

## BATTLE OF PINKIE.\*

A.D. 1547.

THE parish of Inveresk near Edinburgh, which contains the town of Musselburgh, one of the most agreeable little burghs in Scotland, as it is one of the most healthy and pleasant, contains among other objects of interest the field of the battle of Pinkie, in which the Scots sustained a defeat almost as severe as that of Flodden. It is curious to contrast the state of several localities in Scotland in former times with the present. When the battle of Pinkie was fought, the rising grounds on which the villas and groves of Inveresk display their ornamental luxuriance, exhibited only two shepherds' huts; little of the fine quadrangular manor called Pinkie House, formerly the seat of the Seton family, and now of the Hopes, Baronets, of Craighall, was then erected, and it was the only building of importance in the neighbourhood even when Oliver Cromwell quartered his infantry on Musselburgh Links in 1650. The stranger who explores Inveresk and its neighbourhood, and then is fortunate to have a view of the House and grounds of Pinkie, or the in-

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\* Patten's Account of the Duke of Somerset's Expedition; Tytler's History of Scotland; Lindsay's (of Pitscottie) History; Sir James Balfour's Annals; Anderson's History of the House of Hamilton; Hume's (of Godscroft) History of the House of Angus and of Douglas; Chambers' Picture of Scotland; Statistical Account of Scotland.

dividual who is familiar with all the surrounding scenes, will not fail to experience the force of the following observations in Mr Robert Chambers' Picture of Scotland:—" Altogether, Pinkie House is perhaps one of the most interesting objects of its kind in Mid-Lothian. The house with its fine old Gothic architecture—the curious beauty of the fountain in front—the rich groves around, through which the Scottish muse has sent her ancient voice—and the neighbouring field, where our brave ancestors fought so vainly against the overpowering force of England, combine to render this a spot of no ordinary attraction to the sentimental traveller. There are scenes in Scotland of more romantic and bewildering beauty, and even some invested with a higher charm of historical association; yet when we see the setting sun gilding the groves and turrets of Pinkie, and hear the distant murmurs of the bay, mingled with the soft evening hum of the town, and think of all the circumstances of mighty import and exciting interest which have befallen on this spot and its neighbourhood, we must confess that we are disposed to yield that preference to very few. *By Pinkie House oft let me walk,* was the prayer of an old and true poet, and we heartily echo the sentiment."

But there were other objects of importance at Musselburgh at the time the battle of Pinkie was fought, some of which are now swept away, and others still remain as venerable memorials of former times. At the east end of Musselburgh, but without the boundary of the town, stood a building of great antiquity belonging to the Abbey of Dunfermline, the head of which was the lord of the regality, called the Chapel of Loretto, dedicated to *our Lady of Loretto*, and this religious establishment was the cause of considerable prosperity to the burgh on account of the wonderful cures pretended to be wrought at its shrine. It was in consequence the resort of all classes of the community for religious and not unfrequently for licentious pur-

poses. Loretto was involved in the common calamity of the town when burnt by the English in 1544, and after the battle of Pinkie. There is no description extant of the architectural appearance and extent of this establishment, or the number of persons connected with it. The materials of its ruined chapel, for the Reformation prevented its complete repair or restoration, were the first belonging to any sacred edifice which after that period were applied to secular purposes, and these were used in the erection of the present jail about the year 1590. The old steps of the stair leading to the jail and the town-hall were the bases of the pillars of the Chapel. For this *daring act* of alleged sacrilege it is said that the inhabitants of Musselburgh were annually excommunicated at Rome until the end of the eighteenth century—a work of supererogation on the part of His Holiness, as it neither excited their fears, nor prevented the prosperity of the place. The site of the old religious establishment of Loretto is now occupied by an extensive and elegant modern mansion called Loretto House, behind which are delightful gardens and extensive grounds, adorned with fine gigantic old trees, of various kinds, some of which were probably planted by the ecclesiastical proprietors before the battle of Pinkie. The only memorial of the ancient establishment is a small cell measuring about twelve feet by ten, covered by a kind of circular mound, surmounted by several venerable elms, which add to the pleasing appearance of the grounds, at the principal entrance to the modern large villa of Loretto.

The house in which Randolph Earl of Moray, the nephew of King Robert Bruce, died in 1332, stood upon the south side of the principal street of Musselburgh, at the eastern extremity, near the enclosure of Pinkie House, and opposite one of the private entrances to the gardens and grounds of Loretto. It has now disappeared, and the site is occupied by a Mason Lodge. It was a vaulted house of two rooms on the

ground floor; the rooms were about fourteen feet square, and the arch eight feet high, with an arched passage between them, each apartment containing two windows looking to the street. This house escaped the conflagration of Musselburgh by the English after the battle of Pinkie, and was probably the best house in the town in Earl Randolph's time. It is traditionally stated that the inhabitants formed a guard round the house during the illness of that great man, and their conduct was so much appreciated by his cousin Donald Earl of Mar, also a nephew of King Robert, who succeeded him as Regent, that he granted to the inhabitants or obtained for them their first charter.

