not in topography.

But to proceed to the actual story and its illustration, I need not, of course, give any account of the politics that were at the root of Somerset's invasion of Scotland, and the idea that armed pressure might induce the Scots to give in to the plan already mooted by Henry VIII and eagerly pressed by his successor in power, that a union of the kingdom of England and Scotland might be brought about by a marriage between the nine-year-old Edward VI and the five-year-old Mary Queen of Scots. The idea was excellent—the methods pursued to bring it into action most

unhappy. All the more so because there was a considerable party in Scotland, including all those who were more or less affected by the new doctrines of the Reformation, who wished well to the scheme. To press the union by force of arms forced such people either to appear as open enemies of Scottish patriotism, by taking sides with Somerset, or (in a greater number of cases) to conceal their tendencies and stop neutral. Still it remained a fact that the main bulk of the Scots took the field against the invader—and the directing impulse was that of the old church faith—there were many clergy and friars with the army that mustered to repel the old English foe, and one of the great banners borne in the host represented the church kneeling before Christ, with the inscription *AFFLICTAE SPONSAE NE OBLIVISCARIS*.

Somerset's army was not of any overwhelming strength, mustering only about 14,000 in all. But it was an army unlike any that had marched for the invasion of Scotland since the time of Edward I, or Edward II. The old English reliance on infantry, the combination of spear and bow, which had ruled since the days of Edward III, and had prevailed down to those of Henry VIII, had given way to the tactics of the Renaissance. The battle that was to come was not to resemble Halidon or Neville's Cross, Homildon or Flodden, where bow and bill had won the day, but was to be one in which the main part was played by cavalry and artillery. There had, as yet, been no general engagement of this kind on British soil, but the type had come into common use on the Continent, ever since at Marignano (1519) Francis I of France broke the legendary invincibility of the Swiss column of pikes, by keeping the enemy fixed to the ground by constant (if unsuccessful) cavalry charges, till cannon were brought up and blasted the phalanx, while it was kept immovable by having to form up to resist the cavalry charges. This, as we shall see, was precisely the method which Somerset employed at Pinkie.

To strengthen the cavalry arm, so weak in English armies for many a year, the Protector had enlisted a body of cosmopolitan adventurers under an Italian

captain named Malatesta ; he had brought across the channel from France the one permanent body of mounted men that Henry VIII had levied, the 'Bulleners' or horse of the garrison of Boulogne, which he had captured at the end of his reign—there were 500 of these all English—the foot only of the Boulogne garrison had been left in its proper place. There was also a troupe of mounted men with firearms, 'horse-harquebusiers,' mostly Spaniards apparently, led by one Pedro de Gamboa, a well-known condottiere of that nationality. Adding to these the 'gentlemen pensioners,' or royal bodyguard, and a large number of English border-horse, 'prickers' as Patten calls them, the Protector had 4,000 horse of one sort and another.

The main body of the infantry was still 'bows and bills' of the old sort, there being only 600 native English with firearms, 'harquebusiers afoot' as Patten and Hollingshead call them. But the artillery was strong and efficient, the whole royal train of cannon having marched with the Lord Protector. The scouting was done, of course, by the light horse of Northumberland and Cumberland, who knew the Scottish borders as well as their own, from a score of old predatory raids.

The army mobilized at Newcastle on Sunday, August 28th, where 40 Scottish gentlemen of the English party came into the camp, headed by the Laird of Mangerton. It is highly probable that 'John Ramsay gentleman without any money,' who drew the pictures which give the details of the fight, was one of them. Somerset camped at Morpeth on the 29th, at Bamborough on the 30th, and at Berwick on the 31st. On September 1st he crossed the Border, and was at Eyemouth, the first Scottish village, that night. At Berwick the Protector had converse with Lord Clinton, who commanded a squadron of ships which sailed up the coast parallel with the army, and directed him to sail up the Firth of Forth, to survey the coast, but never to get out of touch with the land force.

It was in the camp by Eyemouth that Somerset had a curious dream which he narrated to Patten. He

dreamed that he was being received in high triumph by the King at Windsor, but suddenly found himself wondering why he was being honoured, for he could not remember that he had done anything at all, which much vexed him. Patten, after quoting Iamblichus and Valerius *de divinatione*, sagely remarks 'one may dream one thing, and the exact opposite come to pass'—since the Protector was about to win a great victory. But was the dream so far out in meaning? If Patten had written a year later, and not promptly after the fight, he would have been able to see that Somerset's whole campaign had been absolutely without result.

