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The
Complaynt of Scotlande

with

and Exortatione to the Thre Estaitis to be vigi-
lante in the Defens of their Public weill.

A.D. 1549.

WITH AN APPENDIX OF CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH TRACTS,

VIZ.

The Just Declaration of Henry VIII (1542),

The Exhortacion of James Harysone, Scottisheman (1547),

The Epistle of the Lord Protector Somerset (1548),

The Epitome of Nicholas Bodrugan *alias* Adams (1548).

RE-EDITED FROM THE ORIGINALS

with Introduction and Glossary

BY

JAMES A. H. MURRAY.

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¶ Quhou the actor declaris that conspiratours
 ar ay punest to the detht be the princis that
 gat profeit of there con-
 spiratione.

CHAPTER XIII.

THER is ane exempil, quhou that eftir the dolorus How after the
battle of Cannæ,
 battel of cannes, quhilk i hef oft reherisit of be-
 foir, quhar that the nobil counsul emilius paulus
 vas slane vitht xiiii thousand of the maist nobillis of
 italie, quhen that annibal send to cartage thre muis of 5
 gold ryngis, quhilkis he hed gottin on the fingaris of
 the maist nobil romans that var slane, for ane testi-
 monial of his grit victorie. and eftir this dolorus battel,
 diuerse citeis and castellis of Italie randrit them to an- many Italian
cities surrendered
to the Carthagi-
nians;
 nibal, sum be compulsion, and sum be fre vil, be cause
 that thai var disparit that the romans culd euer hef
 pouer to resist the cartagiens, & sum of them randrit 12
 them be trason for monye that thai resaut fra annibal,
 as did the nobil cite of capee: 3it notheles inconstant among others
Capua.
 foirton alterit the prosperite of the cartagiens, quhilk
 vas occasione that the romans be grit vailzeantnes re-
 couerit & conquest diuerse of ther auen tounis and [* leaf 77 (89), bk]
 castellis fra annibal, quhilk vas grit blythnes to sa mony 18
 tounis and castellis that vas onconquest be annibal.
 And als it vas as ongrit blythnes to sa mony castellis
 and tounis quhilkis hed randrit them be trason to anni-
 bal. than thir nobil romans heffand grit affectione to be
 reuengit on annibal for the grit slauchtir committit at 23
 cannes, past vitht ane armye of xxxiiii legions befor the
 toune of cape, and be grit industre thai maid tua lang
 depe fosses about al the toune in sic ane sort, that nane
 of the men of veyr of cape culd ische furtht bot gif thai

- 1 *cam* vitht in the romans camp. at that tyme fuluius
 flaccus vas captan and duc of the romans armye. the
 romans hed nocht monye hors to ryde in forrais and in
 prikkyng contrar ther enemes, bot the men of veir of
 capes as numydiens,¹ quhilk annibal left in garnison
- 6 var veil furnest vitht grit nummir² of hors, the quhilkis
 ischit furtht daly fra capes, and did grit damage contrar
 the romans. ther vas at that tyme ane roman callit
 auius, ane centurion, quha diuysit that the romans suld
 tak sa mony hors men as thai mycht³ furneis, and to gar
- 11 tua men ryde on euerye hors, and euerye ane to hef ane
 [* leaf 78 (90)] *lycht scheild and vij dartis in ther handis. than quhen
 the hors men of capes ischit to mak ane scarmouche on
 the romans, the hors men of the romans, tua on ilk
 hors, met and recontrit the cartagiens, and at ther met-
 16 ing, tha that reid behynd⁴ on the hors descendit on ther
 fute vitht ther dartis. of this sort the romans on hors
 and on fute disconfeist the cartagiens of capes, be cause
 thai of capes kneu nocht of the subtilite that the romans
 hed ordand contrar them. the remanent of the carta-
 21 giens that var nocht slane fled vithtin the toune to saif
 them, bot al the romans armye follouit sa haistylye
 quhil thai gat entres vitht in the toune, and pat it to
 sac ; and ther eftir the nobil consul fuluius flaccus past
 to the tribunal, & gart al the principal lordis of capes
 and the chief
 traitors punished.
 compeir, and than he gart bynd ther handis in iryn
 chenzeis, be cause of the trason that thai committit
 28 contrar ther natiue cuntre. and syne he send ane certan
 of them to be put in preson in the toune of theane, and
 ane vthyr certan to the toune of calles. than eftir that
 he hed put ordour to the maist vrgent byssenes of
 capes, he departit and past to theane and to calles, to
 gar exsecut iustice on the conspiratours of capes, quhar
 [* leaf 78 (90), bk] he gart strik the *heydis fra them of capes that var in
 35 preson in theane, and syne past to calles to gar exsecut

¹ munydiens² mummir³ mytht⁴ belynd

- iustice on the remanent. he beand ther aryuit, he gart 1
 bryng furtht the presoners to be iustifiet. at that samyn
 instant hour, the senat ande faders conscript of rome
 send ane post in message vitht ane closit vryting to
 fuluius flaccus, chargeand hym to be mercyful, and
 nocht ouer rigorus in exsecutione of his iustice. he hef- 6
 and suspitione of the contineu of ther vrytingis, and als
 heffand ane feruent affectione to puneis tratours, he re-
 sauit the vryting in his kar hand, and vald nocht apin
 it nor reid it quhil the boreau hed strikyn the heydis
 fra the presoneris of calles quhilkis hed conspyrit con-
 trar capes. this exsecutione of iustice beand endit, he 12
 apnit the vrytingis, and eftir that he hed red the con-
 tineu of it, he said to the post, my frend, this vryting
 is cum ouer lait and behynd the hand. of this sort the
 traturs of capes var punest; for this nobil consul ful-
 uius flaccus gart sla 25 of the maist nobillis of capes. 17
 Siklik gif ther be ony of the tounis, villagis, or castellis
 of scotland, that hes randrit them to be subiectis til
 ingland be trason, i vald god that fuluius flaccus var
 diligat iuge to puⁿeis them as he punest the conspira-
 tours of capes; for the forsaid fuluius¹ flaccus gat as
 grit commendatione for the extreme iustice that he gart 23
 exsecut on tresonabil tratours, as he gat for his vail-
 3eantnes quhen he conquest the toune of capes fra
 annibal.
- ¶ Ther is ane vdir exempil of the punitione of
 traturs, as thucidides the historien greik rehersis in the
 xv cheptor of his fyrst beuk, quhen pausanius, quha
 hed commissione of the armye of the lacedemoniens,
 quhen he past to defend hellespont, he vas depriuit of 31
 that dignite, be cause he hed intelligens vitht the
 enemeis of greice. than he beand depriuit, he of ane
 profond maleis departit fra lacedemonia, and gart the
 pepil beleif at his departing, that his purpos vas to pas 35

How when
 Fulvius Flaccus
 received a letter
 from the Senate,
 enjoining mercy,

he received it in
 his left hand,
 and would not
 open it till the
 prisoners were
 beheaded.

Would that we
 had Fulvius
 Flaccus to punish
 those Scottish
 towns, &c., that
 have surrendered
 [* leaf 79 (91)]
 to England!

How Pausanias
 entered into
 treasonable
 correspondence
 with Xerxes,

¹ fuluins

1 to hellespont to be ane sodiour for the deffens of that
 cuntre, be rason it vas ane of the subiectis of greice¹.
 bot notheles his purpos vas to pas to the kyng of meid,
 quha vas mortal eneme to al greice, in hope to conueen
 and accord vitht the said kyng of meid contrar the
 6 greikis. than to mak his traision mair patent, he send
 ane certan of presoners of meid to the kyng, and he
 [* leaf 79 (91), bk] gart the bruit gang that thai presoneris hed
 *eschaipit & brokyn the preson contrar his vil, the quhilk preson-
 eirs he had conquest of befor furtht of the cite of bizante,
 quhen the kyng of meid hed left them in garnison to
 kep the said cite fra the grekis ; & also he vreit ane
 lettir to the kyng of meid, as eftir follouis.

and wrote him
 the following
 letter.

14 ¶ Pausanias duc of spart, to the kyng xerxes salut.
 i hef send to the thir presoners, the quhilk i hef con-
 quest in fair and honest veyris, contrar the quhilk pre-
 sent i hef send to the to that effect that i maye conques
 thy loue & thy fauoir ; and als i am of ane intentione
 19 to spouse thy dochtir, gif it be thy pleseir : therefor,
 gif thou vil consent to this mariage, i sal put al greice
 in thy subiectione ; the quhilk i can do rycht² eysylie,
 sa that i can hef intelligence & familiarite vitht the.
 quhar for, gif thou be content of my desyre, thou sal
 24 send ane of thy maist familiaris, to communicat mair
 ample of this byssynes. Quhen exerxes hed red this
 vryting of pausanias, he send ane ansuer in vreit vitht
 ane of his familiar frendis callit artabasus, to quhome
 he gef commissioun til accord vitht pausanias. this vas
 29 the tenor of exerxes vryting. Kyng exerxes of meid
 to pausanias salut. i thank the of the pleseir and be-
 [* leaf 80 (92)] nefice that thou hes dunc to me in the sendyng hame
 the presoners³ quhilk thou conquest in my cite of bez-
 ance, the quhilk i nor myne sal neuer forzet quhil ve
 dee. i exort the that thou be solist nycht⁴ and daye til
 35 exsecut and to fulfil thy promes, and i sal nocht spair

To which Xerxes
 replied.

¹ original has rome

² rytht

³ personers

⁴ nytht

gold syluayr nor men of veir to be at thy command ; 1

and as to my dochtyr, i assure the that sche sal be thy
spousit vyf. thou¹ sal gif credence to this berar arta-
basus, quha is my secretar and my speciale frend.

Quhen pausanias hed resauit this vryting fra exerxes
kyng of meid, he began euere day to prattik his intent
contrar the grekis, and als he be cam familiar vitht the
barbariens, the quhilk familiarite vas occasione that the
grekis tuke ane real suspetione and ane vehement im- 9

aginatione of his coniuratione and conspiratione. quhar-
for til eschaip the danger and damage that mycht² suc-
cede fra his trason, the ephores of lacedemonia send
ther sergent to summond hym to compeir in the toune
of spart vndir the pane to be reput rebel and enemye 14

to grece. than he beleuand to keip hym fra ane gritar
suspetione, and als he fand hope to purge hym of al
crymes throcht giftis and moneye that he thocht to
distribut amang the senaturis of lacedemonia, he past
forduart vitht the sergent to the toune of spart. than 19

incontenent the ephores constitut hym presoneir, for
the ephores of lacedemonia var of sa grit autorite,
that thai mycht constitut and compel ther kyng or ther
due to be presoneir. the senaturis & inhabitaris of spart
hed nocht sufficient probatione to condamp hym. ther- 24

for thai dred to exsecut vengeance on hym, be cause he
vas descendit of hie geneologie, and of the blude ryal of
lacedemonia, and als he vas of hie dignite. at that in-
stant tyme he hed ane domestik seruitour quhilk he
hed abusit carnalye lang of befoir in his 3outhheid,
quhilk seruitur hed borne the last vrytingis that he 30

hed vrytin to artababus the secretar of kyng exerxes.
than this seruitur persauand that nane of the messen-
geris that hed past of befoir vitht vrytingis to artababus,
returnit agane vitht ansuer, he heffand dreddor of his
auen lyif, he apnit the vrytingis to red the tenor of 35

How his dealings
with the
barbarians
awakened
suspicion.

[* leaf 80 (92), bk]

Of the circum-
stances through
which his treason
was proved.

¹ thon

² myht

- 1 *them*, quhar he gat the samyn thing *in them* quhilk he
suspekkit & doubtit of befor¹: that is to say, quhou that
pausanias writ to artabasus to resaif his vrytingis & ther
[* leaf 81 (93)] effir to sla the messengeir. this said seruitur *brocht
the vrytingis to the ephores of lacedemonia, the quhilk
6 vryting maid the traision of pausanias manifest, 3it
nochtheles thai vald nocht exsecut punitione quhil that
the verite of his cryme var mair manifest. than be ane
subtile cauteil thai gart pausanias seruitur pas to the
tempil to tak gyrtht and protectione, as dois ane tres-
11 gressor that hed committit cryme in ald tymes. it vas
vsit in greice that ane seruand that offensit his maister
vas punest be the iugis as ane trespassar that hed com-
mittit cryme. and syne thai gart ane of ther familiaris
aduerteis pausanias, quhou that his seruitur hed tane
16 gyrtht in the tempil for sum cryme that he hed com-
mittit, and als thai hed gifn sufficient informatione to
the seruituir of pausanias quhou he suld vse hym
touart his maister. than the ephores past to the samyn
tempil, and hid them in ane secret place be hynd the
21 curtingis of the tempil, to that effect that thai mycht²
heir the vordis and communicationis that vas to be
spokyn betuix pausanias and his seruituir. Pausanias
beand aduertest of the presonyng of his seruand, past
incontenent to the tempil to inquyre his seruituir of
[* leaf 81 (93), bk] the cause of his cummyng to gyrtht in that *said
tempil. his seruituir ansuert, schyr, i hed suspitione
and dred my lyif, be cause that the messengeris that 3e
29 send of befor to xerxes returnit nocht agane. therfor i
apnit 3our vritingis quhair that i hef fundyn the thyng
that i doubtit, quharfor i meruel that 3e haif vrytin to
gar sla me, considerand that i hef been ane faithtful
seruituir, and 3e vait veil that i hef kepit 3our consel
in secret of al 3our byssines that 3e hef vrocht vitht
35 kyng exerxces contrar the grekis, ther for 3e hef com-

¹ hefor² mytht

mittit ane onhumain act *in* sa far as 3e vald gar 1
 sla me for my guide service. pausanius ansuert, say-
 and, my frend, it is of verite that thou says, sic thing i
 did throcht ane suspetione that i tuik of the, quharfor
 i pray the to perdone me, and heir i sal mak ane
 promes that i sal euer be ane faithtful maister to the, 6
 and i sal recompens the for thy grit faithtful labouris.
 therfor i pray the to depart incontenent, and pas to
 artababus, and to declair til hym be tong quhou that i
 am rycht¹ solist to fulfil the promes that i maid til his
 maister xerxes, the quhilk i beleif sal cum til ane gude 11
 fyne rycht¹ haistylie. the ephores that stude be hynd
 the curtynis knauand and herand the manifest trason
 of pausanius, thai gart hym dee in presone, & ther
 eftir thai gart cast his² body in ane cauerne quhar that
 the vse vas to cast the carions of comdampnit trans-
 gressouris. and sa pausanius vas recompensit & reuardit 17
 for his trason that he committit contrar his natiue
 cuntre.

[* leaf 82 (94)]
 How Pausanius
 perished for his
 treason.

¶ T[h]er is ane vthir exempil³ of the punitione of *Samuel*,
 trason, in the fyrst cheptor of the second beuk of *cap. 2.*
 samuel. quhen the philistiens faucht in ane battel con-
 trar the childir of israel, quhar that kyng saul vas slane
 on the montan of gelboye. at that tyme ther departit
 ane 3ong man of the amalekytes blude fra the camp of
 saul, quha presentit hym on his kneis befor dauid.
 than dauid said til hym, quhar fra ar thou cum? pre-
 sentlye the 3oung man ansuert, i am cum fra the camp 28
 of Israel. dauid said til hym, i pray the that thou de-
 clair to me al the nouelles of the battel. the 3ong man
 ansuert, the pepil ar fled fra the battel, and ther is ane
 grit nummer of the pepil deid, & als saul and his sone
 iehonathan ar dede. dauid said to the 3oung man that
 brocht the nouelles, quhou knauis thou that saul and
 iehonathan his sone ar dede? the 3oung man ansuert, 35

How the young
 Amelekite that
 slew Saul,
 thinking to be
 rewarded by
 David, was
 slain for his
 treason.

¹ rytht

² hit

³ exempif

1 quod he, be chance i arryuit on the montan of gelboye,
 [* leaf 82 (94), bk] quhar i beheld *saul leynand on his speyr. than he
 lukit be hynd hym, sayand to me, quhat art thou? to
 quhome i ansuert, i am ane amalaket. than he said, i
 pray the to sla me, for mellancolye hes assailzet me, bot
 6 noetheles my lyif is zit in my body. than i past and i
 sleu hym, be cause that i kneu that he culd nocht es-
 chaip vitit his lyif; and i tuke his croune fra his
 hede, and his brascheletis fra his armis, the quhilkis i
 haif brocht heir to the. than dauid lamentit haulye
 11 the dede of saul and of his sone iehonatan, & the
 slauchtyr of the grit numer of pepil that var slane. than
 eftir his dolorus lamentatione, he said to the 3oung man
 that hed brocht hym the nouuellis, quhy dred thou
 nocht to put thy handis in the vncit kyng of the lord?
 16 than dauid callit on ane of his sodiours, and gart hym
 sla that 3ong man in his presens, sayand, thy blude sal
 be on thy hede, for thy moutht hes testifet contrar¹ thy
 self, quhen that thou confessit that thou sleu the vncit
 kyng of the lord. of this sort this 3oung man vas punest
 for the slauchtyr of kyng saul. Ther is ane vthir ex-
 22 empil of the punitione of trason, as is vrytin in the fyft
 be cheptor of the second beuk of samuel. quhen that
 rechab and banach his *brudir entrit² in the house of
 isbosetht the sone of kyng saul, & thair thi strak hym
 t[h]rocht the fyft ryb of his syde vitit ane dagar, quhen
 he vas slepand in his bed, and ther eftir thai cuttit³ his
 hede fra his body, & brocht it to dauid til ebron, say-
 29 and, behald heir the hede of isbosetht the sone of kyng
 saul thy mortal enemye: the lord hes tane vengeance
 on kyng saul and on his seid. dauid ansuert to rechab
 and baanach and said, syklik as the lord quhilk de-
 lyuerit⁴ me fra tribulatione is lyuand, and als sykilik
 as i gart sla hym that brocht me the nouuelles of the
 35 dede of kyng saul, be mair rycht⁵ i suld gar sla them

Samuel,
ca. 5.

[* leaf 83 (95)]
 How Rechab and
 Baanah were put
 to death for the
 murder of King
 Ishbosheth.

¹ contrat ² entrir ³ cuttit ⁴ delynerit ⁵ rytht

that hes slane the iust isbosetht quhen he vas lyand 1
 slepand in his bede. than kyng dauid gef command til
 his sodiours to sla rechab and baanacht.¹ than the
 scudiours at dauid command fyrst cuttit the feit and
 the handis fra the tua tratours that sleu isboseth in his So should all
 traitors perish!
 bed, and syne² hangit them baytht on ebron hil. of
 this sort traturs suld be ay reuardit quhen thai commit 7
 trason contrar ther prince. Ther is ane vther exempil
 of the punitione of tratouris that betrasis ther natyf
 prince. quhen the cruel veyris var betuix darius kyng of
 perse and grit alexander of macedon, ther vas ane
 captan *of kyng darius quha vas verra familiar & in [* leaf 83 (95), bk]
 grit fauoir vitht darius, callit bessus, quha sleu his
 maister kyng darius,³ in hope to get ane grit reuard fra How the traitor
 Bessus was torn
 in pieces
 kyng alexander. kyng alexander cam at that instant 15
 tyme quhen darius vas in the agonya and deitht thrau,
 t[h]roch the mortal vondis that he hed resaut fra bessus
 his seruituir. than alexander maid ther ane solempnit
 vou to reuenge the trason committit be the said bessus.
 than he⁴ gart his sodiours serche & seike bessus, quha 20
 vas gottyn in the forest, and vas brocht and led bundyn
 in ane chenze befor kyng alexander.⁵ this nobil alex-
 ander gart his sodiours pul doune the crops of the green
 treis, and ther eftir tha band his tua armis vitht cordis
 to the crops of ane of the treis, and he gart bynd his between two
 trees.
 feit to the crops of the tothir tre, & than gart lat louse
 the crops of the tua⁶ treis, and tha sprang vp rycht⁷ of 27
 ther ald fasson, & in the rysing vp thai dreu the body
 of bessus in peces. of this sort bessus vas reuardit for
 his trason committit contrar his rychteous⁸ prince. Ther
 is ane exempil of the trason that ane blac iacopyne How a Black
 Jacobin Friar,
 frere committit contrar henry the seuynt of that name.
 the toune of florens vald nocht obeye to the empir,
 quhar for the said *Empriour Henry brocht⁹ ane grit [* leaf 84 (96)]

¹ baanatht
⁶ rua

² syne
⁷ rytht

³ darlus
⁸ rythtous

⁴ ge

⁵ alexender
⁹ brocht

1 armye to seige the toune of florens. than ane blac
 who, bribed by
 the Florentines,
 iacopyne frere gat ane grit some of moneye fra the
 florentynis to tak on hand to sla the empriour, be cause
 this said frere vas familiar vitht the said empriour. than
 he t[h]rocht auereis, he poysonit the host of the sacra-
 ment vitht poyson. ther eftir that nobil empriour past
 poisoned the
 Emperor Henry,
 to resaif the body of god vndir the forme of brede, and
 8 as soune as he hed resaut it in his moutht, his body
 began to suel, and sa he decessit. The verite of this
 trason vas persaut be the phicisians and medicinaris :
 quhar for the men of veyr of this nobil empriour gart
 was torn in
 quarters by
 horses.
 quartyr that fals frere betuix iiij hors, and sa he vas
 13 reuardit for his trason. There is diuerse vthirs exem-
 plis of the myscheif that god sendis on conspiratours.
 there for i exort 3ou my thre sonniss, that gyf ony of
 3ou hes faltit contrar 3our comont veil throucht ignor-
 ance or abusione, that 3e correct 3our selfis, than god
 18 sal be 3our frend.

[leaf 84 (96), bk]

¶ Quhou the thrid sone of this fayr lady callit
 laubir ansuert bitht ane lamenta-
 bil complaynt.

CHAP. XV.¹

19 **O** MY dolorus mother, quhilk sum tyme aboundit in
 prosperite, and nou thou art spulzet fra al felicite
 t[h]rocht grit affliction of langorius tribulatione,
 resaif thy repreif in paciens for ane correctione, and
 nocht for ane inuectyf dispyit. i knau that thy com-
 24 playnt is nocht disrasonabil nor vitht out cause, 3it
 nochtheles my displeseir is vondir bittir, in sa far as i
 hef baytht the damage and the reproche of thy mys-
 I have both the
 damage and the
 reproach.

¹ Original Chap. VX.

cheif, the quhilk i deserue nocht til hef be rason of my 1

innocens. Allace, the aduersite of ane innocent is mair

nor cruel quhen he induris punitione for ane cryme

that ane transgressor committis. i may be comparit to

the dul asse in sa far as i am compellit to bayr ane im-

portabil byrdyng, for i am dung and broddit to gar me 6

do & to thole the thing that is abuif my pouer. allace,

i am the merk of the but, contrar the quhilk euere man

schutis ar'rous of tribulatione. allace, quhou is iustice

sa euil trettit quhilk is occasione that euere man vvis al

extreme extorsions contrar me as far as ther pouer can 11

exsecut. allace, i laubyr nycht and day vitht my handis

to neureis lasche and inutil idil men, and thai recom-

pens me vitht hungyr, and vitht the sourd. i susteen

ther lyif vitht trauel & vitht the suet of my body, and

thai parsecut my body vitht outrage and hayrschip,

quhil i am be cum ane begger. thai lyf t[h]rocht me, and

i dee t[h]rocht them. allace, o my natural mother, thou

repreifis & accusis me of the faltis that my tua brethir 19

committis daly, my tua brethir nobilis and clergie

quhilk suld defend me, tha ar mair cruel contrar me

nor is my ald enemes of ingland. tha ar my natural

brethyr, bot thai ar my mortal enemes of verray deid.

Allace, quhou can i tak paciens considerand that ther 24

can na thing be eikkyt to my parsecutione bot cruel

dede. i dee daly in ane transe t[h]rocht the necessite

that i hef of the gudis that i van vitht my laubyr. my

cornis and my cattel ar reft fra me. i am exilit fra my

takkis and fra my steddyingis. the malis and fermis of

the grond that i laubyr is hychtit¹ to sic ane price, that

it is fors to me * & vyf and bayrns² to drynk vattir. the

teyndis of my cornis ar nocht alanerly hychtit abufe 32

the fertilite that the grond maye bayr, bot as veil thai

ar tane furtht of my handis be my tua tirran brethir.

and quhen i laubyr be marchandres or be mecanik

Like a dull ass I
am kicked and
prodded.

I am the butt of
all the arrows of
[* leaf 85 (97)]
tribulation.

I labour night
and day, to feed
lazy useless
men,

who, in their
turn, oppress me
to beggary.

They live through
me, and I die
through them.

My two brothers,
nobles and clergy,
are more cruel to
me than the
English.

I die daily;

my corn and
cattle are reft
from me;

and I am turned
out of my
holding.

[* leaf 85 (97), bk]

I am compelled
to lend to my
two tyrant
brothers;

¹ hychtir

² bayrus

- 1 craftis, i am compellit to len and to fyrst it to my tua
 when I dun them
 for the debt, I
 am cuffed or
 killed.
 cruel brethir, and quhen i craif my dettis quhilk suld
 sustene my lyif, i am bostit, hurt, and oft tymis i am
 slane. ther for laubereris to burcht¹ & land and be see
 burd, thai indure daly sic violence that it is nocht pos-
 sibil that esperance of releif can be ymagynit. for ther is
 7 nay thing on the lauberaris of the grond to burcht¹ and
 land, bot arrage, carage, taxationis, violent spulze, and
 al vthyr sortis of aduersite, quhilk is onmercifully ex-
 The war is cried
 against England,
 but really waged
 against us poor
 labourers.
 secut daly. the veyr is cryit contrar ingland, bot the
 actis of the veir is exsecutit contrar the lauberaris, and
 consumis ther miserabil lyif. O my natural mother,
 my complainynt is hauy to be tald, bot it is mair disple-
 14 and to susteen my piteous desolatione. i am banest fra
 my house, i am boistit and manniest be my frendis,
 and i am assailz it be them that suld defend me. the
 lauberaris ar ane notabil membyr of ane realme, vitht
 The working
 classes are an
 * [leaf 86 (98)]
 important part of
 the body politic;
 out the quhilk the nobillis * & clergie can nocht sustene
 ther stait nor ther lyif, zit notheles thai ar baytht be
 20 cum my mortal enemeis, the quhilk vil be the final
 cuersione of ther auen prosperite. therfor i may compair
 them til ane man in ane frenyse, quhilk bytis his auen
 the nobility and
 clergy are like
 men in a frenzy
 who bite their
 own flesh.
 In Rome the
 tribunes
 protected the
 commonalty;
 membris vitht his tetht,² through the quhilk his body
 be³ cummis consumit. the romans in ald tymes prouidit
 prudentlie for the deffens of the comont pepil contrar
 the nobillis, the senat, and al vtheris of grit stait or
 dignites, and contrar ther extorsions, for thai institut
 28 ane nobil man of office, callit tribunus plebis, quha
 deffendit the fredum and liberte of the comont pepil
 contrar the crualte of the hie senat, or ony vthir grit
 man of grit stait. bot allace it is nocht nou of that sort
 vitht me, for i am left desolat vitht out supple or def-
 fens amang the handis of vrangus oppressours quhilk
 professit them to be my brethir and defendouris, for i
 35 indure mair persecutione be them nor be the cruel veyr

¹ burtht² techt³ he

of ingland, for my takkis, steyding, and teyndis ar 1
nocht alanerly tane fra me or ellis hychtit¹ til ane
onreasonabil price, bot as veil i am maid ane slaue² of I am made a
my body to ryn and rashe in arrage & carraige. ther for body slave.
i am constrenzet to cry on god for ane ven^gengeance con- [* leaf 86 (98), bk] 6
trar them for the importabil³ afflictione quhilk thai con-
strenze me til indure, the quhilk i beleif sal cum
haistly on them be the rycht iugement of god, conform- God will take
and to the vordis of the prophet, propter miseriam vengeance on
inopum & gemitum pauperum nunc exurgam them,
dicit dominus: that is to say, be the expositione of
the doctoris, for the misere of mistirful men, and for 12
the vepying of pure men, the diuyne iustice sal exsecut
strait punitione. therfor thir potestatis and men of stait
that dois extorsions to the pure pepil thai hef mistir to for their oppres-
be verra var and to abstrak them fra the violence quhilk sion of the poor.
tha parpetrat on the pure pepil. for it is to be presumit 17
that the lamentabil voce and cryis of the affligit pepil
complenant to the hauyn, vil moue to pitie the clemens
of the maist merciful and puissant diuyne plasmator,
the quhilk t[h]rocht his eternal iustice, vil succumb in
confusione al violent, vsurpatours quhilkis parpetratis 22
sic cruel iniquiteis on the desolat pure pepil. Therfor
(o thou my mother) sen i am in dangeir of the deitlt,
and disparit of my lyif, necessite pulsis and constrenzes I appeal to His
me to cry on god, and to desire vengeance on them that eternal justice I
persecutis me, in *hope that he vil releif me, or els to [* leaf 87 (99)]
tak me furtht of this miserabil lyif, for the ingratitude
of my tua brethir. ther dissolutione, and the mysknau- The wickedness
lage of god, and ther disordinat misgouernance, is the of my two
cause of my impatiens, and cause of al my afflictione; 31 brothers is the
for as ther euil conquest reches multiplies, ther disord- cause of my
inat pompe and ther delicius ydilnes, vitht misknau- afflictions.
lage⁴ of god augmentis, quhilk is occasione that tha ar am-
bitius in ther stait, couetuse of gudis, and desirus to be 35

¹ hychtil² slane³ imporlabil⁴ misknauabe

- 1 *gouernouris* of the realme. i suld hef said *misgouernouris* of the realme, the quhilk folifull affectionis vil be ther auen confusione quhen god pleysis, be rason that nane of ther verkis ar conformand to the comand of god. bot al the mannessing that is maid to them, nor
- 6 *3it* the grit promes that is maid to them be the holy scripture, altris nocht ther couetyse desyre. therfor thai may be comparit to the edropic, the quhilk the mair that he drynk the mair he hes desire to drynk. my tua brethir nobillis and clergie ar in sic melancole, be cause that i complein and murmyris ther crualte, bot *3it* nane of them decistis fra the vice quhilk gifis me occasione
- 13 to murmyr. it is nocht possibil to gar extorsione be vitht out murmur, *nor murmur to be vitht out rumour of the pepil, nor rumour to be vitht out diuisione, & diuisione vitht out desolatione and sklandyr. therfor my *impaciens* suld be supportit be cause that the occasione of it hes suppedit my rason. o my desolat mother¹, thou suld nocht reproche al thy thre childir in general, bot rathere to reproche sa mony² in special that ar occasione of thy afflictione. thou vait that ane man vil haue
- 21 childir of deferent conditionis, sum gude, and sum euil. the patriark Iacob hed tuelf sonnys, of the quhilk his 3ongest sone *beniemy* vas indole and innocent, and Iosept vas faitful and merciful, and ruben vas pieteabil and humain, and the tothir nyne brethir var cruel and
- 27 dissaitful, quhen thai condampnit there brothere Iosept to dee in ane cesterne, & there eftir thai sellit hym to the egiptiens to be ane sklaue. Siklik among al sortis of pepil, and among al facultes and staitis, there is sum gude and sum euil. and fyrst to³ speik of the *defferens* of kyngis. dauid that roial prophet, vas ane holy kyng, and kyng saul vas cruel & vicius. and among the staitis of preistis, mathathias vas gude, and obnias vas euil.
- 35 and among the staitis of prophetis, daniel vas gude, and

None of their works are conformed to the will of God.

My murmurings do not cause them to desist from wrong.

[* leaf 87 (99), bk]

You should not blame all your children alike.

There are good and bad in all families.

and in all conditions.

¹ nother

² mony

³ ro

*balaam vas euil. & among the vedous, iudicht vas gude, and Ihesabel vas euil. among the pastoirs and hirdis, abel vas gude, and abimelech vas euil. among the staitis of reche men, Iob vas gude, and nabal vas euil. and among the religion of the apostolis, Sanct petir vas gude, and iudas vas euil. ther for o my dolorus mother, thou erris in thy accusatione, in sa far as thou makis na acceptiōne of personis, nor puttis defferens betuix qualites of conditionis of men. it is concludit be al lauis, diuynne and humain, that euere person sal bayr his auen birthing, and that euere person sal be commendit or detestit efferand for his conuersatione. therfor thou suld nocht condamp innocentis and trangressouris baytth to giddir. sic punitiōne excedis the limitis of discretiōne and of iustice. it is vrytin in the 7 cheptor of genesis, that god sauit lotht and his famile, be cause of there obediens, quhen he distroyit the vicius pepil of sodome and gomore. O my velbelouit mother, thou knauis that i am innocent of thy inuectiue accusatione, and that my tua cruel brethir ar the cause of thy desolatiōne, & of my distructiōne. for i am sa violently ouerset be them, that throcht pouerte of gudis and *t[h]rocht debilite of my persone, i can nothir do gude to my frendis, nor euil to my enemes. quharfor i exort the til altir thy seueur accusatione in ane cheritabil consolatione. there is ane prouerb that sais parce sepulto; that is to saye, spair hym that is in his sepulture. this prouerb maye be applyit to my dolorus fortune, for i maye be comparit til hym that is dede in his sepulture, considerand that ther can be na dolour eikit to my aduersite, except cruel deitht. there for thou suld abstrak thy inuectiue reprocha, quhilk is rather crualte nor correctiōne, conformand til ane adagia of ane of the seyn sapientis of rome, callit minus publicanus, that said, crudelis in re aduersa est obiurgatio. Allace my deir mother, thou consideris nocht quhou

[* leaf 88 (100)]

Every person shall bear his own burden.

12

You know that I am Innocent.

[* leaf 88 (100), bk]

24

A proverb says "Spare the dead;"

I am as good as dead!

32

36

I pass for the
youngest brother,

but am in truth
the eldest.

I created their
state;

[* leaf 89 (101)]

now they
profess to be
gentlemen, and
account me
rustic and
uncivilized.

Adam and his
successors wer
all labourers
of the ground.

They would fain
have it that they
are the progeny
of angels and
archangels, and
not of Adam.

[* leaf 89 (101), bk]
What illustrious
men have been of
poor origin:
David,

Tarquin the elder,

that my brethir ar becum onmerciful tيرانس touart me.
i am haldyn be the v[u]lgar pepil for there' zongest
brother, bot i am there eldest brother in verra deid. for
i vas gottyn and borne lang befor them, and it vas i
5 that first instituit there faculteis. for the pollice that
vas inuentit be me & my predecessouris eftir the crea-
tione of the varld, hes procreat the stait of my brethir.
the faculteis and the begynnyng of nobillis and
I created their state;
[* leaf 89 (101)] *spiritualite, hed bot pure lauboraris to there predeces-
0 souris. bot nou sen thai ar cum to stait and digniteis
t[h]rocht me, thai ar be cum ingrat, and lychtleis me. my
tua brethir professis them to be gentil men, and reputis
me and al lauberaris to be rustical and inciule, ondantit,
ignorant, dullit slauis. thai vil nocht consider that al
there gentreis hes procedit and discendit fra me. ther
for quhair thai compt the degreis of there genologie,
17 thai suld fyrst begyn at adam oure foir father, and
quhen thai pryde them, and ascribis in there reches
faculteis or digniteis, thai suld fyrst begyn at the suc-
cessouris of ouer foir father Adam, quhilkis var lauber-
aris of the grond, and be there prudent inuention and
pollice, hes procreat the stait that thai posses. therfor
23 thai haue na cause to gloir in them seluis, bot rather
thai suld gloir in me, and in al lauberaris¹ of the grond
quhilkis var fundatouris of al there triumphand prosper-
ite. bot there affectione, and there vane ignorant
consaitis, garris them ymagyn & beleif that there pre-
decessouris and al there nobillite and digniteis hes dis-
cendit fra the angellis and archangellis, & nocht fra
30 ouer for father adam; quhilk is the speciale cause that
*thai lychtlie the lauberaris that fundit them. i meruel
that thai considir nocht the gentris & genologie of kyng
dauid that hed ane pure scheiphird til his father. tulius
hostilius the thrid kyng of rome, vas the sone of ane
pure lauberar of the grond. tarquinius priscus the fyift

¹ lauberaris

1 selfis haistylye. O my dolorus mother, this prolix
 lamentabil complaynt procedis fra ane affligit hart,
 quhar for i exort the to mettigat thy inuectiue vehe-
 [* leaf 90 (102), bk] ment accusatione, and to considir the *verite of my in-
 nocens. the prudent seneque gyuis cummand to repreif
 6 vitht out iniure, and to loue vitht out flattery; bot
 thou passis the limitis¹ of baytht thir documentis, for
 thy vordis ar verra iniurius, vitht out perspectione to
 the verite. thou accusis me ouer rigourouslie of conspira-
 tionne and trason, thou knauand veil that trason is
 neuyr generit nor inuentit in the hartis of the pure
 12 comontis; & quhou beit that there ignorance culd gar
 them consaue² ane grondit maleis contrar ane prince
 that hes perpetrat exactionis on the pepil, zit notheles
 thai hef nothir prudens nor knaulege til conuoye and
 til exsecut ony point of trason. there for, quhen the
 committaris of trason ar tryit furtht, it sal be fundyn
 18 that i and al vthir of my faculte sal be clene and inno-
 centis of that foule cryme, be rason that it is nocht
 possibil that ane pure man can haue oportunitie til ex-
 secut ane traisonabil act contrar ane prince, be cause of
 sa mony difeicil impedimentis that maye impesche hym,
 23 as pouerte, dreddour, ignorance, and nocht³ hefand
 familiarite vitht ane prince, and the perellis & dangers
 that maye succed fra coniurationis, ar vondir grit, nocht
 [* leaf 91 (103)] alanerly in the conuoyng *and in the diuising diuerse
 27 consaitis to bring there purpos til effect, bot as veil the
 dangeir and perrel is as grit in the exsecutione of it,
 and na les danger and perrel eftir that it be exsecut.
 therefor i think that ane pure man can commit na
 31 trason contrar ane prince, bot gif that he vald has;ard
 his lyif in ane disparit vilfulnes; and quhar ony man
 takis hardynes to commit trason of that sort, it is rycht
 seyndil sene that he eschapis the deitht in the present
 35 tyme of his exsecutione. ther for i can nocht beleif that

¹ liuitis² cansaue³ nocht

It is not the
 commonalty that
 are guilty of
 treason.

They have no
 opportunity.

ony person vil offir hym self til ane certan detht vil- 1
 fully. for quhou beit that pausanias sleu philip kyng
 of macedon passand to the tempil quhar he hed ane
 thousand of his men of armis about hym in the presens
 of his sone and of his gude sone, 3it noththeles that act 5
 culd neuyr hef been exsecut, hed nocht been that pau-
 sanias hed familiarite vitht kyng philip. and siklyik
 ane spangzard of ane pure stait strak ferrand kyng of
 spangze vitht ane knyf on the crag, quhilk vound vas
 nocht mortal ; 3it noththeles this spangzard culd nocht 10
 hef dune it, hed nocht been that he hed ane hardy hart,
 and also heffand *commodite* and tyme oportune to *com-*
mit that act. *Siklyik ane preist of turque callit deruis [*leaf 91 (103),bk]
 schot ane bolt befor the port of tempil *contrar* basit,
 quhilk vas fathere to solomanuis the grit turk that 15
 ringis nou presentlye. that schot sleu nocht basit, bot
 3it the exsecutione of that act culd nocht hef been vitht
 out hardynes and oportunite. therfor O my desolat
 mother, ve that ar pure lauberaris suld neuir be suspek-
 kit of trason, considerand that ve haue nothir tyme, 20
 oportunite, reches, credens, hardynes, prudens, nor
 familiarite vitht ane prince. therfor, al historiograph-
 ours rehersis that al coniurations hes been exsecut be
 grit personagis of ane realme, or ellis be the familiaris
 seruandis of ane prince. there for ve that ar pure com- 25
 ontis, distitut of credit, prudens, and autorite, and
 nocht heffand familiarite vitht the maieste of ane
 prince, ve can hef na comodite of the necessair thingis
 that ar requirit to put ane trasonabil act til exsecutione.
 for quhou beit that our ignorance vald gar vs consaue 30
 ane malicius intent *contrar* our prince, ve behufit fyrst
 to reueil it til diuerse men to gar them be participant
 vitht vs, t[h]roucht the quhilk reuelatione sum of them
 vald accuse vs til our prince. for it is nocht possibil *to
 gar thresum keip consel, and speciale in causis of
 trason ; for euere person hes sum frend that he louis as 36

All conspiracies
 have been
 fomented by the
 great.

[*leaf 92 (104)]

How secrets
leak out.

veil as hym self, and that frende hes ane vthir frende,
and that tothir frend hes the thrid frende, and the
thrid frend hes the feyrd frende; and of this sort there
4 intrepricis is manifest, fra the quhilk succedis perdition
of body and gudis. for there is nocht mony men in this
varld bot sum vil schau there secret to ther brother, or
to there companzone, or to there vyfe, or to there
familiar seruandis; and alsa indiscretion of sum con-
9 iuratours causis there entrepricis to be discouert be
there seruandis or childir, t[h]roucht suspexione and
coniecture that occuris quhen thir coniuatours ar ouer
ample and plane in ther deliberatione of there purpos
ande of there entrepricis in the presens of there ser-
uandis and childir; as is rehersit in the fyrst beuk of
titus liuius, that quhen the sonnys of brutus var mak-
and ane sedicius pactione vitth the imbassadours of
17 tarquinus, quhilk there father brutus hed bannest fra
rome, at that tyme ane seruand of the sonnys of brutus
herd al the pactione of the coniuatour, the quhilk
[*leaf92(104), bk] seruand accusit them of trason to there fathe're brutus
and to the senat, quilk vas occasione that brutus visit
22 extreme iustice on his tua sonnys, nocht heffand regarde
to the pitie that fathers hes touuart there natural sonnys,
bot rather he did preffer the public veil befor natural
loue, quhen he gart strik the heydis fra his tua zong
sonnys. Sum tyme coniuatour is reuelit throucht
27 facilnes of the coniuatours that schauis there secret til
ane voman or til ony frende that thai loue hartfully, as
did ane gentil man callit dinus, quha vas participant
of the coniuatour that philotes intendit til exsecut
contrar kyng alexander. this foirsaid dinus reuelit his
32 secret til ane zong child that he louit callit nicomachus,
ande nicomachus reuelit that samyn secret til his brother
ciballinus, and ciballinus reuelit it til kyng alexander,
quhilk vas occasione that the coniuatours suffrit the
36 detht. Therefor (o my dolorus mothere) thou may con-

How the treason
of the sons of
Brutus was
detected.

How the plot of
Philotes against
Alexander was
disclosed.

sidir that the defeculte of the comitting of trason is
 vondir grit, and the perrel and the dangeir that succedis
 is na les; quharfor grit men, and also the familiaris of
 princis that coniuoris, ar affligit in there hart vitht ane 4
 thousand deffeculteis or tha tak on hand til exsecute
 there entrepri'ce. than be mair rycht ve that ar poure
 comontis can nothir hef oportunitie nor comodite to virk
 trason contrar our prince. and quhou beit that sum
 tyme ve resauie iniuris throucht exactions that ane euil 9
 gouuernit prince exsecutis on the pepil, zit nochtheles
 ve indure tha exactions patientlye, and exsecutis no trai-
 sonabil vengeance, be cause ve hef nothir knaulage,
 reches nor subtilite to conuoye vs til exsecut sic trason.
 there for, quhen ve commit no traison, our ignorance 14
 deseruis mair louyng nor dois our prudens. the maist
 cruel vengeance that pure comontis can exsecut contrar
 ane euil prince, is to gar our vyuis & bayrnis pray
 nycht and daye to send ane mischeif on hym, and to
 send hym schort lyue dais, & to send ane vthir gude 19
 prince in his place, conformand to the prayer of sanct
 dauid in the 108 psalme of his psalter, quhilk sais,
 etenem occidantur qui nos perturbant, fiant
 filij eius orphani, & episcopatum eius accipiet
 alter, as is contenit at mair lyntht in the psalme callit 24
 deus laudem; bot ve nor our vyuis and bayrnis dar
 neuyr pray appynly to send sic vengeance on ane euil
 prince, in drede that sum curtician alege trason on vs,
 and thereftir to by our eschet. ther for ve praye for
 vengeance quhen ve ly doune at euyn, and quhen ve 29
 ryise in the mornyng; bot al the remanent of the daye
 quhen ve happyn to cum in ony straynge companye, ve
 pray deuotly vitht ane fenzet hart to saue his grace, and
 to keip hym in lang lyue dais and in gude prosperite.
 as valerius maximus reheris ane exempil quhou there
 vas ane vyfe of syracuse in cecille quhilk prayt daly in
 the tempil in presens of the pepil to saue and to keip

Treason is not
easy, even for the
great;

[* leaf 93 (105)]
how impossible
for the poor!

The worst we can
do against a bad
prince is to cause
our wives and
children to pray
against him;

and that we dare
not do openly.

[* leaf 93 (105), bk]

In company we
must say
fervently "God
save his Grace!"

Valerius
Maximus,
li. 2. ca. 6.

- 1 dionisius the kyng of cecille, quha vas ane prince that
 committit mony exactions on the pure pepil. the de-
 uotione of this ald vyif vas reportit to¹ kyng dionisius,
 quha culd nocht meruel aneucht of the gude mynde
 that sche hed touuart hym, considerand that al the
 6 remanent of the pepil of siracuse heytit hym to the
 detht for the exactions insupportabil that he exsecutit
 on the pepil. than to be satefeit of his admiracione he
 send for that ald vyif, and inquirit hyr of the cause of
 the gude mynde that sche bure touuart hym, consider-
 11 and that he neuyr merit nor deseruit sic kyndnes
 touuart hyr. the ald vyif ansuert to kyng dionisius,
 [* leaf 94 (106)] quod sche, my souuerane prince, i vse nocht sic de'u-
 otione to desir 3our lang lyif dais, bot for ane grit rason
 as i sal reherse. in the begynnyng quhen i vas ane
 16 3ong damysel, 3our gudscheir molestit the pepil vitht
 intollerabil exactions, quhar for i prayt to the goddis of
 the tempil to schort his lyif dais: than sune ther eftir
 he vas slane. than eftir hym succedit his sone quha
 vas 3our father, and he did mair extorsions to the pepil
 nor did his father, quharfor i prayt to the goddis of the
 22 tempil to send hym schort lyif dais: than sune there
 eftir he vas stikkit in his secret chalmyr. and nou 3e
 succed to 3our fatheris heretage and til al his vicis, for
 3e commit dayly mair insupportabil exactions nor did
 3our father or 3our gudscheir, quhar for i pray dayly to
 27 the goddis to send 3ou lang lyif dais; for i vait veil sen
 that iniquiteis and vicis succedis gre be gre fra princis
 vitht augmentation of the samyn, doutles i suspect that
 3our successour sal be the master deuyll; there for i hed
 leuyr indure 3our exactions nor til hef ane var prince in
 3our place. Of this sort (o my dolorus mother) ve that
 ar comont pepil visis na vthir trason bot murmuris, and
 34 bannis our prince secretlye quhen he gouuernis nocht
 [* leaf 94 (106), bk] veil the realme vitht iustice, and puneissis transgres-

Of the old women
 of Syracuse, who
 prayed for
 Dionysius,

lest his successor
 should be still
 worse.

Our treason does
 not go beyond
 murmuring.

souris. And quhou beit that thou vald alege that ve 1
 can nocht purge vs of trason in sa far as ve hef tane As to taking assurance of the English,
 assurance of inglis men, allace thou suld nocht imput
 our assurance for trason nor for ane cryme, for thou vait
 veil that ve that ar lauberaris of the grond culd nocht
 resist the inglis men ; for ve that hed our vyuis and we cannot help ourselves ;
 barnis, our cattel and corne, and our gudis in the
 boundis quhilk the inglis men possest violentlye, gart 8
 it be forse til vs to be assurit, or ellis ve hed lossit al
 our gudis, and our selfis til hef beene slane. for it is
 veil knauen that sum of vs vald nocht be assurit, in
 hope that my tua brethir nobilis and speritualite vald and the nobles and clergy won't help us,
 hef defendit vs, and til hef resistit our enemeis. bot sic
 vane hope that ve hed of my brethers supple hes gart 14
 mony of vs be hareyt furtht of house and herberye,
 quhilk is occasion that mony of vs ar beggand our meit as some of us who have tried, have found to our cost.
 athourt the cuntre, and there is nocht ane of vs that ar
 hereyt be inglis men that can get othir tak or steyding,
 or kou or ox, fra our tua bredir to help vs in this ex- 19
 treme pouerte. this veil considirit (o my desolat mother)
 i suld empesche the to iuge that the assurance that the
 pure comontis hes taine to procede of trason, consider- [* leaf 95 (107)]
 and that necessite vas the cause of our assurance. ther-
 for doutles quhen the autorite & my tua brethir passis If the leaders will make head against the English, we shall not be wanting ;
 in gude ordour to resist the inuasions of our ald
 enemeis, it sal be maid manifest that the pure comontis
 that ar assurit of inglis men, thai sal preif as gude 27
 scottis men eftir there qualite as ony scottis man of
 scotland that vas neuyr assurit. bot nou at this dolorus
 tyme ve ar constrenjet to be assurit, the quhilk assur- but at present we have no choice,
 ance is bot ane dissimulatione, tariand quhil the tyme
 virk ane bettir chance. and i think that our dissymila- 32
 tion is nothir cryme nor syn, considerand as the bissy-
 nes of the cuntre standis presentlye. for ane dissimila-
 tion that procedis nocht of ane astuce intent suld be
 callit ane hie prudens rathere nor dissymilatione. the 36

- The dissimilation of Junius Brutus
- dissymilatiōne of that vailzeant romane iunius brutus conquest til hym mair reputatiōne and gloir nor did his
- 3 vailzeant actis that he committit quhen he bannest the tirran kyngis furtht of rome. Titus liuius rehersis that tarquinus superbus the sext kyng of rome vas verra cruel contrar them that var reput vise and prudent, &
- Titus liuius, Libro i.*
- [* leaf 95 (107), bk] also he perpetrat daly intollerabil exactions *contrar the comont pepil. quhen euyr it vas reportit til hym of ony
- 9 speciale person that vas reput prudent, he gart put that person in his beuk of proscriptiōne. quharfor 3oung iunius brutus, quha vas sistir sone to tarquinus, heffand dreddor to be slane be his oncle, and to tyne his patri-mone, he of ane prouidit mynde dissimilit his prudens, & changit his outuart verteous conditions in actis of
- 15 folye lyke ane natural fule, quhar for it vas beleuit be al the romans that he vas be cum frenetic and glyakit, quhilk vas occasiōne that tarquinus vald nocht exsecut
- saved himself his crualte contrar hym, be cause he iugit hym to be ane fule. iunius brutus conteneuit in his dissimilatiōne
- 20 quhil on to the tyme that sextus tarquinus violet be forse the cheist lucrecia, the quhilk vile act generit ane dispyit and ane rancor vithin the hartis of the romans. than iunius brutus persauand the commotiōne of the pepil, he thocht it comuenient tyme to leaue his dissimilatiōne and to practik his prudens, quhar for he past to
- 25 the frendis of lucrecia, and til diuerse othir nobil romans, and gart them depone ane serment that thai suld al concur and conuene togidthir¹ in ane purpose
- and Rome. contrar the crualte of *tarquinus superbus. this serment vas veil maid & bettir kept, for brutus and the vailzeand romans bannest tarquinus fra rome, & al them of that surname, quhilk vas occasiōne that the comont veil of rome returnit in gude prosperite. be this exemplis the pure comontis of scotland that hes there vyuis, bayrnis, & there gudis lyand vndir the inglis mennis
- [* leaf 96 (108)]
- So the commons of Scotland must pretend allegiance to England,

¹ togidthir

feit, and hes na releif nor deffens to reuenge nor to resist 1
 the inglis mens inuasions, thai suld mesure and veye
 there auen forse, and gif thai fynd them selfis sterck till prudence tells
 them
 aneucht to defend them and there gudis contrar the
 inglis men, in that cace thay ar oblist til haszard there
 lyfis and there gudis to deffend the cuntre, quhou beit 6
 that thai get na supple of the autorite. and in apposit,
 gif the pure comontis that lysis vitht in the inglis men
 handis be nocht of ane qualite to deffend nor to resist
 there enemeis, thai commit na cryme quhen thai mak
 ane dissimulit assurance vitht inglis men, and to tempt that they are
 strong enough to
 resist the yoke.
 al the consaitis¹ and vays that thai can iuge to be
 necessair to gar them be saue of body and gudis fra the
 crualte of ingland, quhil on to the tyme that thai maye 14
 be stryntlhit be the autorite to cum to resist the *inglis [* If 96 (108), bk]
 men. Quhar for i exort the (o my desolat mother) that
 thou imput nocht the assurance of the pure comontis to Then accuse not
 the commons of
 treason.
 proceid of trason, bot rather that thou accuse my tua
 sophistic brethir, quhilkis suld and culd haue releuit
 and restorit the to thy fyrst stait; for god knauis veil
 that i am innocent of thy accusatione, and the remeid
 of thy afflictione lysis nocht in my possibilite. 22

¶ Quhou the affligit lady dame scotia ansuert
 til hyr zongest soune, ande quhou sche re-
 prochit hyr tua eldest sonnys²
 for there neclegens in the defens
 of there comount veil.

CHAP. XVI.

O THOU my zongest soune, callit lauberaris to burgh [* leaf 97 (109)]
 Dame Scotia will
 not listen to
 these excuses.
 ande land, i vil nocht gyf eyris to thy excusations
 nor to thy purgations, be cause, as cicero vritis in

¹ consaitis² sonnies

1 ane orison, that na man suld be admittit to be vytnes
in his auen cause. Noluerunt maiores nostri,
hanc patere inimicitiis viam, vt quem quisque
odisset, eum¹ testimonio posset tollere. emen-
tiuntur enim sepe in eos, quos oderunt. nor zit

6 i vil nocht adhere to thy accusations contrar thy tua
brethir, be rason that ane gilty man suld accuse no man
of cryme, as crist ihesus hes gyffin ane exempil quhen
the pharaseis accusit ane voman that vas tane in

The guilty must
not accuse others
of guilt.

Iohannes 8.

He that is with-
out sin let him
cast the first
stone.

adultere, desirand his iugement quhiddir thai suld
stane hyr to detht conformand to the ald testament, or
gyf thai suld thole hyr to depart onpuneist. crist
ansuert to the accusaris sayand, he that is vitht out

14 syn sal cast the fyrst stane at hyr. this exempil makkis
manifest that ane accusar suld be cleene but vice. ande
also crist ihesus hes said in ane vthir passage to the
ypocritis that accusit pure synnaris, quod he, 3e sal tak
furtht ane grit balk furtht of 3our auen ce, ande there

Math. 7.
Luce. 6.

Take the rafter
out of your own
[* If 97 (109), bk]
eye, and then the
straw out of your
neighbour's.
People carry
their neighbour's
faults before
their eyes, their
own behind their
back.

eftir 3e maye tak furtht ane lital strey furtht of 3our
nychtbours ee. The poiet confermis this samyn pur-
pos, sayand, that euerye man of this varld baris tua
sakkettis vitht hym. the fyrst sakket hyngis befor
hym, vitht in the quhilk ar contenit al the vicis that
his nychtbour committis; ande the nyxt sakket hyngis
behynd his bak, vitht in the quhilk ar contenit al the

26 vicis that his self committis. bot he can nocht see nor
persaue his auen vicis, because he seis nocht the sakket
that hyngis behynd his bak, bot he seis his nychtbours
faltis in the sakket that hingis befor hym, vt nemo in
sese tentat discende[re] nemo, sed precedente

*Perseus sa-
tiric. 4.*

31 spectatur mantica tergo. There for (o thou my
3ongest soune) i refuse to gyf eyris or audiens to thy
accusations contrar thy tua brethir, be rason that ane
accusar suld be cleen or he accuse his nychtbour, as
cicero vritis, Accusare debent ij qui nullo suo
36 peccato impediuntur, quo facilius alterius

¹ erim

peccata demonstrare possint. Nor 3it i vil nocht 1

adhere to the accusations that ony ane of 3ou hes contrar vthirs. Thy accusatiōne is vōdir inuēctyue contrar thy tua brethir. the fyfteen inuēctyuis philipiques

Cicero de diuinatione vera.

of cicero contrar anthonius, excedis nocht the accusations ande calumniations that thou hes pro'nuncit contrar them, 3it nochtheles i discomend there cruhalte, 7

[* leaf 98 (110)]

andē i commend nocht thy accusatiōne. for thou ande al thy sect callit lauberaris to burgh ande land, deseruis no les punitiōne nor dois thy tua brethir nobilis ande clergie. for gyf thou ande thy sect hed as grite liberte,

The commonalty deserve punishment as much as their betters.

as hes thy tua brethir, doutles 3e vald be mair cruel, nor the vyild beystis of the desertis of arabie. the

12

practic of this samyn is presently, ande euer hes been in tymes by past, sen the varld began. for as sune as 3e that ar comont pepil ar onbridilit and furtht of subiectiōne, 3our ignorance, inconstance, ande inciuilite, pulcis 3ou to perpetrat intollerabil exactions. for al the

If they had opportunity, they would be worse than the others.

insurrectionis that euyr occurrit in ony realme contrar the prince & the public veil, hes procedit of the ignorance & obstinacione of the comount pepil. There for none of 3ou suld haue liberte, bot rather 3e suld be

18

daly dantit & haldin in subiectiōne, be cause that 3our hartis is ful of maleis, ignorance, variance & inconstance. for the maist part of 3ou al gyffis louyng tyl vicious

They are not fit for liberty.

men, and 3e hald verteous men abhominabil, and quhen 3e ar al conuenit to gydthir for the auansing of ane

24

gude purpose, 3e cry & ber kis ilk ane contrar vthirs, that nocht ane of 3ou knauis quhat ane vthir sais. ande quhen 3e hef flyttyn ande berkit but ryme or rason al

Their meetings are scenes of [* If 98 (110), bk] uproar.

the lang daye, 3e accord nocht nor condescendis prudently on ane substancial constant purpose, and he that

31

is the maist cummirsum cryar, ande maist obstinat contrar rason, 3e reput hym for the maist prudent man of the realme. than quhen he gois, al the leaue rynniss & follouis hym, lyik the brutal schein that vil nocht pas

They follow the most blatant prater, like sheep.

