



This battle was researched and assessed against the criteria for inclusion on the Inventory of Historic Battlefields set out in Historic Environment Scotland Policy Statement June 2016 <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/advice-and-support/planning-and-guidance/legislation-and-guidance/historic-environment-scotland-policy-statement/>.

The results of this research are presented in this report.

The site does not meet the criteria at the current time as outlined below (see reason for exclusion).

Haddon Rig

24 August 1542

Date published: 27 Oct 2017

Date of last update to report: N/A

Overview

The Battle of Haddon Rig, Scottish Borders was fought in August 1542. An English army led by Sir Robert Bowes was encamped near the town of Kelso, and had dispatched raiding parties to ransack nearby settlements. Meanwhile, a Scottish force under the Earl of Huntly, advancing to engage the English, encountered the raiding parties and pursued them back to the main English army, who in turn had advanced to meet them.

Although the two parts of the English army did converge before the Scots reached them, the subsequent battle was still a heavy defeat for them. Many of the English army fled before the fighting, and Bowes himself was captured along with hundreds of his men. However, fears in England of an immediate Scottish invasion following the victory proved unfounded, and an attempt made by the Scots later in the year ended in disaster at the Battle of Solway Moss.

Reason for exclusion

The Battle of Haddon Rig does not feature highly in the national consciousness but is of some interest on grounds of association with historical events or figures of national importance. No artefacts from the battle have been recorded but there is some potential that future investigations of the relatively undeveloped land south east of Kelso in the area around Haddon Rig may identify archaeological evidence for a chase and skirmish in August 1542. Although the high ground known as Haddon Rig remains a likely site for the English camp, the primary sources considered by this assessment provide insufficient detail to enable secure identification of the camp's location, or of



other landscape features associated with the battle, with the exception of some named settlements raided by the English forces.

The degree of interest on these grounds is unlikely to make a significant contribution to our understanding at a national level. Furthermore, while certain named places in the accounts of the battle can still be identified today, these are spread across a substantial area along the River Tweed and the River Teviot. There is also uncertainty about the precise location of the English camp, from which Bowes advanced with the main force, and it is unclear exactly where the raiding party rejoined the main English force and where it is likely the main fighting took place. Without more certainty about the approximate locations of key elements of the battle, it is currently not possible to define an area of interest for the battlefield with a reasonable degree of certainty. As such the battlefield does not currently meet the criteria for inclusion in the Inventory as a battlefield of national importance.

Historical Background to the Battle

The years following the death of Queen Margaret at Methven Castle in 1541 brought a period of tense political and religious relations between the Scottish King James V and King Henry VIII towards war. In September 1541, James V was invited to meet with Henry VIII at York for political discussions but did not turn up. This angered Henry who was also complaining of frequent Scottish raids into northern England. He appointed the Duke of Norfolk to levy men to defend the realm and with a view to invading Scotland (Hamilton Papers No.126). Sir Robert Bowes, warden of the East March, and others were made responsible for maintaining a watchful eye over the border area to prevent Scottish incursion (Hamilton Papers No.89; 91; 92).

On the morning of St Bartholomew's day (24 August) 1542, an English force under Bowes made a cross border raid into Scotland. Accompanying Bowes was Archibald Douglas, the Earl of Angus, who had been in exile in England since 1528, when James V had escaped from the Earl's control and began ruling Scotland directly. Having entered Scotland in the vicinity of Kelso, two sorties of around 100 soldiers were despatched to raid in the area around the town, one led by the Redesdale and Tynedale families, the other by garrisons from Berwick and Norham. This resulted in the burning of Maxellheugh, and three other settlements (*'Hefore of the Hill, Syndelais and Grymesley'*). The raiding parties then meet at *'Hyetoun on the Hill, betwixt Kelsoche and Jeduarte'* where they are described as having *'a great ground to ride to return to the main body'*. The location of the main body of the army is not specified, beyond the description of *'our bushement'* (place of ambush?).

