

## XXII.—FLODDEN FIELD.

BY CADWALLADER J. BATES.

[Read on 28th December, 1892, and 22nd February, 1893.]

FOUGHT originally between James IV. of Scotland, and Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, on the 9th of September, 1513, the battle of Flodden, or as it should strictly be called, the battle of Brankston Moor, was fought over again in the middle of the present century by Robert White,<sup>1</sup> an eminent member of our society, and the Rev. Robert Jones, vicar of Brankston.<sup>2</sup> The second encounter was, I believe, distinguished by as great a deference to the rules of chivalrous combat as was the first, but the result was by no means so decisive. Mr. White's elaborate account of James IV.'s second campaign in Northumberland is one of the most valuable contributions that has ever been made to our *Archæologia*, though it labours under two very opposite defects, being neither what one would call exactly light reading, nor provided with references and quotations sufficient to enable one to judge of the historical evidence for statements generally correct in themselves. The local knowledge possessed by Mr. Jones, is of very great service, but does not guarantee the entire accuracy of his topography.

Quite recently the problems suggested by an attentive study of Flodden Field have again been brought out in high relief by our senior secretary,<sup>3</sup> whose pen, we may congratulate ourselves, has at last been attracted to a Northumbrian theme, in which Milfield and the Till come in for some of that mature scholarship and graceful diction which have been so splendidly lavished on the plains of Châlons and the banks of the Frigidus. There are imaginations to

<sup>1</sup> Mr. White's paper read at Brankston 27th July, 1858, was printed in *Arch. Ael.* N.S. iii. and published in pamphlet form at Newcastle in 1859. He also contributed a list of the Scots slain at Flodden to *Arch. Ael.* N.S. vi. p. 69. This list has now been admirably supplemented by the Death Roll of the Flodden Campaign in *Evchequer Rolls of Scotland*, xiv. App. to preface p. clxii.

<sup>2</sup> *The Battle of Flodden*, read at the Chatton meeting of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, 31st July, 1862, and printed in their *Proceedings*, iv. p. 365; published also by itself, 12° London, 1864, 16° Coldstream, 1869.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Ael.* N.S. xvi. p. 1.

which history appeals more forcibly than does poetry: I confess that the very martial address delivered by Mr. Thomas Hodgkin in Brankston church awoke in my mind an interest in Flodden, deeper and truer than any derived from nine or ten perusals of *Murmion*. It is at Mr. Hodgkin's suggestion that I have now thrown together in an independent essay a collection of raw material that I should have preferred to have seen incorporated in his appendix.

Mr. Hodgkin has so ably dealt with the general history of the campaign and the portraiture of the chief personages engaged in it, that I can pass almost straight on to the battle itself. But please first remember that a battle, with its ever-shifting scenes, is one of the hardest things to describe or comment upon. No soldier nor spectator sees exactly the same incidents; no historian will make the same selections from the mass of reminiscences laid before him. I do not think you would recognise the Sedan of Mr. Forbes in the Sedan of M. Zola. My object is to illustrate not to controvert. I wish to give you a clear and plain narrative of the events that took place on and around Flodden on Friday, the 9th of September, 1513, based on the earliest evidences attainable, many of them still, I believe, unused, without eternally harping on the subject of my agreement or disagreement with the conclusions of previous writers.

In order not to needlessly break the thread of my story, I will, to begin with, call attention to some of what I regard as the prime authorities.

In treating of a battle the first thing we naturally turn to are the despatches of the victorious general. Surrey, we know, forwarded two despatches through queen Katharine to Henry VIII., then engaged in besieging Tournay, the first by Rouge Croix herald, the second by John Glyn.<sup>4</sup> Neither of these is to be found and identified without a little trouble. The first, the *Gazette*, as it is called, exists in full only in a French form, *Articles envoyez aux Maistres des Postes du Roy d'Angleterre*, clearly stated to have been sent from Thomas

<sup>4</sup> "My lord Howard hath sent me a letter open to your grace, within one of mine, by the which ye shall see at length the great victory that our Lord hath sent your subjects in your absence.' Could not for haste send by Rouge Croix 'the piece of the king of Scots coat which John Glyn now bringeth.' Sends a bill found in a Scotchman's purse of the instigation used by France to induce James to invade England.'—Katharine of Aragon to Henry VIII., Woburn 16 Sept. 1513, *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* i. p. 670, n° 4451.

Howard, the admiral,<sup>5</sup> the second, of which there is an imperfect copy in the Record Office, is given in full in a Latin letter written from Rome to Cardinal Bainbridge, 17th November, 1513, and printed in a volume of the Roxburghe Club in 1825,<sup>6</sup> while an abstract of it, of doubtful accuracy, taken from the Sforza archives at Milan, appears in our *Venetian State Papers*.<sup>7</sup>

Then, next in value to the official despatches, there is the popular news-letter, the precursor of our special correspondence, which has come down to us in the contemporary black-letter tract printed by Richard Fawkes, *The trewe encountre or batayle lately don betwene Englande and Scotlande*,<sup>8</sup> but of this the two inner leaves, giving the account of the very thick of the fray, were provokingly missing until a manuscript copy of them was providentially discovered by Dr. Laing in about 1865.<sup>9</sup>

Flodden was no sooner fought than it was seized on by the poets. The moment the details of the victory arrived at Romè an Italian broke out into a song of triumph, *La Rotta d' Scocest*.<sup>10</sup> This, too,

<sup>5</sup> 'Signées au dessous des choses dessus d' Thomas Sr. de Howard Admiral d' Angleterre, qui estoit a la d' bataille avec le conte de Surrey son pere et menoit l'avantgard.'—Pinkerton, *History of Scotland*, ii. pp. 456-458. The truncated English version is given in *State Papers, Henry VIII.* vol. iv. part iv. p. 1, and an abstract of it in *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* i. p. 667, n° 4441.

<sup>6</sup> The despatch is identified by the fact that it contains the 'bille of such things as the Frenshe king sent to the saide King of Scots to make warr,' referred to in the letter of Katharine of Aragon. It also mentions the piece of the king of Scots' coat (*paludimentum*) that Katharine could not send the first time 'for hastynesse.' There seems to be some error about the date of the letter to cardinal Bainbridge, which must have been written immediately the news of Flodden reached Rome.

<sup>7</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, ii. p. 134.

<sup>8</sup> Reprinted in black-letter facsimile under the revise of Mr. Hazelwood, London, 1809.

<sup>9</sup> *Proceedings of Soc. Ant. Scot.* vii. 1867, p. 141.

<sup>10</sup> *Roxburghe Club Publications*, 1825. It there follows *La Rotta de Franciosi a Terroana novamente facte*—'Impressum Romæ per Magistrum Stephanum & Magistrum Herculem socios. Anno M.D. xiii. Die xii. Septembris,' four days, that is to say, after the arrival of the news of the battle of Terouenne; but in neither case is the name of the poet given. The poem on the battle of Flodden bears internal evidence of having been composed by the same author, but it has neither date, nor name of printer nor place of publication. Both were printed by the Roxburghe Club from a volume in the possession of Mr. B. Heywood Bright. It appears probable that they were the work of Andrea de Bernardi, as among the Salisbury MSS. is an 'Invocatio de inclyta invictissimi Regis nostri Henrici VIII. in Gallos et Scotos victoria, per Bernardum Andree poetam regium'—*Hist. MSS. Comm. Report on MSS. at Hatfield*, i. p. 4, and Mazzuchelli in his *Scrittori d'Italia*, i. p. 961, mentions that Andrea de Bernardi (1450-1522) 'con solenne cerimonia e applauso universale fu Laureato Poeta nel 1505.' The 'Invocatio' itself is in

was printed in the volume of the Roxburghe Club already mentioned, but as acute bibliomania restricted the issue to forty copies, it is exceedingly rare, and I venture to think much of the information derived from it both novel and interesting. But among all early materials the stately old ballad called *Scottish ffeilde*, written by Leigh of Baggaley Hall, a Cheshire squire, in about 1515, is that which deserves the most prominent place.<sup>11</sup> It is to be found in the folios of good bishop Percy, and though not so long, compares very favourably, as far as the poetry is concerned, with the better known ballad of *Floddon Field*, the production, it is said, of Richard Jackson, schoolmaster at Ingleton in Craven, in about 1560.<sup>12</sup> The contrast of feeling between the two is very remarkable; the Baggaley ballad is thoroughly medieval, the Ingleton ballad thoroughly *renaissant*.