36

1 throucht the slop of ane dyik for the mannessing of there hyrd, quhil ane of the verst of the flok mak foir gait, than al the leaue follouis. ande al this procedis of 3our variance and inconstanz. i vait nocht quhiddir ane calme sey in vyntir, or the course of the mune, or ane mysty mornyng in symmyr, or the comont pepil, quhilk of them suld preffer vthirs in variance. Cicero confermis this sammyn purpos, sayand, in imperitia multitudine est varietas, & inconstantia, &

They are fickle in their minds.

Cicero pro domo sua.

10 crebra tanquam tempestatum, sic sententiarum commutatio. i hed leuyr hef the iugement ande consultatione of ten prudent vyise men, nor til hef al the visdome and consaitis that ane grite mutiplic of comountis can pronunce. Cicero confermis this samyn purpose. grauior & validior est decem virorum bonorum prudentia, quam totius multitudinis

Better the counsel of ten prudent men, than all the wisdom of the commons.

[* leaf 99 (111)]
Cicero pro plancio.

17 imperitie: there is nocht ane mayr ignorant, & ane mair blynd thyng in this varld, as is til adhere to the iugement of the comont pepil, quhilk hes nothir consideratione nor rason. for al there deliberations procedis of there fyrst apprehensions. there for gyf the entrepris of the comont pepil cummis tyl ane gude fine,

They jump to conclusions at first sight.

23 fortune deseruis mair louyng¹ nor dois there prudens. Siclyk as ane blynd man that passis in ane myrk place quhar he hed neuir beene, & syne eschapis fra ane hurt, or fra ane fal. na vyis men vil saye that this blynd man seis cleir, for it vas chance that conuoyit hym, and nocht his een. for this cause the ciuil lauis deffendis & forbiddis al monopoles and conuentions of the comont pepil, be cause the maist part of them ar euil² condicionet, & ar obedient to there apetitis and to there glaykyt affections. i can nocht conpair the comont pepil that ar onbridilit, bot ontyl beystis³ that ar of ane var nature nor brutal beystis, as ve maye see daly. for brutal beystis keipis ane bettir ordour in there

The civil law forbids all combinations of the common people.

They are worse than brute beasts,

¹ lonyng

² enil

³ tyl onbeistis

beystly nature nor dois onbridilit co'mouzt pepil that
 ar dotit vitht rason. ve maye see be experiens, that
 horse, nolt, scheip, doggis, voluis, lyons, ande al vthir
 brutal beystis, ilk ane vil deffend there auen natur con- 4
 trar the violens of vthir beystis, as cicero sais, bestie
 pro partu suo ita propungnant, & vulnera ex-
 cipiant, nullos impetus, nullos casus formi- *Cicero questi.*
 dent. Bot it is nocht siklyik amang the pepil, for *tusc. 5.*
 euerye man settis his felice to distroy his nychtbour.¹
 Ande also the ondantit brutal beystys that hes there 10
 liberte on feildis & forrestis, none of them eytis,
 drynkis, nor sleipis, bot quhen ther natural appetit re-
 quiris. nor the mail vitht the femmel committis nocht
 the verkis of natur, bot in the saison of generatione.
 bot the pepil that hes liberte kepis nocht sa gude rege- 15
 ment. for thai considir nothir the vertu of temporance,
 nor the vice of intemporance, bot rathere subiectis them
 selfis to saciat ony sperk of the foul lust, that there
 disordinat sensual appetit prouokis them tyl ymagine,
 as to eyt, drynk, and sleip abufe mesure at al tymis, 20
 contrar there natural appetit. ande also to conmit for-
 nicatione, adultere, homocide, ande diuerse vthir ex-
 torsions & iniuris contrar there nychtbour, there for
 tha deserue to be reput mair brutal, nor beystis that
 ar brutal of natur. Ande quhou beit that sum of them
 applyis them to vertu, quhen thai ar haldin in subiec-
 tion, throucht the quhilk thai be cum industreus in
 policie ande in conquessing of reches, be marchandreise, 28
 or be mechanyc craftis, or be lauboryng of the corn
 landis, or be seruise,² zit nochtheles, as sune as ony of
 them, be sic honest industreus ocupations, hes conqueist
 grit reches or heretagis, thai be cum mair ambicius ande
 arrogant nor ony gentil man sperutual or temporal, that
 ar descendit of the maist nobil barons of the cuntre.
 ande there childir, distitut of ciuilite, throucht the 35

[* If 99 (111), bk]
 which defend
 their own kind,

Cicero questi.
tusc. 5.

and eat, drink,
 and sleep, only
 when nature
 requires.

But the people
 are intemperate,

lustful,

unbridled.

[* leaf 100 (112)]

Some are steady

when forced.

But when they
 rise in the world,

they are worse
 than the higher
 classes;

¹ mychtbour

² seruise

1 ignorance of there fathers, ande for falt of educatione and eruditione, thai be cum vane, prodig, ande arrogant, be cause thai succid sa eysilie to reches vitht out the suet of there brouis, or pane of there body, nocht heffand regarde to the fyrst pouerte of there predecessours, nor of the cald, hungir, ande punirite that

and their children are ignorant, vain, prodigal, Phillistinish.

7 there fathirs and mothers iudurit in the conquessing of sic reches. ande gyf sa beis that ony of the successours of mecanyc men (that is to saye the successours of lauberaris to burght ande land) be promouit til ony stait abufe there faculte, as to be saruandis to men of autorite, or to be courticians ande officiaris to princis,

[* If 100 (112), bk] Their elevation makes them manifest.

13 or 3it to be promouit to benefeissis, or tyl ony vthir digniteis abufe there qualite, than arrogance makkis ypcryse manifest, conformand til ane addagia of ane of the seyn sapientis callit mimus publicanus, qua said, lapis index auri, aurum hominum. for it is the nature of the comont pepil (beand ascendit in dignite abufe there faculte) to mysken them selfis, there frendis, ande there familiaris. There is nocht ane mair odius thyng in this varld, as quhen the successour of ane indigent ignorant mechanyk lauberar ascendis tyl ony dignite abufe his qualite, for incontinent eftir his pro-

The stone tests the gold, the gold the man.

There is nothing more odious than a parvenu who misknows himself;

24 motione, he myskennis god ande man. asperius nichil est humili cum surgit in altum. Titus liuius rehersis ane passage conformand to this samyn purpose. Barbarici animi est cum fortuna mutare fidem. there is sum of thir mecanyc pepil heffand superflu prosperite, that refusis the genologie of there fathere ande mothere, and also refusis there sur-

such are ashamed of their parents, and deny their own genealogy.

31 name, and clamis to be of the blude of nobilis ande gentil men. than quhen thai ar repute be the vulga'ris to be discendit of sic genologie, thai gloir in there pretendit kyn ande blude, quhilik is occasione that there arrogance & there vane gloir garris them commit mair

[* leaf 101 (113)]

They become the worst of tyrants.

36 extorsions contrar the pepil nor dois ony vthir tirran

that ar discendit of the grytest nobilis of the cuntre. 1
 the preist of peblis speris ane questione in ane beuk Of the question
 that he compilit, quhy that burges ayris thryuis nocht of the Priest
 to the thrid ayr: bot he mycht hef sperit as veil, quhy of Peebles,
 that the successours of the vniuersal comont pepil
 baytht to burght & land, thryuis nocht to the thrid 6
 ayr. the solutione of this questione requiris nocht ane how burghers'
 allegoric expositione, nor 3it ane glose, be rason that heirs thrive not
 the text of yis¹ questione is nocht obscure. ane person to the third
 that hed neuyr aduersite & hes veltht that procedit generation.
 neuyr of his auen industrie, & syne hes liberte, and hes 11
 neueir knauen education, eruditione, nor ciulite, it is
 onpossibil that he can be verteous, and he that heytis Wealth, without
 vertu, sal neuyr² thryue. (O my 3ongest soun) this culture, only
 ansuer maye be sufficient to the seueir accusatione that ends in vice.
 thou hes pronuncit contrar thy tua brethir. in tyme to
 cum thou sal fyrst correct thy self or thou accuse thy 17
 nychtbour.³

* ¶ Quhou the affligit lady accusis hir eldest sonne [* If 101 (113), bk]
 ne callit the nobilis and gentil men.

CHAP. XVII.

O MY eldest sonne (nobilis) this seueir reproche The faults of the
 contrar thy 3ongest brother, is no occasione to commonalty
 gar the gloir, for gyf thou hed grace to ken thy- must not make
 self, thou vald sune persaue, that thy vicius lyif de- the nobles glory.
 seruis ane mair extreme reproche. for the vice of thy 25
 3ongest brother suld be supportit be rason of his ignor-
 ance ande of his pouerte, bot thou can haue na excusa-
 tionne to cullour thy mischeuous conuersation, ande the
 violent extorsions that thou daly committis contrar thy
 tua brethyr, lauberaris & clergie. ande also thou art 30

¹ read þis, i. e. this

² neuyr

³ mychtbour

The nobility and gentlemen have scarcely a spark of nobleness or gentleness among them.

the special cause of my ruuyn, for thou ande thy sect that professis 3ou to be nobilis ande gentil men, there is nocht ane sperk of nobilnes nor gentrice among the maist part of 3ou. Ande nou be cause mony of 3ou

5 ascribis sa grit gloir of 3our pretendit gentreis ande nobilnes, i vil discriue the stait of nobilnes ande gentilnes, to that effect that 3e may persauue 3our grit error.

Wherein consists nobility.
[* leaf 102 (114)]

A *villain* or *carl* the opposite of a gentleman.

¶ THE PHILOSOPHOVRS ande iuris-consultours in the anciant dais, hes familiarly discriuit one thing be the contrar thyng. thai gart the discriptione of ane vilaine (quhilk ve cal ane carl in our scottis langage) manifest the conditions of ane gentil man. siclyik thai gart the discriptione of ane gentil man

14 manifest the conditione of ane villaine be rason that ane gentil man, or ane nobil man, ande ane villaine, hes direct contrar conditions; & sa be the discriptione of ony ane of thir tua contrareis, tha gat ane solide knaulage of the tothir. Siklyik quhen thai discriuit

19 vertu, tha fyrst delatit ande payntit the conditions of vice, ande quhen thai discriuit liberte, thai fyrst payntit ande dilatit the conditions of seruitude. And

Of the origin of gentlemen.

nou sen this purpos hes occurrit to speik of gentreis ande nobilnes, i vil fyrst discriue the origine of gentil men, be the quhilk 3e may knau, quha is ane vilaine. Bot fyrst i man reherse the stait of the pepil that var

In the golden age, there was no difference of conditions.

in the gude anciant dais, quhilk sum men callit the goldin varld. there vas na defferens of staitis at that tyme among men, nothir in preeminens, dignite, superi-

29 orite, nor honour, for at that tyme al men var egal, & nocht partial nor deuidit, for the pepil lyuit al to

[* lf 102 (114), bk]

gydthir in ane tranquil & louabil commu'nite, ande thai left no thing to there posterite bot regrettis for the alteratione of that gude varld. in thai dais, the pepil eit nor drank nocht bot quhen hungir constren3et them, & than there maist delegat refectione vas acquorns,

Habits were simple, and tastes natural.

36 vyild berreis, green frutis, rutis & eirbis, ande thai

drank the fresche vattir. at sum tyme thay past in the 1
 forrestis to the course and hunting, and sleu vyild
 beystis, syne dryit the flasche at the sune or thai eit it.
 and thai that var of maist tendir complexione, couurit
 them vitht the skynniss of tha vyild beystis to keip
 them fra cald. At that tyme ther vas no ceremonial
 reuerens nor stait, quha suld pas befor or behynd, **They kept no
 state nor
 ceremony,**
 furtht or in at the dur, nor zit quha suld haue the 8
 dignite to vasche ther handis fyrst in the bassine, nor
 zit quha suld sit doune fyrst at the tabil. at that tyme
 the pepil var as reddy to drynk vattir in ther bonet, or
 in the palmis of ther handis, as in ane glas, or in ane
 tasse of siluyr. At that tyme thai lay al to gydthir in 13
 ane cauerne, as dois presently the sophistic egiptiens.
 thai purgit ther belleis, ande exercit the verkis of
 nature, ilk ane in vthirs presens vitht out schame, re-
 proche, or offens. than ane lang tyme there eftir, natu're
 prouokit them to begyn sum litil police. for sum of
 them began to plant treis, sum to dant beystis, sum 19
 gadthrid the frutis, ande kept them quhil on to the
 tyme of necessite, ande sum neurist there childir. at
 that tyme the pepil drank nothir vyne nor beir, nor na
 vthir confekkit drynkis. at that tyme straynge cuntreis
 var nocht socht to get spicis, eirbis, drogis, gummis, &
 succur for to mak exquisit electuars to prouoke the
 pepil til ane disordinat appetit. At that tyme, there
 vas no sumpteous clethyng of fine claytht and of gold
 & silk of diuerse fassons. at that tyme in the begyn-
 nyng of ther police, coppir, bras, and yrn and vthir
 mettellis var meltit to mak vtensel veschel necessair to
 serue ane houshald, and var nocht meltit to be gunnis
 ande cannons to sla doune the pepil. Ande nou sen
 that goldin varld is past, ther hes succedit ane yrn
 varld, quhilk hes altrit euerye gude thing in infelicate 34
 and myscheif, for meiknes is changit in maleis, trauail
 in ydilnes, rest in excesse, pace in veyr, eyse in pane,

- 1 loue in hatrent, cherite in crualte, iustice in extorsions,
almis in thyft, kyndnes in persecutiōne, supporting of
ignorance in detractiōne, pitie in rigor, ande faytht in
[* lf 103 (115), bk] *ypocrysie, and sa euyrie thing is altrit fra ane gude
Everything is
perverted.
stait in ane abhominabil qualite. The cause of this
- 6 alteratiōne hes procedit fra the euyll conditions of men
that began tyl oppresse there nychtbours.¹ ande til
To escape
oppression men
chose rulers from
among the strong
and prudent.
eschaip sic oppressiōne, the pepil chesit ane certan of
gouernours of the maist robust & maist prudent to be
there deffendours, ande also thai randrit them tributaris
and subiectis to there said gouernours & there gou-
- 12 uernours gat for ther panis and lauby, the butin and
spulze that thai conqueist fra the tirran oppressours.
Thai gouernours var sa nobil in there auen curage,
that thai distribut the maist part of the butine ande
spulze amang the pepil that hed vsit them maist
vailzeantly contrar there enemeis, ande thai that var
- 18 lasche couuardis gat nothing. Of this sort began the
fyrst nobilnes ande gentreis in the varld, for thai that
var vailzeant, thai var reput for nobilis ande gentil
men, ande thai that var vicius & couuardis, var reput
for vilainis ande carlis. The chartagiens vsit that
sammyn fassoune ane lang tyme, for thai gaue to the
sodiours that bure them maist vailzeantly contrar there
- [* leaf 104 (116)]
the Romans,
enemeis, ane certan of gold ringis, for ane *takyn of
perpetual nobilite. Siklyik euyrie vailzeant roman
- 27 sodiour vas crounit vitht ane croune on his hede in
the Macedonians, takyn of nobilite. The macedoniens vsit that sammyn
vse ane lang tyme; ande quhen ane macedonien hed
nocht venqueist ane of his enemeis, he vas bundin til
ane post, ande degradit fra his nobilite. in ald tymis
the ancient
Germans,
in germanye, ane alman vas ay repute for ane villain
quhil on to the tyme that he vas mareit. and he gat
neuyr lecons to marye quhil on to the tyme that he hed
- 35 presentit the hede of ane of his enemeis to the kyng of

¹ nychtbours

germanye. Siklyik in sythia at ane banket of tryumphe, and the
the kyng presentit ane goldin tasse ful of vyne to the Scythians.
compane at the tabil. bot nane of them vas admittit 3
to drynk in that tasse, bot sa mony as hed venqueist
ane of there enemeis in ane conflict ; for he that hed
neuyr dune ane vailzeant act contrar his enemeis, vas
reput for ane inciulle villaine. Mardocheus¹ conquieist So Mordecai and
the gre of nobilite fra artaxerxes throucht his vertu, Joseph were
ande Ioseph² vas maid ane gentil man be pharaon for ennobled.
his vertu. Than the successours of thir nobil men var 10
repute for gentil men as lang as thai vsit verteous
verkis of nobilite, as did there predecessours. Bot fra [* If 104 (116), bk]
tyme that the successours of thir nobil men be cam
vicius, than tha var degradit fra there nobilite ande fra
there gentreis, and thai var repute for inciulle vilaynis. 15
Valerius maximus rehersis the nobilite of scipio the *Valerius*
affrican, quha hed ane sounne that vas nothir vailzeant *maximus,*
nor verteous.³ on ane daye, he beand clethid in ane *Li. 3. ca. 5.*
lang quhyt goune as the vse vas to be borne at the dis-
tributione of the officis of rome, he desirit the office of
pretoir at the senat, on ane place callit campus martius. 21
At that tyme, his frendis cam til hym, & but reuerens
thai reft fra hym ane signet of gold that vas on his
fingare, vitht in the quhilk vas grauit his fathers hede,
sayand til hym, o imperfect ande vicius contrafait gentil
man, thou deseruis nocht to veyr this nobil signet,
vitht in the quhilk is grauit thy fathers hede, con- 27
siderand that thou hes nothir vertu nor vailzeantnes ;
there for ve degraid the fra the nobilite ande gentreis,
that thou pretendit to succeid to, be the deceisse of thy
fathere. This exempil of scipio makkis manifest, that
na man can mereit or can be capabil of nobilnes or
gentreis bot gyf tha be verteous. There for that stait
of gentreis is ane accidental qualite, in sa far as it may [* leaf 105 (117)]
cum til ane persoune be his vertu, ande he maye be 35

¹ Mardocheus² Ioseph³ verteons

The true use of
Armorial
bearings.

degradit fra it for his vice. (O my eldest soun nobilis
and gentil men) the armys that 3e bair in 3our scheildis
and in 3our seylis in 3our signetis, and also is payntit
on 3our vallis, & in 3our glasyn vindois, thai var gyuyn
5 to 3our predecessours be the prince for ane takyn of
nobilnes, for the nobil actis that thay hed dune for the
comont veil of the realme, & 3e that ar there succes-
sours 3e bayr the samyn armis for ane takyn that 3e ar
obleist to follou the futsteppis of 3our predecessours in
10 vertu, or ellis 3e merit to be degradit fra the armis that
3e bair, & fra the gentreis that 3e professe, as vas dune
tyl 3ong scipio befor rehersit. There is diuerse princis
that gyffis the tryumphe of knyched and nobilite, vitht

Orders and
kighthood given
for valiant acts.

leuerairis, armis ande heretage¹ to them that hes com-
mittit vailzeant actis in the veyris, siklyik as the
16 empriour makkis the ordur of knyched of the fleise,
the kyng of France makkis the ordour of the cokkil,
the kyng of ingland makkis the ordour of knychede
of the gartan. None of thir knychtis resauis thir hie
digniteis, throucht ane affectyue² loue that there prince
hes touart them, bot rathere for the vailzeant actis that

[* If 105 (117), bk]

*Valerius
marimus
in the cheptor
of tryumphe.*

there prince hes knauen them til haue committit for
ther public veil. The romans in the anciant dais
ordand ane tryumphe of nobilite to be gyffin to them
25 that hed borne them maist vailzeantly contrar the

The Romans
ordained a
triumph for
those who dis-
tinguished them-
selves in war,

enemeis of rome. The ordour of there tryumphe vas
of this sort. quhen ony romane hed dune ane vailzeant
act, he vas set in ane charriot veil acoutreit, quhilk vas
drauen vitht foure horse, be cause in the anciant dais

crowning them
with palm,

30 the romans vsit to fecht in battel in charriotis. Than
he that hed venqueist his enemye be straikis ande
strang battel, he vas crounit vitht ane palme of gold,
be rason that the palme tre hes shearp broddis and
pikis. And he that hed venqueist his enemye be

35 praktik of veyr, ande sleu and tuke his enemeis fleand

¹ heretage

² affectyue

fra the battel vitht out hurt til hym, he vas crounit 1
 vitht ane crowne of laure tre, be cause the laure tre hes or with laurel.
 no shearp broddis nor pikis. This last tryumphe of
 laure tre vas callit tropheum, quhilk singnifeis ane ioy-
 ful victoree, for the victoree is ioyful quhen the enemeis
 are venqueist vitht out damage to the venquesair. 6
 quhen thir romans entrit in rome to resae there [* leaf 106 (118)]
 tryumphe for ther vailzeant actis, the senat, the gentil
 men, and the comont pepil met them in there best
 array vitht grit solempnite, and syne conuoyit them to
 the plane mercat befor the capitol to resae there 11
 tryumphe of dignite, as tha hed deseruit. Bot allace
 (o ze my eldest sone nobilis ande gentil men) there is
 nocht mony of zou that meritis to veyr the ensenze of
 the fleise, of the cokkil, nor of the gartan, nor 3it there
 is nocht mony of zou that meritis to be borne in ane
 charriot to resae the tryumphe of the palme tre nor of 17
 the laure tre; for your imbecilite, auereis, ande conten-
 tione that ringis amang zou, rather deseruis degrading
 fra your pretendit gentreis, nor ze deserue¹ louyng or
 commendation for vertu. There for ze ar in grit error
 quhen ze professe zou to be gentil men, & syne com- 22
 mittis no actis efferand for your professione; bot vald
 ze considir the origine of your gentreis, than ze vald
 nocht be sa arrogant as to desire the gloir and the stait
 of ane dignite that ze deserue nocht. There is mony
 of zou that professis to be gentil men be successione of
 your predecessours, bot ze considir nocht that the gre
 of gentreis procedis fra vertu. The philosophour sais
 that the cause of ane thing is of mair efficacite nor is 30
 the thyng that procedis fra the cause: ergo, vertu suld
 preffer the successours of verteous men. Ane verteous
 man beand descendit of ane verteous genologie, doutles
 he is ane rycht gentil man. and in opposit, ane vicious
 man beand descendit of verteous genologie, he suld be 35

None of the
Scottish nobles
deserve any such
ensigns or
honours.

They are
unworthy of
their position.

[* If 106 (118), bk]

It is better to be
virtuous one's
self than draw
one's lineage from
the virtuous.

¹ deserue

1 reput mair vile and odius nor ony infamous vilaine plebien: ande also thai suld be degradit fra there gentreis¹ that thai haue ascribit til haue be successione, ande thai suld be compellit to virk vile mecanyk laubir, to that effect that the honour of verteous gentil men be

6 nocht maculat vitht the vice ande inciulite of vicius pretendit gentil men. There for as i haue said of befor, the sone of ane prince beand distitut of vertu is no gentil man; ande in opposit,² ane sone of ane mechanyc plebien, beand verteous, he is ane gentil man. for that cause the poiet francis petrarch a florentyne said, i hed

12 leuyr be the sone of vicius tarsites, i vsand ane verteous³ conuersione, nor to be the sone of the vailzeant achilles, i beand vicius. The philosophour plutarque

[* leaf 107 (119)]

17 his vertu he vas elect to be kyng of the cuntre. there vas ane vicius gentil man at that tyme callit hermodius, quha reprocht iphicrates, sayand, o iphicrates, it efferis nocht for thy stait & faculte to be ane kyng, be rason that thy father vas ane mecanyc tailzour descendit of inciulle pure pepil; there for thou art nocht ane gentil

The answer of Iphicrates to Hermodius.

23 man. iphicrates ansuert, o hermodius, throucht my vertu my successours sal be reput gentil men, and sa my gentreis begynnys at myself; bot thou ande thy gentreis sal end to gydthir, & thy successours sal be reput for vilaynis, be cause of thy vicius conuersione. This exempil makkis manifest, that ane person may

29 succeid to heretage and to mouabil gudis of his predecessours, bot no man can succeid to gentreis nor to vertu; for vertu⁴ & gentreis most proceid fra the spreit of hym self, and nocht fra his predecessours. iuuenal

The contrast between Bucephalus

the poiet rehersis, that bucephal the grit horse of alexander hed mony comodius propreteis, for as sune

35 as he sau alexander, he knelit ande maid hym reuer-

¹ gantreis

² apposit

³ verteons

⁴ vertie

rens,¹ ande syne tholit hym to lope on hym ; & also 1
 'he vas strynthy ande aful in ane battel contrar the [* If 107 (119), bk] 1
 enemeis of alexander ; ande quhen he vas saidlyt vitht
 his best bayrdit harnessing, he vald thole no man to
 ryde on hym bot alexander. This samyn horse busiphal
 hed ane brother, generit and folit of the samyn horse
 and meyr that folit hym. this tothir horse vas grit,
 fayr, and gude lyik, bot nochtheles the maist perfyit 8
 industreus horse dantars of macedon culd nocht gar
 hym be veil bridilit nor manerit² in na comodius sort
 conuenient to serue ane prince, quhar for he vas nocht
 treittit, bot rather deiekkit ande chaissit to the vyild
 barran feildis to seik his meyt, ande oft tymis he vas 13
 put in ane cart to drug and drau, quhar he vas euyldung & broddit.

and another horse from the same sire and dam.

This exempil maye be conferrit to tua brethir gottin
 ande borne of ane fathere & mother. ane of them
 beand verteous, suld be reput for ane gentil man, and
 the tother beand vicius, suld be estemeit and treittit 19
 lyik ane barbir inciuil vilaine. There hes been diuerse
 gentil men that thynkis schame that there fathers and
 mothers, gudschers and grandscheirs, hes bene mechanyc
 plebiens.³ Bot sic vane gentil men takkis nocht ex-
 empil of agathocles the 'kyng of cecile, quha vas the
 sone of ane pottar that formit clay pottis ; 3it nochtheles
 quhen he vas elect in dignite royal, he gart gold smythis 26
 graue ane pot in his armys on euerye pece of his siluyr
 veschel, and also he gart paynt the vallis of his palleis
 vitht pottis, the quhilk thing he did to manifest to the
 pepil that he thocht no schame that his father hed
 been ane mecanyc craftis man descendit of ane pure
 genologie. it is ane grit foly til ane person to pretend
 to gentreis be successione, or be reches. iuuenal⁴ con-
 fermis this samyn purpos, nobilitas sola est animum
 que moribus ornat ; and the vordis of ouid ar con- 35

So is it often with two brothers in a family.

Some gentlemen are ashamed that their ancestors were plebeians ;

[* leaf 108 (120)] not so Agathocles, king of Sicily,

who boasted that his father was a potter.

Iuuenal, Satiric. 7.

¹ reuertens

² manerir

³ mechanyt blebiens

⁴ innenal

1 sonant to this samyn, Non census nec clarum
nomen auorum, sed probitas magnum ingeni-
umque facit.

How vain the
boast of high
ancestry!

*Boiecus de
consolatione
philosophie.
li. 3.*

There for it is grit arrogance, and na les folie,
quhen ony person gloris in his hie genologie, consider-
and that euyre person is discendit of ane orygyne, as
boiecius de consolatione hes rehersit in his thrid beuk.

Omne hominum genus in terris simili surgit
9 ab ortu. there for, vald euyrie man considir his fyrst

The longest line
begins in mud
and clay.

[* If 108 (120), bk]
Ecclesiastic. 10. 9.

orygyne, he sal fynd that al man kynd ar creat of mud
and clay, as is writin in the sycond cheptour of genesis,

Formauit igitur hominem de limo terre. ande
also Ihesus sirach sais in the 10 cheptour of ecclesiasticus,
quhar he repreuis the gloir ande pride of men,

15 quid superbis terra et cinis, that is to say, quhou
ar 3e becum predeful & takkis gloir in this varld, con-
siderand that 3e ar bot eird ande puldir? it is vrityn

Genesis 18. 27.

on the 18 cheptour of genesis, loquar ad dominum
cum sim puluis & cinis¹. that is to say, i sal speik

20 to the lord, quhou be it i am bot puldir ande asse. it is
vrityn in the 17 cheptour of ecclesiasticus, Omnes
homines terra et cinis¹, al men ar eird ande else.

Ecclesiastic. 17.
32.

Men should
therefore have
as their armorial
bearings dust,
ashes, and earth.

Thir exemplis suld be occasione to gar gentil men
paynt in there scheildis, ande graue in there signetis,
puldir, ase, ande eirde, rather nor til haue gart paynt
and e graue the armis of there predecessours, be rason

27 that fra tyme that thai be aryuit to the fine ande to the
limitis of there peregrinatione of this mortal lyif, than
thai returne to there comont ande general mothere the

The dust makes
no respect of
persons.

eird, the quhilk eird makkis na acceptions of persons,
nor defferens of qualiteis betuix gentil men, and me-
canyc men, bot resauis them al indefferently in hir
domicil and receptacle. than quhen the corrupit flesche

[* leaf 109 (121)]

35 is consumit fra the banis, no man can put defferens
betuix ane prince [and] ane begger. The historigraph-

¹ cinis

- ours rehersis, that quhen kyng cirus hed venqueist
kyng cresus, he led hym til his paleis, ande treittit
hym mair humainly nor is the vse to treit presoneirs. 3
On ane day, cresus spak hardyly to kyng cirus, sayand,
Nobil prince, the vulgaris ascribis grite gloir for the
vailzeant actis that thou hes committit for the public
veil of perse ande meid, zit nochtheles thy father
cambises¹ did mair vailzeant actis in his tyme nor thou
hes dune. kyng cresus vas temerair in his question, for
cirus vas offendit contrar kyng cresus, thinkand that 10
ane presoneir suld nocht haue bene sa bold as til
reproche ane prince that haldis hym in captiuite. Than
cresus, persauand kyng cirus in collere and ire, he said,
nobil prince, gyf thy nobil grace vil gyf me lecons to
rason the mater, thou sal sune persauae that i said no- 15
thing tyl offend the, bot rathere til augment thy gloir.
i said that thy grace hed nocht dune sic ane vailzeant
act as thy fathere cambises did in his tyme, for he did
ane nobil act quhen he engeneret the on thy mothere
to gouerne this realme eftir his deceisse, bot thou hes 20
nocht dune sic ane nobil act as to genner ane nobil
prince lyik thy self to gouerne the realme quhen thou
art dede.
- Quhen kyng cirus herd the subtil discymilit pleisant 24
interpretatione of cresus vordis, he smylit and leuch,
and changit his coller in glaydnes. bot zit kyng cirus
exortit cresus familiarlye tyl expone the iust verite of
his vordis. Cresus ansuert, nobil prince, sen thou hes
coniurit me sa extremly to declair the verite, doutles i
sal hald no thing obscure, quhou be it thou gar me 30
suffer the cruel detht. the occasione of my vordis pro-
credit, be cause i iuge that thou art nocht sa quyk
spretit, sa prudent nor sa nobil as vas thy fathere cam-
bises, ande to conclude, thou hes nocht sic ane hede as
he had in al his byssynes. kyng cirus ansuert, i sal

How Cræsus
told Cyrus

that he did not
come up to his
father Cambyses
in valour.

Cyrus was
displeasid,

but Cræsus
ingeniously ex-
plained away his
remark.

[* If 109 (121), bk]

Cyrus recovered
his temper,
but desired to
know what Cræsus
really meant.

The latter told
him that he had
not such a head
as his father.

¹ cambifes

1 sune knau the verite of thy purpos. than kyng cirus
past to the tempil, ande he gart delue vp al the banis
of the detht pepil furtht of there sepulture, and keist
ouer euyrye bane, ande contemplit euyry hardyn pan,
ane be ane. than cirus & vthir gentil men meruelit

6 nocht litil of his consait, sayand, ve exort the, nobil
prince, to tel thy intentione of that byssynes. Cirus
ansuert, o cirus, thou said, nocht lang syne, that my
hede vas nocht *to be comparit to my fathers hede ;
there for i am leukand gyf i can fynd my fathers hardyn
pan amang thir dede mennis banis, bot i can nocht ken

12 it amang them, for al the hardyn pannis that ar heir ar
al of ane sort : there for i beleue that my fathers hede
and e my hede, and al vthir mennis hedis of pure ande
riche, are but defferens : there for in tyme to cum thou
sal mak na comparison betuix men, for i persauie that al

17 men that euyr vas, or euyr sal be, ar creat of ane masse
of clay and eird. This exempil declaris that na man
suld gloir in his nobilite or gentil blude, considerand
that our carions ande corporal natur, and carnal origyne,
is baytht vile ande infekkit, ande there is na¹ defferens

22 nor acceptions of persons betuix us. the prudent Salo-
mon accordis vitht this samyn purpos in the 7 cheptor
of his beuk of sapiens, sayand, sum quidem & ego
mortalis homo similis omnibus de genere ter-
reno illius qui prior factus est, & ce. Nemo

27 enim ex regibus aliud habuit natiuitatis ini-
tium. i am ane mortal man (sais Salomon) lyik til al
vthir men, creat of eird as vas our foir fathere adam,
and e al vthir kyngis hed na vthir begynnyng. thir vordis
of Salomon beand *veil considerit, is ane souerane remeid
and e salutair medycyn to repreme and distroye the

33 arrogant consait of them that glorifeis & pridis them to
be discendit of nobilis and gentil men, considerand that
the crop ande rute of our gentreis and e genologie hes

Cyrus tried to
discern his
father's skull from
the others in the
[* leaf 110 (122)]
family vault,

but all were alike,

all clay and earth.

Sapien. 7.

Wisdom of
Solomon 7. 1—5.

[* If 110 (122), bk]

The root of all
nobility is in
Adam.

succedit fra adam. ande quhen ve entrit in this mortal 1
 lyif ve var naikyt and vepand, and quhen ve depart ve
 sal be vile and abhominabil, ande ve sal carye no thing
 furtht of this varld bot the coulpe of our synnis, or the
 meritiss of our vertu.

Naked we entered
 the world, and
 naked we shall
 leave it.

¶ O my eldest soun, nobilis & gentil men, quhy 6
 vil 3e nocht considir thir vordis befor rehersit? quhilk
 vordis suld be occasione to gar 3ou mortife 3our vane
 consait of 3our pretendit gentreis. 3e professe 3ou to be
 gentil men, bot 3our verkis testifeis that 3e ar bot in-
 ciuile vilainis. 3e vald be reput & callit vertuous and
 honest, quhou be it that 3e did neuyr ane honest act; 12
 and 3e reput vthir men for vilanis, that did neuyr ane
 vilaine act. it aperis that quhen 3our nobil predeces-
 sours decessit, thai tuke ther vertu and gentreis vitht
 them to ther sepulture, and thai left na thing vitht 3ou
 bot the stile of there gentreis. the *vordis of the holy
 man Iob maye be veil applyit to this samyn purpos 18
 quhen he said, mortui sunt nobiles, & innobiles
 sunt filij eorum. quod he, al nobil men ar decessit,
 & ther sonniss ande successours ar bot vilainis. the vordis
 of Iob ar ouer manifest in our cuntre, for i see no thing
 amang gentil men bot vice. for honestee is maculat,
 ignorance is prisit, prudens is scornit, chestite is
 banneist, the nychtis ar ouer schort to gentil men to 25
 commit¹ there libedeneus lust, and the dayis ar ouer
 schort to them to commit extorsions on the pure pepil.
 ther blasphematione of the name of god corruptis the
 ayr. The prodig pride that ringis amang gentil men is
 detestabil, nocht alanerly in costly clethyng abufe ther 30
 stait, bot as veil in prodig expensis that thai mak on
 horse and doggis, abufe ther rent or reches. ane man is
 nocht reput for ane gentil man in scotland, bot gyf he
 mak mair expensis on his horse and his doggis nor he
 dois on his vyfe & bayrniss. The poiettis fenjeis that 35

When your fathers
 died their gentle-
 ness was buried
 with them.

[* leaf 111 (123)]

The vices of the
 nobles.

What they spend
 on horses and
 dogs.

¹ commit

Diomedes was
devoured by his
horses,

and Actæon by
his dogs.

[* If 111 (123), bk]

- the grecian dyameid hed horse that eit men, & also thai
hef fençet that acteon vas transformit in ane hart, and
there eftir he vas stranglit to dede vitht his auen doggis.
The expositione of *thir tua exemplis maye be applyit
5 to the gentil men of scotland. The horse of diameid
eit no men ; bot the superflu & prodig expensis that he
maid on corne to feid ane grit numir of onutil horse,
gart the victualis be deir and skant, quhilk vas occasione
that the pure pepil deit for hungir. of this sort the
10 poiettis fençeis that dyamedis horse eit men, be cause
tha eit the corne that vald haue sauit the lyuis of the
pure pepil fra hungir. Siklyik acteon vas nocht trans-
formit in ane hart, nor 3it his doggis sleu hym nocht.
the expositione of this vas, that acteon vas ane vane
15 gentil man that set al his felicite on doggis for hunt-
ing,¹ on the quhilkis he maid ouer prodig expensis abufe
his faculte, quhilk vas occasione that he sellit his here-
tage til entretene his vane pleseir, & ther eftir he fel in
pouerte. ther for the poiëtis fençeis that his doggis dis-
troyit hym. alace ther is ouer mony horse in scotland
lyik dyamedis horse that eit is the pure pepil, and there
is ouer mony doggis in scotland that virreis there
23 master as acteon vas virreit. i repreif nocht gentil men
for the halding of horse & doggis ; for horse ar neces-
sair, and doggis ar for recreatione. bot i repreif the ouer
prodig ex*pensis that sum gentil men makkis on horse
and doggis abufe ther stait and faculte. it var verray
necessair and honest for ther auen veil that sic prodi-
29 galite var moderat. the philosophour xenophon reheris,
that cirus kyng of perse and meid vas verray solist in
hunting, ande he maid grit expensis on his horse, bot
he gart sic expensis cum til ane gude effect. for he vsit
hunting til exerse his gentil men to keip them fra ydil-
nes, ande he maid grit expensis on horse, be cause thai
35 var necessair for his veyris.

There are too
many horses and
dogs in Scotland
that eat men.

[* leaf 112 (124)]

¹ huicting

¶ O 3e my eldest soune, nobilis and gentil men, i 1
 exort 3ou to correct 3our selfis of the artiklis of this ac-
 cusatione, and also that 3e adhere til al verteous byssy-
 nes, and that 3e accord and agre viht 3our tua bredthir
 lauberaris ande clergie, to that effect that 3e may releif
 me of my afflictione. for doutles gyf that discentione 6
 ande rancour remanis amang 3ou, in schort dais 3our ald
 enemeis sal ocupie 3our heretagis and duelling placis, &
 the posterite of 3our generatione sal be put furht of re-
 memorance. Nou i vil saye ane familiar reproche, be the
 vay of correctione to my sycond soune, callit sperutu- 11
 alite, to that effect, *to gar 3ou al thre brethir concur to [*If 112 (124), bk]
 gyddir on ane substancial constant gude purpos, for the
 deffens of 3our natiue cuntre¹.

¶ Quhou the affligit² lady Dame scotia repre-
 nis hir sycond soune, callit sperutualite³.

CHAP. XIX.

O (my sycond soune) sperutualite, thou hes herd the 17
 familiar repreif that i haue pronuncit, be the vay of
 correctione to thy tua brethir nobilis & lauberaris ;
 bot my accusatione contrar them, is na purgatione to
 the. for thou deseruis⁴ nocht alanerly ane mair inuectyue
 reproche for thy demeritis⁵, bot as veil thou deseruis to 22
 be puneist realy, & to be degradit fra thy holy office.
 the maist part of the vicis that thy tua brethir hes com-
 mittit, maye be supportit & excusit, be rason of there⁶
 ignorance ; bot thou can nocht allege ignorance for thy
 excusatione, considerand that god hes gyffin the his lau 27
 in thy moutht to be distribut betuix the and thy tua
 brethir, as is writyn in the sycond cheptour of the
 prophet malachias, quhilk sais, labia enim sacer-
 malachias, 2.
 cap.

¹ cautre ² affligit ³ sperualite ⁴ deseruie ⁵ demerrtis ⁶ chere

Correct your-
selves from these
faults, with which
ye stand accused.

The faults
charged upon the
nobility and
commons do not
leave the clergy
blameless.

The two former
are partly
excusable on the
ground of
ignorance ;

but priests sin
against light.

1 dotis custodiunt scientiam, & legem requirent
 [* leaf 113 (125)] ex ore eius, quia¹ an'gelus domini exercituum
 est. that is to say, the lippis of the preist sal keip the
 sciens of god, and the pepil sal desire the² lau to be
 schauen to them, furtht of his moutht, be cause he is
 6 the messengeir of the lord. O thou my sycond soun, e,
 this autorite that god hes gyuyn to the, is vondir grit.
 ther for sen god hes dotit thy faculte in maist honorabil
 dignite and autorite, abufe the stait of thy tua brethir,
 nocht alanerly in the knaulege of diuynne sciens, bot als
 veil in humanite as in til sciens liberalis, & in moral &
 12 natural philosophie, the quhilk gracis and propreteis ar
 nocht grantit be god for thy particularite, bot rather god
 hes ordand the to be ane dispensatour of his gyftis
 amang the ignorant pepil. ther for I vald thou var solist
 to distribute the talent that the lord gef til his saruand.
 And thou can nocht distribut it bettir nor to purches
 vnite and concord betuix the and thy tua brethir; for
 the prudens and autorite that the lord hes gyffin to the,
 20 suld suppreme ther ignorante error, & obstination. Ther
 for, as lang as thou ar neclegent in thy office, sa lang
 sal ther ay be discentione, discord, & hatrent in the
 realme, quhilk sal be occasione of thy auen ruuynne.
 [* 1f 113 (125), bk] * Ther for i exort the til animaduert and to perpend
 ere it be too late. maturly thir vordis, in drede that thou repent thy nec-
 legens quhen thou hes na laszar nor oportunitie to
 27 remede thy abusion.

And fyrst, to begyn, thou suld set al thy felicite, to
 correct thy self of thy lang abusione, that is to say,
 thou suld gyf gud exempil in thy conuersatione, con-
 formand to thy professione and to thy doctryn, to that
 effect that the pure pepil may follou thy futsteppis, as
 is vritin in Mathou, Luc, and Ihone, sic luceat lux
 vestra coram hominibus, vt videant opera ves-
 35 tra bona. Ther for thai that hes autorite, and gyfis

1 eiusquia

2 rhe

God has given the
 clergy many
 talents;

let them be
 solicitous to use
 them;

let them
 promote unity,

and reform their
 own negligence,

Let them correct
 their long-stand-
 ing abuses.

"Let your light
 so shine before
 men that they
 may see your
 good works."

euyll exempil, suld be mair reaye puneist, nor the pepil
 suld be that contemnis and disobeys ther autorite. it
 is writin in the brasyn tablis of the antiant lauis of
 rome, that there vas mair rigorus punitione exsecutit on 4
 ane man of autorite that gef euyll exempil, nor vas ex-
 secutit on murdresaris and tratours. Romulus the fyrst
 kyng of rome, institut ane lau amang the ytaliens, that
 transgressours suld be puneist mercyfully efferand for
 the qualite of ther crymis; and also he statut, that 9
 quhen men of autorite and dignite committit thair samyn
 crymis, tha var led and con'uoit dishonestly to the
 plane marcat befor the capitol, quhar thay resaut
 doubil punitione, be cause the euyll exempil of ther
 maluersatione prouokyt the pepil til adhere to vice, & 14
 to detest vertu. Hermes the philosophour said, that
 the error & the euyll exempil of ane man of autorite
 maye be comparit til ane onexpert master of ane schip,
 quhilk, throucht his misgouernance, is occasione that
 the schip pereseis, and tynis nocht hym self alanerly,
 bot as veil he tynis al them that ar of his companye. 20
 ther for, it var verray necessair that men of autorite, or
 ministers of the kyrk, do gyf gude exempil in ther con-
 uersation, to that effect that the ingnorant pepil may
 follou ther futsteppis. The philosophour plutarque re-
 hersis ane exempil of the partan, quhilk repreuit ane of
 hyr 3ong partans, be cause the 3ong partan vald nocht
 gang euyll furtht, bot rather sche 3eid cruikit, bakuart, 27
 and on syd. than the 3ong partan ansuert, quod sche,
 mother, i can nocht gang of my auen natur as thou
 biddis me, bot nochtheles, vald thou gang furtht rycht
 befor me, than i sal leyrn to follou thy futsteppis. This
 exempil tendis, that the discipil follouis the conuersa-
 tion of his preceptor, rather nor he *follouis his
 doctrine. allace o my sune sper[it]ualite, the abusion of
 thy office is the cause of the discentione that is betuix
 the and the temporal stait, for 3e tua ar lyike cattis and

An evil example more culpable than disobedience.

Of the rigour of Romulus against the crimes of men of authority.

[* leaf 114 (126)]

How Hermes compared a bad man in office to an incapable ship-master.

The fable of the crab and her young ones,

showing that conduct is followed rather than precept. [* If 114 (126), bk]

The clergy and temporal rulers lve like cats and dogs.

- 1 doggis berkkand on vthirs, ther for ther is nocht ane of 3ou bettir nor ane vthir. for that cause the gramariaris can fynd na greis of comparaisoun in 3our gudnes, for that terme¹, bettir, is of the comparatyue gree, and that terme gude, is of the positieue gree, the quhilk positieue gree is nocht in mony of 3ou conformand tyl ane reul of the lau. L. cum furti. ff. de condi. furti. the quhilk
- 8 reul sais, comparatiuus presupponit posituum. Quhar for i exort the (o my veil belouit sone speritualite) to correct thy maluersatione. for quhen the pepil disobeyis thy gude doctryne throucht the euyll exempil of thy maluersatione, thou sal be mair doubil puneist
- 13 nor tha sal be for the disobediens of thy gude doctryne, be rason that god hes gyffin to the, baytht knaulage and autorite to gouerne ther ignorance. doutles thy abusione, and the sinister ministracione of thy office, is the special cause of the scisma and of diuers sectis that trublis al cristianite. & quhou beit that the rute of thir scismes and sectis be in germane, denmark and ingland, 3it nochtheles the branchis of them ar spred athort al cristin realmis in sic ane sort, that tha hef maye fauoraris nor aduersaris, for diuerse men desiris
- 23 ane part of the temporal patrimonye of the kyrk, be cause of the abusione and euyll exempil of the kyrk men. And this plag and scisma sal neuyr be reformat for na statutis, lauis, punitiouns, bannessing, byrnyng, hayrschip, nor torment that can be deuisit, quhil on to
- 28 the tyme that the speritualite reforme ther auen abusion. ther for, gyf the speritualite var as solist to reforme and to correct ther auen maluersatione as tha ar solist to puneise them that detrakkis & murmeris ther obstinat abusione, than for certan the gude exempil of ther gude conuersatione vald extinct and supedeit mair haistyar al peruerst opinions & scismas nor al the punitioun that
- 35 al cristianite can exsecut. The punitioun that the

There is none to better another, for there is none good to start with.

Your abuses and maladministration are the special cause of the great schism in Christendom.

[* leaf 115 (127)]
The sects have their roots in Germany, Denmark, and England, but are widely diffused.

The schism will never be healed by persecution or burning

till the Spirituality amend themselves.

sperutualite remanent in ther abusione exsecutis on
 scismatikis, maye be comparit til ane man that castis
 vlye on ane heyt birnand fyir, in hope til extinct it,
 and to droune it furtht, the quhilk vlye makkis the fyir
 mair bold nor it vas of befor. the experiens of this is 5
 manifest; for, as su'ne as ther is ane person slane,
 brynt, or bannest for the halding of perue[r]st opinions,
 incontinent ther rysis up thre in his place; ther for sic
 punitione maye be comparit tyl ane serpent callit
 hydra, quhilk hed seyn heydis. The poiētis rehersis, 10
 that quhen this said serpent vas assailzet be men to sla
 hyr, and quhen thir men straik ane or tua of hyr
 heydis fra hyr, than sche fleid tyl her cauerne, and on
 the morne vthir tua heydis vald be grouen on hyr as
 of befor, and of this sort sche did grit damage baytht
 to man and beyst, quhil on to the tyme that nobil
 Hercules venqueist hyr; than he straik al hyr seyn 17
 heydis fra hyr. fra that tyme furtht sche lyuit neuyr
 agane. this exempil tendis, that the scisma that ringis
 in this varld sal neuyr be extinct for na punitione that
 can be exsecutit, bot gyf al the heydis of the vniuersal
 cristianite be strikkyn fra them, or ellis bot gyf the
 ministers reforme & correct ther auen abusione.

Quhar for (o my sone speritualite) i exort the that 24
 thou cause al thy membris concur to gyddir to mak
 reformatione of the sklanderous abusione that ringis
 amang them, ande ther eftir thou sal treit vnite and
 concord be'tuix the uniuersal leigis of scotland be the
 maist familiar ande cheritabil vaye that thy ingyne 29
 can inuent or ymagyn, to that effect that ze my thre
 sonnis, nobilis, clergie, & lauberaris, may pas in ane
 faythful accord to resist the cruel inuasions of your dis-
 saitful and incredule ald enemeis. Thou hes mair occa-
 sione and mystir to be vigiland in the deffens of the
 liberte of thy faculte, nor hes thy tua brethir; for gyf
 the kyng of ingland prospir in his oniust veyris, and 36

Punishment of
 schismatics of
 no avail;

it is like pouring
 oil on a fire.

[* If 115 (127), bk]

or cutting off one
 of the heads of
 Hydra,

in room of which
 two others grew.

The schism will
 only be "stamped
 out" by a
 universal
 massacre, or
 cured by a self-
 reform of the
 clergy.

Let them then
 unite to reform
 their scandalous
 abuses,

[* leaf 116 (128)]

and thereafter
 try to promote
 national unity.

The clergy have
 more cause to
 fear the influence
 of England than
 the laity.

- 1 conqnessis our realme, doutles thy tua brethir vil
 tyne ther gudis and there heretage; bot there lyuis sal
 be saif, sa that tha vil be suorne to be inglis slauis, and
 renegat scottis. bot he vil nocht grant na grace to thy
 faculte, bot the samyn grace that kyng henry the eycht
 gaued to the sperutualite of ingland, that is to saye, in
 the fyrst he tuke the patrimone & the temporal landis of
 8 the kyrkis of ingland, & anext ane part of them to the
 proprite of his croune, & ane vthir part he distribut
 amang ane certan of grit personagis of his realme,
 quhilkis adherit til his tirran opinion, & syne he chesit
 furth¹ ane certan of the hiest genologie of ingland that
 13 hed bene promouit to cathidral² digniteis, and til vthir
 [* If 116 (128), bk] sperut[u]al beⁿeficis, quhome he gart his flaschar lay
 ther craggis on ane stok and gart heyde them, and syne
 he gart hyng ther quartars on potentis at diuerse comont
 passagis on the feildis quhar the maist confluens of
 18 pepil passit and repassit, and thridly he compellit pure
 speritual men, baytht regular and religiouse preistis,
 monkis and freris, to pas to leyrn mecanye hand
 laubys, sum to be cordinaris, sum to be tailours, sum
 to be marynalis, and sa to proceid to diuerse vthir
 craftis; and thai that var obstinat and disobedient tyl his
 24 cruel statutis he gart bannes ane part of them, and presone
 the bodeis of ane vthir part in perpetual captiuite.
- There for (o thou my sycond sone sper[it]ualite) thou
 may beleue surly that the kyng³ of ingland vil be na
 mair gracijs, curtas nor merciful to the, quhome he
 reputis for his mortal eneme, nor he hes bene to the
 30 sperutualite of ingland, quha vas his faythful natyue
 natural leigis and inhabitaris of his realme, of the
 quhilk ther vas sum of them that var of his kyn and
 blude, bot he regardit nocht tyl ony greis of con-
 sanguinite, bot rather he vsit his mercyles crualte con-
 35 trar them, to that effect that his auaricijs affectione

The laity may be
spared,

but the clergy
will get only the
tender mercies of
Henry VIII.

How he treated
the religious
orders.

The spirituality
of Scotland will
obtain no more
mercy than those
of England.

¹ furthr

² cathidral

³ Kyng

that he hed touart *the kyrk landis of ingland mycht [* If 116 bis (129)]
 be saciat. O 3e sperutualite of scotland, 3e hef grit 2
 cause to tak exempil be 3our nyctbours, and nocht be
 3our selfis, conformand to thir tua versis ; felix quem The wise take
 warning from the
 dangers of others.
 faciunt aliena pericula cautum. casus de-
 mentis correctio fit sapientis. Al this veil con-
 sidrit¹, suld be an animaduertens to gar 3ou be vigilant 7
 and delegend to keip and to deffend the liberte of 3our
 faculte, the quhilk sal neytr be veil kepit nor deffendit,
 bot gyf 3e put 3our handis to verk, that is to saye, that Such of the
 clergy as are able-
 bodied, ought to
 serve personally
 in war.
 sa mony of 3ou that ar defensabil men sal pas in propir
 person in battel vitht my lord gouuernour and vitht
 the nobil lordis and barrons of scotland contrar the
 cruel inuasions of 3our ald enemeis of ingland. There 14
 for sen it is neid forse to cheis ane of tua eyyllis, that
 is to say, othir to fecht in battel for the deffens of 3our
 faculte and liberte, or ellis to be tormentit in captiuite
 be 3our ald enemeis, 3e suld cheis the smallest of thir It is the less of
 two evils.
 tua euillis, conformand to the vordis of cicero that he
 vrit ad quintum fratrem, sayand, in duobis malis 20
 fugiendum maius, leuius est elegendum. for it
 is les damage and dishonour to fecht in fayr battel for
 the deffens of 3our liberte, *nor to be tormentit in ane [* leaf 116 bis
 (129), back]
 Let them
 exchange their
 cowls and long
 robes for steel
 jacks and coats
 of mail.
 miserabil captiuite. Quhar for i exort 3ou that 3e
 change 3our sperutual habitis, bayth coulis and syde
 gounis, in steil iakkis and in cotis of mail3e, to deffend
 3our bodeis fra the cruhalte of 3our enemeis ; and thai
 that ar agit and nocht abil for the veyr, thai heffand
 patrimone and benefieis, thai suld furneis pure preistis, 29
 monkis and freris, vitht al necessair thingis conuenient
 for the veyris. And than quhen the veyris ar endit,
 thai maye cleitht them agane vitht there spirutual
 habit, conformand to ther professione. And nane of
 the sperutualite suld be scripulus in this byssynes, con-
 siderand that goddis lau, the lau of natur, positine lau, 35

¹ cousidrit

- 1 ciuil and cannon lau, hes condiscendit in ane purpos that¹ al staitis and faculteis, vitht out ony acceptiōne of persons, ar oblist to pas in battel for the deffens of ther public veil, and of ther natiue cuntre. Than quhy suld preistis or freris allege exemptions, sayand that there professione oblicis them to sing and say, to preche and
- 7 praye, and nocht to fecht in battel. allace sic exemptions suld be repellit and adnullit, considerand that the contrarie of ther allegiance is of verite. The bibil is ane real *probatione, that kyng dauid that royal prophete vas ane preist, moises vas ane preist, aaron vas ane preist, ande al the prophetis of Israel var preistis; 3it nochtheles thay var ay fyrst in the battel
- 14 for the deffens of the landis of promissionē. and nou be cause that there is sum ignorant preistis that ar mair obedient to the canon lau nor thai ar to goddis lau, there for i vil sateisfe² there scrupulus consciens vitht sum cheptours of the canon lau. in the fyrst, it is vrityn in the xxijj distinctione in the feyrd questione
- 20 in the cheptour Si non, as eftir follouis, sicut antiquitus ducibus concessum fuit bellare: sic & modernis, dummodo non bellent desiderio fundenti sanguinem: sed rem publicam ampliando. it is vrityn in the xxiii distinctione in the viii questione as eftir follouis. Saraceni bellantes contra cristianos, iuste a cristianis impugnantur. i reffer the expositione of this text to the vniuersal cristianite to iuge quhiddir that inglismen be³ sarrasyns or cristin men. Ther is ane cheptour of the canon lau that sais thir⁴ vordis in the xxiii distinctione in the fyfite question, bella sumpta contra excommunicatos & infideles meritoria sunt. i reffer the expositione of this text to be iugit be al cristin princis, quhiddir that Inglis men be excommunicat and denuncit goddis rebellis be al lauis for ther infidilite,

All estates are bound by every law, human and divine, to fight for their country.

Why should priests urge exemption?

The Bible shows how David, [* leaf 117 (130)] Moses, Aaron, and the prophets were always first in battle.

The canon law says,

it is still allowed to them to fight, not for the sake of shedding blood, but for the public weal;

also against Saracens.

Englishmen more Saracens than Christians.

