



GAINSLAW HOUSE

On the Southern Slope of the Plateau on which Norfolk made his Encampment.



BORDER LANE

Running along the West Side of the Plateau on which Norfolk made his Encampment.

VI.—THE ENGLISH EXPEDITION INTO SCOTLAND  
IN 1542.

By the Right Hon. Sir GAINSFORD BRUCE, D.C.L.

[Read on the 24th April, 1907.]

A short time ago Mr. Robert Blair called my attention to an entry in 'Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic,' of the reign of Henry VIII., published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. The entry is numbered 998, and is to be found in the seventeenth volume at page 555. It refers to the year 1542, and states that 'On Sunday, 22nd October, Norfolk went from Berwick with his army royal to Gayncelaw, and camped there.'

Gainslaw, in its modern aspect of rural simplicity, delightfully situated three-and-a-half miles west from Berwick, with its well cultivated land, ornamented by trees of beautiful foliage, presents every appearance of a 'haunt of ancient peace,' and it is difficult to realize that in the sixteenth century the Borders were a scene of constant disquiet, tending to the destruction of houses and crops so as to reduce the whole borderland to a condition of waste and desolation.

The enterprise above referred to, upon which the duke of Norfolk was engaged, was an attempt by him and his army, at the instance of Henry VIII., to invade Scotland by force and to reduce her to submission. But the enterprise was not attended with success, and Norfolk, after burning and destroying many farm-houses and villages, found himself powerless to carry out his design by reason of the want of food for the men and horses of the army. The entries in the volume already mentioned show in great detail the orders given by Henry VIII. and his council to the duke of Norfolk, and the communications which passed between the duke, the wardens of the marches and

other persons on the borders and the king and his council. They throw light upon the manner in which border forays were carried on, and show the extreme difficulty then existing in providing food for large bodies of men in the debatable land. Further, we see in these early days that the navy was looked upon as affording useful assistance, not only in protecting small vessels laden with provision, but also in carrying on active warfare against Scottish towns on the sea coast.

It appears also that the fine natural harbour of Holy Island was found exceedingly useful for giving shelter to vessels laden with provision and ammunition when they could not get into Berwick, while Skate Roads, a favourite roadstead at the present day, gave good anchorage to vessels waiting for an opportunity of entering the harbour of Holy Island or of Berwick. The frequent complaints by those in charge of the army that a sufficient quantity of beer was not supplied for the men sounds strange, but it affords evidence that at that time beer was the only beverage in common use.

In 1542 the relations between England and Scotland were somewhat strained, for, although there was peace between the two nations, each had lost confidence in the other, and both were preparing for war. There had been long negotiations between Henry VIII., the king of France, and the emperor Charles V., and each of the three sovereigns was apprehensive that a league might be formed against him by the other two. On July 10, 1542, a declaration of war was made by Francis I. against the emperor; and the king of England resolved to take the opportunity to deliver a decisive blow against Scotland, while France was occupied in war with the emperor, and therefore unable to render assistance. He was anxious to take Scotland by surprise and to conceal the fact that the preparations for war which he was making were intended to be against that kingdom.

On August 8, the imperial and French ambassadors were

summoned to Windsor, and were told by the duke of Norfolk that the king would preserve neutrality, and that the preparations he was making were for the protection of his own country, especially as he heard the king of Scots was preparing for war.

The following is an extract from a despatch written by Marillac, the French ambassador, to Francis I., on August 10, giving an account of this interview:—

The day on which he was to be at Windsor to communicate with the Privy Council, the emperor's ambassador had had assignation to be there, and when both appeared, Norfolk, as eldest and first in authority, declared that war, having arisen between Francis and the emperor, great armies being assembled on both sides, they as neighbours of both had to be on their guard, and so the king, their master, had decided to make such preparation that he could prevent and resent any attack; and as their subjects were ill-treated at sea by barks equipped for war roving upon their coasts, to the hindrance of their traffic, they were sending out their ships of war to protect navigation and preserve the immunity of their ports, roads and franchises; and likewise as the king of Scotland had reviewed his people and taken order to have all his forces ready upon warning, they had decided to do the like, concluding that as their master desired to live at peace, so he was resolved to endure no wrong, and the ambassadors were informed of this that they might write it to their masters. Thereupon the emperor's ambassador having said what seemed good to him, which was no great thing, Marillac thanked them for so openly declaring their king's intention to remain neutral, and assured them that it was Francis's intention to preserve their subjects like his own and nowise infringe their franchises. Thinks that under the sweetness of these words of theirs, there is much poison hidden, for in announcing their preparations by sea and land they make known that it is for war, as might be presumed from the preparations heretofore, and in specifying the cause they indicate sufficiently that it is against Francis and the king of Scotland.

In the month of July raids had taken place on the border, and Henry alleged that the Scots had broken the peace by a raid into England on the 4th of that month. This the Scots denied, and said the peace had been first broken by the English making a raid into Scotland on the 7th.