On the Scottish side, until the recent publication of the valuable series of Exchequer Accounts,<sup>13</sup> the only early notice of the battle was contained in a letter of the régency of James V. to the court of Denmark.<sup>14</sup>

The first historian who gives a lengthened account of Flodden is Paolo Giovio, the elder, bishop of Nocera, in the portion of the history of his own times presented by him to Leo X. in 1516.<sup>15</sup>

Without referring to minor documents or to the thumb-worn pages of later chroniclers, I will now proceed to insert some of the unused evidence to be drawn from the sources cited in an elementary sketch of the campaign as the best and shortest method of explaining its historical value:—

Latin and does not seem to resemble the poem in the Italian vernacular. The *Rotta de Scocesi* is largely founded on the Latin letter to Cardinal Bainbridge, but much of the information contained in it must have been derived from the Scottish side of the battle. It appears to be the earliest source of the accounts of the escape of the hare through the king's camp and of the remonstrance of Douglas. With respect to the minute details of the combat the poet may have used a free hand.

<sup>11</sup> Bishop Percy's *Folio MS. Ballads and Romances*, ed. Hales and Furnivall, 1867, i. p. 202. It is worthy of note that *A ballade of the scottysshe Kynge*, by John Skelton, commencing 'Kynge Jamy, Jomy your Joye is all go,' printed in black-letter, by Richard Fawkes, 1513, is said to be the earliest printed English ballad.

<sup>12</sup> *The Ballad of Floddon Field*, edited by Charles A. Federer, Manchester, 1884, p. 133; but Weber's edition, Edinburgh, 1806, is perhaps still the best.

<sup>13</sup> *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, vols. xiii. and xiv. edited by Sheriff Mackay.

<sup>14</sup> Instructions to Andrew Brownhill, 16 Jan. 1514, *Ep. Reg. Scot.* p. 187, quoted in Ridpath, *Border History*, page 492 n.

<sup>15</sup> Pauli Jovii, *Historiarum sui temporis tomus primus (— secundus)*, Florentiæ, 1550-2.

James IV. crossed the Tweed near Coldstream on the 22nd August, 1513. The object he had in view was to assist the French by causing a diversion of the English forces then besieging Terouenne under Henry VIII. in person. A letter and ring he had received from the French queen, bidding him take three steps on English ground as her true knight had finally decided him on this course. Some French officers and men-at-arms under M. d'Aussi had landed at Dumbarton with several cannon and four thousand arquebusses and springalds.<sup>16</sup>

The English Border still exhibited traces of the ravages James had committed seventeen years previously when he had championed the cause of our false Richard IV. The castle of Heton and the towers of Brankston, Tilmouth, Twizel, Duddo, Shoreswood, Howtell, and Lanton still lay in ruins.<sup>17</sup> Norham, thanks largely to the wise rule of bishop Fox; was the only stronghold capable of offering serious resistance, and Norham fell after a five days' siege on the 29th of August. Etal and Ford, and also Chillingham it seems,<sup>18</sup> were speedily captured, and then having established a camp of observation on the heights of Flodden, James made Ford castle his headquarters for the inside of a week, quietly waiting till Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, king Henry's lieutenant in the North, should advance to attack him.

One reason for this inactivity was, no doubt, the very practical lesson as to the danger of advancing too far unsupported into an enemy's country which lord Home, the chamberlain of Scotland, had received about a fortnight before from sir William Bulmer at Broomhouse. Another was the certainty that if ever Highlanders were allowed too wide a field of plunder it would not be long before they went off with it to their own homes. Then, too, the whole object of declaring war was not, as was said to have been the case in 1496, the conquest and annexation of the seven northern 'sheriffdoms' of England, but the compelling Henry VIII. to conclude a peace with France. There is little or no reason to give credence to the old-wives tale that this

<sup>16</sup> *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, ii. p. 136. Aussi, who is curiously forgotten by the English chroniclers, is not to be confounded with the French envoy La Motte. I can find no account of either in books of French genealogy.

<sup>17</sup> *Border Holds*, i. pp. 22, 329 n.

<sup>18</sup> John Ainslie, captain of Norham, and Edward Gray, captain of Chillingham, were sent to Falkland for thirteen weeks as prisoners after those castles were cast down by James.—*Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, XIV. xxxviii. 9.

inertion on the part of James was due to the fatal charms of dame Elizabeth Heron the châtelaine of Ford.<sup>19</sup>

James was soon disabused of the notion that in transporting his army to Flanders, king Henry had only left 'millers and mass-priests'<sup>20</sup> at home. At the first news of the invasion, Surrey had written to James Stanley, bishop of Ely, asking for the support of his powerful house. Sir Edward Stanley found 10,000 men already under arms on his arrival at Skipton, where he was joined by 4,000 of the bishop's tenants, with eagles' feet (the Stanley badge) and three crowns (the arms of the see of Ely) brodered in gold on their breasts. They brought with them the banner of St. Audrey, as St. Etheldreda, queen of Northumberland, and foundress of Ely, was then popularly called.<sup>21</sup> A curious list of the Craven contingent, armed mostly with bills and bows, is preserved at Bolton abbey: large villages like Marton and Addingham each sent nine men 'horsed and harnessed at the town's cost.'<sup>22</sup>

Surrey had summoned his levies to meet him at Newcastle, on the 1st of September. Two days later he marched on to Alnwick, whence he dispatched his pursuivant, Rouge Croix, to the king's headquarters at Ford. James called his council together. The rumour soon spread that Surrey's son, the admiral, had reached Alnwick with a thousand 'merry mariners' and a detachment of picked troops from before Terouenne. Many of the Scottish lords considered that they had already done enough for the French alliance, and were in favour of recrossing the Border, but their advice was overruled by the violent opposition of La Motte, the French ambassador. It seems to have been a foregone conclusion with James that if Surrey should attack the fortified camp on Flodden, it could only be by forcing a passage over Ford bridge. It is said that Robert Borthwick, his master-gunner, now offered to arrange for blowing up this bridge when only half the English army should have crossed, a treacherous proposal that not unnaturally excited the king's indignation.<sup>23</sup> The

<sup>19</sup> *Border Holds*, i. pp. 305, 306, 308, 309.

<sup>20</sup> *Scottish Feilde*, l. 109.

<sup>21</sup> 'The standard of *Saint Towder*' (St. Tandere, Lyme MS.).—*Ibid.* l. 368. This has needlessly puzzled the editors of *Bishop Percy's Folios*, i. p. 226 n.

<sup>22</sup> *Floddon Field*, ed. Federer, pp. 155, 156.

