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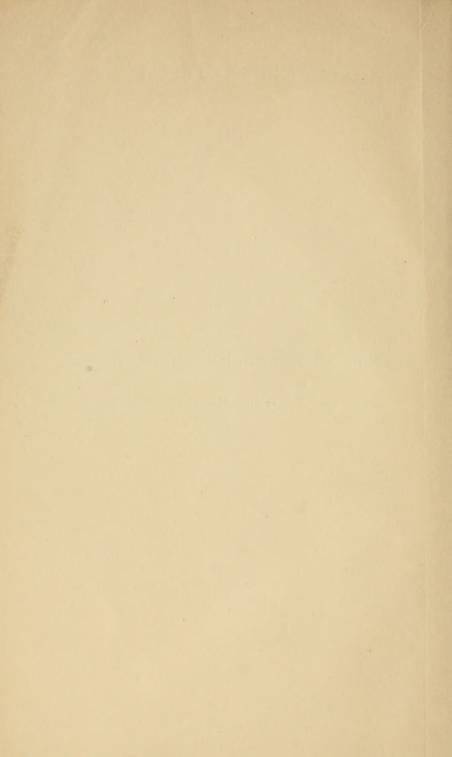


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Poems of Alexander Montgomerie

And Other Pieces from Laing MS. No. 447

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POEMS OF ALEXANDER MONTGOMERIE SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME

SCOTTISH TEXT SOCIETY

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Poems

OF

Alexander Montgomerie

And Other Pieces from Laing MS. No. 447

SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION, APPENDICES, NOTES, AND GLOSSARY

BY

GEORGE STEVENSON, M.A.

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INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. THE object of this supplementary volume may be briefly explained. During the interval of now rather more than twenty years since the late Dr Cranstoun edited the poems of Montgomerie for the Society, a considerable amount of new material has been found which has an important bearing on the text of the poet's writings, and which also adds in a most interesting way to our scanty knowledge of his personal history. Especially notable is the recovery of three neglected manuscripts, the first public mention of which we owe to Dr Rudolf Brotanek of Vienna,1 whose valuable monograph on Montgomerie deserves to be better known in Scotland than it is. Two of these at least, and possibly also the third, although this is not so likely, date, there can be no reasonable doubt, from Montgomerie's own lifetime. One, the Tullibardine copy of the "Flyting with Polwart," goes back, indeed, if the present editor's view as to the

^{1 &#}x27;Studien zu Alexander Montgomerie': Oscar Hoffmann (Englische Studien, xx. band, 1895); 'Untersuchungen über das Leben und die Dichtungen Alexander Montgomerie': Rudolf Brotanek (Wien und Leipzig, 1896).

date of its transcription is correct, to a time almost if not actually contemporary with the memorable encounter of the two poets, and in that case supplies us with a version nearly fifty years earlier than the printed edition of 1629 which Dr Cranstoun, in common with Laing and other editors, was of necessity obliged to rely on. Besides its linguistic value, in providing us with a text free from the anglicising tendencies of the Scottish printers, the Tullibardine manuscript will be found to possess some other interesting features—of ownership, augmentations of the text, variant readings, and of a differing arrangement of the "invective" epistles of the "flyters"—which are duly noted and discussed later on. A like interest and value attaches to the transcript of "The Cherrie and the Slae," which, along with a collection of hitherto unpublished anonymous poems, some of which are not improbably by Montgomerie himself, forms the contents of another of these manuscripts. The third, belonging to the Harleian collection in the British Museum, is a somewhat later copy of the "Flyting." It need only be remarked at present that in any future critical edition of Montgomerie's writings these new sources of the text must certainly be taken account of as of primary importance. The personal documents and references of one kind or another which have been found are more extensive than might have been expected at this late day. By means of these it has been possible to fill out a little the hitherto very meagre accounts of the poet's life. Finally, as an outcome of the renewed study of his writings, following the publication of Dr Cranstoun's volume in 1887, valuable light has been thrown on the literary influences affecting Montgomerie

in his poetical compositions.¹ It has seemed desirable that this supplementary material, touching the career and work of the last of the "Makaris," should find a place amongst the Society's publications, and it is to this end the present volume has been undertaken.

§ 2. The new biographical matter will be found set forth and discussed at length in the Appendices, and need not be further dealt with here: a few words to point its general importance, however, may be a convenience. The account given of the poet's genealogy (Appendix A, chart and notes) is based for the most part on evidence drawn at first hand from authentic and unpublished documents—charters, wills, protocol books, Court of Session, Commissary, and other records-in the Register House, Edinburgh, and has involved, it may be permissible to say, a lengthy and rather irksome search. Some of the results of this investigation are of considerable importance. Thus it is now possible for the first time to show with certainty, and without the usual dependence on conjecture, to which generation of the Montgomeries of Hessilheid, a branch of the Eglinton family, the poet belonged. His connection, indeed, with this noble house has hitherto been vouched for in no very sufficient way. Our new sources of information, however, put it now beyond question that the poet was a younger son of John Montgomerie, the fourth laird of Hessilheid. will be noted that this corrects an error which, since the date of James Paterson's valuable account of the family,

¹ Unfortunately Dr Brotanek does not appear to have had an opportunity of examining the Laing and Harleian MSS, which he noted in catalogues, and was able to make but a cursory inspection of the Tullibardine MS. Now that the contents are before him it is to be hoped that he may yet express his views on the new texts.

contained in his well-known history of Ayrshire, published in 1847, has persisted down to the present time. Paterson in his genealogy places the poet in an earlier generation of the family, assigning to him as his father Hugh, the third laird of Hessilheid. For this statement, however, he adduces no evidence at all, and there need be no hesitation now in saying that the Ayrshire antiquary is here covertly indulging himself in the pleasure of conjecture.

§ 3. An interesting result of this arrival at the true parentage of the poet is the discovery that through his mother, Margaret Fraser, a great granddaughter of Sir John Stewart of Derneley, Montgomerie could claim a not very distant kinship with James VI., in whose household, it has long been known, he held for some years a position as one of his majesty's servitors. That the king's interest in the poet's fortunes would be all the livelier on account of this family relationship is probable enough, and it may serve to explain the intimate footing on which Montgomerie at one time appears to have stood with James. In one of a series of juvenile poems, discovered some years ago in the Bodleian Library,1 the king addresses Montgomerie in the affectionately familiar style of "Belouit Sandirs," and in the year 1583 made him the recipient of a substantial pension. The friendships which Montgomerie likewise enjoyed with Esmé Stewart, first Duke of Lennox, and afterwards with his son Ludovic, the second duke,2 were in all likelihood the

¹ Since edited by Mr R. S. Rait under the title of 'Lusus Regius.'

² A line in one of Montgomerie's sonnets, addressed to Ludovic Stewart, suggests a close intimacy. "Adeu, swete duke, whose father held me deir." A sonnet was also inscribed by the poet to the wife of this nobleman, "M. L. Ruthuen, Duchess of Lennox."

outcome also of this bond of kinship which through his mother united him to the Stewart line. The exact degree of relationship in which he stood to James and to the Lennoxes may be seen in the genealogical table on page 253.

§ 4. Of the life-records, eleven in all, given in Appendix D. three only have hitherto been known, Nos. II., VI., and XI., and of these II. is now printed for the first time; while the copy of VI., which appears in an article contributed to 'Notes and Queries' (January 4, 1868) by James Paterson, the Ayrshire antiquarian, already referred to, is neither strictly accurate nor complete.1 A reprint of this, taken from Paterson's article, is also appended by Dr Brotanek to his study of the poet. The interesting record, No. XI., connecting Montgomerie with Barclay of Ladyland's Catholic plot to land Spanish troops on the island of Ailsa Craig in the summer of 1597, is given in précis in the published Register of the Privy Council, but without recognition on the editor's part that the Montgomerie referred to is the poet. The verbatim copy printed in our Appendix is taken from the original document in the Register House. Dr Brotanek draws attention to this record, but being misled by Paterson's erroneous genealogy of the poet, he is under the impression that it has reference to a nephew of Montgomerie.2 An important letter, discovered among

¹ Dr Irving is the first to draw attention to these documents recording the grant of Montgomerie's pension. See his Introduction to the 1821 edition of the poems, p. xi. It is probable that he owed his knowledge of them to David Laing.

² Mr T. F. Henderson ('A History of Scottish Vernacular Literature,' p. 253) also notes this entry in the Privy Council Register; but accepting as he does the old and mistaken view of Montgomerie's parentage, it is not easy

the State Papers relating to Scotland in the Record Office, London, from Robert Bowes, Elizabeth's ambassador at the Scottish Court, to Lord Burghley, throws additional light on this conspiracy, showing it to have been of wider extent than is indicated in the meagre record of the Scottish Privy Council.¹

§ 5. The discovery of Montgomerie's implication in Barclay of Ladyland's Catholic plot, a conspiracy which ended in a desperate scuffle off the shores of Ailsa Craig, in which the Ayrshire laird lost his life, throws a new and unsuspected light on the public interests of the poet. The records, however, are still too scanty to enable us to determine how far Montgomerie was mixed up in the Catholic intrigues of the time; but it is clear that he had to some extent been drawn into the tangled politics of James's reign. An attempt to deal with this point has been made in Appendix B, where also may be found an account of the circumstances which involved the poet in the embittering litigation that inspires a wellknown series of his sonnets. This chapter of his life has hitherto been wrapt in all but complete obscurity, nothing previously having been known of the matter beyond its connection with the king's grant of a pension to him in the year 1583. In the account given in Appendix B, important information is drawn from official records of the suit, which the editor has had the good fortune to discover in the Register House, Edinburgh. These are

to see how he reconciles his identification of the Montgomerie referred to in the record with the poet. His further statement that "old Hugh," the third Laird of Hessilheid, was alive at the date of this record (July 14, 1597) is inaccurate: "old Hugh" died on January 23, 1556. (See 'Register of Testaments, Commissariot of Glasgow,' vol. ii. p. 58.)

¹ See Appendix D, p. 334.

printed in full among the life-records in Appendix D (Nos. V., VIII., IX., X.). The most important is the long "Decreet," No. X., which reviews at great length the opposing arguments of the litigants, and contains the final judgment of the court. Besides the personal and linguistic interest of these records, it is hoped they may have some historic value as examples of legal procedure in the Scottish civil courts of the sixteenth century. The punctuation and numbered paragraph divisions are, of course, editorial.

§ 6. Attention may be drawn to one or two other new records of interest. Nos. III. and IV. relate to a debt of £300 sterling, incurred by the poet, along with two others, in the year 1580, for the purchase of a vessel from a Southampton merchant, by name Henrie Gelis (or Gyllis). Some discussion of this curious transaction, which probably has to do with the Catholic intrigues of the time, will be found in Appendix B, p. 264. Further light is thrown on the friendly relations existing between Montgomerie and his kinsman and patron Ludovic, second Duke of Lennox, by record VII., this being a ratification of the poet's pension by the Duke ("for guid and thankfull service done and to be done be be said Capitane Alexander to ws"), who, at this date, November 2, 1591, was claiming to have "vndoutit rycht" to the bishopric of Glasgow (v. p. 279). The poet's pension, it should be mentioned, was a charge on the revenues of the see. Finally, we have in record I. a print of the last will and testament of Montgomerie's mother, in which the poet is named as her executor. A copy of his father's will, dated January 4, 1558/9, is also given on p. 258.

§ 7. Before proceeding now to an account of the three

new manuscripts, the contents of which are here for the first time made public, and offering some appraisement of their value for textual purposes, it may be well first of all to briefly review what has hitherto been done towards producing a critical text of Montgomerie's writings. No very clear account of this has yet been given by previous editors. Although there is not the least question of the high contemporary reputation of the poet, both at the court and in the country at large,1 remarkably little of his work would seem to have been known through the medium of printed texts in his own lifetime. his poetry, perhaps the best of it, has survived to modern times in manuscript. The principal of these sources is the well-known Drummond Manuscript,2 preserved in the library of the University of Edinburgh, which contains almost all of Montgomerie's miscellaneous lyrics, sonnets, occasional and devotional poems. This important manu-

In the course of some youthful compositions, King James twice hails Montgomerie as the "Maister Poete" of his court, and in another place addresses him as "Belouit Sandirs, maister of oure airt." These poems of the king appear to have been written round about the year 1582 (see Appendix B, p. 267). Some ten years later one of the court rhymers, a certain Rob Stene (see note, p. 352), lamenting his own unfitness to sing the praises of his royal master, expresses the hope that he may soon hear—

Montgumry with his ornat style And cunning, quhilk nane can rehearse, Your wit and vallour put in verse; For quhy, your poyet laureat Your gifts sowld only registrat.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, Montgomerie's reputation appears to have been widely spread. Timothy Pont's reference to him as that "renomit poet" is well known. Another contemporary, the historian David Calderwood, credits him with "a singular vaine of poesie," and further alludes to him as "that excellent poet Mr Montgomerie." When in 1601 there was a question in the General Assembly of preparing a fresh version of the Psalms for use in the Scottish churches, the same historian records that it was "Montgomerie and sum vthers principalls of inglish poesie" who volunteered their services. The offer was declined.

² Collation, i.-iv., 1-83 text, V.-X., measuring 51/4 by 71/8 inches.

script was gifted to his old university by Drummond in the year 1627. Of its history previous to this nothing is known; but from the character of the writing-a clear Italian hand—and the style of the orthography, it may be safely inferred that it was written out no very long time before the date of Drummond's parting with it. On the back of the first leaf is inscribed the signature "Margaret Ker." The following conjecture as to who this unidentified lady was, apparently a previous, if not the first, owner of the manuscript, may be taken for what it is worth. At the time when it may be presumed the manuscript was written, a Margaret Ker, wife of Mark Ker, the first Earl of Lothian (created 1606), and daughter of John Lord Herries, was residing at Newbattle Abbey, near the town of Dalkeith, a few miles from Edinburgh. It is not improbable that this is the lady in question. Her husband, like Montgomerie, was attached to the court, occupying the position of Master of the Requests. Her brother-in-law, George Ker, was the notorious Catholic intriguer who was caught with the Spanish Blanks in December of 1592. Through his position at the court and his Catholic sympathies, it is more than likely Montgomerie had formed a friendship with the Kers of Lothian. In one of his sonnets he joins with the names of two other supporters of the Catholic cause, that of a person call "Keir," who may possibly have been a member of the Lothian family, perhaps the notorious George Ker himself.¹ Newbattle Abbey, the seat of the

The duke here referred to was Ludovic, second Duke of Lennox; Constable was the poet, author of 'Diana,' and an active intriguer in the Catholic interest, both in England and Scotland.

¹ Adeu, suete Duke, vhose father held me deir; Adeu, companiones, Constable and Keir; Three treuar hairts, I trou, sall neuer tuin.

Lothians, is only a few miles distant from Hawthornden, the home of Drummond, and that a friendship existed between these neighbouring county families is scarcely to be doubted. Through this channel, then, it is possible that the manuscript of Montgomerie's poems came into the possession of Drummond.

