A CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNT OF THE EARL OF HERTFORD'S SECOND EXPEDITION TO SCOTLAND, AND OF THE RAVAGES COMMITTED BY THE ENGLISH FORCES IN SEPTEMBER 1545. FROM A MANUSCRIPT IN TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY, DUBLIN, BY DAVID LAING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT.

It was a favourite scheme of Henry the Eighth to accomplish the union of the two kingdoms, after the death of his nephew, James the Fifth, by a matrimonial alliance between the infant Princess Mary and his only son, afterwards Edward the Sixth. This scheme, which might have produced the happiest results, partly owing to his own impetuosity, was defeated by the French faction, or Roman Catholic party, in Scotland, and of the internal warfare which ensued, the present communication will furnish but too sad an illustration.

Of the first Expedition into Scotland under the Earl of Hertford, in May 1544, there is a contemporary account printed the same year at London, and republished by the late Sir John G. Dalyell, in his Fragments of Scotish History, 1800. The similar narrative, by William Patten, Londoner, of the Duke of Somerset's Expedition in 1547, is also reprinted in that volume. On the first of these occasions, the town of Edinburgh (except the Castle) was set on fire, and continued burning for three successive days. The Palace of Holyrood, Leith, and most of the adjoining towns, houses, and villages, were also consigned to the flames. The later Expedition is connected with the disastrous battle of Musselburgh, and the renewed spoliation of Edinburgh. Mr Tytler is the only
historian who has furnished any details of the intermediate Expedition under Lord Hertford, in September 1545, when the ravages of the army were limited to the Border religious houses and villages. The original documents, in the State Paper Office, made use of by Mr Tytler, have since appeared in the series of "State Papers published under authority of His Majesty's Commissioners," vol. v, 1836, 4to.

Last autumn, having spent some days in examining, by the kind permission of the Rev. Dr James H. Todd, some early manuscripts in Trinity College Library, Dublin, I met with a brief contemporary journal of that Expedition, which seems to have remained unnoticed. It forms part of a miscellaneous volume (marked E 4.17.), written chiefly about the middle of the sixteenth century, and formerly attributed to Nicholas Narbonne, who, in the reign of Elizabeth, was advanced to the dignity of Ulster King of Arms. The records of the Herald's College of that period are not so well preserved as to show who was "York Herald"—for so the writer of this journal styles himself—who accompanied Lord Hertford in 1545. A circumstance incidentally noticed in the manuscript, and kindly pointed out by Dr Todd, compared with the following dates, leaves no doubt in regard to the person who preserved this brief record of the Expedition. At the end of the volume, evidently in the same hand, in an account of the interment of Jenico Preston, knight, Lord Baron and Viscount of Gormanstown, who died 13th of October 1559, the writer says, "then hors cote of armys borne by me, Ulster Kyng of Armes of all Ierland." It does not appear that Narbonne ever held the office of York Herald; while Bartholomew Butler, who was apparently the writer of the Journal, was Rouge Croix, 12th January 1535, became York Herald 14th June 1538, and Ulster King of Arms 1st June 1552.—It may be added, that Nicholas Narbonne the son of John Narbonne, Richmond Herald, who died in the Tower, Midsummer 1540, was appointed Bluemantle Pursuivant of Arms 28th August 1550, Richmond Herald 27th July 1559, and became Butler's successor, as Ulster King of Arms, 7th July 1566. The paper, however brief and scanty in its details, is an historical document of some value, being the narrative of an eye-witness. The orthography is so peculiar as to render it occasionally scarcely intelligible; many of the words are rather to be guessed at by the sound than the common forms of writing.

Such as it is, I now beg to submit it to the Society, with this note, to render it more intelligible, that the Earl of Hertford having assembled his army, on the 5th of September 1545, advanced rapidly through Northumberland, crossed the Border, and on the 9th of that month encamped before the town and abbey of Kelso.