But the most interesting object of the olden time is the old bridge over the Esk at Musselburgh, of unknown antiquity, and supposed by some to be a work of the Romans, as they had several houses in Fisherrow, where was their harbour for shipping, and the present church-yard of Inveresk to which it leads was one of their fortified stations. Over this same bridge the Scottish army passed to the battle of Pinkie; and over this bridge passed in more recent times the Highland army under the adventurous Prince Charles Stuart to the battle of Prestonpans, from which they returned by it in triumph to the neighbouring metropolis. The bridge is completely out of the reach of the tide, as it probably ever was, but the circumstance that several soldiers were killed upon it when passing to the field of Pinkie by shot from the English vessels, proves that a considerable change has taken place, and that the sea has receded, for no vessel even of an ordinary size could now approach near enough the mouth of the Esk to injure any person on this old bridge by a cannon shot. Like other bridges of former times it is very narrow, high in the centre, and seems to have been defended by a gate, of which some traces still remain in the side walls.

Such are the localities of the celebrated battle of Pinkie.

fought on the 10th day of September 1547, long known in Scotland as the *Black Saturday*. Henry VIII. died in 1546, and his death was followed soon after by that of his great contemporary and rival Francis I., but these events did not materially alter the policy either of England or of France. Edward VI. succeeded his father when in his ninth year, and his uncle the Duke of Somerset assumed the protectorate, which, also brought no change of policy in dealing with Scotland. It is said that Henry VIII., when on his death-bed, earnestly recommended the war with that country, and Somerset soon evinced, by one of the very first acts of his government, that he was determined to carry this injunction into effect. He determined to lead an army into the kingdom, addressing a letter at the same time to the principal nobility, reminding them of the league by which they had bound themselves to assist the deceased King of England in the accomplishment of his designs, and calling upon them to fulfil their promises.

The Earl of Arran, afterwards known as the Duke of Chatelherault, was governor of the kingdom, and he exerted himself to create a vigorous union against the English. He had been formerly in the English interest, and was a party to the matrimonial contract projected by Henry VIII. between his son, now Edward VI., and Queen Mary; but he had been induced by Cardinal Beaton to withdraw from the party favouring that union, though, to conciliate those noblemen in that interest, he was obliged to renounce a contract for the marriage of the young Queen to his own son. In general indolent and of unsettled principles, Arran on the present occasion evinced the utmost activity. "Suspicious," as a recent historian observes, "from the experience of the former reign, that other designs than a simple matrimonial alliance were contemplated by England, and aware of the preparations for invading the kingdom, he laboured to attach the chief nobility to his service.

to strengthen the Border defences, and to train the people by weapon-shawings, or armed musters, which had been of late much disused, to greater skill in military exercises. He encouraged the equipment of privateers and armed merchantmen, as the only substitute for a national fleet; and he anxiously endeavoured to compose those sanguinary feuds among some of the principal barons which had of late years greatly increased, and even in the midst of peace exposed the state to all the horrors of war."

The well known intrigues of many of the influential nobility and gentlemen with the English government placed Arran in a difficult situation, and to defeat their schemes and machinations required a resolution and talent which he did not possess. Nevertheless, in the midst of his embarrassment and political irresolution, he was active in his military preparations. In the summer of 1547 he established a line of beacons upon the hills near and on the coast of the German Ocean, and the Frith of Forth from St Abb's Head to Linlithgow; mounted sentinels were stationed to convey intelligence of any hostile appearance, and all persons were strictly prohibited to leave their residences or remove their goods, as it was resolved to defend the kingdom at every hazard.

The Duke of Somerset, formerly Earl of Hertford, and noted for his expedition into Scotland in 1544, arrived with his army at Newcastle on the 27th of August, and at the same time a fleet of thirty-four ships of war and thirty-one transports anchored near the mouth of the Tyne, commanded by Lord Clinton; the second in command was Sir William Woodhouse. The English army consisted in all of fourteen thousand two hundred men, and fifteen pieces of artillery. Of this number four thousand were men-at-arms, two thousand were light horse, and two hundred were mounted Spanish carabineers; the remaining eight thousand were footmen and pioneers. The whole force

was arranged in three divisions or *battles*. The main force was commanded by the Protector Somerset in person; the van by the Earl of Warwick, and the rear by Lord Dacres. Each division or battle was strengthened by wings of horse and some pieces of artillery, each piece having its guard of pioneers to clear the way. Lord Grey of Wilton, who acted as high marshal of the army, commanded the cavalry; Sir Francis Bryan was captain of the light horsemen; Sir Ralph Vane was captain of the men-at-arms and demi-lances. The other commanders were Sir Thomas Darcy, Sir Richard Lee, Sir Peter Mewtas, Sir Francis Fleming, and Don Pedro de Gamboa, who led the mounted Spanish carabineers. Sir Ralph Sadler was treasurer of the army, Sir James Wilford was provost-marshal, and Sir George Blaag and Sir Thomas Holcroft were commissioners of the musters.