§ 8. The other hitherto known manuscript sources of the poet's works are the Maitland Ouarto, now in the Pepysian Library at Cambridge, and George Bannatyne's Manuscript in the Advocate's Library at Edinburgh. The former contains the two lyrics, written by Montgomerie in praise of his kinswoman, Lady Margaret Montgomerie, eldest daughter of the third Earl of Eglintoun, some time prior to her marriage in 1582 with Lord Seton, afterwards created Earl of Wintoun. Two other poems from the same manuscript have been conjecturally assigned to the poet. The earliest source, however, of Montgomerie's writings is the Bannatyne Manuscript. This contains seven of his compositions, four of which are certainly of the original date of the manuscript, 1568; the other three were probably engrossed some time later. It should be noted in passing that Montgomerie's appearance among the poets of Bannatyne's original collection disposes of the statement in the 'Dictionary of National Biography' and elsewhere that he was born in 1556.1

§ 9. It does not appear that Montgomerie himself made any effort to publish his poems. All of his writings which, so far as can be ascertained, found their way into print during his own lifetime, amounts to barely a third of what he is known to have written. Among the pref-

¹ See Appendix A, p. 257.

atory sonnets to James VI.'s "Essayes of a Prentise" (1584) is one by Montgomerie; this, and a few citations taken by the king to illustrate points in his discussion of Scottish prosody, are the earliest examples of his verse to appear in print. Two of these quotations are from "The Cherrie and the Slae." Thirteen years later, in 1597, an unfinished and corrupt version of this poem was published by Waldegrave, and was followed by a second impression in the same year, freed from the obvious blunders of the first print. These issues of Waldegrave have been a source of some perplexity to Montgomerie's critics and editors. Dr Brotanek, the last to discuss the question, puts forward the theory that the first edition was printed from one of the no doubt many manuscript copies of the poem then in circulation, and that it was published without the poet's sanction; and that afterwards a version freed from the errors and corruptions of transcribers was sent to the printer by Montgomerie himself in his own defence. This view, Dr Brotanek holds, is substantiated by the statement, which appears on the title-page of Waldegrave's second impression, that it was "Prented according to a Copie corrected by the Author himselfe." There is, however, a difficulty in the way of accepting this seemingly reasonable view of the matter. Waldegrave's second impression contains some errors which it is hard to believe would have been allowed to remain in any manuscript read by the author himself and intended for the press; and these are not of a kind to be charged to the printer. Moreover, Ritson's point that it is extremely unlikely that Montgomerie would have corrected a copy for such a purpose, without at the same time seizing the opportunity to bring his poem to some sort of conclusion,—as issued in both of Waldegrave's prints it breaks off abruptly in the middle of a stanza,—is not to be so lightly set aside as Dr Brotanek is disposed to do. It is much more probable that neither edition was issued with the author's sanction.

§ 10. Doubtless it was the publication of these corrupt and incomplete texts which prompted Montgomerie in later life to revise and finish his allegory. In this its final form, however, it did not appear until 1615, some time after the poet's death. Hart was the printer. alterations and additions introduced are very extensive. Besides minor changes throughout the already written portion, forty-seven new stanzas are added. The first five stanzas and the seventh are more or less recast, and stanzas 10 (ll. 127-140), 58-66 (ll. 799-924), 78-114 (ll. 1071-1595) are new. In all, the poem is increased from 930 to 1596 lines. The general effect of these changes and amplifications is to elaborate, without, it must be admitted, improving, the opening conventional description of a morning in May, a description which owes all its features to the established tradition of the court allegories; and further and more especially to emphasise the didactic element in the poem by prolonging the discussion between Experience, Reason, Skill, Wit, Hope, Courage, Will, Dread, Despair, and the other allegorical figures that range themselves in opposing sides to thrash out the question whether the hero's enterprise to pluck the cherries is a wise or foolhardy Hart's edition naturally superseded the earlier issues of Waldegrave, and it is this final version of the poem only which throughout the two succeeding centuries continued to be reprinted. Its popularity was

astonishing. With the single exception of Blind Harry's 'Wallace,' no poem in Scotland was more widely and continuously read during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than "The Cherrie and the Slae." Including Waldegrave's earlier versions, twenty-two editions at least were printed, besides a Latin translation which was twice reissued. It may be well to give the dates of these, since a number are unnoted in Dr Cranstoun's bibliography: 1615, 1636, 1645, 1668, 1675, 1682, 1698, 1700 (at Belfast), 1706, 1722, 1724, 1726, 1746, 1751, 1754, 1757, 1768, 1779, 1782, 1792; Dempster's Latin version, 1631, 1696, and an undated edition. In the early years of the eighteenth century Montgomerie's reputation appears to have been as high as ever it was. An interesting, though obviously exaggerated, testimony to his popularity at this time is found in a document written by one of his kinsmen (see page 255), who mentions the fact that the Edinburgh advocates were in the habit then of interlarding their pleadings with "Oratorious and Satyricull Apothegems" taken from both the "Flyting" and "The Cherrie and the Slae." And James Kelly, the compiler of a well-known collection of Scottish proverbs, published in 1721, refers to the latter poem as "an ingenious Scottish book, . . . so commonly known to Scottish men that a great share of it passes for proverbs." No doubt it was the neatly rhymed expression of these old saws and sayings, fitting them for ready quotation, which more than anything else gave to the poem its prolonged life and popularity.

§ 11. The most notable of the editions printed in the first quarter of the eighteenth century was that included in the 'Evergreen' in 1724 by Allan Ramsay. This was avowedly an "edited" text. Ramsay's own account of

his sources is given in a footnote. "This edition," he writes, "is taken from two curious old ones, the first printed by Robert Waldegrave in 1597, according to a copy corrected by the author himself; the other by Andro Hart, printed in 1615." This remains the only proof we have of Hart's edition, for since Ramsay's time all copies of it have disappeared. It is of some importance to determine how Ramsay discharged his editorial duties, since the texts of David Laing and Dr Cranstoun are largely based on the 'Evergreen' version. This, however, can only be done approximately, since but one of his sources, Waldegrave's print, is now available for purposes of comparison. Between the date of Hart's lost edition, however, and the publication of Ramsay's text, ten reprints at least of the poem were issued, and copies of these exist. The nearest in point of time to Hart's edition is Wreittoun's, published in 1636. There is no reason to suppose that this is anything but a reprint of Hart's earlier edition, with the spelling probably modified to some extent in an English direction. The other issues immediately following show only a few unimportant variations from Wreittoun's text, and these are obviously due to the printer's oversight. Wreittoun's version, then, we may safely take as reproducing, save in the matter of a certain proportion of the spellings, Hart's lost edition.

§ 12. The basis of Ramsay's text is the 1615 edition, and this he would seem, on the whole, to have followed closely; but from time to time he introduces a reading from Waldegrave's earlier version, and occasionally imports an emendation of his own. Had these changes been acknowledged, and the displaced readings given in footnotes, no objection, of course, could be taken to his

editorial procedure, although the value or necessity of his alterations might often be doubted. How far Ramsay interfered with the orthography of Hart's edition it is impossible to say, but it is hardly doubtful that he did take liberties in this respect, and curiously enough usually in the direction of giving to the language of the poem a more Scottish complexion than it is likely to have had in the 1615 edition. At this date, and even a good deal earlier, the tendency to Anglicise the spelling of books published in Scotland was strongly marked, and there can be little doubt that Hart's print of "The Cherrie and the Slae" would be in keeping with this rapidly growing practice. But the remarkable thing is that the 'Evergreen' text is little if any less Scottish in its orthography than even the earlier editions of Waldegrave. In a number of instances, indeed, characteristic northern spellings appear in Ramsay's text where both of Waldegrave's 1597 prints have southern forms. Thus "come," "some," "go," "so," "of," "two," "oft-tymes," "have," "most," "mo," "na," "grave," "deadlie," in Waldegrave, appear in the corresponding passages in the 'Evergreen' as "cum," "sum," "gae," "sae," "aft," "twae," "aftentymes," "haif," "maist," "mae," "nae." "graif," "deidlie." It is little likely that these spellings were found in Hart's edition. Forms like "gae," "sae," "twae," "mae," "nae," "aftentymes," are, indeed, characteristic rather of Scottish orthography in Ramsay's time than in Montgomerie's.

§ 13. In certain instances of grammatical usage Ramsay would seem also to have interfered with his original texts; but in these, contrary to his dealing with the orthography, he gives a more modern cast to the constructions. Thus

the northern ending in -s, or -is(es), of the present indicative singular and plural, when the nominative is other than a personal pronoun, or when a pronoun, is separated from its verb, is invariably dropped. This there is not the least doubt must be a departure from the idiom of the texts he was using. The verbal form in question of course appears regularly in Waldegrave; but that it was also used in Hart's edition may be inferred from its appearance in Wreittoun's later reprint of 1636, a text, as already noted, showing English influence strongly in its orthography. Thus Wreittoun's lines, "The strong ay with wrong ay, *Puts* weaker to the walls," appear in the 'Evergreen' as "The strang ay with wrang ay, *Put* weaker to the walls."

Other examples are-

If yee were sent for we suspect,
Because the *Doctours doubts*,
Your yeares now *appeares* now
With wisdom to be vext.

-WREITTOUN.

Gif ze were sent for we suspect,
Because the *Doctour douts*,
Zour zeirs now appeir now
With wisdom to be vext.

- 'EVERGREEN.'

I grip fast if the ground be good, And *fleets* where it is false.

-WREITTOUN.

I grip fast gif the grund be gude,
And fleit quhair it is false.

-- 'EVERGREEN.'

By Ramsay's time this regular idiom of early Scots had probably come to be regarded as a vulgarism; hence its disappearance from the 'Evergreen.' Again, in the char-

acteristic Middle Scots' usage of 'ane' before substantives beginning with a consonant, Ramsay is much less uniform than Wreittoun, though he is supposed to be reproducing a text of considerably earlier date. The truth is, Ramsay was not a trustworthy transmitter of texts, even allowing for the laxer conceptions of an editor's duty in those days. The antiquarian enthusiasm with which he set himself to recover the remains of early Scottish poetry, was not accompanied by any corresponding zeal for strict adherence to the letter of his original texts. Where it is possible to compare his publications with his originals, as in the case of his printed selections from the Bannatyne Manuscript, his editorial license is manifest and notorious. A similar, if not quite so extensive, liberty he has clearly taken in his edition of "The Cherrie and the Slae." For the purposes of a text society it is of little or no value: it cannot be regarded as representing the language of the originals, and it does not even reproduce the vernacular of Ramsay's own day.

§ 14. The text of "The Cherrie and the Slae," prepared by David Laing in 1821, and reproduced by Dr Cranstoun for the Scottish Text Society in 1887, is made up partly from the 'Evergreen' and partly from Waldegrave's second print of 1597, which Ramsay had used. It is pieced together in the following way: lines 1-140, Waldegrave; 141-154, 'Evergreen'; 155-812, Waldegrave; 813-938, 'Evergreen'; 939-1084, Waldegrave; 1085-1596, 'Evergreen' Laing here discards the opening stanzas as they were finally shaped and revised by the poet, preferring to retain these in their original form: the rest of the earlier text he also preserves, adding to it the new stanzas of the poet's final version as these

appear in Ramsay's contaminated edition. The result is a composite text, of which we may be quite sure the poet would most strongly have disapproved. It is to be regretted that Dr Cranstoun thought fit to follow Laing in this composite arrangement of his, and did not rather adopt the sounder plan of printing separate texts of both versions of the poem. As it is, notwithstanding the editorial labour which has been expended on "The Cherrie and the Slae," no convenient prints of the poem, in either of its forms, have hitherto been made available for readers of Montgomerie. The recovery of a neglected copy of the earlier version from among the Laing Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library has suggested the desirability of supplying this need. In the present volume, accordingly, will be found set out on opposite pages, for convenience of reference, the first printed edition (Waldegrave's first issue of 1597) and the recovered text of the Laing Manuscript. The latter supplies some interesting variants, which throw light on certain obscure passages. It has besides the additional interest of being the only contemporary manuscript of the poem, and reproduces a somewhat older orthography than either of Waldegrave's prints. It pretty certainly was engrossed at an earlier date.1 In footnotes to our reproduction of the first printed edition are also given every variant, other than unimportant differences in spelling, found in Waldegrave's second issue of 1597. The reader is thus put in possession of all the material available for getting at the text of the poem in its earliest known form. The later revised and expanded version of 1615 is separately printed in its entirety, not,

¹ See notes, §§ 5 and 6, pp. 345, 346.

however, in Ramsay's doctored text, but as it appears in Wreittoun's edition of 1636. In point of time this, as we have already noted, is the nearest print which can now be had to the lost edition of 1615. Save in the matter of orthography, there is no reason to suspect any interference on Wreittoun's part with his original. It is clearly a bookseller's reprint, in which the spelling has been modified to suit the changing linguistic fashion of the time, and possibly also to secure it a wider sale in the English market. As such it has the further interest of throwing light on the rapidity with which in printed books Southern English was supplanting the native dialect. Ramsay's variant readings, where these are not merely orthographical, are given in the footnotes. For further discussion of Wreittoun's text, see notes, § 6, p. 346.

§ 15. The remarkable popularity of "The Cherrie and the Slae" during the century following the poet's death probably helped in no small measure to keep alive an interest in the "Flyting with Polwart," the humour of which it is difficult nowadays to appreciate. As is pointed out later, there is reason to believe that the "Flyting" was written about the year 1582, and quotations from it appear two years later in King James's "Reulis and Cautelis." If the exchange of "invective" epistles between the rival poets was carried on by means of printed broadsides - which is probable enough, seeing that the "Flyting" was a contribution to the court amusements in the first irresponsible years of James's reign,-these sheets are not known to have been gathered into a single volume till Hart put out an edition in 1621, and of this edition all copies have perished. The only knowledge we have of it is derived from a descriptive entry in the catalogue of the long-since dispersed Harleian Library. Following Hart's edition, no fewer than eight issues of the "Flyting" appeared down to the time of its publication in Watson's 'Choice Collection' in 1711, when it ceased to be reprinted, till the modern impressions of Laing and Dr Cranstoun. The dates of these successive issues, some of which are overlooked by Dr Cranstoun, are 1629 (Edin., two editions, - one by the Heires of Andro Hart, the other by the Heires of Thomas Finlayson for John Wood), 1632, 1665, 1666, 1679, 1688, 1711. Portions were also included in Sibbald's 'Chronicle' in 1802. Laing's text (reprinted by Dr Cranstoun) is taken from the edition issued by the heirs of Andro Hart in 1629. On the title-page of the other edition printed in the same year for John Wood there appears the statement that it was "newlie corrected and enlarged." 1 According to Laing, however, who submitted the two impressions to a "minute comparison," they in no material way differ from one another; "and," continues Laing, "if these poems ever were 'corrected and enlarged,' we have no means left to ascertain the extent of the alteration." That the verse epistles of the "Flyting" did, however, undergo alteration at some time or other is now made certain by the recovery of a manuscript copy of much earlier date than the editions examined by Laing. The credit of first drawing attention to this neglected manuscript, advertised in a sale catalogue of the library of Mr Robert S. Turner, sold in 1888 by Messrs Sotheby, Wilkinson,

¹ This is rather misleading, seeing that Montgomerie died at least fourteen years prior to the appearance of Wood's edition.

and Hodge, is due, as has already been mentioned, to Dr Brotanek. Unable, however, to obtain more than a cursory glance at it ("nur eine oberflächliche Besichtigung desselben") from Mr Quaritch, into whose possession it had passed, Dr Brotanek was not in a position to give any detailed account of the manuscript. It has since been acquired for the purpose of the present volume, and is now printed for the first time. This new version of the "Flyting" presents some interesting variations from the earlier surviving texts. In the first place, the epistles, or verse "invectives," are arranged differently, those of Montgomerie being first given and then Polwart's: in the printed editions they are placed in the order of alternate attack and reply. Montgomerie's first invective, the opening epistle in the printed texts, beginning "Polwart zee peip like a mouse amongst thornes," is, however, awanting. The binding of the manuscript makes it impossible to follow the "gatherings," so that we cannot say whether or not a leaf has been torn out at the beginning. Two new stanzas are found in Montgomerie's second epistle (p. 154); but they are of no literary value whatsoever, being merely a further addition to the string of abusive epithets with which he castigates his opponent. A third new stanza occurs in Polwart's last invective (p. 182), which levels at Montgomerie the interesting and suggestive charge of pilfering proverbial sayings from Italian sources.1 Besides these actual additions to the text, a considerable number of the stanzas show important variations from the corresponding passages in the printed editions.

