

III.

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 Scottish 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 hys cote of armys borne by me, ULSTER KING 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 Nywcastell the 5 day of Settember;

and all his army had a day a pointit to mytte att the Stannyngston¹ vpon Crocke a More,² the 8 day of thes present, & all the caryadge and ordenance and monyffion: and so the dyd: the said Erle rod from Nywcastell to Anwicke a Satherday, and their he rest Sunday; and a Monday to Cheidyngham; and a Tywffeday to the forsaid Ston on Crackamowre, and past fart³ a myll, and their campet; and a Wenefday past by Warke, and so a longs the water in iij batelles,⁴ and so past the furd w^t the foreward and the most part of the battaill and their ordenance, and the reywaier⁵ Twyd roffe so fuddenley, that hit was 3 or 4 cartf and som horsles owertrowen⁶ by the wiollence of the water, and som stowff lost and walett,⁷ and this the rereward and some of the battaieil campeit on the other sid, and all o^r wittailes wer dier, thes Wenefeday did I YORKE fomeyn the abbaye of Chelffe [Kelso], and thes day the said Abby was batterid and enterid by day, and by mydnyght hit was wone by the Spanards par force. Seleyne of the Scottes to the nomer of 40, and thakeyn⁸ to the nomer of 5, and eskape by nyght 13; of the w^{ch} 13, 2 was thakyn the nexht day, and a xi eskape in lywf; a turfeday the campe cam all to the sayd abbey and town, as well the that wer on the one syd as the other. The erle of Comerland had the fourward, and the lord Scrope w^t him, and S^r Robard Bowes, lord wardon of the mydell marches, and many other knyghts, and the lord Lattemer, and 300 Italians and Albenefes on horfbac, and ij anneconnes⁹ of Spanards, and some horfhemmen of them, and the marshall; and in this wangard¹⁰ was the Mr of the ordenance and his horfhemmen, and a 100 hangers, and in the battaill the Erle of Herford, lord lowttenaunt, and my lord Stowrtoun, and Sr Rawf Sadheller, trefuryer and confelleir, and my lord Newell and his fathers power, and his brother Tho^s, and my lord Tho^s 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 Kolkerawfft, and iij aungenes of Spanards, and some of them a horfbac, and the Clewoies all, and many knyghts and fomyers mar, and the Ieries¹¹ men, ij angenes sometymes in the bataieil and fomyers in the fowr-ward, and in the riere-ward the lord Dacers and the lord Connyers, and Sr John Markam, and Sr Richard Mann, capitain generall of the rierewards horfhemmen, and Sr Robart Conftable, knyght, and many mor knyghts and esquers. Thes day the wittailes¹² wer yett skand and nott plenty, this day the Spanard did spuieil the Abbey att their will and euery man; a friday messur was thakeyn¹³ for to fortifie the said Abbey, butt hit was or nown thetarmennyt¹⁴ the contrarie, theis day was [blank], theis day my lord commandyt to brik the

¹ the Standingstone.² Probably Crookham (muir?), between Ford and Cornhill.³ further.⁷ wet.¹¹ Irish.⁴ companies, battalions.⁸ taken.¹² victuals.⁵ the river.⁹ ensigns, or companies.¹³ measures were taken.⁶ overthrown.¹⁰ vanguard.¹⁴ but it was ere noon determined.