"The Erle of Harford departhit from Nywcaflle the 5 day of Settember;
and all his army had a day a pointit to mytte att the Stannyngton upon Crocke a More, the 8 day of these present, & all the carryadge and ordenance and monyffion: and so the dyd: the said Erie rod from Nyweastell to Anwicke a Satherday, and their he rest Sunday; and a Monday to Cheidyngham; and a Tywfleday to the forsaid Ston on Crackamowre, and paft fort a myll, and their campet; and a Wenefday paft by Warke, and so a longs the water in iij batelles, and so paft the furd w the foreward and the most part of the battaill and their ordenance, and the reywaier® Twyd rolle fo suddenley, that hit was 3 or 4 cartf and som horses owertrowen by the wiollence of the water, and som flowff loft and waiett, and this the rereward and some of the battaill campet on the other sid, and all© wittailles wer dier, thes Wenefday did I YOEKE someyn the abbaye of Chelffe [Kelso], and thes day the said Abby was batterid and enterid by day, and by mydnyght hit was wonne by the Spanards par force. Soelyn of the Scottes to the nomer of 40, and thakeyn® the nomer of 5, and efkape by nyght 13; of the wth 13, 2 was thakyn the nexht day, and a xi eeskape in lywf; a turfdeday the campe cam all to the sayd abbey and town, as well the that wer on the one fyd as the other. The erle of Comerland had the fourward, and the lord Scope w him, and Sr Robard Bowes, lord warden of the mydell marches, and many other knyghts, and the lord Lattemer, and 300 Italians and Albeneches on horfbæ, and ij annces® of Spanards, and some hornsomen of them, and the marshall; and in this wanguard was the Mr of the ordinnance and his hornsomen, and a 100 hangoners, and in the bataille the Erle of Herford, lord lowttennaunt, and my lord Stowrtoun, and Sr Rawf Sadheller, treffurer and confelleir, and my lord Newell and his fathers power, and his brother Tho, and my lord Tho® Greymarke, and the baron Hilton, the lord Latemer, Sr J. Doon, Sr J. Norris, Sr Piers a Lighe, Sr Loveras Smyth, Sir J. Brierton, Sr Roger Laffell, Sr Leonard Beckwithe, Sr Thomas Kolkerawff, and iij anngenes of Spanards, and some of them a horshæ, and the Clewoies all, and many knyghts and squiers mar, and the Ieries® men, iij angenes sometymes in the bataiell and sometymes in the fourward, and in the riereward the lord Dacers and the lord Conyers, and Sr John Markam, and Sr Richard Mann, capitain generall of the rierewards hornsomen, and Sr Robart Constable, knyght, and many mor knyghts and esquiers. Thes day the wittailles® wer yett Ikand and nott plenty, this day the Spanard did spuelli the Abbey att their will and every man; a friday measured® was thakeyn® for to fortifie the said Abbey, butt hit was or nown thetarmenny® the contrarie, theirs day was [blank], theirs day my lord commandyt to briek the

1 the Standingstone. 2 Probably Crookham (muir?), between Ford and Cornhill. 3 wet. 4 companies, battalions. 5 taken. 6 the river. 7 ensigns, or companies. 8 overrun. 9 vanguard. 10 Irish. 11 victuals. 12 measures were taken. 13 but it was ere noon determined.
abbot and thake of the leied, and outer myen the towres and srong places, and
to owaier trowe all; thes day byng fryday, my Lord rood to Rockefborow [Rox-
burgh] to vis hit for to make a strong caftell their, wch is as strong a place to by
fourtetied as any is in Scotland by tuyen ij riveres wch myght by brought to corn
a bowt the said rocke, and the wch rever he wold, the on is att his fat and the
other wch a fiones caft; thes place wrogt well, came to o2 campe agayn thes day
was iiiij of the Carres, and ij of the erle of Angloies is serwaunts, and iiij of the
lord Hownes taken and others, and the6 of Hum caftell [Hume Castle] had
thaken a fon of Tho Blanhafllett, and a noter as good as he, and ij mor; and a
Satterday my lord Wardon of the myddell marches, and the knyght marshall Sr
Henry Knywett, and my lord Newell, all the horihemen a most, Engles, Clewoies,
and Italians, and Straliotts, and Spanardts, to the nomer of iiiij towffent and mor,
and the birynd iij abbeis, and 30 townes, and corn worth a 1000 li. fr, 9 myell
Scottes, a myell byecynd Mourrof [Melrose]; and a Sunday the abbey of Kelie
was razed, and all put to royen,7 howffes, and towres, and flypeles, and the wit-
tailes cam, and cartes loden again w the lead8 of the said abbey, and my lord
lowttenant did send ij greit gones9 to Barwick and Sr Robart Bowes, and ij other
gones to take a caftell ij myll from thes place, called Dawcowe; 3 Skotts fcleyn,
and cartes sent to Wark loden w the leid of the abbey, and w hym 500 horffes and
and an anneeyn of Spanardts, and the ij angenes of Iryes men, and the towke the faid
towre parforce, and returyn agayn to thes campe. Yesterday byng Satterday,
whas 3 Scottes men hang in thes campe, and 9 fcleyn10 in fild be the horhemen,
and the Scottes felywe 3 Italians that rod owt of the fyght of their fellowes; and
on Monday wy departyt from Kelfey abbey that was, to Rockesborowe menes, and
their campeit that nyght; and from thens to Bongedwourthe atywediday, and
birnyng and theiftroyng all that day bod coryn and howffes, and hee11 and turff,
and a wenefleeday burend Jedwourd [Jedburgh] abbey, and the fryers menore,
and all the townes ij myll beyond, as Cavaliers [Cavers], and Denam [Denholm],
and Mento, and Mantoncrake [Monto-craig], and Bedrowle, and Towres, and
Newton, and Langeton, and Haffenden, and the Barne helles [Barnhills], and
the Benetts, and Ancram, and many mor, and returnyd to campe that Wenef-
day to Egelford, and owaier tryw the Mofle nexht mornyng, and birnd Chesford,
and outheir mynd the caftell, but hit whas tow tyke and hitt cowd nott by,15
and so thes Thurfeday destruying and birnyng, campeit att Warke that nyght,
and their tharid16 friday and Satheir[day] the campe, bowt17 all the carthes