¹ See App. C, p. 291.

§ 16. The statement in the original sale catalogue (repeated by Quaritch), that the manuscript is in the poet's own handwriting, is without vouchers of any kind, and must, in the meantime at any rate, be set aside as a mere conjecture. A special interest of another kind, however, attaches to the manuscript. On the first page, under the title "Invectiues Capitane Allexander Montgomeree et Pollvart et cetera," is written a sonnet inscribed "To his Majestie," and signed "Tullibardine." In the left-hand corner there is also traced the coat of arms of the Murray family, showing the three mullets pearl within a double tressure and the five fleurs-de-lis. On one side of the shield the letter W is inscribed, and on the other M. The only member of the family to whom these initials can well be referred is Sir William Murray, who died on March 15, 1582/3 (Nisbet's 'Heraldry,' vol. ii., App., p. 191). He held the position of Comptroller to the King, and was a member of the Privy Council. It is noteworthy that one of Montgomerie's sonnets (Cranstoun, p. 121) is addressed to a "W. Murray," who may have been the same man. The complimentary sonnet to his Majesty may reasonably be taken as indicating that the manuscript had at some time or other been presented to James. During the ten months from August 1582 to June 1583 the king was in the hands of the Ruthven raiders, and as we know that the "Flyting" was a contribution to the court amusements, it may be inferred that it was carried through some time prior to the Raid. In all probability, then, taking into account the date of Sir William Murray's death, this poetic encounter between Polwart and Montgomerie is to be dated from the year 1582.

The Tullibardine Manuscript is nicely bound in full roan leather, and consists of sixteen leaves, measuring 8 by 6½ inches. It is carefully written in a neat legible hand, characteristic of the second half of the century, and is without ornamentation. The text begins on f. 2a and ends on f. 15a; f. 1a contains the title and dedicatory sonnet to the king; ff. 1b, 15b, 16a, and 16b are blank. Of the importance of the manuscript for textual purposes there can be no question. It antedates by at least forty-six years the earliest surviving print—Hart's edition of 1629—which hitherto has been relied on by modern editors. The language shows far less admixture of Southern forms, and probably approximates closely to the actual words of the rival poets.

§ 17. Dr Brotanek draws attention to another neglected manuscript of the "Flyting," which he has noted in the Harleian Collection in the British Museum. It is bound up (Harl. MS. 7578, No. 3) in a folio volume of miscellaneous pieces, some on parchment and some on . paper, and of widely varying date. The descriptive entry in the Museum catalogue begins: "(1) A single leaf, verse and prose. (2) Nineteen vellum leaves, containing Lydgate's Proverbs to f. 12, and thence a collection of his Balades of the 15th century. (3) On paper, an old set of poems in several parts, entitled 'Polwart and Montgomerie flyting.' At the end, 'Scriptum per me Johannem Rutherford,' 12 leaves. Also on the outside, 'John Rutherford his buik.' (4) Part of Drama entitled, 'Nebuchadnezzars fiery furnace.' On paper 4to, p. 321-368, original pages," &c. With the exception of one blundering omission of eleven lines, this

copy of the "Flyting" is carefully written, and may have been engrossed any time during the first quarter of the seventeenth century,—it is not likely to have been earlier. The arrangement of the epistles is the same as appears in the printed editions; but the absence of the address "To the Reader," and the presence of variant readings throughout the body of the text, show that it is not taken from Hart's edition of 1629. Possibly it is a copy of the lost edition of 1621; but more likely it represents an independent manuscript tradition. It throws light on several obscure passages of the text, and must take rank as the second earliest source of the "Flyting."

§ 18. It is noteworthy that during the time of Montgomerie's widespread popularity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, no edition of his shorter poems was published. These, it will be remembered, are, with some half-dozen exceptions, preserved in the Drummond Manuscript. A few pieces, seven in all to be precise, are usually appended to the earlier reprints of "The Cherrie and the Slae"; but excepting these, the whole of the comparatively large collection of miscellaneous lyrics, sonnets, devotional and occasional poems, amounting to some two-thirds of his verse, remained unprinted down to modern times. A Scottish printer at the beginning of the seventeenth century might well have hesitated to venture on their publication. Like the most of the poetry, other than religious, which is known to have been composed in Scotland in the last two decades of the sixteenth century, Montgomerie's writings reflect almost exclusively the literary interests of the Court, and these interests were obviously not in

tune with the temper of the nation generally. It may seem surprising, however, that a century later, when led by collectors like Watson and Ramsay there was a revival of interest in old Scots poetry, Montgomerie's lyrics and sonnets were not laid under contribution for the poetic miscellanies then appearing. The explanation of this seeming neglect is, there can be little doubt, the simple fact that the existence of the Drummond Manuscript was at that time unknown; and it would appear that until a much later date its existence continued to be unknown. Neither Hailes nor Pinkerton alludes to it, nor does either of them draw on its contents, although the latter prints ('Ancient Scotish Poems,' 1786) two of Montgomerie's lyrics from the less important Maitland Ouarto. It is also clear that the existence of Montgomerie's miscellaneous poems was not even preserved as a family tradition, since William Montgomery of Rosemount, in his account of his kinsman the poet, written at the beginning of the eighteenth century, makes no reference to them, although he is careful enough to mention the titles of the few poems appended to the reprints of "The Cherrie and the Slae." 1 The first to

¹ The possibility of a printed edition of the shorter poems of Montgomerie, all copies of which might be assumed to have perished (like the 1615 edition of "The Cherrie and the Slae" and the 1621 edition of "The Flyting with Polwart"), is raised by an account given of the poet by Thomas Dempster, author of the 'Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum.' Dempster, whose interest in Montgomerie is shown by his translation into Latin hexameters of "The Cherrie and the Slae," was born in Aberdeenshire in 1579. His education was chiefly obtained abroad, and as a Catholic scholar there was in later years no place for him in the universities of his own country. He taught successively in Paris, Pisa, and Bologna, where he died in 1625. 'The Historia Ecclesiastica' appeared two years later. The erudition of this work is unfortunately marred by many inaccuracies, and still more by deliberate

draw on the Drummond Manuscript was Sibbald, who in his 'Chronicle' (Edin., 1802, 4 vols.) prints a number of Montgomerie's shorter poems (see Cranstoun's list, p. lv). A further selection of some nine or ten pieces was made by Dr Irving to illustrate his account of the poet given in his 'Lives of the Scotish Poets' (1804). It was, however, reserved for David Laing to issue the first collected and edited text of Montgomerie's poems, drawing on all the then known sources of the poet's writings. This appeared in 1821, with a critical and biographical introduction by Dr Irving. An announcement five years later by "Messrs W. & D. Laing" that a new edition was in preparation of 'The Poems of Alexander Montgomerie and Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart' in two volumes, octavo, remained an unfulfilled promise. It is of interest, however, to know that Laing had contemplated a revision of his earlier work.

§ 19. Valuable at the date of its publication, as presenting for the first time a collected text of Montgomerie's writings, Laing's volume, judged by present-day standards of editing, is not an entirely satisfactory production. Attention has been drawn to his dealing with "The

falsifications, the names even of writers and books being invented for the purpose probably of exalting his country in the eyes of Continental friends. In his notice of Montgomerie he mentions, besides "The Cherrie and the Slae" and "The Flyting with Polwart," two other volumes: 'Epigrammata,' lib. i., 'Cantiones Amatoriæ, lib. i.' A charitable interpretation of his mention of these unknown books may be that through transmission of manuscript copies he had come to a knowledge of the fact that Montgomerie was the author of a considerable body of miscellaneous poems, and that he gave the poet the benefit of a genuine doubt in his mind as to whether or not these had appeared in printed form. But it is noteworthy that he makes no comment on them, whereas on both the "Flyting" and "The Cherrie and the Slae" he passes extravagant eulogiums.

Cherrie and the Slae." Further editorial liberties are taken with a number of the minor poems in the Drummond Manuscript. In these, changes are made (without acknowledgment) in the scribe's order of the lines, an interference which has the effect of altering the structure of the stanzas. Thus in No. XLIV. of the miscellaneous poems, the lines of the stanza are arranged as follows in the manuscript:—

Remember rightly, vhen 3e reid,

The woe and dreid,

But hope to speid,

I drie into despair.

My hairt within my breist does bleid

Vnto the deid,

Vithout remeid;

I'm hurt, I wot not vhair.

Alace! vhat is the cause, think I,

But grace that I in langour ly?

And so on throughout the poem. This in Laing's text becomes—

Remember rightly, vhen 3e reid,
The woe and dreid, but hope to speid,
I drie into dispair.
My hairt within my breist does bleid
Vnto the deid, vithout remeid;
I'm hurt, I wot not vhair.
Alace! vhat is the caus, think I,
But grace that I in langour ly?

The form of the stanza is here shortened; but in No. XVI. the editorial arrangement has a precisely opposite effect. The manuscript places the lines in the following order:—

O vhat a martyrd man am I!

I freat—I fry—I wreist—I wry—
I wrassil with the wind;
Of duill and dolour so I dry,
And wot not vhy this grit invy
Of fortun now I find;
But at this tyme hir spyt I spy:
O vhat a martyrd man am I!

Laing turns this into-

O vhat a martyrd man am I!

I freat—I fry—
I wreist—I wry—
I wrassil with the wind;
Of duill and dolour so I dry,
And wot not vhy
This grit invy
Of Fortun nou I find:
Bot at this tyme hir spyt I spy:
O vhat a martyrd man am I!

Unwarrantable liberties of a similar kind are taken with Nos. XXI., XXVIII., and XXXIV. Again, instead of obtaining accurate copies of the three poems which he prints from the Maitland Quarto, he is content to reproduce Pinkerton's very inaccurate transcripts.

§ 20. Some account of the Laing Manuscript may now conveniently precede a discussion of the anonymous miscellaneous poems which, in addition to the version of "The Cherrie and the Slae," are contained in it. There is no way of ascertaining definitely when the manuscript passed into the possession of Laing; but it is clear, since he makes no reference to it in the 1821 edition of Montgomerie's poems, that it was subsequent to that date. On the fly-leaf there is an inscription which con-

veys the information that it was presented to Laing by "W. L. Melville," and a label affixed to the sheepskin cover shows that it at one time belonged to the library of the Earl of Leven and Melville. There can be no doubt that the donor was the Honourable William Henry Locke Melville, third son of the seventh Earl of Leven, whose literary interests are shown in several published works.1 It is possible that the manuscript was presented to Laing shortly after the publication of Montgomerie's poems in 1821, and as a consequence of the interest evoked by that volume; and it may have been the discovery of this additional textual source which suggested to him the project of a new edition, advertised in 1826, but never carried out. Along with the bulk of Laing's great collection, the manuscript passed into the possession of the University of Edinburgh in 1878, after the owner's death. From the pagination it would appear that it originally consisted of eighty-four leaves. The original sheepskin covers are still preserved. When first inspected by the present writer, the manuscript presented a most dilapidated appearance, the binding being loose, one of the covers imperfect, and several of the leaves detached. It has since been carefully repaired by the binder who works for the Bodleian Library. The first three leaves are lost, and a gap of twenty-one leaves occurs between folios forty-eight and sixty-nine: leaf forty-six appears to have been cancelled. An examination of the quires shows that some leaves had been torn out previous to the present numbering of the pages. In this way a

¹ It is known that Mr Leslie Melville presented Laing with several manuscripts.

leaf has been removed after folio fourteen, and several after folio thirty-one. As it now is, the manuscript consists of sixty leaves measuring $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches. The manner of its original compilation is rather a puzzle. Over a dozen hands, all characteristic of the late sixteenth century, can be traced in the transcriptions. It might be presumed that these indicate a series of succeeding owners were it not that the hands do not follow one another in regular order. Poems in different parts of the manuscript are found written out by the same scribe. Thus three persons have been at the transcription of "The Cherrie and the Slae," one of whom has also written Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9 (except a few lines), 14, 15, 16, 20, 28. Another hand has transcribed Nos. 5, 6, 11, 29, 31, 33, 34. These may suffice to show how the manuscript has been compiled. The writing in most of the poems shows haste, a circumstance which, together with the constantly changing hand, makes the manuscript not an easy one to decipher. On one or two of the pages there is some scribble in French. A possible explanation of these peculiarities is that we have here an early and crude example of an album of verses, or perhaps a poetical commonplace book, belonging to some household interested in poetry. It is likely that it was long in the possession of the Melvilles, and it may well have originated with some member or members of this family. One of these who was living at the time, William Melville, the fourth son of Sir John Melville of Raith, from whom is descended the family of Leven and Melville, was Commendator of Tungland and Kilwinning, and it is a curious fact that a tradition, recorded some seventy years after Montgomerie's death, connects the

poet with this place.1 As a Lord of Session from 1587 to 1614 (it was during these years Montgomerie figured in the Court of Session as a litigant), William Melville must have spent much of his time in Edinburgh, and have come into contact with the court circle of poets. Another of the Melvilles with whom our manuscript may possibly have originated, was the older brother of the above, Sir Robert Melville of Murdocairney. Holding responsible offices of state under James, and figuring prominently at the court, he could scarcely fail to have been familiar with the group of writers, Montgomerie among the rest, whom the king was pleased to have around him. It is altogether too airy a speculation, perhaps, to suggest that the manuscript-book in question lay in the house of one or other of these members of the Melville family, by whom from time to time a court versifier was invited to engross an occasional composition; yet in this way might be explained the appearance of so many differing hands in the manuscript.