Rather to the surprise of the English officers, the Scots were not found in occupation of the first defile on the main road to Edinburgh, where it had been expected that they would be waiting in battle array. This was at Cockburnspath, where the high-road is pressed between the sea and the last spurs of the Lammermuir Hills, an evil strait, near which Cromwell and Leslie were to fight the battle of Dunbar a hundred and four years later. But the Scots made no appearance, and the pioneers improved the road at their leisure to facilitate the passage of the great guns and the baggage train. Three small castles, Dunclas, Innerwick, and Thornton, surrendered upon summons, and were 'sighted,' i.e., made indefensible: they were 'beggarly places' according to Patten. The army then left the coast, ignoring Dunbar and Tantallon Castles, and marched by Haddington straight toward Edinburgh.

It was not till September 5th that any touch was secured with the enemy—on that day a body of 200 Scottish border horse attempted to ambush Lord Warwick—second in command—who had been lured to the point by a pretended parley. But their leaders, 'Dandy' Ker and Richard Maxwell, were easily driven off.

Information now came to hand that the Scots were preparing to hold the second great defile on the road Berwick-Edinburgh, the passage of the Esk river, where they were fortifying a long position, extending

from the sea on the north to a formidable morass on the south. The English fleet had come inshore to communicate with the Lord Protector, and Clinton reported that there was a large army in position behind the Esk, which had fortified its extreme northern flank, that nearest the sea, by a long earth-work, which would give cover against any cannonading from the water side. On the hillside of Edmonston Edge there was a regularly ordered camp with four ranges of tents and pavilions, and many banners flying. The little burgh of Musselburgh was behind the northern end of the camp. The Scots had not occupied any ground to the east of the Esk river, though the high-lying church and village of Inveresk were very close to the bridge on the main road. The Lord Protector, camped at Long Niddry on September 8th, sent out scouting parties to reconnoitre the position: they reported that the Esk appeared fordable in most of its reaches, but that it was a decided military obstacle, and that a long stretch of marsh seemed to make any turning movement upstream very difficult, since to get round the Scottish position it would be necessary to go far inland into the broken and rugged country about Dalkeith and Roslyn,—a move which would enable the Scots to cut the main road and the communication with the base at Berwick, if the army shifted itself southward. A frontal attack seemed the natural course to adopt—but obviously it would be a serious matter to assail an enemy in position, with the Esk river as an obstacle before his line, and no doubt with artillery placed in favourable positions.

Somerset moved into the low range of hills facing the Scottish position, with his left or inland flank at Fawside, 'a sorry castle with half a score houses and enclosures about it,' and his right wing near the sea in front of Inveresk and its prominent church. Pinkie, which gave its name to the battle that followed, was a 'cleugh' or enclosure half a mile west of Fawside Castle, with some ploughed fields and one farm. The modern Pinkie House, a respectable manor, had not yet been built.

The Lord Protector lay for two days in the Pinkie-Fawside position, contemplating the Scottish camp, and pondering over the possibility of turning it by a march inland. He sent out a strong cavalry reconnaissance to test the countryside towards Dalkeith—this led to the first serious engagement of the campaign. The Scots sent out a corresponding body of horse, to check the exploring party, and to keep it from discovering the lie of the land—it comprised the greater part of their cavalry—1,500 spears. But in the mounted arm they were far inferior to the English in numbers, and a greater proportion of it was composed of 'prickers'—border light horse, unable to stand up in the open clash against heavy men-at-arms, of whom the English had plenty.

Indeed the Regent Arran had an army suited for a defensive fight in a strong position, where infantry and guns might stand firm against any frontal attack, but very unwieldy for manoeuvring, and very short of cavalry. According to Patten's account the Scots had 20,000 infantry and more in the field, nearly all armed with the pike, the only light or missile-bearing contingent being 3,000 highland bowmen under the Earl of Argyle. Oddly enough the narrator calls them 'Irish,' but this only means Celtic-speaking and wearing the kilt, as is sufficiently shown when he speaks of Mr. Campbell, a kinsman of Argyll, as 'an Irish gentleman.' These are the same highland archers of which one reads in many earlier Scottish battles, such as Falkirk, not real Irish.