1 take off the lead.
2 undermine.
3 overthrow.
4 see it.
5 between two.
6 they.
7 ruin.
8 lead.
9 great guns.
10 slain.
11 both corn.
12 hay.
13 undermined.
14 it was too thick.
15 it could not be.
16 tarried.
17 but.
18 carts.
went for leed to Kelfey, and the horfhemen birnyng and deftruyng all that day, and fo fare as in to within half a quarter of a myell of Howme caffell, and maid all the Scottfinen that were a brod to requiell vnto the caffell walles, and ij of theirs thakeyn that day, and by them reportit that their was 10,000 Scottes men a bowtt the faid caffell, and that the erle of Angoies was com their the nyght be for and 10 cartes w* ordenauence and munycion, w* I thynyk all was nott trywe, bowtt somat hit was,1 o* men birnd fo ner the caffell, that wy kod2 nott fee the caffell fontymes nor the caffell ows, and the of the caffell owaier fott ows3 all many tymes, and a monges ows yet the howrthe non bowt on4 horthe, thankes be to God; and thys down, my lord lowthennaunt returneyd to Wark w* all his iiij thowflannt horfhemen and no mor, and loft neuer a man all that day, and yt hit was the most dangerows day that wy5 had in all the days that wy war in Scotteland; the cartes all of or campe wer com to Warke lodon w* the abbey of Kelley is leed, and leyff nothyng be heyled, and cam fawff hom to the faid caffell of Warke; and a Sunday wy remowid and past the water of Tuyd on the eft marches of Wark, and birnd and desfrued Egland, and the nonery cald Colfpreme, and fo to Fogga, and their campeit that nyght, and many a town birnd that day; and a Monday Downes [Dunse] towre and towne awar-rown6 and birnd, and all the pares wh* is l7 towns and willaiges by longeyng to the faid Downs; and the nextt day to Weft Nybed, w8 was birnd, and owaier trown the caffell, and many mor, as hit shall apier in a nother place of theis bowke, the names of all the townes, and thowres, and abbeys, and fryers, and nonerys, and a charter howsle; and thys down wy campe theis tywsteday att or Lady church [Lady kirk] w*in Scotteland; and a Wenefeday towke mofters of all or holle oft,9 and or armey descriwithe w* or ennemys is land; and att nown cam the lord Lattemer to thake heis ley we, as many otheirs did, of my lord Lowtennaunt, but my forfaid lord Lowtennaunt maid hym knyght in the faid campe, and w* hym 12 mor, that is to fay, 13 in all, as hit shall a pier by their names; and thys down, every man that was nott goon departed in to England, some to Norham Caffell and town, some to Sr Thomas Grey of Horton's bowff, some to Banbery, some rod farther, and some rod all that nyght, and cartes also. The Spanards leyftt10 att Foster and Horfley is howsles, and in the Willaigges11 their abowt; the Clewoyfles att Norhamsh12 and town and caffell, the Italians also in that fruntryers, and sorteley12 after, the Italians cam to Nyw caffell, and of them mofteres thakeyn and sent to London ward; and the Albaneffes

1 but some of it was. 6 we. 10 left. 2 we could. 7 parish, which has 50. 3 overshot us. 8 musters of all our whole host. 4 they hurt none but one. 9 not gone. 5 we. 11 villages. 6 overthrow. 12 shortly.
also; and after them the Cleywolfeis cam to Nyw castell, and the1 wer sent to Dowram [Durham], and from dens to Beverley2 for to wynter; and after them the horshemen, Spanards earles the navara was send to London; and the futtemen marceid to Nyw castell, and their mostras thaken of them and payd the remaner in Nyw castell and in Dowram, and in Bishop Acqueleand, and theis wy the3 this way they. this way the4 partid after all theis orthewyd by the lord Lowtenant the x day of October, and came to London the 22 day of thes same. God faue the Kyng and my Lord Prince Edoward. Amen.'