<sup>23</sup> Whether this legend given by Pitcottie be true or not, the bridge in question was evidently Ford bridge:—

'Dum ad Furdam ita desidetur, &c., &c. . . . nam cum Tillus amnis

term fixed for negotiations respecting the preservation of Ford castle expired bootlessly on that day, Monday, the 5th of September, at noon, and the Scots immediately set to work to dismantle it. Then, having planted a battery to openly command the bridge, king James moved his headquarters to the camp on Flodden.<sup>24</sup>

Surrey meanwhile was marching on from Alnwick to Bolton, whence he sent a message promising to give the Scots battle 'by Friday next at the furthest.'<sup>25</sup> At Bolton, too, he divided his troops into two divisions. The centre of the vanguard, in which was the banner of St. Cuthbert, was commanded by his elder son, Thomas Howard, the lord admiral; the right wing by his younger surviving son, master Edmund Howard; the left by old sir Marmaduke Constable.<sup>26</sup> Surrey himself remained with the rear-guard, the right and left wings of which were entrusted respectively to lord Dacre and sir Edward Stanley. The strength of the two armies should be determined once for all by the clear contemporary statement that the English, though said to be 30,000, were really 40,000, while the Scots, said to be 80,000, were really 60,000.<sup>27</sup> The latter discrepancy may be accounted for by the fact that 20,000 Scots deserted their king and made off home before the day of battle.<sup>28</sup>

A jealous enmity prevailed between the Howards and the Stanleys. Surrey could scarcely have forgotten that it was the defection of

ripis præaltis, ac nusquam fere vadosus nullum intra aliquot millia passuum, nisi per unum pontem, exercitui transitum daturus esset, paucos ibi tantæ multitudini posse obsistere: posse etiam, parte Anglorum transmissa, machinis commode locatis pontem interscindî.—Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, ed. Elzevir, pp. 461, 462. That the 'machinæ' here referred to were not mere honourable cannon, we shall presently see from the fact that James did defend this one approach to Flodden by 'marvellous and great ordnance of guns,' as the English well knew.

<sup>24</sup> Buchanan, p. 464.

<sup>25</sup> *Letters and Papers Henry VIII.* i. p. 667, n° 4439.

<sup>26</sup> 'Marmaduke Cunstable of flaynbright knyght  
At brankisto' feld wher the kyng of Scottys was slayne  
He then beyng of the age of thre score and tene  
With the gode duke of Northefolke yt iorney he hay tayn  
And coragely avacid hy'self emo'g other there & then.'

—Monumental inscription on a brass plate in Flamborough church, copied by Ed. Peacock, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1864, i. p. 93.

<sup>27</sup> Brian Tuke to Richard Pace, Tournay 22 Sept. 1513.—*Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, p. 134.

<sup>28</sup> 'They say that after the kyng of Scotts medelyd with Norham xxm' of hys men went away from hym.'—Letter of Bishop Ruthal to Wolsey, *Arch. Ael.* N.S. V. p. 779.

sir Edward Stanley's father that caused his own father to be slain on the field of Bosworth. The Stanleys still remembered with pride how they had 'busked' their banner at the recovery of Berwick in 1482,<sup>29</sup> and their Cheshire tenants chafed at the hard fate that condemned them to serve in one of the three divisions led by Howards.<sup>30</sup>

The English army, thus marshalled, proceeded to Wooler haugh, where they pitched their thousand tents. This is said to be within 'three miles' of the king of Scots; but these 'little miles' were no doubt the 'petits lieux' of the French, or two of our present miles.<sup>31</sup> Every soldier on Wooler haugh 'might,' we are told, 'see how the king of Scots did lie with his army upon a high hill on the edge of Cheviot, . . . whereunto he had removed from Ford castle over the water of Till, and was enclosed in three parts with three great mountains so that there was no passage nor entry unto him but by one way, where was laid marvellous and great ordnance of guns.'<sup>32</sup>

On the Wednesday afternoon, 7th September, the English lords, tired of waiting, drew up a formal challenge requesting that James 'of his noble courage would come down to the plain of Millfield where was convenient ground for the meeting of two armies, or to a ground (hard) by, called Flodden, or to any other indifferent ground for two battles to fight upon.'<sup>33</sup> Rouge Croix, who bore this challenge, was not admitted into the royal presence, but received his answer from a Scottish gentleman. This answer, which has an important bearing on the subsequent tactics, has been so distorted by the later chroniclers that it is necessary to quote it at length in its earliest form. 'The king, my master,' so the gentleman told Rouge Croix, 'wills that ye shall show to the earl of Surrey that it beseemeth him

<sup>29</sup> 'because thé busked them at Barwicke: that bolds them the more.'—*Scottish ffeilde*, l. 364. Sir Edward Stanley is made to say:

'A scourge for Scots my father was;  
He Barwick town from them did gain.'

—*Floddon Field*, 9th fit, v. 12, ed. Federer, p. 83.

<sup>30</sup> 'their chance was the worse;  
because they knew not their Captaine: their care was the more,  
for they were wont att all warr: to waite upon the Stanleys.'

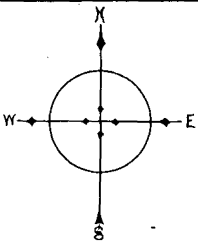
—*Scottish ffeilde*, ll. 265-267.

<sup>31</sup> An English mile contains 1,000 geometrical paces, the French little league 2,000.—Chambers's *Cyclopædia*, 1781, vol. iii., *sub voce* League. This suggests that many of our English chronicles are translated from the French.

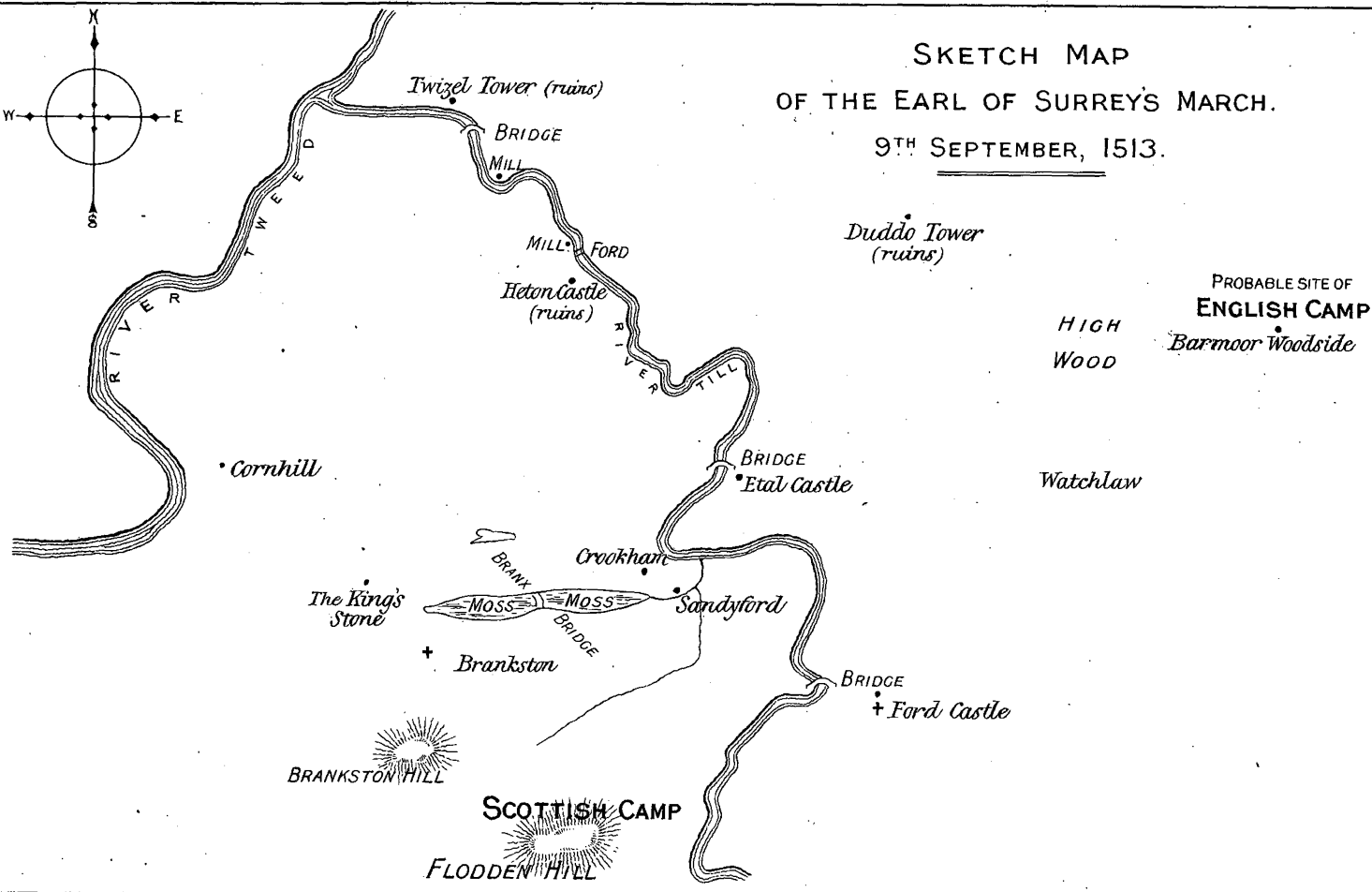
<sup>32</sup> *Trene Encountre*, Laing MS.; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* vii. pp. 145, 146.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* p. 146.