The Scottish king proposed that commissioners should be appointed by himself and the English king to enquire into the damage caused by the alleged raids, and to say what should be

done by way of making amends. There was, further, a matter in dispute respecting the question of boundary between the two kingdoms which it was proposed the commissioners should settle. The Scottish king sent Leirmonth, one of the masters of his household, as ambassador to Henry, who arrived at Windsor early in August. The same month the English king heard of a raid by the Scotch, of which the following account is given by Chapuys, ambassador from the emperor, in a letter to the queen of Hungary, dated London, August 9:—

A body of 2,000 horsemen (of the Scots) has entered England. All but a few avant coureurs lay in ambush near the frontier, and when the riders were attacked by four or five English gentlemen and their servants, those in ambush came out and slew all the English to the number of 42. On hearing this the king was so incensed that he refused to see the Scotch ambassador. Yet, hearing afterwards that the English had crossed the Borders and in revenge slain three or four times the number of Scots, he agreed to give him audience the day before yesterday.

Leirmonth on this occasion was not able to arrange terms with Henry, and although there were many interviews, extending over a long period of time, between Leirmonth and other ambassadors sent by the Scottish king on the one hand, and the commissioners sent by the English king on the other, no terms were ever agreed to during the period with which we are concerned at present. Henry had already determined to send forces to the border, and on July 28 an instruction was given by his authority to Sir Robert Bowes 'for anenpst' Scotland. In this document it was stated that outrages had been committed by the Scots on the borders, and that the king intended to send thither the earl of Rutland, Sir Robert Bowes and others with a convenient force, and that, as the earl could not be ready soon enough, Bowes had been ordered to levy 600 men for the month, from August 12 to September 9, proceed to the borders and await the earl's coming. Upon his arrival he was to tell the wardens to be vigilant and keep good rule, unless the Scots attempted the

contrary, in which case they were to have 'one shrew turn for another.' Bowes was then to cause John Heron and the pensioners<sup>1</sup> and active men to be in readiness, and the Borderers to get their hay and corn into safe places.

Although the formal instructions to Sir Robert Bowes were not to commit aggressions unless the Scots began, he arranged with Sir William Eure, the captain of Berwick, and others to make a raid into Teviotdale, and they carried out their design on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1542.

Whether this expedition was a raid or an invasion is not quite clear, but the Scottish king alleged that on one of the English prisoners was found a document signed by Sir Robert Bowes, showing that the attack was not meant to be a mere Border raid, but the commencement of a series of military operations intended to accomplish the invasion of his kingdom. The expedition caused considerable damage, burning Maxwell-heugh, Heiton of the Hill and some other places. But in returning homewards the leaders of the expedition fell into an ambush at Haddon Rigg, with the result that Sir Robert Bowes, his brother Richard, Sir John Withington, marshal of Berwick, John Carr, captain of Wark, and John Heron of Chipchase were taken prisoners, with others, amounting in all to 400 or 500. The force under Sir Robert Bowes seems to have been an ill-disciplined body of men, most of whom when surprised by the Scots fled in confusion. Sir William Eure, writing to the Privy Council from Berwick on August 24, after stating that the

'Scots prickers with showttinge and crying pursued and overthrew them,' adds that 'George Bowes, nephew to Sir Robert, and the captain of Norham who were there, say that Riddisdale with Sir Cuthbert Ratcliffe's company were the first to fly, and my Lord of Angus lighted like a nobleman, with the said Sir Robert and the other gentlemen that is taken, and gat away with great debate of himself, and the rest of his company did naught.'

<sup>1</sup>The pensioners were border thieves whom the English king thought it prudent to keep in his pay. Preface, *op. cit.*

George Bowes and Brian Layton, who escaped by 'speed of horse,' writing to the earl of Rutland on the same day, after describing the foray and the attack made by the Scots, reported that:—

The men of John Heron (all of Ryddisdail), Angus and Sir Cuthbert Ratcliff took the gate and fled, and so caused all men to flee save Sir Robert Bowes and his brother, and Sir Cuthbert Ratcliff with about thirty household servants who slew divers Scots. Sir Robert Bowes and his brother with about 400 or 500 others are prisoners. They beg the earl of Rutland to advertise the king with diligence; for this country has 'found such a guise in fleeing' that they will not defend themselves.

It appears from a rough draft minute of the Privy Council, dated August 24, that Henry had determined to send the duke of Norfolk with a main force against the Scots, and appointed him to levy and take with him the whole powers of Yorkshire, Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire, Cheshire, Notts, Derbyshire, Stafford, Norfolk and Suffolk, with the tenants of the late earl of Northumberland and of the late queen in Norfolk and Suffolk, not only to defend the realm against the Scots, but to invade Scotland.

Next day the Privy Council decided that in addition to the forces above-named, the duke should, 'for his better furniture,' take out of Suffolk Sir William Drury, Sir William Walgrave, Sir Thomas Germyn, John Spring, Henry Doyle, 'with the men they can make,' together with his own tenants and others not appointed by the king's former letters.

On the same day Rutland and his council wrote to Henry enclosing letters received from the captain of Norham, showing what had happened, and adding that little trust could be put in the subjects of the borders; that Sir Robert Bowes and others were prisoners, and that Rutland would hasten to Newcastle and take orders for defence. At the same time they begged the king to appoint someone to supply the room of Sir Robert Bowes.

A full account of the skirmish is contained in a letter to the king's council, from the earl of Angus and Sir George Douglas, which ended as follows:—

These Scots are very wanton, and this misfortune makes them the prouder, but if the king send a power to give them 'ane gryt snap, they will be gentyll inewche efteruart.' It was not they that won the field, but we that lost it with our misorder.