Wars undertaken against the excommunicated and infidels are [* lf 117 (130), bk] meritorious. The English are excommunicated for

¹ thac

² sateiffe

³ bo

⁴ this

incrudilite, crualte, tirranrye, sacreleige, & for the
 vsurpatione of vthir princis dominions vitht out ony
 occasione or iust titil. There is *sum scripulus* preistis,
 hefand there consciens subiect to traditions, quha sais,
 that it is nocht leiful to preistis to pas in battel, vitht
 out the leicens of the pape. i vald thir ignorant preistis
 vald reid ane cheptour of the canon lau in the xxiii 7
 distinctione in the viii questione, callit, an *episcopo*
liceat ad bellum proficisci sine licentia pape.
 i exort 3ou, my sone sper[it]ualite, to put al cerimonial
 scrupulnes furtht of 3our hartis, & that 3e pas in propir
 person contrar 3our ald enemeis; & than doutles 3our
 faculte sal nocht be spulzeit¹ fra the liberte that it
 possessis.

heresy, infidelity,
 sacrilege, &c., &c.

Some scrupulous
 priests doubt
 whether they
 may go to battle
 without the
 Pope's license.

This is no time
 for ceremonial
 scruples.

14

¶ Quhou the affligit lady dame scotia makis
 ane exortatione til hyr thre sonis, quhilk is
 the conclusion of this beuk.

CHAP. XX.

O 3e my thre sonnys, i hef accusit euyrye ane of 3ou, 18
 perticularly² in special for the abusione of 3our
 faculteis and officis, the quhilk abusioⁿe is the
 cause of the contentione and discord that ringis amang
 3ou, the quhilk contention and discord hes dune mair
 domage in 3our cuntre, nor the grit armye of ingland
 hes dune. I vald speir ane question, quhat medycyn
 can help ane seik man that hurtis hym selue vilfully, 25
 and prouokis his auen seiknes daly? or quhat cite can
 indure, quhen it is seigit and assailzeit vitht out be
 enemeis, and vitht in the cite ringis mortal veyr amang
 the gouernours and inhabitantis? O 3e my thre sonis,
 quhat can the varld estime of 3ou, quhen 3e ar sa solist 30

[* leaf 126 (131)]

Intestine strife
 has injured
 Scotland
 more than the
 arms of England
 have done.

¹ spulzeit

² pericularly

- 1 on the ruuyne of 3our prosperite, and on the demoli-
 tionne of 3our comont veil? 3our conditions & conuersa-
 tions is mair lyik til barbarien pepil, nor it is to
 cristyn pepil. 3e lament hauyly the cruel veyrs, and 3e
 cry & desyris pace at god, 3e heffand rancor in 3our
 6 hartis contrar 3our nyctbours. 3e desire mercy at god,
 3e heffand ane drauen sourd in 3our hand to slay ane
 innocent. 3e vald be louit vitht al men, and 3e hef na
 cherite to na man. Quhy suld god delyuyr 3ou fra
 3our enemeis? sen that 3e ar mortal enemeis to 3our
 11 selfis, 3our honour is tynt; sen that 3our vailzeantnes
 [* 1f 126 (131), bk] is changit in berkyng on vthirs lyik cattis and *doggis,
 3e hef left the protectionne of 3our comont salut, and 3e
 ar be cum sodiours & pensionaris to 3our enemeis, and
 also 3e ar be cum enemeis to 3our auen veilfair and
 prosperite. allace, vald 3e considir the grit ruuyne &
 perditionne that hes cum on diuerse realmis throucht the
 18 discentione and diuisione that rang amang the pepil.
 than i beleue that 3e vald treit pace in 3our consciens,
 and cherite to 3our nyctbours. the holy scriptour con-
 fermis this samyn purpos, quhar crist Iesus said,
Math. 12. Omne regnum in se diuisum desolabitur: al
Luce. 11. realmis that ar diuidit vitht in them selfis be discen-
 tionne and contentione, sal be left desolat. there for (o
 25 3e my thre sonnys) it is na meruel that 3our cuntre cum
 to ruuyne and desolationne, considerand that al sortis of
 detestabil and onleful veyrs and battellis that distroyit
 the romanis in the anciant dais, ringis presently amang
 3ou, throucht the discentione, diuisione, inuy, rancor,
 30 and auareis that ringis vniuersaly throucht al scotland.
 the fyrst sort of battellis and veyris that broucht the
 romans to ruuyne, vas callit battellis finityuis, A fini-
 bus: that is, quhen ane man vndir takkis to conques
 Frontier Wars. be violence and tirrorane the landis * of his nyctbours
 [* leaf 127 (132)] that marchis and lysis contigue vitht his landis, as did
 36 Ninus kyng of the assiriens, quha vas nocht contentit

Ye are more like
barbarians than
Christians.

Ye are become
pensioners of
your enemies.

Math. 12.
Luce. 11.

The wars that
ruined Rome.

Iustin.
Lib. 1.

Frontier Wars.

[* leaf 127 (132)]

vitht his auen cuntre, there for he maid veyr on al the 1
 cuntreis that circuit his realme. this sammyn sort of
 veyrs is in scotland, for there is nocht mony men, grit
 nor smal, that hes heretage, bot is aye inuentand cauil-
 latione & vrang titilis to hef ther nyctbours heretagis
 that lysis contigue besyde them, othir be proces & 6
 pleyis, or ellis be violens. there vas ane vthir sort of
 battellis amang the romans, callit battellis socialis, that Social Wars.
 is, quhen tounis of ane cuntre makkis veyr contrar
 vthirs, as of diuerse tounis of germanye and ytalie.
 Thir samyn sort of veyrs ringis presently in scotland,
 for there is nocht ane boroustone nor landuard paris
 vitht in the realme, bot thai hef inuy contrar the tounis 13
 and parisis that ar nixt nyctbours to them. the thrid
 sort of veyris var callit battellis ciuilis, that is, Civil Wars.
 quhen citinaris and induellaris of ane cite hes mortal
 fede contrar vthirs, as vas betuix silla & marius &
 quintus lipidius. this samyn sortis of veyris ringis 18
 instantly in scotland, for there is nocht ane borrou-
 toune nor parise in scotland bot the're is deidly fede [* If 127 (132), bk]
 amang sum of the induellars of the saidis tounis. there
 is ane vthir sort of veyris callit battellis intestynis, that Intestine Wars.
 is, quhen kynsmen and frendis of consanguinite or
 affinite hes mortal veyr contrar vthirs, as vas betuix 24
 Iulius cesar and his gude sone grit pompeus. this samyn
 sort of veyris ringis instantly in scotland; for the in-
 testine veyris that ringis amang the barrons and gentil
 men of scotland, is detestabil to be rehersit, for thai
 that ar nerest of kyn and blude hes maist mortal fede
 contrar vthirs; quha can calkil the degreis of kyn and 30
 blude of the barrons of scotland, thai vil conferme this
 samyn. there is ane vthir sort of veyris callit battellis Servile Wars.
 asephales, that is, quhen the pepil gadris togiddir in
 ane grit conuentione but the autorite of the superior, as
 did the comontis of germanye, quhilkis var the numer
 of ane hundyr thousand men. thai did grit damage. 36

1 thai obeit nocht to their dukis and superioris. than the
 due of saxon and the langraue of hasse venqueist and
 distroyit them, sielyik as did the comontis of ingland
 the 3eir of 1533 3eris, quhilkis var distroyit vndir the
 5 trettie of concord. this samyn sort of veyris ringis
 instant^{ly} in scotland; for i hef sene nyne or ten thou-
 sand gadyr to giddir vitht out ony commissione of the
 kyngis letteris, the quhilk grit conuentione hes been to
 put there nychtbours furtht of ther steding and takkis
 on vytson veddyinsday, or ellis to leyd auaye ane pure
 manis teynd in heruyst; bot thai vald nocht be half
 12 sa solist to conuene thre hundretht at the command of
 the kyngis letteris to pas to resist our ald enemeis of
 ingland. al thir forsaid veyrs hes occurrit throucht
 the discentione and diuisione of the pepil of ane
 16 realme.

[* leaf 128 (133)]
 The same prevail
 in Scotland.

Ye know that
 these words are
 true.

¶ O 3e my thre sonnys, 3e knau that thir vordis
 befor rehersit ar of verite. also 3e knau¹ that 3our ex-
 treme ruuyne approchis verra neir, the quhilk maye be
 eysylie remedit, sa that 3e vald nocht be obstinat and
 21 obdurit in the rancor and discentione that ringis amang
 3ou. it aperis to me, that sum so[r]seris and vytchis,
 quhilkis ar instrumentis of the ald eneme of mankynd,
 hes tempit 3ou, and hes venqueist 3our natural rason. i
 vait nocht quhiddir that i sal iuge 3ou to be cum
 frenetic or brutal, for 3our conuersations in general is
 27 ane monstreus thyng rather nor humain, as 3our verkis
 testifeis. the historiographoris rehersis that the tua
 prudent ^{philosophoris}, heraclites and democrites, past
 throucht the varld to haue ane vniuersal iugement of
 the conuersation of man kynd. than quhan thai var
 passand throucht the varld, & persauand the vice and
 the vanite, and euil conuersatione of euyrie cuntre, &
 also persauand the grit solistnes of diuerse staitis in
 35 conquessing reches, heretagis, digniteis, officies, and

[* If 128 (133), bk]
 How Heraclitus
 and Democritus
 passed through
 the world to
 survey mankind.

¹ knau

autorites, sum be auareis, sum be violens and extor- 1
 sions, and sum be ane inexorbitant solistnes contrar
 rason, and sum be raif and spulze, and sum be trason,
 and sum be discentione & mortal fede, nocht heffand
 respect nor rememorance of the schort peregrinatione of
 this miserabil lyif, nor zit heffand premeditatione of the 6
 future eternal beatitude that god hes promest til fayth-
 ful men. than heraclites began to veip and lament for The weeping and
 pite that he hed of the extreme disrasonabil abusione
 that rang amang the vniuersal pepil. bot democrites
 leucht and scornit there foliful conuersatione and solist
 vanite. allace var thai tua philosophours instantly pas- the laughing
 sand throucht the realme of scotland, heraclites vald philosopher
 murn & lament for pite our misire and our affliction, 14
 the quhilk hes occurrit and daly occurris through our [* leaf 129 (134)]
 auen occasione. and syklyk democrites, persauand our would both find
 folyful mysgouernance and our miserabil obstinat con- matter to occupy
 uersatione, he vald laucht and scorn vs be grit derisione. them in Scotland.
 for doutles thir tua philosophours vald fynd mater 19
 aneucht to veip for vs, and alse to laucht vs to scorn. i
 vil rehers sex versis in latyn, quhilk var composit be
 ane knyecht of Itale, M. Antonio philiremo¹ fregoso,
 and syne i sal rehers the exposition of them in our
 scottis² tong, as neir the sentens of the text as i can. 24

Ad lectorem.

Defle hominum vitam plusquam³ heraclite solebas,
 In lachrimas totos, solue, age nunc oculos :
 Concute maiori splenem democrite risu,
 Et toto resonans ore cachinus hiet.
 Vita fuit mundi post condita secula nuncquam,
 Et risu, pariter dignior, & lachrymis. 31

Verses composed
on this subject by
Philiremo
Fregoso.

To the readar.

Gude readar, veip and murne this mortal lyif,
 As did the vyise philosophour heraclite ; 34

The same in
Scotch.

¹ phiremo² scettis³ plnsquam

- 1 And thou sal laucht for scorne recreatyfe,
 As fast as did the prudent democrite.
 Ane murnit for pite, the tothir leucht in dispite,
 Quhen thai beheld this varldis vanite :
 Bot var thai nou on lyue, i mycht veil dyit
 [* If 129 (134), bk] *That tha vald laucht and veip our misire.

Seneca.

¶ Aut ridenda omnia, aut flenda sunt.

- 9 **T**HYR *exemplis* of thir tua philosophours makkis
 manifest, that al our varldly byssynes is bot vane
 & detestabil. there for, it is na meruel thocht hera-
 clites regrettit and vepit our folyful *conuersatione*, and
 that democrites leucht and scornit our solist abusione,
 14 considerand that quhen baytht thir philosophours past
 throucht the varld, tha culd persaeue nay thing bot
 vanite. the prudent Salomon confermis this sammyn in
 the sycond cheptor of his ecclesiastes, sayand, that
 quhen he hed socht and gottyn al the varldly feliciteis
 that culd be deuiseit, al vas bot vanite and afflictione of
 the spreit. Therfor, o 3e my thre sonnis, nobilis,
 21 clerge, and lauberaris, i exort 3ou to retere fra vanite,
 & til adhere to vertu, & ony of 3ou that thynkis 3ou of
 maist reputation throucht 3our superfle veltht,¹ 3e suld
 be solist to ken 3our selfis, & to be humil to 3our
 nychtbours, or ellis al 3our gloire, veltht, and dignite,
 Know yourselves. sal *change in vilite. 3e haue grit occasione to fle thir
 [* leaf 130 (135)]
 27 varldly caduc honouris, the quhilkis can nocht be pos-
 sest vitht out vice, and also as vincentius says in his 34
 beuk, the mair eleuat that ane person be in superfleu
 digniteis, his fal & ruuyn sal be the hauyar. quanto
 gradus altior, tanto casus grauior. for the gritest
 green tre that standis hiest on the montane, is haistyar
 blauen doune vitht the vynd, nor is the smallest treis
 34 that grouis in the valeyse. summa petit liuor: per-

¹ velcht

Solomon confirms
 the same con-
 clusion.

Eccle. 2.

Retire from
 vanity.

Know yourselves.

The greater the
 pride the greater
 the fall.

fluant altissima venti. i haue rehersit thir vordis, 1
 be cause of the vane arrogance that ringis in the hartis
 of my tua eldest sonniss, nobillis and clergie, quhilk vil This specially
for the nobles
and clergie.
 be occasione of there ruuyne, bot gif thai mittygat and
 mortife there detestabil pride, inuy, and auereis. i
 meruel that thai considir nocht that god behaldis al 6
 there abhominatioun.¹ it aperis that thai beleue that god
 sleipis and seis them nocht, for there conuersation is as
 ther var nocht ane detht to sla ther bodeis, nor ane hel
 to puneis ther saulis. Iam viuunt homines tan-
 quam mors nulla sequatur, Et velud infernus
 fabula ficta foret. God seis al thing, & there is 12
 nay thing obscure² fra hym, as is vrityn in Mathou,
 Marc, and Luc. Nihil enim est tectum quod
 non sit retegendum & nihil occultum, quum [* If 130 (135), bk]
 futurum sit vt sciatur. there for it is grit folye to
 my thre sonniss to couer there vice vitht dissymilit
 vertu, for ther is na thing that is hid or sylit, bot the 18
 tyme sal mak it manifest. for euerye³ thing is subieckit
 to the proces of the tyme, and the tyme consumis al
 thing, as it consumis the quhyt fleureis of green treis,
 except the verite and vertu, quhilk sal neuyr consume,
 bot rather augmentis in euerye tyme. It vas sperit at What Thales said
as to the know-
ledge of God.
 the philosophour tales, gyf that the goddis kneu the
 verkis that men dois in this varld? he ansuert, quod 25
 he, the goddis knauis nocht alanerly the verkis of men,
 bot as veil thai ken the thochtis and intentions of men.
 Thir exemplis suld be applyit to the pepil that ar dis-
 symilit in ther conuersations, and that cullurs and
 couers ther false hartis vitht verkis aperand to be ver- 30
 teous & faythful. bot there is na dissymilation, O 3e
 my thre sounis, amang 3ou, considerand that 3our hartis
 & 3our verkis condiscendis on ane purpos, bot rather til
 euil nor to gude. O my thre sonniss, sen god kennis
 that 3our hartis ar euil, and that men kennis that 3our 35

¹ obhominatioun² obscre³ enerye

Turn your hearts
unto God,
[* leaf 131 (136)]

who can deliver
you from the
three plagues.

Cirillus and the
bundle of twigs.

[* If 131 (136), bk]

verkis ar euyl, i exort 3ou that¹ 3e gar 3our hartis con-
saue the co'mandis of god, and that 3our verkis be con-
3 formand to the sammyn; & than doutles god sal schau
his mercy, and sal releue 3ou of the grit afflictione of
the thre plagis that hes almaist succumbit 3our cuntre
in extreme ruuayne, that is to saye, fra veyr, fra pest,
and fra hungir. and sic gude pollice sal neuyr cum til
effect quhil that 3e haue treittit pace and concord amang
9 3our selfis, the quhilk concord amang 3our selfis vil be
ane mair auful scourge til ingland, nor that the realme
of France and the empire hed tane querrel contra[r]
ingland. 3our cronik[is] makkis manifest that the
inglis men van neuyr na thing at 3our handis, bot
14 rather lossit, quhen thai intendit veyr contrar 3ou, 3e
beand of ane accord. there is ane exempil of cirillus,
qukilk vas ane nobil prince. in his grit aige he be cam
seik to the detht. he hed iiij scoir of sonnis, the
quhilkis he gart compeir in his presens. than he de-
lyurit to them ane certan of smal green treis bundyn to
20 giddir, extendand to the numer of iiij scoir. fyrst he
ordand his eldest sounne to brak that bunche of treis at
ane tyme, the quhilk he culd nocht. than he gart al the
remanent of his sonnis, ilk ane be them self, tak the
said bunche of green treis and to brak them al to
giddir, the quhilk nane of them culd do it. than he
26 lousit the bunche of green treis, and gaue til euerye² ane
of his sonnis ane of the said green treis to brak, the
quhilk thai did eysylye. than he said til his iiij scoir
of sonnis, i exort 3ou that 3e remane al to giddir in gude
accord amang 3our selfis but diuisione, and than 3our
31 enemeis sal nocht venqueis 3ou. & in opposit, gyf that
contentione and diuisione cummis amang 3ou, 3our
enemeis sal venqueis 3ou as eysylye as ony of 3ou hes
brokyn ane of the green treis. syklyk, O 3e my thre
35 sonnis, gif that 3e remane to giddir, & beis nocht

¹ chat

² enerye

separat nor deuidit fra vthirs, it sal be as onpossibil to 1
 inglis men to venqueis 3ou, as it vas onpossibil til ane
 of the sonniss of cirillus to brac the hail bunche of green
 treis at ane tyme. 3e suld al tak exempil quhou that
 grit Alexander conqueist mekil of al the varld, and he
 left the gouuernyng of his cuntre on his dede bed to be
 governit eftir his deceis be four of the prencipal barrons
 of his court; bot sune eftir his decese, auareis, inuy, 8
 ambitione, and particular proffet, separat and deuidit
 them fra vthirs, quhilk vas occasione that the bar-
 bariens, the persiens and mediens, and the grecians,
 conqueist al the grit empire of Alexander, and maid
 sklauis of his pepil. syklyk the romans, that var domi-
 natours of al the varld, fra tyme that discentione and 14
 diuisione raise amang the prencipal romans, and speciale
 the discentione that raise betuix Iulius cesar and grit
 pompeus; for Iulius vald nocht hef ane marrou in
 rome, and pompeus vald nocht hef ane superior; the
 quhilk discentione vas occasione of the ciuil and intes-
 tine veyrs that rang vniuersale in ytalie. & for that 20
 cause the romans that hed dominion athort al the varld
 be cam subiect to them quhom thai hed dantit of befor.
 siclyk the triumphand cite of cartage, quhilk dantit al
 affrica, spang3e & cecil, and did mony vail3eant actis
 contrar the romans, it be cam subiect to them that it 25
 hed venqueist of befor, fra tyme that discentione and
 diuisione rais3 amang the nobillis of that toune.

What discord did
among the suc-
cessors of
Alexander the
Great,

[* leaf 132 (137)]

as well as among
the Romans!

¶ Quhar for i exort 3ou, my thre sonniss, that 3e
 expel discentione, discord, and ald fede that ringis
 amang 3ou, quhil the veyris be dune, and than 3e sal 30
 triumphe contrar 3our enemeis. i vald 3e tuke exempil
 of diuerse nobil romans and grecians that hed mortal
 fe'de contrar vthiris, 3it nochtheles quhen there enemeis
 assail3et there natiue cuntre, than al thir nobillis con-
 currit in ane accord, and set there particular rancor and
 fede on syde, as did the tua vail3eant consulis of rome; 36

[* If 132 (137), bk]

How the Romans
laid aside
internal strife to
unite against
the common
enemy.

ane vas callit marcus emilius lepedus, the tothir fuluius
flaccus, quha hed mortal heytrent & deidly fede contrar
vthirs. At that instant tyme Annybal conqueist
cannes, at the dolorus battel quhar that the consul
5 emelius Paulus vas slane, quhar that Annibal gat, at
the spulze of the romans, thre nuis ful of gold ringis
that var on the fingaris of the romans that var slane.
Than eftir this dolorus discumfiture of the romans,
diuerse citeis and castellis of Italie randrit them til
10 Annibal, sum be forse, and sum be trason; and in
speciale the toune of capes vas randrit be trason, be the
prencipal citinaris of the toune. Than thir tua nobil
consulis, Marcus emilius lepedus & fuluius flaccus,
quhilkis hed mortal fede betuix them for particular
occasions, and thai persauand al there natiue cuntre in
16 dangeir of ruuyne, thai said til vthirs, It is necessair
that ve forzet and put on syde the lange dedly fede
that hes beaz betuix vs for our particular veil; for
gyf Annibal conqueis al Italie, our particular veil sal
nocht be saue. of this sort thir tua nobil consulis past
21 in ane accord vitht xxxij legions of men of veyr, and
conqueist vailzeantly the toune of capes, & sleu al the
chartagien sodiours that annibal hed left in garnison
vitht in the toune of capes, and also tha gart iustifie to
the detht xxv of the prencipal citinaris, be cause of
26 there trasonabil seditione committit contrar ther comont
veil. There is ane vthir exempil of the grit hatrent &
mortal fede that vas betuix tua nobil consulis of rome.
ane vas callit Claudius nero, the tothir vas callit liuius
salinator.¹ the senat send claudius contrar Annibal,
31 vitht ane grit armye. at that instant tyme, the post
cam to the senat, declarand, that hasdrubal, quha vas
the bruther of Annibal, vas cum fra affrica, and past
throcht spangze and France, and cumand our the alpes
35 of ytalie vitht ane grit armye to succur his brothir

Marcus Emilius
Lepidus and
Fulvius Flaccus.

[* leaf 133 (138)]

Claudius Nero
and Livius
Salinator.

¹ salsinator

Annibal, in hope to distroye al ytalie. for that cause 1
 the senat send liuius salinator¹ contrar hasdribal, quha
 hed nocht ane sufficient nummer of men of veyr to re-
 sist hym. quhar for the consul Claudius nero heffand
 dreddor that liuius salinator¹ and his armye *suld be [* If 133 (133), bk]
 deffait be hasdrybal, he forzet the ald fede that vas be-
 tuix them, and he send ane roman captan, callit emilius 7
 hostilius, vytht the half of his armye contrar Annibal,
 quha sleu xxx thousand of Annibal men of veyr, and
 claudius nero past vitht the tothir half of his armye to
 help and to reskeu liuius contrar hasdribal. than thir
 tua armes past to githir in gude accord, nocht rememo-
 rant of there deidly ald fede that vas betuix them, and 13
 thai vailzeantly sleu hasdribal and xlvi thousand of his
 men, and alse thai take viij thousand presoners, and
 thai cuttit the hede fra hasdribal. & in there returnyng
 to rome, thai keist the heyde befor them on the gait, &
 playt vitht it vitht there feit, as it hed been ane fut
 bal. fra that tyme furtht, Annibal tynt curage in sic 19
 ane sort, that his men of veyr var daly deffait. There
 is ane vthir exempil of the dedly fede and hatrent that
 vas betuix Munitius, maister of the hors men, and the Munitius and
 consul fabius. thir tua romans hed the gouernyng of Fabius.
 ane grit armye of romans contrar Annibal. Munitius
 the maister of the hors men vas verra proud in hym 25
 self, and alse in his veyrs he vas mair furius nor pru-
 dent, bot his collig fa'bius vas cald, graif, and pacient [* leaf 134 (139)]
 in his bissynes. Munitius, in his furour, vald haue oft
 gyffin battel til Annibal, bot fabius vald neuyr consent,
 be cause he sau the aperand danger that vas to succed
 throucht the subtilite of Annibal. than Munitius desirit 31
 at fabius that he vald thole hym to haue the hail gou-
 uernyng of the armye ane daye, and fabius to hef it ane
 vthir daye, and sa euerye ane of them to haue the
 gouernyng of the armye his day about, to the quhilk 35

¹ salsinator

- 1 fabius vald nocht consent, sayand, i vil nocht thole 3ou
 til haszard al the grit armie of rome in dangeir throucht
 3our ignorant furius consait, bot i am content that the
 grit armye be partit in tua partis, and 3e to haif the
 half of the armye, and i sal haue the tothir half in
 6 gouernyng. than 3e maye haszard and fecht quhen that
 3e think 3our comodius tyme. Munitus vas verra glaid
 of this ansuer. on this accord thai partit and diuidit
 there legions and campis in tua equal partis. this debait
 and discention vas reportit til Annibal be his spyis and
 11 his exploratours, quhilk vas til hym doubil ioye. ane
 cause of his ioye vas, be cause he thocht to venqueis
 [* lf 134 (139), bk] the furius *fule hardynes of munitius, euyne as he vald
 hym self. the tothir cause of his ioye vas, be raison
 that the half of the strynght of fabius vas dymynischid,
 be cause of the parting of the tua hostis in tua partis.
 17 ther vas ane hil betuix Anniballis hoste and the hoste
 of munitius, quhilk hil, quaha euyr hed gottyn it, he
 suld haue been able to do mekil displeseir til his ene-
 meis. bot 3it Annibal desyrit it to mak occasione of
 battel to munitius,¹ quhome, he kneu veil, that throucht
 22 his furor and fule hardines, vald gane stand and stop
 hym fra the takkyng of the said hil. than Annibal per-
 sauit the spyt at the fut of the said hil, quhair there
 vas diuerse cauis and cauernis, and grit holis vitht in
 the rocche craggis, vitht in the quhilk he pat fue
 27 thousand fut men and horse men, nocht persauit be the
 romans. on the morne, Annibal send ane feu nummir²
 of men to tak the forsaid hil. Munitius persauand
 that ane feu nummer of chartagiens var in purpos to
 tak that hil, than the romans brak there arraye to ryn
 32 to impesche the takkyng of the said hil. for fyrst Muni-
 tius send lycht harnessied 3ong men, and syne he send
 ane grit numir of horse men contrar Anniballis men. &
 [* leaf 135 (140)] *Annibal send syklyk fut men & horse men to reskeu

¹ munitus² munnir

his men that he hed send to the hil. than Munitius, in 1
 grit furor, cam vitht the remanent of his armye contrar
 the hil takkaris. than Annibal seand occasion and
 tyme oportune to gyf battel, he past forduart vitht his
 armye contrar the romans. on the tothir syde, al the
 fue thousand men that var hid in the cauis and holis 6
 of the hil, ischit furtht on the bakkis of the romans,
 vitht mony hiddeous cryis. the romans beand in this
 grit perplexite, beand closit betuix tua armeis, thai be
 cam discouragit, quhilik gart them fle fra the battel, bot
 Anniballis armye follouit, and sleu mony romans. At 11
 this instant tyme, fabius, the collig of Munitius, per-
 sauand the grit discumfytur of the romans throucht the
 misgouernance and furor of Munitius,¹ he said, fortune
 hes schauen hir folie na soner nor i beleuit. Munitius,
 throcht his fule hardines, hes lossit the half of the gryt 16
 armye of rome; he hes euyr been my mortal enemie,
 and nou i haue tyme oportune to reuenge me on hym;
 bot at this tyme i vil nocht thole the comont veil to
 perraise for my vendicatyue particular affectione. there
 for i vil conteneu our querrel and ald fede til ane moir [* If 135 (140), bk]
 oportunitie. than fabius causit his men to display ther 22
 baners and standardis, and syne cam forduart in gude
 arraye contrar Annibal, to succur & reskeu munitius
 and his men that var fled. than the romans that var
 fast fleand, persauand fabius armye cummand to help
 them, thai returnit fra there fleyng, and cam and iunit 27
 vitht the armye of fabius in Arraye; & rycht vailzeantly
 thai venqueist and sleu the maist part of Anniballis
 men, and chaissit hym self to tuscan.

O my thre sonnys, nobilis, clergie, and lauberaris, Take example by
 these noble
 Romans.
 thir exemplis of thir nobil romans that hed mortal fede
 betuix them, quhilikis concurrit to giddir in accord for
 defens of there natyue cuntre, suld prouoke 3ou to for-
 zet the hatrent and rancour that mony of 3ou hes con- 35

¹ munituis

1 trar vthirs, and to gar 3ou tak curage til accord vitht
 ane consent to resist 3our ald enemeis of ingland. for
 doutles 3e heffand as mekil gold as cressus or medas
 possest, and beand in as grit numir of men as exerxes
 of perse, quhen he cam to conqueis greice, vitht sex
 6 hundretht thousand men of veyr, and 3e heffand as
 gude captans as grit alexander or Iudas Machabeus.
 [* leaf 136 (141)] and 3e heffand al the munitions for *veyr that is in
 europa, al thir thingis be for rehersit sal be confusione
 to 3ou, rather nor supple, as lang as 3e haue hatrent
 and secret fede amang 3our seluis. quhar for i exort 3ou
 12 to concur to giddir in vnite for the deffens of 3our
 cuntre, as did thir romans befor rehersit. and in
 opposit,¹ gyf 3our particular fede contrar vthirs remanis
 in 3our hartis, than doutles twenty thousand of 3our
 enemeis sal venqueis ane hundretht thousand of 3ou, &
 17 thai sal put 3our generatione and ther posterite furtht
 of remembrance, and 3our mortal enemeis sal inhabit
 and ocupe 3our placis.

Of the treason
 practised in
 Scotland.

¶ O my thre sonnys, i hef oft tymis rehersit of be-
 for, of the trason that occuris in scotland. and quhou
 22 beit that ther be mony trasonabil actis manifest in
 scotland, 3it nochtheles i can nocht condiscend in
 special on na man that hes committit ony trason, and
 also i vait for certan that there is mony nobil men in
 scotland that ar suspekkit of trason, and ar sklandrit
 27 for the samyn be the vulgar pepil, quhou beit that thai
 be innocent of that foule cryme. the occasione of the
 samyn suspitione hes procedit of the subtilite of 3our
 ald enemeis, for ane dispyt that tha haue ymaginet
 [* lf 136 (141), bk] contrar *3ou, be cause that thai dreid 3our vailzeantnes,
 and for that cause thai haue gart ane secret brute pas
 in scotland that sum of 3ou hes intelligens vitht them ;
 and to gar ther inuentit subtil cauteil contrar 3ou entir
 35 mair large in the vulgaris hartis, thai haue gart ther

¹ apdosit

borderaris mak incursions and forrais far vitht in scotland, quhar thai haue spulzeit and reft grit multiplie of mouiabil gudis, as scheip, nolt and horse, and thai haue dune na damage nor hayrschipis to sum of 3our stedingis and takkis, the quhilk thing thai haue dune to that effect that 3e maye be haldin odius and suspetius 6
 be 3our prince, throucht the quhilk suspitione 3our prince maye gar preson 3our bodeis; than 3e beand in varde or in preson, 3e can nothir resist nor deffend 3our cuntre fra the onmerciful inuasions of 3our ald enemeis. Quhair for it is necessair for 3our veifayr 11
 that 3e¹ commit sum vailzeant act contrar 3our enemeis, to that effect that the prince and superioris, and also the comont pepil of the realme, maye knau 3our innocens.

The incursions
 of the Border
 freebooters.

Ther is ane exempil conformand to this samyn purpos in the feyrd cheptor of the sycond beuk of 16
 tuclidides, quhou that pericles of athe'nes, knauand that the armye of the lacedemoniens vas to cum contrar
 athenes, and that archidamas vas captan to the said armye, quha at vthir tymis of befor the begyning of the veyr vas verra familiar vitht perecles: than perecles 21
 heffand suspitione that archedamas vald do na damage til his villagis and steydingis, to that effect that the atheniens suld suspect hym of trason, he past to the senat of athenes, sayand, i suspect that the lacedemonyens vil reserue my villagis and steydingis fra 26
 birnyng and fra damage, and that thai vil be cruel contrar my nychtbours,² to that effect that 3e maye suspect that i haue intelligens vitht archedamas, throucht the ald familiarite that vas betuix vs: therfor to purge me of sic suspetione, heir i renunce ouer my takkis and 31
 steydingis, and resingis them to be in proprite to the comont veil of athenes, and also i sal be the fyrst person that sal entir in plane battel contrar the lacedemoniens, to that effect that the pepil maye knau my innocens. 35

[* leaf 137 (142)
 The example
 of Pericles,

¹ the

² nythbours

- 1 there is ane vthir exempil of Annibal, that vrocht ane
 grit subtilite to cause the romans to haue ane euil con-
 [* If 137 (142), bk] sait contrar the nobil fabius. Annibal send ane grit
 nummer of lycht¹ horse men to spulze the territoris
 and villagis pertenant to rome, resaruand the villagis
 6 and stedingis pertenant to fabius, quha vas captan of
 the romans armye. this crafty subtel act of Annibal
 causit the romans to consaue ane vehement suspetione
 of trason contrar fabius. Than fabius beand aduerteist
 of this byssynes, and desyrand til haue his innocens
 and of Fabius,
 when suspected
 of treason.
 11 knauen, he send his sone to rome to sel al his villages
 and stedingis for reddy monye, and also vrit ane lettir
 to the senat of rome of this effect. fathers conscript, i
 am suspekkit of trason throcht the machinatione of
 Annibal, bot doutles my innocens sal be haistyly mani-
 16 fest to 3ou al, for as sone as i see oportunitie and con-
 uenient tyme & place, i sal gif hym battel. on the
 feyrd daye there eftir, fabius gef. battel til Annibal,
 quhen he reskeuit Munitius the master of the horse
 men, as is befor rehersit. this vailzeant act pat hym
 21 nocht alanerly furtht of suspetione, bot as veil it aug-
 mentit his honour and gloir. (O ze my thre sonnys)
 ony of 3ou that is suspekkit of trason suld do sum
 [* leaf 138 (143)] vailzeant act contrar 3our enemeis as did perecles and
 fabius befor rehersit, to that effect that the remanent of
 26 the pepil maye gyf confidens to 3ou, quhilk vil be
 occasione that the hail body of the realme vil haszard
 there lyuis and there gudis in 3our companye for the
 iust defens of 3our comont veil and 3our natyue cuntre.
 Allace the suspetione that the pepil hes contrar sum of
 3ou is nocht causles, for men of smal experiens maye
 persauie that ther is diuerse men of scotland that ar be
 cum neutral; that is to say, thai vil nothir tak ane
 plane part vitht ingland nor vitht scotland, for. quhen
 35 thir neutral men speikis vitht inglis men, thai lament

The suspicions
 against the
 Scotch nobles
 not groundless.

hauyly the inconstance of the lordis of scotland that 1
 hes brokyn ther promit & band, the quhilk vas honestly
 contrakkit, to compleit ane mariage betuix our nobil
 princes heretour of scotland, and eduard the 3ong kyng Of their double
dealing.
 of ingland, the quhilk contract beand fulfillit, vald hef
 beene the cause of ane perpetual vnite betuix the tua 6
 said realmis; and quhen thir said neutral men speikis
 vitht scottis men, thai regret and lamentis hauylye the
 discentione and diuisione that ringis amang the nobilis
 of scotland, quhilk is occasione that the 'inglis men be [* If 138 (143), bk]
 ther falsed and subtilite persecutis our realme vitht out 11
 ony iust titil. Of this sort the neutral scottis men
 entretenis baytht the realmis quhil on to the tyme that
 ane of the realmis conqueis the tothir, and than thai
 vil adhere til his opinione that conquesis the victore.
 bot sic dissymilit and subtyl neutral men at the end of 16
 the veyrs vil be reuardit as the cordinar of rome vas
 reuardit be augustus cesar, as i sal rehers. The beuk How a shoemaker
in Rome was
rewarded for
double dealing.
 of the annales of rome rehersis, that in the tyme of the
 ciuil veyris that vas betuix Augustus Cesar and An-
 thonius, quhilkis tua contendit for the empire. the 21
 iugement of the victore that vas aperand to be betuix
 them, vas verray incertan to the vniuersal pepil of
 ytalie, be rason that thai var profond hie spretit vail-
 zeant men, and verray opulent in reches, & of grit
 allya, quhilk vas occasione that the romans var deuidit 26
 in tua aduerse parteis. at that tyme ther vas ane cor-
 dinar of rome, ane verray subtil riche villane, quha be
cam neutral induring the tyme of the veyris betuix
 Augustus and Anthonius, tariand quhil on to the tyme
 that ane of them var superior of the tothir, 3it he [* leaf 139 (144)]
 nocht beand certan quha suld be superior of rome, and 32
 also beand desirus to haue the grace and faouris of
 hym that hapnit to be imperiour, he be grit¹ subtilite
 neurissit tua 3ong corbeis in tua cagis, in tua syndry He reared two
young ravens.

¹ grit

1 housis, and he leyrnit them baytht to speik. he leyrnit
 ane of them to saye, god saue thy grace, nobil victoreus
 augustus cesar. and he leyrnit the tothir to saye, god
 saue thy grace, nobil victoreus empriour anthonius.
 than this subtil cordinar set ane of his corbeis that gef
 6 louyng til augustus, furtht at his vindo on the plane
 reu, quhen he beheld ony gentil men of augustus allya
 pas or repas befor his house. and siklyk he set furtht
 his tothir corbe at his vindo quhen he beheld ony of
 the allya of Anthonius pas or repas befor his house.

11 the quhilk thing he did to that effect that he mycht
 vyn the fauoir of augustus, & nocht to tyne the fauoir
 of anthonius. of this sort he vas lyk to the sourd vitht
 the tua edgis. that quhen Augustus cesar venquest
 anthonius, & vas pacebil empriour, this subtil cordonar
 presentit the corbe til Augustus, quhilk gef hym louyng

[* If 139 (144), bk] in hyr artificial speche, of *the quhilk cesar vas verray

18 glaid, quhar for he gef to the cordonar fyftene hun-
 dredth peces of gold. bot sune there eftir it vas reportit
 to augustus cesar, that the said subtil cordonar hed ane
 corbe that gaue as grit louyng til anthonius. than
 augustus causit the said corbe and the cordonar to be
 23 brocht¹ in his presens; and quhen he persaut that the
 cordonar vas ane astuce subtil falou & dissymilit, he
 gart hang hym on ane potent befor the capitol, & his
 tua corbeis be syde hym.

¶ Of this sort (O 3e my thre sonniss) ony of 3ou
 28 that is be cum neutral to scotland and ingland, and is
 tariand quhil there be ane prince superior to baytht
 the realmis, doutles 3e sal be recompensit be that prince
 for 3our astuce dissymilitnes, as the cordinar vas re-
 compensit be augustus cesar. Ther for i exort 3ou to
 33 reuoque 3our neutralite, and that 3e be cum special vail-
 zeant deffendours of 3our natyue cuntre. it vas sperit
 at cicero in the tyme of the ciuil veyris betuix Iulius

Of Cicero's
 conduct in the
 civil war.

¹ brocht

Cesar & pompeus, quhais querrel and part that he vald 1
 tak. cicero ansuerit, quem fugiam scio, quem
 sequar nescio. this is to say, i vait quhais part i sal
 refuse, bot vait nocht quhais part i sal tak. this
 ansueir of ambiguite, declarit that cicero vas be cum [leaf 60 (145)]
 neutral in the ciuil and intestine veyris that vas betuix
 iulius Cesar and grit pompeus. zit nochtheles the 7
 romans murmerit his ansueir of ambiguite to the vrang
 part, allegeand that he hed mair fauoir to pompeus
 querrel nor to Iulius Cesar; bot it is the natur of
 inciuil comont pepil to iuge euirye purpos to the vrang
 face. Ane propositione or ane responce of ambiguite
 suld be ay interpreit and exponit to the best sens, con- 13
 formand til ane reul of the lau, de vsu L. creditor,
 cum ibi no. C. & L. fi vsuras. the quhilkis chep-
 tours sais, Ambigua solutio. pro meliori & cer-
 tiori parte est interpretanda et intelligenda.
 bot nou to proceed in my purpose. Cicero hed ane 18
 honest cause to refuse baytht ther querellis and to be
 neutral, be rason that thai contendit baytht to be
 superiours and kyngis of rome, quhilk vas expresse
 contrar the antiant lauis of the romans. The sophist
 logicinaris per chance may argou¹, that tua contrareis 23
 can nocht be baytht false; and be this mutulat freoule
 reul of logic thai vald infer and allegie, that Iulius
 and pompeus culd nocht baytht hef ane vrangus titil
 in ther debait, considerand that the comont prouerb
 sais, that in euyrie tua contrar opinions ther is ane [lf 69 (145), bk]
 rycht and ane vrang. thir freoule sophistaris that
 marthirs and sklandirs the text of aristotel, deseruis 30
 punitione; for quhou beit that ther be comparison of
 greis in euyrie thyng, that follouis nocht that the
 positie gre and the comparatiue gre ar contrar tyl
 vthir, for gude and bettir ar defferent in greis, & zit
 thai ar nocht contrar til vthirs. siklyk euyl and var ar 35

¹ argon

1 of defferent greis, bot 3it thai ar nocht contrar til
 vthirs. 3it nochtheles ther is tua reulis in the lau that
 sais, Aliquid est iustum cuius contrarium est
 iustius. L. exigendi. C. de procu. per glo:
 the tothir reul sais, Aliquid est malum cuius con-
 6 trarium est deterius. ff. de re in L. quotiens:
 bot thir tua reulis of the lau makkis no iust titil nothir
 to iulius nor to pompeus, quhou be it that ther querellis
 var baytht contrar til vthirs, considerand that baytht
 there querellis tendit to the demolitione of the antiant
 11 public veil of the romans; ther for ther vas na greis of
 comparison in there debait; ther for nocht ane of them
 hed ane iust titil in ther contrare querellis, nor 3it the
 opinion of Iulius vas na var nor the querrel of pompeus;
 [* leaf 116 (146)] considerand that ther contraire debait var baytht of
 ane euyl equal qualite. Nou to mak ane end of this
 17 degression, i vil conclude that the neutralite of cicero
 deseruis recommendatione; quhen Iulius and pompeus
 contendit quhilk of them suld be kyngis of rome. Bot
 it is nocht siclyk betuix ingland and scotland; for
 quhou be it that forane priñcis that ar indifferet til
 22 ingland and scotland, and also ther subiectis, vil remane
 neutral in our veyris contrar inglis men, that follouis
 nocht that scottis men can hef ony iust titil to remane
 neutral quhen our cuntre is inuadit be our dissaitful ald
 26 enemeis.

Let any that
 have been
 neutral hereto-
 fore choose their
 side now.

Quhar for i exort 3ou (o 3e my thre sonnys) that gyf
 ony of 3ou be suspekkit that 3e hef bene neutral in
 tymis by past, that nou 3e purge 3ou vitht sum vail-
 3eantnes contrar 3our enemeis, to that effect that 3e
 31 maye reuenge the extreme violent damage that 3e hef
 sustenit be the oniust veyris of ingland. And quhou
 be it that 3our ald enemeis vald decist fra ther oniust
 veyris, and that thai vald treit pace vitht 3ou, 3it noch-
 theles 3e suld nocht condiscend to sic pace, bot gyf the
 36 kyng of ingland vald restoir ande reforme the damage

& violens that 3e haue indurit. And also doutles the 1
 inglis men vil offir 3ou no, pacè, bot ane dissy^milit pace [^{*} If 116 (146), bk]

for ther auen auantage, ande to disaue 3ou eftiruart be
 ane mair cruel veyr. it is knauen throucht al cristianite,
 that inglis men socht neuyr pace at scotland and France 5

at ane instant tyme; bot rather, quhen thai socht pace
 at scotland, there purpos vas to mak veyr on France;
 and quhen thai socht pace of France, ther purpos vas
 to mak veyr on scotland. ther for sic dissimilit pace,
 fra the quhilk may succeid veyr, suld¹ nocht be resauit, 10

bot rather veyris suld be maid, in hope that sure pace
 maye succeid, conformand til ane cheptour in the xxiiij
 distinctione in the fyrst question, quhilk sais, Non
 pax queritur vt bellum exerceatur, sed bellum
 geritur vt pax acquiratur. ther for, quhen the 15

legatis of ingland offris to 3ou ane dishonest pace, fra
 the quhilk maye succeid ane mair cruel veyr, 3e suld
 refuse it, conformand to the vordis of Cicero, in his *Philip. 12.*

inuectyue philipiques contrar² anthonius, sayand, pax
 est repudianda, si sub eius nomine latitet 20

bellum. There for, (o 3e my thre sunnis) 3e haue ane
 iust titil to refuse pace, and til intend cruel veyr con-
 trar 3our enemeis. for as tucidides sais in the thretten *Tucidides*
 cheptour of his fyrst beuk, quod he, as it is conuenient *Libro 1.*

tyl honest & prudent men to lyue in pace, quhen there
 nyctbours dois them na oultraige nor violens: Sik- [^{*} leaf 143 (147)] 26

lylike it is honest and conuenient to verteous men to
 change there pace, and rest in cruel veyr, fra tyme that
 thai haue resauit oultraige and violens fra there nyct-
 bours. for the changeyng of ane dissymilit pace in ane
 cruel veyr, sal be occasione of ane ferme and faythful³ 31

pace. Cicero confermis this sammyn purpose in the *Cice. offi.*
 fyrst beuk of his officis. Suscipienda bella sunt,
 vt in pace sine iniuria viuatur. Ande quhou be
 it that there is diuers parsons in scotland that sais, that 35

¹ sused² conthar³ saythful

- 1 rest and pace var verray necessair for vs, i confesse that honest pace suld preffer oniust veyris. for that cause the empriour traian said, that it var les skaytht to mak ane iust veyr, nor to lyue in dreddour vndir ane dissymilit pace. Euerie man is oblist to deffend the gudis, heretages and possessions that his antecessres and forbearis hes left to them; for as tucidides hes said in his sycond beuk, quod he, it is mair dishonour tyl ane person to tyne the thyng that his antecessres and forbearis hes conquiest be grite laubours, nor it is dishonour
- 11 quhen he failzeis in the conqessing of ane thing that he intendit *tyl haue conquest fra his mortal enemye.
- 15 his consciens quhen he dois violens, extorsions and damage tyl his nyctbour, siklyik ane honest man offendis & hurtis his consciens, quhen he deffendis hym nocht in his iust querrel contrar his enemeis, & also reuengis hym nocht of the violens and damage
- 20 that his enemeis hes perpetrat contrar hym. Quhar for i exort 3ou my thre sonnys, that 3e condiscend in ane faythful accord: than doutles god sal releue 3ou¹ of the grit afflictione that 3e haue indurit be the incredule seid of ingland, & also i beleue that he sal mak 3ou ane instrament til extinct that false generatione furtht of
- 26 rememorance: & sa fayr veil.

Tucidides
li. 2. ca. 9.

[* If 143 (147), bk]

Every noble man
defends his
just rights.

God will help
you when you
help yourselves.

¹ 3on

¶ Heir endis the complaynt of scotland.

¶ Nichil est turpius, quam sapientis vitam,
ex insipientium sermone pendere.

Cice. de fini.

T A B V L A.

[leaf 0 (148)]

¶ The table of the cheptours that ar
 contenit in this beuk.

-
- The fyrst cheptour declaris the cause of the mutations of
 monarchis fo. xv. [page 19]
- The sycond cheptor declaris the thretnyng of god contrar
 obstinat vicius pepil fo. xix. [p. 24]
- The thrid cheptor is, quhou the actor regretis the thretnyng
 of god fo. xx. [p. 25]
- The feyrd cheptour conferris the passagis of the thrid cheptour
 of ysaye vitht the afflictione of scotland fo. xxiiij. [p. 28]
- The fyift cheptour declaris the opinions that the pagan
 philosophours held anent the terminacione of the
 varld fo. xxv. [p. 31]
- The sext cheptor rehersis ane monolog recreatyue of the
 actor fo. xxx. [p. 37]
- The 7 cheptor is of the visionne that aperit to the actor in his
 sleip fo. xxxij. [p. 68]
- The 8 cheptor declaris quhou the affligit lady dame Scotia
 reprochit hyr thre sounis, callit the thre estatis of Scot-
 land fo. xxxv. [p. 72]
- The 9 cheptor declaris quhou the affligit lady exortis hyr
 thre sounis to tak exempil of diuerse cuntreis that god
 hes releuit fra persecutione fo. xxxix. [p. 75]

[leaf 0 (448), back]

The 10 cheptour declaris quhou the inglis men gyuis
vane credens to the prophesie of-merlyne fo. xlv. [page 82]

The 11 cheptor declaris that the pretendit kyngis of
ingland hes no iust titil to the realme of ingland
fo. lv.¹ [p. 85]

Ch. xiii. Quhou the affligit lady declaris that the familiarite
betuix scotland and ingland is the cause of se-
ditione fo. lxxvii. [p. 106]

Ch. xiv. Quhou conspiratours ar puneist be the hand of god
fo. lxxviii. [p. 113]

Ch. xv. Quhou the thrid soune, callit lauberaris, ansuert vitht
ane lamentabil complaynt ... fo. lxxxv. [p. 122]

Ch. xvi. Quhou the affligit lady ansuert tyl hyr 3ongest soune
fo. xcvi. [p. 137]

Ch. xvii. Quhou the affligit lady accusit hyr eldest soune,²
callit nobilis and gentil men fo. ci. [p. 143]

Ch. xix. Quhou the affligit lady accusit hyr sycond soune,
callit sperutualite fo. cxii. [p. 157]

Ch. xx. Quhou the affligit lady exortis hyr thre sounis³ to
be vigilant in the defens of ther natyue cuntre
fo. cxxv. [p. 165]

FINIS.

¹ *Should be lii.*² souhe.³ souuis.

APPENDIX

OF

CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH TRACTS,

COMPRISING :

I.

Henry VIII's Declaration of the just causes of the warre with the Scottis, and his Maiesty's title to the souerayntie of Scotlande.

1542.

II.

James Harryson, a Scottisheman's Exhortacion to the Scottes to conform to the Will of Englande.

1547

III.

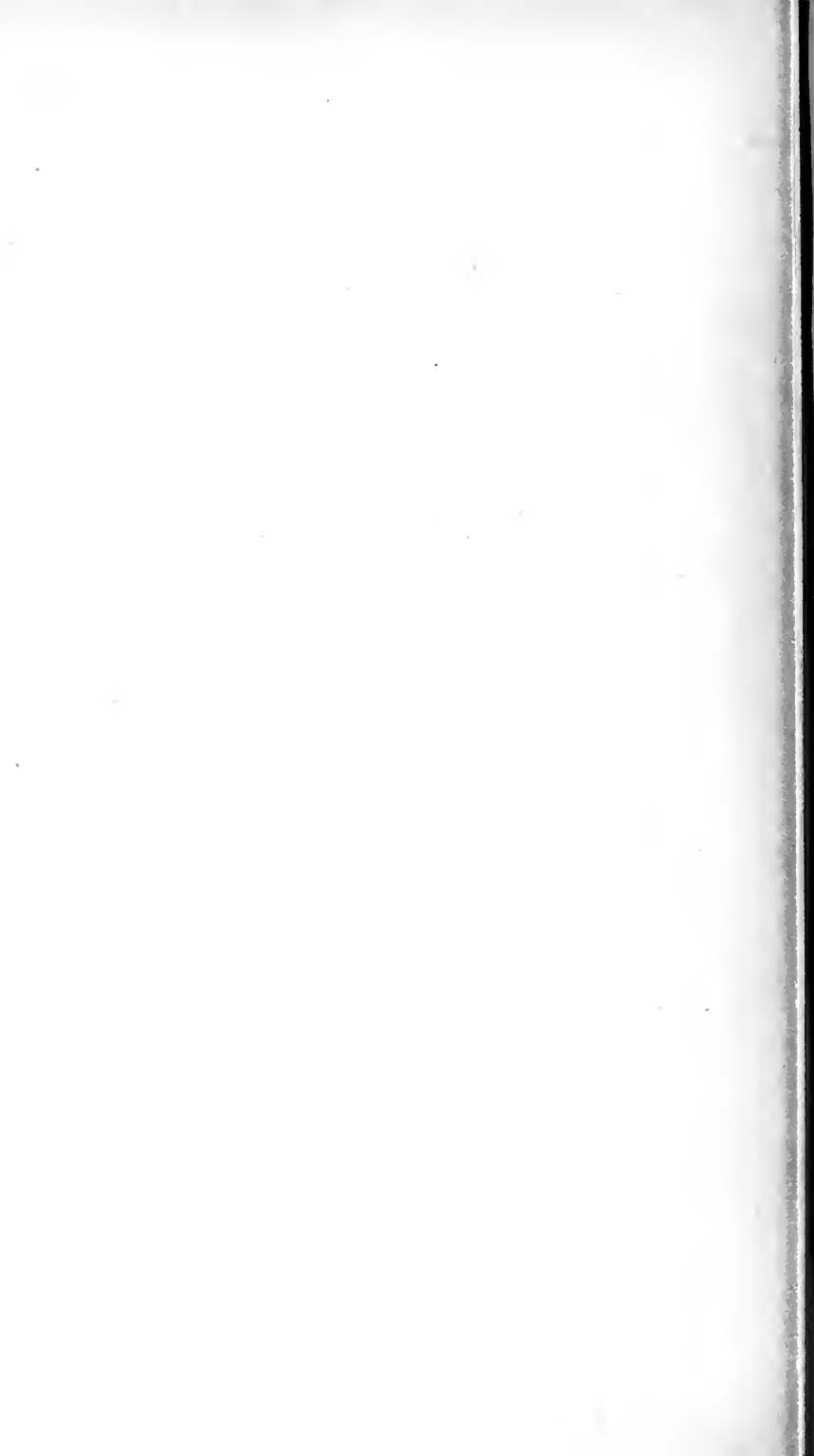
The Lord Protector Somerset's Epistle or Exhortacion to Vnitie and Peace sent to the inhabitauntes of Scotlande.

1548.

IV.

Nicholas Bodrugan *alias* Adams's Epitome of King Edward VI's title to the souereigntie of Scotlande.

1548.



 A DECLARATION, CONTEY-

NYNG THE IVST CAUSES

and consyderations, of this

present warre with the

Scottis, wherein al-

soo appereth the

trewe & right

title, that

the kin-

ges

most royall maiesty hath to

the souerayntie of

Scotlande.



THE DECLARATION OF HENRY VIII. 1542.

BEYNG NOVVE enforced to the warre, which we haue always hither-
to so moch abhorred and fled, by our neighbour and Nephieu
the Kyng of Scottis, one, who, aboue all other, for our manifold
benefites towardis hym, hath most iust cause to loue vs, to honor vs,
and to reioise in our quiet: we haue thought good to notify vnto
the world his doinges and behauour in the prouocation of this warre,
and lykewyse the meanes and wayes by vs used to exchue and
aduoyde it, and the iust and true occasions, wherby we be nowe
prouoked to prosecute the same, and by vtterance and diuulging of
that matier, to disourden som part of our inwarde displeasure and
griefe, and the circumstances knowen, to lament openly with the
worlde the infelicitie of this tyme, in which thinges of suche
enormitie do brest out and appere.

THE KYNG of Scottes our Nephieu and neighbour, whom we in
his youth & tender age preserued and mayntained from the great
danger of other, and by our autoritie and power conduced hym
sauely to the reall possession of his estate, He nowe compelleth and
forceth vs for preseruation of our honoure and right, to vse our
puissance and power agaynst hym. The like vnkindenes hath ben
heretofore shewed by other in semblable caces agaynst goddis lawe,
mans lawe, and al humanitie: but the oftener it chaunceth, the more
it is to be abhorred, & yet in the persons of princis for the raritie
of theym can so happen but sel'dome, as it hath nowe come to passe.

IT HATH ben very rarely and seldom seen before, that a king of
Scottis hath had in mariage a daughter of England: We can not, ne
wyl not reprehend the kynge our fathers acte therin, but lament and
be sory it toke no better effecte. The kynge our father in that
matier intended loue, amitie, and perpetuall frendshyp betwene the
posteritie of both, whiche how soone it fayled, the death of the kynge
of Scottis, as a due punyshment of god for his iniuste inuasion into
this our realme, is and shall be a perpetuall testimonye to theyr
reproche for euer, and yet in that present tyme coulede not the
vnkyndenesse of the father extinguishe in vs the natural loue to our
Nephieu his sonne being then in the myserable age of tender youthe:
but we than forgettyng the dyspleasure that shuld haue worthily
prouoked vs to inuade that realme, nurrished and brought vp our
Nephieu to achieue his fathers possession and gouernment, wherein
he nowe so vnkyndly vseth and behaueth hym towardes vs, as he
compelleth vs to take armour and warre agaynst hym.

¹ A ij, back.

