

ON THE BATTLE OF FLODDEN.

LETTER FROM THOMAS RUTHAL, BISHOP OF DURHAM, AND SECRETARY OF STATE, TO HIS RIGHT HONORABLE AND LOVING BROTHER THOMAS WOLSEY, ALMONER TO THE KING. DATED 20TH SEPTEMBER, 1513.

THE Rev. Mr. Brewer, who is preparing a Catalogue of the Domestic Series of State Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII., kindly brought the following document before the attention of Mr. Way, as interested in a transcription of Northumbrian records for the Duke of Northumberland. He thought that it should be published in these Transactions, and Mr. Brewer, with Mr. T. Duffus Hardy, who is so well known in connexion with records, afforded every courtesy to Mr. Longstaffe, our editor, for its transcription.

Dr. Thomas Ruthal, in 1500, was appointed Secretary of State by Henry VII., and continuing invested with that office under Henry VIII., he probably resided chiefly in London. Prior to 1509 he was Dean of Salisbury, but being nominated to the see of Durham on the 23rd April in that year, he was consecrated Bishop of the same at York on the 3rd July following. Likely he was induced to visit the Borders after the Battle of Flodden, and more particularly to ascertain how he could repair the damage his castle of Norham had sustained from the incursion of the Scots. From the manner in which he writes of this circumstance, it will be observed how keenly he felt the injury done to that celebrated fortress. He also appears to have been a true votary of St. Cuthbert, throwing into the epistle the efficacy and intercession of his patron saint, whenever it could be brought to bear on the most striking points of his narrative.

Wolsey, in 1513, having been commissary for the English army lying before the walls of Terouenne in France, was present there with Henry VIII. Bishop Ruthal, therefore, well knowing how high that dignitary stood in the royal favour, addressed his communication to him as the readiest channel through which it would be brought under the immediate notice of his sovereign.

Ruthal held the appointment of Secretary of State till May, 1516, when he became Lord Privy Seal. Eventually, by command of the King, he drew up an account of all the lands and revenues of the Crown;

but at the same time remembering himself, he also wrote out a full description of his own wealth and possessions, and bound these statements in two handsome volumes of white vellum. Unfortunately he delivered into the hand of Wolsey, by mistake, the account of his own revenues instead of the list of the rights of the Crown, and the wily statesman retained the book, presenting it on a fitting opportunity to his royal master. Henry, however, had the forbearance not to meddle with the pecuniary affairs of Lord Privy Seal; but the chagrin and vexation the latter underwent on discovering his error, is supposed to have hastened his death, for he died on the 4th February, 1522, and was buried in St. John's Chapel, adjoining the Abbey Church, Westminster.

Nearly the first half of the epistle has been written by the secretary or clerk of the Bishop, but revised and slightly altered by his own pen. The latter portion is altogether in his own hand, and it was considered preferable to print the whole with the contractions and points as they appear in the original manuscript.

After right herty recommendacions to reherse vnto you the greate sorow and pensivenes / that I haue had and taken for the mysfortune of my castell of Norham whiche by the cruell tyrañy of the King of Scot^e was lately taken and a greate parte therof rased and cast doune / well assured I am it shulde be to you no pleasure but the remembraunce therof discomfortable bothe to you and me / and therefore conformyng my mynde to goddes pleasure and geving lavdes and thankes vnto hym for the same I haue and shall take it in pacience and studie the waies and meanes how to renewe the said castell which by the helpe of Almyghtie god and Seint Cutbert I truste to doo within few yeres For as I understande the Dungeon standeth and a goode parte of the walles / and if god geve me lif laif^r and libertie I trust to remedye that matier wⁱn brief tyme But I thanke o^r lorde god and my patrone Seint Cutbert who neu^r suffered anny Iniurye dispecte or displeasure doon to his churche to passe onpunysshed that greate tyrañows and cruell dede is well requyted and revenged For on the ixth daie of this instante monethe of September after a muelouse greate conflicte and terrible bataill the King of Scot^e w^t the greatest parte of the lordes and nobles of his reame wer in playn bataill venquyshed ou^tthrowen and slayⁿ / At whiche bataill my lorde Tresourer¹ like a noble valiaunte and puyssaunt capitain by his greate wisdom hardiesse and experience w^t the assistance goode conduyt and actyvenesse of his sonne the lorde Haworde Admirall of Englande so acquitted hym self that for

¹ Thomas Earl of Surrey was appointed Lord Treasurer of England by Henry VII. in 1501, and Henry VIII. continued him in the same honourable office.