abbey and thake of the leied,¹ and outer myen² the towres and strong places, and to owaier trowe³ all; thes day byng fryday, my Lord rood to Rockefellerow [Roxburgh] to vis hit⁴ for to make a strong castell their, w^{ch} is as strong a place to by fourtesed as any is in Scotland by tuyen⁵ ij riveres w^{ch} myght by brougnt to com a bowt the said rocke, and the w^{ch} rever he wold, the on is att his fut and the other wⁱⁿ a fones cast; thes place wrowt well, came to o^r campe agayn thes day was iiij of the Carres, and ij of the erle of Angoies is ferwaunts, and iij of the lord Howmes taken and others, and the⁶ of Hum castell [Hume Castle] had thaken a son of Tho^{as} Blanhaffett, 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 horshemen a most, Engles, Clewoies, and Italians, and Straliotts, and Spanards, to the nomer of iiij towfent and mor, and the birynd ij abbeyis, and 30 townes, and corn worth a 1000 li. fr, 9 myell Scottes, a myell byeyend Mouroffe [Melrose]; and a Sondag the abbey of Kelfe was razed, and all put to royen,⁷ howffes, and towres, and ftypeles, and the wit-taieles cam, and cartes loden again w^t the leed⁸ of the said abbey, and my lord lowttennant did fend ij greit gones⁹ to Barwick and Sr Robart Bowes, and ij other gones to take a castell ij myll from thes place, called Dawcowe: 3 Skotts feleyn, and cartes sent to Wark loden w^t the leid of the abbey, and w^t hym 500 horffes and an annceyn of Spanards, and the ij angenes of Iryes men, and the towke the said towre parforce, and returyn agayn to thes campe. Yesterday byng Satterday, whas 3 Scottes men hang in thes campe, and 9 feleyn¹⁰ in fild be the horshemen, and the Scottes sclywe 3 Italians that rod owt of the fyght of their fellowes; and on Monday wy departyt from Kelfey abbey that was, to Rockefellerow menes, and their campeit that nyght; and from thens to Bongedwourthe a tywesefeday, and birnyng and theiftryng all that day bod coryn¹¹ and howffes, and hee¹² and turff, and a wenesfeday burend Jedwourd [Jedburgh] abbey, and the fryers menore, and all the townes ij myell beyond, as Cavaiers [Cavers], and Denam [Denholm], and Mento, and Mantonerake [Minto-craig]. and Bedrowle, and Towres, and Newton, and Langeton, and Haffenden, and the Barne helles [Barnhills], and the Benetts, and Aneram, and many mor, and returnyd to campe that Wenef-day to Egelford, and owaier tryw the Mofse nexht mornyng, and birnd Chesford, and outheir mynd¹³ the castell, but hit whas tow tyke¹⁴ and hitt cowd nott by,¹⁵ and so thes Thurfeday destruyng and birnyng, campeit att Warke that nyght, and their tharid¹⁶ friday and Satheir[day] the campe, bowt¹⁷ all the carthes¹⁸

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 horshmen birnyng and destruyng all that day, and so fare as in to w^tin half a quarter of a myell of Howme castell, and maid all the Scottfmen that were a brod to requiell vnto the castell walles, and ij of theirs thakeyn that day, and by them reportit that their was 10,000 Scottes men a bowtt the faid castell, and that the erle of Angoies was com their the nyght be for and 10 cartes w^t ordenaunce and munycion, w^h I thynyk all was nott trywe, bowt somat hit was,¹ o^r men birnd so ner the castell, that wy kod² nott see the castell fontymes nor the castell ows, and the of the castell owaier fott ows³ all many tymes, and a monges ows yett the howrthe non bowt on⁴ horfhe, thanks be to God; and thes down, my lord lowthennaunt returneyd to Wark w^t all his iiij thowffannt horshemen and no mor, and lost 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 o^r campe wer com to Warke lodon w^t the abbey of Kelfey is leed, and leyfft nothyng be heynd, and cam sawff hom to the faid castell of Warke; and a Sondag wy remowid and past the water of Tuyd on the est marches of Wark, and birnd and destrued Egland, and the nonery cald Colftreme, and so to Fogga, and their campeit that nyght, and many a town birnd that day; and a Monday Downes [Dunse] towre and towne owaretrown⁶ and birnd, and all the pares w^{ch} is l.⁷ townes and willaiges by longeyng to the faid Downs; and the nexht day to West Nyfbed, w^o was birnd, and owaier trown the castell, and many mor, as hit shall apier in a nother place of this bowke, the names of all the townes, and thowres, and abbeyes, and fryers, and nonerys, and a charter howffe; and theis down wy campe this tywffeday att o^r Lady church [Lady kirk] w^tin Scotteland; and a Wenefeday towke mosters of all w^or holle oft,⁸ and o^r armye deffolwithe w^t o^r ennemys is land; and att nown cam the lord Lattemer to thake heis leywe, as many otheirs did, of my lord Lowtennannt, but my forfaid lord Lowtennannt maid hym knyght in the faid campe, and w^t hym 12 mor, that is to say, 13 in all, as hit shall a pier by their names; and theis down, euery man that was nott goon⁹ departed in to England, some to Norham Castell and town, some to Sr Thomas Grey of Horton's howff, some to Banbery, some rod farther, and some rod all that nyght, and cartes also. The Spanards leyfft¹⁰ att Foster and Horsley is howffes, and in the wilaigges¹¹ their abowt; the Clewoyffes att Norhamh^r and town and castell, the Italians also in that fruntyers, and sorteley¹² after, the Italians cam to Nyw castell, and of them mosteres thakeyn and sent to London ward; and the Albanneses