§ 21. Of the miscellaneous poems, numbering thirty-six, which, together with the version of "The Cherrie and the Slae," make up the contents of the Laing MS., two are variants of well-known compositions of Montgomerie, namely, the devotional piece entitled "A Godly Prayer" (No. XXX.), the earliest copy of which is found in Bannatyne's Manuscript, and the verses, "Nan Luffis bott Fullis valued agane" (No. VI.). The latter piece is found complete in the Drummond Manuscript: the

¹ Recorded in 'A Large Description of Galloway,' by Mr Andrew Symson (MS. Adv. Lib., Edinburgh), 1684, enlarged 1692. The passage is quoted by Dr Cranstoun, p. xvi.

version in the Laing MS. has only the first three stanzas, and these are, to judge by certain manifest errors and omissions, the transcription of an imperfect memory; but the language is less tinctured with English forms. Dr Brotanek has pointed out that the refrain, "Nan luffis bott fullis vnlud agane," is no doubt a rendering of Ronsard's line, "Car un homme est bien sot d'aimer si on ne l'aime" (see App. C, p. 297). A version of Hume's devotional poem beginning "The Weicht of Sin is wondir greitt" is found in No. XXXV. This is the only known transcript of the poem contemporary with its composition, and from the character of the orthography it is probably nearer in point of spelling to the poet's original than Waldegrave's printed version in the edition of Hume's 'Hymns,' published in 1500.1 A special interest attaches to No. XI, beginning, "My freind, if bow will credeitt me in oucht." It appears in an English dress in 'The Paradyce of Dainty Devises,' first published in London in 1576, and is there ascribed to Jasper Heywood, son of the dramatist (see notes). This is an interesting addition to the increasing body of evidence that the Scottish poets of James's reign were by no means unacquainted with the poetic miscellanies of the Elizabethans. Of the remaining poems of the Laing MS. none, so far as the editor has been able to ascertain, has appeared in print before. Like

¹ The change in spelling coming over the language at this time was largely due to the tendency of the Scottish printers to anglify the orthography of manuscripts placed in their hands for publication. Wherever it is possible to compare printed and manuscript versions of contemporary date, the former will invariably be found to have a more anglified form of spelling. Compare, for example, Waldegrave's prints of "The Cherrie and the Slae" with the Laing Manuscript copy, or the Tullibardine "Flyting" with the print of 1629.

the selections above mentioned, all, with one exception, appear in the manuscript without indication of their authorship. The "I. Nisbit" whose name appears at the end of No. VII., a conventional supplication of a lover to his mistress, beginning "Fresche flureis fair, and lusum ladie quhyte," it has not been possible to identify. Under sonnet No. XXIII., which opens with the attractive lines—

I serve ane dame moir quheiter than the snaw,
Quhois straichtnes dois be Ceder treis exceid,
Quhois teith surpast be oriant peirle in hew,
Quhois collourit lippis surmountis be skarlet threid.
The hinging lokkis that cummis from hir heid,
Dois staing3e the grace and glorie of be gold;
The braith quhilk dois out of hir mouth proceid,
Dois moir than flouris a sweitar smell vnfauld,

is carelessly inscribed the name of "I. Arnot," but without the customary "quod" before it. That this is intended to imply authorship may be doubted; under Sonnet No. XXV., commencing "The tender snow, of granis soft and quhyt," are scribbled in like manner the signatures of "goirg hay, Iames Arnot, Ihone Hay, Ioannes Arnot." These cannot be traced; but see note on page 362. The fact that "The Cherrie and the Slae" appears anonymously in the collection, as also one or two shorter pieces by Montgomerie and Hume, naturally suggests the possibility that others are by the same writers. Including a group of nine sonnets, some twenty pieces in the manuscript belong to the conventional style of amatory court poetry of the period; the remaining numbers are of a religious or devotional kind. In point of style, and in the general tone of their sentiments, some of these latter poems strongly recall the manner of Hume; notably is this the case with Nos. XXXI.-XXXIII., and XXIX. and XXXIV., which reproduce the ballad quatrain that Hume employs in his best-known piece, "The Day Estival." Even more reminiscent of Montgomerie are some of the love poems in the collection. The accent and lilt of his verse are caught in such a stanza as the following:—

Prepotent palme Imperiall,
Of perfyte pulchritude preclair!
O lusume Lamp Etheriall,
Quhais beamis bricht hes no compair!
Zour angell face, fragrant and fair,
Hes me bereft of my puir hairt,
Quhais perfytnes I will declair,
Gif ze wald tak it in gude pairt.—(No. IV., p. 196.)

Montgomerie's disposition to revert to his own phrases and images, to play the plagiarist on his own compositions even to the extent of repeating himself through entire lines, is commented on by both Dr Brotanek and Dr Cranstoun, and should be apparent to any careful reader of his poems. It may strengthen the supposition, then, that the lyric from which the above stanza is quoted is his, to find in it an exotic simile of the euphuistic kind, which is already used in two of his accredited poems. Compare lines 49-52—

Lyke as it is the li3airtis kynd,
Of mannis face to pray hir fude,
So nature still steris vp my mynd
To wew 3our peirles pulchritude,

¹ Compare especially Hume's "Recantation" and "Of God's Omnipotence."

with the following from one of the lyrics in the Drummond MS. (Cranstoun, p. 189)—

Lyk as the lyssard does indeid
Leiu by the manis face,
Thy Beutie lykuyse suld me feid,
If we had tyme and space.

He returns to the simile in one of his sonnets where, in reference to King James, he writes—

I feid affection vhen I sie his Grace,

To look on that vhairin I most delyte;
I am a lizard fainest of his face,

And not a snaik with poyson him to byte."

Compare also with the third and fourth lines of the stanza quoted the following from another of Montgomerie's lyrics (Cranstoun, p. 185)—

O lovesome Lady, lamp of licht, Freshest of flouris fair! Thy beutie and thy bemes bright Maks me to sigh full sair.

Not less reminiscent is the poem commencing, "King cupaid, gracles god of glaikes" (p. 198), which elaborates into seven eight-line stanzas the lover's conventional defiance of Cupid, a sentiment which inspires Montgomerie's sonnet "Against the God of Love" (Cranstoun, p. 124). Besides the familiar description of Cupid in "The Cherrie and the Slae" (stanzas 8 and 9), there are throughout Montgomerie's miscellaneous lyrics frequent references to the god of love. No special significance, of course, can be attached to this, since such allusions are quite common in this class of poetry; but here again phrases of Montgomerie's known compositions occur. Thus the line, "For

I have leirnid to countt my kinch," recalls "The man may ablens tine a stot who cannot count his kinch," from "The Cherrie and the Slae" (p. 111, l. 1099); and p. 199, l. 19, "Than, drocht, do att bat bow dow," is all but an exact repetition of a line in "The Flyting," "Do, droche, quhat bow dow" (p. 136, l. 64). Similar parallels are found scattered throughout a number of the other poems in the manuscript, but these must be sought in the notes. The most, perhaps, that can be made of these resemblances is to give us warrant for suggesting that there is at least a strong probability that some of the compositions in question are the work of Montgomerie.1 It is not to be supposed that all of his miscellaneous poems are gathered into the Drummond Quarto and those other poetic collections already mentioned: others there must have been afloat in manuscript in his own day. It should also be borne in mind that the Scottish poets who in James's reign cultivated this style of poetry were few in number, and probably confined to the Court circle. The most active exponents of it, after Montgomerie, were the unknown Stewart of Baldynnis, and William Fowler, the Oueen's secretary, and uncle to Drummond of Hawthornden. Stewart himself made a careful collection of his poems in manuscript for the king, which James carried with him to England. It is now in the Advocates' Library. None of the poems in the Laing MS. appear in it. Fowler is best known for his translations from Petrarch's "Triumphs," and a sonnet cycle, entitled "The Tarantula of Love," the manuscripts of which are both in Edinburgh University

¹ Those which seem to the editor to have most claim to be regarded as possibly Montgomerie's for the reasons given are Nos. I., IV., V., VIII., X., XII., XIV., XX.-XXVII.

Library. His private papers, including a prose translation of a large part of Macchiavelli's 'Prince,' and a bundle of miscellaneous verse, passed, after his death, into the hands of his nephew, the poet Drummond. These are now in the library of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries. They include none of the pieces in question; nor, it may be added, do any of these poems appear in the greater collections of Maitland, or of Bannatyne. If the best of them are not the workmanship of Montgomerie, it would seem, then, that he had closer rivals in the art of writing this artificial form of amatory poetry than has hitherto been supposed.

§ 22. The appearance of a batch of sonnets in this haphazard gathering of verse in the Laing MS. is suggestive of the vogue which the sonnet at this date was enjoying in Scotland. It has scarcely yet been sufficiently recognised how popular this form of verse was with Scottish writers in the reign of James VI., probably for the reason that most of the surviving examples remain still unprinted. Among the unpublished 'Rapsodies' of Stewart of Baldynnis' "3ovthfull Braine" are thirtythree sonnets. A few of his titles will serve to show the nature of his subjects: "Vpone the Portrait of Cupid," "Of the Qualities of Luif," "Of the Assaultis of Luif," "In going to his Luif," "Of Chastitie," "Of Fidelitie," "Of Trewth," "Of Ambitious Men," "At Command of His Maiestie In Praise of the Art of Poesie." Some eighty of Fowler's sonnets survive, of which seventy-one comprise "The Tarantula of Love,"a sonnet-sequence in the manner of those appearing so plentifully in England and on the Continent. Prefatory sonnets to Fowler's translation of Petrarch's 'Triumphs'

are inscribed by a number of writers whose identity can only be vaguely conjectured—such as R. Cokburne and A. Colville; and by others the initials of whose names are only given—E. D., F. D., M. W. "Maister Johnne Murray," a sharer in the later desperate fortunes of Francis Stewart, the Earl of Bothwell, left a collection of sonnets which at one time was among the Drummond manuscripts (No. 26 in catalogue). It appears to have been lost. A hint of what his style was like is found in a sonnet addressed to him by Montgomerie, who ventures the advice—

Flie louer, Phœnix. Feirs thou not to fyre Invironing the aluayis upward ayr? Vhich thou must pas, before that thou come thair, Vharas thy sprit so spurris thee to aspyre.

His cousin, Sir David Murray of Gortley, Comptroller of the King's Household in 1600, and himself a sonneteer, apparently had a high notion of his poetic gift, as appears from the following lines in the first of two eulogistic sonnets—

While eagle like vpon the lofty wings Of thy aspiring Muse, thou flies on hie, Making th' immortall sprites in loue with thee, &c.

Besides the two Hudsons, "violaris" of the Court, whose names are familiar, and King James, who appears to have been fond of the sonnet, others who are known to have tried their hand at this form of verse are John Burel, the Master of the Scottish Mint; 2 John Dikes,

¹ He wrote a sonnet cycle (twenty-six in number) entitled 'Cœlia,' but, like Drummond, in southern English. Also a poem, "The Tragicall Death of Sophonisba," prefixed to which is a sonnet by John Murray.

² See his 'Historie of Pamphilus and other Poems.' Waldegrave, undated.

minister at Kilbrennie, who wrote "Eucharistic sonnets -so he calls them-for his Majesties preservation";1 and James Melville (author of the 'Diary'), who has a dedicatory sonnet prefixed to his 'Morning Vision,' and addressed "To my gracious and dreade Soveraigne, James the Sext, King of Scottes, and Prince of Poets in his language," which is subscribed, "Your Majesties maist humble Oratour and new Prentise in Poesie." A couple of sonnets by the Hew Barclay of Ladyland, with whom Montgomerie was embroiled in Catholic intrigue, are found in the Drummond MS.; one also by a lady of the name of Christen Lyndesay, and another by Ezechiel Montgomerie, possibly a relative of the poet's. An anonymous author inscribes a prefatory sonnet to Marie Maitland's quarto manuscript, dated 1586, "In commendatioun of hir buik." A little further research would doubtless extend this evidence of the sonneteering in Scotland. It should be pointed out that no examples are found in the Bannatyne and Maitland folios; and all the evidence we have goes to show that the writing of Scottish sonnets did not begin until the early years of James's personal reign. By this time the great outburst of sonneteering in the South had started, and it seems little doubtful that it was from this quarter, notwithstanding the fact of Montgomerie's indebtedness to Ronsard, that the first impulse to sonnetwriting in Scotland came. With but few exceptions-Montgomerie himself supplies almost all of them - the sonnets of the Scotchmen follow the dominant English model of three quatrains of alternately rhyming lines and a final couplet; but these quatrains they interlace

¹ Spotswood, p. 467.

with rhyme in the manner of Spenser's favourite form, which gives the scheme a b a b b c b c c d c d e e. sonnets in the Laing MS. are examples of this. Hoffmann is bold enough to suggest that this variation in the English sonnet-form originated with Montgomerie, and that Spenser noted it in the examples occurring in the 'Essayes of a Prentise.' It is in this brochure of the king's that the first Scottish sonnets appear in printnineteen in number, and all of them in the form associated with Spenser's name. It is true that these precede by seven years the English poet's first published examples in the "Visions," included in the volume of 'Complaints' of 1591; none the less it seems unsafe to make such use of the fact as Dr Hoffmann does. Spenser's familiarity with the sonnet, there can be no doubt, was of much earlier date: it appears there is even a probability that the "Visions" were finished as early as 1580, although publication was delayed for eleven years. Dr Hoffmann overlooks the fact, moreover, that in a publication dated 1592, entitled, 'Foure Letters and certaine Sonnets, especially touching Robert Greene,' a sonnet of Spenser's appears inscribed to Gabriel Harvey, dated from "Dublin this xviij of July 1586," in which the scheme of rhymes in question is adopted. Now there is good reason to believe that up to this time Spenser had not been out of Ireland since his arrival there in 1580 with Lord Grey of Wilton, and in this case it is very unlikely that a copy of the king's 'Essayes' should have reached him.1 After all,

¹ It may be presumed, however, that James's first experiments in authorship would be speedily known in England. A copy of the 'Essayes' was forwarded in December of the year in which it was published, by the Earl of Arran to Lord Burleigh, accompanied by the following (hitherto unrecorded) letter: "My very gude Lord, I have heirwith Imparted to

there is no great difficulty in supposing that this slight variation in the interlacing rhymes of the sonnet should not have suggested itself to the two poets independent of one another. Still the fact remains that, so far as can be ascertained, priority of publication rests with the Scottish writers.

§ 23. A question of wider interest is the extent to which in Montgomerie's day the cultivation of Scottish poetry in general was affected by the influence of Elizabethan writers. Any lengthy discussion of this would be out of place here; but attention may be drawn to some neglected scraps of evidence which tend to show that the literary intercourse of the two countries was more intimate than has as yet perhaps been supposed. One initial difficulty, serious enough too, in the way of reaching a satisfactory conclusion on this debatable matter, is the comparative scantiness of the poetic remains which have come down to us from James's reign. It would appear that in Montgomerie's time there was no widely diffused interest in, and consequently but little demand for, general literature, - a circumstance attributable in large measure, no doubt, to the narrowing controversies of the Reformation, which warped the

30ur Lordship his hienes first pruif and prentissage in poesie, Be the reiding quherof 30ur Lordship will persaue a gude Inclinatioun in his majestie to do weill. I doubt not bot his nixt sall mak these fruictis to seme abortif. Remitting the present consideration of thame to 30ur Lordshipis discretioun I commit 30ur gude Lordship to goddis holy protectioun. Arran. halyrudehous this xxviii of december 1584. To the richt honourabile my very gude Lord, my L. Burghley L. heich thesaurer of England" (Lansdowne MSS. No. 7, Brit. Mus.) It is very interesting to compare this very temperate opinion of James's "first pruif and prentissage in poesie," expressed in a private letter, with the adulation which the royal author was receiving in public.

literary taste of the Scottish people in a way to which there is hardly a parallel in the southern kingdom. Of the secular poetry that was written, only a small part appears to have been published; and although a fair amount still survives in manuscript, and some (Montgomerie's own, for instance) has since been put into print, there is reason to believe that not a little has perished. It is extremely doubtful whether this vernacular poetry would have had any better fortune at the hands of the Scottish printers had it reached a higher degree of excellence than it did. Montgomerie's verse, after all, is as tolerable, to say the least, as that of not a few of the Elizabethan minor poets whose work apparently found an easy market among English readers. In Scotland at this time, it must be remembered, the development of a taste for general literature, and for poetry in particular, was deprived of the stimulus which in the south emanated from two most potent sources. The humanising influences of the Renaissance had never penetrated the Scottish universities, and it may be surmised that, unlike their sister institutions in England, they were pervaded by much too rigorous a spirit to permit of any dalliance along the primrose path of letters. The young wits-if so they may be termedtrained in their schools could hardly be passing out with eager thoughts for the betterment of Scottish verse; nor was it possible for them under the circumstances of the time to drift into the ranks of a company of roisterous pamphleteers in their native metropolis, there to spread a taste among the citizens for picaresque tales, romance, and lyric poetry. Scotland at this time, too, lost its only chance of a national drama. The effect of the

Elizabethan stage, presenting its daily round of romantic comedy, tragedy, and burlesque, must have been enormous in the way of educating and stimulating among the people a taste for poetry and imaginative literature in general; and hardly less important is it to consider how this continual mimic presentation of the real passion and humour of life, touched and blent with the attractive colours of romance, would invade and help to destroy the artificialities of coterie verse-making, with its ingenious ringing of the changes on worn-out sentiments and farfetched fancies. An occasional visit of a London company, or a court or college masque—even these under the frown of the Presbyterian fathers—was all that Scotland knew of these southern delights.