this moste famousse acte redounding to the inestimable hono^r comfo^rte comōditie and suertie of the king^e grace this his reame and subiect^e of the same they defued asmoche lawde renoūe and thankefull remembraunce as eu^e anny noble men did. Specially remembring the multitude of their enmyes being ferre in nombre above the Kinges armye considering also the g^rte nombre of muelouse large pec^e of o^rdynaunce as Co^rtauldys Culverins Sacres and spentyns² amounting in the hoole to xvij greate pec^e besid^e moche other smale o^rdynⁿce. Regarding also the greate and strong psonnages of the Scot^e being aswell fournesched w^t goodely harneys wepons and other abilment^e of werre as eu^e men wer w^t their abundaunce of vitails wyne of all so^rt^e brede bere and all tent^e and paulyons ferre aboue o^r estimacion and not ligh^tly credible ooneles it had bene seen tasted and vewed by our folk^e to their greate refreshing and ou^r that the hardinesse and sharp setting on of the said Scot^e w^t the discomfo^rte and feblenes of o^r people being destitute of vitails and having no thing to drinke but oonely water by the space of thre daies and moche scacitie of that³ w^t the muelous greate payn and labour that they toke in going viij myles that daye on fote by daungerouse and paynfull passag^e ou^r hilles and dales and yet most daunger of all in ascending and clymyng an high and stipe hill⁴ to encountre and geve bataill to the said king of Scot^e being there campyd and his o^rdynaunce set to his moste aduauntage and annoysaunce of o^r armye. And the said Scot^e having the hill the wynde and the suⁿe w^t thaym⁵ ayense o^r folk^e all whiche impediment^e daungers and pells well considerd it is to be thought this victorie pcedethe more by the veray hande of god w^t the helpe and merit^e of the gloriouse confesso^r Seint Cutbert thenne by anny strenght o^r power of menne howbe it after so greate payn and labo^r there lakked no goode courage strenght and hert^e in o^r folk^e as it well appered by their act^e. For besid^e the king of Scot^e all the lordes of Scotlande excepte fyve and the moste parte of the noble men of the same which that day dyed there

² Hall says that the ordnance taken from the Scots "was fyve great Curtalles, twoo great Culverynge, foure Sacres, and syxe Serpentyne, as fayre ordinaunce as hathe bene, beside other small peces."—Fol. xliij.

³ The English army in the march were stinted of food, but it is unlikely they lacked water by reason of the abundance of rain which fell previous to the conflict.

⁴ They could not possibly experience any great danger in ascending the lower portion of Branxton Hill, save for the shot from the guns of the Scottish army, which inflicted very little injury upon them.

⁵ By the Scots occupying the hill on the south they had the advantage of the ground, but the wind blew from the south-east, and, as the battle commenced after four o'clock, from that time till the sun set, about half-past six, he shone nearly direct from the west.

wer x thousande Scot⁶ slane⁶ and as sūme of thaym afferme they lacke xv thousande in the hoole to the vtter confusion of all Scotlande.

The said Scot⁶ were so surely harnessed w^t complete harneys Jack⁶ almayn ryvettes splent⁶ pavi⁶ and other habiliment⁶ that shote of arrowes in regarde did theim no harme and whenne it comē to hande strok⁶ of billes and halbard⁶ they wer so myghtie Large strong and grete men that they wolde not fall whenne iiij or v billes strake on oon of thaym at oonyes How be it o^r billes qwrite them veray well and did more goode that day theune bowes for they shortly disapointed the Scot⁶ of their long speres wherein was their greatest truste and whenne they come to hande stok⁶ though the Scot⁶ fought sore and valiauntlye w^t their swerd⁶ yet they coude not resiste the billes that lighted so thicke and sore upon theym/

There wer that day many goode and towarde capitains which did their part⁶ right well How be it the lorde Howard was the firste setter on and toke most payn in conduyting the vawarde of o^r armye to whome ioyned Seint Cutbert⁶ banner w^t the hoole retynewe of the bisshoprike And al be it the Scot⁶ had moste dispecte to the said banner and set moste feresly vpon it yet what by the grace of God the assistance of Seint Cutbert to his banⁿ and the valiauntnesse of the capitains and others being vndre the same there gate they noon aduauntage but greate losse and damage of their folk⁶ and yet fewe or noon being vnder the same banner wer slayn though many hurte This w^t grete hono^r is Seint Cutbert⁶ banner restoⁿed again to his churche bringing w^t it the King of Scot⁶ banner which for a memoriall now standeth besid⁶ the Shryne there [and the sayd Kyng was not farr frō hys baner when he was slayn, *inserted in Ruthal's own hand*].