It is specially to be noted, vpon what groundes, and by what meanes we be compelled to this warre, wherin among other is our chiefe grieffe and displeasure, that vnder a colour of faire spech and flattering woordes, we be in dedes so iniured contempned and dispised, as we ought not with sufferaunce to pretermitte and passe ouer. Wordes, writings, letters, messages, ambassiatiss, excuses, allegations, coulde not ¹more pleasantly, more gently, ne more reuerently be deuised and sente, then hath bene made on the kynge of Scottis behalfe vnto vs, and euer we trusted, the tree wold bryng forth good fruite, that was on thone partie of so good a stocke, and contynually in apparence put forth so fayre buddes: and therefore wolde hardely byleue or gyue eare to other, that euer alledged the dedes to the contrary, being neuerthelesse the same dedes so manyfest, as we muste nedes haue regarded them, had we not haue ben so lothe to thinke euell of our Nephieu, whom we had so many wayes bound to be of the best sorte towarde vs. And therefore hauynge a message sente vnto vs the yere paste from our sayde Nephieu, and a promisse made for the repayryng of the sayd kynge of Scottis vnto vs to Yorke, and after great preparation on our part made therefore, the same metyng was not onely disappoynted, but also at our being at Yorke, in the lieu therof, an inuasion made by our said Nephieu his subiectes into our realme, declaryng an euident contempt and dispite of vs: We were yet gladdes to impute the defaute of the metyng to thadyse of his counsaylle, and the inuasion to the lewdnes of his subiectes: and accordyng therunto gaue as benigne and gentyl audience to suche Ambassadors, as repayred hither at the Christmas afterwarde, as if noo suche causes of displeasure had occurred, specially consyderynge the good woordes, swete woordes, pleasant wordis, eftsones proponed by the sayd Ambassadors, not only to excuse that was past, but also to perswade kindnes ²and perfect amitie to ensue. And albeit the kyng of Scottis hauynge contrary to tharticle of the leage of amitie, receyed and entreteigned suche rebelles, as were of the chief and principle, in sterringe the insurrection in the North agaynst vs, with refusal before tyme, vpon request made to restore the same: yet neuerthelesse vpon offer made by the sayde ambassadors, to sende commission to the bordures, to determine the debates of the confinies in the same, with so great a pretence of amitie and so fayre woordes, as coulde be in speche desyred: we were contente for the tyme to forbearre to presse them ouer extremely in the matier of rebels, Albeit we neuer remitted the same, but desyrous to make triall of our sayde Nephieu in some correspondence of dedes, condescended to the sendyng of commissioners to the borders, whiche to our great charge we dyd, and the kynge of Scottes our said Nephieu the semblable. Where after great trauaile made by our Commissioners, this fruite ensued, that being for our part chalenged a piece of our grounde,

¹ A iij.² A iij, back.

playnly vsurped by the Scottis, and of no great value, being also for the same shewed such euidence, as more substanciall, more autentique, more playne and euydent, can not be broughte fourthe for any parte of grounde within our realme. The same was neuerthelesse by them denied, refused, and the euidence only for this cause reiected, that it was made (as they alledged) by Englishemen. And yet it was soo auncient, as it coulde not be counterfaite nowe, and the value of the grounde so lytell, and of so smal¹ wayte, as no man wolde haue attempted to falsifie for suche a matier. And yet this denyall being in this wyse made vnto our Commissioners, they neuer the lesse by our commandement departed as frendes, from the Commissioners of Scotlande, takyng order as hath ben accustomed for good rule vpon the borders in the meane tyme.

AFTER whyche they recesse, the lorde Maxwell, warden of the west marches of Scotland, made proclamation for good rule, but yet added therewith, that the bourderers of Scotlande shuld withdrawe their goodes from the bourders of England: And incontinently after the Scottishe men bourdurers, the fourth of July, entred into our realme sodeynly, and spoyled our subiectes, contrary to our leages, euen after suche extremitie, as it had bene in tyme of open warre, whereat we moche meruayled, and were compelled therefore to furnishe our bourdour with a garrison for defence of the same. Wher-vpon the kyng of Scottis sente vnto vs James Leyrmouth, maister of his howseholde, with letters deuysed in the most pleasant maner, offerynge redresse and reformation of al attemptates. And yet neuerthelesse at the entre of the sayd Leyrmouth into England, a great numbere of the Scottis, than not loked for, made a forrey into our bourders, to the great annoyance of our subiectes, and to theyr extreme detriment, wherwith and with that vnsemely dissimulation, we were not a lytell moued, as reason wolde we shulde. And yet dyd we not fynally soo extremely persecute and continue² our sayde displeasure, but that we gaue benigne audience to the sayde Leyrmouth, and suffered our selfe to be somewhat altdred by his wordes and fayre promyses, tending to the perswasion that we euer desyred, to fynde the kynge of Scottis suche a Nephieu vnto vs, as our proximitie of bloude, with our gratuitie vnto hym, dyd require.

IN THE meane tyme of these fayre woordes, the dedes of the borders were as extreme as myghte be, and our subiectes spoyled: and in a rode made by syr Robert Bowes for a reuenge therof, the same syr Robert Bowes with many other taken prysoners, and yet deteyned in Scotlande, without puttyng them to fyne and raunsome, as hath ben euer accustomed. And beinge at the same tyme a surceauce made on bothe sydes at the suite of the sayde Leyrmouth for a season: the Scottis ceassed not to make sundry inuasions into our realme in suche wyse, as we were compelled to forgette fayre wordes, and onely to consyder the kyng of Scottis dedes,

¹ A iv.

² A iv, back.

whiche appered vnto vs of that sort, as they ought not for our duetie in defence of our subiectes, ne could not in respecte of our honour, be passed ouer vnreformed; and therefore put in a redynesse our army, as a due meane wherby we myght atteigne suche a peace, as for the safegard of our subiectes we be bounde to procure.

AFTER whiche preparation made, and knowlege had therof, the kyng of Scottis cessed not to vse his accustomed meane of fayre wordes, which in our natural inclination wrought eftsones their accustomed ¹effect, euermore desirous to fynd in the kyng of Scottis such a regard and respect to be declared in dedes, as the correspondance of naturall loue in the Nephieu to suche an Uncle, as we haue shewed our selfe towards hym, dothe require. Wherefore vpon new request and suite made vnto vs, we determined to stay our army at Yorke, appoynting the Duke of Norff. our lieutenaunt, the lorde privity seale, the byshop of Dureham, and the master of our horses, there to *commen*, treate, and conclude, with the Ambassadors of Scotlande, for an amitie and peax vpon suche conditions, as by reason and equitie were indyfferent, wherby the warre might be exhued, being by sundry inuasion of the Scottis than open and manifest.

IN THIS communication betwene our and their commissioners, after diuers degrees of commission, shewed by the Scottis, and finally one, that was by our commissioners allowed, matiers were proponed for conclusion of amitie, nothing difficile or hard on our part, but so agreable to reason, as the commissioners of Scotlande sayd, they doubted not, but yf it myght ones be broughte to passe, that the kyng of Scottis our Nephieu might haue a meting with vs, all matiers shulde easily be componed and determined. Whervpon they lefte speakynge of any articles of amitie, and the ambassadours of Scotland made moche outward ioy in communication of a metinge, they shewed them selfe in wordis, facion, and behaour, moche to delyte in it, to reioyce in it, and therewith thought it easy and facile to be concluded and accom²plysshed, and for their parte they toke it then for a thing passed, a thing concluded, and most certayn to take effect, and only desyred .vi. dayes to obteigne answeere from their maister, and our army for that tyme to stay and go no further. Whervnto our commissioners then agreed.

AFTER THESE syxe dayes was sent a commission out of Scotlande, with power to conclude a metynge precisely at suche a place, as they knew wel we wolde not, ne coulde not in wynter obserue and kepe, wherwith whan our commissioners were myscontent, the ambassadours of Scotland to relieue that displesure, and to tempre the matier, wherby to winne more tyme, shewed forth their instructions, wherin liberty was gyuen to the ambassadours to excede their commission in the appoyntment of the place, and to consent to any other by our commissioners thought conuenient, whiche maner of

¹ B j.² B j, back.

procedyng, when our commissioners refused, alledging that they wold not conclude a metyng with men, hauynge no commission ther-vnto, the ambassadours of Scotland vpon pretence to send for a more ample and large commission, agreable to their instructions for apoyntment of the place, obtained a delay of other .vi. days, to sende for the said ample commission without restraynt of place. And after those .vi. dayes they brought forthe a newe commission, made in a good fourme, and without exception. But therwith they shewed also newe instructions, conteynynge suche a restraynte as the former commission dyd conteyne, so as the libertie gyuen to ¹the Commissioners in the commission was nowe at the last remoued and taken away by the instructions, with addition of a special charge to the ambassadors not to excede the same.

AND thus fyrste the ambassadours of Scotlande semed to haue wyll and desyre to conclude of a place semely and conuenient, whiche for want of commission they myght not do, and at the laste myght haue concluded a metyng by vertue of theyr commission, and then for feare of the commandement in theyr second instructions they durst not. And so they shewed theyr fyrst instructions partly to excuse theyr kynge, who shulde seme secretly to wyll more, than in the commission he dyd openly professe.

AND THAN with an ample commission from the kyng, they shewed theyr secret instructions for defence of them self, why they proceded not according to their commission, not carynge howe muche they charged therein their kyng, whose faulte they disclosed to dyscharge them self, trusting that by benefite of the winter approchyng, and the tyme lost in theyr communication theyr maister shulde be defended agaynste our power for this yere, without doinge for theyr parte that by honour, right, lawe, and leages they be obliged and bounde to do. And in this meane tyme oure subiectes taken prisoners in Scotland coulde not be deliuered vpon any ransome, contrary to al custome and vsage of the border in the tyme of peax & warre. and in this meane tyme staid a great part of our army alredy prested, and in our wages to go forwarde. ²In this tyme ambassadours (as ye haue herde) assembled to talke of an amitie and conclude it not. The treatyng of amitie was put ouer by communication of a metyng.

THE communication of metyng was so handled by alteration of comyssion and instructions on theyr behalfe, as it appereth a playne deuise onely excogitate for a delay, whyche hath gyuen vs lyght, where vpon more certainly to iudge the king of Scottis inwarde affection towardes vs, whose dedes and wordes well wayed and considered, dothe vs playnely to vnderstande, howe he hath contynually laboured to abuse vs with swete and pleasant wordes, and to satisfy the appetites of other at home and abrode with his vnkynde and displeasent dedes. In his wordes he professeth an

¹ B ii.² B ii, back.

indissoluble amitie, he alledgeth kiured, he knowlegeth benefites, onely the faulte is that he speaketh an other langage to all the worlde in dedes, and therby so toucheth vs in honour and denegation of iustyce, as we be inforced and compelled to vse the sworde, whiche god hathe put in our hande as an extreme remedy, wherby to obteigne bothe quiete for our subiectes, & also that is due vnto vs by right, pactes, and leages.

WE HAVE paciently suffred many delusions, and notably the laste yere, when we made preparation at Yorke for his repaire to vs: But shuld we suffer our people and subiectes to be so ofte spoyled without remedy? This is done by the Scottis what soo euer theyr wordes be. Shulde we suffer our rebelles to be ¹ deteyned contrary to the leages without remedye? This is also done by them what so euer theyr wordes be. Shuld we suffer our lande to be vsurped contrary to our most playne euidence, onely vpon a wylle, pryde, and arrogancye of the other partie? This is done by them what so euer theyr wordes be. And all these be ouer presumptuously done agaynste vs, and gyue suche signification of theyr arrogancy, as it is necessary for vs to oppresse it in the begynning, leste they shuld gather further courage to the greater displeasure of vs and our posteritie hereafter. And yet in the entreatyng of this matier, if we had not euidently perceyued the lacke of suche affection as proximitie of bloudde shulde require, we wold muche rather haue remitted these iniuries in respecte of proximitie of bloud to our Nephieu, than we dyd heretofore the inuasion of his father. But consyderyng we be so surely ascertyned of the lacke therof, and that our bloud is there frorne with the cold ayre of Scotlande, there was neuer prynce more vyolently compelled to warre then we be, by the vnkynde dealyng, vniust behauiour, vnpryncely demeanour of him that yet in nature is our Nephieu, and in his actes and dedes declareth hym selfe not to be moued therwith, ne to haue suche earnest regarde to the obseruation of his pactes and leages, ne such respect to thintretyment of the administration of Justice, as naturall equitie byndeth, and conseruation of amitie dothe require: whiche we muche lament and be sory for, and vse nowe our force and puissaunce agaynste hym, not ² for reuengeaunce of our priuate displeasure (being so often deluded as we haue ben) but for recouerye of our right, the preseruation of our subiectes from iniuries, and the obseruation of such leages as haue passed betwene vs, firmly trusting, that almighty god, vnder whom we reigne, woll assist and ayde our iust procedinges herein to the furtherance and aduancement of the right, whiche we doubt not shal euer preuayle agaynste wronge, falseheade, deceptie, and dissimulation.

¶ Hitherto it appereth how this present warre hath not proceded of any demaund of our right of superioritie, which the kinges of Scottis haue alwaies knowledged by homage and fealtie to our

¹ B iij.

² B iij, back.

progenytours even from the begynnyng: But this warre hath ben prouoked and occasioned vpon present matier of displeasure, present iniury, present wrong mynistred by the Nephieu to the Uncle most vnnaturally, and supported contrary to the desertes of our benefites most vnkindly. If we had minded the possession of Scotland, and by the motion of warre to atteyne the same, there was neuer kynge of this realme had more oportunity in the minority of our Nephieu, Ne in any other realme a prince that hath more iuste title, more euident title, more certayn title, to any realme that he can clayme than we haue to Scotland, not diuised by pretense of mariage, not imagined by couenaunt, or contriued by inuention of argument, but lineally descended from the begynnyng of that astate established by our progenitours, and recogni¹sed to successiuelly of the Kinges of Scotlande by dedes, wordes, actes & writinges continually almost without interruption, or at the leest intermission, til the reigne of our progenitour Henry the .VI. in whose time the Scottis abused the Ciuile warre of this realme, to theyr licence and boldnes, in omitting of their dutie: which for the proximitie of bloudde betwene vs, we haue ben slacke to require of them, being also of our selfe inclined to peace, as we haue euer been alwayes glad, rather without preiudice to onyt to demaunde our right, if it myght conserue peace, than by demandyng therof to be sene to moue war, specially against our neighbour, against our Nephieu, agaynst hym, whom we haue preserued from daungier, and in such a tyme as it were expedient for all Christendome to be vnite in peace, wherby to be the more able to resist the common ennemy the Turke.

BUT for what so euer considerations we haue omitted to speake hitherto of the matier, it is neuer the lesse true that the kynges of Scottes haue always knowledged the kynges of Englande superior lordes of the realme of Scotlande, and haue done homage and fealtie for the same.

THIS appereth fyrst by historie written by such as for confirmation of the trueth in memory haue truly noted and signified the same. **SECONDLY** it appereth by instrumentes of homage made by the kynges of Scotlande, at dyuers and sundry times sealed with theyr seales, and remaynyng in our Treasorye. **²THIRDLY** it appereth by registers and recordes iudicially and autentiquely made, yet preserued for confyrmation of the same. So as the matier of title being most playne, is furnished also with all maner of euidences for declaration therof.

FIRST as concernyng histories, whiche be called witnesses of tymes, the lyght of trueth, and the lyfe of memory, and fynally the conuenient way and meane, wherby thinges of antiquitie may be brought to mens knowlege, they shewe as playnly this matier as could be wysshed or required, with such a consent of writers, as coulde not so agree vpon an vntruth, conteynyng declaration of.

¹ B iiiii.

² B iiiii, back.

such matier as hath most eident probabilitie and apparance. For as it is probable and lykely, that for the better administration of iustyce amonges rude people, two or mo of one astate might be rulers in one countrie vnite as this Isle is: so is it probable and lykely, that in the begynnyng it was so ordred for auoydinge discention, that there shuld be one superiour in righte, of whom the sayd astates shuld depend. According whervnto we rede how Brutus, of whom the realme than callyd Brytayne toke fyrst that name (being before that tyme inhabited with gyauntes, people without order or ciuilitie) had thre sonnes, Lochrine, Albanact, and Camber, and determining to haue the whole Isle within the Ocean sea to be after gouerned by them thre, appoynted Albanact to rule that nowe is called Scotland, Camber the parties of Wales, and Lochrine that nowe is called Englande: vnto whom as being the ¹elder sonne, the other two brothers shuld do homage, recognisyng and knowleagyng hym as theyr superior. Nowe consider if Brutus conquered all this Ilande, as the hystorye sayeth he dyd, and then in his owne tyme made this order of superioritie as afore: Howe can there be a title diuised of a more playn begynninge, a more iuste begynninge, a more conuenient begynninge for the order of this Ilande, at that tyme specially when the people were rude, which can not without continual strife and variaunce conteine two or thre rulers in all poyntes equall without any maner of superioritie, the inwarde conscience and remorse of whiche superioritie shulde in some part dull and diminishe the peruerse courage of resistance and rebellion. The fyrst diuision of this Isle we finde it writen after this sort without cause of suspicion why they shulde write amysse. And accordyng herevnto we fynde also in hystory set forth by diuers how for transgression against this superioritie, our predecessours haue chastised the kynges of Scottis, and some deposed, and put other in their places.

VVE will here omyt to speake of the rudenes of the antiquitie in particularitie, whiche they cared not distinctly to commit to writing, but some authors, as Anthonius Sabellicus amonges other dilygently enserchyng, what he might truely write of all Europe, and the Ilandes adioynyng, ouer and besides that whiche he writeth of the nature, maners, and condytions of the Scottis, whiche who so lyst to rede, shal fynde to haue bene the very same in tymes paste, that we ²finde them nowe at this present, he calleth Scotlande part of Englande, which is agreable to the diuision aforesayd, being in dede as in the lande contynuall without separation of the sea, so also by homage and fealtie vnite vnto the same, as by particular declarations shal most manifestly appere by the testimony of such as haue left writyng for proue and confirmation therof. In whiche matier passing ouer the death of Kyng Humbre, the actes of Dunwalde king of this realme, the diuision of Belyn & Brene, the victories of king Arthure,

¹ C.² C, back.

we shal begyn at the yere of our lord .DCCC. which is .DC XLII. yeres by past, a tyme of sufficient auncientie, from which we shall make speciall declaration and euidence of the execution of our right and title of superioritie enermore contynued and preserued hytherto.

EDVARDE the fyrst before the conquest, sonne to Alured kyng of Englande, had vnder his dominion and obedience the king of Scottis. And here is to be noted, that this matier was so notorious and manifest, as Maryon a Scot writing that storye in those dayes, graunteth confesseth and testifieth the same, and this dominion continued in that state XXIII yere: At whyche tyme Athelstaine succeeded in the crowne of Englande, and hauyng by battayle conquered Scotlande; he made one Constantine kyng of that partie, to rule and gouerne the cuntrye of Scotlande vnder hym, adding this princely woord, That it was more honour to hym to make a kyng, than to be a kyng.

¹XXIII yeres after that, whyche was the yere of our lorde D CCC XLVII, Eldred kyng our progenitour, Athelstains brother, toke homage of Irise then king of Scottis.

XXX. yeres after that, which was the yere of our lorde .D CCC LXXVII. kyng Edgar our predecessor toke homage of Kynalde king of Scottis. Here was a lytell trouble in Englande by the death of sayncte Edwarde kyng and martyr, destroyed by the deceite of his mother in lawe: but yet within memory.

XL. yeres after the homage done by Kynald to king Edgare, that is to say, in the yere of our lord .M XVII. Malcome the kyng of Scottis dydde homage to Knute our predecessour. After this homage done the Scottis vttered some piece of their naturall disposition, wheryppon by warre made by our progenitour sainte Edwarde the confessor, XXXIX. yere after that homage done, that is to say, the yere of our lord .M LVI. Malcolme kyng of Scottis was vanquished, and the realme of Scotlande gyuen to Malcolme his sonne by our sayd progenitour saynte Edwarde: vnto whome the sayde Malcolme made homage and fealtie.

Within .XI. yeres after that William Conquerour entred this realme, wherof he accompted no perfect conquest, vntyll he had lykewise subdued the Scottis, and therefore in the sayd yere, whiche was in the yere of our lord .MLXVIII. the sayd Malcolme kyng of Scottis dyd homage to the sayde William Conquerour, as his superiour by conquest kyng of ²Englande.

XXV yeres after that, whiche was the yere of our Lorde MXCIII. the sayde Malcolme dyd homage and fealty to William Rufus, sonne to the said William Conquerour: and yet after that was for his offences and demerites deposed, and his sonne substitute in his place, who lykewyse fayled in his duetie, and therefore was ordeyned in that astate by the sayd William Rufus, Edgare brother to the laste Malcolme, and sonne to the fyrste, who dyd his homage and fealtie accordingly.

¹ C ij.

² C ii, back.

VII. yeres after that, which was in the yere of our lord .MC. the sayd Edgar kynge of Scottis, dydde homage to Henry the fyrste, our progenitour.

XXXVII. yere after that, Dauid kyng of Scottis did homage to Matilde the Emperatrice, as daughter and heyre to Henry the fyrst. Wherefore being after required by Steuen, then obteynnyng possession of the realme, to make his homage, he refused so to do, bycause he had before made it to the sayde Matilde, and thervpon forbare. After whiche Dauids deathe, whiche ensued shortly after, the sonne of the sayd Dauid made homage to the said kyng Steuen.

XIII. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our lorde .MCL. William King of Scottis, and Dauid his brother, with al the nobles of Scotland made homage to HENRY the secondes sonne, with a reseruacion of theyr dutie to Henry the second his father.

XXV. yeres after that, which was in the yere of our lorde .MCLXXV. Wylliam king of Scotlande, after ¹moch rebellion and resistence, accordyng to their naturall inclination, kyng HENRY the seconde, than being in Normandy, William then kyng of Scottis knowledged fynally his errour, and made his peace and composition, confirmed with his great seale, and the seales of the Nobilitie of Scotlande, makynge therwith his homage and fealtie.

WITHIN .XV. yeres after that, which was the yere of our lorde .MCLXXX. the sayd Wylliam kyng of Scottes, came to our cite of Canturbury, and there dydde homage to our noble progenitour kynge RICHARDE the fyrst.

XIII. yeres after that, the sayd William dyd homage to our progenitour kynge IOHN, vpon a hyll besides Lincolñ, making his othe vpon the crosse of Hubert than archbysshop of Canturbury, being there present a meruaylous multitude assembled for that purpose.

XXVI. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our lorde .MCCXVI. Alexander kyng of Scottis maryed Margaret, the daughter of oure progenitoure HENRY the thyrde, at our cite of Yorke, in the feast of Christmas: at which tyme the said Alexander dyd his homage to our sayde progenitour: who reigned in this realme .LVI. yeres. And therefore betwene the homage made by the saide Alexander kyng of Scottes, and the homage done by Alexander, sonne to the sayd kyng of Scottis, to Edwarde the fyrst at his coronation at Westmester, there was about fyfty yeres, at whyche tyme the sayde Alexander kynge of ²Scottes repaired to the sayde feaste of coronation, there did his duetie as is afore sayde.

WITHIN .XXVIII. yeres after that, which was the yere of our lorde .MCCLXXXII. Johñ Baliol kynge of Scottes, made homage and fealtie to the sayde kynge Edwarde the fyrst, our progenitour.

AFTER THIS began Robert Bruse to vsurpe the crowne of Scotlande, and to moue sedition therefore, against them of the house of Ballioll, whiche made for a season some interruption in the sayde

¹ C iii.² C ij, back.

homage: but yet no intermission without the termes of memory. For within .XLIII. yere after, whiche was the yere of our lorde .MCCCXXVI. Edwarde Baliol, after a great victory in Scotlande agaynst thother faction, and enioyenge the crowne of Scotland, made homage to our progenitour Edwarde the thyrd.

AND .XX. yeres after that, which was in the yere of our lorde .MCCCXLVI. Daud Bruse, who was euer in the contrary faction, did neuertheless in the title of the crowne of Scotland, wherof he was then in possession, made homage to our sayde progenitour Edwarde the thyrd.

WITHIN .IX. yeres after, this Edward the thyrd, to chastise the infidelitie of the Scottis, made warre agaynst them: where after great victories, Edwarde Balliol hauyng the iust and ryght title to the realme of Scotlande, surrendred clerely the same to our said progenitour at the towne of Rokysbrough in Scotlande: where our said progenitour accepted the same, and than caused hym selfe to be crowned kynge of ¹Scotlande, and for a tyme enterteygned it, and enioyed it, as very proprietary & owner of the realme, as on thone parte by confiscation acqyred, and on the other parte by free wyll surrendred vnto hym.

AND then after the death of our sayd progenitour EDWARDE the thirde, beganne seditions and insurrections in this our realme, in the tyme of our progenitour RICHARDE the seconde, whiche was augmented by the alteration of the state of the said Rycharde, and the devolution of the same, to Henry the IIII. so as the Scottis had some leisure to play their vagues, and folowe their accustomed manier. And yet Henry the V. for recouery of his ryght in France, commaunded the kyng of Scottis to attende vpon hym in that iourney. And in this tyme the realme of Scotlande being descended to the house of the Stewardes, of which our Nephieu directly cometh, James Stuarde kynge of Scottis, in the yere of our lorde .MCCCCXXIII. made homage to Henry the .VI. at Wyndesour, Whiche homage was distaunt frome the tyme of the other homage made by Daud Bruse LX yeres and more, but farre within the fresshe memory of man.

ALL whiche homages and fealties as they appere by story to haue ben made and done at times and season as afore: so do there remayne instrumentes made ther vpon and sealed with the seales of the kynges of Scotlande testifyenge the same. And yet doth it appere by story, how the Scottis practised to steale out of our treasury diuers of these instrumentes, which ²neuertheless were after recouered agayn. And to the intent ye may knowe of what fourme and tenour the sayde instrumentes be, here is inserted the effecte in worde and sentence as they be made, which we do, to mete with the cauellation and contriued euasion of the Scottes, alleaginge the homage to haue benne made for the Erldome of Hunt-

¹ C iv.

² C iv, back.

ynghon, whiche is as trew as the allegation of hym that is burnte in the hande, to saye he was cut with a sikell. And therefore the tenour of the homage is this.

I John N. kynge of Scottes shall be trewe and feythful vnto you lorde Edward by the grace of god kynge of Englande, the noble and superior lorde of the kyngdome of Scotlande, and vnto you I make my fydelitie of the same kyngdome of Scotland, the whiche I holde, and clayme to holde of you: and I shall beare to you my feythe and fidelitie of lyfe and lymme and worldely honour agaynste all men, and feythfully I shall knowlege, and shal do to you seruice due vnto you of the kyngdome of Scotlande aforesayd, as god so helpe me & these holy euangelies.

NOWE FOR the thyrde parte touchinge recordes and registres, we haue them so formall, soo autentiquall, so seriously handeled, and with suche circumstaunces declarynge the matiers, as they be & ought to be a great corroboration of that hath ben in stories written and reported in this matier. For amonges other thynges we haue the solempne acte, and iudicial processe of our progenitour EDWARD the firste, in discussion of the title of Scotland, when the same ¹ was challenged by twelue competitours: That is to saye,

Florentius comes Holandie.

Patricius de Dunbar comes de Merchia.

Willielmus de Vesty.

Willielmus de Ros.

Robertus de Pinbeny.

Nicholaus de Soules.

Patricius Galightly.

Rogerus de Mundeville.

Joannes Comyn.

D. Joannes de Hastings.

Joannes de Balliolo.

Robertus de Bruse.

Ercius rex Norwegie.

AND finally after a great consultation and mature deliberation, with discussion of the allegations proponed on al parties, sentence was giuen for the title of Balioll, accordyng whervnto he enioyed the realme. But for confirmation of the duety of homage before that tyme obserued by the kynges of Scottes, it appereth in those recordes, howe when those competitours of the realme of Scotland repaired to our said progenitour, as to the chiefe lord for discussion of the same, in as muchē as the auctoritie of the iudgement to be gyuen depended therypon: It was then orde²red, that the hole parliament of Scotland spirituall, temporall, and of all degrees, assembled for that purpose, and consideryng vpon what ground and foundation the kynges of Scotlande had in tymes paste made the sayd homages and recognition of superyoritie, the sayd parlyament

¹ D i.

² D i, back.

fynding the same substantiall good and true, shulde if they so demed it, yelde and gene place, and by expresse consent recognise the same. At whiche parlyamente was alledged vnto theym, as appereth in the same recordes, not onely these actes of the prynces before those dayes, and before rehersed: but also besydes the testimonye of storyes, the wrytynge and letters of foreyn princis, at that tyme recitynge and rehersynge the same. Whervvpon the sayde parlyament dyd there agree to this our superioritie, and ensuyne theyr determination dyd particularly and seuerally make homage and feaultie with proclamation: That who soo euer withdrue hym selfe from doinge his duetie therin, shulde be taken and reputed for a rebel. And so all made homage & fealtie to our progenitour Edwarde the first. The realme was in the tyme of the discussion of the title ruled by gardians deputed by him: all castels & holdes were surrendred to him as to the superior lord in the tyme of vacation, benefices, offices, fees, promotions passid in that tyme from the mere gift of our sayde progenitour, as in the right of this crowne of England, Sheriffes named and apoynted, writtis & preceptes made obeyed and executed: and finally al that we do now in the Duchy of Lancaster, the same ¹dyd our progenitour for the tyme of contention for that title in the realme of Scotlande, by the consent and agrement of all astates of the realme assembled and consulted with for that purpose. At whiche tyme the byshoppes of saynt Andrewes and Glascoo were not as they nowe be archebyshoppes, but recognised the prouince of our archebishop of Yorke, whiche extended ouer al that countrey.

Now if the Scottis wyl take exception to the homages of theyr prynces, as made in warre & by force whiche is not true: what wyl they say or can they for shame alledge agaynst their owne parlyament, not of some, but of all confirmed & testified by theyr wrytynge and seales? whervnto nothing enforced them, but right and reason, being passed in peace and quiet without armour or compulsion. If they say they did it not, they speake like them selues: If they say they dyd it, then doo they nowe lyke them selfes, to with drawe their duetie, not so moche to be blamed, as to be amended.

THVS APPERETH vnto you the begynnyng of the righte of superioritie, with a perpetuall contynuance, without intermission within memory, certayne omission and forbearynge vpon the groundes and occasions before specified we deny not. Wherby they haue many tymes sought and taken theyr oportunities, to withdrawe the doinge of theyr duetie in knowlege of our superioritie ouer theym, whiche to auoyde, they haue not cared what they sayde or alleged, though it were neuer so vntrue: lyeng alwayes ²in awayte whan they might annoyne this realme, not without theyr owne great dangier, peril, and extreme detriment. But as they detrected the doing of theyr duetie, so god euer graunted vnto this realme force to compell them thervnto

¹ D ii.² D ii, back.

within memory, not withstanding any theyr interruption by resistance, which vnto the tyme of our progenitour Henry the .VI. neuer indured so longe as it made intermission within tyme of mynde, wherby the possession myght seme to be enpaired: from the tyme of Henry the VI vnto the seuenth yere of our reigne, how our realme hath ben for a season lacerate and torne by diuersitie of titles, tyl our time and syns by warre outwardly vexed and troubled, The story is so lamentable for some parte therof, as were tedious to reherse.

SITHENS THE death of our progenitour Henry the .VI. our grandfather Edwarde the .IIII. reyned, who after great trauailes to atteyne quietnesse in his realme, fynally in the tyme of preparation of warre against Scotlande, dyed.

RICHARDE the .III. than vsurped for a smalle tyme in yeres, whome the kynge our father by the strength of goddis hand ouerthrew in battaile, and moost iustely attained the possession of this realme, who neuertheles after the great tempestious stormes fyndyng all matiers nat yet broughte to a perfecte quiete and reste, ceased and forbare to require of the Scottis to do theyr duetie, thynking it policy rather for that tyme to assay to tame their nature by the plesant coniunction and conuersation of affinitie, then ¹to charge them with theyr fault, and requyre duety of them, when oportunitie serued not, by force and feare to constraune and compell them.

AND thus passed ouer the reygne of our father, without demaunde of this homage. And beinge our reygne nowe, .xxxiiii. yeres, we were .xxi. yere letted by our Nephieu his minoritie, being then more carefull howe to bringe hym out of daungier, to the place of a king, then to receyue of hym homage when he had full possession in the same. Wherefore beinge now passed sithens the last homage made by the kinges of Scottis to oure progenitour Henry the .VI. cxxii. yere, at whiche tyme the homage was done at Windesor by James Stuard, then king of Scottis, as afore. lvi. of these yeres the crowne of this realme was in contention, the trouble wherof engendred also some busynes in the tyme of the kynge our father, whiche was .xxiiii. yere: And in our tyme .xxi. yere hath passed in the minoritie of our Nephieu. So as finally the Scottis resortyng to theyr onely defence of discontinuance of possession, can onely alledge iustly but .xiii. yere of sylence in the tyme of our reigne, being all the other tymes sithens the homage done by James Stuarde, suche as the silence in them had they ben neuer so longe, coulde not haue ingendred preiudice to the losse of any right, that may yet be declared and proued due. For what can be imputed to kyng Edward for not demandyng homage, beinge in strife for that estate, whervnto the homage was due? What shulde Rycharde the .III. serche for ²homage in Scotlande, that had neither right ne leysure to haue homage done vnto hym in Englande? Who can blame our father,

knowynge the Scottis nature, neuer to do their duetie but for feare, if he demaunded not that of them, whiche they wold excue if they might, being his realme not clerely than purged from yll seede of sedition, sparkeled and scattered in the cruell ciuile warres before.

LAWE AND reason serueth, that the passing ouer of tyme not commodious for the purpose, is not allegable in prescription for the losse of any right. And the minoritie of the kyng of Scottis hath endured XXI yeres of our reigne, whyche being an impediment on their part, the hole prescription of the Scottis, if the matier were prescriptable, is thus deduced euidentely to XIII. yere, whiche .XIII. yere without excuse we haue ceassed and forborne to demaunde our duetie, lyke as the Scottis haue lykewyse cessed to offer and tende the same. For whiche cause neuerthelesse we do not enter this warre, ne mynded to demaunde any suche matier: Nowe beinge rather desirous to reioyse and take comfort in the frendshyppe of our Nephieu, as oure neyghbour, than to moue matier vnto hym of displeasure, wherby to alienate suche naturall inclination of loue, as he shuld haue towarde vs. But such be the workes of god, superior ouer all, to suffre occasions to be minystred, whereby due superioritie may be knowen, demaunded, and required, to the intent that according thervnto all thinges gouerned in due order here, we may to his pleasure passe ouer this lyfe, to his honour and glory, whiche he grant vs to do in such rest, peace, and tranquillitie, as shalbe mete and conuenient for vs.

[D iv]

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dum solum.

ANNO .M. D. XLII.

An
Exhortacion to the Scottes

to conforme themselves
to the honorable, Expedient, & godly Union
betweene the two Realmes of
Englande & Scotland.

Dedicated

to

Edward Duke of Somerset

by James Harryson, Scottisheman.

LONDON:

Printed by Richard Grafton.

1547.

AN EXHORTATION TO THE SCOTTS.

¶ TO THE RIGHT HIGH AND
 mightie prince, Edward, Duke of
 Somerset, Erle of Hertford, Viscount
 Beauchamp, lorde Seymour, Gouvernor of the
 persone of the Kynges Maiestie of Englande,
 and Protector of all his Realmes, Dominions
 and Subiectes, his lieutenaunt generall of all
 his armies, bothe by lande and by sea, Tresorer
 and Erle Marshall of Englande, Gouver-
 nor of the Isles of Gernsey and Ger-
 sey, and knight of the moste noble
 ordre of the Garter: Iames
 Harryson Scottisheman
 wisheth healthe, ho-
 nor, and felicitie.

Callyng to mynde (as I do oft) moste excellent Prince, the ciuill
 discencion and mortal enemitie, betwene the twoo Realmes of
 Englande and Scotlande, it bryngeth me in mucche maruell, how
 betwene so nere neighbors, dwelling with in one land, compassed
 within one sea, alièd in bloude, and knitte in ²Christes faithe, suche
 vnnaturall discorde should so long continue. Vnnaturall, I maie
 wel call it, or rather a Ciuill warre, where brethren, kynsmen or
 countreyemen be diuided, and seke y^e bloud of eche other: a thyng
 detestable before God, horrible to the worlde, and pernicious to the
 parties, and no lesse straunge in the iyes of reasonable men, then if
 the lynmes and membres of mannes body, should fall out within
 them selves, as the hand to hurte the foote, or the fote the hande. If
 any vtilitie or gain should growe thereby, it were the lesse maruail,
 but when there doth nothyng ensue, but suche fruite as warre
 bryngeth furthe, whiche is sackyng of tounes, subuersion of holdes,
 murder of men, rauishment ³of women, slaughter of olde folke and
 infantes, burnyng of houses and corne, with hunger and pestilence,
 twoo buddes of the same tre: and finally, the vtter ruine of the
 whole kyngdom, I wonder that emongest so many polittique rulers
 as be, and haue been in both realmes, the mischief so long spied, the
 remedy hath not yet bee sought. Who is so blynd that doth not
 see it, or who so harde harted, that doth not pitie it? I omitte here
 to speake of the greate afflictions and miserie, whiche Scotlande hath
 sustained by warres in tymes passed, a matter ouer long to be re-
 hersed, and yet to great to be forgotten. But to come to later tyme,
 what hath been doen within these sixe yeres, sithe the warres wer

¹ a ij² a ij, back³ a iij

re¹uined, how the countrey hath been ouer runne, spoyled and heried by Englishemen on the one side, and by our awne warremen or rather robbers on the other side (to speke nothyng of the plague of God) it would greue any harte, to thinke. If this miserie fell onely vpon the mouers and mainteiners of suche mischief, it were lesse to be lamented, but thei sitte safe at home, and kepe holy daie, when the felde lie ful of their bodies, whose deathes thei moste cruelly and vnchristianly haue procured. If Edenbrough, Lieth, Louthian, Mers or Tiuidale had tongues to speake, their loude complainte would perse the deafe eares. But what nedeth speche, when their iyes maie se plain enough, what their deuillish har²tes haue deuised. This miserie is muche to be sorowed, and more to be sorowed, then their wickednes to be detested, whiche haue kyndled the fire, and still laie on brandes to feede the same. In whom if either respect of Religion, whiche thei professe, or zeale of Iustice, whereunto thei are sworne, either feare of God, or loue to their countrey, did any thyng woorke, thei would refuse no trauaill, nor torment of body nor mynde, no, nor death (if it wer offered) for y^e sauegarde of theim, whose distruccion thei haue wrought. And these bee onely two sortes, the one is of suche, as either for feare of their Hypocrisy to bee reueled, or euill gotten possessions to be translated would haue no peace nor concord: ³the other bee suche as for a lawelesse libertie and doying wrong vnpunished, would pull out their hedges from all lawe and obedience. Such and none other be aduersaries to our cause. If these ij sortes (I saie) should fele but half the miserie, whiche the poore people be driuen to suffre, thei would not be halfe so hastie to ryng *alarmes*. These be thei whiche professyng knowledge, abuse the ignoraunce of the nobilitie and commonaltie, to y^e destruccion of bothe, hauyng peace in their mouthes, and all rancor and vengeaunce in their hartes, pretendyng religion, perswade rebellion, preachyng obedience, procure al disobedience, semyng to forsake all thyng, possesse all thyng, callyng themselves ⁴spirituall, are in deede moste carnall, and reputed hedges of the Church, bee the onely shame and slaunder of the Church. If these people would as earnestly trauail for the concord of bothe realmes, as thei indeuour with toothe and nail to the contrary, these mischeues aforesaid, should either not haue happened, or els at the least, not so long haue continued: by whose lure, so long as the nobles and commons of Scotlande be led, I am in dispaire of any amitie or frendship betwene these two realmes. GOD bryng their falsehed once to light, and turne their iniquitie vpon their awne hedges.

BVT to my purpose, seyng the mischief so greate, the aucthors so many, the mainteinaunce so strong, ⁵and so few that seke amendement: in declaracion of mine earnest zeale and vnfained affeccion towards my countrey, I in default of other, put my self in prease. And though least able, yet moste willyng and desirous of the honor

¹ a iij, back² a iiij³ a iiij, back⁴ a v⁵ a v, back

and quiet of bothe realmes, whiche cause, seing it correspondeth to vertue & godlinesse, me thought it conuenient to seke for the same, a patrone vertuous and Godly, whereby your grace entered my remembrance, whose procedynges hetherto haue made manifest to the worlde, what an ardent zeale ye beare, to thaduaancement of all veritie & truth: So that all men conceiue certain hope, that by your high wisdom, pollicie, & other Princely vertues, the stormes of this tempesti¹ous worlde, shall shortely come to a calme. And seyng God hath not onely called you to the height of this estate, but so prospered your grace in all affaires, bothe of war and peace, as your actes bee comparable to theirs, whiche beare moste fame: your grace cannot merite more towardes GOD or the worlde, then to put your helpyng hande to the furtheraunce of this cause. Hereby shall you declare an incomparable seruice to the kynges Maiestie of England, whiche beyng young of yeres, is yet ripe in vertue, to gouerne any kyngdom, whose excellent giftes of nature, and inclinacion to all Godlinesse considered, the world is in opinion, that he shalbee nothyng inferior to the greate honor and glorie of ²his father, whose praises I ouer passe, fyndyng my selfe vnable to expresse them in any degree. But sith your grace, as a person moste electe, is called to the gouernance and tuicion of his persone, and proteccion of his realmes and dominions, all mennes expectacion is, that hauyng so apte a moule to worke vpon, you shall so frame his youthe with verteous preceptes, Godly examples, and sincere educacion, as he shall proue a Kyng equal with those, whom old histories, do moste commend. Wherein your graces laude cannot wante, beyng so worthie a gouernor of so noble a kyng: and muche more if by your pollicie, diligence, and circumspeccion, he shal at his perfect yeres bee restaured to the whole ³isle of Britayn, where unto as he is iustely entitled: So God the protector of al iust causes, shal bryng your attemptes therin to good successe. For the furtheraunce whereof, I haue declared myne opinion in writyng, whiche, with humble harte I offre and dedicate vnto your good grace: not as a gyfte worthie so greate an estate, but yet not vnmete for my purpose, ne for the tyme & occasion present, wherin though I neither perswade my cause so pithihely, ne open it so liuely, as to so weightie a matter is requisite: Yet it maie serue either for a testimonye of myne honest meanyng, or minister occasion to better learned men, to dilate this argument more largely, whereby all warre and hostilitie maie cease ⁴and peace and concord take place. GOD the verie auctor of peace, euer preserue your grace, to the increase of the same, and furtheraunce of all Godlinesse: and graunte to the kynges Maiestie of England his righteous possession of the whole monarchie of Britayn, to thaduaancement of Gods glory, confort to his lieges, and confusion of his enemies.

¹ a vj² a vj, back³ a vij⁴ a vij, back

[A v:ij blank; back, occupied with a plate of the arms of England, and other emblems.]

¹THE CAUSE WHER of I treate beeyng so weightie, the discourse so large, & my witte and cunningg so small to set it furthe, I might well be discouraged to entre so greate a ground: but that loue to my countrey on the one side, and desire of concorde and quietnes on the other side, moue me to speake, hopyng that the honesty of the matter shall supplie the rude handelyng, and the plain veritie, to stand in stede of eloquence and cunningg. For like as in an euill cause, muche arte and conueyaunce must be vsed, afore it can appere good: euen so in a cause true, honest, and righteous, there needeth no subtile ²perswasions or finesse of woordes: but how muche the plainer so muche the better, and how much y^e more eloquent, so much the more suspicious. For truthe is sufficient of her selfe, and needeth no colours, no more then natural beawty, nedeth of paintyng. Taking this for my foundacion, I maie the more boldely procede without feare of offence, seeyng my cause is suche, as all good men will further, all wise men fauor, and all Godly men defende, as that whiche beeyng embraced, shall doo good to many, and hurt to none, and beyng neglected, shall hurte a multitude, and auayle no man, tendyng no lesse to the commoditie of the aduersaries, then of of the ³fauorers. Thus the ground beyng so true, the occasion so honest, and the querell so righteous, there wanteth nothyng but one that could set thesame furth accordyngly. And seeyng suche as canne best, liste not, and that ought moste, will not, and that wold faynest, dare not take this vniuersall cause in hande, I beyng simple, vnlearned, and most barayn of all orators arte and perswasion, yet armed with truth, moued with honestie, and prouoked by loue, towardes God and my countrey, (as Dauid against Golias) entre the felde against the mightie Giauntes, enemies of concorde and vnitie, desiryng all my countreyemen of Scottlande (whose cause I now ⁴specially entreat) to geue me pacient hearyng, whilst I suade them to that, whiche shalbe acceptable to God, commendable to the world, ioyfull to their frendes, hatefull to their enemies, profitable to all parties, and to none so muche as to themselves.

To ground my cause vpon truth (as I promised) I will sette my foundacion, vpon the infallible truthe of Gods woorde, takyng this texte for my purpose. *Omne regnum in se diuisum desolabitur*: that is to saie: euery kyngdom diuided in it self, shalbe brought to desolacion. If this sentence bee well marked, and the persone of the speaker considered, I shall not nede to bee long in perswadyng you to beleue it. The wordes be ⁵true: for he that spake them, cannot lye, whiche is Christ himself the auctor of al truth and veritie. But though Christ had not spoken them, let vs se whether comon reason dooth not affirme them, and the experience of all

¹ b j² b j, back³ b ij⁴ b ij, back⁵ b iij

realmes and countreys, in al tymes and ages, hath not approued them. And to fet our examples not out of straunge countreys, loke well vpon the Chronicles of this island of Britain, and consider the estate thereof, from the beginnyng, and compare them, with the histories of other nacions, and you shal not lightly heare or read of any one cuntrye sithe the worldes creacion, more inuaded, wasted, and destroyed, then this Isle, ne ¹of people more often, ne more cruelly spoyled, exiled, or afflicted, then the inhabiteurs thereof, and all by diuision and discord: the sedes wherof, beyng laied in by the deuil as pouder vnder a walle, after it once toke fire, did so terribly shake the foundacions of their common weale, that it riued a sunder their kyngdome and monarchie, and diuidyng it into partes, broughte the whole at last to ruyne and desolacion, which hath not been fully recouered to this daie, nor in my iudgement like to be, so long as the isle is diuided into two partes, and knowen by two names, that is to saie, England & Scotlande, and vnder twoo seuerall gouernours. The cause whereof ²though it maie chiefly bee ascribed to the iuste vengeance of God, prouoked with the synnes of the people, as Gildas witnesseth; yet is it clere that the onely meane thereof, was discord and diuision, emong the Insulanes, wherby it came to passe, whylest euery one striued, all were ouer comen, and made an easy prey to straunge nacions. For althoughe outward enemies, vpon tyranny and conquest, as the Romayns, or els expulsed from their countreys, and driuen to seke newe dwellynges as the Pictes, or allured with y^e fertilitie of y^e soyle as the Scottes inhabit- yng, the north partes of Irelande, inuaded this isle: Yet could those people neuer haue kepte quiete ³possession, ne reigne so long as thei did, but through diuision and discord emong the Britaynes, whiche beeyng stiffe necked against God, and ingrate eche to other (as the said auctor writeth) by their demerites, wer not onely ouer- come with outwarde inuasions, but finally lost their name and Empire, wherby the inhabitauntes beyng mixt with straungers, haue euer sithe been vexed with intestine warres and ciuill discorde, to the irremediable ruine and desolacion therof, vntil it shal please Gods goodnesse to haue mercie on the people, and to reduce the isle to the firste estate, to one Monarchy, vnder one kyng and gouernor as it was in the Britons ⁴tyme. But if God of his good- nesse, without our desertes hath in these latter daies, provided that blessed meane and remedy for the glorie of his name, and for our wealth and commoditie: and wee for our parte, either of stubbur- nesse will not, or of wilfulnesse liste not, thankfully to receiue his synguler grace and benefite so freely offered, what then maie bee thoughte in vs? Ought not then all good men thynke (as thei dooe in dede) that all the mischiefe, effusion of bloud, hunger and other miseries ensuyng of warre, fall vpon vs worthely and by deserte. Yes verely: And surely in this parte, I must desire you my coun-

¹ b iij, back² b iiij³ b iiij, back⁴ b v

treymen, bothe of pardon and paci¹ence, when I shall disclose the cause of this mischief, and the long continuance thereof, to come rather of vs, then of the contrary parte, whiche iudgemente (God is my witnesse) procedeth neither of adulation to English men, nor of malice to any estate, but as my conscience moueth me, and as the truthe to al wise-men maie appere.

Bvr afore I will stirre that vnsauery sinke of treson and trecherie, as one that intendeth to make a greate lepe, I muste bee forced to ronne backe to fetche my course, wherefore, omitting the matters of the tyme present, I must repete the estate of this island from the beginnyng, and what were the causes of this di²uision at the firste, and by what waies it hath continued from tyme to tyme, and how it is yet norished, to the ende that vpon the causes opened, and the persones detected, that bee workers therof, the remedies maie be the soner founde, and simple people be ware of those, that with fayned fables and lies, haue ledde them long blindfold, & so would kepe them, to the perdition both of their soules and bodies, and then shall we se, whether this sayng of Christ afore recited, maie not be wel verified in vs of Britayne. In the discourse whereof, because the right & title whereby the kynges of Englande claime to be superior Lordes of Scotland, is incidently touched: I wil³ vse for the more parte the testimonies either of Scottish chronicles, or forein writers, and litle of the Englishe, onlesse where bothe Scottishe and Englishe do agre, or where by apparaunt reason, the truthe standeth more on thone side, then on the other: and all to aduoyde the common cauillation of suche, as say, how the Kynges of Englande proue their title to Scotlande, onely by Englishe aucthors.

THE opinion of moste writers, and specially of Latins (at whom, aswell for auncientie, as indifferencie, I take my ground) is, that this islande of Britayn, whiche containeth bothe realmes of Englande and Scotland (as I saied afore) was at the firste, ⁴called *Albion*, that is to saie the white lande, hauyng that name *ab albis rupibus*, that is to saie, of the White Rockes and Cleues, whiche appere vpon the sea costes of the saied islande, euen as we at this daie call the cuntrye from whence the Brasill wood commeth, Brasilia: whiche opinion is more probable then the devise of a late Welshe Poete, ymaginyng how it was called *Albion*, of one Dioclesian kyng of Syria, whiche hauyng killed fiftie kynges, beyng their husbandes, wer for the same exiled. And after long wanderyng in y^e seas, arriued at laste in this Islande, where thei ingendered with spirites, & brought furth l. ⁵*Giauntes*, whiche wer Gog Magog and his felowes, with suche poetically fables, not onely without good foundation, but also mere contrary to all auncient stories, and welnere against al possibilitie of nature. But as the beginnyng of all nacions for the more part be fabulous and vncertain, some fetchyng their pedegre from the Goddes, and some

¹ b v, back

² b vj

³ b vj, back

⁴ b vij

⁵ b vij, back

from the deuils, as the Grekes from Jupiter, the olde Gaules from Pluto God of helle; so the better opinion, aswel of the latre writers, as also of Gildas a Britayn is, that this island was inhabited from the beginnyng, by those that were borne in thesame, & afterward as the world multiplied, grewe vnto a greate ¹people, and from a people vnto a kyngdome, and gouerned by Kynges, as by stories is to bee seen, of whom the firste that wee finde, was one *Brutus*, whiche, whether he came out of Italy or not, is not muche materiall, but certain it is, that suche a one reigned, and was firste Kyng of the whole islande: whiche beginnyng of the people, dooth make muche more with the honor and glory of this islande, then to deduce a pedegree, either from an outlaw of Italy, or a tirauntes sister out of Egipt, as Welshe & Scottishe Poetes, haue phantastically fayned. For if wee accmpt nobilitie by auncientie of yeres, & length of tyme (as we vse nowe a daies) what can bee ²more auncient, more noble, more high, or honorable, then to haue a beginnyng beyond all memory, and in processe of yeres, from small families, to growe into a greate Monarchie & kyngdom. In whiche poynt, the old latins of whom the Romaynes discended, sette a greate parte of their glory, calling themselves *Aborigines*, that is to saie: a people from the beginnyng.

BRVTVS the first Kyng of this whole Islande, by whom it was called Britayne, & the people thereof Britaynes, reigned the yere after the creacion of the worlde, foure thousande, CC and xliij. and as writers affirme, had three sonnes, *Locrinus*, *Albanactus*, and *Camber*, emong whom ³he diuided the whole island, assignyng y^e supreme empire with y^e greatest and moste fruitful part toward the Southe, vnto Locrinus his eldest sonne, of whom it was called *Logres*, and now England. To the second sonne, named *Albanactus*, he assigned another part towards the Northe, whiche at this day the Scottes possesse; by which *Albanactus*, the countrey was called *Albania*, and the people, *Albanactes*, as shalbe shewed hereafter. The iij. part, liyng West, & towards the seas of Gaule, whiche nowe is called Wales, he gaue to *Camber* his yongest sonne, by whom it was called *Cambria*, & the people, *Cambrians*, as they cal themselves to this day.

AND though the island was ⁴thus parted, betwene the three brethren, yet the supreme power and kyngdome, remained alwayes in the eldest; to whom the other twoo were obedient, as to a superior kyng. The profe wherof, if any bee so curious to require, I aunswere, that thesame histories, whiche speake of this particion, declare in likewise of the subieccion: So that admittynge them in the one, they muste likewise bee admitted in y^e other. For y^e more corroboracion wherof, the histories, bothe of Britons and Romaines agre, that the Islande was vnder kynges at the beginnyng: whiche as thei were called Kynges of Britayne, so was y^e general name of

¹ b viij² b viij, back³ c j⁴ c j, back

the people, Brytons, neither was there ¹any other state or Kyngdome in the Islande at those daies, but onely of Britons. In so muche, that the Romaines, beyng most diligent reporters of the names of Princes by *them* subdued, and countreys conquered, whereas thei make particular mencion of diuerse kynges of the Britaines and of sundery cities in Britain, yet do thei neuer name any people called Scottes, ne make mencion of any suche Princes, as is pretended to haue ruled ouer *them* whiche, if thei had been so glorious, bothe in warre and peace, as thei be set furthe: how should their actes haue been hidden to the Romaines, which contended with all men for glory, for thirst whereof, thei sometymes sought ²enemies at y^e worldes ende. And though it maie be said, that *Cesar* and diuerse other neuer came so farre as Scotlande, by a great distaunce: yet, how could it be, y^t *Iulius Agricola*, whiche, after the Southe partes of Britain was made a prouince to y^e Romayns inuaded vnto y^e Orcaides, which is the farthest part of Scotland: & after .viii. yeres warres there at the foote of the mounte *Grampius*, now called *Granzeben*, fought against *Galgacus* with ten M. Britaines, whom he there ouerthrewe: how (I saie) could he bee ignoraunt of the Scottes or of their warres? So that it muste be graunted, that at those daies, either thei wer not in Britayne, or if thei wer in Britayne, their ³name and power was nothyng suche, as we pretend. For who so diligently considereth the course of the said stories, shall well se, y^t neither Pictes ne Scottes had any dominion in Britayn, vntil about the declinacion of the Romain Empire: and that the Pictes entered into Britayn before the Scottes, in the time of kyng Marius, whiche was aboute the yere of Christe .lxxii. After whiche tyme, with the helpe of the Irishe Scottes, thei vexed the Britaines with continuall incursions. These Pictes wer a people of Scithia, now called Tartarie, & driuen out of their countrey, sought herberough emonges Irish Scottes, who beyng nothing glad of such gestes, pro⁴ured theim to set foote in Brytayne as thei did in dede, and ther continued many yers after. This people wer called Pictes, because in stede of garmentes, thei vsed to paint their skynnes with sundery figures of beastes and birdes, hauing collers of of yron about their neckes, and girdelles of thesame, aboute their wastes, and specially the nobilitie of theim, whiche esteemed the same for a greate poynt of brauerie. This doth Herodian write in the life of Seuerus themperor, whiche came into Britayne, and repaired the walle, begonne afore by Adrian his predecessor, by whiche walle, the Prouince of the Romaynes was diuided, from the residue of Britain, and ⁵was made firste to resist the incursions of suche Britaynes as thei accompted sauage and barbarous. The ruynes of this wal, are to be seen at this present: wherefore it semeth to me, that afore the time of thesaied Adrian, the name, neither of Pictes ne Scottes, was neuer knowen in Britayne, so that if thei had any possession there afore,

¹ c ij

² c ij, back

³ c iij

⁴ c iij, back

⁵ c iiij

thei came to it, rather by stelth then by any open force, or conquest. I speake not this to minishe the honoure and glory of my countrey, nor to deface y^e nobilitie, or the valeaunt actes of the Scottishe kynges, but to shewe that the first inhabitants of this island, wer all Britaynes, more then vi C. yeres afore Scottes had any Kyngdom¹ there, and that thei had no suche originall, as some haue phantasied, but y^t thei are a people mixt with Britaynes & come of Britaynes. In profe whereof, it is saied, that the Armes of Scotlande, borne at this daie (the trace of the floure deluce except, whiche was late put in) is the self same armes, that Brute bare: yet wil I not affirme that Scottes be mere Britaynes, or Englishe men mere Britaynes, but that the more parte of bothe people bee discended of Britaynes. For though the Islande hath been often inuaded by sundry nacions as Romaynes, Pictes, Scottes, Saxons, Danes, and lastely by Normaynes: yet doth it not folowe, y^t the whole bloud of Britaynes was so extincte thereby, but that there must great numbres remain in euery parte of the island, wherby it maie be said y^t the race of them is mixte, but not merely fordoen and extirped: for no countrey can bee so inuaded by straungers, y^t the whole race of the olde inhabitants, can bee worne all out, but that the substauce or more parte, shall still remain. As for example, Italie hath been inuaded by Gothes, Vandales, Honnes, and other barbarous nacions, can it therefore be saied that the whole Romain blod is vtterly extinct? no verely: for of necessitie y^e stocke dooth still abide, though not wholly, yet in the more part. And likewise of Englande and Scot³lande, I doubt not to saie, and am able to proue, that the great parte of bothe realmes, is come of y^e old Britayns. And though we haue been mixed with foreyn nacions, wherby the Britayne tongue is chaunged & out of vse, yet doth the bloud and generacion remain: and as for the Irish tongue, whiche thei speake in the North partes of Scotland, dooth no more proue them to be mere Irishe, then the Englishe tongue vsed in all the South partes of Scotlande, proueth the people there to be Englishe.