§ 24. The only place indeed where it may be claimed that a detached interest in literature existed was the Court, and apparently this interest was strongest there in the earlier years of James's personal reign, when Catholic influence was at its height. The effect upon the young king of his companionship with Esmé Stewart, Lord of Aubigny (later the Duke of Lennox), whose arrival in 1579 as a secret emissary of the Guises opens a new chapter of Catholic intrigue in Scotland, has been reprobated by Scottish historians, possibly with justice enough; but if James's morals were not improved by this contact with Aubigny and his retinue from the Court of Henry III., it is little doubtful that he was introduced to a more liberal atmosphere in matters literary than would otherwise have surrounded him. To the zealous Presbyterian of those days poetry, when it was not chartered in

¹ James laments his death in one of his best poems, "The Phœnix," included in the 'Essayes of a Prentise.'

the service of religion, was "a profane and unprofitable exercise." Alexander Hume, in condemning the singing of "prophane sonnets and vaine ballats of loue," or the rehearsing of "fabulos faits of Palmerine, Amadis, or suchlike raueries," at "Princes' courts, in the houses of greate men, and at the assemblies of yong gentlemen and yong damesels," is voicing, in a way that recalls the tone of Stephen Gosson's "abuse," the spirit of Scottish puritanism in its attitude to the culture of letters. But within the circle of the Court, from about 1580 onwards for some ten or twelve years at least, poetry was freely cultivated under the king's patronage. Contributions of James's own are seen in the 'Essayes of a Prentise,' and the 'Poetical Exercises,' published in 1584 and 1501 respectively; and the new poems, including portions of a masque, found some years ago in a neglected manuscript in the Bodleian Library, are not likely to have been written later than the 'Essayes.' It is to this time also. and to this restricted centre of literary activity, that the translations from Petrarch and Ariosto by Fowler 1 and

The dedication of Fowler's manuscript to "Ladye Ieane Fleming Ladye Thirlstane, spous to the right honorable Sir Iohne Maetland," is dated "Edinburgh the ix. December 1587." A passage from it will show the spirit in which the translation was undertaken: "Francis Petrarch, a noble Florentine, hes dewysed and erected these Triumphs in the honour of her whome he lowed, thairby to mak hir more glorious and himself no leß famous; which when I had fullye pervsed, and finding thame bothe full and fraughted in statelye verse, with morall sentences, godlye sayings, brawe discoursis, propper and pithie arguments, and with a store of sindrie sort of historeis, enbellished and inbroudered with the curious pasmentis of poesie and golden frenizeis of eloquence, I was spurred thairby and pricked forward incontinent be translatioun to mak thame sumwhat more populare than they ar in thair Italian originall; And especiallye when as I perceaued, bothe in Frenche and Inglish traductionis, this work not onely traduced, bot evin as it wer mayled and in everie member miserablie maimed and dismembered, besydis the barbar

Stewart, and from Du Bartas by Hudson,1 are to be assigned. One of Montgomerie's many appropriations from Ronsard can be traced in a sonnet penned in 1582; and in the same year, as we have seen, he is charged by his opponent in the "Flyting" with pilfering the Italians. Alexander Hume, after his return from a four years' sojourn in France (1579-1580?), and before he had turned puritan, was for a time at the Court, delighting in those "prophane sonnets and vaine ballatis of love," and practising that "frivolous form of verse," which in later years he so strongly condemned and lamented. To this poetry he was doubtless first attracted during his residence in France. On the 24th of June 1587, the French ambassador, M. Courcelles, reports the arrival of Du Bartas, "whom the kinge sente for a yearr past to expound his poesie." 2 James had already shown his interest in Du Bartas, who at that time was dividing with Ronsard the allegiance of French readers, by including a translation of his "Uranie" in the 'Essayes of a Prentise.' There is in all this the evidence of French and Italian influence at work upon the coterie

grosnes of boyth thair translationis, which I culd sett down by prwif (wer not for prolixitie) in twoe hundreth passages and more. Bot Madame as I purpose not be debaising of thair doings to enhawse my awin, nor by extenuating thair trawellis, and derogating from thair desertis, to arrogat more praise to myself, so do I now expose the same to the sight and vew of all the world whose iudgement and censeur I must vnderlye." But apparently Fowler never found his publisher.

¹ 'The Historie of Judith,' published 1584.

² 'Extracts from the Despatches of M. Courcelles, French Ambassador at the Court of Scotland, 1586-1587' (Bannatyne Club). In Sir James Melville's 'Memoirs,' p. 363 (Bannatyne Club), the visit of the French poet is thus alluded to: "Thir ambassadoirs wes not weill imbarkit, when Mons² du Bartas arruit heir to vesit the Kingis Maiestie, who, he hard, had him in gret esteem for his rare poesies set out in the Frenche tong."

of Scottish Court poets; but it is also not less certain that they were well acquainted with, and to some extent affected by, the poetry of "the refined and gallant school of Surrey," and of yet later developments in English verse. Clear indications of this in the work of Montgomerie have been traced with painstaking and scholarly care by Dr Brotanek, to whose monograph the reader may be referred, and also to what is noted in Appendix C.

§ 25. It is also significant in this connection that, as has already been noted, one of the poems in the Laing MS, is a Scottish rendering of a piece occurring in 'The Paradyce of Dainty Devises.' In the Drummond MS. the lyric beginning, "My fancie feeds vpon the sugred gall," hitherto ascribed to Montgomerie, is also, as Dr Brotanek points out, taken from another of the English miscellanies, Procter's 'Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inventions'; and attention has been drawn by Dr Hoffmann to the appearance in this same manuscript of one of Henry Constable's 'Diana' sonnets. There can be little doubt, too, that Montgomerie was familiar with the earliest and most influential of the Elizabethan verse collections -Tottel's 'Miscellany.' An interesting reference to two of these anthologies, which confirms the view that they were known by the Scottish poets, occurs in the introductory note to one of the unpublished poems of William Fowler, found among his private papers in the library of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries. Addressing the "Christian Reader," in explanation of the title of one of his poems, which he calls "The Pest," he writes as follows: "Efter the conception and delyverie of this poesie, I was in a long doubt with myself how to

¹ Capitel 4, 'Der Gedankenhalt und die Quellen der einzelnen Dichtungen,' pp. 84-135.

name it, but being at last resolved I haif called it 'the pest,' not for noveltie, naber git for terrour, but after the practised example of Hebrew wemen quha gaive ther children thair names by sic accidents as surprised tham in thair delyverie . . . I culd in following and in borrowing from others (lyk to the Inglish wrytars who Intitulut bair bookes with glorious inscriptions of 'the Gorgeous gallerye of gallant Inventionis,' or 'the Paradice of Dayntie deuvsis'), haif niknamed the same also with 'the deplorable and more than Tragical discourse of all the infernall furyes'; bot that were boythe vanitie and follye." 1 An unpublished sonnet prefixed to Fowler's translations of Petrarch, by one of the ladies of the Court, whose identity is concealed under the initials "F. D.," is also in this connection worth quoting for its literary references :--

The glorious greiks dois praise thair Homer's quill,
And citeis sevin dois strywe quhair he was borne;
The Latins dois of Virgill vante at will,
And Sulmo thinks her Ouid dois adorne;
The Spanzell laughs (sawe Lucan) all to scorne,
And France for Ronsard stands, and settis him owt;
The better sort for Bartas blawis the horne,
And Ingland thinks thair SURRYE first but dout.

¹ In view of the Society possibly undertaking at some future date an edition of Fowler's writings, the following hitherto unrecorded references to a number of his autograph letters in the Record Office, London, may be noted: State Papers relating to Scotland, Vol. 30, No. 58; Vol. 31, Nos. 16, 23, 24, 127; Vol. 32, Nos. 3, 5, 8, 9, 11, 13, 16, 19, 20, 41, 51, 53, 54, 56, 60, 61, 62, 91; Vol. 33, No. 90. Fowler at this time was apparently in the pay of the English Government, conveying information as to the movements of the Catholic intriguers. Writing to Patrick, Master of Gray, on October 1, 1584, Mary Queen of Scots warns him of Fowler: "You have also to beware of Fowler, who was formerly in the service of the Countess of Lennox, my mother-in-law, in as much as he will not fail to accost you to extract what he can from you."

To praise thair owen these countries gois about: Italians lyke Petrarchas noble grace,
Who well deserwis first place amange that rout.
Bot FOULAR, thou dois now thame all deface,
No vanting grece nor Romane now will strywe;
They all do yield sen Fouler doith arrywe.

§ 26. Between the two countries in James's reign a channel of literary communication was kept open by the coming and going of soldiers of fortune, Government envoys, and political intriguers of one kind or another, who happened to be, according to the manner of that age, men of letters as well.1 A veteran of this type was Thomas Churchyard, whose literary career begins with Tottel's 'Miscellany,' and stretches over into the next century. In the first two decades of Elizabeth's reign, a time of small achievements in literature, he was one of the most popular poets of the day. Contributions of his appear in 'The Mirror for Magistrates' and 'The Paradyce of Dainty Devises.' Indefatigable to the last, he was, however, unable to keep pace with the later developments of English poetry, and suffered the taunt from Spenser of having sung himself hoarse. No one could have been more familiar with the literature of the Elizabethan period, or a better guide to it. Among his intimate friends were Sidney and Raleigh; and he had

¹ One of Montgomerie's sonnets is dated from London. He was probably doing duty there as an envoy. Thomas Hudson (translator of Du Bartas' 'Judith,' and a contributor to 'England's Parnassus') appears to have been an Englishman, and likewise Robert Hudson, another of James's Court musicians and poets (probably a brother of the former), whom Montgomerie eulogises in the following couplet:—

Thy Homer's style, thy Petrark's high invent, Sall vanquish death and live eternally.

Only four of his sonnets have survived.

also taken a vigorous hand in the ceaseless literary squabbles of the time, the object of his especial enmity being the novelist Nash. As a soldier of fortune he had fought in Scotland, France, and in the Low Countries. In later life he enjoyed some measure of Court patronage, and was employed on several occasions to arrange pageants for the Oueen's entertainment. We first hear of Churchyard in connection with Scottish affairs presumably as early as 1547, when he served in the army which Somerset in the autumn of that year led into Scotland. He was present at the rout of Pinkie, and in June of the following year was captured at St Monans in Fife, and for the next three years held a prisoner, probably at St Andrews. Ten years later we find him again in Scotland, serving in the English army which, under Lord Grey, co-operated with the Scots in laying siege to Leith, at that time held by a French emissary force in the interests of the Queen Regent. Of this and of the later siege of Edinburgh Castle, Churchyard has left accounts in two poems, published in his volume, 'Churchyarde's Chippes from Scotland' (1575). It is, however, in a visit which he made to the Scottish Court in 1580 that our interest here chiefly centres. Chalmers in his memoir of the poet notes this visit, and also the circumstance that some misdemeanour had necessitated his temporary withdrawal from England. He then hazards the opinion that "Elizabeth's agents perhaps made use of his blandishments of taletelling and poetic scribbling to soothe the king." Certain it is that Churchyard was at the Court, and evidently in high favour with James. This appears from the following reference in an unpublished letter of Randolph's to Walsingham, dated June 22, 1580: "Churchyarde is here

grate in the Court, and, as he sayth hymselfe, kingis man-I pray your highness lette me knowe what he was that he slewe last, which, as he saythe, is the cawse of his commynge hyther." In the Treasurer's accounts also there is a record that in February 1581 payment was made to "Thomas Churchyard, Inglisman, conform to the kingis precept," a sum of two hundred pounds "Scotch money." Churchyard, who seems to have had a touch of the swaggering swashbuckler about him, appears to have incurred the jealous enmity of certain unknown persons in Edinburgh, who on more than one occasion attempted his life by firing on him. Accordingly, in the end of June 1581, he obtained the king's leave to depart southwards again. This visit of Churchyard's to the Scottish Court, which extended for over a year, coincides with the period of James's dawning literary ambitions, and of his beginning to play the part of a patron of letters. In such literary surroundings as have been described, Churchyard was not the man to hide his light under a bushel; his presence at the Court and the king's patronage of him he doubtless owed to his prestige as an English poet. Nothing is more likely than that he took a part in promoting the literary activities of the Court, and it is easy to think that in the circumstances he would vigorously press upon the attention of the Scottish poets English models.1

§ 27. Another of these gentlemen of fortune who

¹ In his poem entitled "A Praise of Poetsie" he commends "Dauy Lindzay and Buckananus" (the latter he had possibly met in Edinburgh), and in the marginalia notes, "Iames the first that was King of Scotland and K. Iames the sixt now reigning, great poets." Has this evidence of James's authorship of the 'Quair' been noted? Churchyard no doubt got his information at the Scottish Court during his residence there.

brought in the train of their more serious business a knowledge of English poetry to Scotland, was Henry Constable, author of the 'Diana,' a collection of sonnets, first published in 1592, which, according to Drayton, rivalled in popular favour those of Sidney and Daniel. Sprung of an ancient Catholic family, Constable was born in 1562, and graduated from Cambridge by special grace of the senate in 1580. Thereafter he seems speedily to have embarked on a career of political intrigue in the Catholic interest. In this connection he was inevitably brought into touch with Scottish affairs, for the northern kingdom in those years was the centre towards which for the time being the various lines of Catholic scheming converged. On certain grounds of evidence which, however, he does not disclose, Mr W. H. Hazlitt concludes that "Constable spent no inconsiderable portion of his time in Scotland during his earlier life, and it is surmised that he obtained some employment about the person of the Queen, after whose death he continued to enjoy the esteem of her son, to whom some of his sonnets are addressed." To the king's 'Poetical Exercises,' which came out in 1591, Constable contributed a prefatory sonnet,1 and in the following year four more appeared in the 'Diana' with the following titles: "To the King of Scots, touching the subject of his poems dedicated wholie to heavenly matters." "To the King of Scots upon occasion of a sonnet the King wrote in complaint of a contrarius wind which hindered

¹ To this the "sensible old English critic, Edmund Bolton," alludes in his 'Hypercritick': "Noble Henry Constable was a great master in the English tongue, nor had any gentleman of our nation a more pure, quick, or higher delivery of conceit, witness among all other that sonnet of his before his Majesty's Lepanto."—Warton's 'History of English Poetry.'

the arrival of the Oueene out of Denmark (1589)." "To the King of Scots upon occasion of his longe stay in Denmark, by reason of the coldnesse of the winter and freezing of the sea." 1 "To the King of Scots, whome as yet he had not seene." The allusions in these sonnets point to personal and friendly relations having been established with James sometime after the publication of the 'Essayes of a Prentise,' and some years before the date of the 'Poetical Exercises.' A reference to him in a letter of Thomas Fowler's to Lord Burghley, written on October 20, 1589, gives definite evidence of his presence in Scotland at that date. A year later he was maturing a scheme by which the Catholic Powers were to make certain James's accession to the throne of England, on the understanding that he would relieve the English Catholics of their existing disabilities. In October 1597 he is referred to by a Scottish correspondent as "one Constable, a fine poetical wit, who resides in Paris, has in his head a plot to draw the Queen [i.e., of Scotland] to be a Catholic." Probably his last visit to Scotland was paid in March 1599, when he arrived in Edinburgh armed with a commission from the Pope. But after a vain effort to negotiate with the king, he was obliged to take himself off in September. A year later he fell under suspicion of being the author of a book entitled 'A Counterfeit Discourse,' to which allusion is made in a letter from George Nicolson to Sir Robert Cecil (July 22, 1600): "The king is much offended thereat, accompting some practising Papist to have made it. Walter Quin, as I

¹ James sailed for Norway on October 22, 1589, and did not return till May of the following year.

hear, judgethe that Henry Constable hathe made it; for he saythe that Constable is a very great writer, and that the booke hath his method and reasons. The king hathe given it to Mr John Sharpe 1 to answere." Invincible to the last in his devotion to the Catholic cause, Constable, after suffering imprisonment in the Tower in 1602, died at Liège in 1613.