And besid⁶ this all the grete o^rdinⁿce of Scotland is taken and resteth at Berwike⁷ w^t diūse prisoners but not many for o^r folk⁶ entending to make all thing sure toke litle regarde in taking of p^{er}soners but rid all that came to hande / both king / bisshop⁶ / lord⁶ / knyght⁶ / noblis or others what so eū came which wer not so soon slayn but forthew^t dispoiled out of their [o^rdynnce *erase*d] harnais and array and lefte lying naked in the felde where men mought haue seen a muelouse nombre of many goodely men well fedde and fatte Among⁶ which nombre was

⁶ The above number of Scots killed is much larger than that quoted by our most authentic historians.

⁷ Towards the close of his epistle the Bishop admits that he is in error here. The ordnance remained at Etal till after the date of his letter.

the King of Scot^e bodye founde having manye woundes and naked^s and the same was brought to my lorde tresourer thenne being in Berwike in whose keeping the same body yet restethe /

And yet whenne o^r capitains and folk^e had thus well acquitted them self greate displeasure was doon vnto theym for in their absence from their tent^e they being occupied w^t the Scot^e all their goodes / horses / and necessities wer clerely taken awaye / but whether it wer doon by Scott^e [*altered by Ruthal from Scot^e*] or bordourers I canne not saye but the brute is that the bo^rderours did full ill I pray god amende theym For by this dealing o^r folk^e wer wars discouraged at their departing thenne by all the harmes doon to them by the Scottes and suche dealing hath and shall cause thame to haue the wars will to retoⁿe thid^r again if necessite require.

Maist^e almosner^s this victory was the most honorable happy and beneficiall for the kyng^e grace and this Reame as eu^e came to the same or can be remēberyd in any cronicle And on-doubtydly it was more myraculous than by power of mā And as thopinion of all capitayns souldio^rs and others is it was goddys dede by the intercession of hys holy cōfessor Saynt Cutbert who neu^r sufferyd iniury [*to be erased*] doon to hys churche or the land^e of the same onrequityd And for a trowthe I have spokyn w^t dyūse prisoⁿs of Scotland as Sir Will^m Scot who is here w^t § Will^m Bulmar my sehref and diūse others. And they say that aff^r the Kyng of Scott^e medelyd w^t Norh^m xx mⁱ of hys mē went away from hym Thinkyng veraylie that a myschef wold folow vppon that act wysching that thay had neu^r medelyd w^t the sayd castell.¹⁰ The

⁸ If we suppose that the body of the king was found, which is even doubtful, when we learn it was naked, what assurance have we that any part of his coat armour, his sword, or his dagger, was actually recovered? The rapacious Borderers swept every thing away they could carry, and it still remains to be proven how Queen Catherine could send any portion of the coat armour of the Scottish king to her husband, Henry VIII. Again, by what authority are we to believe that the sword and dagger in the College of Arms at London were indeed worn by James IV. at Flodden?

Still the probability is that the king fell in the field of battle, and it is singular to find how his memory, for nearly a century afterwards, become closely interwoven with the associations of the common people in the most remote parts of his kingdom. In the first volume of the Miscellany of the Spalding Club, whose publications do them great honour, a series of "Trials for witchcraft at Aberdeen" appear under the date of 1598, wherein, at page 121, Andro Man is accused of the following crime:—"Siclyk thow affermis that the Quene of Elphen hes a grip of all the craft, bot Christsondy is the gudeman, and hes all power vnder God, and that thow kennis sindrie deid men in thair companie, and that the Kyng that deit in Flowdoun and Thomas Rymour is their."

⁹ Wolsey was made Almoner to the King in the first year of the reign of Henry VIII. Ruthal's handwriting begins with this paragraph.