Lindsay of Pitscottie's account suggests that a Scots force under George Gordon, the Earl of Huntly, together with Sir Walter Lindsay, Preceptor of Torphichen and Knight of the Order of St John, had left Edinburgh in July to defend the borders area. Spies alerted Huntly of the intent of the English forces to burn Jedburgh and Kelso. At daybreak, scouts spotted the advancing English army, comprising three bodies of armed men located 3 miles from Huntly's base at Kelso. The Scots advanced from Kelso with Sir



Walter Lindsay's men at the vanguard, and with the Earl of Huntly and the main battle array at the rear. They attempted to position themselves between the raiding parties and the main body of the English forces. George Buchanan's 16th-century History of Scotland states that Lord George Home also intervened with 400 horsemen. This seems to have been a flanking manoeuvre, with Home's force aiming to strike at the rear of the English army.

Angus and Douglas's account to the Privy Council suggests that Bowes feared for the raiding parties chances in the presence of the Scots, and advanced the English force towards the raiding parties to meet them. The raiding parties succeeded in returning together to the main body, but they were closely followed by the Scots. Fearing the loss of the cattle and sheep they had seized in raiding, George Bowes and Brian Layton's account states that the men of John Heron (all of Redesdale), Angus and Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe, scattered and fled. This appears to have left Sir Robert Bowes, his brother George Bowes, John Heron of Ford, Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe and around 40 other men (described in correspondence by George Bowes and Brian Layton as 'household servants') who dismounted from their horses around their standard. Of these, around only 20 stood their ground to face the Scots.

The majority of the fighting appears to have taken place following this disintegration of Bowes' forces, with the Scots easily overwhelming the small remaining English complement. On the manner of the defeat, Angus (No.128) commented 'Truly it was not they that won the field, but we that lost it with our disorder'.

The Armies

The English army totalled around 3000 men, including local men from the Marches and the garrisons of several border strongholds such as Berwick and Norham.

There is some uncertainty about the Scottish numbers. The Hamilton papers record that Huntly had a thousand men at his disposal. However, Lindsay of Pitscottie states that 10,000 men left Edinburgh in July 1542. At the battle, he states that Lindsay's vanguard was around 2000 strong, with 1000 spear, and around 500 bowmen and 500 men armed with arquebuses. The main battle line of around 6000 men led by Huntly comprised 4000 spears, 2000 bowmen, swords and habergeons. Buchanan mentions that Lord George Home's cavalry amounted to 400 horses.

Numbers

No further information.

Losses

The exact number of losses is not clear from the accounts. Angus claims that eight men (out of around only 20 who stood their ground to fight) died in the



main engagement. A further 70 of their company are also described as either killed or taken prisoner, although their fate was clearly uncertain to Angus at the time of his correspondence with the Privy Council. Lindsay of Pitscottie estimates the English losses at 10 score (i.e. 200 men).

George Bowes and Brian Layton's letter to Rutland claims that those who stood their ground '*slew divers scots*' although the numbers of Scottish losses are not provided.

In addition to the casualties from the small remaining force who engaged the Scots, further losses were suffered in the groups who fled the field, with at least 400-500 captured, although one source suggests almost a third of the English force was taken, meaning just under 1000 captives taken.

Action

No further information.

Aftermath and Consequences

George Bowes and Brian Layton's letter to Rutland indicates that Sir Robert Bowes, Richard Bowes, Sir Cuthbert Ratcliff, Sir John Wetherington, John Heron, John Tempest, John Car of Wark, and 400-500 others were taken prisoner by the Earl of Huntly's forces. After the battle, Huntly issued a command to his men to meet him in Jedburgh with their prisoners. Bowes was held prisoner first in Edinburgh, then at St Andrews until his release in February 1543.

The defeat caused consternation amongst the English who feared that the Earl of Huntly would follow up his victory with an invasion over the border into England, however no such threat was forthcoming. In the immediate aftermath of the battle, James V wrote on August 25 to express his surprise and his desire for peace. However, Henry claimed that Huntly was at fault, leading an invasion of England, despite James providing clear evidence to the contrary. While the dispute continued, Henry was preparing a second English invasion under the Earl of Norfolk, which took place in late October. Ultimately it was hardly more successful than Bowes' attempt, with Norfolk's poorly equipped and starving army unable to even last a week north of the border before withdrawing to Berwick.