¹ but some of it was.² we could.³ overshot us.⁴ they hurt none but one.⁵ we.⁶ overthrown.⁷ parish, which has 50.⁸ musters of all our whole host.⁹ not gone.¹⁰ left.¹¹ villages.¹² shortly.

also ; and after them the Cleywoiefes 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 carles 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 Bischope Acqueleand, and theis wy the³ partid after all theis orthewyd by the lord Lowtenant the x day of October, and came to London the 22 day of thes fame. God faue the Kyng and my Lord Prince Edward. 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,⁴ 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,

¹ they.

² thence to Beverley.

³ this way they.

⁴ 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, “Exploits 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:—

“ Towns, Towers, Stedes, Barnekyns, Parishe Churches, Bastell-Houses, . . .	192
Scotts slain,	403
Prisoners taken,	816
Nolt,	10,386
Shepe,	12,492
Nags and Geldings,	1296
Gayt,	200
Bolls of Corn,	850
Insigth geare, &c.”	

THE NAMES OF THE FORTRESSES, ABBEYS, FRERE-HOUSES, MARKET TOWNES, VILLAGES, TOWRES AND PLACES BRENT, RACED, AND CAST DOUNE, BY THE COMMANDMENT OF THERLL OF HERTFORDE, THE KING'S MAJESTIE'S LIEUTENANT GENERALL IN THE NORTHE 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 PROUSPEROUS AND VICTORIOUS REIGNE.

“ On the River of Twede.

“ First the abbey of Kelfo raced and cast down; the towne of Kelfo Brent; the abbey of Melroffe *alias* Mewrofe, Darnyck, Gawtenfide, Danyelton, Overton, Heildon [Eildon], Newton of Heildon, Maxton, Lafeddon [Lessudden], Merton, Beamondfide [Beamerside], Loughfeatte, Bateshele, the abbey of Drybrughe, the town of Drybrughe, the towre of Dawcowe [Dalcove] raced. The towne of Dawcowe, Rotherford, Stocktrother, Newtowne, Trowes, Makerfton, the Manorhill, Charter-houfe, Lugton Lawe [Lunton Law], Stotherike towre raced; East Meredeane, West Meredeane, Flowres [Floors], Gallowe Lawe, Broxe Lawe, Broxe mylne, the water-mill of Kelfo. Sum 33.

“ On the River of Tiviot.

“ The freers nere Kelfo, the Larde Hog's houfe, the barnes of Old Rockefeller borough towne, the towre of Rockefeller borough raced, the towre of Ormefton raced, the towne of Ormefton, Neyther Nefebett, Over Nefbet, Angeram [Ancrum], Spittell, Bune Jedworth, the two towres of Bune Jedworth raced, the Lard of Bune Jedworth's dwelling-houfe, Over Angeram, Neyther Angeram, East Barnehill, Mynto Crag, Mynto towne and place, West Mynto, the Cragge End, Whitrick, Heffington [Hassindeane], Bank-heffington, Over-heffington, Cotes, Efshebanke, Cavers, Bryeryards, Denhome, Langton [Lanton], Rowcafte, Newtowne, Whitechefterhoufe, Tympinton. Sum 36.

“ On the Water of Rowle [Rule].

“ Rowle Spittel, Bedrowle, Rowlewood. The Wolles, Croffebewghe, Donnerles, Fotton, Weafl leas. Two Walke mylnes, Tronnyhill, Dupligis. Sum 12.

“ On the Ryver of Jedde.

“ The abbey of Jedworthe [Jedburgh], the Freers there; the towne of Jedworthe, Hundylee, Bungate; the Banke end, the Neyther mylnes, Houfton, Over Craling, the Wells, Neyther Craling, Over Wodden, Nether Wodden. Sum 13.