On August 26, letters were directed to Norfolk to provide 1,000 quarters of barley, 5,000 quarters of rye, and 500 quarters of wheat to be sent in haste to Berwick. The king's coopers were to take up clapboard wainscoate, etc., to make 'certain ferrers, costrelles,<sup>2</sup> barrells,' and also 'hoops and twygges,' to repair the casks at Berwick. Two days later Rutland and his council wrote to the king, enclosing a letter concerning the state of Berwick, and provision of grain there, and declaring that unless other provision was made Northumberland was in great danger, 'for God will not send provision of the ground for three weeks yet.'

A minute of the council, dated August 31, states that the Scotch ambassadors are appointed to meet Norfolk, Durham and others of the council at York on September 18. On the same date, August 31, Rutland wrote from Alnwick castle to the Privy Council that the prisoners were taken to Edinburgh, and there was no hope of getting them home again but by ransom. On September 1 there is a minute of the Privy Council appointing Edward Shelley to receive £60,000 and pay certain things and convey the rest to Sir John Harrington at York, to which is added a note of necessary provisions for the expedition. The list of commodities wanted includes malt, cheese and beer, for which indentures are made with the brewers in London, to be

<sup>2</sup> *Ferrer*, a barrel with iron hoops. *Costrelle*, a large bottle with ear or ears by which it could be suspended from the waist, or a small wooden keg similarly used.



ready to be shipped on the 7th inst., and brewed to last five months, at 20s. per ton. A bargain is also made with the coopers in London for 1,000 costrelles to be ready on September 2.

Norfolk, writing to the council from Chesworth about the end of August or early in September, states that having studied how to provide for the journey to which the king had appointed him, and, fearing most the lack of drink, he had thought it best to cause every lord and gentleman that should have the rule of 100 men to bring two carts full of empty 'foysts' to be filled with beer, which would be sufficient to bring them to Edinburgh. He suggests that 300 or 400 tuns of heer should be sent from London to Berwick in small vessels of 60 tons, and at the same time promises to induce the town of Newcastle to brew as much as it can.

Rutland, writing on September 5 to the council, reports that Sir John Harrington is in Holy Island with the master mason preparing to make two bulwarks of earth, and that there is stone enough of the old abbey there to make one bulwark all of stone. Next day Norfolk reports that he will not have 50 horsemen besides his own household, but may have more than his 2,500 foot, for he never saw men so desirous of being revenged of the Scots. On the 7th he tells Southampton (Privy Seal) that what he fears most is lack of drink. No doubt 500 tuns of beer will be sent after their coming to Edinburgh, but enough will not be brewed at Berwick to bring them there. Wherefore he prays for the despatch of 500 or 600 tuns before they leave, and trusts the good admiral will not be too scrupulous to let so many foists pass that way.

In a letter to Norfolk, dated September 10, the Privy Council inform him that:—

The king has devised the repair of Suffolk to reside at Newcastle or Alnwick or thereabouts as warden of the Marches during Norfolk's entry into Scotland, there to give orders to 6,000 men, who are to remain in garrison to be employed

in burning and devastating after Norfolk's entry, or to resist the Scots if they make a counter entry. Norfolk appointed his entry for September 29th, the king has delayed it to October 6th to give Norfolk more leisure to assemble his men.

On September 13, the English commissioners, who had been sent to York to meet the Scotch ambassadors, received their instructions. These instructions state the terms upon which the king was willing that peace should be concluded, and warned the commissioners not to allow too much time to be occupied in negotiation.

On the same date the Privy Council inform Norfolk that £2,000 will be sent to pay the garrison on the borders, and as to beer to be brewed at Alborowe, being ignorant what store of casks is there, they require Norfolk to alleviate them of that burden by sending some prest<sup>3</sup> of money to his servant Stone, with order to prepare and send beer to Berwick by such a day.

Norfolk, writing from Lincoln on September 14 to the council, complains of insufficiency in the number of men in his army on the borders, and of the tarrying at home of men about Hull. Hull, he declares, has nothing to fear from Scotland, the king's navy being in the North Sea. Referring to a report touching the ships, he adds:—

If all the ships named in the bill were in the Frithe they might lie there as long as they would ere the ships of Scotland would meddle with them, and although four of them are sent westward, the rest, keeping together, shall be strong enough; for all Scotland has but one ship of 13 or 14 score, one of 10 and one of 8, the rest being small men of 5, 4, or under. The wind is fair for the victual ships at Lynn, and the men-of-war last come out of the Thames to come to Skate Rode and Berwick.

A letter from the Privy Council to Norfolk, dated September 17, referring to Norfolk's letter of the 14th, promises that:—

Suffolk shall bring 3,000 of his men out of Lincolnshire and Warwickshire and have the other 3,000 of the Borderers, who shall not lie in garrison or have

<sup>3</sup> Ready money.

wages, but be ready to attend him as they now do Rutland. Norfolk may take with him all inland men in the garrisons and such Borderers as he likes, provided he leaves 2,000 for defence.

Sir George Lawson, writing from Berwick, September 18, to Norfolk, says that:—

A crayer came to Berwick with 50 quarter of wheat, 50 quarter rye, 60 quarter barley; two small crayers come to Aylemouth with corn. Having only 100 quarter wheat meal and 200 quarter malt ready to bake and brew, and only 300 barrels and 300 pair costrelles to tun it in, there will be lack of foists. No millage in Berwick. Impossible to prepare bread against Norfolk's day appointed. Trusts to provide twenty to forty bullocks and one hundred wethers against Norfolk coming.