Soon after Norfolk's attempted invasion, a Scots army marched into England in retaliation. Their fortunes were no better than Bowes or Norfolk's, however, as poor leadership led them to an appalling defeat by a much smaller English force at Solway Moss on 24 November 1542. The humiliating defeat is said to have taken a toll on James, who fell ill shortly afterwards and died on 15 December, leaving his new-born daughter Mary as the new queen at just 6 days old. This tragedy also shifted the context of the conflict with England, as Henry shifted focus on attempting to arrange a marriage between Mary and his son, initially through negotiation with the Scots and later by force in the Rough Wooing from 1544 to 1548.



Events & Participants

The Commander of the Scottish army was George Gordon, Earl of Huntly, a member of the council of Regency who succeeded as Chancellor of Scotland on the murder of Cardinal Beaton in 1546. He was taken prisoner during the Battle of Pinkie in 1547. He eventually escaped and in 1550 accompanied Mary of Guise to France. He later turned against Mary Queen of Scots when she took the earldom of Moray from him, and rose in rebellion against her. He died in captivity after being defeated in the Battle of Corrichie in 1562. Also present with the Scottish army were Lord George Home, of Hume Castle, a prominent supporter of James V who was later injured at the Battle of Pinkie, and Sir Walter Lindsay, who only receives mention by Lindsay of Pitscottie. He is recorded as being the Preceptor of Torphichen and a Prior of the Knights of the Order of St John.

The English forces were led by Sir Robert Bowes, an important figure in the Border turmoil of the period. Captain at Norham Castle, his knowledge of Border affairs was recognised when he was called to advise the Privy Council of Scottish business prior to Haddon Rig. He became warden of the East March where he was tasked with keeping the peace. Other leading figures alongside Sir Robert Bowes included Sir Cuthbert Ratcliffe (also spelled Radcliffe), deputy warden of the Middle March, and Sir John Wetherington, the marshal of Berwick.

Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, was one of the most powerful Scottish nobles of the sixteenth century. He first came to prominence on 6 August 1514 when he married Margaret, the Dowager Queen, widow of James IV, mother of James V and elder sister of Henry VIII of England. The marriage was instrumental in breaking the fragile peace in Scotland as Margaret's regency was to last until James V came of age or she re-married. She had been holding a delicate balance between the pro-French and pro-English factions at Court, but her marriage to Angus gave impetus to the pro-French group to push her out and install the Duke of Albany as regent. She eventually fled to England, leaving Angus in Scotland, where he promptly took a mistress and started spending Margaret's money. The ensuing enmity between the couple coloured Scottish politics for years to come. Angus was charged with high treason by the Duke of Albany, and was sent as a prisoner to France in 1522. He escaped to London in 1524 and then returned to Scotland with the support of Henry VIII. In 1524, Margaret made an alliance with the Earl of Arran and Angus had to take refuge in his ancestral home of Tantallon Castle. However, with the influence of Henry VIII from south of the border, Angus was able to force his way back into power and was appointed to the Council of Regency, which looked after the King in rotation despite Margaret's declaration in 1524 of his majority. Angus was the first of the council to have physical custody of the King, but refused to hand him over at the end of his three month period. He imposed himself as the Chancellor of Scotland, filled all positions of authority with Douglas family members and supporters and kept the young King effectively a prisoner. The Battles of Darnick and Linlithgow Bridge were both attempts to wrest control of the King



from Angus. Despite his victory in both battles, Angus would only retain his control for another two years. James V escaped his custody in 1528 and began to rule on his own account, with his first order of business the removal of Angus, who had retreated to Tantallon again. Despite considerable effort on the part of James, Angus held out until 1529 when he was able to escape to England under a treaty between James and Henry VIII. Angus remained in England until James' death in 1542, at which point he returned on a mission from Henry to arrange a marriage between the infant Mary Queen of Scots and the future Edward VI. However, in 1544 he was in open conflict with the Earl of Arran, son of his ally in 1526, and imprisoned briefly. The English Rough Wooing (1543-1550), which attempted to coerce the Scots into accepting the marriage between Mary and Edward, hit Douglas lands hard and caused Angus to settle with Arran and the two fought together at the Scottish victory of Ancrum Moor and the defeat at Pinkie in 1547. He eventually died in 1557.