According to the Earl of Hertford's despatches, accompanied with plans, which are not preserved, it was intended to convert the Abbey of Kelso into a fortified place. But this plan was abandoned; and in his report of their subsequent proceedings, he exultingly informs the English monarch, that so much damage by fire had not been done in Scotland for the last hundred years. I shall merely add, by way of remark, as it is obvious that, during the intermediate period of fourteen years till the Reformation, the injuries which these Ecclesiastical buildings sustained could have only been partially, if at all repaired, it is attributing too much to John Knox and his brethren, to give them the credit for a work of devastation which had previously been done to their hand.

The York Herald, or the writer of this Journal, refers to a list of the places destroyed during this invasion, as elsewhere contained in his book. No such list is now in the volume; but its loss is supplied by the following paper, if the one was not copied from the other, which is preserved among the Burleigh State Papers, and printed by Haynes. It is curious, and may appropriately be here inserted, as furnishing an important contribution of its kind to the topography of Roxburghshire. It is entitled,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scots slain,</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prisoners taken,</td>
<td>403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nolt,</td>
<td>816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shope,</td>
<td>10,386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nags and Geldings,</td>
<td>12,492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gayt,</td>
<td>1296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolls of Corn,</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insight geare, &amp;c.</td>
<td>850</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Towns, Towers, Stedes, Barnekyns, Parisehe Churches, Bastell-Houses," from the Collection of State Papers in the reign of Henry VIII, &c., from 1542 to 1570, published by the Rev. Samuel Haynes. London: 1740, folio, p. 52. In the same Collection, pp. 43-51, will be found another similar document, entitled, "Exployts don upon the Scotts, from the beginning of July, anno 36 R. R. Henrici 8th." It consists of an abstract of exploits recorded in various letters, from the 2d July to the 17th November 1544. The sum total is thus given:—
The Names of the Fortresses, Abbeyes, Frere-houses, Market Townes, Villages, Towres and Places brent, raced, and cast downe, by the com-
mandment of Therll of Hertforde, the King's Majestie's Lieuten.
Antiquaries of Scotland. 277
ant Generall in the Northie Partes, in the Invasion into the Realme of
Scotland, betweene the 8th of September and the 23d of the same 1545,
the 37th yeare of the King's Royall Majestie's moste trowseous and
victorious Reigne.

"On the River of Twede.

"First the abbey of Kello raced and caft down; the towne of Kello brent;
the abbey of Melroffe alias Mewrofe, Darnyck, Gawtenside, Danyelton, Overton,
Heildon [Eildon], Newton of Heildon, Maxton, Lasedden [Lessudden], Merton,
Beamondside [Beamerside], Loughfeatte, Batehele, the abbey of Drybrughe,
the town of Drybrughe, the towre of Dawcowe [Dalcove] raced. The towne of
Dawcowe, Rotherford, Stockstrother, Newtowne, Trowes, Makeifton, the Manor-
hill, Charter-house, Lugton Lawe [Lanton Law], Stotherike towre raced; Eaft
Meredean, West Meredean, Flowres [Floors], Gallowe Lawe, Broxe Lawe,
Broxe mylne, the water-mill of Kello. Sum 33.

"On the River of Tiviot.

"The freers nere Kello, the Larde Hog's house, the barnes of Old Rockef-
borou unh town, the towre of Rockeborou h rac ed, the towre of Ormefton raced,
the towne of Ormefton, Neyther Nefebett, Over Nefhet, Angeram [Ancrum],
Spittell, Bune Jedworth, the two towres of Bune Jedworth raced, the Lard of
Bune Jedworth's dwelling-house, Over Angeram, Neyther Angeram, Eaft
Barnehill, Mynto Crag, Mynto towne and place, Weft Mynto, the Cragge End,
Whitrick, Heffington [Hassindean], Bank-heffington, Over-heffington, Cotes,
Eishebanke, Cavers, Bryeryards, Denhome, Langton [Lanton], Rowcastle,
Newtowne, Whitcetterhoufe, Tympintoun. Sum 36.

"On the Water of Rowle [Rulc].

"Rowle Spittell, Bedrowle, Rowlewwood. The Wolles, Crossbewghe, Don-

"On the Ryver of Jedde.