September 19. Commissioners at York write to the council:—

The king did wisely to defer their going to Newcastle for eight days, for there is as yet no word of the arrival of the ships with victual at Newcastle or Berwick. Have deferred such as come from Lancashire, Cheshire, Notts, Derby, Staffordshire, and this shire to be at Newcastle October 7th. Sooner they could not get victual to pass beyond Newcastle. There are not foists to put beer in to suffice the army four days. The enclosed bill from Sir G. Lawson shows there are but three brew houses in Berwick, and one of these is not ready nor the best cannot brew above 10 or 11 quarters at a time. Of Norfolk's men 2,200 will come to Holy Island with the first wind. Their lordships may consider what these will consume and what shall remain to furnish the army for eight days.

Yesternight arrived Sir John Harrington with word from Rutland that Northumberland was never so out of order with spoils and robberies.

Southampton (Privy Seal), in a letter to Wriothesley (Lord Chancellor), September 19, states that:—

Norfolk's first provision almost spent, because the county has not grain enough to make bread and drink for the garrisons there already. Pray God to put it in the king's head to appoint them a further day to arrive at Newcastle.

At a meeting of the Privy Council on September 20, it was reported that wheat purchased of Sir John Gresham had been wrecked about Yarmouth, and a commission sent to the bailiffs of Yarmouth and Caister to recover as much as possible of both ships and wheat. The same day the commissioners at York write to the council:—

Sir George Lawson's letter just received shows how little of the victual prepared in Norfolk and Suffolk and London is arrived, and that there is no knowledge of the ships of war, although the wind on Saturday, Sunday and Monday last was as fair as could blow, and now with the rain yesterday, is so contrary that no man can come northward.

My Lord Privy Seal does not sign this, because he has been ill all night, which methinks is for melancholy because the victual ships are not arrived, and that we are like to lack bread and drink at Berwick for lack of foists and mills to grind wheat. It is impossible to invade Scotland or even pass Newcastle without victuals, although never men would more gladly accomplish the intended journey than we would.

September 20. Norfolk to Shrewsbury:—

As the king's ships laden for Berwick and Newcastle, with victual for the army in Scotland, are not arrived yet (and when they do arrive six days will be required to put things in order) he shall defer his setting forth for six days, and be with his men at Newcastle October 7th next. Understands that he desires conduct money and coat money. Sir John Harrington, who is treasurer of the wars, has not yet received the money.

September 21. The Privy Council to commissioners at York:—

Have done all that can be compassed here by man's foresight or money, and enclose an account of provisions made here. If the execution of their purpose take not effect the let thereof shall be in the weather and not in their slackness. Trust that all the victual has departed from London this day.

September 21. Commissioners at York to the council:—

Enclose letters just received from Berwick, showing that the ships with victual and munitions are not arrived. Understand that one of the ships laden with malt is perished at Hartlepool.

September 21. Norfolk to Wriothsley and the Bishop of Winchester:—

If he is blamed for not coming of the victual, trusts they will defend him, because the ships were laden at Lynne and elsewhere before he left home, but such crayers<sup>4</sup> could not come if the king's ships of war could not. Is in great agony of mind. Did his best, for, besides the king's provision he sent proclamations from Sir Robert Hussey's house for every leader of 100 men to bring two carts laden with drink and 10 pack horses with victual, not to be touched until we passed Newcastle.

<sup>4</sup> Crayers—small trading vessels.

September 21. Southampton, from York, to Wriothesley:—

Found everything so out of frame that very anger almost put him in a fever, to think that so many men should be called together, and no victuals ready for them, insomuch that for these two days he could digest nothing, nor sleep in bed until this night. All the provision first made for the Borders is spent, and had that not been foreseen the soldiers should have died of hunger ere this. Of the second provision but three or four vessels are arrived, and Sir John Harrington, who now came thence, says that two of them landed at Eymouth, are laden with rye so full of tares and light corn that it will make no manner of bread. Another boat is lost by the way. These things would make any man's wits dull, and but for them the journey shall be easy.

September 22. Rutland, from Alnwick, to Norfolk:—

Hears from Sir William Eure that the king of Scotland would fain have peace but the kirkmen would not assent. Desires money to pay the garrisons, 3,300 men, whose month ended on Wednesday last; for all victuals, except fish, are dearer here than was ever known.

September 23. Southampton to Wriothesley, from York:—

The more I enter into this matter the more sorrow comes to my heart. Never was so great an enterprise purposed and so ill provision made. We have no close cart to carry our bread dry, nor mills to grind corn, nor ovens to bake, nor brewhouses to brew, even if the grain were come. Here is no cask, and I can hardly get baskets to carry bread in. Never man acquitted himself more slenderly than Lawson has done; and if you saw what tall men they are and how ill furnished we are for their necessaries, it would make your heart bleed.

September 24. Commissioners at York to the council:—

No news of the coming of ships, or of others of Norfolk's company, save Sir Edm. Wyndham, whose ship was, from within four miles of Tynmouth, driven back to Scarborough, and there lies with the wind north north-west, as contrarious as can blow. To give time for the victual to be brewed and baked, have sent the enclosed proclamation to all the shires in Norfolk's commission to stay their setting forth.

(The proclamation enclosed postponed the date for meeting at Newcastle from October 7 till October 11.)