To meet and repel this formidable and well-arranged force, commanded by noblemen and knights of great bravery and military experience, Arran resorted to an expedient seldom used except in cases of extreme necessity. The fiery cross was sent throughout the country. "This is a cross," observes Patten, an officer in the expedition, who wrote an account of it, "as I have heard some say, of two brands' ends, carried across upon a spear's point, with proclamation of the time and place when and whither they shall come, and with how much provisions. Others say it is a cross painted all red, and set for certain days in the barony, the people of which are summoned, that if all between sixteen and sixty come not with their provisions at the time and place then appointed, the land is forfeited, and the persons held to be traitors and rebels." In the more expressive language of Mr Tytler, the fiery cross was "a warlike symbol, of Celtic origin, constructed of two slender rods of iron, formed into the shape of a cross, the extremities scared in the fire, and extinguished when red

and blazing in the blood of a goat slain for the occasion. From this slight description it is evident that the custom may be traced back to Pagan times, and it is certain that throughout the Highland districts of the country its summons, wherever it was carried, was regarded with awe and obeyed without hesitation. Previous to this we do not hear of its having been adopted in the Lowlands; but on the present emergency, being fastened to the point of a spear, it was transmitted by the heralds and pursuivants throughout every part of the realm. From town to town, from village to village, from hamlet to hamlet, the ensanguined symbol flew with astonishing rapidity, and such was the effect, that in a wonderfully short period of time an army of thirty-six thousand men assembled near Musselburgh. This immense array encamped on the large field on the west side of the Esk called Edmonstone Edge."

A considerable number of Highlanders and Islanders were present, many of them under the command of the Earl of Argyle, yet not a few of the Western clans failed to obey the summons of Arran. Of these the most prominent were the tribes of Clanranald and others concerned in the slaughter of Lord Lovat and the Frasers in 1544, who, being considered as outlaws, would not venture to trust themselves out of their fastnesses. The MacLeods of Lewis were also absent, but indeed it is surprising that any of the men of the Isles appeared at all to be commanded by leaders so obnoxious to them as were the Earls of Argyle and Huntly.

The Duke of Somerset entered Scotland on the 2d of September, and advanced without opposition along the coast in sight of the English fleet, until he arrived at the ravine over which the Pease Bridge is thrown. Having employed the greater part of a day in conducting his army and conveying his artillery through this rugged pass, the Protector made himself master of the baronial fortalices of



Dunglass, Thornton, and Innerwick, in the neighbourhood. Leaving Dunbar on his right, he pushed forward to Linton, where his army crossed the Tyne by the narrow bridge still remaining, while his cavalry forded the river with the carriages. Here some show of resistance was offered by a noted Border marauder named Dandy Carr at the head of a body of light horse, but he was soon put to flight by a small detachment of the Earl of Warwick's division. An ineffectual cannonade was opened upon the invaders from Hailes Castle, and on the 7th of September they encamped at Long Niddry for the night.

While here the Protector communicated by signal with his fleet, which then lay in the roadstead of Leith, and Lord Clinton came on shore. After a conference it was agreed that the larger ships should cast anchor in Musselburgh Bay, and that the transports should beat in as near as possible to the shore. The English commanders were well aware that the Scottish army lay encamped near Musselburgh, and during the march of the following day, small parties of their light cavalry were seen galloping backwards and forwards on the eminences overhanging their line of march. On the 8th of September the Duke of Somerset halted for the night, and encamped near the town of Salt Preston, now called Prestonpans, occupying ground which two hundred years afterwards was to be the scene of a contest, and an expedition of a different description. On the right of Somerset expanded the fine bay of the Frith of Forth, which sweeps round from Musselburgh to North Berwick; on his left were the rising grounds where the large and irregular built village of Tranent is situated; and not far distant the hill of Fawside. The Scottish cavalry appeared early next morning on those elevated ridges, and approached the vanguard of the English, shaking their lances, and attempting to provoke a contest. This body of cavalry consisted of fifteen thousand men commanded by

Lord Home, and near them five hundred foot lay in ambush. Somerset suspected, from their eagerness for action, that they were secretly supported, and ordered his soldiers to preserve their ranks, but Lord Grey of Wilton obtained leave to try the effect of a charge with his demi-lances and a thousand men-at-arms, at the head of whom he attacked the Scots at full speed. They firmly received his onset, but the weight of their men-at-arms was too great for the slight formed though hardy steeds of the Borders, and after a conflict of three hours duration the Scottish cavalry were broken, and thirteen hundred men were slain within sight of the Scottish camp. Lord Home was severely wounded, and his son was taken prisoner. The pursuit continued for three miles from Fawside Hill to the right wing of the Scottish army.