SKETCH MAP  
OF THE EARL OF SURREY'S MARCH.  
9TH SEPTEMBER, 1513.



PROBABLE SITE OF  
**ENGLISH CAMP**  
Barmoor Woodside

HIGH  
WOOD

Watchlaw



not, being an earl, so largely to attempt a great prince. His grace will take and keep his ground and field at his own pleasure, and not at the saying of the earl of Surrey, whom the king, my master, supposeth to deal with some witchcraft or sorcery because he proueth to fight upon only the said ground.<sup>34</sup> Here is certainly no quixotic promise on James's part to place no dependence on any ground, and sorcery is only mentioned by way of taunting Surrey.

Surrey now perfectly well understood that James was not to be tempted to throw away the advantages of his position, he therefore advanced northwards on the Thursday in hopes of forcing the engagement he so eagerly desired. He crossed the Till no doubt at Doddington bridge, and 'continually all that day went with the whole army in array in the sight of the king of Scots.'<sup>35</sup> He encamped that night under a woodside called Barmoor wood. As this was at least four miles from Flodden, we can hardly understand the special advantage of there having been a hill between the two hosts 'for avoiding the danger of gun shot.'<sup>36</sup> The hill seems accurately described in a later chronicle 'as rising from the hither bank of Till water with an easy steepness, the height of a mile's space,' that is to say two of our miles, 'or thereabouts,' but we are still told that one camp was within culverin shot of the other.<sup>37</sup> The condition of the English on this their fourth night of encampment was pitiable in the extreme. During their whole march there had been scarce one hour of fine weather, and even at Wooler the men were so 'clemmed' with the cold and wet that they threatened to return home unless they were at once led into action.<sup>38</sup> Worse than all 'there was little or no wine, ale, nor beer for the people to be refreshed with but all the army for the most part were enforced and constrained of necessity to drink water, . . . without comfort or trust of any relief in that behalf.'<sup>39</sup> The Scottish camp on the contrary was well provisioned, the nobles reposed on 4,000 feather beds

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* p. 147.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* p. 147. It seems probable that Surrey's camp was at Woodside, in the township of Barmoor, about a mile farther from Flodden to the north-east than the hill of Watchlaw in Ford parish, from which the lord admiral may well have reconnoitered the Scottish position.

<sup>37</sup> Holinshed, *Chronicles of England*, ed. 1577, p. 1490.

<sup>38</sup> 'there company was clemmed : and much cold did suffer ;  
water was a worthy drink : win it who might.'

—*Scottish feilde* ll. 258, 259.

<sup>39</sup> *Trewe Encountre*, Laing MS. ; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* viii. p. 147.

and drank out of vessels of gold and silver, while the soldiery were supplied with most excellent beer.<sup>40</sup>

James was perfectly well aware of Surrey's advance to Barmoor, and no doubt concluded that he was on his road to Berwick, which indeed would have formed a good base of operations.<sup>41</sup> If we could believe Leslie, the king was actually marching forward to surprise the camp at Barmoor, on the morning of the battle when he found it had already been broken up.<sup>42</sup>

According to Holinshed's *English Chronicle*, Surrey's march from Barmoor to Twizel had not been decided on when he left Wooler, but was the consequence of a reconnaissance of Flodden made by the lord admiral from a hill on the right bank of the Till, on the evening before the battle :—'Thomas lord Howard sonne and heire to the earle of Surrie, from the top of this hill beholding all the countrie on euerie side about him, declared to his father, that if he did eftsoons remooue his campe, and passe the water of Till againe in some place a little aboue, and by fetching a small compasse come and shew himselfe on the backe halfe of his enemies, the Scottish king should either be inforced to come downe fourth of his strength and give battell, or else be stopped from receiving vittels or anie other thing out of Scotland.'

By noon the English vanguard and artillery had accomplished the passage of the Till at Twizel bridge, mentioned by Leland in 1538, as 'of stone one bow, but greate and stronge,' and Surrey proceeded to lead his rear-guard through a ford called in the inscription on his monument 'Twizell forth,'<sup>43</sup> but more generally 'Milford.' There are

<sup>40</sup> *Cal. of State Papers, Venetian*, ii, p. 148. Holinshed, *Chronicles of Scotland*, ed. 1577, p. 420, gives a curious view of the camp at Flodden with one of the soldiers swilling out of a very long glass, plenty of good cheer being roasted, and no absence of womankind. The castle in the distance is not much like either Ford or Etal.

<sup>41</sup> Buchanan, ed. Elzevir, p. 494.

<sup>42</sup> 'And then the day of the feild was cumin, and the king marchand forwart toward the place quhair his enemye did campt the nycht preceiding, quhair he had the avantage of grund, he was schortlie advertised of the craft of the Inglis men.'—Leslie, *History of Scotland*, p. 94.

<sup>43</sup> 'the next Morning toke his passage ouer the water of at Twisull forthe.'—Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, ed. 1767, p. 558. The only hint of Surrey's having crossed the Till by Etal bridge is to be found in Paolo Giovio, *Hist. sui temp.* i. p. 147.—'(Surreius) bipartito exercitu binisque pontibus uno tempore flumen transmittit.' But both with regard to the passage of the Till and that of Brankston bog it seems that the English army did not mind wading as long as the artillery was got safely across on the principle of keeping the powder dry.

many reasons for supposing that this was the ford near Heton mill. It is very improbable that he crossed the river by any of the fords in the neighbourhood of Etal which would have been dangerously near the Scots. Indeed had he not been afraid of being attacked by them before all his troops were on the left bank, he would never have been at the trouble of marching so far north as Twizel, and instead of any uncertain fords, would have preferred to make use of the stone bridge that seems to have been in existence at Etal at the time, since Leland found it there in 1538, and the account of it three years later as 'decayed and fallen down of late to the great trouble, hurte and annoyances of the inhabitants thereabouts whiche had allwaies redy passage when the said river is waxen greate and past rydinge up on horsebacke,'<sup>44</sup> points both to its having been no recent construction and to the impossibility of using the fords near it when the Till was so swollen as it was on the morning of Flodden. The Border Commissioners of 1541 proceed to express the opinion that 'much necessary it were to have it reedified again as well for the purpose aforesaid as for the conveying of ordnance and armies into Scotland over the same.' Though Surrey cannot well have crossed it during his advance, there is little doubt that the Scottish artillery captured at Flodden was brought over it to Etal castle that night.

Once safely over the Till, Surrey's strategy, it seems, consisted in leading James to suppose that he intended to carry the heights of Flodden by storm.<sup>45</sup> The whole English army probably marched up the left bank of the river. Three hundred years ago this district, in many parts rough and uneven, was in some places a mere rushy, swampy morass.<sup>46</sup> The movement of a large force with artillery in its van was necessarily very slow through such a country. A yet more formidable obstacle, though it was one that protected them from the Scots, lay before them in the great bog that then stretched towards the Till for about a mile and a half from just north of the village of Brankston.

<sup>44</sup> *Border Holds*, i. p. 38.

<sup>45</sup> James, we are told, considered that Surrey was bound in honour to attack him in his position at Flodden by noon that day, instead of which Surrey pretended to keep his word by crossing the Till before the hour settled for the commencement of the battle:—'(Jacobus) statariam pugnam expectat. Sed Angli dolis intenti, locum et horam belli statuto die detrectantes, pugnam dissimulant.'—*Epist. Reg. Scot.* p. 187, quoted in Ridpath, *Border History*, p. 492 n.