September 26. John Care, at Scarborough, to the Lord Admiral:—

Advises his 'good lordship' that on Thursday, St. Matthew's day, the small gallion, 'Dragon,' and other small vessels with ordnance, corn, etc.,

weighed anchor from Yarmouth with a fair wind for Berwick, but a great storm came on, with foul, misty weather, which dissevered them. The 'Dragon' lost her boat and two men, another small vessel had to throw overboard one quarter of wheat, and the 'Mary Flower,' one Gervise master, laden deep with ordnance, grounded on the Cocles, and had to throw a brass piece overboard, where five days before the 'Thomas Dowtty' was totally lost. The 'Mary Flower' has a great leak, and is transferring her ordnance and stuff to another ship at Yarmouth, and we tarry here for its coming.

September 27. Norfolk and other commissioners at York to the council:—

Have heard nothing of the victual ships or of 2,200 of Norfolk's men out of Norfolk or Suffolk save that 240 are with difficulty come to Newcastle. The rest shipped on Thursday last are driven back.

September 27. Norfolk, from York, to Winchester and Wriothsesley:—

Desires them to get him appointed one of the two that shall go northwards and to consider that to punish offenders there he should have an honest company with him, for he thinks many will be found faulty. In the event of agreement, if the king of Scots make such offer as he did to the earl of Northumberland for the punishment of Lidersdale, we doing the like for Tindale and Ridsdale, it should not be refused. If appointed to convey the king of Scots to the king he must have support as this journey has plucked the bottom out of his purse; 'it is not 8d. a day that will find man and horse standing in the stable, as all ours do here.

September 27. Southampton to Wriothsesley:—

No more victual has arrived; so that, if the king (of Scotland) refuses these overtures and we go forward, I pray God that there be no lack of necessaries. Sir Thomas Wharton and others of experience in these marches, think that, at this late season of the year, in the country we have to enter (being barren, wild, cold and utterly ungarished with wood) we shall lack fire to dress our victual; for they have unthacked their houses, intending, if we enter, either to burn the timber or carry it away. It is to be trusted that our ships may arrive in time with bread and drink and cheese; yet when that is spent and we driven to seethe or roast, and the men do lie on the wet ground, if we lack fire to dry them or warm their meat, I feel it will prove a pitiful case. Every man is willing to serve. Allowing time to bake and brew after the ships arrive, it will be three weeks ere they can enter.

September 28. Sir George Lawson to Norfolk, from Berwick:—

There are arrived in this haven 19 ships and crayers with malt, beans and barley and four crayers with Suffolk cheeses, but no ships with ordnance save some of Norfolk's own provision. Sends daily ten or twelve miles to the mills but dare not leave the wheat in the mills at night for fear of stealing; for every night the mills are broken and corn stolen.

September 29. Henry VIII. to commissioners at York:—

Submits the terms upon which the commissioners may arrest, and without which they must go forward in the intended enterprise. *The two principal points are: first, the ambassadors must agree that the prisoners be delivered without ransom at once; second, the Scotch king shall repair to London before Xmas next.*

September 30. Commissioners at York to the council:—

Reports letters just received that Norfolk's men out of Norfolk and Suffolk have arrived at Newcastle, Holy Island and thereabouts with provision, but not the ships of war or those that should bring the ordnance and artillery beer, hoops and other cooper's things. Will, unless they fall to a peace, be at Newcastle on October 11th and hasten to Berwick, where they entend not to tarry but for one day.

October 2. Commissioners at York to the council:—

Received the king's letters yesterday and perceived that if the prisoners in Scotland are not immediately delivered the army is to proceed, but nothing is heard of the ships of war or of the others with ordnance. Yesterday communicated with the ambassadors touching depredations by the king's naughty subjects of Tynedale and Riddisdale and the men of Liddlesdale. They said it would never be well until the two princes met and took order for those naughty people who, for their own safety, do all they can to let the meeting. Have deferred the setting forth of the army from the 11th to the 15th inst.

October 2. Norfolk to Winchester and Wriothesley, from York:—

Desires them to be a buckler of defence if the king is not content with the doings here. Cannot rule the winds, and without the coming of the ships of war with the provision from London it were folly to set forward, so that this delay of four days must turn to the king's profit.

October 2. Sir William Evers and Sir George Lawson to Norfolk, from Berwick:—

On Saturday last, arrived (besides the ships and crayers with corn and cheese) three ships with ordnance, artillery and tents from London, one ship

with costrelles and cooper's necessaries, three ships with timber and logs from Newcastle, four ships with corn and cheese from London and Norfolk, and five ships with corn to be sold in the market; making in all in this haven thirty-three ships and crayers. At Holly Elande are eight ships of war. Also at the same Elande are eleven ships that brought men and corn.

October 2. Angus to Norfolk, from Berwick:—

The king of Scotland has been these four days at Dunbar and Tantallon castles providing for their defence. They speak of peace and provide for war like wise men.

October 3. Shelley to Wriothesley, from Berwick:—

Neither biscuit nor beer is come from London. Sir George Lawson has brewed 400 barrels and 200 costrelles of beer and baked 8,000 penny loaves and daily helps the garrison in bread and beer because of the lack here.

October 4. Council to commissioners at York:—

If the enterprise of the (Shetland and Orkney) Isles is not meet for this season, they shall devise what enterprise may be done by the navy, by a landing about the Frith of Forth or burning the Scots' ships; for it should be to the king's honour to annoy them as much possible.