“ On the Ryver of Kealle [Kale, or Kail] in Easte Tividale.

“ Over-Hownam, Neyther Hownam, Hownham Kyrke, New Gatefhaughe;

the towre of Gateshaughe, Over Grobet, Neyther Grobet; Grobet mylne, Wydeopen, Crewkedhawes, Prymfide, Mylne Rigge, Marbottell, Otterburne, Cef-forthe [Cesford], Over Whitton, Neyther Whitton, Hatherlands, Cesforth burne, Cesforth maynes, Mowe-houfe; the Cowe bogge, Lynton, Caverton, Sharpefrige, Throdon, Pringle stede, the Mayne-houfe, Eckforde, Mofsehoufe, Wefterbarnes, Grymelley [Grahamslaw], Synles, Heyton on the Hill, Newe Hawe, Maffendewe; the Brig end, St Thomas Chapell, Maxwell heughe, East-Woddon, West-Woddon, Howden. Sum 45.

“ *On the Ryver of Bowbent [Beaumont] in East Tividale.*

“ Mowe, Mowe Meufles, Clifton Cote, Colerofte, Elfhenghe, Awton burne, Cowe, Woodfide, Owefnopfide, Felterhawes, Clifton, Haihope, Kirke Yettam [Yetholm], Towne Yettam, Cherytrees, Barears; the Bogge, Longhoufe, Fowmerden. Sum 19.

“ Heeles [Eccles] *Parish in the Marffe.*

“ Long Ednam, Little Newton, Newton mylne, Naynethorne, Naynethorne mylne, Over Stytechell, Nether Stichell, Cowngecarle [Queenscairn], Lagers morre, Oxemoure, Kenetfide, Myckell Harle, Lytell Harle, Haffyngton, Haffyngton maynes, Landen [Lambton], Hardacres, Stanefalld; the abbey of Heeles, the towne there; Newtowne, Heelesheales, Grafton Rig, Spittleheugh, Over Plewland, Nether Plewland, Over Tofts, Nether Tofts, Clerkeleas, Headrigge, Pudingran, Howden, Marfington, and the towre raced; Letam, Belchefter, Boughtrige, Newbigging, Wranghame, Wester Peles; the Kemes, the Burnehoufe, Thankles, Rowyngfton, Grymeley Rigge, Cowys, Werke, Whinkerftanes, Fowge Rigge, Fogé Banke, Sir James Trennate’s houfe, Ryfeley, Bettrikfide, Elbank. Sum 57.

“ Donce [Dunse] *Parish.*

“ Fowge [Fogo] Towne, Sufterpethe, Sufterpethe mylne, Fowge mylne, the Walke mylne there, the Hill, the New Mylne, Slegghden, Eastefeld, Hardames, Stanemore Lawe; the Biers, Wodehede, Calldefide, 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 Nesbed [Nisbet] raced; the towre of Nesbed, Nesbed Hill, Crongle, Calledrawe, the Brigend, Gretrig, Growell Dikes; the towre of Dunce raced, Dounce Lawe, Knocke; the towne of Dounce, Hare Lawe, Borticke, East Bortick, Parkehed, Calldefide, Black Dikes, Byrkenfide, Kaydefheale, Redheughe, Manderfton, Nanewarre, Elfoyle, Cromerfteyn, Kawkey Lawe, Sampfon’s Walles; the Brigg End, the Check Lawe, Dounce mylne, the East Maynes. Sum 52.

“ The Caftell of Wetherburne, Mongoufe Towre, Pele, Rigge, Kemergeyme,

Kemergeyme maynes, Redheughe, Redes house, Godds Malifone; the East Mylne, the Kellawe [Kelloe], Edrame; the Newe Towne, Blackoter Castell raced; the Towne of Blacketer, White Lawe; East Lawes, West Lawes, Swynton, and Whitfonne. Sum 20. Sum Total, 287

Whereof (it is added) are—

“ In Monasteries and Frearhoufes,	7
In Castells, Towres, and Piles (Peels),	16
In Market Townes,	5
In Villages,	243
In Mylnes,	13
In Spytells and Hofpittalls,	3
	287”