The cavalry fight of September 8th is the first picture in John Ramsay's set of drawings. We see the Scottish horse drawn up on top of a hillside, with a reserve concealed behind the back-slope of the eminence—both are marked by the St. Andrew's cross. Against them the English direct not only a frontal charge, which was beaten back with some loss, but two turning movements by large detachments, of which one takes the Scottish main line in flank, while the other, making a long circuit, charges the reserve also in flank. The Scots, outnumbered as well as outmanoeuvred, were routed with great loss. Lord Home

in command was wounded, his son the Master of Home and other gentlemen killed. The loss was very heavy—indeed it is said that the greater part of the corps was destroyed. The English had to deplore Ralph Bulmer, Thomas Gower, and other gentlemen 'taken by their own forwardness' in pressing the original frontal attack too hard, before the flank movement was developed.

On September 9th, Somerset sent in a formal offer of peace to the Scottish regent, insisting on the projected marriage of King Edward to the little Queen Mary, but promising that the union of the Kingdom should not involve any subjection of the smaller to the greater. Scotland should keep its laws, parliament, and institutions. The terms indeed were much the same as those under which the union of the two states afterwards worked out under James I and VI. But the method was fundamentally wrong—it was always open to the Scots to do as they ultimately did—to send away the young Queen to France, and so put an end to the projected agreement. Arran naturally refused to listen to any proposals, as did Somerset to a ridiculous offer from the Earl of Huntley—that they should fight a judicial duel, each as champions of their realm.

On the 10th, Somerset had made up his mind to deliver the frontal attack on the Scottish position, though he was aware of its danger. The tactics which he planned to employ were to seize the hill of Inveresk, opposite the bridge and the sea-ward end of the enemy's line, to plant his artillery there, and to bring his war-ships close in-shore, so as to bring an enfilading, as well as a frontal fire to bear on the northern angle of the hostile line. Under cover of this cross-fire his right wing was to cross the Esk and storm the position, his centre and left following in échelon, when the right should have mastered the part of the heights opposite to it.

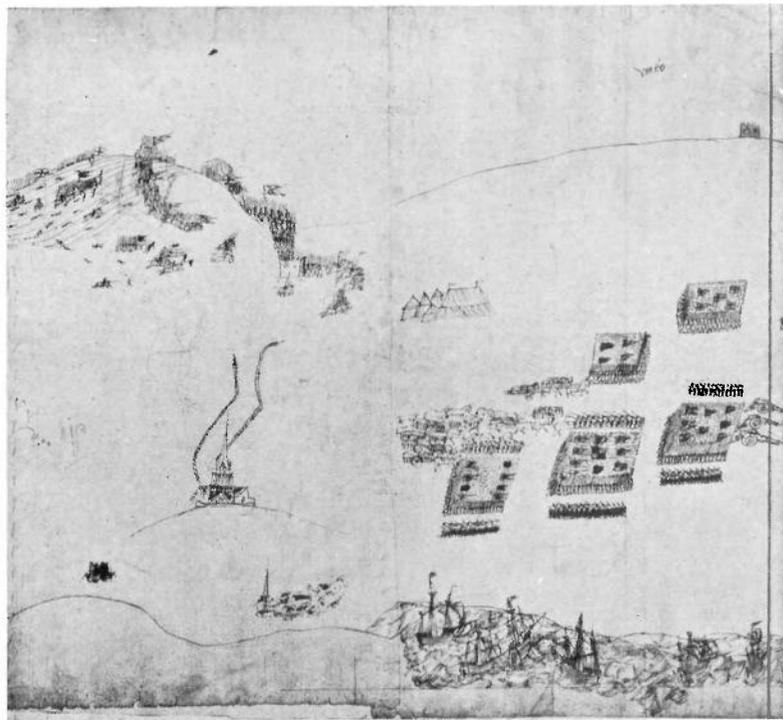
This manoeuvre involved a general shift of the array of the whole army to the right, where the attack was to begin. The disposition was the usual one, of the infantry in three great masses 'vaward' (right wing), 'main-battle' (centre), and 'rereward' (left wing), each

consisting of a mass of bills with its flanking force of archery (in which were included the few arquebusiers or hackbut-men) with cavalry on the extreme wings, a smaller body of horse under Lord Fitzwalter and Sir Ralph Vane on the left, the sea-end of the line, a much larger force in several divisions covering the left or inward flank, which would be the exposed one when the army began to move. It would seem to have been in three masses of squadrons. Lord Grey was in command.

At dawn, when it was seen in the Scottish camp that the whole of the invading army was in march by its right, sea-ward, Arran and his advisers were seized by an inexplicable hallucination. They formed the idea that the English had given up any idea of storming the position, and were about to retreat, probably a great many of them would be shipped on the mass of vessels which was seen lying in-shore in Musselburgh Bay, since their line of march seemed to be heading towards the shore.