October 5. Commissioners at York, writing to Henry, commence by giving an account of efforts to agree with Scotch ambassadors on terms of peace which proved futile, and add:—

Since this matter cannot take the effect looked for we will assemble the whole army and go forward; but considering that the army will not be at Newcastle until the 15th inst., we have given the ambassadors fair words (lest upon their writing desperately the Scots should give the first buffet) agreeing that they should write once again to their master.

October 6. Norfolk informs Winchester and Wriothesley, from York, that there has been a conversation with Scotch ambassadors in substance, as follows:—

Learmonthe said to Norfolk how sorry he was they did not conclude, for their king would have met Norfolk at Coldstrete and there determined to come upon the thieves of Lidrsdale while Norfolk came upon those of Tindale and Ridesdale and so subdued them for ever.

October 7. Norfolk to Shrewsbury:—

The Scots and we cannot agree and yet our sticking is for a small matter. On Monday, we of the council will towards Newcastle and our company shall come after us and all the army shall be there by the 15th of this month.



## October 7. Commissioners at York to the council:—

Enclose letters showing the pleasant news that all of the rest of the ships with victual and beer are arrived at Newcastle. Will send them at once to Holy Island and Berwick, where they pray God they may find the provision ready to serve.

## October 12. Commissioners in the North to the council, from Newcastle:—

Arrived here yesternight and Norfolk departs for Berwick on Saturday to put things in order against the arrival of the army to invade Scotland on Friday or Saturday come sevensnight. After they have done such displeasure to the enemies as they entend, it is not to be thought that they will offer acceptable conditions, but rather try to devastate Northumberland. Desire to know who shall be warden to defend the Marches on their return.

## October 12. Norfolk to Winchester and Wriothlesley:—

Begs their intercession with the king, when the time comes, not to appoint him warden of the Marches, for in his old age the winter here (Newcastle) would kill him.

## October 13. Commissioners in the North to the council, from Newcastle:—

Report with weeping eyes that my Lord Privy Seal (Southampton) is very ill. It is most necessary that the king should send hither some man to lead the vanguard, as the nobility of this army have had so small experience. If he be here this day sevensnight he shall be here in time; for the writers will spend Saturday, Sunday and Monday near the Tweed devastating the March and Tevidale.

## October 13. Norfolk to Winchester and Wriothlesley:—

Is very sorrowful at the loss of the Privy Seal, he has no help but of the Master of the Horse (Sir Anthom Browne, half brother to Southampton), who will prove of great service. Having the rule of the horsemen he cannot meddle with the vanguard. Thinks the Lord Admiral (lord Russel) is the meetest man to lead the Lord Privy Seal's men, 4,000 of whom came from his friends in the south and from the duchy of Lancaster, and would most gladly go with the Lord Admiral, knowing what great friends they were.

## October 14. Commissioners in the North to the council, from Newcastle:—

Norfolk departs to-morrow towards Berwick, Browne follows with the army, and Durham awaits here the coming of Suffolk. John Care has so wisely used himself that for the lack of victual he hath driven all his men to eat and drink but only two times in the day, which hath not been accustomed to mariners.

October 15. Durham and Browne to the council, from Newcastle:—

My Lord Privy Seal died this morning, but the king's affairs shall not thereby be protracted. Norfolk departed before day to prepare at Berwick for the whole army which will be here to-night. Browne sets forward towards Berwick to-morrow after the departure of the hindmost. Wrote yesterday how the ships were pinned in this haven by contrary wind, which has now so turned that they may go to sea. Browne has, therefore, ordered them to 'avayle' and provided two more ships of 100 tons to go with them, and by next ebb, at six o'clock, they shall be at sea and to-morrow morning where we wish them.

October 15. Browne to the Lord Admiral and Wriothesley, from Newcastle:—

Grief for the loss of his brother which, for the king's service he dissembles, is increased by the grief and annoyance of satisfying the 4,000 men who came to serve under him. Begs Wriothesley, because he that is gone was his faithful friend, to comfort his wife, and also to require a sight of his will, and let the writer know what he has willed for the burying of his body, which meanwhile lies chested in the parish church here where he shall have service daily over him till he be removed. His men, laying apart their sorrow, are, like true men, bent to do what they came for.

October 17. Suffolk to Wriothesley, from Topcliff, near Thirsk:—

Yesterday my lord of Cumberland came. He desires to have 500 of his men in wages, for he would be loth to venture himself among the Borderers without a good number of his inland men about him. Begs to know the king's pleasure herein, and the order to be taken for their pay. He trusts to be able to ride and go in five or six days.

October 17. Norfolk to Wriothesley, from Berwick:—

Arrived yesternight and finds here only the victual in the schedule herewith. John Browne, like an ungracious man, is entered into Tynmouth haven with all the victuals, and the wind is now so contrarious that it cannot come out. Even if the great exploit cannot be done, unheard of devastation shall be made on the Borders. Doubts nothing but lack of drink. Is himself well, notwithstanding the little rest he gets. Prays God to turn the wind and let John Browne come by Friday next.

October 19. Norfolk and Browne to the council, from Berwick:—

Signify the state of the army which will be all here to-morrow and will be to-night in the field. Norfolk's orders that with every 100 men there should come

two carts laden with drink and with every 10 men a spare horse with victual, have been ignored by all. When at York commanded the president to send 120 wains and 40 carts and 30 wains out of the bishopric; and the sheriff of Northumberland to send all the wains he could get, but very few are come. For all that, and though they should drink water, they trust to make the enemies speak according to the king's pleasure, or else to make such a smoke in Scotland as was not seen this 100 years. To-morrow the small ships with victual shall be here.