¹⁰ Large numbers of the Scots certainly went home four or five days previous to the battle. They had collected much plunder, and the continued severity of the weather induced them to retire quietly into Scotland. It is, however, exceedingly improbable that their desertion was owing to the cause ascribed by the bishop.

said & Willm affirmythe and cōfessith also that this invasion of the Kyng of Scott^e pcedyd of hys awn sensuall mynd by the instigacion of the byschop of Murray [w^{out} *erased*] contrary to the mynd^e of all the nobles of Scotland. Insomochē as he supposyth the sayd Bischop woll ne^u cūme in to Scotland for if he do he is in daung^e he saythe also that in the said Bischop is neyther wysdome lerenyng ne vertue but lyeng dissymblyng bribery and all ontrowthe whos fals reaport^e hathe browzt the Kyng of Scott^e and hys reame to this daung^e¹¹ and also the nokles of that Reame who for drede of the Kyng^e displea^f durst none otherwyse do but cūme to the feld wth hym sore ayest theyr wyllys. And specially aff^r he had attēptyd ayenst Norh^m. And albeit the losse of that Castell was to my inward sorow yet remēberyng the greate goodnesse that is folowed therof by th^e acquitayle of Saynt Cutbert to the hono^r weale and suertie of this Reame by reasō of the punycion and oūthrow of the King of Scott^e and all hys nobles I cōwd be cōtentyd to take a payn all dayes of my lyf for the renouelyng of that castell rather than this victory schuld have lackyd and now glad I am he attēptyd ayest the sayd castell wherof ensuyd hys greate myschef wher as if he had not pvokyd Saynt Cutbert he mowzt have doon moche mor harme as it was apparaunt if god and Saynt Cutbert had not Remedyed it / And suerly if he had oūthrowen the Kynges armye all england had been in moche daung^e for he mowzt have cōmyn veray farre in to the land w^{out} resistance for the rescue schuld have cōmyn veray late thowz all pvision was made wⁱⁿ the Reame to the most advauntage wth all possible diligence. The Scott^e lackyd no thȳg necessary for the warrys but oonly the grace of god. For of elect mē harneys ordinaunce and vitaylis thay had suche plentie that ne^u the like hathe ben hard of in this parties. And I assure you all england cōwd not have vitaylid o^r host as thay wer vitaylid e^ury thing consideryd and this by the helpe of god and Saynt Cutbert this

¹¹ Andrew Foreman was a son of the Laird of Hutton, in Berwickshire. He was Postulate of Moray in 1501, and with others appointed to treat of the marriage of the King with Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII. In the same year he was promoted to the See of Moray, and with it held in commendam the Priories of Pittenweem, in Scotland, and Cottingham, in England. At the time of the battle of Flodden he was ambassador at the court of France, where his plausible bearing procured him the archbishoprick of Bourges; for though a man of considerable ability, he was unprincipled in disposition, and never failed to procure his own aggrandisement at the expense of his king. There can be no doubt of the evil he accomplished towards Scotland, for in 1515, the government thereof solemnly accused him to the Pope of having led his sovereign into the disastrous war which brought so much misery upon that country. Yet he obtained favour in high places, for in the same year he was translated to, and consecrated Archbishop of, St. Andrews. Again, in 1517, he became Perpetual Commendator of the Monastery of Dunfermline, and dying, he was buried there in 1522.

malicyus provision made by the sayd kyng for the warrys thys vij yeris was outhrownen in half an howre so that I trust in god thay schall neu be hable to make the semblable whilis Scotland standythe My lord treasurer hathe the body of the Kyng of Scottē w^t h̄y to Yorke and I coud in no wyse induce h̄y to leve it here at Duresme Howbeit my folkē undre Saynt Cutbertē Baner browz^t whom hys baner hys sword and his Qwyschys that is to say the harneys for hys thyes which be in Saynt Cutbertē churchē Mais^t almoner Sir Will^m Bulmer hath as hardylie acquytyd h̄yself aswell at the fyrst voyage ayēst the Scottē as at this batayle as eū maⁿe dyd whereby he hathe well defuyd a greate garmey and sūme hono^rable reward for by suche valiant act^ē princē have hertofo^r have of poor mē made greate lordē and suerly aſt my lorde treasurer and my lord Haward no mā did bet^t there that day and what he dyd at the fyrst voyage when w^t vij or viij c mē he sette vpon and venquysched the chamberlayn of of [*sic*] Scotland w^t x m^t Scott^e¹² and tooke iiij or v c prisonis it is manyfest and notorious For the love of god therefore maist^r almon^r remēbre h̄y when the case schall require for he hathe ryght well defuyd it And so hathe ꝑ Edward Stanley mvelously well acquityd h̄yself I assure you as my lord Haward at hys cūmyng to you woll reaport I doubt not other ther were that schranke a syde when most nede was whos namys my lord Haward can and woll schew vnto you and inasmoche as my said lord hathe declaryd to the kingē grace all the maⁿ of that batayle by hys wretyng whereunto I doubt not but ye be made pryvie byfo^r this tyme I schall no mor wrete therein at this season But oon thing I assure you my lord Haward dyd wondres at this cōflict and I suppose (as I hyre by reaporte) neu mā dyd bet^t / he was the veray ledyr cōduytor and sett^t on w^t our army in tyme wherof ensuyd the victory deseru^yg therby singler lawdē and thankē and reward accordyngly.