§ 28. Between Montgomerie and Constable there is good reason to believe a warm friendship existed, and it may well have been their common attachment to the Catholic interest which first drew them together. The affectionate allusion which the Scottish poet makes to Constable has already been noted, and the fact also of one of Constable's sonnets in a Scottish dress appearing amongst the collection of Montgomerie's poems in the Drummond MS. That poetry was often a subject of their conversation is not to be doubted, nor can we suppose that Constable would fail to communicate to his Scottish friend what he knew and could commend of the yearly rich issues of verse in the southern kingdom.

§ 29. For another and greater of the Elizabethans, namely, Sir Philip Sidney, King James appears to have entertained an admiration and an affection, which it would certainly be easier to understand if it could be shown that he had actually come under the spell of Sidney's personal charm. Unfortunately we have no direct evidence of Sidney's presence in Scotland. There can, however, be no question of the king's familiarity with

¹ In all likelihood the "M. J. Sharpe," a Scottish advocate, who was bitterly attacked by Montgomerie in a couple of sonnets, apparently for supposed or actual mismanagement of his suit against Erskine.

his poems, and this knowledge was doubtless shared by the writers of his Court. We first hear of Sidney in connection with Scottish affairs on the occasion of the coming to London of the Banished Lords, when he acted as Elizabeth's messenger in communicating with the exiled nobles (Calderwood, iv. 356). On this occasion he appears to have set himself to promote friendly relations between the two countries. Writing to Sir Edward Wotton 1 on September 4, 1585, Walsingham remarks, "The poor Earl of Angus and Earl of Mar received here [i.e., at the English Court] little comfort otherwise than from Sir Philip Sidney." With the Master of Gray he also about this time struck up a friendship. and even appears to have been privy to Gray's plot to overreach the Earl of Arran (v. 'Hamilton Papers,' vol. ii., July 28, 1585). One of his last letters, dated from the camp at Nimeguen on May 17, 1586, is addressed in friendly terms to Gray (Salisbury MSS.); while in a letter to Archibald Douglas (November 6, 1586) Gray writes feelingly of the loss of his "dear friend and brother, Sir Philip Sidney, the most sorrowful death that I ever heard of in my time" (Salisbury MSS.). It seems that Sidney had also some share in negotiating the grant of a pension to James from Elizabeth in 1585. Referring to this matter, Walsingham, in a letter dated 23rd May of that year, to Wotton at Edinburgh, remarks: "The writing of the enclosed that you shall receive from Sir Philip Sidney, which he hath prayed me to peruse, groweth upon an advice delivered unto him by Mr Douglas [i.e., Archibald] touching the offer of a pension which you are

¹ English ambassador in Scotland.

directed to make unto the king." It would be pleasant to think that these negotiations had brought Sidney to the Scottish capital. How friendly in any case the relations between James and the English poet were may be shown from several contemporary references. The news of Sidney's fatal wound at Zutphen was received with dismay in the Scottish Court. Writing from Edinburgh to Archibald Douglas on October 24, 1586, Roger Aston remarks: "The hurt of Sir Philip Sidney is greatly lamented here, and chiefly by the king himself, who greatly lamenteth and [is] so heartily sorry as I never saw him for any man. To-morrow his Majesty is determined to write him" (Salisbury MSS.).1 But Sidney was already dead, having died on the 17th of the month. An account of an interview with James by Henry Leigh, in the 'Calendar of Border Papers' (vol. i.), records the following expression of the king's admiration for Sidney's writings: "Then he commended Sir Philip Sidney for the best and sweetest writer that ever he knew-surely it seemeth he loved him much." This interest of the king in Sidney is further corroborated by Fulke Greville, who, in referring to the honour paid to Sir Philip by various sovereigns, writes: "As first with that chief and best of princes, his most excellent Majesty, then King of Scotland, to whom his service was affectionately devoted, and from whom he received many pledges of love and favour." At the date of Sidney's death, October 17,

¹ For these interesting references to Sidney in the Salisbury MSS. the editor is indebted to Professor Malcolm Wallace of Toronto University, whose forthcoming life of the poet, based as it is on a more thorough investigation of all the records and possible sources of information than has yet been attempted, should prove a work of great value.

1586, James was twenty years of age, and had never been out of his kingdom.¹

§ 30. If the evidence were not too circumstantial to admit of any reasonable doubt that Edmund Spenser was in Ireland in 1583, there might be a possibility that he was the envoy, "Maister Spenser," referred to in the following postscript to one of James's letters to Queen Elizabeth, dated from St Andrews, on July 2: "I have staied maister Spenser upon the lettre quhilk is writtin with my awin hand, & quhilk sall be readie within tua daies." That Spenser's poetry was known at the Scottish Court, however, there is interesting confirmation in the fact that the king was greatly annoyed at the aspersions cast on his mother in the fifth book of the 'Fairie Queen,' where she figures as the "False Duessa." He complained of this to the English agent in Scotland, Robert Bowes, who promptly addressed a letter to Lord Burghley on the subject: "The King hath conceaued great offence against Edward Spencer [sic] publishing in prynte in the second part of the Fairy Queene and ixth chapter some dishonourable effectis (as the King demeth thereof) against himself and his mother deceased. he alledged that this booke was passed with previledge of her maiestes comissioners for the veiwe and allowance of all writinges to be receaued into Printe. But therin I haue (I think) satisfyed him that it is not given out with such previledge,

¹ Prefixed to a small volume of Latin poems on the death of Sir Philip Sidney by various hands, published at Cambridge, February 10, 1587, is a sonnet in English by King James. It is also worth noting that an edition (the third printed) of the 'Arcadia' was published in Edinburgh in 1599, and that a MS. of the Astrophel and Stella sonnets, which is likely to have been William Fowler's, was in the collection gifted by Drummond to Edinburgh University.

yet he still desyreth that Edward Spencer for his faulte may be deuly tryed and punished. Edin. 12 nov. 1596." (State Papers relating to Scotland, Record Office, London.) The matter continued to rankle in the king's mind. As late as February 25, 1598, George Nicolson, in a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, after mentioning "a book by Walter Quin concerning the king's title to England," which Waldegrave had refused to print "until the Acts of Parliament almost done should be ended," goes on to say, "Quyn is also answering Spencer's book whereat the king was offended." 1

§ 31. In bringing to a conclusion these introductory notes, the editor would offer his sincere thanks to

¹ An earlier letter of Nicolson's to Bowes, dated June 18, 1595, brings to light an amusing instance of James's annoyance with another English writer, Barnaby Rich. In Rich's 'Farewell to the Militarie profession: conteining verie pleasant discourses fit for peaceable tyme,' there appears a story of how the devil enticed a girl unwittingly to marry him, and was afterwards so plagued by her constant demands for new clothes to keep pace with the changing fashions of the time, that in despair he fled into Scotland, "never staiying till he came to Edenbrough where the Kyng kept his court. And now forgettyng all humanitie which he had learned before in Englande, he began againe afreshe to plaie the devill, and so possessed the King of Scots himself with such straunge and unacquainted passions that by conjecture of phisitions and other learned men, that were then assembled together to judge the kinges diseases, thei al concluded that it must needes be some feende of hell that so disturbed their prince. Whereupon proclamatiouns were presently sent forthe that whosoever could give relief should have a thousand crounes by the yere so long as he did live. The desire of these crounes caused many to attempt the matter, but the furie of the devill was such that no man could prevail." The humour of this story failed to commend itself to James, and his displeasure is thus noted by the correspondent above mentioned: "In the conclusion of a booke in England called Rich his farewell printed by V. S. for Tho. Adams at the signe of the white lyon in Paules churchyard 1594 such matter is noted as the King is not well pleased thereat; so as one grief comes in thend of another, it wold please the King some thinck that some order were taken therewith. The King saies litle but thinkes more."—(State Papers relating to Scotland, Vol. 56, No. 13, Record Office, London.)

those who have helped him in his labour of preparation. He is specially indebted to Dr Brotanek for courteously placing at his disposal an elaborate series of variant readings from successive issues of "The Cherrie and the Slae," which have been used in framing note, § 6, page 346, and for directing his attention to the hitherto unnoted Harleian MS. of the "Flyting." For the elucidation of some obscure and intractable passages in the texts, and the clearing up of a number of puzzles in the glossary, he has greatly to thank Dr W. A. Craigie; and to the Rev. John Anderson, Curator of the Historical Department of the Register House, as well as to his colleague, Mr William Angus, he is under obligations for invaluable guidance in his search among the Edinburgh records. Mr Angus also very kindly undertook the transcription of the legal documents connected with Montgomerie's lawsuit, printed in Appendix D; but responsibility for the accuracy of these must rest with the editor, since by him they have twice been collated with the originals.1 To his friend Mr H. W. Meikle, the editor is also much indebted for a transcription of Waldegrave's second edition of "The Cherrie and the Slae," from the unique copy in the Advocates' Library, which has been used for purposes of comparison with the first issue. On behalf of the Society acknowledgment is also to be made to the Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum, and to the Library Committee of the University of Edinburgh, for the privilege readily granted of printing in full the Harleian and Laing MSS.; and to Mr Christie Miller of

¹ The editor is also responsible for the transcript and collation of the Laing, Harleian, and Tullibardine MSS.

Britwell Court, for similar courteous permission to reprint, from his unique copy, Waldegrave's first edition of "The Cherrie and the Slae." It only remains to make grateful acknowledgment that the opportunity to carry out the research necessary for the preparation of this volume has been made possible for the editor by his tenure of a Fellowship under the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland.

TORONTO, October 26, 1910.

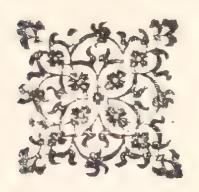




THE CHERRIE

AND THE SLAYE.

Composed into Scottis Aleeter, by ALEXANDER MONT-



EDINBURGH

PRINTED BERO.

bert UValde-graue Printer to the Kings Majestie. Anno

Dom. 1597.

TIL 17 , F.

The Chest Could State

IT I ILL COTTE

THE CHERRIE



THE CHERRIE AND THE SLAE

(LAING AND WALDEGRAVE TEXTS)

OFF THE CHERRY AND PE SLAE.

I.

F. 15 a.



BOUT ane bank, quhair birdis on bewis
Ten thousand tymes pair nottis renewis
Ilk hour into the day,
Ouhair merle and maveis micht be sene,

5

10

15

20

25

With progne and with phelomene, Quhilk causit me to Stay.

I lay and lenit me to ane buß, To heir pe birdis beir; Thair mirth was so melodius, Throw nature of be zeir:

Sum singing, sum springing, So heich into be skye; So nimlie and trimlie Thir birdis flew me by.

2.

I saw the hurchun and the hair,

Quhilk fed amange the flouris fair,
war happin to and fro:

I saw the cwnyng and the kat,

Quhais downis with the dew was wat,
With mony beistis ma.

The hairt, the hynd, the da, the rae,
the fumart, and the fox,
was skippin all frome bray to bray,
Amang the watter brokis;
Sum feidding, sum dreidding,

In cais of suddane snairis; With skipping, and trippin, thay hanttit ay in pairis.

5

10

15

20

25

THE CHERRIE AND THE SLAVE.



BOUT ane bank, quhair birds on bewes ten thousand times thair notes renewes ilk houre into the day.

The Merle, the 1 Mayeis, may 2 be seine.

the Progney and the Philomeine, Ouhilk caussit me to stay.

I lave and leind 3 me to ane busse,

to heir thir 4 birdis beir;

Thair noyce are 5 so melodiousse, throwe natour of be zeir:

> Some singing, some springing with wingis into be skye; So nymlie and trimlie,6

thir birds thay flew me by.

2.

I sawe the Hurchone and the Haire, quha fed amang the flowers faire,

that 7 hopping to and fro:

I sawe the Cunnin and the Cat,

guhais downes with the dewe was wat,

With other 8 beastis mo. The Hairt, the Hynd, the Dae, the Rae,

the Fulmarte, and the Fox,

Were skippand 9 all from bray to bray,

Amang the watter brox;

Some feiding, some dreiding,

In caice of suddane snairis; Some tripping, some skipping, 10

thay huntit all in pairis.

1 &.

5 mirth was.

8 Monie.

² micht. 3 levnit. 4 the.

6 trimlie and nimlie.

7 Wer.

9 skowping.

10 With skipping and tripping.

LAING 3. F. 15 b. The air was so attemperat. But ony mist Immaculatt, 30 Baith purefeit and cleir: The feildis ower all was flureischit, As natour haid thame nurischitt, Bavth delicat and deir: And euerie blume on branche and bewch 35 So prettillie thay spred, hingang thair heidis out ower the heuch, In mayis cullour cled; Sum knapping, Sum drapping Of balmie liquor sweit, 40 Destelling and smelling Throw phebus helsum heit. 4. The Coukou and be cussatt cryid, the turtill, on the vber syde, Na plesure haid to play: 45 Sua sc[h]ill in sorow was hir sang, That with hir voce the rochis rang, for echo ansuerit ay, Lamenting still Narcissus' cais, That steruit at the well; 50 Quha throw be schadow of his face for luif did slay him sell: Sair weiping and creiping, about bat well he baid;

¹ MS, narrascus,

55

quhylis lying, quhylis crying,

Bot it na ansuer maid.

3.

WALDEGRAVE

The ayr was so attemperat,	
but ony mist Immaculat,	30
baith puryfeit and cleir:	
The flouris fair ware flurischit,	
as natour had thame nurischit,	
baith delicate and deir:	
And every blome on branche and bewche	35
so prettillie was 1 spred:	
Syne 2 hang thair heids out over ane 3 hewche,	
in Mayis cullour cled;	
Some knopping, Some dropping	
the 4 balmie liquour sweit,	40
Distelling and smelling	
Throw Phœbus healthsome 5 heit.	
4.	
The Cuckoe and the Cuschate cryit,	
The Turtill, on the vther side,	
no plesour had to play:	45
So schill in sorrowe was hir sang,	73
that throwe hir voce the roches rang,	
and 6 Ecchoe answerit aye,	
Lamenting fair Narcisses cace,	
that steruit at the well;	50
Quhairthrowe 7 the shadow of his face	5-
for luife that slewe 8 him sell:	
Sair 9 weiping and creiping,	
about the well he baid;	
Quhyllis lying, quhyllis crying,	55
bot it na answer maid.	93
² And. ³ the. ⁴ of. ⁵ hailsum.	
⁷ Quha with. ⁸ did slay. ⁹ Quhylis.	

were. 6 for.

LAING

5.

F. 16 a.

The dew as dyamontis did hing Vpoun the tender twiskis zing, Owertwinkling all be treis: And ay quhair flouris did flureis fair, Thair suddanlie I saw repair Ane suarme of sounding beis, Sum sueitlie hes the hony socht, Quhill thay war claggit soir; Sum willinglie the wakx hes wrocht To keip it vp in store; So heipping, for keiping, Into thair hyvis thay hyd it:1 preceislie and viselie, for winter thay provydit.

70

60

65

6.

To pen the pleasur of bat park, how euerie blaysum, brench, and bark, Aganis the sone did schyne, I leave to poyetis to compyle, In staitlie verß and ornate style: It passit my ingyne. Bot as I movit me allone, I saw ane rever Rin Out ouer ane craig and Roch of stone, Syne lichtit in ane lin: With tumbling and Rumbling, Among the rockis round,

80

75

Devalling and falling

Into be pitt profound.

¹ MS. hydit.