October 19. Sir Anthony Browne to the Lord Admiral and Wriothesley, from Berwick:—

Norfolk departed from Newcastle for Berwick on Sunday last (the 15th) and the writer followed on Monday with the multitude whom he has now brought hither. Albeit great companies of them were ill-lodged and lay in the fields with ill weather and hard fare they are 'willing and forwardes' so that the success of this journey is to be expected.

When Norfolk arrived at Berwick on October 16, he came to the conclusion that the invasion of Scotland, or as he calls it, 'the great exploit,' could not be carried out by reason of the want of supplies for the army. And he determined to march northward with all due despatch and to ravage and destroy all the houses and crops that came within his reach. He began his march northward on October 22, and on the same day reached Gainslaw and camped there. Gainslaw afforded a capital site for the reception of a large army; the encampment was probably on the plateau of several acres in extent, part of which is now occupied by the buildings of Gainslaw farm. It was protected on the north and east by the river Whitadder, on the south by the Tweed, and on the west by a sudden declivity, along the bottom of which ran the Border Lane which, no doubt then, as it does now, marked the boundary between England and Scotland. It is not necessary to follow the military operations further, but it will be convenient to give a few more extracts from the State papers to show the damage done.

It will be seen from these extracts that the expedition was a failure. Norfolk's army did not advance further than Kelso, and was obliged to return to Berwick in eight days after it had

left. The result was wholly disproportionate to the great preparations made, in bringing so large an army on to the Borders, and the king did not hesitate to express his disappointment at the ill fortune of the expedition.

October 22. Norfolk and others to the council, from Berwick:—

The earl of Hertford and Sir George Gage arrived yesternight at 11 o'clock. Norfolk's orders to the men to bring beer and victuals and to the president to provide carts and wains were not followed. The beer and biscuit sent from London in small ships has been brought in here and delivered out; the rest is at Holy Elande, the wind being contrary and the ships too great to enter this haven. The carriages of this country are so feeble that they cannot carry more than one pipe each. The men drank water four days hitherward. Yesterday they had beer, of which, rating every man to a quart a day, there is only enough for six days. Wrote that he purposed to camp on Friday last, but the bridge into this town proved so weak that it broke with the multitude of people, and all were not over till yesterday, five men being drowned and many sore hurt. The great enterprise is not feasible, for lack of victuals. Trust the king shall shortly hear of some exploit by the ships in the Frith, and, meanwhile, the writers will do what they can for six days, and three days more, although they drink water. The king writes that he will appoint a warden in time convenient; but surely there is no time to lose.

October 26. Henry VIII. to Norfolk and others:—

Has seen theirs of the 22nd to the Council, showing that for lack of carriages and other necessaries, they cannot achieve the great enterprise, and also desiring nomination of a warden to remain on the Borders. Is sorry that, through these lacks, with all their good will to serve and the great charge incurred, the damage to the enemies is like to be so little. Marvels at their writing that lack of carriage is the whole impediment; for he thinks that on coming to York, or before, they should have stayed the king's works in that country, and allowed the carriage to refresh themselves, and should have taken with them all the carriages of Yorkshire, Holderness and Hullshire. Suffolk's army might well devastate the country without delaying the main army to do it. Desires them to excogitate whether by this or other device they may augment the fame of their enterprise; for it will be rather to the glory of the Scots if, after levying so great armies and incurring so importable charges, they do no greater damage than is like to ensue of their last determination.

Knowing Hertford's desire to serve, and thinking it not amiss to have sundry noblemen acquainted with those Borders, appoints him, whom he has lately named to be admiral of England, to be warden of the Marches, during pleasure. Sends his commission herewith.

## October 27. Sir William Evers to Suffolk:—

On Tuesday, at 10 p.m., the king's ships of war that lay at Eland (Holy Island) and the Skaythe Rodde passed northwards; and on Wednesday morning landed boats at Coldingham and burnt Aymouthe and the corn thereabouts, and slew a man or two and two or three women, lost one man slain, and returned to their ships and passed northwards.

## October 28. Norfolk and others to the council, from Kelso:—

Are this day forced to turn homewards, and next night shall be their last in Scotland. The principal cause is lack of victuals; for few of the army found victuals, bread and drink between York and Newcastle, and much worse in the four days' journey from Newcastle to Berwick. Since entering Scotland, the most part have drunk nothing but water these five days, and eaten no bread since they left Newcastle. Unless Norfolk and Browne had made large provisions of oxen and sheep, they had been much more lack. Never thought Englishmen could endure with so little and yet be willing to go forward. Have come through such ill passage that the wains are broken and the drink thrown away, and ordnance and carriages have been with difficulty brought hither. Will, to-morrow or next day, dissolve the army. If the river Tweed had risen, and forced them to return the way they came, they must have left most of their carriage behind; for, where they thought to march seven or eight miles a day, their greatest journey has been five miles, and yet they set forward daily by break of day. The amount of corn destroyed is incredible. Yesterday Sir Ant. Browne rode six miles further and burnt eleven of the best towns and villages in the Marske (Merse) and devastated the country, which was full of corn. Meanwhile the camp burnt this town and abbey of Kelsall, which is reckoned the Edinburgh of the Marske and Tevidale, and the villages near. Long to hear who is to be warden here, and how many shall lie in garrison, who should not be less than 3,000, and can be victualled from the south. This day and yesterday 19 men have died with drinking puddle water and lack of victuals, and many men are like to follow them. Devastated the country as they came hither, and will this day do the like, and at night dissolve the army.