Bvt to resorte to our purpose, how can it stand with reason, that the Pictes and Scottes, two strong nacions should make great warres, should so often in⁴fest and vexe bothe Brytains & Romaines, ye and ouercome them and at length stablish two kingdomes in the Island, and no remembraunce thereof founde in any story, either of the Britains or Romaines, nor in any other autentique or approued Cronicle. For Cæsar, Tacitus, Ptholomæus and Plinius, Romayne authours (though we speake of no mo) & on the other syde, Gildas, mooste auncient writer of the Brytaines, though euery wher in their histories, they make special mencion of all the people, then dwelling in Britayne, yet speake thei nothing of those two nacions, whiche if thei were chefe & strongest (as oure writers pretende) how coulde their names be pro⁵mitted of so many authers, wherby one of

¹ c iij, back² c v³ c v, back⁴ c vj⁵ c vj, back

these two things muste be graunted, that either they were not then come into Britayne, or els (if thei were come) they remayned subiectes to the Britaynes, according to the English history. Agaynst which though it maybe obiected, that Britayne was not alwayes from the beginning, vnder one Kyng or one Ruler, but was gouerned somwhiles by one, and somwhiles by mo, (as the Romayne stories declare) whereby there should be no suche Monarchie and kyngdome, nor any such order prescribed by Brute, as the English stories specifie: yet doth that make nothing to proue, the Scottes not to be come of Britaynes, ne enforceth any title for them, to be no subiectes to England: for it may stand together, that the estate of Britayne was suche at the beginning, as the Englishe cronicles mencion: & as in time all thinges chaunge, so by occasions ensuyng, the first ordre might be broken, and from one intier kyngdome, to be diuided into partes, as it should seme, that it was about the coming of Cæsar, who writeth, that at his arryuall in Britayne, the cities by common assente, elected *Cassibilanus*, to their king, wherby it maye be gathered, that the Monarchie therof, was then broken by some faccion within the Islande, which caused it to be a more easy prey to enemies. And ²this verifieth my woordes spoken afore: that diuision and discorde of the people brought this Island first, into subiection of other nacions. This is confirmed by the Romayn stories, but namely by *Cornelius Tacitus*, saynge that Britaynes at the first were vnder Kynges, and afterwarde by faccions and sedicions of Prynces and great men, were so diuided in themselves, that to resist an vniuersal peril, scarsely twoo or three countreys at the most, would agre together: so fighting in partes, at last the whole was ouercome. And by this meane was Britayne fyrste subdued, & made tributarie to the Romayns, vnder whome it continued in fourme of a prouince, ³vntill the tyme of great Constantine the Emperour, by whome it was restored to libertie: yet was it not so broughte in subieccion al this tyme, but that there were for the most part, kinges in Britayne, as our stories testifie, and likewise the Romayne: wherein we reade of *Aruiragus*, whome Iuuenal writing to Nero, signifieth to be a kyng by these woordes: *De tæmone Britanno, excidet Aruiragus*, that is to saye: Aruiragus shall fall frome the stem of Britayne. And after hym, of *Lucius*, y^e first christen King, whom Elutherius bishop of Rome, in one of his epistles, calleth kyng of Britaynes, and so of Coclus with diuers other. Wherefore admitting the state of Britayn to ha⁴ue beene suche at the beginning, as the English story affirmeth, (which we must admitt, because the contrarye appeareth not) though there happened som interrupcion of the monarchie by the Romayns, or otherwyse: yet when the people atteyned their libertie, and were gouerned by Kynges of their awne: we muste presume, that thei obied them & their lawes, & the people to hold their lands in like

¹ c vij² c vij, back³ c vij⁴ c vij, back

course, as was ordeyned at the first: wherof it muste folowe, y^t if Scottes were in Britayn at those daies, they knowledged y^e kynges of Britayn for their superiors, according to the stories. In which point I will not muche stycke, consideringe the name of Scottes was not then knowen, as I said afore. And though our writers dreame diuerse thynges to the contrary, we cannot admitte their bare allegacions in disprofe of so many stories, of so graue writers, in whom, as there is lesse suspicion of parcialitie, so was there more certaintie of knoweledge, then in the other, whiche were vnborne after them, by a great nombre of yeres. But admit no suche ordre to haue been prescribed in gouernement of the kyngdome, as the Englishe storie alledgeth: and though there had been, yet the interruption to be sufficient cause, to breake the same: and admit the Scottes to haue been then in Britayne as thei were not: Let vs see whether ²we cannot vnite these people by another waie. It is certain that after the Romayns had reduced the South and West partes of Britayn into a prouince, as men desirous to enlarge their empire neuer content with part, till thei had the whole, thei innaded the Northe partes of Britayne, and ceased not, till thei came to the Orcades, and so in fine, brought the whole islande in subieccion: their stories herein bee playne.

AND no lesse plain is it, that Constancius themporer, who died at Yorke, married Helene, called saincte Helene, daughter & heire to Coyll kyng of the Britayns, of whom he begatte the greate Constantyne, afterwarde Emperor, not onely of Britayn, but ³also of y^e whole worlde: in whose persone, bothe titles, as wel that, whiche the Romaynes had by conquest, as also that, which his mother Helene had (as heire of Britayn) wer vnited & knit together, and he without al doubt or controuersy, was very Emperor of al Britayn, wherby the island after long seruitude, was at last (as it wer by Gods prouidence) restored to his former libertie & honor, themporer beyng begotten in Britayn, sonne of her, that was heire of Britayne, borne in Britayne, and create Emperor in Britayne. Now if Scottes wer then in Britayn (as our writers alledge) then wer thei subiectes to Constantine, because the stories be euident, that he had al ⁴Britayn in possession, wherunto whether he came by Helene his mother, or by Constancius his father forceth not much: for it suffiseth for our purpose, to proue y^t al Britayn, was vnder one Emperor, and beeyng vnder one Emperor, then was Scotlande and Englande but one Empire. In confirmacion wherof, besides the testimony of old histories, there be two notable thynges yet obserued in Englande. by all the kynges successiuelly, euen sithe y^e saied Constantine. The one is y^t thei weare a close crowne Emperiall, in token that the lande is an empire free in it self, & subiect to no superior but GOD. The other is, that in al their warres, thei beare a banner with a red ⁵Crosse, for their ensigne, in memory of that

¹ d j² d j, back³ d ij⁴ d ij, back⁵ d ij

Crosse, whiche appered to themperor Constantine gooyng to battaill, when this voyce was heard: *Constantine, in hoc signo vinces*, that is to saie, with this ensigne thou shalt preuaile. These two monumentes of honor & religion in Britayn, wer received from that noble emperor.

EVROPIVS witnesseth, that Britayne rested in libertie, duryng the life of Constantyne, who left behind hym .iii. sonnes successors of his Empire, Constancius, Constans, and Constantyne, to whom beeyng youngest, there fell for his porcion Britain, Spayne, Fraunce, and the Orcades. This Constantyne was ¹after slayne in Italye, by whose death, the Empire of Britayne came to his brother Constancius whiche reigned twenty yeres, in whose blood, it remained .xxiiij. yeres after, y^t is to saie, vntil the v yere of the ii brethren, *Gracian* and *Valentinian*, Emperors, what tyme by fauor of the people, *Maximus* was creat emperor in Britain. This Maximus as *Hector Boetius* alledgeth, in y^e.vij. boke of his historie, discended of y^e blood of greate Constantine, & reigned ouer the whole islande of Britain and the Orcades, seuentene yeres without interrupcion. And being desirous of more empire, with a greate nombre of Britaines, entered into Fraunce, & slewe Gracian the Emperor at Lions, and ²forced Valentinian the other brother to flee to Constantinople, for ayde of the Emperoure ther. Neuertheles (as al worldly thynges be mutable) hys fortune was to be slayne in Italy, leuyng behynd hym a sonne named *Victor*, who was slayne in Fraunce: whereby the state of Britayne, drew euery daye into worse. It were longe to reherse the mutacions of thynges, happening in Britayn, from the tyme of great Constantine, vnto Valentinian the Emperoure, in whose dayes, the Empire of Roome was inuaded with great multitudes of Barbarous nations. And in his tyme, did y^e Scottes beinge a nacyon come oute of Irelande (as Gildas writeth) passe ³ouer into Britayne and finding the lande destitute of men of warre, whiche either were all slayne by tyrauntes, or waisted by long warres in other countreys, entred the Islond & makinge leagwe with the Pictes, preuayled so at length, y^t they obteyned all y^e North parte of Britayn in possession, callyng y^e countrey Scotlande, and themselves Scottes. And this was the thrid nacion y^t Inuaded this Island: First cominge out of Scithia into Irelande, and frome Irelande into the North partes of Britayne. The Capitayn and leder of this people (as *Beede* witnesseth) was one Rewda, albeit the late Scottishe Cronicles set a muche further beginnyng, whiche I wyll ⁴touch in his place. But if we beleue Beede, a man for hys liuing and learning, reconed in the numbere of sainctes, and of ecclesiasticall writers, called *Venerabilis*, the comming of the Scottes into Britayne was not vntyll about y^e yere of Christ .CCCC.xliij. which was long after the comming of the Pictes: to whose opinion, though he was a Saxon, I would soner assent, then to the new fonde fables of our

¹ d iij, back

² d iiij

³ d iiij, back

⁴ d v

Scottishe Poetes, framed vpon phantasie, without auctoritie precedent.

AND for the further profe of this Monarchie, it is reade in the tyme of Lucius, whiche was the firste christen Kyng of the Britaynes, as is said afore: ther were in Britayne iij. high Pre¹stes, or Bishoppes, Idolaters, of the Heathen religion, called *Archiflamines*, and xxviij. other inferiour Bishoppes of thesame supersticion, called *Flamines*: In stede of whom, this godly King, ordeined as many Bishoppes of Christes religion, & thre Archebishoppes, placinge the first at London, the second at Yourke, and the thirde in the citie of Legions, whiche at this day is called Chester. To the prouince of Yourke, there belonged all the northe parte of Britayne, now called Scotlande with the orcades. And notwithstanding all the mutations, happening in processe of yeres, yet al the Bishops of those countreys, came vnto Yorke to be consecrated of y^e Arch²bisshop there, and promised obedien^{ce} vnto him, as to their Metropolitane & hed bishop: albeit by occasion of warres, they were summewhiles letted so to do. And of latter dayes, that is to saye, in the tyme of Henry the ij. Kyng of Englande, whiche was about the yere of Christ a M.C. & lv. the Englishe historic sheweth, that Michaell Bishop of Glasgow, and after him, Tothadus Bishop of Saincte Andrewes, were consecrated by Thomas Archebishop of Yourk. If my countreyemen beleue me not in thys point, let them beleue the Bulles of Paschall, Calixte, Honorius, Innocentius, Eugenius and Adrianus, Bishoppes of Rome, written to the Bishops of Scotlande, So often ³as any of theym were rebell, or would not acknowledge the Archebishop of Yourke, Primate of Scotland, for their head Bisshop. This I alledge to shewe, that the two realmes at the first were not onely vnited in one Empire, but also in one Religion the superioritie wherof, seyng it so longe continued in the English side, proueth in that part a certayn kynde of subieccion in Scottes, whyche I passe ouer: But nowe hauinge sufficiently alleged to proue, that al we were Britaynes at the beginning, come of one kynde, and liuinge vnder one Monarchie, broken by diuision and ciuil discorde, as is shewed before: there restethe to disproue the fayned alligacions ⁴of the contrary part, which conuey you from Pharao, the tyraunt of Egipt. And as it is to coniecture, if their willes might take place, they would bryng you vnder the seruitude of Egypte again. But before I touche y^t argument, according to my promisse at y^e beginning, I must in part disclose the aucthors therof, whose vntrouthes, though I passe ouer, yet will they bewrey it them selves: for it is not vnknown what persons they be, that take vpon them to write stories and Cronicles, both in England & Scotlande: which for the more parte, be Monkes and Fryers, suche as in name professe Religion, beyng in dede the peruerters of all true Religion. These men, is⁵ suyng from the prince of darkenesse, broughte vp in darkenes, &

¹ d v, back² d vi³ d vi, back⁴ d vij⁵ d vij, back

maynteyned by darkenes, seke nothings so muche as to kepe the worlde in darkenes, & not without cause: for if their state shuld come to light, the people should espye howe they are plantes, not planted by the heauenly Father but to be pulled vp by y^e rootes. Which thing being well perceined by y^e most noble king, of immortal memory, Henry the VIII of England, like a prince no lesse Godly then prudent, cleuyng in that part to Christes worde, weded out of his realme those wicked plantes, not onely vnprofitable to his common wealth, but also enemies to all veritie and true Religion, whose example, if ¹we of Scotlande, had the grace to folow, I would nothyng dispaire of an honourable and Godly concorde, betwene bothe realmes in shorte time: & that without suche warre & effusion of bloud, as this deuillish generacion hath procured. But to the purpose, these men (I saie) after sathan was let lose, & had filled y^e whole world full of tumult & sedicion, ragyng with fire & sworde against the Gospel, (which euen then began to geue light in Britain) as Oules not apperyng in the day, nestered themselves in the nighte of that ignoraunt worlde, hauyng as mete a tyme to crepe into the consciences of the simple Britaynes, as euer Saxons or Danes had, to inuade their land ²and countrey. So apperyng to them with a visor of simplicite and holines, semyng lambes outwardly, and neuerthelesse Wolues inwardlie, gat credite of vertue and Godlinesse: And seeyng the Coccle, whiche their father Sathan had sowen among the Corne, so faire commyng vp, because the haruest should be weedes, watered the yearth, with suche abundante showers of lyes and fables, that the wedes ouer growyng y^e corne, the cropp was accordyng to the seede, and with suche kynde of breade haue thei fedde the silly people, vtterying their dreames and inuencions, in stede of trouthes & verities. For as Kytes bryng furthe no culuers, no more can the father ³of falshed bryng furthe children of truthe, *qualis pater talis filius*; thei then beyng the impes of so euill a tree, muste of congruence bryng furthe friute, like to them selves, whiche was well sene in those dayes: For what through mischiefe & mortalitie, raised by them on the one side: And what through preaching lies & phantasies, on the other side, not only Gods woorde, but also all other knowledge, hath been obscured: whereof ensued vniuersal ignoraunce, who, being ioyned with error, brought furth an vnhappie babe, called contencion, whom thei haue moste tenderly fostered euer since: not onely ministryng matter thereof, in pulpittes and stoles, but also in their stories and ⁴chronicles, myngelyng the same with so many sedicious fal[s]hodes, as it is in doubtte, whether the lines or lies bee mo in number. And because it were long to reherse al their lesynges and vanities, beyng to many to be well numbered, and to apparaunt to be hidden (for all be powderd with like peper) yet in the Scottishe story, a greate part of their practises is to bee seen, and that euen at the very

¹ d viij² d viij, back³ e i⁴ e i, back

beginnyng, wherat, if thei stumble, what shall we iudge of the reste. If the matter wer onely Poetical, or vpon desire to shewe an auncient beginnyng, it might happely be borne and yet scarse in astorie, the law wherof, is to affirme nothyng that is false, to hyde nothyng¹ that is true, neither to bee ledde with fauor, ne hated. But seeyng the thyng is doen of a sette purpose, for norishyng diuision in the twoo Realmes, I cannot ouer passe it with silence.

“GATHELVS sonne of Cecrops, kyng of Athens or Argiues, beeyng banished oute of Grece, with certain other fugitiues cam into Egipt, in the time of the greate tyraunt Pharao, whiche persecuted the children of Israell. In his daies, the Moores entered into Egipt, and had broughte the lande vnto vtter ruine, had not the kyng by gods commaundement, committed his armie vnto Moses: But after that Gathelus was come, and had wonne a battail against the² Moores, Moses and his company grewe out of fauor, and were fain to flee out of Egipt into Iude. Then was Gathelus made lieuutenant of Pharaos army, and for his valeaunt seruice, obtained Scota the Kynges sister in mariage, with all the landes lately taken from the people of Israell. After the death of this Pharao, reigned his sonne Bochoris, whiche oppressed Gods people with more tyranny, then his father did. But after y^e God had sent greate plagues emong the Egipcians, Gathelus vnderstandyng by the prophetes, that greater were like to folowe, for sooke Egipte, & in the yere of the creacion of the world .iii. M. .vj. C. xliij: He with Scota his wife³ their children & seruauntes, Grekes and Egipcians, came out of the mouthe of Nilus, and passyng by the sea, called Mediterraneum, toke land in Numidie, and after, he arriued into a part of Spayne, then called, Lusitania, whiche because of his arriual there, had the name of Portyngale, as one would saie, the porte of Gathele.”

THIS is a greate stomble at the thressholde of the dore: for it is plain by histories, that Lusitania, was not called Portyngale, almost by a M. yeres, after this supposed tyme. But for the better triall, let vs examine the circumstaunces of the persone, time and place. And for the persone, we will admit Gathelus to⁴ be the kyng of Athens sonne, although no suche name is found in the Greke histories, and wee will admitte Pharao to haue a daughter, though no historie, Greke or Egipt, mencion of any suche. But when wee haue admitted the persons, al the doubt is, how we shall couple them in mariage. For accomptyng the tyme of Pharaos reigne, father of Scota, after y^e Hebrues, then was she in the yere of the creacion of the worlde, twoo thousand foure hundred yeres; and by our histories, Gathelus was in the yere of the creacion of the world three thousand sixe hundred fortie and three: whiche is diferente, twelfe hundred yeres and more.

⁵THIS beinge true, here were a very vnfitte mariage betwene these

¹ e ii

² e ii, back

³ e iij

⁴ e iij, back

⁵ e iiiii

two persones, the Bride beinge elder then y^e Bridegrome,¹ by xii. C. and .xl. yeres. But some wiseman will saye, y^t folke liued long in those daies, yet can thei not denye, but she was to olde a mayde for so yonge a bachelar, whereby I can worse beleue, that they had any children, she beinge of suche yeares. So that to make this mariage frame, either Gathelus was elder than his father, or she was yonger than her brother by a thousande yeares at the leaste. And syns the tyme of Abraham, men by course of nature, haue not commonlie lyued much aboue a .C. yeares. And this is ouer plaine ²to be excused, as a faulte of the writer, seing the whole course of our historie, dependeth vpon y^e tyme. If she then coulde be doughter to none of the Pharaoes, no more coulde he be sonne to any of the kynges of Athens.

And in the tyme that Gathelus liued, which is alledged to be in the yeare of the worlde .iii. M. vi. C. xliiii. there were no kinges in Athens, but it was gouerned by certayne Rulers, as a free estate. If this then be false in the originall, we muste iudge in the sequelle, which is of their comning into Spaine, and of their sonne *Hyber* afterwarde into Irelande, of whome it is called Hybernia, with all the processe of the historie, no less vnlikelie. ³For if either the Spanyardes inhabitinge Galicia, or the Irishe men that now be, had comme of Grekes or Egyptians, then of likelyhode, some parte of their speache or language, should remain there. The vocables & soundes of which *tongues*, be asmuch differente in sounde, as the voices of men, and the noise of dogges. But seinge this priuiledge hath been geuen vnto antiquitie, that to make their fame moore highe and honorable, they myghte referre their beginninge to the Goddes: and thoughe the same were more like Poetes fableis then syncere histories, yet to be taken for true: Soo woulde not I trauaile so muche in disprofe of these trifles, but because ⁴I se, that as thei were at the first inuented for diuision by new diuersitie of names, so thei be continued at this daie for like purposes. Suche practises haue bene vsed in Italie, betweene Guelfes and Gibilines, and in Hollande betwene Hukeis and Cabellawes, and otherwhere by newe founde names, inuented by the chyldren of perdition, to set vs at diuision, euen as they, by diuersitie of sectes & names are diuided from the vnitie of Christes religion. I nede not to name them, for those *companions*, be wel enough knowne by their coates and hodes, whome as I do not reprove of hatered to their persones, no moore do I impugne their histories for enuy at oure ⁵nacion, whose honor if I should not earnestly seke, I mought be compted moste vnnaturall, but that I se what sedicion is sowed by ouer much credite vnto their fables and inuencions, which I suppose hath been a greate lette to the concorde, y^t all good men desire. For seinge the beginniges of people cannot be certainly knowen, but

¹ "The Bridegrome being elder than ye Bride."

³ e v

⁴ e v, back

² e iiij, back

⁵ e vi

onely vnto God, whiche was afore al beginning, it shalbe better to admitte some thinges for true, the contrarye wherof cannot be proued, then to labor in vayne, where y^e truth cannot be tried. But this thing which is apparauntelye false, repugnaunte to reason, and not onely against al other histories, but also contrary in it self, yea & ¹against the scripture, founded vpon falsehode, maintained vpon malice, and sette forth to the diuision of two Realmes: I thoughte it no vnprofitable labor, to impugne, lamentinge, that in a Chronicle so exactelie written, & so eloquentelie set furthe, there shoulde wante veritie, the cheife grounde of al historie: whishing vnto the auctor, asmuch wante of malice & affeccion, as he hath plentie of witte and learninge. An other argument I gather out of the same historie, where it is confessed, y^t after the Britaynes inhabiting Scotlande were expulsed by the Pictes, thei with their wives & children, fledde into Ireland, where thei continued xlv. yeares together. Duringe ²which time, by reason of bynge and selling, marryng, and other trauffique with the Irishe people, their name & tounge was a great part altered & lost. Yet, as our histories shew, the posteritie of those people, comming afterwarde vnto y^e possession of their countrey, to kepe in memorie of what kinde thei were come, called them selves *Realbines* y^t is to saie: *Albines again*, for a knowledge (as it should seme) aswel of their kindered, as of their restitution & comming againe: which is a better profe to shew vs descended of Albanactus (according to y^e English historie) then to saie, y^t Realbines, is vnderstanded, *kinges of Albion* (as the translator of Boetius historie interpretethe). ³As though it wer like, that those fewe, whiche had put foote, but in the smallest and most barrain porcion of the Isle, should call themselves kinges of Albion, when thei neither came in by conquest ne reigned ouer any people, but occupied a wast part of the land not beyng inhabited, as in the thirde Chapter of his Chronicle appereth. But how standeth that with reason, that Britayne beyng inhabited by the space of vi. C. yeres afore their comyng, suche a countrey shoulde lie desert, and especially vpon the sea costes: Whiche liyng open to other landes, and sonest sene by them that saile, muste of likelyhode haue inhabitors, before the inner parte of the countrey. I ⁴saie no more, but, *Mendacem oportet esse memorem*: He that should tell a lye, had nede to haue good memory, least his matter appere like a Mermaide, beginnyng with a woman, and ending with a Fishe, as when the ende of the tale is repugnaunt to the beginnyng, and the middes agreable to neither of bothe. And doubteles it is no smal masterie to hide a lie: for apparell hym neuer so faire, his ragges will appeare, packe him neuer so close, the bundell will breake, write hym or speake hym, and his auctor is bewraied, as a Ratte, is by squekyng: And though he bee allowed for a ceason, yet at the ende tyme will trie hym, whereof ensueth greate preiudice to the

¹ e vi, back² e vii³ e vii, back⁴ e viii

author: For though he saie afterwarde true, none will beleue hym.

IF I shoulde here entre into declaracion of the righte & title, wherby the kynges of England claime to be superior lordes of Scotland, I should of some be noted, rather a confounder of our liberties and fredomes, then a conseruator, (which name I had late). But for somuche as the same is so exactelie set furthe in an Englishe boke put in Printe in the yere of oure Lorde 1542 at the beginninge of these warres, called: "A DECLARATION, conteynng the iust causes and consideracions, of this presente warre with the Scottes, wherin also appereth the true ²and right title, that the kynges most royall maiestie hath to the souerayntie of Scotlande": as nothyng can be sayde more in so fewe woordes, I will referre all indifferent readers to thesame booke, thinkinge it nedelesse to spende any more time, in a matter so well proued: Neuerthelesse I will somewhat touche a point or two, to geue occasion to all suche my contreyemen, as minde the honor and quiet of Scotlande, to conferre my saynges, with our histories, and to iudge the matter without affeccion. Wherof settinge a parte the order deuised by *Brutus* at the first concerning the diuision of Brytayne, betwene his sonnes, with the Superioritie supposed in y^e ³eldest, and subiection of the other two, pretermittig also the conquest of the whoole Islande by Romaines, and the title deriued frome the greate *Constantine*: letting passe also the sundry homages and recognicions of subieccion, made to Arthur, and other kynges of the Britaynes, and after him to Osbright, and the Saxon Kynges successiuelly, whiche be at large expressed in the Englishe and Briton histories, and affirmed also by Marianus, our countryman, whose authoritie is not light, if all these were of no credite, (as they must nedes be of great, howe soeuer we esteme them) yet in my iudgement our awn writers, wherin they labor most to impugne the ⁴cause of England, do moste aduaunce it: and therfore in thys parte, I will grounde me vpon them. They agre al vpon .xviii. homages & knowledges of subieccion and allegiaunce, made by the kynges of Scotland successiuelly, vnto the kinges of Englande, and many of them within late memorie. Which homages, though some of them, either folowing their phantaseis, or fearing to offende our kynges, alledge to haue been done, somewhiles for Cumberland & somewhiles for the Erledome of Huntingdon: Yet the time considered, they declare, that such actes were doone by oure kynges, afore any of the sayde Erledomes were in their possession, wherby they ⁵must be vnderstanden absolutely done, for the realme of Scotlande, and in that pointe I referre you vnto the readinge of Marianus: And of latter dayes, synce that those Erledomes were taken from vs by Englishmen among other, kyng Iames the first, did homage, to kyng Henry the fourthe of Englande. The woordes and fourme of whose homage, who so liste to peruse, shall well perceiue the same

¹ e viij, back ² f i ³ f i, back ⁴ f ii ⁵ f ii, back

to haue been made, neither for any of those Erledomes, neither yet for any other holde, but merely, for the crowne of Scotlande, whiche as wel he as other, knowledged to hold of y^e king of Englande, as superior lorde, The recordes remaine, the seales & sub^lscriptions be so many, so auncient, and so faire, as cannot lightelie be counterfaicte. But some peraduenture will say, that many of those homages were done by force and compulsion: I aunswere, though it might be, that some of them were soo done, yet all could not be. For our Cronicles specifie y^t those .xviii. kinges were in Englande, whiche no man can iudge to haue come all thither by force, and all those dyd homage there, and those homages, well nere all, appere to haue been made for the crowne of Scotlande, if we beleue the recordes of Englande. And if any saye, that they be counterfeited, I thinke it soner said, then proued. And touching the compul^sion & force, I saye, though some of our kynges might be compelled by feare, yet howe could all be: or could an whole Parliament be compelled? Is it not manifest, that when question arose, vpon the title of the crowne of Scotlande, betwene *Bulliol*, *Brus*, and *Hastynghes*, was it not decided by Edward the fyrst, kinge of Englande, as competent iudge in that case? But here it is sayde agayn, that he was iudge in that case, not of righte, but by consente of the parties. Then loke well to the wordes of the compromise, which nameth him superior lord of Scotland. And this was done in Parliamente, by consente of the thre estates, which of likelyhoode could not ³be all compelled. In which cause, I am partely ashamed, of the impudent vanitie of our writers, whiche raile without reason agaynst the iudgement of Edward in that plea, as corrupte & false. This I saie, that if the Iudgement were to be geuen agayne, neither *Mynos*, *Lycurgus*, nor *Salomon*, (whose iudgementes in histories be so celebrate) dyd euer geue a more true, a more perfect or a more rightfull sentence, either by the ciuile lawes, or by y^e practise and custome of Scotlande, or any other reasonable lawe, and take the case, euenas they propone it. But then we haue an other euasion, which is to alledge prescripcion, because those homages haue not been ⁴done within memorie. To that I aunswere, that though prescripcion serued in that case, (as it doth not) yet the warres made from tyme to tyme, counteruaile a possession thereof: In whiche pointe lette vs be well aduised, what we saye, leaste by fleyng the smoke, we fall into the fyre. For once admittinge hym superiour kyng, no prescripcion wil serue agaynst hym. The texte is common, and no more common, then allowed, almoste in all lawes. *Nullum tempus occurrit Regi*: Time cannot preiudice a Kyng.

MOREOVER, I note this, that the Kynges of Englande would neuer make peace with vs perpetually, neither as lawfull enemies, but admitted a ⁵truce, or an intermission of warr for a tyme, alwaies exceptyng, *Lorne* and *Lundie*, and with a caution to saue their title

¹ f iii² f iii, back³ f iiiii⁴ f iiiii, back⁵ f v.

and right. Our awne Recordes and registers approue this: howbeit let no man iudge, that myne entent is herin to pleade the cause of Englande, (for that I neither can doo, ne professe to doo) but onely to geue light to suche, as liste to seke, that the matter is not so cleare on our side, as oure writers would haue it seme, and therefore, I would y^t men should weigh the querell indifferently, and without affection, and not to leane more on the one side, then on the other. For the title, which I alledge, is neither deuised vpon phantasie, worne out with ¹age, introduced by conquest, ne enforced with feare or compulsion: but grounded vpon truth, dooen within memory, wroughte by consente, and agreyng to all iustice, equitie, lawe, pacte and promise, not doen in priuate, but openly, and not by a few, but by a multitude, vpon a greate deliberacion, and that in parliament: whiche title enduceth no seruitude, but fredome, libertie, concord and quietnesse, and serueth aswell for Scotlande, as Englande, makyng equalitie without superioritie.

At the parliament holden at Edinbrough (immediatly after the death of our last kyng) wher al the lordes, thother states and orders of our realme wer assem²bled (sauing the Erle of Arguyle that appered there by his proctor, sir Jhon Cammell): The mariage betwene our Princes, and the kynges maiestie of England, kyng Edward the VI. (then beyng prince) was fully concluded by authoritie of thesame Parliament, al thassentes of the said states and Orders, concurring therunto. The whiche, for more faithe & testimony of the thyng, was also confirmed by writing, vnder the greate seale of Scotlande. Maie there be any thyng of greater auctoritie, force, or euidence, any title more righteous, then this? graunted, not by our auncestors, but by our selves, and to a prince now liuyng, not in tyme oute of mynde, but ³euen now these so few yers freshely paste, not rashely, or sodainly, but by greate and deliberate aduisement, and thesame not of a fewe, but of all the states of the realme, assembled not at al aduentures, but solempnely in parliament: a thing no doubt, instilled from the almightie, and thesame our moste merciful god, into the mindes of y^e workers thereof, to haue set an end to al the discord of bothe realmes, by that vnion and knot of mariage. And what madnes or deuill (O moste dere countremen) hath so moued, or rather distracte our myndes, eftsones to take weapon in hand, and thesame against oure promises, fidelities, honoures, and othes, hauyng on oure side, no good ⁴ground, honestie, reason, ne any iuste respecte, but onely of the prouocation of the deuill, the pope, and his rable of religious men (as thei would seme to be) & specially those, whom we cal our ancient frendes, where thei are in deede our aunient enemies, y^e Frenchemen. And when we shall haue well considered, this attone-ment with Englande, & compared the same, with the league of Fraunce, and well weighed thententes & endes of bothe, we shall

¹ f v, back² f vi³ f vi, back⁴ f vii

perceiue y^t the one calleth vs to an euerlasting peace & quietnes, and the other hath, and w[i]ll kepe vs (if wee forsake it not in tyme) in continual miserie and warres. And that maie we easily iudge, in repeting from the beginnyng ¹the causes of the one, and of the other. The Frenchmen, fearyng more and more y^e power of Englande, whiche had so many tymes dooen them so notable displeasures, as not onely to haue wonne of them sundry battailes (wherof for briefnes sake, I reporte me to the stories) but also, for that the Englishemen, haue (as ye knowe) these many yeres, kepte foote and possession of ground in Fraunce, did besides and among many other thynges, deuise this one, as a chief staye for them, to make vs of their faccion against Englande, thinkyng therby at all tymes, when either for iust causes, Englande should haue to do with them, or thei with Englande, wee should ²set on the backes of the Englishmen, or otherwise anoye them, either to force them to withdrawe their armie out of Fraunce, or els bee constreined for resistance, or inuasions, to diuide their power, and so to be the weaker: euen as it hath come to passe, that the Englishemen, haue so been forced to doo, when neuertheless, it hath redounded to no lesse discomfiture of our nacion, then of the Frenchemen, their principall enemies. An euident proife and triall whereof, (partely because thynges of farther tyme and memorie, hauyng been so many and so often, nede not therin to be narrowly sought for, and partly because this example, beyng freashest in mynd, maie, if it ³please God, worke moste best effect) did right well appere, in the first voyage of Kyng Henry the VIII. a Prince of mooste worthy & famous memorie, against Fraunce, when we inuaded England, to haue hyndered his enterprise, and doen there some displeasure, if wee had might, supposyng to haue founde at home, but shepherdes, priestes and women. At one time we lost the feld & our kyng, (beyng otherwise a noble Prince and a valeaunte Knight) besides an infinite numbre of our countreimen, few of y^e Englishe part wantyng, & kyng Henry, at the very self same time wonne the battaill in Fraunce, at the iorney of the spurres: and besides that, wonne also by plain ⁴conquest, Turwayn and Turney. Now, when wee shall haue bothe considered our league with the Frenchemen, and all the successes, that haue chaunced to vs syns the conclusion of thesame, we cannot reckon how to aduauit vs of any one thyng wee haue wonne, but of infinite losses, misfortunes, slaughters, spoyles, and vtter ruyne, come thereby to vs and our countrey vniuersal. The honor and profite, if any be, commeth onely to the Frenchemen, whiche serue theimselfes of vs for their money: for thinordinate gain wherof, we do alwaies hazard our honoures, lifes, and countrey, and haue lost our frendes, naye, rather beyng a membre of the selfe body with Englande, haue suffered our self to ⁵be diuorced & torne from the same, and haue so far passed our awne reason, that we haue in y^t behalf, attempted to do hurte to

¹ f vii, back² f viiii³ f viiii, back⁴ g j⁵ g j, back

a part of our awnselfes, if Gods goodnes towardes Englande, had not so prouided, that our power could not bee hable to aunswer, to our misaduised willes: And so farre did we estraunge our selfes, that wee could finde in our hartes to become seruire, and to bee as common hirelynges, to a forrein nacion. For what other thing do we but serue them for their money, to our awne vtter destruccions, to y^e spillyng of our awne bloud to the burnyng of oure tounes, and to the waste and spoyle of our whole natiue countrey? And at this, do the Frenchmen laugh; thei take pleasure, sittyng at ¹home in securitie, excepte peraduenture thei sende a few of their cast souldiors, of whom thei make lesse accountes or estimacion, then of so many shepe or hogges: Howbeit, to bring vs in belefe, that we bee in some parte of estimacion with them, thei make of our nacion, certain chief presidentes in Fraunce, & the kyng hath of vs, a certain numbre in his garde, for the defence of his persone, in whom, howe litle he trusteth, God knoweth, and daily experience teacheth. By this he maketh vs silly soules beleue, that he hath vs in singuler trust, when in deede it is but a golden and glisteryng bayte, alluryng our simplicitie and credulitie, to that Iron hoke, that hath caught and killed afore now, the moste ²parte of our auncestors, & now of late, no fewer of oure fathers, of our children, and of our kinsfolke; while the Frenche lose not a man, but a fewe golden crounes. And yet our presidentes for al the honor & aucthoritie, that thei be set in, doo serue but as Cyphers in Algorisme, to fill the place, and in stede of Jupiters blocke, sent to rule the Frogges, whereupon thei treade and leape, withoute feare & daunger. And our countrey men of the gard, after many yeres, worne in Fraunce, haue this onely rewarde at length, to bee called of all the worlde, in mockery, *Iehan de Escocce*. Yet is there one thyng, wherein wee repose a certain honor, and yet in deede, is thesame one of the most dishonors, that euer we receiued ³whiche was when at thentre of a league, with Charles y^e greate Kynge of Fraunce, wee receiued for an increase of the Armes of our realme, a trace of flour de luces, not considering how shamefull and dishonorable it was to vs, being so noble a ⁴people, to deface our auncient Armes, and receiue the note and token of nobilitie and worthines, of straungers: On thother part, how honorable a thyng, this attönement with Englande, were for vs, the blynd man maie se. For beeyng then (as algates we must be vnder some one) bothe vnder one kyng, the more large and ample the Empire wer: the more honorable and glorious: the kyng of greater dominion, gouernaunce power, and fame: and the subiec⁵tes more renoumed, more happy and more quiet: the realme more sure, and formidable to the enemies: and thei lesse eshuned and feared.

Thvs beying bothe our people and forces ioyned in one, we should be the more puyssaunt to inuade, more strong to resist and defende. And our power beeyng suche & so great, should be an

¹ g ij² g ij, back³ g iii⁴ people⁵ g iij, back

occasion (for I wil not now speake of all thynges) to make vs fre & sure from outward inuasion wherof (peace beyng first betwene vs and Englande) should folowe peace with al others: In sort, as the laboryng man might safely tille his grounde, and as safely gather in the profites and fruites therof: the marchaunt might withoute feare goo abrode, and ¹bryng in forreine commodities, into the realme: the gouernours beeyng in tranquillitie, and not hauyng their thought and cure diuided into many sundery partes, should, with lesse carefulnessse and anxietie of mynde, see to the good ordre of the commonwealthe, whiche neuer so truely florisheth, as in peace: In fine, all murders, robberies, spoyles, slaughters, and desolacions, beyng the sequele, and as it wer, y^e children of warre, yea, and warr it self, the Parente of thesame, should cease: in whose places should succede peace, wealthe, quiet ordre, and all other graces and good happes. But if, we be so blynd, that we will not see, and deafe, that we will not harken to these holsome admonici²ons, when without the feare of God, and without regard of the common weale, we shall rush still hedlong, into the fury of warre, lette vs reckon with our selves, (whose cause is moste iniust and wrongfull) what is to be loked for, towardes vs, at the conquerors handes, seing, that we haue refused so honorable, so equall, and so easie, yea, and frendly condicions of peace: specially being called, not into subieccion or seruitude, but into one societie and felowship with Englishemen, and y^t, by so honorable a meane, as the mariage of our Princes, with the kinges maiestie of Englande, a Prince of so greate towardnes, honor, and expectacion, bothe for y^t he is descended of such parentes, and also, for y^t those ver³tues bee all ready in hym, as the like were perchance, in no one prince afore: So as we may surely hope and promise to our selves, more at his maiesties hand, then peradventure were lawfull to looke for, of a mortall man. Then, what should wee feare at the handes of such a Prince hauing married our natural quene but all grace, clemencie, and benignitie, as well for her graces sake, whom he shall haue married, as also for those vertues, which be to his Maiestie naturall and propre. Moreouer, what other thyng is to be loked for at y^e handes of the succession of them both, which shall take as well parte of her grace, as of his Maiestie, then al gentle and louing treatment and prerogatyue, seyng from ⁴thesame we shal no more be straungers vnto that nacion, but as nye and as dere, as the self Englishmen. And so muche the rather, when those hatefull termes of Scottes & Englishemen, shalbe abolisshed and blotted oute for euer, and that we shal al agre in the onely title and name of Britons (as verely we ought to do) and the selfe realme, beeyng eftsones reduced into the fourme of one sole Monarchie, shalbee called Britayn: Then the which forme, there is none other better nor no common weale so well gouerned as y^e same is, that is ruled by one kyng. The experience wherof we haue seen, euen from

¹ g iiii² g iiii, back³ g v⁴ g v, back

the beginning of the worlde, continually to our time. For who so shall well consider the states of ¹all commone weales, that haue been gouerned by mo then one, shal perceiue that the same hath been y^e cause of their finall ruine & extermin[ac]tion. For gouernance maye in no wyse suffer an equal companyon, ne any more be diuided into the rule of twoo sundrie administers, then one bodye maye beare two heades, or the worlde endure to haue twoo sunnes to geue lighte at once. And that same appereth in all other creatures, emonge whom, there is any societie, or body politique, wherby it may easily be gathered to be the primatiue decre, and the due ordre of nature. Whiche, like as in many other thynges, so doth it specially appere in the swarme of Bees: for thei beyng ledde with the onely ²and mere instinct of nature, will neither bee without one Kyng and gouernor, ne yet admit any mo kynges, then one at once; And by the same nature, bee wee taught, to repute and recken that body to be monstreous, that hath twoo heddes, and no lesse is the realme, that hath twoo kynges. Then if in all thinges we shuld (as nigh as might be) approche to the likenesse of heauen, as well in our lifes and actes, as in all our fashions, wee should not allowe the regiment of many, for that the heauenly thynges haue but one gouernor, whiche thyng Homere (though he were but an Heathen poete) semeth to expresse in these verses.

To haue mani gouernors is not good

But let there bee one ruler of Kynges ³and one Kyng.

SVRELY, the aunswer of *Cerbane Lydyane*, wherof *Serinus* maketh mencion in his commentaries, was of no small grauitie & importaunce. For when Croesus would haue ioyned his brother with hym in the kyngdome: the sonne (saied he) is auctor of all good thynges in the yearth, but if there should bee two sonnes, it wer perill least their two heates should burne vp all the arth: Euen so, as one kyng is necessarie, so mo then one is hurtfull. The experience wherof, (to fette examples no farther of) was wel felt in Englande, so long as the seuen Kynges reigned, as maie well appere to them that reade the story. Herefore dare I boldly saie, if these twoo realmes wer ⁴brought vnder one Empire and gouernance, wee should see an ende of al strief and warre, whiche will neuer come otherwise to passe: And then should wee haue this common weale of ours, beyng now out of all ordre, and in moste miserable state & condicior to bee moste happie and mooste flourishing. The whiche thyng to attein, it lieth onely in you (O moste dere countreyemen): yours is the faulte, you must make the amendes. And other condicions of recompense, then your selves haue agreed vnto, wil vndoubtedly none bee allowed. For what other condicions should Englande receiue of vs, (hauing had so often experience of oure breaches of peace, of truce, and of our promises, which yet vnto ⁵this daie, we haue neuer truly kept towards them, as thei maye

¹ g vi

² g vi, back

³ g vii

⁴ g vii, back

⁵ g viii

in no reason truste vs,) but in suche sorte, as they maie be assured to fynd vs constaunt, firme and stedfaste in oure promisse. Wherefore, if there remayn with you (O dere countreyemen) any remorse or pitie of our torne and woful countrey, or of your selves, staye betymes, while you haue tyme to do well. Recken, y^t though ye haue offended, it is better betymes to reforme the thyng, whiche, by reason of sinistre and euill counsaill, hath been euill doen, then to stande obstinately in your most wicked and deuclish enterprise, beyng vtterly contrary to your faithfull promise, to your honors, & also to righte and duety; that if your awn par^ticular respectes, doo not moue you, yet haue mercy vpon youre commune countrey, youre countrey weepinge to you with bloody teares, which your selves do expresse, and wring out of her, and enforce her to shed. And surely in this part, I would wyshe asmuch eloquence, as I haue good will to set out this woofull tragedy in her perfect colours: but seyng the same doeth not serue to my wyshe, Imuste vtter such matter, as the dolor of my hart, and natural pitie, may minister vnto my penne, whiche if it could as liuely depaynt the greatnes of this euill, as myne harte doth Imagine and conceiue the same, the multitude of teares shoulde let mens iyes from readyng, and ²extremitie of affections disturbe their myndes from conceiuyng. Imagine you (I praye you) if Britayne coulde speake, mighte she not well saye thus: Hath not the almighty prouidence seuered me from the reste of the worlde, with a large sea, to make me one Islande? hath not natures ordinaunce furnished me with asmany thinges necessary, as any one ground bringeth furth? hath not mans pollicie at the beginning subdued me to one gouernoure? And hath not the grace of Christ illumined me ouer all, with one faith: and finally the workes of all these foure, tended to make me one? Why then wil you diuide me in two? What foly, yea, or rather what contempt of God is this, y^t ye still teare me, pull me, & ryue ³me in peces? were their euer children so vnnaturall (if they were not of the vipers nature) to rend their mothers wombe? yea, were there euer beastes so saluage, or cruel, to deuour the dame? If birdes, beastes, and all thinges naturall haue this reason, not to destroy their kynde, how chaunceth it then, that you beyng men endowed with reason, bredde in one lande, ioyned in one faithe, shouldthus vnkindly, vnnaturally, and vnchristenly, bathe youre swordes in eche others blode? May not the example of other landes teache you to beware of diuision, to hate all discorde, to abhorre intestine warre? May not the ruine of y^e Grekes, the falle of the Romaynes, and the subuersion of soo many ⁴countreys, common weales, and states in the worlde, suffice for your ensample? yea, may not the present sighte of my ruyne and decay, teache you to take heede? If the counsailes of wyse men, experience of your countreys, nor y^e pytie of me your mother, your nutryce, and your bringer vp, do not moue you: Yet at the least,

¹ g viii, back² h j³ h j, back⁴ h ij

haue and vse some mercye towardes your selves. Haue you not shedd enough of your awne blodde? what folye, or rather what fury is this, thus to ruynate your selves, and to deuoure one an other, to the discomforte of me, and pleasure of your enemyes? If ye woulde set before your eyes, the exceeding quantitie of blodd, that hath been shed betwene you my ingrate & moste ¹vnnatural children: you would iudge it sufficiente, & more then enoughe, not onely to con- quere Europe, but euen y^e whole world. And to what vtilitie hathe all thys been spent? surely to none other, then to the mischief & destruccion of eche other, emonge youre selves. Oh incomparable losse for so litle gaine. I was neuer yet inuaded by forreine enemyes, but some of my chyldren were the chief ayders, and onely causers therof: nor no mischiefe procured against me at this day, but by their consent and counsail. Oh I an vnhappy mother of suche children: how longe shall these furies leade you? how longe will you that my wyde fyeldes lye wasted, that my townes be desert and vnpeopled, that my ²fayre houses and Castels be spoiled and burnt, & my people famished? I cannot accuse Romaynes, Pictes, ne yet Normanis, but myne awne rebellious, discordant and graceles children. O hateful discord, no where doest thou begyn, but all goeth to wrecke, ere thou makest an end. O priuy poyson, O familiar foo, O dissembling traitor, O couerte pestilence: what coulde *Cæsar* haue preuailed agaynst me, if *Mandrubatus* a Britayne, had not bene diuided from *Cassibolan* my king? Wil this fire neuer be quenched? this malice neuer cease, nor your furye neuer ende? If it be geuen you of nature, if you sucke it *with* your mothers mylke, if it growe in you with yeares, to hungre, strife, & warre? here this my coun- ³sail. Afore you make warre at home, seke your enemies abrode. Pursue their lifes, shedde their bloode, be wroken vpon them, kyl them, & ouercome them, & when thei be all killed, ouercome and subdued, then turne the swoordes point against eche other, but not afore: and then shall you neuer soo doo, for you neuer yet to this daie, haue wanted enemies. But to returne to you again my countremen, whom, for y^e natural loue, I beare to you, I cannot leaue to blame for your folyes, or rather madnes, & exhorte you to this moste honorable, most godly and profitable attonement with Englande, who wynkyng at our transgressions, bearynge with our peruerse waiwardenes & pardoning our to much ingra⁴titude hitherto, doth to her vtter moste strength & power, seke *with* al possible gentlenes, to reconcile vs, & with all her endeuoure continuallye laboureth to make vs partakers of her concorde and vnitie, her tranquillite & quiet, her wealth & luckey fortune, her conquestes & triumphes: & finallie of all her incomparable ioyes & felicities. I shal lastely beseche and exhorte, and (as farre as the mothers authoritie ouer y^e chyldren may) adiure you by God y^e very auctor of all peace, Loue, Charitie, & concorde, to returne into y^e

¹ h ij, back² h iij³ h iij, back⁴ h iiij

right waie, out of the whiche, ye haue so long gone a straigh. Remember (I besech you, o most dere countremen) how that by this calling of vs into this vnitie, proceeding plainly from god him selfe ¹he woulde also vnite & ioyne vs in one religion. For howe godly were it, y^t as these two Realmes should grow into one, so should thei also agre in the concorde & vnite of one religion, & the same y^e pure, syncere & incorrupt religion of christ, setting a part all fonde supersticions, sophistications, & other thousandes of deuilries brought in by the bishop of Rome & his creatures, wherby to geue glosse to their thinges & darknes to Gods true worde, for y^e onely purpose, to aduauⁿce their glory, & treade Gods word vnder fote, to vtter their fylthye merchaundise, & to sclaunder y^e precious ware & Jewels of y^e scripture: & emonges y^e rest, to destroye Gods peace, & ringe their awne alarmes, against his moste glo²rious victory on y^e Crosse, throuout the worlde. And I wote not whether firme concorde be otherwise more sureli mortized in mens hartes, then when it procedeth of y^e true knowlege of Gods word, which doth in so many passages repete vnto vs, peace, peace: loue, loue: charitie, charitie: & reproueth warre, hatred, & discord, seedes doubtlesse scatered by y^e deuil, through those monsters of men, that professe preposterous religion, to stirre aswell all others, as also most specially, you my countrymen most of all, to this diuision & roare, wherin thei (fearinge the worthy fall, wher with God threateneth them, which they now perceiue by others examples to hang ouer their heades) deuise by hooke & by croke to kepe you ³styl occupied in mistrust of your best frendes, casting before your eyes, mystes, shadowes, & colors (suche as Iuglers vse to doo) to thende, lest if you should once se the clearnes of Gods worde, you should then encline to y^t of your selves, and moost easly, wherunto I do now with so much a do exhorte you. I perceyue that the loue to my country and nacion, hath made me vnawares to haue wandred furder, then at the first I purposed: wherfore I wil make an ende, if fyrst I shall repete that I haue already proued vnto you, that these twoo Realmes were first a Monarchie vnder Brutus, and soo lefte by hys order to his sonnes, by the superioritie geuen to the eldest, which forme of gouernaunce, was also ⁴vnder Constantyne. I haue alsoo proued, y^t these twoo realmes ought to come vnder y^t fourme, & y^e kinges Maiestie y^t now is, to be Monarch of the same: aswel for the superioritie, which was in his auncestors proued by y^e homages & other thinges afore alleged, y^e claim wherof did yet neuer cease as also specially by force of your awn late act of parliament, wherby he ought of right to mary our Princesse, thⁱnheritricie of y^e crown of Scotlande: by occasion wherof we shalbe receiued, not into seruitude, but into y^e same felowship with Englishmen, y^e names of both subiectes & realmes ceassing, & to be changed into y^e name of Britain & Britons, as it was first, & yet stil ought to be. And how

¹ h iij, back² h v³ h v, back⁴ h vi

necessary y^t same fourme of the gouer¹naunce of one Monarche or kinge is, you se to be more clere then the sonne, & the same to be a ready & easy meane, how both tappease al discord, which otherwise wil neuer stint, & also testablish vs in euerlasting peace, quiete & tranquillite: vnto whiche effectes there is verely none other meane. And y^e thing selfe (though I should holde my peace) doth sufficiently speake & avouche y^e same to be a waye vnto both Realmes most honorable, because not only the Empire shal by y^t occasion be y^e more large & strong in it self, & the King y^e more puissant & famous: profitable, for y^t discorde shal ceasse, & concord come in place, & thereby the people & common weale flourish & prospere: & godly for y^t we shal agre all in one, & y^e ²same the true & christen religion.

It remaineth now to say vnto you, that the right high mightie and excellent prince Edward, duke of Somerset, erle of Hertforde, Viscount Beauchamp, lord Seymour, gouernor of the persone of the Kynges Maiestie of Englande, & protector of all his realmes, dominions, & subiectes his lieuetenaunt general of al his armies, bothe by lande and by sea, Treasurer & Erle Marshal of England, gouernor of y^e isles of Gernsey and Jersey, & knight of the moste noble ordre of the garter: A man for his actes and worthinesse, well knowen to the world, & you, of whom you haue had late experience to your peines, & his dolour, for that, as the louyng mother, in beatyng her ³childe weepeth, so in punishyng you, he did it lothely, and to his grief, because he pitied your case. The said lord protector is comyng towardes you, with a puissaunt & invincible army, hauing on his side God, & the iust cause, and an intent, to receiue to mercy grace & fauor, so many of you, as for y^e furthering of this mariage & his other Godly purposes, wil come in to him. And contrarily, to punish & correct y^e rest, y^t shal remain in their stubborn & wilful disobedience. Wherefore (o countrymen) considering y^t on oure part, we haue nothing but the wrong & iniust cause, violacion of our promises & othes, geuen to England with conceiued words, after mature & iuste deliberacion, callyng God & his angels, vnto witnes ther⁴of, who knoweth our infidelitie, & will not leaue the iniury doen to hym & them, vnreunged. For the regard of God, for your awn sakes, & for the tendre respecte of our cuntry, cast wisely doune y^t armour & weapons y^t you haue so fondely put on & taken in hand: & submit your selves humbly, to the mercy & clemencie of so noble & benigne a Prince: who is rather come thither, louingly to embrace & receiue you, yea, & as your protector, to defend & assist you: then to punish you according to your desertes. But, if you shal despice my counsail & abuse his humanitie & good offers, how gentle & clement soeuer he be of his awn nature, thinke you for sure, y^t God, who wil not suffre infidelitie, tescape long in chastised, wil stirre vp ⁵hys corage to do

¹ h vi, back ² h vij ³ h vij, back ⁴ h viij ⁵ h viii, back

vengeance vpon you for your insolencie and faith broken : y^e which I writ, not without sorow & teares : Praing God for his pitie & goodnesse, to geue you his grace & better mynde, so as you may forsake the errors y^t now lead you hedlong, and maie folow these good & holsome counsailes, of your most natural, and most tendre louyng countreiman : wherby, you maie accord (as by your promises and dueties, ye ought to do) to so godly, so honorable, and so profitable condicions, as are now gentelly offered you.

Excussum Londini in ædibus
Richardi Graftoni typis
Impressoris.

Anno salutis nostræ.
1547.

I An Epistle
 or exhortacion, to
 vnitie & peace, sent from the
 Lorde Protector, & others
 the kynges moste honora-
 ble counsaill of England:
 To the Nobilitie, Gen-
 tlemen, and Commons,
 and al others the in-
 habitauntes of
 the Realme
 of Scot-
 lande.



AN EPISTLE EXHORTATORIE.

¹ Edward, by the grace of God Duke of Somerset, Erle of Hertforde, Vicount Beauchamp, lorde Seimour, bucle to the kynges highnes of Englande, Gouvernor of his moste royall persone, and Protector of all his Realmes, dominions and Subiectes, Lieutenant generall of all his Maiesties Armies, bothe by lande and sea, Chreasauror and Erle Marshall of Englande, Gouvernor of the Isles of Gernesey & Jersey, and Knight of the moste noble ordre of the Garter, with others the Counsaill of the saied moste high and noble Prince EDVVARD, by the grace of God of Englande, Fraunce and Irelande, kyng, defender of the Faith, and in yearthly bnder Christe the supreme hedde of the Churche of Englande & Irelande: To the nobilitie, and counsailors, gentlemen and the commons, and all others the inhabitauntes of the realme of Scotland: Greeting and Peace.