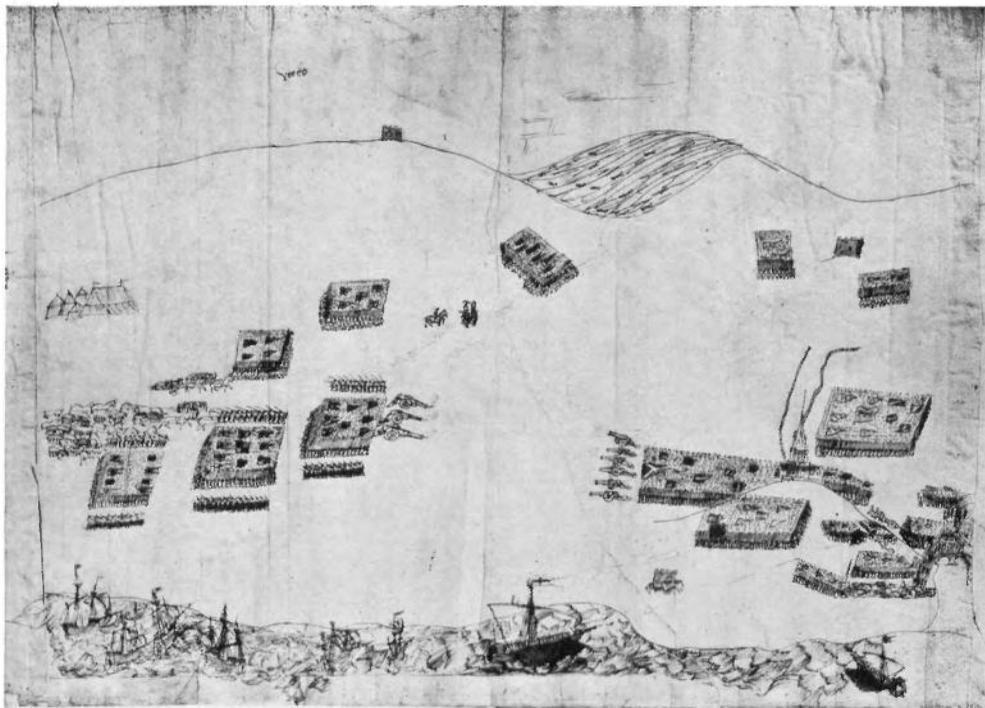
Arran thereupon resolved to make a sudden counterstroke on what he supposed to be a hostile army exposing its flank, while in march directly across the front of his position. His own troops were already in order, and ready to start. They were in the normal three divisions—the rearward under Huntly and Argyle next the sea, and opposite Inveresk church, the centre under himself more inland, the vaward (or left) under Angus, the head of the Douglas family, on the right. Angus' flank was to be covered by what was left of the cavalry which had been cut up on the 8th, Huntley's flank (near the Firth) by Argyle's 3,000 highland (alias Irish) bowmen. The tactics were those of Flodden—a general charge against an enemy supposed to be in march and exposing his flank to a counterstroke. The not very numerous guns of the Scottish army were distributed between the left and the right wings, with which they marched. They are said to have been drawn by teams of men, not by horses.

Somerset could have asked for nothing better—he had merely to 'front to flank' and stand to receive an enormous infantry attack by the use of all arms, and



SECTION I. THE CAVALRY-SKIRMISH OF SEPTEMBER 8TH, WITH INVERESK CHURCH IN THE FOREGROUND

SECTION II. THE ENGLISH ARMY IN ORDER OF BATTLE, WITH THE FLEET IN FOREGROUND IN THE FIRTH OF FORTH



SECTION II. THE SCOTTISH ARMY LEAVES ITS POSITION AND PASSES INVERESK CHURCH IN THREE DIVISIONS, THE CENTRE LEADING. THE SCOTTISH HORSE IS HANGING BACK, FAR TO THE RIGHT

(as it proved) with the aid of his fleet, on whose flanking fire the Scots had made no calculation.