## October 28. Norfolk to Gardiner and Wriothsesley:—

This was the goodliest army he has seen, and had it been set forth with victual two months earlier we might have done what we would without great resistance.

The following document seems to have been drawn up as a formal record of the achievement of Norfolk's army in Scotland;

## INVASION OF SCOTLAND.

In the 34 year of our soverayne lord kyng, Henry the Eght, the act is done in Skotland, under the honorable lorde duke of Norfolk.

On Sunday, 22nd October, Norfolk went from Berwick with his army royal to Gayncelaw and camped there. On the 23rd to Bannoxburne [Banningburn], where was an alarm that night and four Scots taken that came for spies, and for to steal horses, who were commanded to be hanged next morning. On the 24th to Ekkyls and that day were many skirmishes and certain Scots taken prisoners. That night the scout watch took four spies, who were next morning hanged in an old house in the town. On the 25th to a fair ground beside Kelsay, shooting the great ordnance at bushments on the hills and skirmishing, divers Scots being slain and taken prisoners, and some of ours taken who ventured too far. On the 26th our men entered Kelsay and spoiled and carried away much goods and took or slew divers Scots. A tall man of ours that was above in the abbey looking forth was killed by one of our gunners in mistake for a Scot. Certain of our men were taken, some slain. After spoiling the town, our men burnt a great part of the town and abbey. That day, Norfolk burnt 20 towns about Kelsay and took many prisoners, and that night our gunners shote a goodly peall of gonnes at Rovarce [Roxburgh]. On the 27th, for lack of victuals, all came over the water beneath Kelsay and camped that night at Redyne [Redden]; and on the 28th they came to Berwick.

October 29. Norfolk to Wriothsesley, from Berwick:—

Thanks for getting him discharged from remaining longer here. By the contents of the king's letters received this afternoon, he and his fellows fear that his highness is not pleased with their proceedings. Assuredly they could do no more, as they will show when the king pleases to hear them; and for himself, his fellows and the whole army know what costs and pains he sustained.

October 29. Hertford to the council:—

This 29 October at 3 p.m. received the king's commission to be warden here. Is not suitably provided to serve; for he came in post, with but three or four servants, upon promise of finding all necessaries here, whereas he found but a bare tent, and was more unfurnished than the meanest gentleman in the field; they had charge of such a company here as Hertford, being a stranger among them, could hardly rule, and to remain here with those who know him still less, and without provision or servants, would be to his dishonour, as he trusts they will declare to the king. He that serves here had need to be allied among them of these parts, and it would engender a grudge among those noblemen here, whose men he must use, if they perceive a stranger to have the charge and themselves to sit still. Begs them to solicit the king with expedition. If he were furnished and thought he could serve, he would not seek means to avoid it.

November 2. Henry VIII. to the duke of Norfolk and others:—

Has received theirs of October 29th. Wishes that such a costly and notable enterprise had been more displeasent to the enemies, but trusts hereafter to have recompense for what is now, for lack of necessaries, omitted. Supposed that Hertford should have been furnished out of the late Lord Privy Seal's stuff, but, since he has no relief thereof and cannot without furniture serve the room of warden, discharges him of it until he may be better provided, and appoints Rutland again, whose commission shall be sent within two days. Lest the Scots should seek revenge, such order must be taken in the Borders and the countries adjoining, that their malice may be defended, and they made to suffer more than they have already done, rather than, by doing hurt in England or by sowing and manuring the overridden ground, enabled to redubb their injuries. Orders them to lay 4,000 men in garrison for this winter (500 or 600 of them at Carlisle), to be picked from the best of the armies both of the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk.

November 3. Norfolk, Gage and Browne to the council, from Newcastle:—

Since our departure out of Scotland, we have heard that the army of Scotland, 10,000 or 12,000 men, was at Lawder, 20 miles from the Borders, intending this night or to-morrow to invade this country. Yesterday at Alnwick, with my lords of Suffolk and Hertford, we heard that they were scaled (scattered) and gone home, as confirmed this morning by a letter sent by John Carr to Norfolk at Morpeth. Other espials show that the hunger among them at Lawder, caused by the great waste done by us was such that their king licensed them to take for every six men a sheep, where they could get it. Thereupon they took every man a sheep and so spoiled their own country that the inhabitants exclaimed marvellously thereat, and for lack of victuals they were constrained to sparcle [disperse]. Have taken order for defence, and for hurts to be done by the garrison men, by advice of Suffolk and Hertford and the wisest Borderers. To appoint fresh men to relieve Suffolk's men, will to-morrow depart towards York, and, after seeing there to the appointing of new men, repair to Hull to view the fortifications, and thence to the Court.

November 3. Norfolk to Wriothesley, from Newcastle:—

I thank you heartily for helping my despatch hence, which I trust will somewhat lengthen my life. I was never sorer vexed with my disease of the lax . . . . About Tuesday or Wednesday sen'night the Master of the Horse, Mr. Comptroller, and I will be with the king. I dare not take great journeys.