<sup>46</sup> Letter of Jones to White, *Arch. Acl.* N.S. iii. p. 233.

Near the centre of this swamp was a strip of rather firmer ground, where at the end of the last century there was 'a small narrow rude bridge, which went by the name of 'Branx bridge,' and which was always pointed out by the old people as the bridge over which part of the English army crossed when marching to Flodden Field.'<sup>47</sup> This tradition, so far as the swamp is concerned, is admirably substantiated by the earliest accounts of the battle. The English army was forced to wade through a certain marshy pass, leaving their artillery in their rear<sup>48</sup>—*mons ita erat munitus et defensus tormentis bellicis ut exercitus Anglorum cogeretur indagare quandam viam paludosam relictis post se tormentis.*<sup>49</sup> The contemporary Italian poem also gives as the reason of this difficult passage of Brankston bog by the lord admiral, the necessity he was under of avoiding the extensive artillery of the enemy:—

'Vero e che per la molta arteglia  
nimica, ando per certa via fangosa  
et convenne lassar la sua per via.'<sup>50</sup>

The Scottish artillery had by this time no doubt been drawn up opposite Crookham to prevent the advance of the English on Flodden across the little burn.

'A brook of breadth a taylor's yerd,'<sup>51</sup>

that issued from the east end of the morass to soon join the Till near the hamlet of Sandyford. In the sixteenth century, this burn was called after the hamlet, which in its turn may have derived its name from a neighbouring ford over the Till.

It was about four o'clock in the afternoon when the Scots sighted the English vanguard (consisting of Edmund Howard's wing, 3,000 strong, followed by the lord admiral with from 12,000 to 14,000 men,

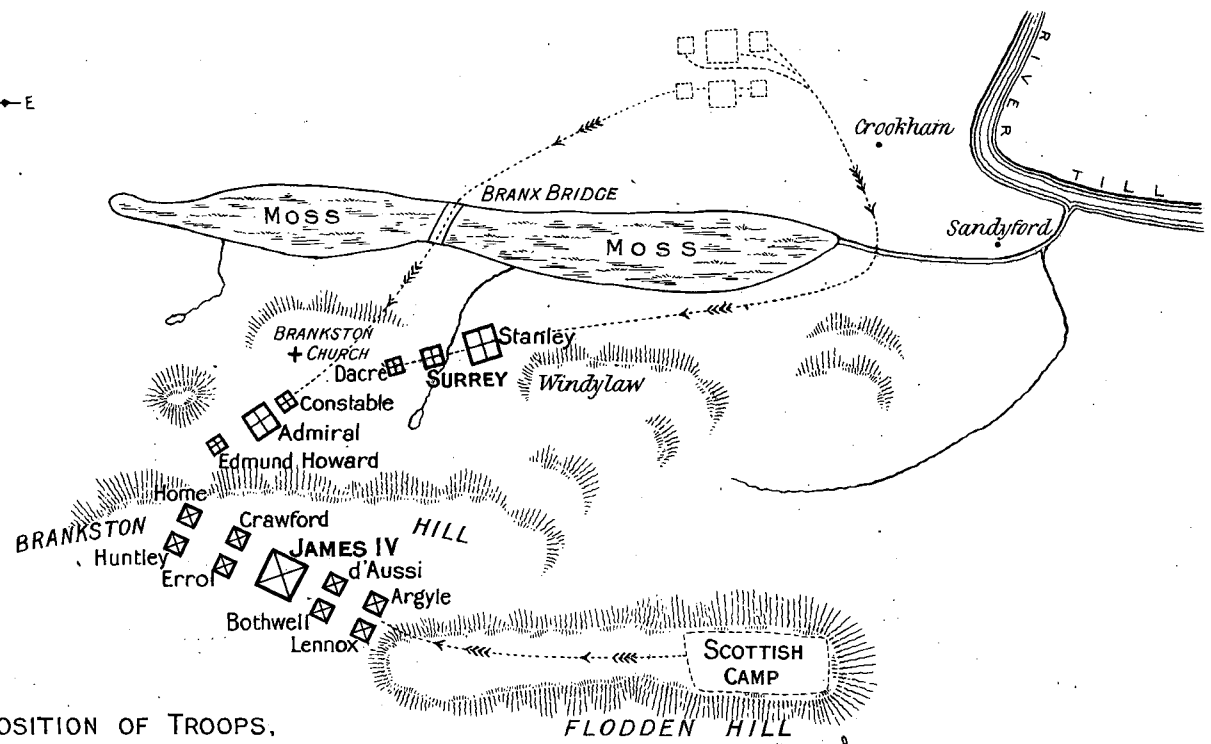
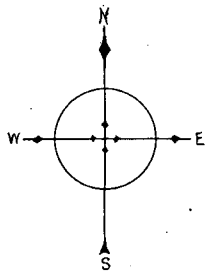
<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, ii. p. 134.

<sup>49</sup> Letter to Card. Bainbridge, *Rotta de Seocesi*, App. p. 4.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* p. 30.

<sup>51</sup> *Flodden Field*, 7th fit, v. 47. On Surrey's monument the battle is said to have taken place 'on a hill besidis Bramston in Northumbrelond, very neer unto Sandiford.'—Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, ed. 1767, p. 558. As 'Twisull forth' is mentioned in the same inscription as the place where Surrey crossed the Till, the two crossings were, it is evident, perfectly distinct, and should never have been confused as they have been through that most treacherous of all guides popular etymology. In the same way the burn has been dubbed 'Pallinsburn,' and the name connected with St. Paulinus, for which there is not a shred of historical authority or real tradition. 'Burn' in place-names is often a form of 'burh,' see *Border Holds*, i. p. 302 n., and the 'Pallin' in question was much more probably a former owner of the place like Paulane of Roddam, in king Athelstan's jingling charter, than the first missionary in the North.



SUGGESTED POSITION OF TROOPS,  
 AT COMMENCEMENT OF  
BATTLE OF FLODDEN.





including those in sir Marmaduke Constable's wing) turning inexplicably westwards along the north margin of this morass.<sup>52</sup> Giles Musgrave, an Englishman, probably an outlaw, who happened to be in the Scottish camp, gave it as his opinion that his countrymen were about to cross the Tweed near Cornhill and ravage the Merse.<sup>53</sup> Still greater was the surprise of the Scots when they saw the English suddenly wading through the middle of the swamp that they had thought impassable. James at once rightly conjectured that the enemy were making for Brankston hill, the occupation of which, rising as it does to within a few feet of the altitude of Flodden, would have enabled them to cut his lines of communication with Scotland. With true military genius, he at once ordered the camp refuse on Flodden to be set on fire, and, taking advantage of the clouds of smoke with which a south-easterly wind enveloped the whole range, he transferred his forces and artillery to the summit of Brankston before the lord admiral, who had arrived at its foot, had the least idea of the sudden move he had made.

In marching from Flodden hill, James, we are told, arranged his forces in five lines composed of square pike-shaped battalions.<sup>54</sup> He himself, with the royal standard of Scotland being in the third line, was protected by two other lines on either side.<sup>55</sup> Each line, except that of the king which was larger than the others, and has been estimated as high as 20,000 men,<sup>56</sup> was, it would seem, (judging from the fact that the names of the leaders of these lines occur in pairs, Home and Huntley, Crawford and Errol, Argyle and Lennox), composed of two brigaded battalions, each containing four French captains, and

<sup>52</sup> '(Angli) sub vesperum loco undique munito et paludoso, se ostentant.'—*Ep. Reg. Scot.* p. 187; Ridpath, *Border History*, p. 492 n.

<sup>53</sup> *Flodden Field*, 8th fit, vv. 5-8.

<sup>54</sup> 'Omnes copias in quinque acies dispertit; ea ratione ut tertium agmen in quo signum regium erat, at omnes viri insignes militabant, duplici utrinque acie tanquam duobus cornibus clauderetur.'—Paolo Giovio, *Hist. svi temp.* p. 148.