The position is shown by the second sketch which John Ramsay drew. The Scots have left their position, but have soon got into a wholly unexpected order of battle. For when Huntley's division, flanked by the Highlanders, crossed the Esk, it came under heavy fire from the big guns of the ships in the Bay, whose range was long enough to reach the 'rereward' attacking column. The first salvos from the fleet utterly dispersed the Highland archers, who broke up, fell back along the shore, and never came into action again. The mass of pikemen whom they should have shielded also received many cannon balls, which killed the Master of Grey and other gentlemen. Whereupon Huntley shifted his column inland to avoid the fire from the sea and fell in upon the flank of the 'main battle': the two masses coalesced. They continued, however, to advance, crossing the flat land above the Esk and moving up the opposite slope where the English were getting into battle line. There was nothing left opposite Somerset's right, the push was evidently about to be against his centre. Presently Angus' column, the Scottish right or vaward, also came into touch with the main battle: the body of horse which was to have covered its flank did not close up in a similar fashion, but remained far out, watching the much superior bodies of English horse on Somerset's left.

The whole Scottish army had thus become one enormous mass of pikes, with its flanks wholly uncovered, since the Highlanders had disappeared and the cavalry was keeping at a great distance. Somerset now put in operation what I have called the 'Marignano tactics,' i.e., to stop the further advance of the Scots by successive cavalry charges, while his artillery and infantry armed with missile weapons were being brought into line in front of the enemy's phalanx.

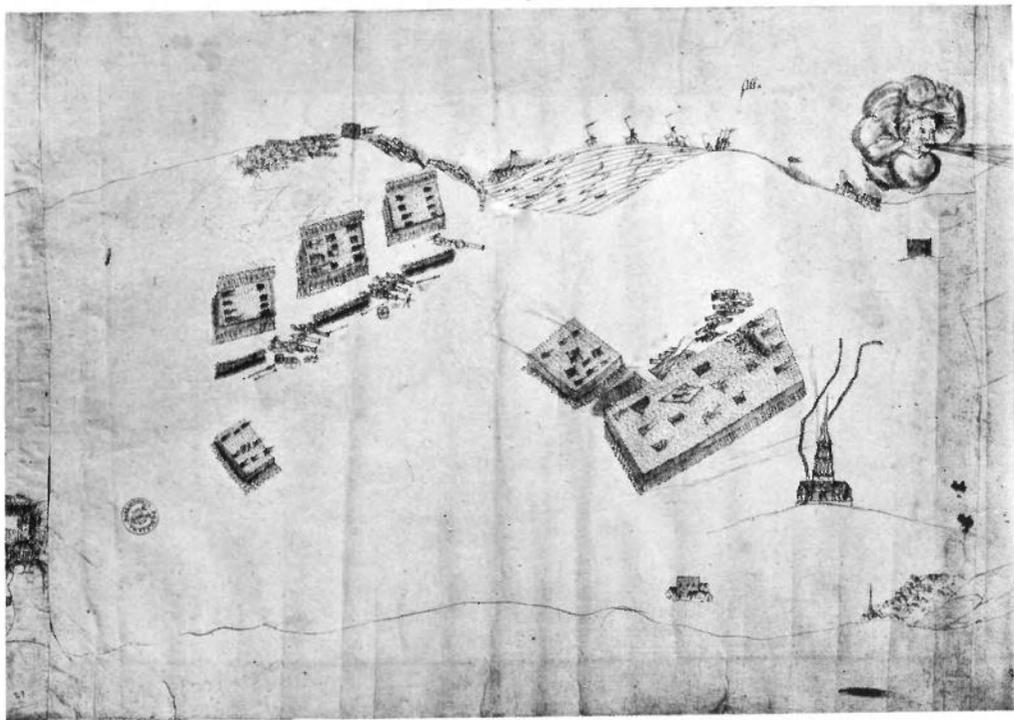
While the Scottish host halted for a moment in the 'Pinkie Cleugh'—stubble fields enclosed by low earth-

banks,—in order to rest the men, whose pace had hitherto been very fast—Patten compares it to the pace of cavalry rather than that of infantry,—Somerset ordered the main body of his left wing horse to strike fiercely at the north-eastern corner of the great column. Before it had recommenced its advance, Lord Grey with the leading squadrons—heavy men at arms—dashed in. The first clash is described as having been fearful. ‘The Scots,’ says Patten, ‘stood at defence, shoulders nigh together, the fore-ranks stooping low before, their fellows behind holding their pikes in both hands, the one end of the pike against the right foot, the other against the enemy’s breast, so nigh as place and space might suffer. So thick were they that a bare finger should as easily pierce through the bristles of a hedge-hog, as any man encounter the front of pikes.’