The English army now moved onwards, and encamped on the grounds of Drummore at the east end of Musselburgh Links, and at Wallyford. Accompanied by a small party, Somerset descended from Fawside Hill, by a lane which led directly north to the parish church of Inveresk, to examine the position occupied by the Scots, who were still encamped on Edmonstone Edge on the Fisherrow side of the Esk. He saw that the ground on which they lay was admirably chosen for strength and security. A morass defended them on the right, stretching to the south, on the north was the Frith of Forth, and in front, looking eastward, the river Esk separated them from the English camp. On the old and then the only bridge at Musselburgh, they had placed some ordnance, probably the cannons called *Crook Mow* and *Deaf Meg*, mentioned by Lindsay of Pit-scottie. Yet Somerset perceived that the Scottish camp was partially commanded by the hill of Inveresk, and by the higher parts of the lane which led from Fawside Hill. He immediately resolved to occupy these positions with cannon, by means of which he expected to dislodge the

Scots from their advantageous ground, and with this intention he rode back to his camp.

“ On the road,” says Mr Tytler, from whose account and that of Patten this narrative is chiefly abridged, “ he was overtaken by a Scottish herald with his tabard on, accompanied by a trumpeter, who brought a message from the Governor. The herald said his first errand was for an exchange of prisoners ; his second, to declare that his master, eager to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, was willing to allow him to retreat without molestation, and upon honourable conditions. The trumpeter next addressed the Duke, informing him that, in case such terms were not accepted, his master, the Earl of Huntly, willing to bring the quarrel to a speedy conclusion, was ready to encounter him twenty to twenty, ten to ten, or, if he would so far honour him, man to man. To these messages Somerset made a brief and temperate reply—‘ And as for thy master,’ said he, addressing the trumpeter, ‘ he lacketh some discretion to send his challenge to one who, by reason of the weighty charge he bears—no less the government of the King’s person and the protection of his realm—hath no power to accept it ; whilst there are yet many noble gentlemen here, his equals in rank, to whom he might have addressed his cartel without fear of a refusal.’ At this moment the Earl of Warwick broke eagerly in, telling the messenger that he would not only accept the challenge, but would give him a hundred crowns if he brought back his master’s consent. ‘ Nay,’ observed Somerset, ‘ the Earl of Huntly is not equal in rank to your Lordship ; but, herald, tell the Governor and the Earl of Huntly also, that we have now spent some time in your country ; our force is but a small company, yours far exceeds us ; yet bring me word they will meet us in a plain field, and thou shalt have a thousand crowns for thy pains, and thy masters fighting enough.’ ”

During this conversation the Scots are accused, in violation of the usages of war, when messages are carried between hostile armies by heralds and trumpeters, of firing some shots at the English, though without doing any injury. On the following day, observes Patten ironically, they "had their guns taken from them every one, and put into the hands of those who could use them to better purpose." The same authority, however, doubts if Arran actually sent the above message, or, if he did, it was only as a pretence for the punishment he intended to inflict on the English after the anticipated victory, of which he was so confident, that during the evening preceding the battle he and the Scottish leaders amused themselves with playing at dice for the disposal and ransoms of the prisoners. The Earl of Huntly afterwards denied that he sent any challenge to combat, and declared that the whole affair was devised by a gentleman named George Douglas in his name. This was confirmed by a prisoner, who swore *by the mass* that it was likely enough, for he knew Douglas well, and he was a person noted for occasioning quarrels and stirring up strife.

Somerset, having dismissed the Earl and his companion, pursued his way to his camp, where he held a consultation with his officers. The truth is, he was most anxious to come to an engagement, for his provisions were becoming scarce, and if the Scots had been aware of this fact the result of the battle might have been very different. The Duke resolved to make a final effort to avert hostilities, and addressed a letter to Arran, in which he declared his readiness to retreat from the kingdom on the single condition that the Scots would keep their young Queen in their own country, uncontrolled by any French influence, until she had reached a marriageable age, and able herself to decide whether she would adhere to the matrimonial treaty with England. The Governor unfortunately inter-

puted this moderate and equitable proposal as resulting rather from a dread on the part of Somerset, that he could no longer support his army in a hostile country, than from any desire to secure peace. In this opinion he was confirmed by the sentiments of his illegitimate brother, Archbishop Hamilton of St Andrews, and they agreed to suppress the real communication, and instead of it they propagated a report that an insulting message had been received from the English, demanding the Scots to deliver up their queen, and entrust themselves unconditionally to the mercy of the invaders.