<sup>55</sup> 'Exercitus Scotorum divisus fuit in quinque ordines et distributus in turmas quadrangulares: contorum (quos picas nunc vocant) similitudinem referentes: omnes ab exercitu Anglico aequali spatio distantes.'—Letter to Card. Bainbridge, *Rotta de Scocesi*, App. p. 4.

'Scocesi (como dissi) facte havieno  
le lor acie quadrate: equale in punta  
a la guise de piche se stendieno:  
cinque eron, l'una da l'altra disgiunta.

—*Ibid.* p. 29.

<sup>56</sup> 'Bove twenty thousand men at least.'—*Flodden Field*, 8th fit, v. 64.

about 5,000 men.<sup>57</sup> The peculiar pike-shape of the battalions may have been adopted in deference to the latest theoretical rules of military science imported from beyond the seas, or, more apparent than real, may have been caused by the diagonal line of march from Flodden to Brankston.<sup>58</sup> In fact as it advanced on Brankston that fatal afternoon, the formation of the Scottish host must have borne, however strange and fanciful it may seem, a strong resemblance to the nine of diamonds, that 'curse of Scotland.' First came the foremost vanguard composed of the two battalions, the earl of Home's border horse, and the earl of Huntley's Gordon highlanders; then the battalions of the earls of Crawford and Errol; third, in the centre, the royal division, followed by one less clearly distinguished than the others but which appears to have been formed by the battalions of the Seigneur

<sup>57</sup> 'Nel primo corno overa il franco havvardo  
percossero, col conte de Arelia :  
quel de huntley ch'era tanto gagliardo  
et quello de Crafordia in compagnia :  
con octo sir Francciosi allo standardo :  
per che ordinato e che in ogni acie stia  
oltra li proprii lor conductori,  
octo Francciosi per gubernatori.

'Con cui mi par che dece millia fossero  
soldati, & se fur piu, non molti forono  
il camerer de Scotia e le suoi se mossero,  
che dece millia fur che 'l seguitorono,  
& furiosi nello altro percossero,  
nel qual Edmondo havvardo ritrovorono  
el conte de Linces con quel de Argillia :  
se mosser dopo con ben dece millia.

'Questi dove era Eduardo ferirono.  
dopo si mosse la bandera regia  
e il re, quindici millia lo seguirono.'

—*Rotta de Scoeesi*, pp. 31, 32.

The letter to Cardinal Bainbridge mentions the forty French captains.—*Ibid.* app. p. 3.

<sup>58</sup> Through the kindness of the Rev. F. J. Foakes-Jackson, I have examined the unique collection of early military books in the library of Jesus College, Cambridge, in the hope of finding an ideal arrangement of troops like that adopted by James IV. and his French advisers, La Motte and Aussi, but though all sorts of singular shapes, such as wedges and shears, are recommended, I have found nothing exactly bearing on the point. I noted especially among these books, *The Arte of Warre*, 'written first in Italian by Nicholas Machiavell & set forthe in English by Peter Whitehorne, student at Graies Inn MDLX.,' which contains good plans of the battles of Guarigliano, 1503, and St. Quentin, 1557; *Instruction des Principes et Fondements de la Cavallerie*, 'per Jean Jacques de Wallhausen, capitaine de la louable ville de Danzick. Francfort, MDCXVI;' and *Le Gouvernement de la Cavallerie Legere* 'par George Basta, Gouverneur General en Vngrie & Transilvanie pour feu l'Invictissime Empereur Rodolphe II. Rouen, 1627,' with diagrams of the 'exploits' at Driel, Ordingen, and Ingelmunster.

d'Aussi and the earl of Bothwell, while the Highland battalions of Argyle and Lennox brought up the rear. When the enemy halted and turned north to front the advancing English, the configuration of the ground was such that the fourth division, that of d'Aussi and Bothwell, found itself hidden from the view of the enemy in a small valley, and was thus able to act as an important reserve for assisting both the royal division and the farther rear-guard.<sup>59</sup>

The king at once gave the command for the vanguard, that is to say his first and second divisions, to descend the hill in good order like Germans guarding perfect silence, so that when the smoke rolled away the admiral was alarmed to find the four battalions bearing down on him only a quarter of a mile away, and sent in all haste the *Agnus Dei* that hung at his breast to his father as a signal that he was to bring up the rear-guard with all speed to join his left wing commanded by Constable.<sup>60</sup>

The removal of the Scottish artillery to Brankston hill had permitted the earl of Surrey to cross unchallenged the Sandyford burn near Crookham with the ordnance that the admiral had been forced to leave behind in wading through Brankston moss. Meanwhile, it would seem that the right wing of the rear-guard, about 3,000 strong,

<sup>59</sup> 'Il signor Dausi capitan Francese,  
con quindici migliaia in un squadrone,  
per refrescare le gente Scocesi  
rimase alla riscossa in un burone.'

—*Rotta de Scocesi*, p. 32.

<sup>60</sup> 'My Lorde 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 vanwarde was not of power nor abull to encounter thaim, My saide lorde of Surrey perfutely vnderstanding this with all spede and diligence, lustely, came forwarde and joyned hym to the vanwarde 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 iiii] battelles.'—*Trewe Encountre*, Laing MS. in *Proceedings Soc. Ant. Scot.* vii. p. 148. The English is provokingly vague; the Latin account says the admiral waited 'donec altera ala ultimi agminis conjungeretur extremæ parti agminis sui.'—Letter to Cardinal Bainbridge, *Rotta de Scocesi*, app. p. 4. This leaves no doubt that Surrey's right wing (Dacre) was to have joined the admiral's left (Constable), but in consequence of the violence of the Scottish attack on the admiral's right (Edmund Howard) it was ordered *chemin faisant* to hasten to the relief of this last. That Dacre did command a wing of Surrey's division is clear from his own letter to Henry VIII. (see note 63). The idea that he was stationed with an independent squadron to give assistance where necessary is a mistake of Paolo Giovio. The distance from the bottom to the top of the hill is clearly given as 500 paces — 'cujus radices a cacumine quingentis passibus distabant.'—*Rotta de Scocesi*, *ibid.*

commanded by lord Dacre, instead of joining Constable, pushed forward as rapidly as ever possible to support Edmund Howard, whose division appears to have made more progress towards Brankston hill than the rest of the vanguard. At any rate Edmund's was the first to be engaged, receiving as it did at the extreme west of the field the shock of the charge of the battalion composed of Border horse led by lord Home the chamberlain of Scotland, linked with that of the earl of Huntley's Gordon highlanders. Sir Brian Tunstal, a knight of the same stainless character as his father, whose loyalty to the Red Rose had remained unshaken amid all the tergiversations of the civil wars, was the first Englishman 'to proffer stroke.'<sup>61</sup> Swinging his halbert about him he brought sir Malcolm Keen and others staggering to the ground, then rushing into the midst of the descending host he was cut off from all succour, and sank overpowered by some twenty Scots. The battle had begun in good earnest. In the words of the ancient ballad, which with its stately metre has about it so much of the true ring of the glorious song of Brunanburh,

'there was gurdng forth of gunns : with many great stones,  
Archers vttered out their arrowes ; and eagerlie they shotten,  
they proched vs with speares : and put many over  
that they blood out brast : at their broken harnish.  
there was swinging out of swords : and swapping of headds ;  
we blanked them with bills : through all their bright armor  
that all the dale dunned : of their derfe strokes.'<sup>62</sup>

At the first boom of the Scottish cannon the men of Tynemouth and Bamburghshire in the wing of the rear-guard that lord Dacre was bringing up to support Edmund Howard, took to their heels. Edmund's Cheshire followers, already half-mutinuous at not being led by a Stanley, and cowed by the fall of the heroic Tunstal, immediately followed their example.<sup>63</sup> Some of the leaders manfully stood their

<sup>61</sup> *Flodden Field*, 8th fit, v. 41.