CONSIDERYng with our selves the present state of thynges, & weiyng more depelye the maner and termes, wherein ²we and you do stande: It maketh vs to merueille what euil & fatal chaunce dooth so disseuer youre hartes, & maketh them so blinde and vnmindfull of your profite and to still conciliate and heape to your self mooste extreme mischiefes: the whiche, we (whom you will nedes haue your enemies) go aboute to take awaie from you and perpetually to ease you ther of. And although by all reasone and ordre of necessite, it should bee rather more conuenient for you to seke and require moderate agrementes of vs (whom god hath hetherto, accordyng vnto our moste iuste, true, and Godly meanynges and intentes, prospered and set forwarde, with youre affliction and miserie) then that we, beyng superiours in the feld, ³Masters of a great part of your realme, should seke vpon you: Yet to thintent that our charitable mynde and brotherly loue, should not cease by all meanes possible, to prouoke and cal you to youre awne commoditie and profite, euen as the father to the sonne, or thelder brother would do to the

¹ Sign. A ij² A ij, back³ A iij

younger brother: And as the louyng Phisicion, would do to the mistrustfull and ignoraunt pacient, we are content to call and crye vpon you, to looke on your state, to auoyde the greate calamitie your Countrey is in: To haue vs rather brothers, then enemies, rather Countreymenne, then Conquerours. And if your Gouvernor or Capitaines, shall reteigne and kepe from you this oure exhortacion, as heretofore ¹thei haue doen our Proclamacion tending to the like effecte, for their awne priuate wealth & commoditie, not regardyng though you bee still in miserie, so they haue profite and gouernaunce ouer you, & shall still abuse you, with feyned and forged tales: Yet this shalbee a witnesse afore God, & all Christian people, betwixte you and vs, that wee professyng the Gospell of Christ accordyng to the doctrine thereof doo not cease to call & prouoke you, from the effusion of your awne blood, from the destruccion of the realme of Scotland, from perpetuall enemie and hatred, from the finall eradication of your nacion, and from seruitude to foreyne nacions: to libertie, to amitie, to equalitie with vs, to ²that whiche your writers hath alwayes wissed, mighte once come to passe. WHO that hath red thistories of tyme paste, and doth marke and note the greate battailes, fought betwixte Englande and Scotland, thincursions, roades, and spoyles, whiche hath been doen on bothe the parties: The realme of Scotlande fiue tymes wonne by one kyng of Englande: The Scottishe kynges, some taken prisoners, some slain in battaill, some for very sorowe and discomforte vpon losse, diyng and departing the world: and shall perceiue again, that of all nacions in the worlde, that nacion onely beside England, speaketh the same language: and as you and wee bee annexed and ioyned in one Is³lande, so no people so like in maner, forme, language, and all condicions as we are: Shal not he thynke it a thyng verie vnmete, vnnaturall, and vnchristian that there should be betwixte vs so mortall warre, who in respect of al other nacions, be, & should bee, like as two brethren of one Islande of greate Britayn? And though he were a straungier to bothe, what would he thynke more mete, then if it wer possible one kyngdome be made in rule, whiche is one in language, and not to be diuided in rulers, whiche is all one in Countrey. And for somuche as two successions cannot concurre and fal into one, by no maner of other meanes, then by mariage, whereby one bloude, one lignage and paren⁴tage, is made of two, and an indefecible right geuen of bothe to one, without the destruccion and abolishing of either: If god should graunt that whatsoever you would wish, should be doen what could you wish, other then that, whiche now, not by fortune hath chaunced, but by his infinite mercie and moste inscrutable prouidence, as carefull for you, he hath geuen vnto you. The whiche thyng, that you should also thinke to come of his disposicion, and not by blynd fortune how vnlikely hath it been, & how sodainly hath it turned, that the power of God might be shewed: Your last Kyng beyng a Prince of muche excel-

¹ A ij, back² A iiij³ A iiij, back⁴ A v

lencie and young, (whom you know, after a promise broken contrary to his honour: ¹And a misfortune by iust iudgement of GOD folowyng vpon it, GOD either by sorowe, or by some other wise at his inscrutable pleasure, did take away from you) had three children. Did not almightie GOD, as it were to shewe his will and pleasure to be, that the long continued warre and ennemie, of bothe the nacions should be taken awaie, and knit in perpetuall loue and amitie, take the two men children of those babies, beyng distaunt the one from the other, and in diuerse places, bothe as it were at one tyme, and within the space of xxiiij. houres, leauyng but one mayden child and Princesse?

When the moste wise and victorious Prince, late our Kyng and Master, kyng Henry theight ²in other of his mariages not most fortunate, had by his most lawful and moste verteous wife Quene Jane, his other two wives before that mariage departed this worlde, and neuer surmise nor question made of that mariage, sithe that tyme to this daie, nor so muche as all her lyfe tyme, name or mocion, to, or of any other wife, one Prince of so high expectacion, of so greate giftes of God, the right & vndoubted heire of the Realme of England, and his maiestie, onely of male issue, left behynd hym to succede the imperial Crowne: If nothyng els had been dooen, what can any wise or any Christian manne, that thynketh the worlde to be gouerned by Gods prouidence, and not by fortune, ³thinke otherwise, but that it was Gods pleasure it should bee so, that these twoo realmes should ioyne in mariage, and by a godly Sacrament, make a Godly, perpetuall, and moste frendly vnitie and concord. wherby suche benefites, as of vnitie and concord commeth, may through his infinite grace, come vnto these realmes. Or if any man of you, or of any other nacion doubteth hereof, excepte that you loke for miracles to bee doen herein, and yet if ye marke all the possibilities of the natures of the twoo princes, the children alredy had, the doubtfull chaunce, least eche of them should haue a sonne, or bothe daughters, or not of mete ages, with other circumstaunces both of the partie of this realme ⁴of Englande, and that of Scotland, whiche hath not chaunced in eight hundred yeres, it muste nedes bee reconed a greate meruail and a miracle. But lette it bee no miracle, seyng that God dooth not now speake in oracles as emonges the Jewes he did: And present Prophetes nowe a daies, bee but either not certain, or els not playne: What more certaintie can bee had of Gods will in this case, then the before rehersed dooeth bryng? But if GOD hymself should speake, what could he speake more then he speaketh in these? Call you them prouidences or chaunces? If you bee stil afflicted and punished, maie he not saie: I of my infinite mercie & loue to your nacion, had prouided a Prince to ⁵the one, and a Princesse to the other, to bee ioyned in my holy Lawes, and by the Lawe of nature, and the worlde, to haue made an vnitie, concorde, and peace, in the whole Isle of bothe the realmes: you

¹ A v, back² [A vj]³ [A vj, back]⁴ [A vij]⁵ [A vij], back

refused it, you loued better dissencion then vnitie, discorde then agremente, warre then peace, hated then Loue and Charitie. If you doo then therefore smart for it, whom can you blame, but youre awne eleccion? BVT because some of those, who maketh hereto impedimentes, who cannot but confesse, that there appereth Gods providence herein, and opportunitie and occasion geuen, to vnite both the realmes: yet may here after saie, and heretofore hath saied, that the faulte herein is,¹ that wee seke not equalitie, nor the mariage, but a conquest, wee would not be frendes, but be lordes. Although our Proclamacions at the laste warres, dooeth enough declare the contrary, yet here wee proteste and declare to you, and all Christian people, to be the kynges Maiesties mynd, our Masters, by our aduise and counsaill, not to conquer, but to haue in amitie, not to wynne by force, but to conciliate by loue, not to spoyle and kil, but to saue and kepe, not to disseuer and diuorce, but to ioyne in mariage from high to low, bothe the realmes, to make of one Isle one realme, in loue, amitie, concorde, peace, and Charitie. Whiche if you refuse, and driue vs to conquere, who is giltie of the blood²shed? Who is the occasion of the warre? Who maketh the battailes, the brennyng of houses, and the deuastacion whiche shall folowe? CAN it be demed, but that we haue the great seale of Scotlande, graunted by the Parliament of Scotlande, for the mariage whiche should bee made, with assuraunces and pledges, vntil the performauce? And this in the tyme that the late kyng of moste famous memorie, our souereigne Lorde kyng Henry the eight did reigne and in the tyme of the same your Gouvernor, who now is the erle of Arreigne, who then beyng a chief doer and laborer therein, for the high & inestimable benefite of that realme. So sone as he was by the late Cardinall of S. Andrews and o³thers, with certain vain feares & hopes, and gredines of dignitie peruerted, reuolted from his first agrement, and put al the realme to the losse of suche holdes and fortresses, as be now taken from you: and to the losse of a foughten feld, for the which we are sory, if otherwise peace could haue been concluded, for his awne priuate lucre, & rechelesnes of that noble Realme. And what ende came you loke of this maner of procedynges, but suche successe as heretofore hath been experimented and assaid: we offre loue, we offer equalitie & amitie, we ouercome in war, and offer peace, wee wynne holdes, and offre no conquest, we gette in your lande and offre Englande: What can be more offered and more prof⁴red, then entercourse of merchaundises, enterchaunge of mariages the abolishing of all suche our lawes, as prohibiteth thesame, or might bee impediment to the mutuall amitie. We haue offerd not onely to leaue thauthoritie, name, title, right, or chalenge of conquerours: but to receiue that whiche is the shame of men ouercomed, to leaue the name of the nacion, and the glory of any victorie if any wee haue had, or should haue of you, and to take the indifferent old name of Britaynes again, because nothyng should

¹ [A viij]² [A viij, back]³ B j⁴ B j, back

be left, of our part vnoffered, nothyng of your part vnrefused, whereby you might bee inexcusable: And all the worlde might testifie, all other meanes not beyng able to do any thyng,¹ after many other waies and remedies attempted: Battaill of vs to be taken, as an extreme refuge, to atteigne righte and reason, emonges Christian men. IF any man maie rightfully make battaill, for his espouse and wife: the daughter of Scotland, was by the greate seale of Scotland, promised to the sonne and heire of Englande. If it bee lawfull by Gods Lawe, to fighte in a good querell, and for to make peace: This is to make an ende of all warres, to conlude an eternall and perpetuall peace, whiche to confirme, wee shall fighte, and you to breake, is it not easie to decerne who hath the better parte? GOD and the sworde, hath all ready, and shall hereafter, if there bee no remedie² trie it. Who so willeth the mariage to goo forwarde, who myndeth the peace and tranquilitie of both the Realmes, who willeth no conquest to bee had, but amitie and loue to bee established betwixte vs, wee refuse no manne: let hym bryng his name, and his pledge of good seruice in this querell, he shal not onely be receiued to y^e amitie, but shal haue sufficient defence agaynste the aduersaries: WE neither do nor intend, to put any man from his takkes or offices, onlesse he will needes resist, & so compell vs thereunto, what face hath this of conquest? We intend not to disherit your Quene, but to make her heires inheritors also to England. What greater honor can you seke vnto your Quene, then³ the mariage offred? What more meter mariage then this, with the kynges highnes of England? What more sure defence, in the noneage of your Quene, for the Realme of Scotlande, then to haue England patron and garrison? We seke not to take from you youre lawes nor customes: But we seke to redresse your oppressions, whiche of diuerse, you do sustein. IN the realme of England, diuerse lawes and customes be, accordyng to the auncient vsage of the parties thereof. And likewise in Fraunce, Normandy, and Gascoigne, hath sundery kynd of ordres: Hath al the realmes and dominions whiche the Emperor now hath, one and one sorte of lawes? These vain feares and phantasies, of expul⁴sion of your nacion, of chaungyng the lawes, of makyng a conquest, bee drinen into your heddes, of those who in deede, had rather you were all conquered, spoyled, & slain, then thei would lose any poynte of their will, of their desire of rule, of their existimacion, which thei knowe in quietnes would bee sene what it wer, as it were in a calme water. Now in this tumulte of discord when the realme is tossed vp and doune, with waues and sourges of battaill, famyne, & other mischief, whiche the warr bringeth, thei thynke thei cannot be espied. But looke on them, you that haue wit and prudence, and consider the state of your Quene and realme: YOY wil not kepe her sole and vnmarried, the whiche were⁵ to you greate dishonour. If you mary her within the realme, that cannot extynguish the title which we

¹ B ij² B ij, back³ B ij⁴ B iij, back⁵ B iij

haue to the Crowne of Scotlande: and what dissencion, enuie, grudge, and malice, that shall brede emonges you, it is easy to perceiue. You will mary her out of the Realme: our title remayneth, you be subiectes to a forein Prince of other Countrey, another language: and vs ye haue youre enemies, euen at your elbowe, your succours farre of from you. And be we not in y^e bowels now of the realme? Haue we not a greate parte thereof either in subieccion, or in amitie and loue? Who shall come into your Realme, but he shalbee mette with, and fought with, if nede be, euen of youre awne nacion, who bee ¹faithfull & true to the realme of England, in y^e way of this moste Godly vnion by mariage. And if any forein power, Prince or potentate, whoseuer be your aider, to norishe still discord, sende you an armie also: how shall thei oppresse you, fill your houses, wast your groundes, spende and consume your vitaille, holde you in subieccion, and regarde you as slaues, which without them could not liue, take your Quene to bestowe as thei list, and leaue your realme, especially if their Kyng or ruler (as perchance he maye be) in other warres, be otherwise occupied, to be a pray to vs & a true conquest. Then it shalbe to late to saie, we will haue a mariage and no conquest, wee wishe peace and amitie, we are very of ²battaill and miserie. The stubborne ouercomed must suffre the victours pleasure, and pertinacitie will make the victory more insolent, whereof you your selfe haue geuen the cause. If thei send money and Capitaines, but no Souldiers: First if thei be Capitaines, who ruleth & who dooth obeye, who shall haue the honor of the enterprise, if it bee well achieued? But whether it bee well achieued or no, whiche nombre is that, that shalbee slain, whose bloodde shalbe shed? Their money peraduenture shalbe consumed, and their commaundementes obeyed: But whose bodies shall smarte for it? Whose landes shalbee wasted? Whose houses burned? What realme made desolate? Remembre what it is to ³haue a forein power within you, a strong power of your enemies vpon you, you as it were the campe and plain, betwixt them to fight on, and to be troden vpon, bothe of the victor and the ouercomed. And imagine you se before your eyes, your wifes and daughters in daunger of the wantonnesse and insolencie of the souldiours, the proude lookes of the Capitaines and souldiours, whom you cal to helpe you, the contempt you shall bryng your nacion in: And then take hede lest in deede that follow, whiche you feare, that is that you shalbe by them conquered, that you shalbe by them put from your holdes, landes, tackes, and offices: that youre lawes by them shalbe altered: That your nacion shalbe by them destroyed. ⁴Consider in this realme: Did not the Britaynes call in the Saxons for helpe, and by them wer put out? Where bee the Pictes, once a great nacion betwixt you and vs? Howe did the nacion of Fraunce put out the Galles out of all Fraunce? Howe gotte the Turke first all Grecia, and now a late Hungarie, but beyng called in for to aide and helpe?

¹ B iij, back² B v³ B v, back⁴ [B vj]

And did not the Gothes by like meanes get all Italie? And the Lombardes one part thereof, now called Lombardy? What loke you for more? Nedy souldiours and hauyng the weapons in their handes, and knowing that you cannot liue without them, what wil thei not commaunde you to do? What wil thei not encroche vpon you? What wil thei not thynke thei¹ maie dooe? And what wil thei thinke that you dare doo? This forein helpe is your confusion, that succour is your detriment, the victory so had, is your seruitude, what is then to be thought of losse taken with them? The straungers and forein souldiours shall oppresse you within, oure power & strength without: And of youre awne nacion, so many as loueth quietnes, Godlines, and the wealth of your realme, shall helpe also to scourge and afflicte you. Is it not better to compose & acquiete al this calamitie and trouble by mariage? To ende al sorowes and battailes, by suche and so honorable a peace? How hath the Emperour Spayne and Burgondy, not by title of mariage? Howe holdeth² the Frenche king Briteigne, now lately adnexed to that Croune, not by title of mariage? Howe hath al the greate princes of the worlde happely, and with quiete made of two kyngdomes one, of diuerse lordshippes one? of nacions alwaies at warre with them self, or els in doubtful peace, one well gouerned Kyngdome, rule and dominion, but by that most Godly, moste quiete, moste amicable compositioun of mariage? Two meanes ther is of makyng one rule, whereto title is pretended, and perfite agrement betwixt two nacions: Either by force & superioritie whiche is conquest, or by equalitie & loue, whiche is parentage and mariyng: ye hate the one, that is conquest, and by refusyng the other, you³ enforce it vpon you: you wil not haue peace, you wil not haue aliaunce, you wil not haue concorde: and conquest commeth vpon you whether you wil or no: And yet if all thynges were considered, wee feare it will appere, that it were better for you to bee conquered of vs, then succoured of straungiers, lesse losse to your gooddes, lesse hurte to youre lande, lesse dishonor to your realme: This nacion which is one in tongue, one in Countrey and birthe, hauyng so litle diuersitie to occupie y^e whole, then other powers to come into you, neither like in language ne yet like in behaiour, who should rule ouer you, and take you to be but their slaues. But we estesones and finally declare, and protest vnto⁴ you, that although for the better furtheraunce of this godly purpose, of vniting the realmes, and for the sure defence of them, whiche fauoreth the mariage, we are compelled for the tyme, to kepe holdes, to make fortificacions in youre Realme: Yet the Kynges Maiesties mynde, and determinate pleasure, with oure aduise and counsaill, to bee as before is declared, where fauour maie be shewed, not to vse rigoure, if by condicions you wil receiue this amitie offered, not to followe conquest, we desire loue, vnitie, concord, peace and equalitie: let neither your Gouvernour, nor your Kirkmen, nor those who so

¹ [B vj, back]² [B vij]³ [B vij, back]⁴ [B viij]

often hath falsefied their faithe & promise, and by treacherie and falshed, be accustomed to prolong the ¹tyme, fede you further with faire wordes, and bryng you into the snare, from whence thei cannot deliuer you. Thei wil peradventure prouide for themselves, with pencions in some other Realme, and sett souldiours straungiers in youre holdes, to kepe you in subieccion, vnder pretense to defende them against vs. But who prouideth pencions for you? How are you defended, when thei bee fled awaie? Who conquereth you when the straunge souldiours or Capitaines hath your holdes? When your land is wasted, and the realme destroyed, & the more part kept from you? Who will set by the mariage of the Quene, to buye a title with the war of Englande, to mary the name, another mightie Kyng holdyng the ²lande? If we twoo beyng made one by amitie, bee moste hable to defende vs against all nacions: and hauyng the sea for wall, the mutuall loue for garrison, and God for defence, should make so noble and wel agreyng Monarchie, that neither in peace wee maie bee ashamed, nor in warre affraied, of any worldely or forrein power: why should not you bee as desirous of thesame, and haue as muche cause to reioyse at it as we? If this honour of so noble a monarchie, do not moue you to take and accepte amitie, let the grief and the daungier of the before named losses, feare you to attempt that thyng whiche shall displease God, encrease warre, daungier youre Realme, destroy your landes, vndo your ³children, waste your groundes, desolate youre Countreis, and bryng all Scotlande either to famyne and miserie, or to subieccion and seruitude of another nacion. Wee require but your promised Quene, your offred agreement of vnitie,⁴ the ioynyng of bothe the nacitons: whiche God of his infinite clemencie and tendre loue that he hath declared, to beare to bothe the nacions, hath offered vnto vs bothe, and in maner called vs bothe vnto it: WHOSE callyng & pro-uocacion, we haue & will followe, to the beste of oure powers, and in his name, and with his ayde, admonicion, exhortacion, requestes, and Embassaides, not beyng hable to do it, and to finde stablenes in promises: We shal not willyng, but ⁵constreined, pursue the battaill chastice the wicked and malicious, by the angrie Angelles of GOD, the Fire and Sworde. Wherefore, wee require & exhort all you, who hath loue to youre Countrey, pitie of that realme, a true hart to your quene & Maistresse, regarde of youre honors and promises, made by y^e greate Seale of Scotlande: And who fauoreth the peace, loue, vnitie, and concord, and that most profitable mariage, to entre and to come to vs, and declaryng your true and godly hartes ther-unto, to ayde vs in this moste Godly purpose & enterprise: be witnesse of our doynge, we refuse no man temporall ne spirituall, lorde ne larde, gentilman, ne other, who will ayde this our purpose, and ⁶minishe the occasion of slaughter and destruccion, to whom we shall kepe the promisses heretofore declared, and further see reward & recompence made accordyng to deserte. And for a more sure

¹ [B viij, back] ² C j ³ C j, back ⁴ 'vntiie' in orig. ⁵ C ij ⁶ C ij, back

profe, and playner token of the good mynd & wil whiche we beare vnto you: that whiche neuer yet before was graunted to Scotlande, in any league, truce or peace, betwixte Englande and Scotlande, because you shall haue profe of the beginnyng of loue and amitie of bothe the realmes: the kynges highnes, considering the multitude of them, whiche is come to his maiesties deuocion, and of them that bee well willers and ayders, of this Godly enterpryse, hath by oure aduise and counsaill graunted, & ¹by these presentes doeth graunt, that from hencefurthe, all maner of merchauntes, and other Scottishmen, who will entre their names, with one of the lieutenantes or wardens of the Marchies or any other of the Kynges maiesties officers hauyng authoritie, and there professe to take parte with vs, in this before named godly purpose, to his awne commoditie, and to serue all suche as be of the same agreement: may lawfully, and without any trouble and vexacion, entre into any Porte, Creeke, or Hauen of Englande, and vse their trafique of merchaundise, either by lande or sea, bye & sell, bryng in the commoditie of Scotlande, and take and cary furth the commodities of England, as liberally and as ²frely, & with thesame, & no other custome or paymentes therefore, then Englishmen, & the Kynges subiectes doth at these presentes myndyng further vpon the successe hereof, to gratifie so y^e furtherers of this moste Godly enterpryse and vnion, that all the world may be witnes of y^e great zeale and loue, whiche his highnes dooeth beare, towardes you and your nacion. And all this the Kynges highnes by our aduise and counsaill, hath willed to bee declared vnto you, and geuen in commaundement to vs, and all his Lieutenantes, Wardens, Rulers, and other hed officers, ministers & subiectes, to see executed and doen, according to the true purporte, effecte and meanyng therof. Fare you well.

³At London the v. of Februarij
in the seconde yere of the reigne
of the moste noble Prince and
our souereigne Lorde, Edward
the vi. by the grace of God of
Englande, Fraunce & Ireland,
kyng, defender of the faith,
and in yearthe vnder
Christ the supreme
hedde of the
Churche
of
Englande and
Irelande.

Excusum / Londini in / Aedibus Ri/chardi Graf/toni Typogra/phi
Regii. / Anno Salutis humani / M. D. XL VIII. / Cum privilegio /
ad imprimen/dum solum.

¹ C iij² C iij, back³ [C iij]

A N E P I-
 tome of the title that the
 Kynges Maiestie of Englande,
 hath to the souereigntie of
 Scotlande, continued
 vpon the aunci-
 ent writers
 of both
 na-
 cions, from
 the beginnyng.

M. D. X L V I I I.

CUM PRIVILEGIO
 AD IMPRIMEN-
 DUM SOLUM.

THE PREFACE.

TO THE MOSTE NOBLE AND
 excellent prince, Edward the .VI.
 by the grace of GOD Kyng of Englande,
 Fraunce, and Irelande, defender of the faithe
 and vpon yearth supreme hed, of the Church
 of Englande, and Irelande : your humble
 and obedient subiecte Nicholas Bo-
 drugan otherwise Adams, wis-
 sheth long life, and the same
 prosperous and
 happie.

Although I knowe right well (mooste noble Prince) that there be diuerse whiche bothe by their counsaill and writyng, do to their vttermoste powers swade the vnion of Scotlande vnto youre highnes, by the mariage of their Quene, a meane thereunto bothe honourable and Godly : Yet neuertheles, the same study and furder declaracion of your maiesties ¹title to the superioritie thereof semeth vnto me to bee so indifferently pertainyng to all menne, whiche doo professe obedience to youre highnes, that no mannes studie ought to be taken as vain or vnthankfull, whiche humbly bryngeth furthe to that common vse, whatsoeuer iudgement, profite, or knowledge, he supposeth to haue founde, either by studie, or inquisition : foreseeyng that in tempestious vpswellynges of water or shipwracke, fire, or other like calamities of men, right acceptable vnto vs is the labor of those and thankes worthie, which wyllingly do runne to helpe vs, although in the meane tyme there be other sufficient nombre, to deliuer vs from the perill obiected. Herefore, most noble prince, *pervsing*² the auncient histories of this greate Britaigne, and fyndyng suche plentie of writers confessyng your superiorite of Scotland, as could not by any entendment so fully consent vpon any vntruth, I thought it my deutie to offre vp thesame vnto youre highnes, [aiens the obstinacie of *Scottis* a nacion often vanquished by the valiant manhod of your noble *progenitoris*, & only left in lyf by their *mercie*], which histories like as almightie God hath from tyme to tyme, in fauor of the truth and of your title preserued : So hath his Godhed signified no lesse fauour to your highnes, vouchesauyng to nobilitate thesame, in the persone of your maiestie, conserued vnto

¹ A ii.² perceiuyng. A iij.

this youre tyme the noble house of Seymour, whose auncester Eldulph de Samour beeyng then Erl of Gloucester, many hundreth yeres a gone, in the tyme of kyng Aurelie Am¹brose slewe Hengest the Saxon capitall enemy of the Briton nacion: by whiche noble seruice like as this Realme was deliuered from the tyranny of Saxons, and restored to the whole Empire & name of greate Briteigne; so we youre obedient and louyng subiectes truste, that the right noble duke of Somerset, and the lorde Seimour of Sudeley, your graces high Admirall, your Maiesties dere vncles, shall, in the seruice of youre highnes, for the like restitution of the name and Empire of greate Briteigne vnto your highnes, shew themselves the worthie successors of such an auncester. Neither haue I purposed herin, with opprobrious wordes to skold with the Scottes, and thereby to wipe of one durt with ²another. Neither do I intende to builde vpon our awne Englishe aucthors, but all my purpose is, by indifferent writers, with plain and eident truth (whiche thyng bothe time and maners do euermore require) to publishe your maiesties right and their defence, folowyng therein for the more part Ueremund, Camphil, Cornelius de Hibernia, and Boccius their awne aucthors: whiche peines because I haue assumed rather as a necessarie seruice to my cuntry, then for mine awne glory, I truste I shall offende none but such, whom it should bee ashame to please. Myne inclinacion is to haue the good worde of euery man, but the diseased malice of some cannot saie well of any. Albeit, touchyng the phrase and ³stile of this my wrytyng, if thesame to any man shall not satisfie his expectacion, let hym consider that in parte it behoueth to vse the wordes of the historie, in whiche I am restrained by promise of an Epitome; and that in the residue it was not my mynde to trifle with the fine flowers of Rethorike, but to bryng rather faithfull, then painted gliteryng ouerture, vnto thinges afflicted. The veritie of the Histories I trust shall so hereby appere, that both the good men of Scotlande, by reason and thenemies (if any such bee) by their awne shame shalbe driuen, to confesse this myne assercion to be true, and thesame suche as though the mariage by the iniquitie of some take not effecte, yet to publishe to the world ⁴sufficient cause, for the mainteynaunce of your maiesties accion against them, wherein the honor of a kyng may not geue place to their wilfull rebellion. And for recouery whereof, vndoubtedly almightie God, for your syncere fauor to the auancement of his holy worde, will by his promise as he hath begon, continue your highnes in felicitie and victory,
ouer all his and your enemies, wher vnto
all youre true subiectes
doo saie

AMEN.

¹ A iij, back.

² A iiij.

³ A iiij, back.

⁴ A v.

THE KYNGES TITLE TO SCOTLANDE.

¹ If the veritie which auncient and indifferent writers haue made common to all nacions might aswell perswade the Nobles and Commons of Scotlande, asit hath reason, bothe to charge them and disproue all their obieccions, thei would right some laie doune their weapons, thus rashely receiued, to fight against the mother of their awne nacion: I mean this realme now called Englande the onely supreme seat of thempire of greate Briteigne. In whose bosome cast with vs, as bothe in one mould, thei haue receiued thesame tounge, lawe and language: for asmuche therefore, as nowe touchyng the mariage of their Quene, there is nothyng of ²our part left vndoed, that ought to perswade them to concorde, and thesame by diuerse of them hetherto wholly neglected, thei shall of my parte easely perceiue that to increase their errour, approue their folly, or allowe their obstinacie, I am not disposed; but contrarily by y^e veritie (wher in their awne writers shalbee no defence to them, but meere condempnacion) to publishe to the world the state of these contencions, our title & their defence: pursuyng the which, I will folowe y^e wordes of thistorie as foloweth.

THE auncient writers of the Histories of this whole Isle of greate Briteigne, confesse that after our firste progenitor Brutus, the yere from the beginnyng of the worlde iiii. M. xxvii. had ar³riued in this Isle, and after his awne name had called it Briteigne, he had issue thre sonnes, Locryne, Albanactus, and Camber, betwene whom, after his deathe thei agreed in this particion, that Locryne had this first and worthiest part, whiche now is called England, Albanactus the second part, now by the Scottes possessed, by hym called Albania, whiche their awne writers confesse: and to Camber chaunced the third part now called Wales: the two better⁴ partes to be holden of the firste, as of the worthiest of the bloud, accordyng to the Troyan lawe, from whence thei were discended, whiche superioritie also by their different bearyng of the Armes of the father, leuyng the entier cote in the eldest brother, ⁵is sufficiently testified vntill this daie. The particion in this wise established, Albanactus possessyng Albania was by Humber, his subiect miserably slain, with out issue of his body: to punishe whiche traitery, Loctrine and his brother Camber assembled their power and entered Albania, and there slewe this Humber, whose body thei threwe into a great riuier. Some write that this Humber beyng desperate, threw hymself into this

¹ A v, back. ² A vi. ³ A vi, back. ⁴ corrected to 'later' in margin.

⁵ A vii.

Riuier, but all confesse, that in this riuier his bodie was drowned, and that hereof toke the name of Humber, which it kepeth to this daie. This Locrine herupon seized Albania into his awne handes, as excheated wholly to hymself, not yeldyng any part therof vnto Camber his ¹brother, whereby also euidently appereth the entier seigniory ouer it to consist in hymself, accordyng to whiche example, like lawe emong brethren euer since hath continued, preferring the eldest brother to the onely benefite, of the collateral assencion from the youngest, aswell in Scotlande as in Englande vnto this daie. Locryne reigned in this state ouer them .xvii. yeres. Ebranke the lineall heire from the bodie of this Locryne, that is to saie the sonne of Mempris, soone of Madan, sonne of thesame Locryne, buylded in Albania the castle of Maidens, nowe called Edenbrough: and the Castle of Alcluth or Alclude, now called Dunbriton, as the Scottishe Hector Boecius confesseth: wherby moste euident²ly appered: that this Ebranke was then therof seized. This Ebranke reigned in this state ouer them .lx. yeres, after whose death this Albania as annexed to the Empire of Briteigne, disceded to the onely kyng of Britons, vntil the discent to the twoo sisters sonnes, Morgan and Conedage, lineall heires from thesaid Ebranke, who brotherly vpon the first example deuided the realme. Morgan had Logres, and Conedage had Albania: but shortly after Morgan thelder brother³ ponderyng in his hed, the loue to his brother,³ with the loue to a kyngdome, excluded nature and gaue place to ambicion, and ther upon denounced warr to his brother:³ in whiche warre as the rereward of his vntrathe, death miserably ⁴ended his life: wherby Condage obtained the whole Empire of al Briteigne, in whiche state he remained .xxxiii. yeres.

AFTER whose time thesame lineally descended to thonly kyng of Britons, vntill after the reigne of Gorbodian, who had issue two sonnes, Ferres, and Porres, whiche Porres requiryng like particion of the land, affirmyng the former particions to bee rather of lawe then fauour, was by the handes of his elder brother, both of his life and hoped kyngdome bereued at once: but their vnnaturall mother vsyng her natural malice, that for the deathe of her one sonne, would bee reuenged by the losyng of bothe, miserably slewe the other.

* * * * *

⁵But what nede I to examyne the intermission of our claime by any length of tyme, since this superioritte passed the consentes of all Scotlande by their solempne acte of Parliament, against whiche neither lawe nor reason can enhable them to prescribe.

This haue I declared & proued vnto you how Brute our first progenitor, ohis⁶ people and their posterity enjoyed the whole Isle

¹ A vii, back.

² A viij.

³ All these three corrected in the margin to 'Cosyn'.

⁴ A viij, back.

⁵ G iiij, back.

⁶ sic.

of great Britaigne in xlii. discentes of kynges almost vi .c. yeres¹ before any Scottisheman came within it. I haue also proued vnto you how after their commyng into it, immediat war was made vpon them by the kynges of this Briteigne, whiche ceased not vntill they wer expulsed, all the bondes of it, and albeit at diuers tymes they entred it again, yet did these warres neuer cease against them vntil they became subiectes in whiche state they haue remained about xvi .C. yeres. I haue also proued vnto you how from tyme to tyme synce y^e beginnyng the Scottes receiued and obeyed the olde lawes and customes of this realme, mooste of whiche remaine among them to this day. I haue further proued how their kynges haue been contributorye to the redempcion of kynges of² this realme, whiche is the duetie of onely subiectes. I haue also proued vnto you howe the generall iurisdiccion ecclesiastical of Scotland many hundreth yeres after y^e beginnyng was subiected to y^e dioses and rule of tharchebishoppe of Yorke in Englande, whereby also appeareth thesame to be then vnder this dominion. I haue likewise proued vnto you that Willyam called the Conqueror, of whom our king is linially disceded, was heire testamentary of the whole dominion by the testament of kyng Edward the confessor, & though whiche were not true, yet was y^e obedience of Scotland from the beginnyng inseparably appendaunt to the crowne of this realme, and folowed the possession of y^e seignorie as thyn³ges annexed, lyke as the dignities of the Roman Empier folow the state of Rome, according to whiche their homages and oure claymes haue been continued to this day. I haue proued vnto you also howe thearldome of Huntingdon was only attained but by one of their kynges, and that at the latter ende of his tyme long after y^e kyng his brothers homage, done for y^e crowne of Scotland, and fortified & surrendred by the next, synce whiche time it neuer was restored again into any of their kynges handes: and yet to satisfie them further therin, the tenor of all their kynges homages doeth folowe.

“I D. N. Kyng of Scottes shalbe true and faythfull vnto you lorde E. by the grace of God kyng of⁴ Englande, the noble and superior lord of the kyngdome of Scotland and vnto you I make my fidelitie for the same kingdome, the vvchich I hold and claime to holde of you, and I shall beare you my fayth and fidelitie of life and lymme and vvorldly honor against all menne, faythfully I shall knowledge and shall do you seruice due vnto you of the kyngdome of Scotland afore sayd as God so help and these holy euangelies.”

I wyl not here plede the seuerall resignacions and surrenders of the mere possession of y^e kyngdome of Scotland made by their lawfull kynges, to our kynges Edwarde the first and Edwarde the third: nor yet allege our kynges pedugre from Mawde the doughter of Malcolme their⁵ kyng, nor yet argue the right of remainder of the kyngdome of Scotland in our kyng for lacke of issue of the bodyes

¹ G vi. ² G v, back. ³ G vi. ⁴ G vi, back. ⁵ G vii.

of Daid and Jane so entailed by thesame Daid then kyng thereof as is before declared : nor yet obiect a forfaiture vpon their rebellion, for our kinges maiestie that now is doth farre otherwise by mariage require it at their handes. Now, because some of the Scottes alledge that they disagre to this mariage fearyng the seueritie of our lawes, I haue thought good to remember in this place one or two of theirs, sufficient example wherby to iudge the nature of al the rest.

They haue a lawe that if the father (though by the kynges licence) infeffe or gene landes to his ¹sonne, yet if afterwarde thesame father trespas the law, his offence shall forfeite this land, notwithstanding that the sonne was by all solemne lawe assured of it before the offence of the father.

Another, that if any man dye onely suspected of treason without any other fact done, yet may this cause be examined after his deth and he somoned at his graue, & vpon condempnacion, his landes and goodes confiscat as if he wer yet liuyng, of bothe these lawes innocentes haue no lesse cause to feare the malice, then trespassors haue to drede the paine.

I haue studied a great while the lawes of this realme, & be it sayd without arrogancie, haue red them all bothe old and new and therefore I dare affirme that the moost wicked lawe that euer ²was geuen in this realme, conteigneth not halfe somuche iniquitie as the best of bothe these do.

Wherefore if they mistrust the seueritie of our lawes, chiefly as they bee mitigated at this day, none can better trust, then they y^t so do mistrust : but the likyng of their lawes standeth to them selves, in them there is none alteracion sought : for policie in sondry places must of necessitie require sondry lawes, like as in diuers places of Englande to this daye be enioyed diuersitie in customes & haue been without alteracion offred ³since their beginnyng. Our title in this wise published, & their obieccions as ye haue heard answered, I will with your fauor in this wise turne my tale vnto the Scottishman. It wer an infinite worke (nobles and commons of ⁴Scotlande) nor the tale should neuer haue an ende to declare what an inestimable euill ⁵concord is, as that wherby all thinges in the world, yea and also the world it selfe standeth and agreeth together, & wherby as the famous Salust sayeth, small thynges growe to y^e greatest welth : wherby discorde her contrary, all greatest and best thynges come to distrucion and desolacion, as by the ciuill warres betwene Silla and Marius, y^e ruine of Rome is sufficient example to all the worlde. Wherefore I would nowe wishe & desire, whiche is all that I am able to dooe, that these cruel and bloody warres betwene vs may shortly cease, which shal much y^e soner come to passe if ye trust not your owne wilful affeccion, which ⁶beyng blynder then blyndnes itselfe hath closed vppe the iyes of your reason, and ledd your selves

¹ G vii, back.² G viii.³ 'suffred' in marginal correction.⁴ G viii, back.⁵ Corrected to 'ieuel.'⁶ H i.

into y^t desert of obstinacie, wherin as your waye lyeth, so hath your folly extended.

Nature the wise mother of all thynges, when she ordeined all beastes with some natural municion, as horne, spurre, tothe or naile: she wold not create man either cruel or vengeable by any of this outward thinges, but gaue him reason, & so to rule without angre or armour: she endowed you *with* giftes to the maintenaunce of concord, & will you vse them to discorde? is it warre that you thinke profitable? is it discorde & mischiefe that beyng hatefull to other menne semeth to you pleasaunt? what differeth warre from ¹all other euils? but that it exceedeth in malice: your cause that produceth war is neither honest nor iust, neither godly, nor necessarye, but against honestie, vice: against iustice, iniust: against godlynes, wicked, against necessitie, wilful obstinacy: the fruites whereof be so horrible y^t of wise men they be with more lamentacion bewailed, then of your vnwisdomes *with* painefulnes suffered. If maymes, if pouertie, if sickenes, if woundes, if lamenes, if robbery, if manquelyng (I omit death, as to gentle a thyng among these miseries) did appere either pleasaunt or profitable, I would sumwhat stay my penne? Further, what properties procedeth of warre, but outragious costes, vnmesurable labor, ineui²table perilles, consumyng anger, vnrestfull quietnes: the baner whiche you folow is a guide but to misery and death, either to kil other vnmercifully, or els to dye wickedly: but let shame do y^t in you which wisdomes should do, or els amende by wisdomes that shame *compel* you not: if profite & quietnes that is in peace cannot moue you, yet let trouble & horror that is in warre with the iniustice of your cause feare you, if your magistrates be enemies to this honorable & godly vnion, their cause is neither amitie nor loue, either to you or their countrey, nor honorable to themselves repugnyng their owne Acte of Parliament lately made for confirmacion of thesame vnion: and withall let your popishe Clergie thinke, that dissimulacion neuer ³commeth to thende that it is mente for, but to the contrary, and that like as a while their fayth hath deceiued vs, so will it shortly beguile them selves, for nature neuer gaue like vertue to thinges counterfeicte, as to true in dede: all the wise writers of your owne nacion lament the wickednes of your clergie and condemne their vicious and prophane liues, but by hypocrisy thei alway had this gifte to shewe their vertue to the vttermost and hide their faultes to y^e secretest, so that their vertue appeareth more then it is, & their vice lesse: well, God is the onely wreker of secret iniuries, whom no man may doubt shortely to open all your eyes, and he in the meane tyme I trust will make your gouernor (beyng naturally ⁴discended of an English house in kynge Edwarde the second his dayes as your owne writers confesse) againe to become a good Englishman, which vndoubtedly he shalbe, & a Scottishman also, whensoever he shall depely consider

¹ H i, back.² H ii.³ H ii, back.⁴ H iii.

the iustnes of our cause, his fayth, and your affliction by the miserye of this present warre betwene vs, to compare whiche with a greater euil, possibilitie suffereth not, to matche him with a like euil, his owne nature abhorreth, to shew what is in degre of euils vnder him should some sufficient dispraise, if ambicion, if malice, if glory, if enuy, do only driue thether¹ men to warres, whether wyl temperance, godlynes, honestie, & wisdomes draw a christian manne?

And nowe me² thinketh I here our countrey the common parent to vs all, say vnto you in this wyse. Ah Scottishemen, how long shall I beare your vnnaturall cruelties, howe long will ye remaine rebellious children, when shal there be end of your malice? Alas what wickednes is it among christen men, and those the neighbors in one kyngdome, that the greater part cannot be contented with the best thying, but by the light argument of euil leaue the way that leadeth to perpetuall tranquillitie. All men would live in beatitude, but to foresee y^e way how they may so do, ye goe farre awry. Knowe ye not how euil a maister he serueth of the twayne, discorde, or misery, of the whiche euermore the one foloweth the o³ther. Be not discorde and miserye of thesame nature that other vices be: alway at discencion within themselves makynge the man vnmeter for all other thynges, and at last vnmeter for discord it selfe; though nature to the obtainyng of foly gaue euery man to many giftes, and to the folovyng of vertue to fewe, yet she neuer better deserved to warde mankynd, then knowyng how many miseris she ordained him to dwel among, to teache him by reason remedy against them al, & wherby thei may receiue no lesse ablenes to do well then before they had redynes to do euil: be not all men that be born to dye, the same also ordained to liue by reason: & who of you by reason or otherwise is able to desist my persua⁴sion of this vnion, except he will say that the worst warre is better than the best peace, malice meter for Christian men then loue, and generally al discorde better then concorde, whiche thynges how different they be, God knoweth, and I perfutely fele. Can England offre you more reasonable, more honorable, more godly condicions of peace then she doeth: except she had that from God which maketh all his Godhedde called perfeccion: can menne offre more then your lawfull libertie, peace, tranquillitie and amitie: do not these bryng forth wealth, securitie, and perpetual concorde; and do not all thinges in the worlde, yea, and the worlde itselfe stand and agree together by concorde: where is your reason, where is y^e ⁵loue that Plato & Cicero require in you to be borne to me your countrey? Finally, where is the right knowledge of loue that ye ought to haue to your selues? is not my tranquillitie thassuraunce of your wealth, and my trouble thassuraunce of you[r] miserie? The wicked moath bred in the clothe destroyeth the same. The cruel Vipar in procreacion killeth his mother, and yet he that beleueth their ciuilitie to be lesse

¹ Corrected to 'hethen'. ² h iii, back. ³ h iiij. ⁴ h iiij, back. ⁵ h v.

then yours, little considereth their cause to be of nature, and yours of wilfull disposicion. I did sowe you the good seedes of concorde, but there is sprong vp among you cockle and fatche, the wedes of discorde, and thus your corrupcion of a good thyng hath engendred an euil, whervpon your ¹infelicitie is ye more, because you see it not, but if you sawe it with reason aswell as reason seeth you, you would consider the peril, for I say it is your owne cause, therefore neglect not my monicion.

Spurne not against knowledge, rebell not against your wealth, more honor is offered vnto you then euer chaunced to the Scottishe nacion, the tyme serueth it, reason requireth it, the consent of all good men desire[th] it, and God pityng my long affliction hath offred the occasion, which beyng of your partes thankfully receiued, bringeth wealthful securitie to your selves, your wyues, children, your goodes, & all your posteritie, and wherby you shall auoid calamitie, misery exilement or death, whiche otherwise by the ²iniustice of your cause, will vndoubtedly folow; therefore in this choise, let it be no harde thyng to make you consent to your owne wealth. And on that condicion, I do require the whole membres of all great Briteigne, that like as these many hundreth yeres ye haue prosecuted eche other with fyre, sworde, and slaughter, that so ye do from hensfourth prosecute eche other with amitie, loue, and frendship, all olde and newe displeasures betwene you to be hereafter none otherwyse considered then if your hand offend the eye, or the tothe the tong, in whiche case to punish, the reuenge shuld be against your selues. And finally, let your whole contencion hereafter be, whiche of you bothe shall with better wyll deserue ye ³friendshippe of the other, to the glorye of God, the tranquillitie and wealth of your selues, and vtter discourage of my common enemies.

FINIS.

[H vij]

EXCVSVM
LONDINI, IN
AEDIBVS RI-
CHARDI GRAF-
TONI, TYPOGRA-
PHI REGII
M. D. XLVIII.

CVM PRIVILEGIO
AD IMPRIMEN-
DVM SOLVM.

¹ h v, back.

² h vi.

³ h vi, back.

GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

This index aims at registering all the words occurring in the *Complaynt*, which differ in spelling or usage from modern English. Except in special cases, one reference only, *to the page*, is given. The etymologies serve to show at once the large French element, and that the basis of the language is Anglo-Saxon. The following abbreviations occur: A.S. Anglo-Saxon; Fr. French; Ger. German; Isl. Icelandic; M.Sc. Modern Scotch; O.E. Old English; O.Fr. Old French; O.North. Old Northumbrian; Sw. Swedish; *n.* noun; *p.* past (tense and participle); *p.p.* past participle; *p.t.* past tense; *pl.* plural; *pr. ple.* present participle; *vb.* verb; *L.* Leyden's Glossary.

- Abhominacione, 36, abomination.
 aboleist, 79, *vb. p. of* aboleis, abolished.
 absens, 25, absence.
 Absolon, 25, Absalom.
 abstrak, 127, *vb.* abstract, *p.p.* abstrakket.
 abufe, 38; abuf, 91; abuif, 123, above.
 abundand, 34, *pr. p.* abounding, abundant.
 aburde, 40, aboard.
 abusion, 159, -e, 32, *n.* abuse.
 acceptione, 152, exception.
 accessor, accessoir, 111, *adj.* accessory.
 accordis, 37, *n.* concords; accordit, 79, *vb. p.* agreed.
 accusit, 1, *v. p.* accused.
 achademya, 13, academy.
 acquorns, 144, acorns.
 actor, 25, author.
 adagia, 7, addagia, 142, adage.
 admirabil, 54, wonderful.
 admiration, 1, 55, admiratione, 134, wonder, marvel.
 adnul, 31, *vb.* annul, *p.* adnullit, 17, annulled.
 adoptiue, 26, *adj.* by adoption.
 aduersair, *pl.* aduersaris, 87, adversary.
 aduertest, 89, warned.
 adulatione, 2, flattery.
 adultere, 138, adultery.
 affectiue, 16, affectyue, 148, affectionate; affectione, 83, liking, inclination.
 affinite, 2, (Fr.) affinity.
 affligit, 1, *p.p.* afflicted (Fr. *affligé*).
 affrayit, 70, *p.p.* put into an affray, frightened, afraid.
 Affrica, 14, 44.
 afoir, 40, before (M.Sc. *afore*).

- aganis, 96, against.
 Agenoir, 20, Agenor.
 agonya, 121, agony.
 Agrest, 16, rustic (Fr. *agreste*).
 agust, 57, August.
 aige, 29, age.
 al, all, 4.
 alanerly, 1, only.
 ald, 1, alld, 88, old (A.S. *eald*,
ald).
 aleuin, 86, eleven.
 allace, 34, alas.
 allegiance, 31, *n. pl.* allegings,
 allegations.
 allegis, 35, alege, 133.
 Allexander, 25, 33.
 alligoric, 29, allegorical.
 allya, 78, 182, alya, 99, *n.* ally,
 allies, alliance; allaya, 100, to ally.
 almaist, almost, 1, almost.
 Alman, 66, 146, (Fr. *allemand*)
 German.
 Almy, 83, the Almis.
 Alrukaba, 49, the pole star.
 alsa, 74, else, 1, also.
 also, ashes. *See* ase.
 alter, 76, *n.* altar.
 altir, 26, *vb.* alter; altirs, 58;
 altris, 21, 57.
 amang, 1, among.
 Amman, 2, Haman.
 amplitude, 1.
 ande, and.
 ane = a, an, 1; ane = one, 13.
 anent, 9, *prep.* about, concerning.
 aneuch, aneucht, 137, enough.
 animaduert, 101, 158, *vb.* pay
 attention, take notice; animaduer-
 tens, 163, attention.
 Aniou, 4, Anjou.
 ankir, ankyr, 40, anchor.
- Annibal, 12, 13, 14, Hannibal.
 ansuer, ansuere, ansueir, 83,
 answer; ansuert, 13, answered.
 antartic, 49.
 antecessours, 3, antecessores, 186,
 (O.Fr.) ancestors.
 Antepodos, 38, Antipodes, 50.
 antiant, 19, ancient.
 anticepet, 36, *vb. p.* anticipated.
 antiquite, 16, (Fr.) antiquity.
 apeir, aper, *vb.* appear; aperis, 1,
 58; aperand, 26, appearing; aper-
 ens, 70, -ance.
 Apothigmatis, 15, Apophthegms.
 appin, 57, apin, 115, open; ap-
 pynly, 133, openly.
 Appollo, 10, Apollo, 83, a name
 of the planet Mercury, 54.
 apposit, 55, opposit, 172, op-
 posite; appositione, 55, opposition.
 Apuilya, 98, Apulia.
 ar, 1, are.
 Arabie, 139, Arabia.
 arage, arrage, 124, 125, feudal
 service with *avers* or draught-cattle
 (Low Lat. *averagium*).
 arand, 44, *pr. ple.* ploughing, till-
 ing (O.E. *earing*, Lat. *arans*).
 archebischof, 5.
 ardant, 16, ardent.
 argou, 183, *vb.* argue.
 aris, 42, (A.S. *ár*) *n. pl.* oars.
 armit, 12, armed.
 armye, 6, army.
 armys, armis, 148, *n. pl.* arms.
 artailzee, 41, artillery.
 artic, 48, arctic.
 artifeis, 20, artifice.
 artikil, artiklis, 97, article, -s.
 as, *after comparative* = than, 5,
 13, 14, 71; mair as, *comp.* German
mehr als.

- asce, asse, ase, else, 21, 152, ashes (A.S. *asce*, M.Sc. *áss*).
 asephales, 167, *adj. pl.* acephalous, without head.
 assailze, to assail, 3; assailzeis, 34; *p.p.* assailzeit, assailzet, 161, assailzeours, 77, assailants.
 assaltis, 6, assaults.
 asse, 39, 64, 123, ass.
 assentatione, 2, flattery.
 Assiriens, 21, 27.
 Assuerus, 2, Ahasuerus.
 Assure, 27, Ashur.
 astrolog, 37, astrological, astronomical; astrologien, 32, astrologer.
 astuce, 97, austuce, 87, astute.
 atentic, 3, authentic.
 Athenes, 21, 33.
 athort, 1, athourt, 38, athourcht, 111, athwart, across, all over.
 auance, auanse, 1, (Fr. *avance*) advance, 1, -cis, 53.
 auaye, 28, away.
 aucht, 94, eight, eighth.
 aucht, 36, ought.
 audiens, 31, audience, hearing; auditur, 29.
 auen, 9, 7, own.
 aventure, 97, (Fr.) fortune, luck.
 auereise, 73, auareis, 166, avarice; auerisius, 83, avaricious.
 Auerois, 62, Averrhoes.
 aful, 26, awful.
 austral, 49, southern.
 austuce, 87, astute.
 autorite, *pl.* -eis, 29, (Fr.) authority.
 ay, 49, always.
 ayr, 34, air.
 ayr, -is, 143, heir, -s.
 Ayre, 93, Ayr.
 Aysia, 110, Asia.
- Baanacht, 121, Baanah.
 Babillon, 80, Babillone, 25, 28, Babilone, 20, Babylon.
 bac, back.
 baglap, 66.
 baik, *vb.* bake, *p.t.* buke, *p.p.* baikyn, 85.
 baith, baitht, 85; bath, batht, 104, baytht, 6, both.
 bak, bac, 56, back; bakuart, 6, 66, backward.
 bald, 40, 99 = bad, *vb. p.t. of* bid, byd.
 baldfyir, 42, 111, balefire, bonfire.
 balk, 93, 138, beam (A.S. *balca*).
 Balzol, 80, Baliol.
 band, 121, *vb. p.t. of* bynd, bound.
 band, 181, *n.* bond, contract.
 bane, 37, banis, 152, bone, -s.
 bannes, 162, banish; bannest, 87, banished.
 bannis, 134, *vb.* bans, curses.
 Bannochtburne, 96, Bannockburn.
 baptist, 4, christened, named.
 Barba aaron, 67, "the herb *Arum*, called also *aron* (Gr. *apov*), wake robin or cuckoo pint." *L.*
 barbir, 4, barbire, 106, (Fr. *barbare*) barbarous.
 baris, 3, *vb.* bears.
 barran, 70, barrane, 21, barren.
 barrons, 23, barons.
 bassine, 145, bassyn, 129, basin.
 batel, 80, battel, 26, battle, *pl.* battellis.
 batht, 104, baytht, 121, both.
 batton, 28, (Fr.) rod, stick.
 Baudouyne, 4, Baldwin.
 bayr, 26, 123, *vb.* bear.
 bayr, 41, *adj.* bare.

- bayrdit, 69, (Fr. *bardé*) caparisoned, harnessed with armour, &c.
- bayrn, 41, (A.S. *bearn*) *pl.* bayrns, 123, child.
- bayrnished, 67, *should probably be* bayrnis bed, child-bed, the matrix. Suffocatione of the b = sufflation of the womb.
- baytht, 6, both.
- be, 2, *prep.* by.
- bean, 174, been; beand, 2, 72, being.
- beaulte, 70, (O.Fr.) beauty.
- becum, 34, become, *p.t.* becam.
- befoir, 117, befor, 2, before; of befoir = d'avant.
- beggand, 135, begging.
- begynnyng, 12.
- behald, 66, *vb.* behold.
- behufe, 29, *n.* behoof; behuvit, 131, *vb.* behoved.
- behynd the hand, 115, behind hand.
- beir, 38, *n.* a shrill or whizzing noise (M.Sc. *birr*).
- beir, 145, *n.* beer.
- beir, *vb.* bear; beiris, 73; *p.t.* bure, *p.p.* born.
- beis, 75, 97, (if it) be.
- bekkis, 66, *n.* bows, curtsies.
- belay, 41.
- beleif, 8, *vb.* believe; *p.* beleifit, 97, beleuit, 22.
- bel-veddir, 66, bell-wether.
- benefice, 116, benefit, good deed; *pl.* benefice, benefyis, beneficis, 20.
- Beniemyn, 126, Benjamin.
- berial, 37, beryl.
- berk, berkis, 139, to bark; *p.* berkit.
- bern, *pl.* bernis, 93, (A.S. *bern*) barn.
- bersis, 41; "F. *barces*, *berches*, a species of cannon formerly much used at sea, resembling the *faucon*, but shorter and of larger calibre." *L.*
- Bertan, bretan, 82, Britain.
- Beruic, 80, Berwick.
- bestial, 64, (Fr. *bestail*) belonging to beasts; bestialite, 43, 69, cattle.
- best lyik, 11, best looking, handsomest.
- betis, 67, *n.* beet.
- betraise, 109, *vb.* betray; betrais, 121, *p.* betrasit, 104, betrayed.
- betuix, 5, between.
- beuk, 9, 67, buik, 82, book, *pl.* beukis, 23.
- beye, 66, (A.S. *beo*) *n.* bee.
- beym, *pl.* beymis, 38, 56, beam, -s.
- beyrde, 15, *n.* beard.
- beyst, 17, -is, 28, beast, -s.
- bibil, 23, 75, Bible.
- big, 24, build (A.S. *byggan*); *p.* bigget, 20, 79, built.
- birn, 110, *vb.* burn; birnand, 25, burning, *p.* brynt.
- Bizance, Bizante, 116, Byzantium.
- blaberand, 37, blabbering, babbling.
- blac, 52, black.
- blait, 39, *vb.* bleat.
- blason, 14, blazon, blab.
- blasphematione, 155, blasphemy.
- blau, *vb.* blow, *p.t.* bleu, *p.p.* blauen, 38; blauuand, 42, blowing.
- bleddir, 64, bladder (M.Sc. *bleser*).
- bleytht, 66, blythe.
- blude, bluid, 81, blood.
- blyind, 140, blind.
- blythtnes, 84, blitheness.
- Bocchas, 281, Boccaccio.
- boggis, 38, *n.* bogs.

- boirdours, bordours, 106, borders.
 boldfyir, 25, *v.* bald fyir.
 bollene, boulene, 40, bow-line.
 bolt, 131, shaft, dart.
 bonet, 41, 145, bonnet, cap.
 borage, 67, *Borago officinalis*.
 boreaus, 27, borreaus, 86, (Fr.) executioners, hangmen (M.Sc. *burriours*).
 borial, 37, boreal, 48.
 borne, 33, born.
 boroung days, 38, the three last days of March, supposed to be borrowed from April, to give the "rough month" a chance of blowing its worst,¹ and therefore specially boisterous.
 boroustone. *See* buroustone.
 borrel, 11, a wimble or borer.
 borrel, *adj.* (Fr. *bureau, borel, L. borellus*) coarse, rude, belonging to the common people.
 bostit, boistit, 124, bullied, threatened.
 bot, *conj.* but, 2; lest, 75; unless, 7; *adv.* only, 6; *prep.* without, 24.
 boule, 33, (Fr.) ball.
 boulene, bollene, 33, bow-line.
 bounte, 2, (Fr.) goodness.
 boy, 41.
 brac, 33, 99, 108, to break; brakkis, 58. *p.t.* brac; *p.p.* brokyn, 14, brakkyng, breaking.
 brakfast, 42, *n.* breakfast.
 brais, 42, *pl. of* bra, braes.
 brakkis, 58, *vb.* breaks.
 brane, 16, brain.
 brangland, 68, (Fr. *branlant*) *pr. ple.* wavering, tottering.
 branglis, 66, a kind of dance. *See* p. xciv.
 bras, 145, brass; brasyn, 189.
 brascheletis, 120, bracelets.
 braulis, 66, a kind of dances. *See* p. xciv.
 brede, 122, breyd, 43, breyde, 26, bread.
 bredir, brethir. *See* brodir.
 breir, 64, briar (A.S. *brér*).
 brig, 63, bridge (A.S. *bricg*).
 brocht, 120, brought.
 brod, -ddis, 28, prick, -s; *vb.* to prick, 148; *p.* broddit, 123, prodded.
 broder, 4, brother; brudir, 120; *pl.* bredir, 76, 135; brethir, 123, 124, 128, 129, 139, 151, 157, brethyr, 143, bredther, 187; *gen. pl.* † brethers, 135.
 brodrut, 69, (em)broidered.
 brokyn, 14, broken.
 brudir. *See* broder.
 bruit, 116, (Fr.) report, rumour.

¹ Concerning the origin of the name Borrowing days, the following popular rhymes are current:

'March borrowit fra Averill
 Three days, and they war ill.'
 'March said to Aperill,
 I see three hoggs upon a hill;
 But lend your three first days to me
 And I'll be bound to gar them dee.
 The first it sall be wind and weet,
 The neist it sall be snaw and slect,
 The third it sall be sic a freeze
 Sal gar the birds stick to the trees:—
 But when the *borrowed* days were gane,
 The three silly hoggs cam hirplan' hame.'