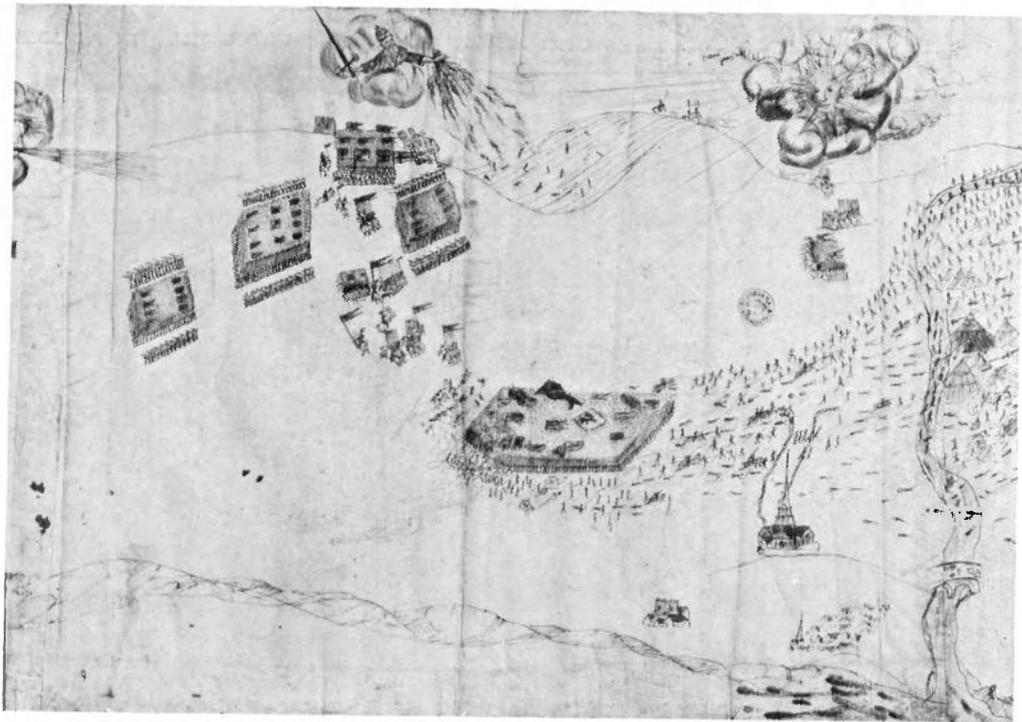
From this formidable front of steel Grey’s men at arms, though they charged with good courage, were thrown back with ease, like the knights of Edward I at Falkirk, or those of Edward II at Bannockburn. The leading ranks of the riders went down en masse six foot in front of the Scottish line and left an obstruction of dead and wounded men and horses which much inconvenienced the squadrons which made the second charge.

For Lord Grey, determined to keep the Scots halted, brought up the 500 Boulogne horse, and delivered a renewed attack into them. It was beaten off much as the first had been, with heavy loss, and Grey himself was wounded.

But meanwhile the Earl of Warwick with the guns and archery of the English main body had got into line to the south side of the Fawside enclosure, and opposite both front and flank of the halted Scottish phalanx. The hitherto victorious pikemen found themselves suddenly assailed by volleys of cannon balls fired from a distance of only 200 yards, which tore long lanes through their ranks. At the same time the English archery and hackbuteers swarmed down on each flank, and began shooting into the mass of the great column, a mark that could not be missed. The



SECTION III. THE SCOTTISH ARMY HAS MASSED INTO ONE COLUMN. FRUITLESS CHARGE OF THE ENGLISH CAVALRY AGAINST ITS FRONT



SECTION IV. THE ENGLISH CAVALRY ATTACK HAS BEEN REPULSED, BUT THE FIRE OF THE GUNS AND ARCHERS HAS BEGUN TO BREAK UP THE SCOTTISH COLUMN, WHICH IS DISPERSING

horsed-arquebusiers of Pedro de Gamboa are said to have been particularly bold in riding close up to the pikes, and firing while they rode by. The only chance for the Scots would have been to continue their uphill charge, before the cannon had completely shattered their array, and this we are told would have been effective, at the moment just after the cavalry assaults, if only it had been practicable, for many riderless or wounded horses from the broken squadrons plunged backward between the division of the English infantry, and caused some confusion. But the resumption of the advance was practically impossible, there was a bank of dead and wounded English horses and men in front of the column, and its ranks had shrunk together into a serried mass, from the effect of the repeated cavalry charges causing the men to draw closer to each other. Time would have been required to disentangle the units, and time was not given. Before long the artillery fire was cutting such broad swathes through the head of the column that the Earl of Angus, commanding the 'vaward' right, concluded that it was necessary at all costs to get out of cannon-range, by falling backward down the hill. But the retreat which he ordered soon changed into a rout, because the harassed crowd of pikemen, when once started on the backward movement, would not stop, or try to re-form at the foot of the slope, but continued to retreat, breaking their order and dropping into a mere crowd of fugitive individuals.