On the evening of the 9th of September, marked, observes Patten, in the calendar with the name of St Gorgon, no famous saint certainly, either so obscure that no man knows him, or so ancient that every man forgets him, Somerset ordered a part of his ordnance to be placed on the following morning in Crookston Loan, a lane near the end of the old bridge of Musselburgh on the east side of the Esk, and a part to be placed on the rising ground in the neighbourhood of Inveresk church. The English fleet had sailed from Leith, and was now at anchor in Musselburgh Bay. On the morning of the 10th, the Duke broke up his camp, and gave orders to advance towards the hill of Inveresk, where he intended to encamp, as that eminence commanded the position of the Scots. This movement of the English was perceived by the Earl of Arran, who absurdly supposed that Somerset had actually commenced to retreat towards his fleet lying in the Bay, with the design of embarking his army. He instantly resolved, in defiance of the advice of his most experienced officers, who urged him to maintain his strong position till the designs of the English became more apparent, to anticipate the Protector in his supposed retreat, and gave orders for the whole army to pass the Esk. The Earl of Angus, who led the van, at first positively refused to obey, deeming it madness to

throw away their advantage; and it was not till Arran charged him on pain of treason to pass forward, that he forded the river, and was followed by the Governor himself, who led the main battle—the Earl of Huntly bringing up the rear.

It was while crossing the bridge that the English galleys are said to have opened a galling fire on the Scots, and the Master of Graham, eldest son of the first Earl of Montrose, and some others who were near him, were killed, while Argyle's Highlanders were thrown into confusion. But it would have been more dangerous to have attempted the passage of the Esk at any other place, as there was at that time a thick wood extending all the way to Dalkeith. After passing the church of Inveresk, the Scots were secured from any annoyance by the ground sloping down to the *How Mire*, then a morass, but now drained and cultivated, from which it rises gently to the hills of Carberry and Fawside. This gently rising ground was the field of battle, namely, the ground between the present villas of Inveresk and Wallyford, and Carberry Hill.

The Scottish army advanced in three divisions. The first, under the Earl of Angus, consisted of ten thousand men from Fife, the Mearns, Angus, and the western counties, flanked on the right by some pieces of artillery drawn by men, and on the left by four hundred light-horse. This division included also a singular band of auxiliaries, whose presence was very unnecessary on such an occasion, as many of them soon experienced to their cost. This was a large body of priests and monks, who marched under a white banner, on which was painted a female with dishevelled hair kneeling before a crucifix, and the motto—*Afflictæ Ecclesiæ ne obliviscaris*, or, *Remember the afflicted Church*. The centre division, commanded by the Governor Arran, consisted of the men of Fife, Strathearn, Stirlingshire, the Lothians, and a number of the barons. On the right wing

of this division were stationed four thousand men from the Western Islands under the Earl of Argyle, while on the left were the Islanders, with MacLeod, MacGregor, and other chieftains. This great division was also defended on both flanks and in the rear by some pieces of artillery, which in the action did little execution. The Scots were greatly superior in numbers to the English, but they were far inferior in real military strength.

Somerset commenced his march to take possession of the hill of Inveresk, and before he was half way he perceived that the Scots had anticipated him, and were advancing towards the English. He viewed with surprise and pleasure their abandonment of their position, and their passage of the river. The Earl of Warwick happened to be riding with him, and after mutual congratulations they took leave of each other, and proceeded to their respective charges—Warwick to the van, and Somerset to the main division, which contained the royal standard. The artillery were ordered forward, and the most active preparations were made to receive the Scots. Warwick arranged his division on the side of Inveresk Hill; Somerset formed his line partly on the hill, his extreme right reaching the plain; the rear, commanded by Lord Dacre, was drawn up on the plain, the mounted carabineers and men-at-arms, under Lord Grey, were stationed at some distance on the extreme left. Grey's orders were to take the Scots in flank, but he was strictly charged not to make any attack till the foot of the van were engaged, and the division, commanded by Somerset, near at hand to support him.