- brukit, 86, (A.S. *brucan*, Ger. *brauchen*) enjoyed, used, usurped.
 brume, 67, broom.
 brutal, 32, brutish, irrational.
 brute, 178, bruit, report.
 brycht, 37, bright.
 brym, 40, *adj.* fierce, raging.
 brynt, 76, 97, (*pp.* of *birn*) burnt (M.Sc. *brunt*).
 buchornis, 42, buckhorns.
 Buciphal, busiphal, 150, Bucephalus.
 bucolikis, 64, Bucolics.
 buffons, 66, morris dances, p. xciv.
 buik, beuk, 82. book.
 bullir, 39; to bellow, boom, as a bull or bittern.
 bullis, 39, bulls.
 bundin, 146, bundyn, 102, (*p.p.* of *bynd*) bound (M.Sc. *bun'*).
 Burbon, 89, Bourbon.
 burcht, 124, burght, 143, burgh.
 bure, 68, *vb.* *p.* bore.
 burght, burcht, *n.* burgh, borough.
 Burgungze, 4, Burgundy.
 burnis, 38, (A.S. *burne*) brooks, rivulets.
 buroustounis, 87, burroustounis, 45, boroustone, 167, borough-towns.
 busk, 37, *n.* (Fr. *bosc*) bush.
 but, 123, *n.* butt.
 but, 48, *prep.* without; 4, *conj.* unless.
 butin, butine, 146, (Fr.) booty, spoil.
 by, *prep.* near, 7; beyond, besides, without, past, 72.
 by, 11, 64, 133, *vb.* buy; *p.* bocht.
 bygane, 105, bygone.
 bynd, 121, bind; *p.t.* band; *p.p.* bundyn, 102.
 byrdyng, 123, birding, 127, (A.S. *byrden*) burden.
 byrmand, burning.
 byssynes, 9, 95, bysynes, 2, business, state of being busy.
 bytis, 125, *vb.* bites.
 cabil, cabil-stok, 40, cable, capstan.
 cabinet, 7, recess.
 cace, 137, case.
 caduc, 170, (Fr.) frail, fleeting.
 cald, 52, cold; caldnes, 59.
 caliginus, 38, *adj.* dark, gloomy.
 calkil, 167, (Fr. *calcule*) *vb.* calculate.
 calland, 42, calling; callit, 3, called.
 calumniaturis, 31, calumniators.
 cam, 10, *vb.* *p.t.* came.
 cammauyne, 67, camomile or "cummin, sometimes spellit *com-mayne*." *L.*
 campit, 83, 98, encamped; campt, 97, camp.
 Cannes, 13, Cannæ.
 cannonlau, 164, canon law.
 cape, 3, cope, summit of vault.
 Capes, Capee, 113, Capues, 44, Capua.
 captan, 95, captain.
 captiuite, 1, captivity.
 carage, carraige, 125; "a servitude still customary in various parts of Sc., by which a tenant is bound to carry for the proprietor a stipulated quantity of coals, grain, &c., or to serve him with men and horses a certain number of days in the year." *L.*
 carion, -s, 119, (Fr. *caroigne*) carcase.
 carl, 144, (A.S. *ceorl*, Isl. *karl*) a churl, boor.
 carrecters, 69, characters.

- cassin, 28, *p.p.* casten, cast (M. Sc. *cuis'n*).
- castel, 20, castle, *pl.* castellis, 95.
- caterris, 37, (Fr. *catarre*) catarrhs.
- Cathon, 44, Cato.
- cattel, 29, 69, cattle.
- caue, 57, (Fr.) cellar.
- cauillatione, 167, cavilling.
- caupon, caupona, 40. *See p. lxxix.*
- causles, 95, causeless.
- cauteil, (Fr. *cautele*) *n.* caution, craft, address.
- Cayphas, 83, Caiaphas.
- Cecile, 151, Cecille, 129, Sicily.
- celest, 64, (Fr.) celestial, heavenly.
- clidone, 67, celandine, *chelidonium majus*.
- centir, 51, *n.* centre.
- certife, 91, *vb.* certify; certificat, 95, certificate.
- cesterne, 126, cistern.
- chaisse, 26, 75, chasse, 75, chaise, 27, to chase; *p.t.* chaissit, 97.
- chalmyr, 134, chamber.
- Champayngze, 5, Champagne.
- chandelaris, 76, chandeliers.
- chantit, 39, *vb. p.* chanted.
- charpenteir, 10, (Fr.) carpenter.
- Chartagiens, 146, Carthaginians.
- chasbollis, 94, (Fr. *ciboules*, It. *cipollo*, L. *cepella*) onions (M.Sc. *ceyba's*).
- cheapel, 63, chapel.
- cheiffis, 98, chiefs; cheiftane, 97.
- cheip, 39, to cheep, as a young bird.
- cheir, 68, cheer, countenance.
- cheis, 43, choose; *p.t.* chesit, 11, 146.
- chekyns, 39, chickens.
- cheldyr, 79, children. *See child.*
- chenze, 121, chenzeis, 114, (O.Fr. *chaigne*) chain, -s (M.Sc. *cheins*).
- cheptour, 19, 187, chapter.
- cheretabyll, 18, charitable; cherite, 17, charity.
- cheris, 91, to cherish.
- chesit. *See cheis.*
- chestee, 19, chestie, 23, *vb.* chastise (O.F. *chastie, -r*).
- child, 60, 145, *pl.* childir, 9, 20, 25, 30, 42, 47, 72, 76, 79, 86, 104, 119, 126, 132, cheldyr, 79, children (A.S. *cildru, cildre*).
- Christin, cristin, 23, Christian.
- cipressis, 67, cypress or cyperus?
- circoncisione, 35, circumcision.
- circuitis, 48, *vb.* revolves; *p.t.* circuit, 167, surrounded.
- cirurgyen, 129, (Fr. *chirurgien*) surgeon.
- cite, 11, city, *pl.* citeis; citinar,¹ *pl.* citinarius, 11, 167, citizen, -s.
- ciuilis, *adj. pl.* civil.
- ciuilist, 10, *n.* civilist.
- claik, 39, cry of the geese.
- clair, 70, cleir, 73, clear, (Fr.)
- clais, 96, 101, clathis, 70, clothes.
- claytht, 145, cleitht, 98, clethd, 70, clad; clethyng, 68, clothing.
- cleene, 34, 138, clene, 7, clean.
- cleuchis, 38, cloughs, dells.
- clips, 56, *vb.* eclipses.
- close, 60, (Fr. *clos*) *p.p.* closed; closit, 47.

¹ Several French nouns denoting an agent have taken in Eng. and Sc. an additional agent-ending in *-er, -ar*: compare *citinar, logicinar, medicinar, sophistar, vaticinar*, with Fr. *citoien, logicien, medecin, sophiste*, &c. In the Eng. *astronomer, philosopher, practitioner, barrister*, and vulgar *musicianer*, the *-er* is similarly redundant.

- clud, -ddis, 88, cloud, -s.
 Cluny, 5, Clugny.
 coagulis, *vb.* coagulates (Fr. *coaguler*).
 cod, 68, (A.S. *codde*) pillow.
 cokis, 39, cocks.
 cokkil, 148, cockle, scallop, the badge of the order of St Michael.
 collere, collar, 153, wrath (Fr. *colère*).
 collic, 57, colic.
 colone, 82, colony.
 comeit, 58, comet.
 comionyng, 107. *See* comonyng.
 commandis, 31, commands.
 committaris, 130, committers.
 comodite, 131, (Fr.) convenience, opportunity; *comodius*, 8, suitable, convenient.
 comont, 16, common; *comontly*, 59; *comont veil*, 16, commonwealth.
 comonyng, 63, 107, communing, holding communication.
 comparit, 2, compared.
 compeir, 114, to appear formally; *comperit*, 93.
 compilaris, 16, compilers.
 complein, 126, *vb.* to complain; *complenant*, complaining.
 compleit, 181, complete.
 complexion, 11, 106, mental character, disposition.
 compt, 129, account.
 conceaute, 47, *n.* hollow, concave.
 concorde, 5, concord, harmony.
 condamp, 16, 117, *vb.* condemn; *p.* *condampuit*, 119.
 condiscendit, 98, pitched on, descended to particulars.
 confekkit, 145, confected, prepared by art.
 confermit, 22, confirmed.
 conferris, 28, compares; *p.* *conferrit*, 151.
 conformand, 85, conforming.
 confortit, 54, comforted.
 congelit, 59, congealed.
 coniune, to conjoin; *coniunit*, 77, 82, conjoined.
 coniuris, 133, conspires; *coniuuratione*, 117, conspiracy.
 conpair, 140, compare.
 conpangzons, 42, companions.
 conpilit, 143, compiled.
 conpulsit, 43, compelled, forced.
 conqueriours, 19, conquerors.
 conqueis, 4, 87, conques, 80, 91, to conquer, acquire, gain; *p.* *conqueist*, 77, conquest, 82; *conquessing*, 14, 81, 85; *conquestours*, 80, conquerors.
 conques, *n.* (Fr. *conquis*) 91, 93, acquisition, possession.
 consait, 6, 32, 137, conceit, conceit.
 consaue, 52, conceive, *p.* *consauit*.
 consel, 19, *consellis*, 99, counsel, -s.
 considir, 4, *p.* *considrit*, 90, considered; *pr. ple.* *considerant*, 3, 89.
 conspiratione, 113, 117, (Fr.) conspiracy.
 constellation, 56, stellar aspect (in astrology).
 constrenze, to constrain; *p.* *constrenzeis*, 48, *constrenzeit*, 68, *constrenzet*, 125, constrained.
 consuetude, 87, -is, 106, custom, use.
 contempil, 37, 47, to contemplate (Fr. *contempl-er*) *p.* *contemplit*, 47, 61.
 contemlene = -yng, 46, contemplating, contemplation.
 contenens, 34, countenance.
 conteneu, 23, 115, content, tenor.
 conteneuatione, 23, continuation.

- contigue, 4, (Fr.) *adj.* contiguous.
 contrafait, 147, *adj.* counterfeit.
 contrair, 77, contrar, 2, (Fr.)
prep. against.
 contrakk, to contract; kontrakit,
 107, kontrakkit, 181, contracted.
 conualesse, 1, to recover.
 conueen, 116, convene.
 conuoye, 130, *vb.* (Fr.) to con-
 duct, guide; conuoyand, 42; *p.p.*
 conuoyit, 4.
 coppir, 145, copper.
 corbe, -is, 181, (Fr. *corbeau*)
 raven, -s.
 cordinar, 10, 181, (Fr. *cordonnier*)
 shoemaker.
 corne pipis, 42. *See* p. xcii.
 cornis, 96, corn crops.
 corriandir, 67, Coriander.
 corsbollis, 42, crossbows.
 coruppit, 9, 82, corruptit, 152.
 cosmaghraphie, 46, cosmography.
 cothouse, 96, cottage, labourer's
 house.
 cotis, 96, *pl. of* coit, 101, coat, -s.
 cou, 63, *vb.* to cull.
 cou, 63, kou, cow; *pl.* ky, kine.
 coulis, 163, cowls.
 coulpe, 155, (Fr. *coulpe*, L. *culpa*)
 fault.
 coupe, coupis, 76, *n.* cup, -s (Fr.).
 cours, 54, course.
 courtician, curtician, 133, (Fr.
courtisan) courtier.
 couuardeis, 15, cowardice.
 courit, 68, covered.
 crafft, 10, craft, trade; craftis-
 man, 11.
 crag, 102, neck; *pl.* craggis, 102.
 cragis, 98, craggis, 38, crags, rocks.
 craif, 124, crave.
 crak, 42, crack.
 craklene pokis, 41, "crackling-
 bags, bags for holding fireworks
 and combustibles employed in
 naval warfare." L.
 crans, 39, cranes.
 crau, to crow, *p.t.* creu, 39; *pp.*
 crauen.
 crauis, 39, *n.* crows.
 creat, 34, 43, *vb. p.* created.
 credens, 131, credit, belief.
 Creit, 80, Crete.
 crepusculine, 53, -yne, 38, dawn-
 ing.
 creu, 39, *vb. p.t.* crew.
 cristellyne, 48, crystalline.
 Crist Ihesus, 35.
 cristianite, 4, 160, Christendom
 (M.Sc. *christendee*); cristyn, 5,
 Christian.
 crone, 103, croune, 68, crown;
 cronit, 80, crowned.
 croniklis, 3, 35, *pl. of* cronikyl,
 86, chronicle.
 crope, 39, (Goth. *hropjan*) to croak.
 crops, 121, tops, summits.
 crouettis, 76, cruets.
 croutit, 39, cooed as a dove.
 crualte, 3, cruelty.
 crukit, 159, crooked.
 cryar, 139, crier, shouter.
 culd, 56, could.
 culd, 63, = did. The old aux-
 iliary *gan* = *began*, *fell a-*, *did*, was
 confounded with *can*, and then
culd used as its past.
 cullour, 129, 143, colour, 93,
 cullurs, 171, colour; cullourit, 14,
 coloured.
 culuerene, 41, (Fr. *couleuvrine*,
 It. *colubrina*), also called *serpentine*,
 originally a hand gun of one yard
 in length; afterwards a cannon of
 the second order, long in propor-
 tion to its calibre.

- cum, 7, *vb.* come, *p.t.* cam, *p.p.* cumyn; cumna, 41, come not!
 cummand, 6, coming.
 cummand, 6, *pr. p.* coming.
 cummand, 130, command.
 cummirsum, 139, troublesome, pertinacious.
 cuntirpoint, 39, counterpoint.
 cuntra, 86, cuntray, 78, cuntre, 90; *pl.* cuntreis, 1, country.
 cunze, *n.* coin; cunzet, 109, coined.
 cupidite, (Fr.) 31, cupidity.
 curage, 13, curaige, 85, courage; curageus, 10, courageous.
 curdis, 42, curds.
 cursit, 24, 30, cursed.
 curtas, 162, courteous.
 curtician, 133, courtier.
 curtynis, 119, curtingis, 118, curtains.
 cuschet, 39, cushat, wood pigeon.
 custum, 7 (O.Fr. *coustume*).
 cuttand, 94, cutting; cuttis, 12, cuts; cuttit, 120, *p.* cut.

 dagar, 81, dagger.
 daggar vyise, 41, dagger-wise, in form of a dagger.
 dail, 39, a dale; dailis, 38.
 dailis, 66, "ewes which miss lamb, and are fattened for slaughter." *L.*
 daly, 175, dayly.
 damysel, 134, damysele, 108, damsel.
 dangeir, 14, danger.
 dansand, 66, dancing (Fr.).
 dant, 145, (Fr. *domte*) to tame, subdue; *p.* dantit, 21; dantaris, 151, tamers.
 Danyel, 77.
 dar, 14, dare.
 David, *gen. sing.* David's, 121.
 day about, 175, a day alternately.
 debait, 184, debatit, 91, struggle, contention.
 deceis, 2, deceisse, 147, decese, 173, *vb.* decease; *p.* decessit, 122.
 dechacis, 21, dechayis, 71, falls, decays (Fr. *decheoir*).
 decist, 12, *vb.* desist; *p.* decist, 103, desisted.
 declair, 47, declaris, 154, to explain, clear up, make plain.
 declinatione, 20, *n.* decline.
 decreit, 19, *n.* decree.
 decresse, 20, decrease.
 decretit, 23, *p. of* decretit, to decree.
 dede, deid, 123, *n.* deed, *pl.* dedis.
 dede, 8, 35, deid, *n.* death; dedebed, 173; dede dance, 66, dance of death.
 dede, 127, *adj.* dead.
 dedie, *v.* to dedicate (Fr. *dedier*); dediet, 7, dedicat, 10, dedicated.
 dee, 25, 80, to die; deit, 156, died.
 deesse, 11, (Fr.) goddess.
 defame, 102, *n.* disgracc.
 defeculte, 133, *n.* difficulty.
 deffait, 175, *p.p.* defeated (Fr. *défait*).
 deffendit, 3, defended.
 deffens, 2, defence; defensabil, 163, able to defend, ablebodied.
 defferens, 107, difference.
 deflorit, 92, deflowered.
 defluxione, 14, *n.* flow.
 degeistit, 9, digested.
 degenerit, 72, *p.p.* degenerated.
 degressione, 184, digression.
 deid, 123, deed.
 deiekkit, 17, *p.p.* expelled, cast out.
 deipnes, 21, depth.

- deir, 156, deer.
 deit, 156, died.
 deitht thrau, 121, death throe, contortion of death.
 delatit, 144, dilated, spread abroad.
 delegat, 144, delicate.
 delegent, 6, 89, diligent.
 delicios, 125, dainty, delicate.
 delue, 154, (A.S. *delf*) delve, dig.
 delyit, 43, delight.
 delyuir, 2, *vb.* deliver.
 demeritis, 27, demerits, deserts.
 denud, 87, *vb.* strip.
 denunciit, 164, denunsit, 103, denounced.
 deplour, 26, deplore; *p.* deplorit, 26.
 depone, 136, to depose, make oath.
 descriuit, 2, described.
 desolat, 1, desolate.
 desolut, 108, dissolute.
 desyr, 82, desyir, 87, desire.
 detekkit, 17, *read* deiekkyt, *v. p.* rejected, cast out.
 determe, *v.* determine, *p.* detemit, 109.
 detestatione, 9.
 detful, 8, *adj.* due, dutiful.
 detht, 58, death.
 detrakkers, 9, detrackers, 31, detractors.
 deu, 54, dew.
 deuly, 17, duly.
 deuoir, deuoris, 2, *vb.* devour.
 deuot, 4, devoted, devout.
 Deutronome, (Fr.) 24, Deuteronomy.
 deuy, 33, devil.
 dextirite, 6, dexterity.
 dictionis, 17, words, vocables.
 did, 39, made.
 difeail 130, diffeail, 15, (Fr.) difficult.
 dikis, 38, dikes; earthen or stone walls and ditches.
 dilectabil, 66, delightful.
 diligat, 115, *p.p.* delegated.
 dilmondis, 66, wedders of the second year, *masc. of gylmyr, q. v.*
 dimineuis, 56, diminishes (Fr. *diminue*).
 direckyt, 7, directed.
 dirrogatione, 5, derogation.
 disaguisit, 70, disguised.
 disauit, 94, deceived.
 descendit, 1, descended.
 discention, -e, 45, 78, dissension.
 discipulis, 16, disciples.
 discomend, 139, disapprove.
 disconfeist, 84, 144, discumfeist, 77, discomfited, diseumfytur, 177.
 discrue, 32, *vb.* describe.
 discruiit, 46, *v. p.* described.
 discouragit, 177, discouraged.
 discymilit, 153, dissembled; -nes, 182, dissembling.
 dishonestye, 97, dishonour.
 disiune, 43, breakfast (O.Fr. *desjeune*).
 disnaturalit, -ellit, 73, made unnatural, denaturalized.
 disordinat, 6, 125, 145, inordinate, disordered.
 disparit, 1, desperate; dispayr, 77, despair.
 dispensatour, 158, (Fr.) dispenser.
 displeseir, 93, displeasure, unpleasantness.
 disponit, 92, disposed of, divided.
 dispyit, 122, despite, spite.
 disrasonabil, 122, unreasonable.
 dissaitful, 2, deceitful.

- dissymilit, 71, dissembled, pretended.
 distempnit, 37, intemperate.
 distitut, 1, destitute.
 distribuit, 88, *p.t.* distribut, 92; *p.p.* distributed (*vb.* distribue).
 disusit, 17, disused.
 diuers, -e, 3, 5, divers, various.
 diuidit, 11, divided.
 dixtirite, 11, dexterity.
 dochtir, 2, 63, daughter.
 documentis, 47, 130, teachings, instructions.
 doggis, dogis, 39, 57, dogs; 41, a species of artillery.
 dois, 139, does.
 dolour, 7.
 domage, 5, 61, (Fr.) hurt, damage; domageabil, 46, hurtful.
 domicillis, 7, dwellings.
 dominatour, 79, -ator, 25, -otours, 38, (Fr.) ruler.
 done, 38, dank, damp.
 dotit, 10, (Fr. *doté*) endowed.
 dottit, 100, doated, was in his dotage.
 dou, 39, dove.
 doune, 28, down; doune thringis, 19, casts down.
 doutit, 21, redoubted, feared; doutles, 17; doutsum, 83, doubtful, dubious.
 drau, 38, draw; draucht, 41, draught.
 dreid, 95, *vb.* dread; *p.* dred, drad, 21, dreaded; dreddour, 70, dreed, 85, dread, terror.
 dreuyn, 16, driven, derived dryve, drave, dreuyn).
 dreyme, 68, dream.
 drog, 81, drogis, 145, (Fr. *drogue*) drug, -s.
 drounit, 38, drowned.
- droutht, 24, drought (M.Sc. *drouth, drooth*).
 drug, 151, *vb.* drudge, drag.
 dryit, 145, dried.
 duc, dukis, 4, duke, -s (M.Sc. *duik*).
 dueillis, 45, duel, duelle, 3, dwell.
 dukis, 39, ducks (M.Sc. *duiks*).
 dul, 9, *vb.* to dull, *p.* dullit, 68, blunted.
 dulce, 64, (Fr. *douce, douce*) *adj.* soft, sweet.
 dune, 3, done, 38.
 dung, 123, knocked, pushed, *p.p.* of dyng, dang.
 duobil, 83, doubil, 159, double.
 dur, 65, door (A.S. *duru*).
 dyabolic, 72, diabolical.
 Dyameid, 156, Diomedes.
 dyametre, 48, diameter.
 Dyane, 38, Diana.
 dyik, 140, a dike, rampart of earth or stone.
 dyit, 68, *n.* diction, *vb.* to word; dyitit, 82, worded, indited.
 dym, 38, dim.
 dymynischid, 175, diminished.
 dyn, 38, din, confused noise.
- eclipsis, *pl.* eclipsis, 56.
 edeficis, 79.
 edropic, (Fr. *hydropique*) dropical.
 ee, 14, eye; *pl.* ecn, 11, ene, 72, eene, 24, eyes.
 effeir, to be meet, proportionate; efferis, 150, efferand, 56, proportionate, conformable.
 effemenet, 29, effeminate.
 effermis, 48, affirms.
 efftir, 7, eftir, 113, after; eftir-uart, 27, afterward.

- eg, 32, egg.
 egal, 144, (Fr.) equal.
 Egipt, Egiptiens, 8.
 eikit, eikkyt, 123, (A.S. *éacod*)
 added.
 eild, 73, old age, Eld.
 eirb, erb, 44, herb.
 eird, 20, eyrd, 24, earth.
 eit, eyt, 24, to eat; *p.t.* eit, 80;
p.p. cytyn, 63.
 elect, 150, *v. p.* elected.
 electuars, 145, electuaries.
 eleuat, 38, *v. p.* elevated.
 ellis, 8, else.
 emoroyades, 67, emerods, hæme-
 rhoids.
 empesche, 99, to hinder (Fr.).
 empire, 48, *adj.* empyrean.
 empriour, 25, emperor.
 ene, 72, eyes. *See ee.*
 Eneados, 35, the Æneid.
 eneme, 1, enemei, 111; *pl.*
 enemeis, 1, enemy.
 engel, 89, angel (a coin).
 engeneret, 153, engendrit, 2, be-
 gotten.
 ennetseidis, 67, anise-seed (*Ani-
 sum*).
 Ennyrnes, 66, (Celtic) Inverness.
 ensens, 7, incense.
 ensenze, 149, ensign, insignia.
 entrepricis, 146.
 entres, 29, entrance.
 entretenis, 179, entertains.
 entrit, *v. p.* entered.
 ephores, 107, Ephori.
 Eporite, 84, Epirus.
 erb, eirb, 67, herb.
 erl, 63, earl.
 ermonyie, 37, armonye, 63,
 harmony; ermonius, 64.
 erris, 57, errs.
 Esaye, 22, Ysaye, 27, Isaiah.
 escarmuschis, 6, escharmouschis,
 79, (Fr.) skirmishes; escharmou-
 schit, 78, skirmished.
 eschaip, 37, to escape; eschapis,
 130; *p.* eschaipt, 17.
 eschamit, 43, ashamed.
 eschet, 133, forfeiture (O.Fr.
eschéoir, to fall out, fail).
 escheu, 90, eschew.
 esperance, 70, (Fr.) hope.
 est, 38, east; estin, 61, eastern.
 estaitis, 2, estates (of the realm).
 estime, 165, (Fr.) think, estimate;
 estemeit, estimated.
 euangel, 33, Gospel.
 euertione, 1, overthrow.
 euil, 12, euyl, 83, evil, ill.
 euir, 2, euyr, 90, ever, always.
 euoir banes, 20, ivory (bones),
 (Fr. *ivoire*).
 euyn, 43, even, evening.
 euyr furtht, 159, straightforward.
 excedis, 8, exceeds.
 excepan, 95, excepting.
 excerse, 9, *n.* and *v.* exercise, *p.*
 excersit.
 excommunicat, *p.p.* 87, excom-
 municated.
 excusatione, 137, *n.* excuse.
 exemnit, 98, examined.
 exempil, 7, example, instance.
 Exerxes, Exerxces, 79, Xerxes.
 experiens, 104; experimentit, 56,
 experienced.
 expirit, 68, expired, spent.
 explane, 27, explain, make clear.
 expone, 183, expound; exposi-
 tione, 156.
 expreme, *v.* to express, (Fr. *ex-
 primer*) expremit, 26, expressed.

- exquisite, 16, far-fetched, *recherché*.
 exsecut, 2, *v. p.* executed; *exsecutit*, 25, executione, 4.
 extendant, 111, extending.
 externe, 3, external, foreign.
 extinct, 2, *vb.* extinguish, 26, extinguished.
 extorsions, 21.
 extre, -e, 48, axle, axle-tree (M. Sc. *axtree*).
 eycht, 88, eight, eighth.
 eyr, *pl.* eyris, 37, ear, -s.
 eyrd, 24, earth.
 eyrn, 60, iron (M.Sc. *ern*).
 eyse, 26, ease; *eysily*, 88.
 eyt, 26, *vb. pr. & p.t.* eat, ate; *eytyn*, 63, eaten.
 eytyn, 63, (A.S. *eoten*, Isl. *jotun*) a giant.
 Ezechiel, 82, Ezekiel.

 facil, 15, easy, (Fr.) *facilnes*, 94.
 faculte, 10, (Fr.) faculty, power.
 fader, 93, fadir, 23, father; *gen. sing.* fadir, 4, 5; *faderly*, 26, fatherly, 28; *fadir-of-lau*, 3; *fadir-in-Gode*, 5.
 failze, (Fr. *faillir*) to fail; *failzeis*, 186, *p.* failzeit.
 faird, 42, passage (Sw. *færd*, Ger. *fahrt*, A.S. *fyrð*).
 falcons, 41, a species of cannon of three-inches calibre; the *half falcon* or *fauconneau* was about one inch eleven lines in calibre, and 6½ feet long.
 faldis, 43, *n.* folds.
 faldomis, 103, *n.* fathoms.
 falou, 182, fellow, companion.
 falset, -ed, 181, falsehood.
 falt, 142, *n.* want, failure; *faltit*, 122, committed a fault, was deficient.
 fame, 40, (A.S. *fám*) *n.* foam.
 familiaris, *adj. pl.* 94, domestics.
 fantastienes, 16, fantasy.
 fardit, 16, (Fr. *fardé*) painted, embellished.
 farrar, 52, farther.
 fasson, -e, -oune, 69, fashion (Fr. *façon*).
 fastan, 80, *pres. ple.* fasting.
 fatigat, 37, *p.p.* fatigued.
 faucht, *p. of* fecht, fought.
 faoir, 13, favour.
 fayr, 8, fair; *fayrveil*, 18, farewell.
 faythtful, 2, faithful.
 febil, 22, feeble.
 fecht, 148, fight; *fechtand*, 14, fighting; *p.t.* faucht, *p.p.* fochtyn.
 fede, 167, feud, hereditary enmity.
 feggis, 80, figs.
 feild, 13, field.
 feit, 121, feet, *pl. of* fut.
 Fekken, 5, Fécamp.
 felecite, 108, felicity, 7, (Fr.) happiness.
 fellis, 66, fells, hills (Isl. *ffjeld*, Sw. *ffjäll*).
 felloune, 39, -one, 14, (Fr.) fierce, cruel.
 feltrit, 68, entangled, dishevelled (Fr. *feultrer*, *feltrere*).
 femmel, 141, (Fr.) female.
 fenzet, 35, feigned (*p. of* *v.* fenze, Fr. *feigne*).
 ferd, 96, ferde, 40, feyrd, 11, fourth.
 ferme, 59, (Fr.) *adj.* firm; *n.* farm; *fermis*, 123, farms.
 Ferrand, 131, Ferdinand.
 fertil, 3, fertile.
 feü, 175, few, small, ano feu nummir, a small number.

- feueur, 24, fever.
 feume, 67 (? misp. for flume, *q. v.*).
 fife, 9, fiue, 26, five.
 fine, 140, *n.* (Fr.) end.
 fingare, 147, finger.
 finityuis, 166, *adj. pl.* frontier.
 finkil, 67, fennel (*Fœniculum vulgare*, Ælf. Gloss. *fynecl*).
 fische, 37, fish.
 fiue, 26, five.
 flasche, 41, flesche, 152; flaschar, 129, 162, butcher.
 fleice, 64, fleise, 148, fleece.
 fleid, 161, *p. of* fle, fled; fleis, 60, flees.
 flet, 63, *adj.* flat, prosaic, in prose.
 fleuris, 171, flureise, 38, blossom (M.Sc. *flurishen*).
 fleyit, 70, afraid; fleyitnes, 60, fear.
 floe, 2, flokkis, 24, flock.
 flotquhaye, 43, float whey, whey brose, "made by boiling whey after it is pressed out of the cheese curds, with a little meal and milk, when a species of very soft curd floats at the top."
 flouredelicis, 68, *fleurs-de-lis*.
 flouyng, 40, flowing.
 flum, feume, 67, phlegm.
 flyttyn, 139, scolded, quarrelled, *p.p. of* fleyte; *p.t.* flait.
 fochtyyn, 97, *p.p.* fought.
 foir, fore, 4.
 foir bears, 91, predecessors.
 foirfadirs, 72, forefathers.
 foirgrandscheir, 3, great-grandfather.
 foirlend, 41, foreland.
 foir ra, 40, fore-mast; foir sail, 40.
 foirsaid, 11, aforesaid.
 foliful, 126, foolish.
 folis, 39, foals.
 folkis, 38, folk, people, persons.
 fontane, 21, fountain.
 forane, 5, forrain, 82, foreign.
 forduart, 6, forward.
 forfayr, 65, to miscarry, go to ruin (A.S. *forfaran*).
 forgearis, 10, forgers; forgit, 89, forged.
 formit, 11, formed.
 forrais, 114, forays; forreours, 98, forayers, marauders.
 forrest, 37, forest.
 forse, 4, 19.
 Fortht, 63, Forth.
 forzet, 4, forget.
 fouer, 34, four.
 foulis, 39, fowls.
 found, 63, go (A.S. *fundian*).
 fourty, 6, forty.
 foysaid, 69, aforesaid.
 fra, 4, from.
 fragil, 35, frail; fragilite, 9, frailty.
 franche, 21, French.
 freir, 96, frere, 121, (Fr.) friar; *pl.* freris, 66.
 frende, 54, friend.
 frenetic, 13, frantic; frenyse, 124, frenzy.
 fresche, 7, fresh.
 fresis, 59, *vb.* freezes; *p.p.* frosyn, 59.
 freuol, 51, -e, 183, (Fr.) frivolous.
 frosyn, 59, frozen.
 frute, 1, fruit.
 ful, 7, full.
 fumeterre, 67, Fumitary (*Fumaria officinalis*).
 fumis, 38, smoke.
 fundatione, 97, foundation.

- fundin, 60, fundyn, *p.p.* found.
fundit, 129, founded; fundatouris, 129, founders.
furneis, 87, *vb.* furnish.
furor, 177, fury.
furtht, 1, 60, forth, out.
fustean-skonnis, 43, "cakes leavened or puffed up; *fustean*, soft, elastic, and compressible like cotton down."
fut, 20, foot, *pl.* feit; futsteppis, 148, futtit, 63.
futur, 46, future, coming.
fyft, 120, fyift, 2, fifth; fyfye, 36, fifty; fyiftein, 139, fifteen.
fyr, 28, fire; -slaucht, 60, lightning, also called *slew-fire* (L.); -speyris, 42, fire spears; -syde, 14.
fylit, 42, defiled; fyltht, 12, filth.
fynd, 4, find, *p.t.* fand, *p.p.* fundyn.
fyne, 2, *adj.* fine; *n.* 83, end (O.Fr. *fine*).
fyrst, 3, first; fyrst mobil, 48, *primum mobile*.
fysche, 57, fish.
- ga, gang, *vb.* go, gais, 50.
Gabine, 93.
gadir, *v.* gather; *p.* gadrit, 42, gaddrit, 78, gaddryt, 77, gadthrid, 145 (A.S. *gadrian*, *gaderod*).
gait, 175, way, road.
gait, (A.S. *gát*) *n. s.* & *pl.* goat, -s; gait buckis, 58, he-goats; gait horne, 65.
galeis, 102, galleys.
galiasse, 39.
gallandis, 42, gallants.
Gallouaye, 96, Galloway.
gallus, 102, gallows.
galmondig, 66, gambolling (O.Fr. *jalme*, leg, whence *jalmade*, *galmade*, *galmbade*).
galzardis, 66, (Fr.) galliards.
- gammis, 13, games.
ganestand, 175, withstand, oppose.
gang, 34, or ga, *vb.* go, 3 *sing.* gais; *p.t.* zeid; *p.p.* gane, gone, 9.
gar, 1, (Dan.) to make, cause, force; *p.* gart, 5.
gardin -ing, -yng, 94, garden.
garnison, 5, -soun, 113, (Fr.) garnison.
gartan, 148, garter (M.Sc. *gairtan*).
Gascunze, 79, Gascony.
gat, 26, got.
gaye, 70, gay.
gayslingis, 39, goslings.
gazophile, 70, treasury.
gef, 94, gave.
geise, 39, geese (*pl. of* guise).
genner, 153, to generate; *p.* generit, 38.
genologie, 2, genolligie, 3, genolygie, 68, genealogy.
gentilite, 22, Gentile world, heathendom.
gentil men, 9; gentrice, 144, gentreis, 128, gentility, gentle rank.
geyr, 41, gear.
gif, giue, gyf, gyue, *vb.* give, gifis, 32, gifis, 84; *p.* gef, 180, gais; *p.p.* gyuen.
glaid, 85, glad; glaidful, 37, gladsome, joyful.
glar, 68, sticky mud (Fr. *glaire*, slime, ooze, white of an egg).
glaspis, 71, clasps.
glasyn, 148, *adj.* of glass.
glaykit, 136, glaykyt, 140, light-headed, daft.
gled, 39, (A.S. *glida*) a kite.
gleu, 68, glue; gleuit, 68, glued.
gloir, 1, gloire, 170, gloire, 143, (Fr.) *n.* glory, *vb.* to glory, boast, 142; glorius, 16, 66, boastful, vain glorious.

- glufe, 110, glove.
 gode, 2, God; *pl.* goddis, 7.
 Godefroid, 3, Godfrey.
 goilk, 39, (Isl. *gouk*) the Gowk or Cuckoo.
 goldin, 7, golden; goldspynk, 39, goldfinch.
 Gomore, 127, Gomorrah.
 gomoria, 66 (? misprint for gonoria), gonorrhœa.
 gottyn, 128, gotten.
 gouernance, 3, government; gouernyng, 2.
 goulmau, 39, the Gull-maw or grey Gull.
 goune, 142, gown, robe.
 graif, 175, grave, sagacious.
 gramariaris, 17, 160, grammarians (dealers in *Gramarye*).
 grandscheirs, 151, grandfathers.
 grathit, 39, made ready, fitted out, accoutred (A.S. *geræded*).
 gre, 134, gree, 160, degree, step.
 Grece, 78, Greice, 14, Greece; greiciens, 87, Grekis, 78.
 greit, 39, weep, cry.
 greneserene, 39, green-syren, greenfinch.
 greu, 94, grew.
 grit, 3, -e, 4, gryt, 79, great; gitar, 56, greater; gritest, 47.
 grond, 96, grounde. 22; grondis, 79, foundations; grondit, 130, founded.
 grouuen, 130, grown.
 grumis, 67, grooms, lads.
 gryt, 79, great; grytest, 143, grytumly, 21, greatly.
 gude, 6, guid, guide, 80, good; guidis, 99, goods; gudnes, 3; gude-lyik, 151, good-looking, goodly.
 gudeson, 131, son-in-law, beaux-fils.
 gudscheir, 4, gudschers, 151, grandfather, gutscher.
 gulset, 67, jaundice (M.Sc. *gulsoch*, Fr. *gueule*, yellow, A.S. *gealwe-seoc*, yellow sickness).
 gummis, 145, gums.
 gut, 57, gout.
 gyf, gyue, 11, *vb.* give; gyffin, 19, gyuyn, 148, given.
 gyf, 17, gyue, 75, if.
 gyft, 7, gift.
 gylmyr, 66, (Isl. *gimbur*) ewe in her second year, one that has been twice smeared; *fem.* of dylmond.
 gyltin, 63, gilded, gilt.
 gyrse, 20, grass, (M.Sc. *gerss*) *pl.*
 gyrsis, 67, gyrssis, 37.
 gyrrh, 115, shelter, sanctuary, asylum (A.S. *gryth*).
 gyue, give, if; gyuyn, 148, given.
 habitis, 163, (Fr.) clothes, garments.
 habitude, 21, (Fr.) custom, habit.
 hagbutaris, 6, musqueteers.
 hagbuttis of croche, 41, the *Arquebus-a-croc*, or arquebus with a hook cast along with the piece, serving to fix it to a tripod or carriage. It varied in size from a small cannon to a musket.
 haggis, 41, haques or haquebutts, guns with crooked butts, according to 33 Henry VIII. of one yard in length. Half-haggis (*demi-haques*) were smaller.
 haif, 118, hef, 13, to have; *p.* hed, haid.
 hail, 40, *vb.* to haul, hale; *p.* halit.
 hail, 173, *adj.* whole (A.S. *hál*).
 hail, 73, *n.* well-being (A.S. *hælu*); gude hail, 45, good health.
 hail, 59, *n.* hail; hailschot, 41.
 hailsit, 141, *v.* *p.* hailed, saluted (A.S. *hælsod*).

- hairschip, 23, hayrschip, 5, harrying, plunder, pillage.
 haistiar, 36, more hastily; haistily, 6.
 halbert, 70, halbardis, 42, halberd, a long-handled axe.
 hald, *vb.* hold; haldant, 6, holding; haldin, 22, haldyn, 128, held, holden.
 halit, 40, hauled.
 hammyr, 10, hammer.
 hamuart, 97, homeward.
 hang, 93, *vb.* to hang (execute); *p.* hangit, 27.
 harde, 96, heard (*p.* of heir).
 hardyn, 96, sacking. Burns has *harn* ('Tam o' Shanter').
 hardyn pan, 154, harn-pan, skull (M.Sc. *herns*, *hairns*, brains).
 hareyt, 135, harried, spoiled.
 hart, 14, heart; hartly, 7, cordial.
 Hasse, 168, Hesse.
 haszarde, 14, chance.
 hatrent, 45, heytrent, 174, hatred.
 hauy, 21, heavy; hauyar, 73, heavier; hauyly, 25, heavily.
 hauyn, 3, heaven.
 hayr, 40, hair.
 hayr ryim, 59, hoar rime, hoar-frost.
 hede, 22, *n.* head; *vb.* to behead, *p.* hedit, 95; hede-verkis, 37, head aches.
 hees, 15, has.
 hef, 13, *vb.* to have; heffand, 2, having; hed, 5; hes, 1.
 heir, 16, *adv.* here.
 heir, 59, *vb.* to hear, *p.* hard, 59.
 heise, 40, to hoist, heave; heisau, 59, ? hoist all!
 helytropium, 57, heliotrope.
 hemispere, 42, hemespeir, 38.
 hennis, 39, hens, fowls.
 herberye, 155, (A.S. *hereberze*) harbour, refuge, place of shelter.
 herd, 13, *vb.* heard.
 heretage, 3; heritour, 3, heir, heiress.
 heroyque, 2, heroic.
 herrons, 39, herons.
 heruest hog, 66, a young sheep after smearing at end of harvest, when it ceases to be a lamb.
 hes, 1, has.
 heuch, 39, a steep rugged valley, a gill, or ravine.
 heyde, 162, *vb.* behead, *p.* hedit, 95.
 heyt, 24, *n.* heat; 67, *adj.* hot (M.Sc. *hel*).
 heytes, 143, *vb.* hates.
 heytrent, 174, hatred.
 hicht, 6, *n.* height; *vb.* to raise, *p.* hichtit, raised.
 hie, 38, high; hiear, 40, higher.
 Hieremye, 25, Jeremiah.
 Hierusalem, 25, Jerusalem.
 hing, 57, hyng, 138, *vb.* hang; hingand, 39, hanging; *p.t.* hang, *p.p.* hungyn.
 hird, 28, 42, shepherd, keeper of cattle of any kind.
 hisband, 2, husband.
 his self, 138, himself.
 historiagrephours, 4, histori-graphours, 7, historians.
 hog, 66, a young sheep between first and second smearings, a one-year-old.
 hoilsum, 1, wholesome.
 hola bar, 40 (Leyden suggests *Holla! bar* the capstan).
 holt, 40, ? halt.
 honest, 79, honourable.
 honorificabilitudinity, 16.
 hoppand, 37, hopping.

- Horasse, 66, Horace.
 horse, *pl.* 38, horses, M.Sc. hors.
 host, 122, the consecrated Host.
 hoste, 67, (Sw. *hosta*) a cough.
 hou, 2, how.
 hou, 39, 66, *adj.* hollow, sunken.
 hounting, 13, hunting.
 hundreht, 21, hundred.
 houshald, 145, household.
 huddit, 39, hooded.
 humiditeis, 38, moistures:
 humil, 106, (Fr.) humble.
 hurlis, 39, *n.* hurls, rushes.
 hychtit, 123, raised in price.
 hyl, hil, 10, hill.
 hym, him, 118, *ref.* himself.
 hyngis, 138, *vb.* hangs.
 hyr, her.
 hyrdis, 98, shepherds.
- Iacopyne, 121, Jacobin.
 iakkis, 163, mail jackets.
 iangil, 39, jangle, the cry of the
 jay.
 iargolyne, 39, jargoning, chatter-
 ing.
 Ieremie, 82, Jeremiah.
 Ieuis, 2, Jews.
 Iherusalem, 3, Jerusalem.
 Ihesus, 35, Jesus.
 Ihone, 5, John.
 ile, 82, *n.* isle.
 ilk, 11, each; ilkane, 12, every
 one.
 illustir, 1, (Fr.) illustrious.
 imbassadre, 110, ambassador;
 imbassadouris, 90.
 impung, 12, impugn.
 impedimentis, 130.
 imperiour, 181, emperor.
- impesche, 130, (Fr. *empesche*)
 hinder, prevent, *p.t.* impeschit, 4.
 importabil, *adj.* unbearable.
 in = into, 33, 133, 145.
 inbassadours, 112, ambassadors.
 inche, 96, *n. pl.* inches.
 inciuil, 45, -e, 128, uncivilized.
 incontinent, (Fr.) *adv.* immedi-
 ately.
 incredule, 27, 186, infidel, faith-
 less; incrudilite, 165, infidelity.
 inressis, 2, *vb.* increases, in-
 cressyng, 20.
 Inde, 2, India.
 indifferent, 184, neutral.
 indroctryne, 14, *vb.* teach, in-
 struct.
 indole, 126, (L. *indoles*) *adj.* well
 disposed.
 inducit, 8, *p.p.* induced.
 induris, 3, endures; indurit, 9.
 induring, 31, 181, *prep.* during.
 inexorbitant, 21, *adj.* exorbitant.
 infang and outfang, 106. "In
 the auld lawis of the Brittons made
 by King Edward, *infang* thiefe is
 a liberty or power pertaining to
 him quha is infest therewith, to
 cognosce upon theft committed by
 his awin man, takin within his
 awin dominion and landis; and
outfang thiefe is an foran thefe,
 quha cums fra anuther man's land
 or jurisdiction, and is takin and
 apprehended withtin the lands
 pertenant to him quha is infest
 with the liberty." *Skene*.
 infek, *vb.* infect; infekkit, 38,
 infected.
 infideil, 3, faithless; infidilite,
 164.
 inflam, 86, *vb.* inflame.
 Inglan, England; inglis, English.
 ingnorant, 159, ignorant; *pl.*
 ingnorans, 82, ignorant people.

- ingrat, 71, ingrate, 20, ungrateful.
 ingyne, 4, 46, (L. *ingenium*)
 genius, wit, intellect.
 inhabit, 20, 82, *p.p.* inhabited;
 inhabitants, 93, *inhabitaris*, 117,
 inhabitants.
 inhabitabil, 28, 98, *not* habitable,
uninhabitable.
 iniuris, 141, injuries.
 innocentis, 130, innocents.
 insaciabil, 34, insatiable.
 inspirit, 2, *p.p.* inspired.
 instantly, 169, *adv.* at this in-
 stant, at present.
 institut, 8, *v.p.* instituted.
 intend, 88, *vb.* intend, contrive,
 institute; *p.t.* intend, 96, intendit,
 2, 85.
 interpret, 17, 83, *v.p.* interpreted.
 intestynis, 167, *adj. pl.*
 inuarty, 73, inwardly.
 inuictissime, 4, most unconquer-
 able.
 inutil, 123, (Fr. *inutile*) useless.
 inuy, 12, envy, -ful, 9, envious.
 Iosue, 76, Joshua.
 iournais, 20, journeys.
 iryn, 114, *adj.* made of iron
 (yrn).
 Isboseth, 120, Ishbosheth.
 ische, 101, (L. *exire*, Fr. *issir*,
ussir) to come out, issue; ischit,
 177, isching, 98, ischyng, 99.
 Iude, 25, Judah; Iudia, 4, Judea;
 Iueis, 82, Jews.
 iuge, 3, (Fr.) judge; iugit, 9,
 judged.
 iune, 37, to join; iunit, 177,
 joined; iunyng, 14, joining.
 iuris-consultours, 144, legal
 counsel.
 iustand, 58, *pr. ple.* jousting,
 fencing.
 kar hand, 115, left hand (Celt.
caerr).
 kebbis, 66, "ewes whose lambs
 have died early and have been
 allowed to go *yeild*." L.
 keip, keyp, 78, keep; keptit, 3,
 kept.
 keist, 154, 175, *vb. p.t.* of cast.
 kekkyll, 39, cackle.
 ken, 143, to know.
 knaif, 104, knave.
 knau, *vb.* know, *p.* kneu, *p.p.*
 knauen, 135, know; knaulage, 14.
 knychthed, 148, knighthood.
 knyf, 10, knife.
 kou, 135, cow; *pl.* ky, 42, kine.
 kyl, 39, kiln.
 kyn, 104, kin.
 kyng, 89, kying, 2, king.
 Kynt, 104, Kent.
 kyrk, 163, (A.S. *cyrce*) church.
 kyrn, 43, (A.S. *cyrn*) churn.
 kyrnellis, 80, kernels.
 kyttit, 66, *vb.* tickle.
 ladeis, 11, ladies.
 laif, 40, 66, remainder (A.S. *láf*,
 M.Sc. *laive*).
 laitly, 5, lately.
 landrusche, 39, landslip.
 landuart, 43, 67, landward, in-
 land, rural.
 lang, 32, long.
 langage, 16, (Fr.) language.
 langorius, 1, languid, affected
 with languor.
 langsyne, 154, long ago, long
 since.
 lang-tailit, 16, long-tailed.
 lard, 103, *n.* laird (A.S. *hláford*,
 O.E. *lauerd*).
 lardit, 16, *p.p.* stuffed.

- large, 97, *adv.* at large.
 lasche, 146, (Fr.) coward, cowardly.
 laszar, 158, *n.* leisure.
 lat, 40, *vb.* let; *p.t.* leit.
 Latyn, latyne, 12, lateen, lating, 66, 67, Latin.
 lau, 6, law.
 lauar, 7, laver.
 laubeir, 96, laubir, 6, laubyr, 123, labour; lauberar, 137, labourer.
 laucht, *vb.* laugh, *p.t.* leuch, 153, leucht, 169, laughed (M.Sc. *leuch*); *p.p.* leuchyn.
 lauerok, 39, lark, laiverock (A.S. *laferc*).
 laure, laury(r)e, 60, laurel.
 learis, 83, liars.
 leaue, 139, leave.
 lecens, 146, licence.
 leiful, 77, 164, = leaveful, allowable, permissible.
 leit, 97, *p.t.* of lat, let.
 leiuit, 65, *v.p.* left.
 lemman, 64, lemman (A.S. *leofman*).
 len, 124, *vb.* lend; *p.* lent, 89 (A.S. *læn*).
 les, 4, 9, 57, less.
 letteral, 29, literal.
 leuart, 41, leeward.
 leuerairis, 148, liveries.
 Leuitic, 23, Leviticus.
 leuk, 30, look; leukand, 154, looking; leukyt, 60, looked.
 leuyr, 134, 140, (A.S. *leofre*) liefer, rather.
 leye rig, 42, lea ridge; "a lea is a piece of flat arable land which has lain long in grass." *L.*
 leynand, 120, leaning.
 leyrne, 8, 14, to learn, to teach; leyrnit, 182, taught.
- leysingis, 45, *n.* lies.
 leyuis, 1, leaves.
 libedeneus, 155, libidinous.
 liberalis, 158, *adj. pl.* liberal.
 libertee, 4, liberty.
 Libie, 80, Lybia.
 Lidie, 83, Lydia.
 lille, 66, lily.
 linche, 41, "linch-pin or lins-pin for belaying the ropes on." *L.*
 lingnis, 34, lines.
 listis, 27, *vb.* lists, pleases.
 loftit, 96, lofted, cieled.
 logicinaris, 183, logicians.
 lokkyt, 70, locked.
 lond, 90, land.
 longinquite, 4, (Fr.) far distance.
 lope, 151, *vb.* leap; lopene, 66, leaping (M.Sc. *lowp*, *lowpin*).
 Loran, 4, Lorraine; in M.Sc. *Deloraine* is pronounced *Delóran*.
 lossit, 108, lost.
 Lotht, 127, Lot.
 lou, 39, *n.* lowing.
 loue, 130, (Fr.) praise; louyng, 182, praising; louit, 166, praised.
 loue, 3, love; louyng, 133; louit, 131, loved.
 loupe, 103, *n.* loop.
 louse, 121, *vb.* loose (M.Sc. *lowse*).
 ludgens, 43, lodgings.
 lufe, 40, luff, loof.
 lufe, 65, *n.* love.
 lug, 43, luggis, 64, handles, ears, properly of a thing (that has to be *lugged*) or an animal, extended also in Sc. to persons.
 lukit, 120, *v. p.* looked.
 lustrant, 38, *pr. ple.* shining.
 luxure, 34, luxury.
 ly, lyis, 4, *vb.* lie; lyand, 121, lying, *p.t.* lay, *p.p.* lyne.

- lycht, 89, light.
 lychtis, 67, lungs.
 lychtlye, -lie, -leis, 128, *vb.* to make light of, to slight.
 lyf, 123, lyif, 100, lyue, 107, *vb.* to live.
 lyffing, 90, lyuing, 8, living.
 lyft, 58, 107, the sky (A.S. *lyft*).
 lyif, 35, lyf, lyfe, lyue, *n.* life; *pl.* lyifis, 137, lyifis, 101, lives.
 lyik, 5, lyk, 78, like.
 lyme, 41, lime.
 lyne, 48, line.
 lyntht, 81, length.
 lyntquhit, 39, the linnet.
 lynyalye, 40, lineally.
 lyon, 68, 141, lion.
 lyue, 35, *n.* life, *vb.* live; lyuit, 6, lived, lyuing, 8, lyuyngs, 73.
 lyuyr, 67, *n.* liver.
- Machabeis, 75, Maccabees.
 machine, 3, the structure, fabric.
 maculat, 150, *p.p.* spotted.
 Madynhayr, 67, Maidenhair (*A-diantum?*).
 mageste, 26, -tie, 27, majesty.
 magnanime, 1, (Fr.) magnanimous.
 maid, 6, made.
 mail, 141, male.
 mailze, 163, mail.
 mair, 1, 8, *adv.* more; 14, *adj.* greater; mair haistiar, 54; sometimes we find *moir*.
 maist, most, 3; *adj.* greatest, 16, 66.
 maister, 87, (O.F. *maistre*) master.
 mait, 41, *n.* mate.
 mak, 7, *vb.* make; makkis, 6, makand, 93, making; *p.* maid, 78.
 maleis, 115, -eise, 30, malice.
 maling, 30, to malign.
 malis, 123, mailings, small farms; "a cow's mail, the rent of a cow's walk or grass." *L.*
 maltalent, 22, (Fr.) ill will, spite.
 maluersatione, 160, bad conduct.
 man, 104, *vb.* must (Isl. *mön*, Dan. *man*).
 mane, 95, main; mane-landis, 23, interior districts; mane-ra, 40, mainmast.
 maneir, 8, maneyrs, 101, manner, -s.
 manhede, 27, manhood.
 manifest, 8, *p.p.* manifested.
 manneist, 102, -iest, 125, menaced; manessing, 140, threatening.
 mantillis, 41, (Fr. *mantelets*) large shields borne before archers at sieges, or fixed on ships as a covert for archers.
 Marbyr, 129, marble (Fr. *marbre*).
 Marc, 8, Mark.
 marcat, 159, market.
 marchand, -ant, 10, (Fr.) merchant; marchandres, -reis, 69, 123, merchandise, traffic.
 marchis, 166, marche, 38, (A.S. *mearc*) marches, border.
 mareit, 63, married.
 margareit, 1, (Gr. *μαργαριτα*, A.S. *meregrót*) pearl.
 marmadyn, 64, mermaid.
 marrou, 173, marrow, match.
 Marse, 96, the Merse, Berwickshire.
 marthirs, 183, martyrs.
 marynel, 10, -nalis, 40, mariner, -s.
 mas, 33, masse, 96, mass; mas-sife, 59, massive.
 mater, 7, matter.
 mathematikis, 47, *adj. pl.* mathematical.