Context

The border raids exemplified in the Battle of Haddon Rig of August 1542 must be viewed not only as the descent of Anglo-Scottish political relations into war, but also in the context of Anglo-French relations and religious divisions within Scotland between Protestants and Catholics. This was the period of the Reformation of John Knox and Cardinal Beaton, with James V resistant to the rise of Protestantism but facing religious divisions similar to those his uncle King Henry VIII introduced to England by breaking with Rome and establishing his own Protestant church. The Scottish Protestants tended to look to England for support, the Scottish Catholics to France. This meant that the religious convulsions of the period were wrapped up in the abiding problem of the Auld Alliance, between France and Scotland.

One of Henry VIII's long term projects was to unite the kingdoms of England and Scotland. This was partly because of the strategic issue of avoiding a war on two fronts, where the Scots would use the excuse of English military action in France to raid across the border. However, it was also because Henry VIII clearly did not accept the result of the Wars of Independence and believed that he had inherited Edward I's claim to the Scottish throne. After James V's death in December 1542, he sought to achieve this through the marriage of the young queen Mary of Scotland and Prince Edward (later Edward VI) of England. In 1543, the English Parliament passed a subsidy act that described the late James V as 'the pretensed King of Scottes being but a usurper of the Crowne' and talked of Henry's 'right and title to the said Crowne and Realme'.

Some military confrontation was inevitable, as it was very clear from all of Henry's actions and words at the time that he intended Scotland to become a subject of England. While he was pressing for a marriage alliance between the young Mary and Edward, Henry had every intention of ruling Scotland as his own. It was unlikely that the Scottish nobility would accept this, although there were Protestant nobles who saw an opportunity for the advancement of both their personal ambitions and their faith in the match. Henry would never accept a rejection of his demands, and his response would inevitably be military. It was therefore to no one's surprise that the talks collapsed into open



conflict in 1543-51 in the so-called Rough Wooing. The initial phases of this consisted of large scale raiding, where cattle were stolen and villages and towns destroyed, the inhabitants being slaughtered. The climactic engagement took place at Pinkie in 1547, where the Scots army was smashed by an invading English force, but ultimately in vain, as Mary was taken to France and the English designs on the young queen were foiled.

Battlefield Landscape and Location

The sources suggest that fighting took place in the lands south of Kelso. However, the precise location of the armies, or the main areas of combat and routes of movement cannot be defined with any certainty.

The primary sources name Hyetoun on the Hill as the meeting place for the English skirmishing parties and, Maxellheugh, Syndelais and Grymeslais as settlements which they attacked. These place names may relate to a group of settlements immediately to the south and south-west of Kelso east of the River Teviot which appear on First Edition Ordnance Survey (surveyed 1859) respectively as Heiton, Maxwellheugh, Sunlaw, and Grahamslaw. Of these, Heiton also appears on Roy's Lowland Map of Scotland (1752-55).

The name place Hadanrig Rig appears in the 16th-century chronicles of Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie as the location of the place where the main fighting occurred. It is also mentioned in John Lesley's history (1571) and by Drummond (1655: 223). It later appears in Walter Scott's History of Scotland (1830), then the Ordnance Survey namebook for Roxburghshire (1858-60) and is quoted by Bain (1890) in his editorial of the Hamilton Papers. The association with Haddon Rig endures with military historians today (e.g Spiers, Crang and Strickland 2014).