As the great object of the Scots was to throw themselves between the English and their fleet, the wing of their rear, which moved nearest to the Frith, was exposed to the fire of the English galleys, which did considerable execution, and threw Argyle's Highlanders into confusion. This caused the army, which had considerably advanced, to de-

cline to the southward, and take a direct line towards the west of Fawside Hill, intending to take possession of that side of the hill, and attack the English from the higher ground. When Somerset perceived this movement, he ordered Lord Grey with his veteran band of men-at-arms called *Bulleners*, from their having composed the garrison of Boulogne, and other troops, Sir Ralph Vane and Sir Thomas Darcy, with their men-at-arms, and Lord Fitzwalter, with his demi-lances, to the number of 1000 horse and 1600 foot, to charge the right wing of the Scots, and if unable to break it, to keep it in check till their van advanced farther on the hill, which with the centre and the rear would form a full front against the enemy. This manœuvre, which was bold and hazardous, was executed by Lord Grey with great gallantry. The Scottish infantry advanced with such rapidity, that many of the English at first thought them cavalry. Lord Grey waited a short time, till the Earl of Warwick was very near the Scots, when he commanded the trumpets to sound, and charged down Fawside Hill at full gallop against the right wing of the division under the Earl of Angus. The Scots received the charge of the English cavalry with great bravery, and the superiority of their infantry over mounted troops was soon apparent on this occasion. They were armed with spears eighteen feet in length, far exceeding the lances of the men-at-arms, and Angus ordered them to close together in such a manner as to resemble a "gigantic hedgehog covered with an impenetrable skin of steel bristles." The manœuvre was executed on the same principle as the forming of squares in modern military tactics, and if such a body stood firm no cavalry could have made any impression upon them. It was near the present farm-house of Barbauchlay where this was done, and a broad muddy ditch intervened between the English and the Scots, which was with great difficulty cleared by the horses of the former. Yet Lord Grey, no-



thing discouraged by these obstacles, struggled through, and with his front companies charged upon the left of the Scots. In a short time upwards of two hundred of the English were slain, the horses being stabbed in the belly with the long spears, and their riders despatched by the short doubled-edged daggers carried by the Scots at their girdles. Several of the veteran officers of the Boulogners fell, the English standard was saved, but the staff was left in the hands of the Scots. Lord Grey was dangerously wounded in the mouth and neck; and horses, rendered furious by their wounds, carried disorder into the English companies, which were now thrown into such confusion, that Lord Grey had the greatest difficulty in extricating them and retreating up the hill.

If Angus had been properly supported at this crisis the English would in all probability have been discomfited, but the Scots had no men-at-arms, their cavalry had been almost cut to pieces in the skirmish of the preceding day, and the centre and the rear under Arran and Huntly were still at a considerable distance. Unable to pursue Lord Grey's retreating companies, the troops under Angus halted for a short space, not choosing to advance against the main body of the English till certain of support, and the opportunity was lost. The Earl of Warwick galloped through the wavering ranks of the advance, disengaged the men-at-arms from the infantry, and with the assistance of Sir Ralph Sadler pushed forward the company of Spanish carabineers commanded by Don Pedro Gamboa. Those troops, armed both man and horse in complete mail, galloped up to the brink of the ditch already mentioned, and discharged their pieces in the faces of the Scottish infantry. Sir Peter Mewtas seconded this attack by bringing up his foot hacbutteers; the English archers discharged a shower of well-directed arrows, and the artillery, skilfully placed on the hill, was playing upon the division under Angus. Dreading

the consequences of such a complicated attack, the Earl fell back in good order towards the main division under Arran. The Highlanders, who were dispersed over the field following their usual plundering propensities, mistook this movement for a flight, were seized with a sudden panic, and fled in all directions. Their terror was communicated to a portion of the troops composing Arran's centre, although a quarter of a mile distant from the English, and they threw away their weapons, and followed the Highlanders. A terrible scene of confusion now ensued, which was increased by Arran shouting treason, instead of rallying the fugitives.

The Earl of Warwick was coming rapidly forward, and the English centre and rear hastened at an accelerated pace. If the Scottish van under Angus had been certain of support they might have withstood this formidable attack, but they did not choose to sacrifice themselves. "The body," says Mr Tytler, "which had so lately opposed an impenetrable front to the enemy, beginning first to undulate to and fro, like a steely sea agitated by the wind, after a few moments was seen breaking into a thousand fragments, and dispersed in all directions. Every thing was now lost, the ground over which the flight lay was as thickly strewed with pikes as a floor with rushes; helmets, bucklers, swords, daggers, and steel caps, lay scattered on every side, cast away by their owners, as impeding their speed, and the chase, beginning at one o'clock, continued till six in the evening with extraordinary slaughter. The English demi-lances and men-at-arms, irritated by their late defeat, hastened after the fugitives with a speed heightened by revenge, and passing across the field of their late action, were doubly exasperated by seeing the bodies of their brave companions stripped by the Highlanders lying all naked and mangled before their eyes. Crying to one another to remember Paniershaugh, the spot where Sir Ralph Evers and his company

had in the former been cut to pieces by the Earl of Angus, they spurred at the top of their speed after the fugitives, cutting them down on all sides, and admitting none to quarter but those from whom they hoped for a heavy ransom."