5.	[WALDEGRAVE
The state of the s	
The dewe as Dyamondis or vpon the tender tuistis 3ir	_
overtwinkling all the tro	
And ay quhair flouris flou	
thair suddainlie I sawe re	
ane swarme of sowndin	•
Some sweitly hes the hon	9
quhi ll thay ware cloggi	
Some cunninglie ⁸ the war	
to heape it vp in stoire	
So heiping, for 4 keip	
into thair hyues th	_
Preciselie and wiselie	
for winter thay pro	ouydit.6 70
	3
6.	
To pen the plesouris of b	at Park,
how every blome on bran	che and bark,7
aganes the Sunne did s	schine,
I leife thir 8 Poets to com	pyle,
in staitlie verse and ornat	⁹ style: 75
it passis my Ingyne.	
Bot as I muiffit 10 myne a	llane,
I sawe ane Ryuer rin	
Out over ane Craig and 1	
syne lichtit in ane Lin	
With tumbling and	_
amang the rockes	
Devalling and falling	
into that pit profe	und.
1 twistis and 3ing. 2 In swarmes th 3 willingly. 4 with. 6 prouyde it. 7 blossome, bran 9 lofty. 10 mussit.	e sownding beis. ⁵ Orig. hydit. nche, and bark. ⁸ to. ¹¹ craggie Rok of stane.

LAING		
-	7.	
F. 16 b.	To heir the stertlie streameis cleir,	85
	Me thocht it mwsick to be eir,	
	Quhair daskene did abound,	
	With trubill sueit, & tennour Iust;	
	And ay the echo reparcust	
	hir diapassoun sound,	90
	Set with be ci soll fa uthe clewe, ¹	
	Thairby to know the note,	
	Sounding ane michtie senabrewe	
	Out of be elphis thrott:	
	Discreittlie, mair sueitlie, Nor craftie amphioun;	95
	Or mwssis that vsis	
	That fountoun eloquon.	
	That fountoun eloquon.	
	8.	
	Quha wald hawe tyrit to heir that tune,2	
	pe birdis corrobrat ay abone,	100
	Throw schuitting of be larkis?	
	sum flew so heiche into þe skyis,	
	Quhill cupid walknit with the cryis	
	Of naturall chappell clerkis;	
	Quha leaving all the heavinis aboue,	105
	alleichtit on þe 3eird.	· ·
	Lo,3 heir þat littill god of luif	
	Befoir me þair appeird ;	
	So myldlyke and childlyke,	
	With bow threis quarteris skant;	110
	So moylie so coylie,	
	he luikit lyk ane sant.	

Lines 90 and 91 had puzzled the scribe: he writes— Hir Draffassoun sound Set with be resoll fair Ruthe clewe (!).

² 'Towne' has been stroked out and 'tune' written in above.

³ MS. To.

7∙	[WALDEGRAVE
To heir the 1 startling streames cleire,	85
I ² thocht it musike to the eire,	
quhair deskant did abound,	
With treble sweet, and tenor just;	
and ay the eccho repercust,	
the Diapason sound;	90
Set with the C. sol fa ut cleife,	
quhairby ³ to knaw the note,	
Thay sownd 4 ane michtie semebreife,	
out of the Elphis throte;	
Discreitlie, mair sweitlie,	95
nor craftie Amphion,	
Nor muisses that vses	
at fountaine Helicon.	
8.	
Quha wald haue tyrit to heir that tune,	
quhilk birds corroborate abune, ⁵	100
throw schouting of the Larkis?	
Quha flewe 6 sa hie into the skyis,	
quhil Cupid walknit throw 7 the cryis,	
of natures chappell clarkis;	
Quha leueing all the heuins aboue,	105
syne lichtit on 8 the eird:	
Loe, how that littil God of loue	
befoir me thair appeird,	
So mildlike and childlike,	
with bowe thrie quartars scante	; 110
So moylike and coylike,9	
he luikit like ane Sancte.	
• 2 me. 3 Thai	rby.
	a:

I	thae.	2	me.	3	Thairby.
•	Thair soundt.	5	ay abune.	6	Sum flies

⁷ walkinnes with. 8 Alighted in. 9 moylie and coylie.

LAING]	9.	
F. 17 a.	Ane cleirlie crisp hang ower his eis,	
	his quaver be his nakkit theis	
	hang in ane siluer cais:	115
	Of gold betuix his schoulderis grew	
	Tua prettie wingis quhairwith he flew,	
	On his left arme ane brace.	
	That god of all his geir he schowk,	
	And layit it on be ground:	120
	I ran als bissie for to luik	
	Quhair fairleis micht be fund:	
	I maisit, I gaisit,	
	To se that geir so gay:	
	Persaving my having,	125
	he comptit me his pray. ¹	
	IO.	
	"Quhat wald thou gif me frend," quod he,	
	"To have thir prettie wingis to flie,	
	To sport the for ane quhyle?	
	Or quhat, gif I suld lend the heir	130
	my bow and all my schuting geir,	
	Sum bodie to begyle?"	
	"That geir," quod I, "can nocht be bocht,	
	3it wald I haue it fane."	
	"Quhat gif," quod he, "it cost be nocht,	135
	Bot rander it agane?"	
	His wingis þañ he bringis than,	
	And band pame on my bak:	
	"Go, flie now," quod he now,	
	And so my leif I tak.	140

¹ The revised edition of 1615 introduces an additional stanza here. See p. 76.

	9.	[WALDEGRAY	VE
his quauer hang in a Of gold bet	cirspe hang ouer his be his naikit thies one siluer lace: wein ¹ his schoulders wings quhairwith he	grewe	15
This God o and laid i I ran als be	it arme ane brace. If all his geire he schulit on the ground: It on to luik It on to luik It on to luik	12	20
Amazee to si Persau	d, I gazed, e that geir sa gay: eing my haueing, comptit me his pray.	. 12	25
	10.		
"till haue the to sport to to sport to the to sport to the to sport to the to sport to the to sport to sport to the to sport to s	d thow giue, my freing a prettie wings to thee for ane quhile? If I suld lend thee hed all my schuitting gie to begyle?" " quod I, "cannot be haue it faine."	flie, ir 13 eir,	30
"Quhat gif," Bot rande His win and I "Go 6 f	" quod he, "it cost the r it againe?" ngs than he brings the band thame on my befile now," quod he nows on my leife I tak.	an, ak:	
betwix.	² pretty. ⁵ randring.	³ thae. ⁶ So.	

LAING]

II.

F. 17 b. I sprang vpoun cwpidois wingis, the bow and quaver bayth resingis,

To lene me for ane day.

As Icarus with borrowit flycht,

I muntit heichar nor I mycht,

Oure perrellus ane play.

Than furth I drew that deidlie dairt,

145

that sumtyme hurt his mother; quhairwith I hurt my wantoun hairt, In hoip to hurt ane voer.

150

I hurt me and bruit me, the ofter I it hanteil; Sum se now, In me now, the butterfle and candill.

12.

As scho delyttyth in the low,
So was I browdin of my bow,
As ignorant as scho:
And as scho fleis quhill scho be fyrit,
So, with the dairt that I desyrit,
My handis hes hurt me to.
As fulyche factoun, by suit,
his faberis cairt obtenit,
I langit in cupiddis bow to schuit,
bot wist nocht quhat it menit.
Mair wilfull nor skylfull,
to flie I was so fund,
desyring, Inspyring,

155

160

165

And sa was sene appond.

¹ MS, forfund.

	I	ı.	WALDEG	RAVE
quha b to le	~	* *		
quha ² ore j	mountit heich perrellous ane	er nor he ³ micht, play.		145
quhi	lk sometyme l	that deadly dairt nurt ⁵ his mother; y wanton hairt,		
in ⁶] It	hope to hurt and hurt me and hurt me and hurt me it lame sie now, had the Butterflie	ne vther. orunt ⁷ me, nandle: n me now,		150
	1:	2.		
so was as ig	o delyttis into I browdin on norant as scho scho flies qui	8 my bowe,		155
my h As fulis	the dairt than the da	rt me to. be suite,		160
I langit	athers cairte of in luiffis bow wist not quhat	e to schuite,		
De	oir wilfull nor to flie I was se esyring, Impyr	o fond, ing,		165
¹ I sprang up ⁴ I. ⁸ in.	on <i>Cupidoes</i> . ⁵ schot, ⁹ hand.	² I. ⁶ I. ¹⁰ than.	³ I. ⁷ it burt.	

LAING 13. To lait I leirnit, quha hewis he, F. 18 a. the spaill sall fall into his ey: 170 To lait I went to scuillis: To lait I hard the suallow preich, The scuilmaister of fuillis: To lait I find the nest I seik, quhan as be birdis ar flowne: 175 To lait the stable duir I steik, quhan as be steid is stowin. To lait ay þair stait ay All fulych folk espy: behind so, bai find so, 180 remeid, and so do I. 14. Gif I had ryplie bene aduysit, I had nocht rachle Interprysit To flie with borrowit pennis; Nor 3it had sayit the ercher craft, 185 Nor schot my self with sic ane schaft, As reassoun quyt miskennis. fra wilfulnes gaif me my wound, I had na force to flie; Than come I grainand to the ground: 190 "freind, welcum hame!" quod he; "quhair flew 3e? quhome slew 3e? or quha bringis hame be buitting? I se weill," quod he weill, "3e haif bene at the schuitting!" 195

¹ Line omitted in MS.

13.	[WALDEGRAVE
To lait I knaw, quha hewes to hie, the speill sall fall into his eye:	170
to lait I went to schooles:	170
to lait I hard the swallow preich,	
to lait experience dois teich-	
the School-maister of fooles:	
To lait I1 find the nest I seik,	175
quhen all the birdis are flowne:	
To lait the stabill dure I steik,	
quhen all the steids are stolne.	
To lait ay thair state aye	
all foolish folke espye:	180
They find to, behind to, ²	
remeid, and so do I.	
14.	
·	
Bot had I ³ ryplie bene aduysit,	
I had not raschelie Interprysit,	
to soire with borrowit pennis;	185
Nor 3it haue sayit the Archere craft,	
nor schot my selfe with sic ane schaft	
as ressoun quite miskennis.	
Fra wilfulnes gaif me the 4 wound,	
I had na force to flie:	190
Thane come I granand to the ground:	
"friend, welcome hame!" quod he;	
"Quhair flew 3e? quhom slew 3e?	
or quha bringis hame the buiting	?
I see now," quod he now,	195
"3e haue bein at the schuiting!"	
¹ to. ² Behynd so, they fynd ³ Gif I had. ⁴ my.	l so.

LAING]

15.

F. 18 b. As scorne cumis comonlie with skayth, swa I behuiffit to byd þame bayth,
And þat in stakarin stait.
For vnder cuir I gat sic chak, þat I mycht nowther deme nor nek, bot aþer stell or meit;
my agony was so exstreme,
I swet and sownit for feir;
bot or I waknyt of my dreme,
he spuilzeit me of my geir:
with flycht þan oure heych þan,
spran[g] cupide in þe skyis;

forzetting, and setting

200

205

210

215

220

16.

At nocht my cairfull cryis.

Sa lang with flycht I followit him,

quhill that my feiblit eyis grew dim,

for stairing on þe starnis;

quha flew sa thik befoir my eyne,

sum reid, sum 3allow, sum blew, sum grene,

that trublit all my harnis;

quhill ewerie thing appeirit twa

to my barbul3eit brane;

bot lang mycht I haiff luikit so

or cupide cum agane:

quha thundring, with woundring,

I hard vpthrow the air;

throw cluidis so he thudis so,

he flew I wist not quhair.

¹ See the better reading on opposite page.

15.

WALDEGRAVE

As scorne comes commonlie with skaith. sa I behuifit to bide thame baith: oh! guhat ane stakkarand stait! For vnder cuire I got sic check, 200 that I micht neither muife 1 nor neck. bot ather stale or mait: mvne² agonie was sa extreme. I swate 3 and swound for feire: Bot or I walknit of my dreame, 205 he spuilzeit me of my geire: With flicht than on hight thane, sprang Cupid in the skyis; Forzetting, and setting at nocht my cairfull cryis. 210

16.

So long with sicht I followit him, quhill baith my febillit eyis grewe dim, throw stairing 4 on the starnes; quhilk flawe 5 so thick before my evne. some reid, some yeallowe, blew, and greine, 215 quhilk 6 trubillit all my harnes; Quhill every thing appeirit two, to my barbuilzeit braine; Bot lang micht I lye luiking tho,7 or Cupid come againe: 220 Quhais thundering, with wondering, I hard vpthrowe the ayr; Throwe cloudis so he thuidis so. and flewe I wist not quhair.

¹ Quhilk I micht nocht remuif.
² My.
³ swelt.
⁴ staruing.
⁵ flew.
⁶ Sa.
⁷ so.

LAING 17. Fra tyme I saw that god was gane, F. 19 a. And I in langour left allane, 225 And soir tormenttit, to, Sumtyme I sycht quhan I wald sane. Sumtyme I musit and maist gaine maid, I wist nocht quhat to do; sumtyme I raiffit half in ane rage, 230 as ane into dispair: To be opprest with sic ane paige Lord! gif my hart was sair! Lyk dido, cwpido I widdill and I werie, 235 guha reft me, and left me In sic ane fere farie. 18. Than feld I currage and dispair Inflamyng my breist with vncowth fyr, To me befoir vnknawin; 240 bot now na bluid in me remanis, bot brunt and bould within my wanis, And all away was blawin. To quenche me soir I was devorit, with schiftis I went about; 245 bot ay be mair I schep to smorr it,1 the baldar It brak out, av pressing but seissing, quhill it mycht brek be boundis; my hew so, furth schew so, 250 the dolour of my woundis.

¹ MS. smorrit.

17.	[WALDEGRAVE
Bot fra 1 I sawe that God was gane,	225
and I in langour left allane,	
and soire tormentit, to,	
Sumtyme I sicht quhill I was sad,	
sumtyme I muissit, and maist gane ma	.d,
I wist not quhat to do;	230
Sumtyme I ravit halfe in ane rage,	
as ane into dispaire:	
To be opprest with sic ane page	
Lord! gif my hairt was saire!	
Like Dido, Cupido	235
I widill and I warye,	
Quha left me, and reft me, ²	
In sic ane furye farye.	
18.	
Thane felt I currage and desyre	
inflame my hairt with vncowth fyre,	240
to me befoir vnknawin;	
Bot now na bluid in me remaines,	
vnbrunt and bruil3eit throw 3 my vaine	s,
be luiffis bellowes blawin.	
To quenche it or I was devorit,	245
with siches I went about;	
Bot ay the moire I schape to smor it 4	
the baulder it brak out,	
Aye pressing but sessing,	
quhil it may breik the bounds:	250
My hewe so, furth schew so,	
the dolour of my wounds.	

¹ Fra that.

Quha reft me, and left me.Orig, smorit.

³ boyld within.

LAING 19. With deidlie wissag, paill and wane, F. 19 b. moir lyk ane attomie nor ane man, I widderrit clene away: Lyk walx befoir be fyre, I feld 255 My hart within my bosum melt, And peice and peice decay; my wanis with branling lyk to brekmy punsis lap with pyth-So [feruently] 1 did me Infect 260 that I was wexit 2 bairwith. My hart ay did start ay

20.

the fyrie flamis to flie, Ay hoipping, throw loipping, to com to libertie.

Bot och! allace! byd it behuiffit, Within my cairfull corpis me luiffit, and preissoun of my breist, with sychis sobbit and oursett, Lyk to ane fysche fanggit in be net, 270 In deid-thraw vndeceist, guha thocht in wane do strywe be strenth for to pull out hir heid; It proffeittis nathing at be lenth, bot haistis hir to hir deid: 275 with wreisting and thrysting, the faster stykis scho: thair I so did ly so, my dayth a d uansing to.