<sup>62</sup> *Scottish feilde*, ll. 324-329.

<sup>63</sup> 'At Branxton, that victorious field, as I was not of sufficient power of my country folks to be a wing of my Lord Treasurer's hoste, he assigned to me *Bamburghshire* and *Tynmouth*, to assiste me with there powers, *which at the first shott of the Scottish gonmys fled* from me and carried no longer.'—Raine, *North Durham*, introd. p. vi. So, too, the Baggaley ballad.

'in wing with these wees : was my Lord Dacres,  
he fledd at the first bredd : and the followed after.'

—*Scottish feilde* (Lyme MS.), ll. 331, 332.

It may be explained that 'wees' or 'wyes' mean 'men,' and 'bredd' or 'braid,' 'onset.'

ground: sir John Booth of Barton; sir William Warcop, a young Yorkshire knight;<sup>64</sup> sir Thomas Fitzwilliam, from beside Rotheram; Christopher Savage, and others, these

'wold neuer flee: for noe feare that cold happen,  
but were killed lik Conquerors: in their King's service.'<sup>65</sup>

Edmund Howard himself was thrice laid low, and was only saved by the timely arrival and unselfish devotion of John Heron.<sup>66</sup> Even then, as he was hurrying towards the main body of the vanguard, sir Edmund was in danger of being cut off by the troop of sir David Home, but at this moment a successful charge, delivered by lord Dacre with the levies of Gilsland and Alston moor, and

'The horsemen light from Esk and Leven,'<sup>67</sup>

fifteen hundred in all, drove off the victorious borderers, and saved the discomfiture of the extreme right from spreading a panic through the other divisions of the English army.

The lord admiral in the centre of the vanguard had been attacked by the earls of Crawford and Errol, with whom was George Lesley, earl of Rothes.<sup>68</sup> At every step Howard called loudly for the king, saying, in reference to the alleged taunts of James as to his evasive policy on the high seas, 'Now I flee not at thy approach. Thou who boastedst of having sought me everywhere in vain, where art thou? Show thyself, and we will prove which has the greatest strength!'<sup>69</sup> Instead of the king, he encountered the earl of Crawford, and the two, armed with axes, fought undecisively together for

<sup>64</sup> *Scottish ffeilde*, l. 341. He is called Sir Robert in the Craven ballad.

<sup>65</sup> *Scottish ffeilde*, ll. 349, 350.

<sup>66</sup> *Floodon Field*, 8th fit, vv. 51, 52.

<sup>67</sup> The text, manifestly corrupt, has 'Hexham Leven.'—*Floodon Field*, 5th fit, v. 54; ed. Federer, p. 51.

<sup>68</sup> 'Ne valse per che assai fussero forti  
il conte de Crafordia & de Arelia:  
ne per che quello de Huntlei conforti  
con voce & facti la sua compagnia.'

—*Rotta de Scocesi*, p. 39.

Pinkerton, *Hist. of Scotland*, ii. p. 457, notices the mistake of Huntley for Lesley in the earliest list of the slain.

<sup>69</sup> 'eco non fuggo hor a te vegno,  
tu che havermi cercato in ciascun passo  
te vanti, ov sei? hor lassati vedere,  
et provarem chi havra maggior potere.'—*Ibid.*

The admiral would give no quarter, not even to the king himself 'neminem quantumvis nobilem Scotum, etiam si esset rex ipse, captionem facere: sed occidere.'—Letter to Bainbridge, p. 4.

some time. At last, just at the right moment, Howard raised his axe and dealt the earl a blow under the left arm, where the arm-piece met the cuirass, and the wretched man fell dead at his feet. The earl of Rothes<sup>70</sup> was hastening to Crawford's assistance when he was met by William Percy, who, with his brother,<sup>71</sup> was stationed to the admiral's left, and slain by a thrust in the thigh. Errol alone was now left to defend the colours. Upon Howard's advance the standard-bearer was thrown down, and victory definitely secured to the English in this part of the field. The eight French captains who had been appointed to the command of this Scottish division were slain, and the fugitives hotly pursued by the two Percies.

It was at the moment of this successful termination of his own engagement that the lord admiral heard of his brother Edmund's discomfiture. He accordingly refrained from joining in the pursuit of the routed Scots, and turned towards where Dacre was attacked by the chamberlain, doing his best to soothe Edmund's irritation. 'Like a furious lion amongst a herd of cattle, not content with blood but covetous of glory,'<sup>72</sup> Edmund forced his way through the enemy's ranks till he reached their banner. Lord Home now found the pride of his earlier success abashed, and, leaving Dacre, fled with the rest.

On seeing the rout of Edmund Howard's division, king James could restrain himself no longer, and, without waiting for his rear-guard,<sup>73</sup> madly came down the hillside upon Surrey, who had brought a force of about 5,000 into line to the east of the admiral.<sup>74</sup> The English artillery had hitherto proved of little service owing to the uneven nature

<sup>70</sup> The poet says Huntley, p. 41; but as Huntley was one of the few Scottish survivors, it is evident that Lesley was meant. The whole of the details of the personal combats are to be taken subject to poetic license.

<sup>71</sup> 'Guglielmo & Henrico,  
gioveni fratri & ciascun cavalliero  
del sangue de Percy nobile, e anticho.'

—*Rotta de Soocesi*, p. 38.

The second brother may have been Jocelyn, as Henry, the eldest brother, was earl of Northumberland, and was at Terouenne with Henry VIII.

<sup>72</sup> 'che come Leon furibondo  
tra gli armenti arivato, non si satia  
del sangue loro, irato & sitibondo.'

—*Ibid.* p. 43.

<sup>73</sup> Leslie, *History of Scotland*, p. 95.

<sup>74</sup> *Trewe Encountre*, Laing MS.; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* vii. p. 148.

of the ground it had been passing over,<sup>75</sup> but now William Blackenall, the master-gunner, got his guns into good position and sent his missiles like 'sowing tennis balls'<sup>76</sup> into the midst of the royal division, causing it to come down faster still. Lord Sinclair, the master of the Scottish ordnance, was slain, and its misdirected fire practically silenced.<sup>77</sup> The king charged at full speed with his lance couched, and had already borne down five Englishmen when it broke. He then drew his sword; and, undeterred by the entreaties of the aged earl of Douglas,<sup>78</sup> rushed into the ranks of the enemy, striking all he met to the ground. His natural son, the archbishop of St. Andrew's, bravely followed him. Lord Herries and lord Maxwell pressed forward to the king's assistance,<sup>79</sup> and the combined forces of the Scots forced their way to Surrey's standard. The king was challenged by Guiscard Harbottle, a young man of great strength; the archbishop was met by Surrey himself, by whose side lord Darcy's son engaged Maxwell. The proud lord Latimer fought with Herries, lord Conyers with old earl Douglas. By this time the Scottish left had been entirely defeated by lord Dacre and the admiral, and the king, roused to fury, struck Guiscard Harbottle so heavy

<sup>75</sup> 'notwithstanding that othir (? otherwise) our artillery for warre coulde doe noe good nor advantage to our army because they wer continually goyng and advansing vp towarde the said hilles and mountaines.'—*Ibid.* p. 147.

<sup>76</sup> *Floddon Field*, 8th fit, v. 21.

<sup>77</sup> Hall says: 'The Master Gunner of the English slew the Master Gunnér of Scotland, and beat all his men from their ordnance, so that the Scottish ordnance did no harm to the Englishmen, but the Englishmen's artillery shot into the king's battle and slew many.' Borthwick, however, is known to have been alive three years after the battle.—*Eschequer Accounts of Scotland*, xiii. preface, p. clxxv.

<sup>78</sup> 'Veniva appresso il signor Dalisse :  
quel vecchio che con lunga oratione  
lo dissuase da sta impresa, & disse  
che ella seria la sua destrutione :  
che era venuto como li promise  
per monstrar de sua forza parangone  
e che non havea data quel consiglio,  
per tema alcuna de morte o periglio.'