The Scots fled in several directions, some to Edinburgh, some along the sea-shore to Leith, and a greater part to Dalkeith, the last with the intention of having the morass on the right of their camp between them and their pursuers. But they either failed in their object, or it was of little advantage to the fugitives. Before the chase was ended no fewer than 14,000 were slain, the Esk was red with blood, and the ground for miles was thickly covered with dead bodies. It is recorded that in the city of Edinburgh alone there were three hundred and sixty women made widows by that day's battle. Little favour was shown to the priests and their consecrated banner. At length Somerset caused a cessation of the pursuit to be sounded, and the English army mustered on the ridge of Edmonstone Edge, occupied by the Scottish tents. Here a shout was raised by the victors so loud, shrill, and piercing, that it was distinctly heard in the streets of Edinburgh, nearly five miles distant.

Among the slain were Lord Fleming, the Masters of Graham, Livingstone, Erskine, Ogilvy, Buchan, and many other persons of distinction. The Earl of Huntly, Lord Yester, the Master of Sempill, a brother of the Earl of Cassillis, the Laird of Wemyss, and a number of gentlemen, were taken prisoners. About two thousand saved their lives by lying on the ground as if they were dead, and escaped during the night maimed and hurt.

It is evident that the field of Pinkie was lost by the utter incapacity of the Governor Arran, accelerated by the unhappy plundering propensities of the Highlanders. The idea adopted by Arran, and on which he acted, that the movement of the English on the morning of the battle intimated a disposition to retreat, and to embark in their fleet,

was most fatal to the Scots, and thus the erroneous notion of one individual, in which he obstinately persisted, caused the slaughter of thousands of his countrymen. All which was necessary for Arran to do was to have remained in his camp on Edmonstone Edge, and to have acted on the defensive. He had the advantage of ground and of country, besides various places of security behind him in case of a compulsory retreat. Edinburgh, Leith, Stirling, Linlithgow, the burghs of Fife, and other towns, were all within his reach, while Somerset was in a hostile country, with the prospect of famine if the campaign was protracted. To him the hazard of a battle was every thing, to Arran it was destruction.

Patten describes the appearance of the field of Pinkie, of which he was an eye-witness, in his quaint and expressive manner, some passages of which follow, altered from his old phraseology:—"When they (the Scots) were once turned, it was wonderful to see how soon and in how sundry sorts they were scattered. The place on which they stood, like a wood of staves strewed on the ground like rushes in a chamber, unpassable, they lay so thick, for either man or beast. Sundry shifts, some shrewd, some paltry, they made in their flight. Divers of them, when aware that they were pursued only by one, would suddenly start back, and slash at the legs of the horse, or stab him in the belly, and sometimes they reached the rider also. Some others lay flat in a furrow, as though they were dead, and were passed by our men unhurt. I heard that the Earl of Angus confessed he thus couched till his horse was brought to him. Several took refuge in the river, covering their bodies in the stream, and seizing the roots of trees to keep their noses above water. Others cast away their shoes and doublets, and fled in their shirts. Not a few ran themselves to death.

"Soon after this notable showing of these footmen's



W. B. Scott

R. Kent

*Dalkreith*

weapons, began a pitiful sight of the dead bodies lying dispersed around. Some without the legs, some houghed, and half-dead, others thrust quite through the body, others the arms cut off, divers their necks half asunder, many their heads cloven, the brains of sundry dashed out, some others their heads quite off, with a thousand kinds of killing. In the chase, all for the most part were killed either in the head or the neck, for our horsemen could not well reach them lower with their swords. And thus with blood and slaughter of the enemy, the chase continued five miles westward from the place of their standing, which was in the fallow-fields of Inveresk, until Edinburgh Park [now called the Duke's Walk, the King's Park, and the base of Arthur's Seat] and well nigh to the gates of the town itself, and unto Leith; and in breadth near four miles, from the shore of the Frith up to Dalkeith southward; in all which space the dead bodies lay as thick as cattle grazing in a full replenished pasture. The river Esk was red with blood, so that in the same chase were counted, as well by some of our men who diligently observed it, as by several of the prisoners, who greatly lamented the result, upwards of fourteen thousand slain."

According to the same observer the Scottish camp was amply furnished with provisions, all of which were seized by the victors. Wheat-bread, ale, oat-cakes, oatmeal, mutton, butter, cheese, are mentioned, and in some tents good wine. There were also found several silver dishes, goblets, and chalices, which the finders appropriated to their own use.