Roy depicts a small medieval settlement at Hadden surrounded by agricultural land but there is no reference to Haddon Rig. However, it is named Crawford and Brooke's 1843 county map of Roxburghshire. The First Edition Ordnance Survey (1859) map depicts a woodland plantation Haddonrig Wood, within an area of land called Haddon Rig. To the west of Haddonrig Wood is a small circular area of woodland named Jockscairn plantation, the naming of which may have some association with the battle, or its commemoration. Immediately to the south of Haddon Rig is the old Kelso to Wooler Road (currently the B6396), which also appears on Roy's map and, which may have been used by raiding forces

Location

No further information

Terrain

Haddon Rig is a large glacial ridge occupying gently sloping land between Sprouston and the River Tweed in the north, and Lempitlaw and the Cheviot Hills in the south. It is relatively flat on its summit which lies at around 160 m



above sea level. The town of Kelso and settlement of Heiton lie 5km to the west, and 7.5km to the south-west respectively.

This open location would have afforded views over the surrounding area with advantage to any garrison encamped here.

The Teviot and Tweed rivers and Kata water are significant features in the landscape, which would have constrained the movements of troops.

Condition

The land south of Kelso comprises rich arable farm land with individual farms, small settlements and pockets of mixed and conifer woodland plantations. Some of the enclosed woodland plantations appear on the OS 1st edition map (surveyed 1859; published 1863). Beyond the outskirts of Kelso, the land remains relatively undeveloped.

Archaeological and Physical Remains and Potential

Although no artefacts relating to the battle have yet been reported, there is some potential for surviving archaeological remains to be located, as evidenced by finds from contemporary battles such as the Battle of Pinkie (1547).

There is potential for survival of remains of Bowes' short-lived encampment, potentially in the land around Haddon Rig, for example evidence for fortified banks and ditches, visible either as upstanding remains, or in the crop-mark record, and also scattered artefacts including pottery, soldiers' personal effects, and weaponry (e.g. musketballs).

Among the archaeological evidence which might survive of the engagement is evidence of archers, cavalry and possibly even shot from matchlock guns, and grave pits for the dead. However, as Haddon Rig was not so much a pitched-battle but perhaps more a chase and skirmish with relatively low loss of life, many of the raiding parties fled the battle and some were killed on retreat. This might suggest that the likely quantity of remains will be small, and potentially widely scattered.

The potential areas within which physical remains may be identified are numerous and extensive, and also probably hard to locate beyond a general area between Heiton and Hadden, a distance of around 10km, extending even to the English border. Furthermore, the precise location of Bowes' camp is uncertain, it is simply named as Haddon Rig but no detailed description of the position has been noted.

Cultural Association

There are no significant cultural associations with the Battle of Haddon Rig that have been identified by this assessment although it does appear on several online information sources.



Commemoration & Interpretation

No further information.

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Full Bibliography

Information on Sources and Publications

The battle of Haddon Rig is not widely documented in either primary or secondary sources and no rigorous modern assessment of the battlefield has been attempted other than this report.

A series of correspondence published in the Hamilton Papers including two accounts of the battle, by the Earl of Angus and Sir George Douglas to the Privy Council (No.128) which provides the most detail; and by George Bowes and Brian Layton to Rutland (No.146) and others which illustrate events in the lead up to and aftermath of the battle.

Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie (c1532-c1586) completed his *Historie and Chronicles of Scotland* by 1579, covering the period 1436-1565 and some of the events he recorded were contemporary. His language has been praised as the flower of sixteenth century Scots prose and his chronicle has greatly influenced conceptions of Scottish history. However, his work has also been criticised on several grounds including for getting some of his facts wrong.

John Lesley (1527-1596), the Catholic Bishop of Ross from 1565, was a supporter of Mary Queen of Scots and it was to her that he presented his *History of Scotland*, from The Death of King James the First in the year MCCC.XXXVI to the year MD.LXI in 1571.

George Buchanan (1506-1582), a distinguished scholar in various European universities, was at various times in his life tutor to James V's son, denounced as a heretic for satires on the friars (which James V encouraged him to write), imprisoned by the Inquisition in Portugal, classical tutor to Mary Queen of Scots against whom he later gave evidence, Moderator of the General Assembly and Lord Privy Seal. His bust is included in the 'Hall of Heroes' in



the Wallace Monument. His History which relates the history of Scotland from its origins to the death of the Regent Lennox in 1571 was dedicated to James VI with whose education he had been entrusted and was completed in the year of his death.

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