- Mathou, 32, Matthew.
 matutine, 38, early in the morning.
 maucht, 40, (A.S. *meaht*, Ger. *macht*) might, power.
 maueis, 39, the mavis or thrush.
 maye, 29, (A.S. *má*) more, plures.
 mayr, 140, (A.S. *már*) more, plus.
 mecanyc, -yke, 25, 8, mechanic, -al.
 Medas, 178, Midas.
 Medicinaris, 122, physicians, medicine, 23.
 medo, 66, meadow.
 meduart, 42, meadow, meadow-sweet (A.S. *meduwyr*).
 Meid, 27, Media.
 meit, 135, meyt, 12, food.
 mekil, mekill, 7, 79, (A.S. *mycel*) great, much.
 mel, 15, (Fr. *mêler*) to mix, meddle.
 melancolic, 61, melancolius, 7, *adj.* melancholy.
 melt, 64, (A.S. *milte*) the spleen.
 membris, 67, members, limbs.
 memor, -e, 5, 2, (Fr. *mémoire*) memory.
 Menasses, 77, Manasseh.
 menassing, 24, threatening.
 menis, 81, mennis, 1, men's.
 menit, 64, meant.
 menstralye, 65, minstrelsy.
 menteine, 104, *vb.* maintain; *p.* menteinit, 19.
 mercat, 149, marcat, 159, mercattis, 106, market, -s.
 merit, 134, *vb. p.* merited.
 merk, 123, mark.
 merle, 39, (Fr.) the blackbird.
 Merlyne, 84, Merlin.
 meruel, 6, marvel; meruelous, 53, marvellous.
 messenger, -anger, -enger, 94.
 Metredates, 3, Mithridates.
 methamatic, 62, mathematical.
 mettal, 19, metal, material, stuff.
 mettigat, 130, *vb.* mitigate.
 meydvyf, 129, midwife.
 meyris, 39, mares.
 meyt, 12, food.
 middis, 69, midst.
 mirknes, 54, darkness.
 mirrou, 14, mirror.
 mischance, 7, bad fortune.
 misericord, 72, (Fr.) mercy.
 miserite, 92, misire, 72, misery.
 misprisis, 28, (Fr. *mesprise*) despises.
 misteous, 85, dim, misty, mystic.
 mistir, 36, (Fr. *mestier*) need; mistirful, 125, needy, wretched.
 mittygat, 171, 56, mitigate.
 mixtions, 80, mixtures.
 mo, 39, to low as a cow (M.Sc. *moo*).
 moir, 55, 66, = mair, more.
 Moises, 106, Moyses, 24, Moses.
 moist, 78, = maist, most.
 mok, 39, *vb.* mock.
 monarche, -is, 21, monarchy, -ies.
 moneth, 35, montht, 45, monetht, 103, (A.S. *monað*) month.
 monolog, 37, monologue.
 monopoles, 140, combinations, trades' unions.
 monstir, 63, monster.
 montane, 37, -anis, 2, mountain, -s.
 mony, 5, (A.S. *monig*) many.
 Mordocheus, 2, Mordecai.
 morne, the, 83, to-morrow.
 mortel, 84, mortal; mortalite, 1.
 mortife, 155, *vb.* mortify; *p.*

- mortefeit, 34, mortifet, 109, mortifeit, 16.
 motione, 27, *n.* motive.
 mouiabil, 179, moveable.
 mouimentis, 46, motions.
 mouit, 2, moved; mouyng, 47, moving.
 mude, 40, (A.S. *mód*, Ger. *Muth*) mood, courage, pith.
 muguart, 67, mugwort (*Artemisia campestris*, A.S. *mugwyrt*).
 muis, 113, (Fr. *muids*, Lat. *modius*) bushels, measures, mows.
 multiplie, *n.* 15, 23, multitude.
 mune, 47, moon.
 munetis, munitis, 50, minutes.
 murdresaris, 159, (Fr. *meurtriseur*) murderers; 41, a species of cannon of large size.
 murmerit, 183, murmured.
 murn, 169, mourn.
 mussilis, 57, mussels.
 mutulat, 183, *p.p.* mutilated.
 muuyng, 48, *ger.* moving.
 mycht, 3, might; mychty, 25, mighty.
 myddil, 11, middle.
 myddyng, 12, (Dan. *mögdyng*) midden, dunghill.
 mydvay, 53, midway.
 myl, 64, mill.
 myle, 16, mile.
 mylk, 42, milk.
 myrk, 140, dark (A.S. *myrc*).
 myrtht, 39, myrrynes, 43, mirth.
 myscheif, 58, mischief.
 myskend, 70, mistaken, failed to recognize.
 mysknaulage, 27, misknowledge, mistaken notion.
 myst, 59, mist.
 mystir, 161, need. *See* mistir.
 myxt, 14, mixed.
 myzen, 41, mizen.
 na, nay, no, *adj.* no, 3, 7, 10, 94.
 na, 100, *conj.* nor.
 naikyt, 92, naykit, 16, naked.
 namis, 8, names.
 nane, 24, none, 7.
 natour, 106, natur, 141, nature.
 natyf, 86, -if, 90, (Fr.) -iue, 3, native, *natural*.
 nauen, 91, navy, shipping.
 naything, 171, nothing.
 neb, *pl.* nebbis, 72, (A.S. *neb*) bill, -s.
 necessair, -e, 7, 9, (Fr.) necessary.
 nechir, 39, to nicker (*frequentative* of neigh).
 neclegens, 72, negligence.
 nee, 39, *vb.* neigh.
 neidforse, on, 67, 163, of necessity, of compulsion.
 neir, 6, near; *comp.* nerar, 52, nixt, nyxt, 96.
 neiris, 67, kidneys; in M.Sc. by frequent loss of initial *n*, *eirs*, a *neir* becoming an *eir*; *comp.* a *nadder* and an *adder*.
 neiuyr, 9, never.
 nerar, 52, nearer.
 neu, new; neu maid, 98, new-made.
 neukyt, 54, nooked, cornered.
 neuo, 76, (Fr. *neveu*, *nevo*) nephew.
 neureis, 123, *vb.* nourish; neuresing, 45; *p.* neurest, 14, neurist, 33, neurissit, 181.
 neuyr, neuir, neiuyr, 9, never.
 nixt, 96, next.
 nobil, 2, noble; nobilnes, 4, nobilitie, 1.
 nocht, 1, not, nothing.

- nochtheles, 2, nevertheless.
 noisum, 62.
 nok, 41, nook, corner.
 nolt, 2, *sing. and pl.* ox, oxen
 (A.S. *neat*, Isl. *naut*).
 nor, *conj.* than *after comparative*, 3; nor, 6, 23.
 Normandis, 85, Normans.
 Norroua, Norrouay, 63, Norway.
 northt, 37; northin, 39, northern;
 northtest, 38, N.E.; nortuest, 62, N.W.
 Northumyrland, 97.
 not, 38, *n.* note.
 nothir, 39, 45, neither.
 nou, 1, now.
 nou, 38.
 nouvelles, nouuellis, 119, (Fr.)
 news.
 noyis, 39, noise.
 noysum, 61, noisum, 62.
 Numance, 44, Numantia.
 numir, 57, nummir, 6, nummer,
 93, number.
 nureseis, nuresant, 61, nourishes,
 -ing.
 nycht, -is, 47, night, -s; nycht-
 ingal, 39.
 nychtbour, 25, neighbour.
 nyne, 4, nine; nynt, -e, ninth.
 nyxt, 18, next.
 obediens, 7, obedience.
 obfusquis, 56, *vb.* darkens.
 obleis, oblice, 164, *vb.* oblige;
p.p. oblist, 8, obliged.
 obstinatione, 26, obstinacy.
 occiane, 80, ocean.
 occident, 46, west.
 occupeit, 7, occupied.
 occurit, 1, occurred.
 och, 41, oh!
 odoreferant, 37, odoriferous.
 offrandis, 8, offerings; offrit, 8,
 offered.
 oft, 58, often.
 oistirs, 57, oysters.
 Olimp, 3, 32, Olympus, heaven.
 Oliphernes, 3, Holophernes.
 oliue, 57, olive.
 onabil, 9, unable.
 onbaykin, 46, unbaked.
 onbridilit, 92, unbridled.
 oncertane, 36, uncertain.
 onconsumyt, 46, unconsumed.
 oncoutht, 16, uncouth, strange,
 foreign.
 oncunzet, 109, uncoined.
 ondantit, 128, untamed.
 onexpert, 159, inexperienced.
 onfaythful, 22, unfaithful.
 ongrit, 113, ungreat, small.
 oniust, 2, unjust.
 onknauen, 21, unknown.
 onleful, 166, unlawful.
 onmauen, 66, unmown.
 onmeltit, 59, unmelted.
 onmercyful, 23, unmerciful.
 onmountabil, 98, insurmountable.
 onnatural, 37, unnatural.
 onnumerabil, 83, innumerable.
 onpossibil, 77, impossible.
 onpuneist, 138, unpunished.
 onrasonabil, 125, unreasonable.
 onremedabil, 8, irremediable.
 onstabil, 54, unstable.
 onsyd, 159, aside.
 onutil, 28, (Fr. *inutile*) useless.
 ony, 96, any.
 or, *prep.* ere, before, 15.
 ordand, *vb.* *p.* 11, 54, ordained,
 ordered.

- ordinans, -ance, -ances, 8, 9,
ordonnance, 78, *n. s. & pl.* or-
dinances, orders.
- ordour, 13, order; ordoryng, 13.
- orient, 46, east.
- orison, 138, oration.
- orisone, 37, horizon.
- oszer, 57, osier.
- oszil, 39, the ouzle, mistle thrush,
or dipper.
- ouer, *prep.* over; *adv.* too, too
much, 63, 135.
- ouergane, 30, past, overgone.
- ouerset, 126, *p.p.* overborne.
- oultraige, 186, (Fr. *oultrage*) out-
rage; oultrageus, 80, outrageous.
- oure, 1, our.
- oufang, 106. *See* Infang.
- outuartly, 73, outwardly.
- oxee, 39, the ox-eye titmouse.
- pace, 3, peace; pacebil, 3,
pacibil, 87, peaceable; paciablie, 79.
- pactione, 132, *n.* compact.
- pail, 38, *adj.* pale.
- pailzons, 60, 97, pavilions, tents.
- paleis, 42, palace, *pl.* palecis, 43.
- palmis, 7, palms.
- pane, 3, pain.
- pape, 165, (Fr.) pope.
- parchance, 9, perhaps.
- paris, -e, *pl.* -isis, 167, parish, -es.
- Parisiens, 84, Parisians.
- parpetrat, 125, *vb.* perpetrate.
- parsecut, -tione, 123, persecute,
-tion.
- parson, 55, persone, 15, person.
- partan, 159, *n.* (Celt.) a crab.
- partenis, 98, (Fr. *partenir*) per-
tains, belongs.
- participant, 131, *pr. p.* partici-
pating.
- particular, 79, private, individual;
particular profit = private inter-
est; particularite, 158.
- partit, 21, parted.
- part-takers, 77.
- pas, 6, *vb.* pass, pace; *p.* past.
- passis, 90, passages, places.
- pastance, 64, (Fr. *passetems*)
pastime.
- pasuolans, 41, (Fr. *passevolans*)
a small species of artillery.
- pat, 5, *vb. p. t.* of put.
- patrone, 11, pattern.
- paneis, -esis, 41, (Fr. *pavoises*)
large shields behind which archers
were stationed.
- pauuans, 66, dances; see p. xciii.
- paynt, 14, paint; payntit, 14,
painted; payntur, 11, painter.
- Peblis, 143, Peebles.
- pece, 151, peeces, -is, 7, 10,
piece, -s.
- penneis, 8, pence.
- pepil, 1, people; pepulus, 21.
- perce, 87, pierce.
- perdone, 119, pardon.
- perdurabil, 20, lasting, permanent.
- perell, 130, peril.
- peremptoir, 6, (Fr.) peremptory.
- pereseis, 159, perishes.
- perfyit, 20, perfect; perfytlyle, 3.
- perise, 24, perreis, 73, (Fr. *perisse*)
vb. to perish.
- perlament, 96, perliament, 93.
- perle, 1, (Fr.) pearl.
- permittit, 27, permitted.
- pernasus, 10, Parnassus.
- perpend, 85, 158, *vb.* ponder in
mind.
- perpetrat, *p.p.* 130, perpetrated.
- Pers, 83, Perse, 7, Persia;
Persan, 8, Persian.

- persauand, 13, perceiving.
 perseuand, 29, pursuing.
 perspective, 72, *n.* view, sight.
 perturbit, 68, disturbed.
 peruerst, 6, 32, *p.p.* perverted.
 peste, (Fr.) *n.* the plague.
 pestelens, 29, pestilence.
 peu, 39, the plaintive cry of
 young fowls.
 Pharaon, 147, Pharaoh.
 phicisians, 122, physicians.
 Philistiens, 76, Philistines.
 philosophe, 10, philosophy ;
 philosophour, 13, philosopher.
 phisic, 46, Natural Science.
 pieté, 104, pity ; pieteabil, 126.
 piettis, 39, magpies, pyots.
 pikis, 148, *n.* pricks, spines.
 pikkis, 42, pikes.
 pillaris, 20, pillars.
 Pillion, 63, Pelion.
 Pirrus, 84, Pyrrhus.
 pissance, 7, puissans, 92, puis-
 sance, 90, (Fr.) power.
 pistil, 3, epistle.
 pitteus, 93, piteous.
 plag, 24, -is, 1, plague, -s.
 plait, playt, playit, 65, played.
 plane, 23, plain.
 planeit, -etis, 38, planet, -s.
 plasmatur, 27, creator.
 plat, 70, flat ; platfut, 66, flatfoot.
 plesand, 99, pleasant.
 pleseirs, 3, pleasures.
 pleys, 167, *n. pl.* pleas (in law).
 pleyse, 20, please ; pleysis, 29,
 pleysand, 11, 12, pleasant.
 Plutarque, 2, Plutarch.
 poiet, 43, poietis, -ettis, 66,
 poet, -s ; poetical, 82.
 policie, 1, pollice, 128.
 politiques, 10, *n. pl.* politics.
 Pont, 80, Pontus.
 popil, 57, poplar tree.
 port, 131, portis, 20, (Fr.)
 gate, -s.
 pose, 89, *n.* private purse, secret
 treasure.
 posses, 3, possess ; possessand,
 23, possessing ; *p.* posset, 178.
 possibilite, 137, power, ability.
 post, 109.
 potent, 182, *n.* (Fr.) a stake ; 3,
adj. powerful.
 potestatis, 125, authorities.
 pottis, 19, pots.
 pouerte, 7, poverty
 poure, 133, poor.
 poysont, 122, poisoned.
 practic, 139, *n.* practice.
 practicians, 62, practitioners.
 practikyt, 85, practised.
 pray, 2, *n.* prey.
 prayand, 8, praying.
 precedent, 9, 58, *pr. ple.* pro-
 ceeding.
 precheours, 25, preachers.
 prectykit, 105, practised.
 predeful, 152, proud, haughty.
 preffer, *vb. neut.* 43, 186, to out-
 weigh, excel, surpass.
 preif, 55, *vb.* prove ; preuis, 51,
 proves.
 prelat, 5, prelate.
 prencipal, 43, principal.
 preparatiue, 12, *n.* preparation.
 presens, 7, presence.
 presentlye, 3, at present, now.
 presone, 162, *vb.* to imprison ;
 presonyng, 118.
 prestis, 87, priests.

- pretoir, 147, pretor; pretoral, 43.
 prettic, 68, prettik, 14, (Fr. *pratique*) practice, practise; *p.* prettikyt, -ikit, -ekyt, -ykit, 15, 46, practised.
 preua, 89, preue, 82, privy, private.
 preuis, 51, *vb.* proves; *p.* preuit.
 pricis, 41, (Fr. *prises*) captures, takes, prizes.
 pridis, 154, *vb.* prides, boasts.
 prikkyng, 114, spurring, riding.
 princes, -se, -essis, 2, 30, princess, -es.
 princis, 3, *pl.* of prince; *gen. pl.* 81.
 prisit, 155, praised.
 priuitate, 111, private counsel.
 probatione, 3, 117, a proof.
 procedit, 1.
 proccs, 167, *n. pl.* processes (in law).
 prochane, 4, (Fr. *prochain*) neighbouring.
 procreat, *p.p.* 56, begotten.
 prodig, 142, *adj.* prodigal.
 prodigeis, 58, prodigies.
 proditione, 72, betrayal, treachery.
 profoundly, 13.
 progenituris, 2.
 prolations, 37, continuations.
 prolix, 4, prolix.
 prolog, 8, -e, 9, prologue.
 promes, 75, *n.* promessis, 90, promise, -s.
 promes, -se, *vb.* promise; *prom*-*meist*, 26, *promest*, 11, promised.
 promissione, 164, *promit*, 181, *n.* promise.
 promoue, *vb.* promote; *p.p.* *promouit*, 142.
 pronosticatis, 58, prognosticates.
 pronuncit, 64, pronounced.
 prophane, 82, profane.
 prophesye, 7, prophecy.
 prophetize, to prophesy; *prophetizit*, 22, *prophetysit*, 46, prophesied (Fr. *prophétiser*).
 propir, propyr, (Fr. *propre*, L. *proprius*) own, personal; in *propyr* person, in *proprid* person, 163.
 propreteis, 11, properties, characteristics.
 proprietie, 32, (Fr.) *proprete*, 162, property.
 propungnatours, 4, defenders.
 prospir, 9, prosperous.
 proues, 4, prowess.
 prouest, 8, *provost*, prefect.
 prouidit, 12, provided.
 prouision, 13, pre-arrangement.
 prudens, 2, prudence.
 Ptholome, 62, Ptolemy.
 puberte, 29, puberty.
 pulce, *vb.* *pulcis*, 139, *pulsis*, 125, (Fr. *pouls*, *pousser*) push, drive.
 puldir, 21, 42; powder, dust (O.Fr. *pouldre*).
 pundfald, 98, pound, poundfold.
 puneis, -e, *vb.* punish; *p.p.* *punest*, 118.
 punirite, 142, penury.
 punition, 27, (Fr.) punishment.
 pupil, 3, child.
 purches, 5, 73, *vb.* to get, procure, acquire.
 pure, 2, poor.
 purgit, 9, purged.
 purposis, 17, propositions.
 put, 32, *vb.* put; *p.t.* *pat*, 110; *p.p.* *put*.
 pyne, 110, *n.* pain, torment.
 quaik, 39, *vb.* quack as a duck.
 qualifeit, 12, qualified.

- qualite, 7.
 quantite, 7.
 querellis, 89, (Fr.) quarrels.
 quha, *interrog. & rel.* who, 3, 87; *gen.* quhais, 82, whose; *acc.* quham, quhome, 90, whom.
 quhairbe, 82, whereby.
 quhap, 39, the curlew (M.Sc. *whaup*).
 quhar, 3, where.
 quharfor, 2, wherefore.
 quhaye, 43, whey.
 quhelpis, 73, whelps.
 quhen, 2, when.
 quhiddir, 23, 138, whether.
 quhil, 8, till, until.
 quhilk, *interrog. & rel.* 1, which; *pl.* quhilkis, *lesquels*, which.
 quhilk, 39, the cry of the gosling.
 quhissil, whistle; quhissilit, 39, quhislit, 40, whistled.
 quhome, 90, = quham.
 quhou, 3, 75, how.
 quhoubeit, 5, howbeit, howsoever.
 quhryne, 39, to squeak as a pig.
 quhy, 55, why.
 quhyt, 15, white.
 quod, 155, quoth, said.
 quyk, 17, quick.
 ra, rai, 40, mast, sailyard; raibandis, 40, *robins* which fasten the sail to the yards.
 raggit, 69, ragged.
 raid, 63, *p.t.* of ride, = rode.
 raif, 73, *vb.* reive, spoil; *n.* robbery, plunder.
 rair, 39, *vb.* roar.
 rais, 42, raise, 87, 173, *p.t.* of rise, = rose.
 raison, 98, raisone, 73, rason, 1, (Fr.) reason.
 rammache, 38, (Fr. *rammassé*) collected.
 rammel, 37, (Fr. *ramel, rameux*) branchy.
 rampand, 68, rampant.
 randir, *vb.* render; *reflexively* randir them, 77, surrender (Fr. *se rendre*); *p.* randrit, 1, 113, surrendered.
 rane, 26, rain.
 rang, 43, *p.t.* of ryng.
 rasche, 125, to make forcible exertion, to pull, rush.
 raschis, 42, 67, (A.S. *raesce*) rushes.
 rason, 1, raison, 15, (Fr.) reason.
 rau, 59, raw.
 rauand, 1, rausant, 2, ravening.
 rauynis, 39, *n.* ravens.
 realmys, 9, *n.* realms.
 reche, 127, rich; reches, rechesse, 90, riches.
 recontrit, 7, 114, encountered.
 recordar, 63, a musical instrument; *see* p. xcii.
 red, 127, reid, *vb. pr.* to read; *p.p.* read, 16, 85; redar, 8, reader; reding, 23.
 redy, 1, ready.
 rede, 37, red; redeschank, 39.
 redond, 38, redound, re-echo.
 refectione, 8, refreshment.
 reft, 76, 147, reft, tore, *p.t.* of raif.
 regement, 2, (Fr.) rule, government.
 rehers, -e, 4, 5, rehearse, *p.* rehersit.
 reid, 90, *vb.* to read; *p.* red, 23.
 reid, 64, *n.* reed.
 reid, 117, *p.t.* of ride, = rode.
 reik, 42, smoke.
 remane, 3, *vb.* remain; *p.* re-

- manit, 13, remanent, 23, 94, *n.* &
adj. remnant, remainder.
 remeid, 34, *n.* remedy; remeide,
v. 89.
 rememorant, 175, mindful.
 rememorance, 2, *n.* remembrance.
 renegat, 104, renegant, 74, rene-
 gade.
 renforsit, 6, reinforced.
 renounce, 179, renounce.
 renze, *vb.* to rein.
 repreif, *vb.* 12, reprove; *n.* 122,
 reproof.
 repreme, 154, *vb.* (Fr. *reprimer*)
 repress.
 reprocha, 127, *n.*; reproche, 153,
vb. reproach.
 repulsit, 70, repelled.
 repungnant, 112, repugnant.
 reput, -e, 4, 117, *p.p.* reputed.
 resaue, 5, *vb.* receive; *p.* resaut,
 87.
 resingis, 179, resigns.
 reskeu, 98, 175, rescue.
 responce, 183, response.
 retere, 15, *vb.* retire, withdraw,
p. reterit.
 retorik, 11, Rhetoric.
 retourne, 12, return.
 reu, 80, the herb Rue.
 reu, 182, reuis, 76, (Fr. *rue*)
 street, -s.
 reueir, -e, 37, 7, river.
 reuelen, 109, *n.* revealing, revela-
 tion.
 reuerens, 12, reverence.
 reul, 183, rule.
 reuolve, 23, revolve.
 reuyn, 16, *p.p.* riven.
 reyde, 63, red.
 reyme, 42, (A.S. *ream*) cream.
 ridars, 74, riders, troopers.
 ring, ryng, 26, 5, *vb.* to reign;
p.t. rang, *p.p.* rung.
 ring, *n.* reign.
 robeen, 39, the robin.
 roial, 126, ryal, 117, royal.
 rond, 51, round.
 rondellis, 42, (Fr. *rondelles*)
 "small round targets, usually
 borne by horsemen." *L.*
 ropeen, 39, hoarse crying (A.S.
hreoþ, Isl. *hropja*, Dutch *roepen*).
 rotche, 38, roche, 99, (Fr. *roche*)
 rock.
 roustit, 69, rusted.
 roy, 63, (Fr.) king.
 rudirman, 41, helmsman.
 rustical, 128, rural, rustic.
 rute, 66, *pl.* rutes, 144, root, -s;
 rutit, 73, rooted.
 ruuyne, 19, ruyne, 80, ruin.
 ry caikis, 43, rye cakes.
 ryal, 117, royal.
 rycht, 1, right.
 rychteous, 3, righteous.
 ryde, *vb.* ride; ryding, 14; *p.t.*
 raid, reid, *p.p.* rydden.
 ryes, ryise, 25, 87, *vb.* rise; *p.t.*
 rais, reyse, *p.p.* rysen.
 ryim, 59, (A.S. *hrim*) rime, hoar-
 frost.
 ryme, 139, rhyme.
 ryn, 57, 139, *vb.* run; *p.t.* ran,
p.p. run.
 ryng, *n.* 63, reign.
 ryue, 21, *vb.* rive, tear; *p.t.* reft,
p.p. reuyn.

 sa, 7, so.
 sa mony that, 163, as many as.
 sac, 33, sack.
 saceat, 96, saciat, 81, satiated.
 sacrefeis, 7, sacrifice.

- sad, 39, 68, sad, settled down, composed (A.S. *sæd*); sadnes, 37, composure.
- sai, *vb.* say; sais, 7.
- saidis, 167, *adj. pl.* said, afore-said (Fr. *les dits*).
- saidlyt, 151, saddled.
- sais, saue, *vb.* 114, to save.
- saisly, 100.
- saikeys, 41, "a species of cannon smaller than a demi-culverine much used in sieges, named like the *faucon* from a species of hawk." *L.*
- sair, 67, 92, sore, very much (A.S. *sár*, Ger. *sehr*).
- saison, 141, (Fr.) season.
- sakket, -ttis, 138, a little sack, wallet.
- sal, 4, sall, 12, *vb.* shall, *p.* suld.
- Salamon, 34, Solomon.
- saluour, 8, saviour.
- salut, -e, 72, 116, (Fr.) health, welfare.
- salutiffere, 1, healthful, salutary.
- sam, samyn, 12, sammyn, 146, same.
- samekil, 188, so much.
- sanct, 32, saint.
- sanctuar, 76, sanctuary.
- sang, 39, *n.* song.
- sapiens, 43, wisdom; sapientis, 142, sages.
- sarabossa, 40, "a sea cheer, ? 'ser' the bus a." *L.*
- sark, 80, (A.S. *syrcce, serce*) shirt.
- Sarrasyns, 164, Saracens.
- saruandis, 61, servants.
- satesfe, *p.p.* satesfet, -fit, 96, 99, satisfied.
- Sathan, 27, Satan.
- sau, 14, *vb. p. of* see.
- sau, 24, *vb.* sow; sauen, 29, sown.
- saue, 74, 107, saife, *adj.* safe.
- saue, 24, *vb.* save.
- saul, 35, -is, 76, (A.S. *sawel*) soul, -s.
- sauage, 2, (Fr.) savage.
- sax, 107, six; saxt, 86, sixth.
- scabbit, 67, scabbed.
- scarmouche, 114, (Fr.) skirmish.
- schaddou, 34, shadow.
- schaik, 51, *vb.* shake, *p.t.* schuke.
- schame, 7, shame.
- schapis, 91, *n.* shapes.
- schank, 40, shank, stalk, handle.
- schau, 13, *vb.* show; *p.t.* scheu, 104, *p.p.* schauen, 105.
- sche, 11, scho, *pron.* she.
- scheaip, 38, shape.
- scheildis, 148, shields.
- scheip, 24, *n. s. & pl.* sheep; -hirdis, 42, shepherds; -cottis, 43, sheep-cotes.
- scheitis, 40, sheets.
- scheortar, 75, *adj.* shorter.
- sc[h]eref, 95, sheriff.
- scheu, 105, showed, *vb. p. of* schau.
- schir, 88, sir.
- schirefdome, 103.
- schort, 36, *adj.* short.
- schort, 134, *vb.* shorten; *p.* schortit, shortened.
- shot, 131, shot.
- schouris, 58, *n. pl.* showers.
- schutis, 123, *vb.* pushes.
- sciens, 6, science.
- Scipion, 29, Scipio.
- scisma, *pl.* -as, -es, 160, schism.
- scoir, 50, score.
- scraipe, 12, scrape.
- scriptur, 31, -our, 32, scripture.

- scrupulus, scrupulus, 163, scrupulous.
 scroggis, 20, low stunted bushes.
 scule, sculis, 13, school, -s.
 scourge, 26, scourge.
 Secilie, 4, Sicily.
 secretar, 117, secretary.
 sedicius, 172, sedetione, 90.
 se, see, *vb.* see; *p.t.* sau, *p.p.* sene.
 see, 12, seye, 52, sea; seeburde, 124, seeyburde, 91; seye syde, 60.
 see volue, 40, sea-wolf.
 sege, 77, (Fr. *siege*) seat.
 seggis, 42, 67; *sedges*, but in Scotland the name is applied to the Yellow Waterflag (*Iris pseudacorus*).
 seicle, 4, (Fr. *siecle*) age, century.
 seid, 186, seed.
 seige, 5, *n.* see (Fr. *siege*).
 seige, 6, *n.* siege.
 seigis, 90, *vb.* besieges.
 seik, 12, *vb.* seek, *p.* socht.
 seik, 164, *adj.* sick; seiknes, 24.
 selcht, 60, *n.* seal (the animal), A.S. *seolh*.
 self, the, 11, itself.
 sellit, 126, 72, *vb. p.* sold.
 sempeternal, 19, eternal.
 sen, *adv.* 10, *prep.* 2, since; sen sine, sen syne, 95, since then.
 senat, senaturis, 44, senate, senators.
 send, -e, 87, 96, 30, 11, *vb. p.t. & p.p.* sent.
 sene, 20, *p.p.* seen.
 Seneque, 140, Seneca.
 sens, 83, *n.* sense, meaning.
 sentens, 101, opinion, judgment, 69, sense.
 separat, *vb. p.* 173, separated.
- septemtrional, 48, north.
 sepulture, 5, grave.
 seremons, 7, ceremonies.
 serment, 136, (Fr.) oath.
 serpens, 20, 28, (Fr.) *n. pl.* serpents.
 seruand, 11, seruitour, -ur, -uir, 117, servant; seruitude, 19.
 seuerite, 9, severity.
 seuyn, 24, seven; seuynt, 51, seventh.
 sex, 6, six; sext, 35, sixth; sexten, 93, sixteen.
 seye, 40, sea.
 seyl, 60, 148, seal, *sigillum* (O.Fr. *scel*).
 seyndil, 130, seldom.
 sic, 13, 83, such.
 siklyik, 27, in like manner, similarly, likewise.
 sillab, -is, 16, *n.* syllable, -s.
 sillie, 102, weak, feeble.
 siluyr, 20, 37, silver.
 sing, 37, *n.* sing, *pl.* singis, singnis, 36, 50.
 singlar, 72, separate, individual.
 sirop, 67, syrup.
 Sirrie, 12, Syria.
 sistir, 136, *gen.* sister's.
 Sithia, 81, Scythia.
 sittand, 16, sitting.
 situat, 57, *vb. p.* situated.
 skail, 27, to skatter.
 skalis, 37, scales.
 skant, 156, *adj.* scarce.
 skattir, 27, scatter.
 skaytth, 60, (A.S. *scæððe*) scathe, injury.
 sklanderous, 161, scandalous.
 sklandyr, 126, -irs, 183, slander.
 sklauis, 92, (Fr. *esclaves*) slaves.

- skonnis, 43, flat cakes of wheat or rye; usage distinguishes flour *skonns*, barley *banno's*, oat *cakes*.
- skrech, 39, shriek, screech.
- skynniss, 145, skins.
- skyrll, 40, scream, *shrill* cry.
- sla, 35, 102, 145, slay, strike; *p.t.* sleu, 6, *p.p.* slane, 4.
- slangis, 41, (Ger. *Schlange*, a serpent) a species of cannon corresponding to the culverine.
- slaucht, 60, stroke, dart; (A.S. *slyht*, *sleakt*, Ger. *schlacht*).
- slauchtir, 5, slauthyr, 23.
- sleipt, 26, *vb.* sleep.
- slep, *vb.* sleep; slepand, sleipand, 60, 120, sleeping.
- sleu, 6, slew.
- slop, 140, *n.* gap, breach.
- smal, 12, small.
- smeuk, 42, smoke.
- smytth, 28, 153, smith.
- snau, 59, *n.* snow.
- sobir, 79, sober.
- socht, 65, sought.
- socialis, 167, *adj. pl.* social.
- sodiour, 68, soldier.
- soir, 76, sore.
- soldartis, 42, soudartis, 90, soudiours, 121, sodiours, 68, soldiers.
- solempnit, 121, solemn, 10, solemn.
- solist, 9, *adj.* solicitous, anxious; *vb.* to solicit, *p.t.* solistit, 110, solistnes, 32, eagerness.
- solitair, solitar, 9, (Fr.) solitary.
- some, 11, *n.* sum.
- sone, 78, soune, son.
- sone, 47, soune, sun.
- sophistaris, 183, sophists.
- sophistic, 137, *adj.* wise, skillful.
- sopit, 37, 68, (L. *sopitus*) drooping, drowsy.
- sorseris, 168, sorcerers.
- sort, of this, 17, 114, in this way, *de ce sorte*.
- soudartis, 90, soudiours, 121. See Soldartis.
- souerane, 9, sovereign.
- soune, 53, 147, (A.S. *sunne*) sun.
- soune, 137, (A.S. *sunu*) son.
- soune, 68, (A.S. *sweofn*) swoon, sleep.
- sourakkis, 67, sorrel-leaves (*Rumex acetosa*).
- sourd, 10, sourde, 26, sword.
- sourkittis, 43, a species of clouted cream, a pastoral dish.
- southt, 48, south; southyn, 60, southern, southtest, 61.
- spacier, 38, to walk (L. *spatiari*, It. *spaziare*, Ger. *spazieren*).
- Spanze, 5, Spangze, 30, Spain; Spangard, 131, Spaniard.
- sparme, 67, *n.* spermata.
- sparrou, 39, sparrow.
- Spart, 116, Sparta.
- specefeit, 35, specified.
- speik, spek, 95, speak; spekand, 108, spekend, 22, speikand, 9, speaking; *p.t.* spak.
- speir, 15, (A.S. *spýrian*) *vb.* ask, inquire; speris, *p.* sperit, 143, inquired.
- spere, 46, speris, 143, sphere, -s.
- speritual, -utual, 45, spiritual; sperutuality, 161, spirituality, clergy.
- sperk, 144, *n.* spark.
- speyde, 66, spade.
- speyr, 14, spear.
- spoulze, 97, spulze, 89, (O.Fr. *espouille*) spoil.
- spouse, 24, *vb.* espouse.

- spreit, 7, spretis, 37, (Fr. *esprit*) spirit, -s; spretit, 181, spirited.
 spulze, 89, spulzee, 23, spoil; spulzeit, -žit, 75, 101, spoiled, plundered.
 spune, 43, spoon.
 spyis, 98, spies; spyit, 11, spied.
 spylt, 60, spilt, 70, spoiled.
 stablit, 19, (Fr. *establit*) established.
 stait, 8, staittis, 103, *n.* state, -s.
 standant, 20, *pr.p.* standing.
 stane, stanis, 20, stonis, 21, stone, -s; stanet, 79, stoned.
 stannirs, 39, "rough projecting stones on the sea shore, banks of rivers," &c. *L.*
 statut, *vb. p.* 9, 189.
 steddyingis, 123, steding, 168, a farm house and outhouses.
 stede, in the, 73, instead, in the place of.
 steif, 40, stiff.
 steil, *n.* 163, steel.
 steil, *vb.* steal.
 steirburde, 40, starboard.
 stending, 66, leaping with long strides.
 sterk, 29, 137, (A.S. *stearc*) strong.
 sternis, 30, stars.
 stertland, 37, starting, darting.
 stikkit, 27, stabbed.
 stirril, 70, sterile.
 stoppit, 75, stopt.
 stou, 41, *vb.* stow, place.
 stoytene salis, 42, studding-sails.
 straik, 87, -is, 26, *n.* stroke, blow.
 straik, 60, *vb. p.* struck.
 strait, 125, strict.
 strak, 120, *vb. p.* struck.
 straynge, 3, 4, strange, 24.
 strey, 138, *n.* straw (A.S. *strew*).
 strik, 24, 94, *vb. pr.* strike; *p.t.* straik, strak; *p.p.* strykkin, 92.
 strynth, *vb.* strengthen, *p.* strinthit, 137, strynthis, 95.
 stryntht, 10, *n.* strength; strynthy, 151, strengthy, strong.
 stude, 98, *vb. p.* stood.
 stupefact, 6, stupefied.
 suak, 41, a flat blow, a sudden pull.
 suallou, 39, *n.* swallow.
 suanis, 39, *n.* swans.
 subdieu, 90, *vb.* subdue.
 subiekyt, subieckit, 106, 171, *p.p.* subjected.
 subtel, 182, *adj.* subtile.
 subuertione, 20, *n.* overthrow.
 succed, 72, to result, come down, *p.* succedit, 155.
 succumb, *vb.* to crush, overpower, *p.* succumbit, 1.
 succur, 145, *n.* (Fr. *sucre*) sugar.
 succur, 174, *vb.* succour, *p.* succurrit, 4.
 sueit, 7, suet, 123, sweet.
 suelland, 39, swelling.
 suellieg, 24, (A.S. *swélan*) heat, burning fever.
 suerd, 87, sword.
 suere, 104, swear.
 suficiens, 26, *n.* sufficiency.
 suld, 31, *vb. p.* should.
 sum, 7, some.
 summond, 6, *vb.* to summon (O.Fr. *soumander*).
 sune, 68, *adv.* soon.
 sune, 34, 50, 145, sone, 47, soune, 53, 147, *n.* sun.
 suorne, 162, sworn.
 supedeit, 160, *vb.* supplant, eradicate.

- superfice, 56, surface.
 superflu, 142, superfle, superfleu, 170, superfluous.
 suppedit, 12, 20, *vb.* to supplant, undermine, *p.p.* suppedit, 126.
 supple, 1, 80, help, relief.
 supportit, 143, borne with, endured.
 supreme, 158, (Fr.) *vb.* suppress.
 supputatione, 36, computation.
 surly, 89, surely.
 suspectione, 132, suspetione, 74, 117, suspicion.
 suspekit, 100, suspekkit, 13, *vb.* *p.* suspected.
 suspire, 70, (O.Fr.) *vb.* to sigh; suspiring, 23, sighing.
 suspiris, 70, *n.* sighs.
 sustene, *vb.* sustain, *p.* sustenit, 68.
 sustentatione, 38, sustentan, 73, sustentene, *n.* sustenance.
 suyne, 39, *n. sing. & pl.* swine.
 sycht, 9, 38, sight.
 sycond, 4, second.
 syde, 4, *n.* side.
 syde, 69, *adj.* low, descending, sweeping the ground (A.S. *sīð*, spacious, ample); syde goune, 70.
 sykkir, 90, secure, sure (Flem. *seker*).
 syklyk, 84, syklik, 95, in like manner, similarly.
 sylit, 171, (Fr. *celé*) concealed.
 syluyr, 109, *n.* silver.
 symmyr, 37, summer.
 syn, 135, sin.
 syndry, 39, syndrye, 69, sundry.
 syne, 20, 59, 81, 121, *adv.* subsequently, thereafter (A.S. *sīðan*).
 tabil, tablis, 46, table, tablet, -s.
 taiklene, 41, tackling; taiklit, 41, tackled.
 taikyn, 51, (A.S. *tácn*) token, sign.
 tail, 69, tail, skirt.
 tail, tayl, tayle, 63, tale.
 tailours, 162, (Fr. *tailleur*) tailors.
 tairgis, 42, targets.
 tak, 9, *vb.* take; takkis, 3, takkyng, 175; *p.t.* tuk, tuik; *p.p.* tane, 6, 29, taken.
 takkaris, 177, takers, captors.
 takkis, 123, *n.* tacks, leases.
 takyn, 68, taikyn, 51, (A.S. *tácn*) *n.* token, sign.
 tald, 64, 124, (A.S. *tælde*) *vb. p.* told.
 Tales, 171, Thales.
 tane, 6, 29, 84, 97, *p.p.* taken.
 tansay, 67, Tansy - (*Tanacetum vulgare*).
 tariand, 135, *p.p.* tarrying, waiting.
 tasse, 145, tassis, 76, (Fr.) cup, -s.
 tauerne, 14, tavern.
 teche, 14, *vb.* teach; teching, 10.
 temerair, 12, temerare, 6, (Fr.) rash.
 temperance, 39, musical time.
 temperat, temporat, 34.
 tent, 48, tenth.
 testife, 8, testify; testificatione, 8.
 tethe, 73, tetht, 124, *n. pl.* teeth.
 teynd, 168, -is, 123, *n.* teind, tithe (Isl. *tiende*, tenth).
 teyris, 23, *n.* tears.
 tha, 2, 98, 133, thai, 51, *dem.* those, *pl.* of that.
 thai, 2, 6, 27, 30, 123, tha, 2, 35, *pron.* they. In Early Scotch the demonstrative is always *tha*, the pronoun *thai*, *thay*, but in the Middle Scotch the two forms are, as here, confused.
 thair, 2, ther, there, *pron.* their.

- thair, 87, ther, there, *adv.* there.
 thak, 34, *n.* thatch.
 than, 8, 39, 88, *adv.* then.
 the, *dem.* the; used instead of the unknown *its*, 57, theself, 11, 80.
 the, 24, *pron.* thee.
 them, *pron.* them; used reflectively, 140 = themselves.
 themsel, 95, themself, 172.
 ther, 1, there, 83, their.
 ther, there, 3; thair, 87, *adv.* there.
 thertty, 98, thirty.
 theuis nek, 39, thief's neck, *i. e.* 'take him to the gallows', the cry attributed to the lapwing in Holland's *Houlate*¹.
 theyrs, 41, "tiers or yard arms of a vessel." *L.*
 thik, 58, thick.
 thir, 6, these, *pl. of this.*
 thirl, 41, *vb.* to furl.
 thirl, *vb.* to enslave, enthrall; thirlit, 93, thirlage, 93, thraldom.
 thoct, *n.* & *p.p.* thought, thoctis, 7.
 thole, 14, 24, (A.S. *þolian*) to endure, suffer.
 Thomaris, 81, Tomyris.
 thoundir, 59, thunder.
 thrau, 121, *vb.* throw.
 thre, *num.* three; thresum, 131, three in company, triple, a triplet.
 thretten, 184; threttyne, 80, thirteen.
 thretty, thertty, 5, 53, thirty.
 thrid, 23, 86, 96, third.
 thring, 19, *vb.* (A.S. *þringan*) to press, thrust, crush.
 throt, 77, *n.* throat.
 throu, 87, through, 57, throucht, 1, 9, (A.S. *thurh*) *prep.* through.
 thyng, -is, 7, thing, -s.
 thynk, *vb.* think; *p.* thoct; thynk schame, 151, feel ashamed.
 thyr, thir, 23, 100, *dem.* these, *pl. of this.*
 tideus, 62, tedious.
 til, 3, tyl, 6, 84, *prep.* to; used before a vowel, while *to is used before a consonant*; til, tyl, with the infinitive, tyl adhere, 6, tyl occur, 58.
 tile-stanis, 59.
 tint, 80, *p.p.* lost. See tyne.
 tirduf, 42.
 tirit, 34, *p.p.* tired.
 tirran, 91, (Fr. *tyran*) tyrant; tyrranrye, 75, tyranny.
 tissue, 69, (Fr.) *p.p.* woven.
 titil, 2, titillis, 167, title, -s.
 titlene, 38, the hedge sparrow, or little bird which constantly attends the cuckoo; "As grit as the gouk and the titlene." Isl. *titlingur*, a small bird; Sw. *tyta* and *göktyta*.
 togiddir, 82, togydder, 12, 25, togidther, 136.
 tong, 14, 94, tongue.
 tother, tothir, the, 42, 70, (A.S. *þæt oðer*, O.E. *thet other*, the-t-other) that other, the other.
 touart, 3, toward.
 toune, 4, tounis, 87, town, -s.
 tour, 20, tower.
 tourettis, 21, turrets.
 trachlit, 68, *p.p.* bedraggled, dishevelled.

¹ In come twa flyrand fulis with a fond fair;
 The tuquheit, and the guckit gouk, and zede hiddie giddie,
 Rwischit bayth to the bard, and ruggit his hare;
 Callit him thris *thevis nek* to thraw in a widdie.

- tracteit, 6, treatise.
 traductione, 10, translation.
 traison, 105, trason, 14, (Fr. *trahison*) treason; traisonablie, 72.
 traland, 70, *p.p.* trailing, dragging.
 trans, 123, *n.* trance.
 translatit, 17, translated.
 tre, 78, *n.* tree, wood.
 treist, 27, *vb.* trust.
 treit, 5, tret, 92, treat, entreat; treittis, 48, *p.* tretit, 3, trettit, 94.
 trest, 79, *n.* trust.
 treu, 17, true; treuth, 38, truth.
 tribil, 75, trouble, tribulation.
 tributaris, 146, tributaries.
 tripla, 37, triple.
 trompet, 14, (Fr.) trumpet.
 trone, 19, (Fr.) throne.
 tropheum, 149, trophy.
 trossis, 41, (Fr.) the small round blocks in which the lines of a ship run.
 trouis, 74, *vb.* trust, believe.
 trublis, 57, *vb.* trouble, *p.t.* trublit, 27, 33.
 trump, 66, Jew's harp.
 trymmyl, 23 (L. *tremulo*), tremble.
 tryumphand, 20, triumphing.
 tua, 5, two.
 tuechit, 39, *also* tuquheit, *n.* the pee-weet, or lapwing.
 tueit, 39, twit, twitter.
 tuelf, 50, twelf.
 tuike, 94, tuk, 79, take, 13, 57, *vb. p.* took.
 tuist, 37, = quist, a twig, a bending branch.
 tumland, 39, *p.p.* tumbling.
 turdions, 66 (Fr. *tordions*).
 turkes, 10, pincers, nippers.
 turtill, 39, turtle dove.
 tyl, 6, tyll, 7, *prep.* to. See til.
 tyme, 9, *n.* time.
 tyne, 3, 27, 69, 83, (Isl. *tine*) *vb.* to lose; *p.* tynt, 12, 30, 83.
 vacatione, 8, vocation, calling.
 vagatione, 111, (Fr.) wandering.
 vaig, (Fr. *vaguer*) to wander; *p. t.* vagit, 111.
 valzeant, 3, valiant; -nes, 6, valour.
 vaist, *vb.*; *p.t.* vastit, 97, wasted.
 vait, *vb.* to know, wit, 14, 32, 97, thou vait, 126, thou knowest.
 vald, *vb. p. of* vil, would, 4, 15, 29, 79.
 valeis, 110, valeyse, 170, valleys.
 Valis, 85, 94, Wales.
 valk, *vb.* to wake (M.Sc. *wauk*); *p.t.* valknit, 92, wakened; *pr. p.* valkand, 6, 37, 60, waking, awake (M.Sc. *waukan'*, *weaykan'*).
 vallis, 20, walls.
 vallis, 39, (A.S. *weal*, Ger. *welle*) waves (Gaw. Douglas has *wallis*, *wais*).
 van, 64, 172, *vb. p.t. of* vin, won.
 vand, 23, wand.
 vane, 14, vain.
 vanhap, 72, misfortune, unhap.
 vantis, 7, wants.
 vantounly, 37, wantonly.
 vaye, 72, way.
 var, 11, 87, *vb. p.* were.
 var, 57, 140, *adj. & adv. comp.* worse.
 var, 125, *adj.* ware, aware.
 vardan, 103, warden.
 varld, 5, world; varldly, 21.
 varly, 101, warily.
 varme, 58, warm.
 varrok, 39, the hoarse cry of the carrion crow.

- vas, 2, was.
 vaticinarius, 82, soothsayers.
 Vatland Streit, 58, Watling Street,¹ the Milky Way.
 vattir, 7, 33, water.
 vaupyn, weapon; *pl.* vaupynis, 96, vaupnys, 69; vaupynschau-
 yngis, 96, weaponshaws, reviews
 of armed men.
 vderis, 87, others.
 ve, 3, we.
 vecht, 21, weight.
 veddir, 56, vedthir, 41, 59,
 weather.
 vedou, 3, widow.
 veil, 1, well, weal; veifair, 100,
 -fare, 71, -fayre, 82, welfare.
 veird, 64, weird, destiny, fate
 (A.S. *weyrd*).
 veltht, 19, 170, wealth, well-
 being.
 vemen, 11, 67, women.
 vendicatif, 101, -atyue, 177,
 vindictive.
 venesum, 28 (*for venemsum or*
venemus), venomous.
 venques, -queis, *vb.* vanquish; *p.*
 venquest, 12, venqueist, 4, ven-
 cust, 99.
 venquesair, 149, conqueror.
 ventositeis, 67, flatulence.
 vepit, 25, *vb.* *p.* wept.
 verite, 14, (Fr.) *n.* truth.
 verk, -is, 3, 37, *n.* work, -s; ver-
 manlumis, 69, workmen's tools;
 verkmentschipis, 69, workmanship.
 vermeil, 37, (Fr.) vermilion.
 verray, 9, 26, 61, verra, 121, 125,
 very, truly (Fr. *verai, vrai*).
 verst, 69, 140, worst (M.Sc.
warst).
 vertu, 2, (Fr.) virtue; verteus,
 -ouse, 2, virtuous.
 verye, 37, weary.
 veschel, 76, 145, *n. sing. & pl.*
 vessel, -s.
 vestin, 61, western.
 Vestmureland, 63, Westmoreland.
 veye, 40, 137, *vb.* weigh.
 veynde, 40, *vb.* wind.
 veyr, 2, -is, 15, *n.* war, -s.
 veyr, veir, 96, *vb.* to wear.
 veyra, 40, a sea cheer, "ware a'!"
 veyton, 67, the whitton tree or
 water elder.
 victore, 4, *n.* victory.
 victuelis, 25, victuals.
 viddeful, -fullis, 41, one deserving
 to fill a widdy or halter, a gallow's
 bird.
 widthrid, 69, *p.p.* withered.
 vil, 3, *vb.* will; *p.* wald.
 vild, 20, wild.

¹ Watling Street is usually taken as the Roman Way from Dover by London to Chester, but incorrectly; in reality "the Watling Street extended from Kent to the Firth of Forth."—*Annals of England*, Oxford, 1865. In the North, the name has always been borne by the portion of this way, which passes by Chester-le-Street, and Street House on the Cheviots, to Edinburgh, and is termed in some of the earliest documents in the "Liber de Melros," *Stræt*. The metaphorical application of the word to the Milky Way occurs in Chaucer's *House of Fame*, ii. 431, and Gawain Douglas's *Virgil, Eneados*, Bk. iii. :—

"Of every sterne the twynkling notis he,
 That in the still hein mone cours we se,
 Arthurs hufe, and Hyades, betaikning rane,
 Syne Watling Strete, the Horne, & the Charle wane,
 The feirs Orioun with his goldin glaue."

- vilite, 170, (Fr. *vileté*) vileness.
 vindo, -is, 148, window, -s.
 violens, 3, violence.
 violet, *vb.* *p.* 136, violated.
 vire, 41, ? wire.
 virk, 135, *vb.* work, virkis, 21 ;
p. vrocht.
 virmet, 67, (A.S. *wermod*, Ger.
Wermuth) wormwood.
 vormis, 67, (A.S. *wyrmas*) worms.
 virreis, 136, *vb.* worry ; *p.* vir-
 reit, worried.
 vist, 40, *vb.* *p.* wist.
 visye, 13, *vb.* to visit ; visiand,
 38, visiting.
 vit, 30, *n.* wit, knowledge.
 vitht, 3, vytht, 5, *prep.* with.
 vlgar, 128, -e, 7, vulgar, common.
 vlye, 161, (Fr. *uyle*, *huile*) oil.
 vmbre, 56, (Fr. *ombre*) shadow.
 vmquhile, 2, formerly, once on a
 time, whilom.
 vnctit, 30, 120, (O.F. *oinct*, *unct*)
p.p. anointed.
 vndir, 3, 93, under.
 vndirstandin, 29, *p.p.* under-
 stood.
 vniuersal, 1, universal.
 voce, 24, -is, voice, -s.
 vod, 57 (A.S. *wód*), mad (M.Sc.
wud, *wuth*).
 voffis, volfis, volffis, 2, wolves
 (M.Sc. *wouffs*).
 voful, 68, woful.
 vol, 59, *n.* wool.
 volfe, 63, volue, 60, voluis, 73,
 wolf, -ves.
 vollage, 22, (Fr.) fleeting, tran-
 sient.
 vome, 67, *vb.* (Fr.) to vomit.
 vondit, 121, wounded.
 vordis, 9, words.
- vorne, 28, *p.p.* worn.
 vou, 41, wow ! an interjection of
 surprise.
 voyaige, 4, journey, expedition.
 voymbe, 33, voyme = wayme, 60,
n. womb.
 vran, 39, wren. (In N.E. Scot-
 land called the *vran*, *vrannie*.)
 vrang, 83, 87, wrong ; vrangle,
 103, wrongly ; vrangus, 80, wrong-
 ful.
 vrcit, 116, vryit, 96, *n.* writing,
 writ.
 vrit, vrite, vryit, 14, 31, 37, 96,
vb. write ; vritis, 31 ; *p.t.* vrit, 16,
 31, 163, vreit, 116, wrote (M.Sc.
wrait) ; *p.p.* vrytin, 7, vritin, 31,
 vrityn, 36, vrytyne, 24, written.
 vrocht, 69, *vb.* *p.* of virk,
 wrought, worked.
 vsit, 5, used.
 vsurpatouris, 80, usurpers.
 vtensel, 145, *n.* *sing.* & *pl.*
 utensil, -s.
 vthir, 30, vthyr, 26, other ; *pl.*
 vthirs, vtheris, 140, *used absolutely* ;
but also before a noun, as vtheris
 grit captans, 108 ; *reciprocally*
 contrar vthirs, 58, 25, = each
 other, one another, *as in M.Sc.*
 vtilite, 47, (Fr.) utility, use.
 vulgaris, 9, 56, 142, *adj.* *pl.* the
 vulgar people, commons.
 vyfe, vyfis, 24, 92, wife, wives.
 vyild, 2, 39, wild.
 vyise, 16, *adj.* wise.
 vyit, 64, (A.S. *wít*) blame.
 vynd, 61, wind ; vynduart, 42,
 windward.
 vyne, 57, wine.
 vyntir, vintir, 52, winter.
 vyt, 14, wit, wits.
 vyitches, 168, witches.
 vytnes, 6, witness.

- vytson veddyinsday, 168, Whit-sun Wednesday.
- vythout, 5, without; vythtin, within.
- Ydea, 44, Ida.
- ydil, 9, idle, -nes, 8.
- ydiot, 14, idiot.
- yis, 74, 143, *for* pis, this. This is the only instance in which the use of *y* for the thorn or *th*, so common in Scotch of the 16th century, is found in the *Complaynt*.
- ymagyn, -e, 47, imagine; ymaginant, 7, imagining; *p.p.* ymaginet, 22, imagined.
- yimage, 11, image.
- ypocrysie, 146, hypocrisy.
- Yrland, 85, Ireland.
- yrn, 10, yrne, 28, *n.* iron.
- Ysaye, 23, Isaiah.
- Ysicrata, 3, Isicrata.
- ysope, 67, hyssop.
- Ytalie, 5, Ytalye, 11, Italy.
- Ytaliens, 159, Italians.
- 3allou, 41, (A.S. *3ealew*) yellow.
- 3e, 3, 72, 73, *pron. nom.* ye, you.
- 3eid, 159, *vb. p. of* ga, gang, went, yode (A.S. *eóde*, O.North. *geade*, M.Sc. *geade, gaed*).
- 3eil, 6, zeal.
- 3eir, 8, 3ers, 3eris, 105, year, -s.
- 3elateurs, 76, (Fr.) zealots, zealous men.
- 3elpit, 39, *vb. p.* yelped.
- 3enyth, 3enytht, 50, zenith.
- 3it, 3, yet.
- 3odiac, 48, zodiac.
- 3oik, 101, 3oilk, 31, (A.S. *3eoc*) yoke.
- 3oirke, 104, York.
- 3ong, 3, young.
- 3ou, 74, *pron. obj.* you.
- 3oue, 12, 3ouis, 66, ewe, -s (A.S. *3eowu*).
- 3oue mylk, 42, ewe milk.
- 3oulit, 39, *vb. p.* howled (M.Sc. *yowled*).
- 3our, 1, 73, your.
- 3ouris, 90, yours.
- 3outhed, 30, 3outheid, 117, *n.* youth.

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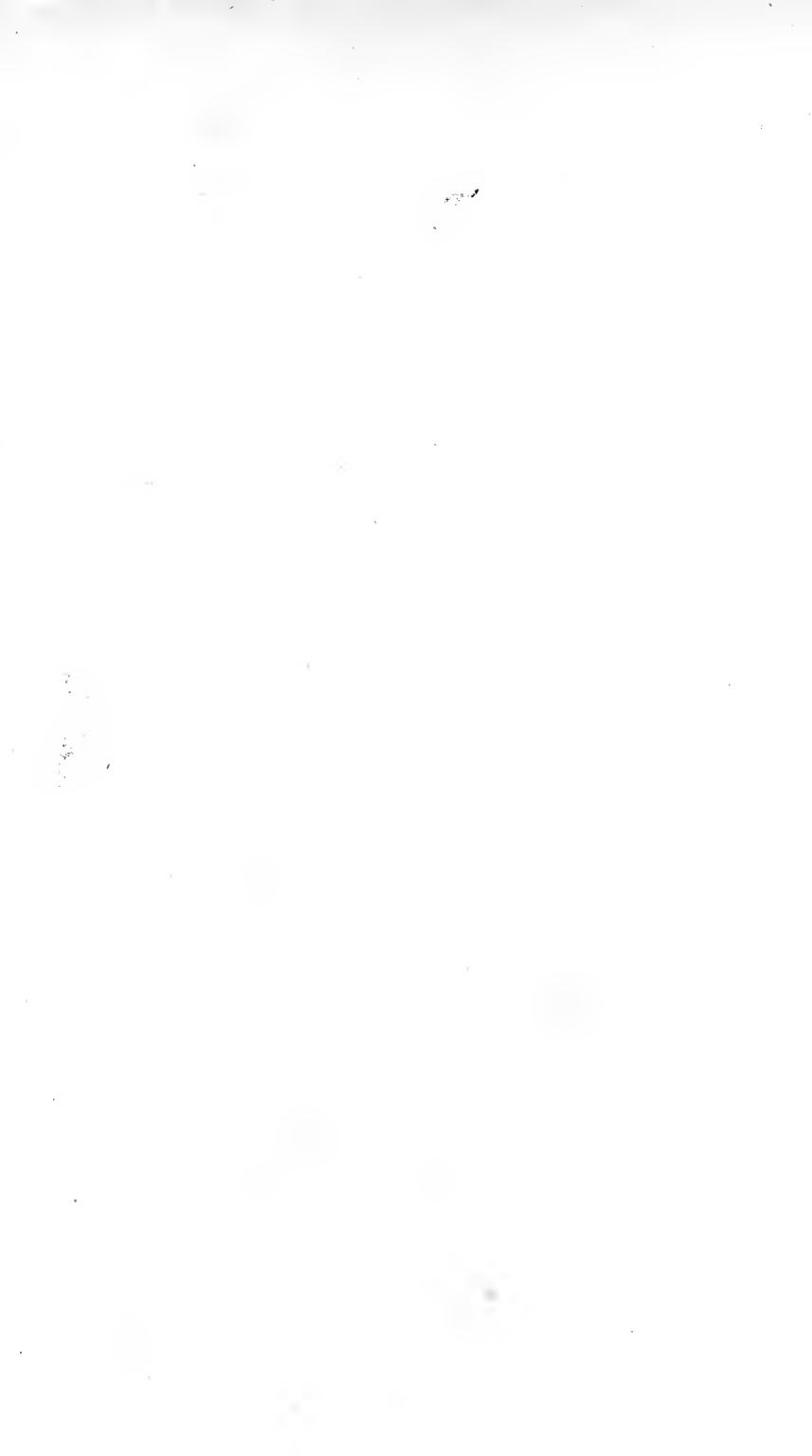
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NOTE. I have omitted elsewhere expressly to state that the title-page, absent, as has been said, from the surviving copies of the original, is in this edition supplied on the sole authority of the old Harleian Catalogue (see Introduction, p. xvii). There can be no reasonable doubt that this title, from whatever source the compilers of the catalogue obtained it (and see p. cx), is authentic. The Date I have supplied solely from internal evidence (see pp. xvi and xxix); those who prefer the end of 1548 to the beginning of 1549, may please themselves.

J. A. H. M.



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