"It was a wonder," says Patten, "to see, but, as they say, many hands make light work, how soon the dead bodies were stripped quite naked, whereby the persons of the enemy might be easily viewed. For tallness of stature, cleanness of skin, largeness of bone, with due proportion in all parts, I noted to be such as I could not have be-

lieved it possible that so many of that sort were in all their country. Among them lay many priests and kirkmen, as they call them. At the place of the charge first given by us we found our horses slain, all gored and hewed in pieces, and our men so dreadfully gashed, and mangled in the head especially, that not one could be known by the face who he was. Little Preston was found there with both his hands cut off by the wrists, and known to be him, for he wore on each arm a bracelet of gold, for which they had so chopped him. Edward Shelly, that worthy gentleman and gallant officer, lay among them, pitifully disfigured and mangled, and discernible only by his beard."

The consecrated banner carried by the unfortunate priests was also found trampled under foot, and soiled with blood. It is said that it belonged either to the Abbot of Dunfermline or to the Bishop of Dunkeld, the brother of Arran, who were both in the battle. A little garrison in Fawside Castle kept up a random firing at the English who were within reach, but their courage subsided when they saw the result of the field. The English, by way of retaliation, set the castle on fire, and all within it were burnt.

Somerset did not follow up the great victory he gained at Pinkie. The fugitive Arran retired to Stirling, and if he had marched thither he might have made himself master of the castle, and obtained possession of the young Queen. Fortunately for the Scots, the Protector received intelligence of some plots against him in England, and he resolved to return home that he might confront his enemies. Advancing, however, from Edgebuckling Brae, where he had encamped after the battle, he quartered his cavalry in Leith, where he burnt the house of Robert Barton the celebrated naval commander, and several others; he ravaged the neighbouring country, released the Earl of Bothwell from prison, burnt Kinghorn and some fishing towns on the shore of Fife, garrisoned the then deserted

but entire monastery of Inch Colm on the island so called, spoiled the Abbey Church of Holyrood at Edinburgh, from which he tore off the leaden roof, and finally he set fire to Leith. All this he accomplished in little more than a week, as we find him commencing his retreat on the 18th of September. When the English passed over the field of battle and the ground of the pursuit on their march southwards, they found the greater part of the dead still lying unburied. A number had been interred in Inveresk churchyard, and their graves had been slightly covered with turf. Beside several of the bodies, says Patten, there was set up a "stick with a *clout*, a rag, an old shoe, or some other mark" by their friends, to distinguish them, with the intention of carrying them away for interment when the English retired from the country.

The Duke of Somerset had left little to destroy after the prodigious mischief he had done in Edinburgh, Fife, Haddington, Roxburgh, and other counties, in 1544, when he was Earl of Hertford, only three years before the battle of Pinkie. In that disastrous campaign were burnt the city of Edinburgh, with the Abbey of Holyrood and the royal Palace, the town of Leith, part of Musselburgh, and the adjoining religious establishment of Loretto already mentioned, the Abbey of Newbattle, Lauriston, Inverleith, the village of Broughton, the castle and village of Craigmillar, and Roslin Castle. Cramond, Duddingtone, Chesterhall, and many other places, were destroyed. In East Lothian the town and castle of Preston, Haddington with its monastery and nunnery, Dunbar, Tranent, Bolton, and many other towns and villages, were laid waste.

On the 10th of January 1548-9, the Privy Council ordered a fort to be built at Inveresk, and the city of Edinburgh was ordered to furnish three hundred workmen with proper tools for six days. It was intended that the fort of Inveresk should be kept by the Abbot of Dunfermline to save expense,



that ecclesiastic being the superior of the burgh, but it does not appear that the fort was ever erected.

When Somerset returned the second time to Scotland and fought the battle of Pinkie, the Chapel of Loretto was still in ruins as he had left it in 1544. Only fourteen years before, in 1530, King James V. performed a pilgrimage on foot from Stirling to Loretto, before his voyage to France in quest of a consort from among the French princesses; and in its chapel the *Magnates Scotiæ* swore fealty to Alexander, the infant son of William the Lion, in 1201. Loretto partially recovered from the dilapidation inflicted on it by Somerset to be destroyed at the Reformation, and it is now supplanted or represented by a mansion occupied by its proprietor as a flourishing seminary of education. Somerset spared the ancient parish church of Inveresk, which stood on the site of the present building, and which Oliver Cromwell made a cavalry stable.

After the battle of Pinkie many of the Scottish nobles deserted the cause of their country, and entered the service of England, giving hostages for their fidelity, and swearing to secret articles which bound them to obey the orders of the Protector Somerset. But the cruelty of the slaughter at that battle, aggravated by preceding and subsequent severities, excited universal indignation; and it was soon discovered that "the idea that a free country was to be compelled into a pacific matrimonial alliance amid the groans of its dying citizens, and the flames of its sea-ports, was revolting and absurd."