Ramsay's fourth picture shows this movement beginning. The left hand front corner of the Scottish mass has caved in, and hundreds of men are slipping away to the rear, though the main force of the great column with its array of banners is still preserved. Observe in the clouds a very curious little moral comment on the engagement by the artist. Hitherto he has confined himself to a diagram of the wind in the sky—a puffing cloud-surrounded Auster, showing that the breeze is from the south. But now he indulges in a much more striking composition—God Almighty, the Lord of Battles, as medieval painters used to represent him,—with tiara and robes of state, brandish-

ing a sword in one hand, and with the other emptying a 'vial of wrath' upon the Scottish army. The 'wrath' seems to take the shape of large flakes of blackness of a liquid sort, rather than of the more usual thunderbolt.

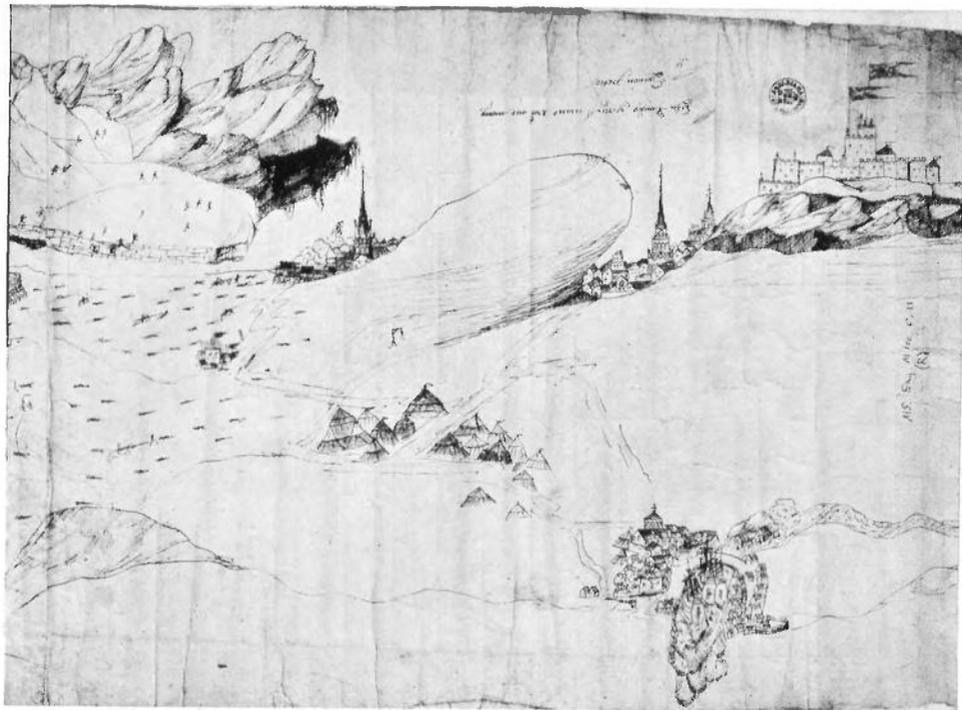
The crumpling up of one flank of the vast Scottish column soon led to complete disorder and demoralisation, and a general thrust to the rear was evident, which became a wild flight when Warwick's column of infantry closed with the yielding mass, and Grey's rallied horsemen charged it in flank. The regent Arran got to his horse and galloped away to Edinburgh, crying that 'he was betrayed.' But there had been no treachery, only insensate folly in mistaking the flank march of the English army for a retreat, before the battle began, and in delivering an attack, when the obvious course was to remain in the splendid defensive position behind the Esk, which had brought Somerset to a halt.