"The abbey of Jedworth [Jedburgh], the Freers there; the towne of Jed-
worthe, Hundylee, Bungate; the Banke end, the Neyther mylnes, Houton, Over
Craling, the Wells, Neyther Craling, Over Wodden, Nether Wodden. Sum 13.


"Over-Hownam, Neyther Hownam, Hownham Kyrke, New Gateshaughe;
the towre of Gateshaughe, Over Grobet, Neyther Grobet; Grobet mylne, Wyde-
open, Crewkedhawes, Prymside, Myyne Rigge, Marbottell, Otterburne, Cef-
forthe [Cesford], Over Whitton, Neyther Whitton, Hatherlands, Cesforth burne,
Cesforth maynes, Mowe-houfe; the Cowe bogge, Lynton, Caverton, Sharpefrige,
Throgdon, Pringle stede, the Mayne-houfe, Eckforde, Moflehoufe, Weterburnes,
Grymefley [Grahamslaw], Synales, Heyton on the Hill, Newe Hawe, Maffendewe;
the Brig end, St Thomas Chapell, Maxwell heughe, Eaft-Woddon, Wett-Wod-
don, Howden. Sum 45.


"Mowe, Mowe Meufles, Clifton Cote, Colerofte, Elshenghe, Awton burne,
Cowe, Woodside, Oweshopside, Felterhawes, Clifton, Hailhope, Kirke Yettam
[Yetholm], Towne Yettam, Chertyrees, Barears; the Bogge, Longhoufe, Fow-
merden. Sum 19.

"Heeles [Eccles] Parish in the Marffe.

"Long Ednam, Little Newton, Newton mylne, Naynethorne, Naynethorne
mylne, Over Stytchell, Nether Stichell, Cowngecarle [Queenseairn], Lagers
morre, Oxemoure, Kenetside, Myckell Harle, Lytoll Harle, Haflington, Hafling-
ton maynes, Landen [Lambton], Hardacres, Stanefallde; the abbey of Heeles,
towne there; Newtowne, Heeleheales, Grafton Rig, Spittleheugh, Over Plew-
land, Nether Plewland, Over Tofts, Nether Tofts, Clerkeleas, Headrigge, Pudd-
ingran, Howden, Marfington, and the towre raced; Letam, Belchebeh, Bough-
trige, Newbigging, Wranghame, Wester Peles; the Kemes, the Burnehoufe,
Thankes, Rowyngston, Grymefley Rigge, Cowys, Werke, Whinkerstanes, Fowge
Rigge, Foge Banke, Sir James Trenmats house, Rysley, Bettrikside, Elbank.
Sum 57.

"Dunce [Dunse] Parish.

"Fowge [Fogo] Towne, Sufterpethe, Sufterpethe mylne, Fowge mylne, the
Walke mylne there, the Hill, the New Mylne, Sleghden, Eaftfeld, Hardames,
Stanemore Lawe; the Biers, Wodehede, Caldefide, Lownefdale; the towre of Red
Brayes raced, the towre of Pollerd [Polwarth] raced, Pollerd Towne, Pollerwood,
the Bow-Houfe, Selburne Rigge, Stocke Fote; the towres and barmekyn of
Nefbed [Nisbet] raced; the towre of Nefbed, Nefbed Hill, Crongle, Calledrawe,
the Brigend, Gretrig, Growell Dikes; the towre of Dunce raced, Dounce Lawe,
Knoke; the towne of Dounce, Har Lawe, Borticum, Eaft Bortick, Parked,
Caldefide, Black Dikes, Byrkenfide, Kayedefide, Redheughe, Manderston,
Nanewarre, Elfoyle, Cromerfeyn, Kawkey Lawe, Sampson's Walles; the Brigg
End, the Check Lawe, Dounce mylne, the Eaft Maynes. Sum 52..

i: The Castell of Wetherburne, Mongoufe Towre, Pele, Rigge, Kemeregyne,
Kemergeyme maynes, Redheughe, Redes house, Godds Malifone; the East Mylne, the Kellawe [Kelloe], Edrame; the Newe Towne, Blackoter Caftell raced; the Towne of Blacketer, White Lawe, East Lawes, West Lawes, Swynton, and Whitsonne. Sum 20. Sum Total, 287

Whereof (it is added) are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>In Monasteries and Frearhouses</td>
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<tr>
<td>In Caftells, Towres, and Piles (Peels)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Market Townes</td>
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<tr>
<td>In Villages</td>
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<tr>
<td>In Mylnes</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>In Spytells and Hoptitals</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tbody>
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287