—*Rotta de Scocesi*, p. 35.

The presence of old Archibald Bell-the-Cat taking part in the actual battle is a surprise when we recall the famous account in Buchanan of his quarrel with James at the council at Ford and his consequent return home. It should, however, be borne in mind that Buchanan's story does not agree with Pitscottie who represents the earl of Angus as one of the proposed leaders of the forces of the south of Scotland in the battle. On Douglas's advice previous to the invasion, see *Rotta de Scocesi*, p. 11. It seems very evident that the 'Dalisse' in the text is Douglas, and not Hales, earl of Bothwell, as suggested in the notes.

<sup>79</sup> 'El signor de Hercie, e quel de Maxuello.'—*Ibid.* p. 36.

a blow with both hands on the shoulder that it descended on his side and stretched him lifeless on the ground. James then gave orders for the rear-guard to be advanced, and lord Dacre, who was now coming round from the west, had only just time to form to receive them.<sup>80</sup> The only portion of the rear-guard then available, as will be presently seen, seems to have been that commanded by the earl of Bothwell, which probably formed the major part of d'Aussi's reserve.<sup>81</sup> This last division of the Scottish force was much stronger than the other, we are told ; for the fugitives rallied, and all the troops still under discipline hastened bravely to the front,<sup>82</sup> so that it might well be said

‘The victory in doubt did stand.’<sup>83</sup>

All was to be changed by the advance of the English left under sir Edward Stanley,

‘The man . . . on whom the matter wholly hinges.’<sup>84</sup>

Considering the very different issue that the engagement in this part of the field was to have, it seems in every way likely that Stanley's following was superior in number to the 10,000 Scots under the earls of Argyle and Lennox opposed to him, and 15,000 does not seem much too extravagant an estimate of it. ‘The lads of Lancashire,’<sup>85</sup> we are told

‘could hardly fast their feet,  
But forced on hands and feet to creep,  
. . . . .

At last the mountain top they wan.’<sup>86</sup>

They thus turned the position of the Scots. Argyle fell at the first onset ; Lennox, pursued by Stanley along more than half the hillside, was slain at the foot of the banner, which was only rescued by 5,000 men of the division under the Seigneur d'Aussi, which had been

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 36, 44. There is a curious woodcut of all this combat on foot with spears and swords in Holinshed's *Chronicles of England*, ed. 1577, p. 1492.

<sup>81</sup> ‘Adamus Heburnus cum propinquis & cætera Lothiana Nobilitate in subsidiis erat.’—Buchanan, p. 465.

<sup>82</sup> ‘ Questa ultima acie de Scocessi grossa  
era piu assai che l'altre : che la gente  
fuggita a quella tutta se e riscossa.’

—*Rotta de Scocesi*, p. 45.

<sup>83</sup> *Floddon Field*, 9th fit, v. 4.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.* 5th fit, v. 57.

<sup>85</sup> ‘Lancashire like Lyons : Laid them about.

All had been lost by our Lord : had not those leeds beene.’

—*Scottish ffeilde*, ll. 383, 384.

<sup>86</sup> *Floddon Field*, 9th fit, vv. 5, 7.



posted in a clough to give assistance where required.<sup>87</sup> This stand made by d'Aussi can have been of little avail. Stanley charged down the hill on the rear of the king's forces, while Dacre pressed in from the west. The fate of the battle was sealed by the death of king James beneath the banner of St. Audrey.<sup>88</sup> The Scots fled and were killed

'like Caitiues, in Clowes all about.

all the lords of their lande were left them behind,  
beside brinston in a bryke : breatheless thé lyen,  
gaping against the moone : there guests were away.<sup>89</sup>

It is said that the iron gauntlets were still on the king's body when it was found,<sup>90</sup> and removed to the nearest church, which is the only faint reference we have to the church of Brankston, that would seem to have been so close to the battlefield.<sup>91</sup> His rent surcoat was sent to Tournay, stained with blood and chequered in the English fashion.<sup>92</sup> The fatal torquoise ring and his sword and dagger are shown at Herald's college. The sword bears on the blade the motto :

**Espoir conforte le Cheval.**

to be translated 'Hope encourages a leader,'<sup>93</sup> and it might almost seem that a contemporary writer alludes to this when he ascribes James's defeat to the fact that he had impiously placed all his hope in his French captains.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>87</sup> 'sel signor de Ausy quella schiera rotta  
non soccorrea, con cinque millia in frotta.'

—*Rotta de Scocesi*, p. 37.

<sup>88</sup> 'their King was downe knocked : & killed in there sight  
vnder the banner of a Bishoppe : that was the bold standlye.'

—*Scottish ffeilde*, ll. 385, 386.

On the back of a list of 'ffranche prisoners taken at Turwine' is the note 'The Kyng of Scotts was fownd slayn by my lord Dakers in y<sup>e</sup> fronte of his batayll & also y<sup>e</sup> lord maxwill & his brother y<sup>e</sup> lord harryes erle Crauford who is knowen. And y<sup>e</sup> kyng of Scotts body is closed in lede & be kept till y<sup>e</sup> kyngis plesure be knowen in Barwicke. And y<sup>e</sup> were slayn xj<sup>m</sup> scotts beside yem yet were slayn in ye chace, and ij bisshops. And of English men but ij C psons slayn.'—Harl. MS. 369, p. 94 d.; quoted, but not correctly, in Galt, *Life of Wolsey*, p. 17.

<sup>89</sup> *Scottish ffeilde*, ll. 391, 400-403. 'Clowes' means 'cloughs,' or small valleys; 'bryke,' a 'brake' or thicket; 'guests,' 'gasts' or spirits.

<sup>90</sup> *State Papers, Venetian*, ii. p. 130.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.* p. 128.

<sup>92</sup> 'Lacerata paludamenta Regis Scotorum huc missa fuerunt, tincta sanguine et variegatijs (sic) more nostro.' Brian Tuke, clerk of the signet to Richard Pace, secretary of the cardinal of England, Tournai, 22 Sept.—*Ibid.* p. 135, n. The 'variegatia' seems to refer to the tartan, and the 'more nostro' to assert its English origin.

<sup>94</sup> 'Scotorum rex, qui majorem auxilii spem in gallicis praefectis (quorum XL numero habuit) quem in deo reposuit.'—Letter to Cardinal Bainbridge, *Rotta de Scocest*, app. p. 3.

While the battle was going on, the good folks of the English marches are said to have taken the opportunity of plundering Surrey's camp.<sup>95</sup> They also appear to have laid their hands on the riderless horses. The Baggaley ballad complains

'many a wye wanted his horse : and wandred home a foote ;  
all was long of the Marx men ; a Mischeefe them happen.'<sup>96</sup>

As some mitigation of this charge we have *The booke of the horses and mares takyn by the inhabitants of Cumberland and Northumberland of the ffelde of Branxton the ix. day of September, the fyfthe yere of the reigne of our souverain lord King Henry the Eighth, being within the boundes and Auctorite of Thomas Lord Dacres, &c., of Graystok, Wardain of the Marchies.*<sup>97</sup> There were delivered by Dacre's officers in Cumberland before the 26th of November, 221 horses and mares to the claimants on their 'book-oath.' The list of these embraces the whole of the North of England, but the only notices relating to Northumberland are the recovery of a grey mare by Thomas Blyth of Rennington, of a bay gelding by Nicholas Ridley of 'Wollemontswyke,' of five horses and mares by Thomas Horsley for himself and neighbours, and of a horse by Ralph Widdrington. The inhabitants of Northumberland restored seventy-six horses and mares to their owners at Morpeth ; Leonard Thornton of Shilbottle is the only local claimant in the list.

<sup>95</sup> Letter of Bishop Ruthal, *Arch. Ael.* v. p. 179.

<sup>96</sup> *Scottish ffelde*, ll. 414, 415.

<sup>97</sup> P.R.O. *Chapter House Books*, B.

