fore-hand with the earl, and gave orders for making large fires of green wood, that the ſmoke might cover his march along the height, to take advantage of that eminence. But while this ſtratagem concealed his march from the Engliſh, their movements were con­cealed from him: for when he came to the brow of the height over which he had marched, he found the enemy drawn up in order of battle on the plain, but ſo cloſe to the height where he was, that his artillery, on which his great dependence was, muſt overſhoot them.

A battle was now not only unavoidable, but the only means of ſaving the Scotch army, which was probably far from being a diſagreeable circumſtance to James. His perſon was ſo dear to his troops, that many of them dreſſed themſelves as nearly as they could in the ſame coats of armour and with the ſame diſtinctions that James wore that day. His generals had earneſtly deſired him to retire to a place of ſafety, where his per­ſon would be ſecure in all events: but he obſtinately refuſed to follow their advice; and on the ninth of September, early in the morning, diſpoſitions were ordered for the line of battle. The command of the van was allotted to the earl of Huntley; the earls of Lenox and Argyle commanded the Highlanders under James, who, ſome ſay, ſerved only as a volunteer; and the earls of Crawford and Montroſe led the body of re­ferve. The earl of Surry gave the command of his van to his ſon, the lord-admiral; his right wing was commanded by his other ſon, Sir Edward Howard; and his left by Sir Marmaduke Conſtable. The rear was commanded by the earl himſelf, lord Dacres, and Sir Edward Stanley. Under thoſe leaders ſerved the flower of all the nobility and gentry then in England. Other writers give different accounts of the diſpoſition of the Engliſh army, but they may be reconciled by the different forms into which the battle was thrown before it was decided. The lord Hume is mentioned as ſerving under the earls of Crawford and Montroſe, and Hepburn earl of Bothwel was in the rear.

The firſt motion of the Engliſh army was by the lord-admiral, who ſuddenly wheeled to the right, and ſeized a paſs at Milford, where he planted his artillery ſo as to command the moſt ſloping part of the aſcent where the Scots were drawn up; and it did great ex­ecution. The Scots had not foreſeen this manœuvre; and it put them into ſuch diſorder, that the earl of Huntley found it neceſſary to attack the lord-admiral; which he did with ſo much fury, that he drove him from his poſt; and the conſequence muſt have been fatal to the Engliſh, had not his precipitate retreat been covered by ſome ſquadrons of horſe under the lord Dacres, which gave the lord-admiral an opportunity of rallying and new-forming his men. The earl of Surry now found it neceſſary to advance to the front, ſo that the Engliſh army formed one continued line, which galled the Scots with perpetual diſcharges of their artillery and bows. The Highlanders, as uſual, impatient to come to a cloſe ſight, and to ſhare in the honour of the day, which they now thought their own, ruſhed down the declivity with their broad-ſwords, but without order or diſcipline, and before the reft of the army, particularly the diviifon under lord Hume, ad­vanced to ſupport them. Their impetuoſity, however, made a conſiderable impreſſion upon the main battle of the Ehgliſh; and the king bringing up the earl of

Bothwel’s referve, the battle became general and doubt­ful: but by this time the lord-admiral, having again formed his men, came to the aſſiſtance of his father, and charged the diviſion under the earls of Crawford and Montroſe, who were marching up to ſupport the Highlanders, among whom the king and his attendants were now fighting on foot: while Stanley, making **a** circuit round the hill, attacked the Highlanders in the rear. Crawford and Montroſe, not being ſeconded, ac­cording to the Scotch hiſtorians, by the Humes, were routed; and thus all that part of the Scotch army which was engaged under their king, was completely ſurrounded by the diviſion of the Engliſh under Surry, Stanley, and the lord-admiral. In this terrible ſituation, James acted with a coolneſs not common to his temper. He drew up his men in a circular form, and their valour more than once opened the ranks of the Engliſh, or obliged them to ſtand aloof, and again have recourſe to their bows and artillery. The chief of the Scotch nobility made freſh attempts to prevail with James to make his eſcape while it was practicable; but he obſtinately continued the fight; and thereby became acceſſory to his own ruin, and that of his troops, whom the Engliſh would gladly have ſuffered to re­treat. He ſaw the earls of Montroſe, Crawford, Argyle, and Lenox, fall by his fide, with the braveſt of his men lying dead on the ſpot; and darkneſs now coming on, he himſelf was killed by an unknown hand. The Engliſh were ignorant of the victory they had gained; and had actually retreated from the field of battle, with a deſign of renewing it next morning.

This diſaſter was evidently owing to the romantic diſpoſition of the king himſelf, and to the want of diſ­cipline among many of his ſoldiers; though ſome writers have aſcribed it to the treachery of lord Hume. Many of James’s domeſtics knew and mourned over his body; and it appeared that he had received two mortal wounds, one through the trunk with an arrow, and the other on the head with a ball. His coat of armour was preſented to queen Catharine, who informed her huſband, then in France, of the victory over the Scots. The loſs on both ſides, in this engagement, is far from being aſcertained; though Polydore Virgil, who lived at the time, mentions the loſs of the Engliſh at 5000, and that of the Scots at 10,000.

After the death of king James TV. the adminiſtration devolved on the queen-dowager; but ſhe being big with a poſthumous child, and unable to bear the weight of public buſineſs, accepted of Beaton archbiſhop of, Glaſgow and chancellor of Scotland, with the earls of Huntley, Angus, and Arran, to aſſiſt her in the affairs of government. Soon after her huſband’s death ſhe had wrote an affecting letter to her brother the king of England, informing him of her pregnancy, ſetting forth the deplorable ſtate of the kingdom, with her own condi­tion, and imploring his friendſhip and protection for herſelf and her infant ſon. This letter ſeems never to have been communicated by Henry to his council; but he anſwered it, and informed his ſilter, that if the Scots would have peace, they ſhould have peace, and war if they choſe it. “He added (according to Drum­mond), that her huſhand had fallen by his own indiſcreet raſhneſs, and fooliſh kindneſs to France; that he regretted his death as his ally, and ſhould be willing to prohibit all hoſtility againſt the country of Scotland-