When the army broke up there was, as Patten remarks, a curious sight visible: while the main body of the fugitives fled over Edmonston edge, through their own tents, a certain number from the right wing decamped up the valley of the Esk towards Dalkeith, and others along the sea-shore by the high-road through Musselburgh to Leith. Ramsay's drawing of the rout gives us the main route through the deserted camp, whose pavilions may be seen overturned. The pursuing English cavalry are mixed with the fugitives, some cutting down individuals, others capturing flags or prisoners. The Scots are in a state of complete dispersion—only two very small bodies can be seen keeping together and making an orderly retreat with pikes shouldered. The rest have thrown away their long weapons, which litter the hill-side in every direction. Patten says that the whole of the ground on both sides of the Esk looked like a wood-yard, so thickly was it strewn with these stout staves. The 500 Scottish horse on the extreme right had made a feeble attempt to close in on Fawside and the guns, but went off, giving little trouble.

The slaughter of the flying Scots was very great, by



SECTION V. ROUT OF THE SCOTS, WHO ARE FLYING THROUGH THEIR CAMP TOWARDS
ARTHUR'S SEAT AND EDINBURGH



SECTION IV. SCOTTISH FUGITIVES MAKING FOR ARTHUR'S SEAT. VIEW OF EDINBURGH,
THE CASTLE, HOLYROOD, AND THE PORT OF LEITH

all accounts, there being good going for cavalry on the easy slopes parallel with the sea—the nearest ground where fugitives would be absolutely safe was on the steep outskirts of Arthur's Seat, several miles behind the battle-spot. They are shown making the climb in Ramsay's penultimate picture. The number of slain can hardly have reached the 10,000 or even 14,000 spoken of by chroniclers, but no doubt was great. There was 1,500 prisoners taken, so that the pursuit cannot have been absolutely ruthless. Among them were the Earl of Huntley (slightly wounded), the Lords Wemyss and Yester, the Master of Sempil, Sir Halbert Hamilton, the brother of the Earl of Cassillis, and 'Mr. Campbell an Irish gentleman,' kin to the Earl of Argyle. The English loss was only some hundreds—almost all in the cavalry. Shelley, the commander of the 'Bulleners,' was killed, and several other noted captains. But the infantry lost hardly a man.

Next day Somerset occupied Leith, which was undefended, though it stood sieges before and after 1547. His men plundered and burnt the place—it is said without his leave. Edinburgh Castle, and the upper town, now protected by the 'Flodden Wall' built thirty years back, the invaders left untouched. But they sacked the palace and abbey of Holyrood, which lay at the foot of the heights, well out of the protection of the wall. The leaden roofs were stripped off and melted down.

One would have expected that Somerset would have made some further military venture—perhaps an advance on Stirling, where the young Queen was being guarded in the castle. But he did nothing of the kind, merely endeavouring to reopen negotiations with the Scottish Government for his great project of the royal marriage. On September 18th he turned back to Berwick, with nothing accomplished, save the garrisoning of a few fortresses on the border, and of Broughty Castle at the mouth of the Tay, which the fleet had seized. His methods of warring had been tactless—the slaughter of Pinkie had provoked wrath rather than abject submission, and when the Scottish

government in the next summer shipped the young Queen across to France, all the projects, long nourished by Henry VIII and his successor Somerset, came to an end, for half a century.

APPENDIX

A FURTHER NOTE ON THE BATTLE OF PINKIE

By COL. C. de W. CROOKSHANK

In connection with this very interesting description by Sir Charles Oman of the contemporary set of pen-and-ink drawings, without title or descriptive details, which had been found in the Bodleian Library and which he located as the battle of Pinkie (1547) in its successive phases, I brought to his notice that I had in my collection of Battle Prints one of that battle which, I reckoned, was the earliest contemporary engraving and rendering of an English battle (Pl. vii and Figs. 1-4). At the time when it came into my possession I could locate no contemporary illustration earlier than those of the wars in the Netherlands, 1572-1604, by Dutch artists, and was correspondingly gratified at securing what I held to be a unique addition to a collection which Lord Hailsham, the Secretary of State for War, has honoured me by accepting on behalf of the Nation, to be vested in the War Office and housed in the Royal United Service Institution.

This print was included in the exhibition of part of my collection at the Guildhall in 1931, and, recognising the Hon. Sir Hew Dalrymple's knowledge of Scottish antiquities, I mentioned the fact to him; whereupon he informed me that he thought it was in one of the works on Somerset's expedition into Scotland, and kindly traced it in the Scottish National Library as No. 10 of the Bannatyne Club publications.

As a result I am able to furnish the following particulars. The title of the work is 'Recit de l'Expedition En Ecosse l'an MDXLVI et de la Battayle de Mus-cleburgh par le Sieur Berteville au Roy