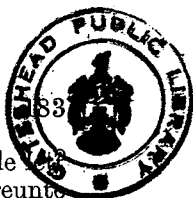
Comunicacion hathe be had bytwyxt the lord Dacre and the chamberlay of Scotland sens this cōflict and an oſture made for abstinēce of warre whereunto my lord treasurer in cōsideracion of the weakenesse of o^r borders lacke of mē and vitaylis for the defence therof is moche inclinyd and hathe wretyn to the [*kyn erased*] Qwene and the counsayle to know thayr myndē therin wherof as yet we have had noone aunswer / Surely maist^r almon^r if this victory mowzt be folowyd Scotland were chastysid for eū. But suche capitayns and souldio^rs as wer at this businnesse in mervoulous fowle wethyr lackyng mete and drynke

¹² The number of Scots here is again greatly exaggerated. Ridpath, who is generally impartial, says Home the Chamberlain of Scotland was "at the head of three thousand horsemen, his kindred and retainers."—Bord. Hist. 484.

which have also lost thayr horſ and goodē had leſt dye then to cū thedyr agayn and this I feare me / veray force for lacke of the pmiſſe ſhall dryve vs to abſtinēce of warre whiche wer to greate a pitie m̄velous lacke and damag at lengthe as I have [at lengthe *erased*] wretyn to the Qwenys grace and the counſayle and rather then it ſchuld thus be leſt I had leſt ſpend all the goode I have / if it be poſſible to be doon as I truſt it ſchalbe / if I may help thereto.¹³ The grettyst diffictie that I ſee theren is this that ſuche mē of warre as ſchalbe ſent to the borde's dow not truſt the borderers whiche be falſer than Scottē and have doon mor harme at this tyme to oʳ folkē than the Scottē dyd and therfor if it wer goddys pleafr and the kyngē I wold all the horſmē on the bordo's wer in fraunce w^t you for there ſchuld they do moche goode where as here thay doo noone but moche harme for as I have wretyn byfore thay neſt lyghtyd frō thayr horſē but when the bataylis joynyd than fell to ryfelyng aud robberyng aſwell on oʳ syde as of the Scottē and have taken moche goode beſidē horſē and catell and oū that thay tooke dyūſe priſonſ of oʳs and delyūyd thay to the Scottē / ſo that oʳ folkē aſmoche feare the falshed of thay as thay do the Scottē and this I feare wolbe the stoppe of this goode ma^r¹⁴ On oʳ syde wer ſlayn at this batayle by eſtimacion oon m' mē Howbeit no greate mā of name but Sir Johñ Bothe of lancaschire and two or thre other knyghtē and ſuīne gentylmē Howbeit there be many taken priſonſ of ours to the nōbre as I am informyd of c or vj^{xx}. The ſpecialties of whos namys I have not as yet / Neūtheleſſe I ſend vnto you hereincloſyd the namys of ſuch lordē and others of Scotland as wer ſlayn at the feld w^t the ſpecialties of the gētylmē made knyghtē by my lord treaſurer / and albeit I ſuppoſe my lorde Treaſurer hathe ſent thaym thedyr byfor yet for my acquytayle I thowzt ye ſchuld have thaym by me and for lacke of layf I can not wrete the pmiſſe to the kyngē grace wherfor I have now wretyn a ſchort leſt to hys hyghneſſe deſiryg hys grace to gave credence to you in all the pmiſſe it may

¹³ No great amount of Christian charity and forbearance influenced the mind of the Bishop when he penned these words. But Surrey's commission in the meantime confined him only "to a defensive war."

¹⁴ The Borderers were most intent on plunder, and had removed every article belonging to the English while the latter were engaged in the strife of battle. Home was much blamed for the inactive part he and his followers took in the conflict, especially when it drew near a close. Very likely his immediate dependants were doing the best they could to make amends for the loss he sustained at Millfield about a month previously. Indeed, the privation and losses suffered by the English rendered them unwilling to come again into contact with the Borderers. And this at least, apart from the mandate of Surrey acting only on the defensive, formed one cause why he did not follow up his victory by entering and wasting Scotland.



like you therfor at some cōveniēt tyme to Rede this Rude
to hys grace and to make my lord pryvie seale pryvie thereunto
to whō I have now wretȳ a schort let^r / Here I make my
abode at Duresme and I like the countray veraylie well o^r lord
send the kyng^e grace and you as goode spede there as we have
had here Wretyn hastylie at Duresme the xx day of Séptem-
bre / Yo^r awn T. DURESME.

Maist^r almosner now my lord treasurer hathe doon this vic-
torious act ayēst the Scott^e whiche is moche estimed and re-
doundythe to the kynges greate hono^r and suertie of this hys
Reame If the kyng^e grace for a remēberaunce of his laweable
acquitall and deſtis advauncyd hys hono^r w^t the name of Duke
and sūme reward It schuld greatly encourage noble mē to
putt thaȳ self in devo^r and Jebardy to do acceptable ſuyse to
thayr prince / Men of small havi^r have hertofore gotyn greate
hono^r and moche promociō for like act^e wherefore in mȳ opynyon
this wold not be forgotyⁿ the premiss^e I wrote a part as of my
self w^tout knowlege of my sayd lord [*an erasure of a line*].
And if ye causyd thankefull let^rs to be made unto hȳ and all
other lord^e knyght^e and nobles that were at thys happy day it
schuld greatly cōfort thaȳ ye may cause the let^rs to be made
signed and sealyd by the kyng^e grace and for the direction of
thaȳ to send thaȳ to me and if there were thre or fowre score of
thaȳ it wold encowrage all this countray greatly / And if ye made
xx^s for lord^e w^t thayr stilis and the residue w^t trusty and welbe-
louyd it wold do veray moche goode and thankfully acceptyd.¹⁵
Howbeit necessary it is that to my lord treasurer the lord Ha-
ward the lord Dacres Sir Will^m Bulmer and Sir Edward Stan-
ley there be more thankefull let^rs w^t speciall clausse than to
thothyr For thay have best deſuyd it Finally me thinke long
sens I hard from you and specially of the kyng^e good spede
ayenst hys enemyes For whos prospous estate and fortunat
success^e is my daylie prayo^r wherein restithe my cōfort in this
world and w^tout that I wold leve no long^e as knoweth almyghty
god who long p^rſue you Wretyn as above at Duresme.

I supposyd the ordinaunce of the King of Scott^e had beⁿ
cōvayed to Barwick but I hyre say it is yet at Etall wherein
mow³t be sūme daung^e notw^tstanding the lord Dacres hathe
entprysid the suertie of that ma^r For it wer to greate a losse /

¹⁵ This recommendation of the Secretary of State was carried into operation on the arrival of Henry from France. Hall observes, "when the Kynge was thus returned, he forgat not the good service that many a gentleman dyd at the battayll at Bramston, wherefore he wrote to them hys louinge letters wyth such thankes and fauorable wordes that euerye man thought himfelfe wel rewarded."—Fol. xlvj.

if it schuld mysse cary as god defend / It is the fayrest and
best that lyghtly hathe ben sayn.

Yo^r awn T. DURESME.

W^t in this thre dayes I woll wrete to you of all the
cirēstaunce of Norh^m and what harme is doon
there by the Kyng of Scott^e and how moche
yet standythe for the knowlege wherof I have
sentr substaunciall mē and expert masons. How-
beit I am putt in cōfort that the doungeon
standethe and a gret part of the wall^e the gat^e
and ordinaunce be takyn away and all the lodg-
yng^e destroyed.

[*In dorso.*]

ygh honourable and
ng brother maist Thom^s
cy the kyng^e almosner thys
be delyfyd in hast.

[The rest of this address must have been written on another
paper going slantwise across.]

Up to the discovery of the foregoing communication, the public, ac-
cording to Lingard, were in possession of four contemporary and de-
tailed accounts of the Battle of Flodden, (see note, *Archæologia Æliana*,
vol. iii., p. 288.) The above forms the fifth account of the same kind,
and in this respect to the student of history it will continue to be valu-
able. If it do not throw much new light upon the last great battle
fought on the Borders, it corroborates what we previously knew of that
fierce conflict, and forms a fitting supplement to the sketch of the battle,
which was drawn up hastily but with great care, and printed in a former
volume of these Transactions.

ROBERT WHITE.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne,
19th January, 1861.

* * * In the course of the present year I expect to bring before the notice of the
Society a more extended list of the principal men of Scotland who fell at Flodden-
field than has yet been made public.