265

Blank space in MS. The reading in the text is taken from W².
 MS. 'weyit.'

	1	19.	WALDE	GRAVE
W <i>i</i> t∕≀ de	adlie visage,	paill and wan,		
mair like	e <mark>ane</mark> attomi	e nor man,		
I wide	derit cleine a	away:		255
As wax	befoir the fy	re, I felt		
my hairt	within my	bosome melt,		
-	eece and pe			
My vain	es with bran	gling like to bre	k—	
	ınsis lap w <i>i</i> t <i>ı</i>	*		260
	ently] did m			
	am 1 vext th			
My	hairt ay did	start ay		
	he fiery flan			
		rowe louping,		265
to	win to libe	rtie.		
	2	0,		
	allace, bide	· ·		
	·	rpis me incluissi	it,	
-	ressone of n			
		and oresette,		270
		in the nette,		
	d-thraw vnde	*		
		ne dois striue fo	r strenth	
_	pull out her			
		ning at the lenth	,	275
	stes hir to h			
	vristing and	0.		
	e faster still			
	I so dois 7 l			
m	y death adva	ancing to.		280
1 was.	² O.	³ behuissit.	4 In.	
⁵ sichis sa.	6 Quha.	7 did.		

LAING

21.

F. 20 a. The mair I wreslit with the wynd,
In faster stait my selff I find;
na myrth my mynd culd meiß:
moir noy nor I had neuir nane
.¹
throw drewth of my disseis.
3it waiklie, as I mycht, I raiß;
my sycht grew dim and dark;
I stakkerrit at þe windil strayis,
Na taikin I was stark.
bayth sychtles and mychtles,
I grew almaist at anis: 290

• • •

22.

With sober paice so I approche Towardis be revar and be roche, quhairof I spak befoir; quhais cumming sic ane rumour maid; and to the sie It softlie slid: 295 the craig was stay and schoir. than pleasour did me so provok, perforce bair to repair, betuix be rever and the rok, quhair hoip grew with dispair. 300 ane tre bair, I sie bair, of scherreis in be breyis; belaw, to, I saw, to, ane buß of bitter slavis.

¹ Line omitted.

² Last two lines omitted.

WALDEGRAVE 21. The mair I wressellit with the wind, the faster 1 still my selfe I find; na mirth my mind could 2 mease: Mair nove nor I tried 3 neuer nane, I was sa alterrit and oregane, 285 throw drowth of my disease. 3it 4 weaklie, as I micht, I rayis; my sicht grewe dim and dark; I stakkerit at the windilstrayis, no takin I was stark. 290 Baith sichtles, and michtles, I grewe almaist attanes: In anguisch, I languisch, With mony grievous granes.

22.

With sober pace I did approche	295
hard to the River and the roche,	
quhairof I spak befoir;	
Quhais running sicke ane murmure maid,	
as to the sey It swiftlie 5 slaid,	
ore craig, ore clewch, ore schoir; 6	300
Thair 7 plesoure did me so prouok,	
perforce for 8 to repaire,	
Betuix the River and the rock,	
quhair hoipe grewe with dispaire.	
Ane trie thair, I see thair,9	305
of cherreis on 10 the brais;	
Belawe, to, I sawe, to,	
ane bush of bitter Slais.	

1	faschter.	² micht.	³ had.	⁴ Than.	5 softlie.
6	The craig	was high and so	choir.	7 Than.	⁸ thair.
_					

⁹ A trie than, I sie than. ¹⁰ in.

LAING]

23.

F. 20 b. The cherreis hang abone my heid, 305 Lyk tuinkling rubeis round and reid, so hie vp in be heuch; quhais schaddow in be rever schew, als graithlie glansing, as bai grew on trimbling tuiskis teuch; 310 quhilk bowit throw burding of bair byrth, Inclyning doune pair toppis: reflex of phebus in be firth now cullorit all bair knoppis. with dansing, and glansing, 315 In tirlis 1 lik dornik champ; with streming and leming, throw lychtnes 2 of bat lamp.

24.

With ernest ey, bair I espy the fruit betuix me and be sky, 320 half gait almaist to hevin; the craige so heych of growth and tryme,3 as ony arrow evin; I callit to mynd how daphnes did Into the Lowrell schrink. 325 quhan frome appollo scho hir hid: Ane thowsand tymes I think that trie bair, to me bair, als hie as lowrell thocht: and spying, but trying, 330 to get the fruit I thocht.4

¹ MS. cuik. ² MS. 'lycchtles.'

³ The scribe has run two lines into one. See opposite page.

⁴ See the better reading on opposite page.

23.	[WALDEGRAVE
The Chirries hang abune my heid, like twinkling rewbeis round and reid, so hich vp in be hewch;	310
Quhais schaddowes in he River schew, Als graithlie glansing, as thay grewe, on trimbling twistis tewch;	
Quhilk bowed throw burding of thair be in hanging 1 downe thair toppis: Reflexe of Phœbus in the firth orecouerit 2 all the 3 knoppis, With dansing, and glansing,	irth, 315
in tirles dornik champ: Quhilk streimet, and gleimet, ⁴ throw lichtnes ⁵ of that lamp.	320
24.	
With ernest eye, I can 6 espye the fruit betwix me and the skye,	
halfe gaite almaist to hevin: The craige so cumbersome to clime, the trie so hich of growth and trime, as ony arrow evin; I call to minde how Daphne did	325
within the Laurell schrink, Quhan from Appollo scho hir hid: ane thousand times I think That trie then, to me then, as hich as 7 laurell thocht:	330
Espyring, but tyring, to get the ⁸ fruit I socht.	335
⁴ Ay streimand and gleimand. ⁵	hair. brichtnes. hat.

LAING 25. To clyme bat craig it was na buit, F. 21 a. Lat be to preis to pull the fruit In top of all the trie; I saw na way quhairby to cum, 335 by ony craft, to gett it clum, appeirrantlie to me. The rok was vglie, stay and dreich, the tre bayth hie and small; I was affrayit to mynt so heych, 340 for feir to gett ane fall. affravit to say it,1 I luikit vpoun lofte; quhyllis mynting, quhyllis staying,2

26.

I changit pyrposis oft.

Bot d[r]eid, with danger, and dispair, forbad me mynting ony mair, to rax abone my reich. "tuich!" quod currage, "man, go to, he is bot daft bat hes ado, 350 that spairis [for] ony speiche. I haif oft hard suyth men say, As we may sie oure selffis, that fortoun helpis be hardie ay, and pultronis plane repellis. 355 than feir not, nor heir nocht, Dreid, dangeir, or dispair: [To fagarts hard] 3 hasardis Is dreid, dangeir, and dispair.4

345

¹ MS. 'sayit.'

² See the better reading on opposite page.

³ Blank space in MS.

⁴ For correct reading see opposite page.

25,	[WALDEGRAVE
To clime the Craige it was na buit,	
lat be to presse to pull the fruit	
in top of all the trie;	
I saw na way quhairby to cum,	340
be ony craft, to gett it clum,	
appeirandlie to me.	
The Craig was vgly, stay and dreiche,	
the trie heich, lang and smal;	
I was effrayit to mount so heich,	345
for feir to get ane fall.	
I freyit, to sey it,	
I luikit vpon loft: Quhillis minting, quhillis stinting,	
my purpose changit oft.	350
my purpose changit oit.	35*
26.	
Thane d[r]eid, with danger and dispai	re,
forbad me 2 mounting ony maire,	
to raxe abune my reiche.	
"Quhat? tusch!" quod curage, "man	, go to,
he is bot daft that hes ado,	355
that stayis 3 for every speiche;	
For I haue oft hard wise men say,	
and we may sie it 4 oure selfis,	
That fortune helps the hardie ay,	
and pultrones plaine repellis.	360
Thane feir not, nor heir not,	
dreid, danger, or dispaire:	
To fagarts hard hasarts	
is dead, or thay come thaire.	
¹ Affrayit. ² my. ³ And spairis.	4 Omits 'it.'

LAING	27.	
F. 21 <i>d</i> .	"Quha speiddis, bot sic as heych espyris? quha triumphis nocht, bot sic as tyris To win ane noble name? of schrinking, quhat bot schame succeidis? Than do as thow wald haif þai deidis	360
	In register of fame. I put the cais, thow nocht prevellis, so thow with honour die, thy lyf, bot nocht thy currage faillis, sall poettis pen of þe.	365
	thy name than, frome fame than, sall neuir be cut of: thy graife ay sall haif ay ane honnest epitaphe.	370
	28.	
	"Quhat can thow loß, quhan honour levis? renowne thy vertew ay revevis, gif wail3eantlie thow ende." quod danger: "hulie, man, tak heid,	375
	Vntymous spurring spyllis the speid: tak tent quhat 3e pretend. thocht currage counsall the to clyme,	282
	be war thow kep na skayth: haif thow na help bot god and him, thay may begyll be bayth. thy sell now can tell now	380
	the counsall of þai clarkis; quhairthrow 3it, I trow 3it, thy breist dois beir the markis.	385

	27.		WALDEGRAVE
	·		["ALDEOKAVE
	Quha speids, bot sik as		365
q	uha tryumphis not, bot s		
	to win ane nobill name		1' 2
	of schrinking, quhat bot s		dis !
tı	nane do as thou wald hat	ie tny deidis	
т	in register of fame.		370
1	put the caice, thou not p		
т	swa thou with honor die	-	
1	Thy life, bot not thy curage sall Poettis pen of thee.	je ram,-	
	Thy name than, from	fame than	275
	sall never be cut of		375
	Thy graue aye sall ha		
	ane 3 honest Epitar		
	ane nonest Epital	,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	
	28.		
66	Quhat can thou lose, qui	hen honor liu	es?
	nowne thy vertewe ay re		380
	gif vailzeantly thou end.	>>	
Q	uod danger, "hulie, frien	nd, tak heid,	
VI	ntymeous spurring spillis	the speid:4	
	tak tent quhat 3e preten	d.	
T	ho <i>ch</i> t currage counsall th	ee to clim,	385
	beware thou kep na ska	ith:	
Haue thou na help bot hope in 5 him,			
he may begyle 3e ⁶ baith. Thy sell now can tel now			
	Quhairthrow 3it, I tro		
	thy breist dois beir	the markis.	
1 preuaild.		³ That.	4 steid.
⁵ &.	⁶ the.	⁷ thae.	

LAING] 29.

"Brunt barne with fyre the danger dreidis; sa I beleife thy bosum bleiddis, sen last that fyre thow felt: 390 besyddis bat, sindall tymes thow sevis, that euir currage keippis be keyis of knawledge be his belt: thocht he go fordward with the gwnnis, small 1 powder he provydis: 395 be nocht ane novice with the Nunnis, that red nocht bayth the syddis: fuill haist ay, almaist ay, ouresyllis the sycht of sum, guha luikis nocht, nor huikis nocht, 400 quhat efterwart 2 may cum.

30.

"Bot wysdome biddis the wyslie way the sentence of phelosophieane lessoun worthe to leirquhilk is, in tyme for to tak tent, 405 and nocht quhan tyme is past, repent, ay by repentance deir. Is thair na honour efter lyfe, except thow slay thy selff? quhairfor hes atropus that knyfe? 410 I trow thow can nocht tell quhat bot it, wald cuit it, quhilk clotho 3 skarß hes spun: distroying thy Ioying, befoir it be begun. 415

¹ MS. 'smam.' ² MS. efter wart. ³ MS. echesth?

420

29.	[WALDEGRAVE
"Brynt bairne with fyre the danger dre	ids ;
Sa I beleife thy bossome bleids,	
sen first the 1 fire thou felt:	395
Besides that 2 sendill tymes thou 3 seis,	
that every 4 currage keipis the keyis	
of knawledge be 5 his belt:	
Thocht he bid fordwart with the gunner	5,
small poulder he provides:	400
Be not ane novis of the Nunnes,	
that sies 6 not baith the sydes:	
Fuill haist aye, almaist aye,	
oresettis 7 the sicht of some,	
Quha huiks not, nor luiks not,	40
quhat efterward may come.	
30.	
"3it wisdome wisses thee to wie	
the sentence 8 of Philosophie—	
ane lessoun worth to leir—	
Quhilk is, in tyme for to tak tent,	410
and not quhen tyme is past, repent,	
and buy repentance deir.	
Is thair na honour efter lyfe,	
except thou slay thy sel?	
guhairfoir hes Attronus the 9 knyfe?	ATI

1	last that.	2	this.	3	the.
4	euer.	5	at.	6	saw.
7	Owrewlie	8	This figure	9	that

that Clotho skairse hes spun:

I trow thou can not tell, That but it, wald cut it,

Distroying thy joying, befoire it be begun.

LAING]

31.

F. 22 b

"All ouris ar reput to be wyßour heych, our law, our rasche, our nyce, our het, or zit our cauld: thow semyis vnconstant be thy signis; thy thocht is on ane thowsand thingis: thow wait not quhat thow wald. Lat fame hir petie on the pour. quhan all thy banis ar brokkin: 3on sla, suppois thow think it sour, will satisfie to slokkin

425

420

thy thryst now, I traist now, gif bat bow wald it preife; and may to, I say to, thy panis all releife.

32.

"Quhat fuill art thow to de of thryst, And thow may quensche it, gif thow list, so easalie but pane! moir honour is to wingues ane, nor feycht with ten sum and be tane, and nowther hurt nor slane: De practik is to bring to pas, and nocht to Interpryß; It is als guid drinking out of glas,

430

435

as gold in ony wayis.

440

I leuir haif euer In hand ane foull or twa. nor seand ten thowsand abone my heid all day.

31.	[WALDEGRAVE
"All owers ar recknit to be vice—	
ore hie, ore law, ore rich, ore wyis,2	
ore heit, or 3it ore cauld:	
Thou seemes vnconstant be thy sings;	
thy thocht is on ane thousand things;	425
thou wattis not quhat thou wald.	
Let fame hir pittie on the poure,	
quhill ³ all thy banes ar brokin:	
3one Slaye, suppose thou think it source	
may satisfie to slokkin	430
Thy thrist now, I traist now,	
gif that thou wald it preife:	
I say to, it may to	
thy painis all releife.4	
32.	
"Quhat fuill art thou to die for 5 thrist,	435
and syne may quenche it, quhen 6 thou	list,
so easilie but paine!	
Maire honor is to vanquisch ane,	
nor feicht with tensum and be tane,	
and ather hurt or slaine:	4.10
Now all the practick is to passe, ⁷	
and not to interprise;	
Now as 8 gude drinking out of glasse,	
as gold in ony wise.	
I had 9 lever haue ever,	445
ane foull in hand or tway,	
Nor seand ten fleand	
aboue me all the day.	
¹ repuit. ² nyce. ³ Q	uhair.
4 Thy drouth now, O youth now,	
Quhilk drownis thee with desyre: Aswage than thy rage, man;	
Foull water quenches fyre.	
5 of. 6 gif. 7 The practick is	to bring to passe.
8 And als. 9 Omits 'had.'	

LAING 33. F. 23 a. "Luik guhair thow lycht befoir thow loip, and slip na certantie for hoip, 445 quha gyddis the bot be ges." quod currage: "cowarttis takis na cuir to sit with schame, sa thay be suire: I lvk bame all the les. quhat pleaßur purchest is but pane, 450 or honour win with evis? he will nocht ly quhair he is slane, that dowtis befoir he deis. for feir than, I heir than bot only ane remeid 455 that latt is, and bat is, for to cuit of be heid. 34. " Quhat is the way to haill thy hurt? quhat way is pair to stay 1 thy sturt? quhat menis may mak the myrrie? 460 quhat is the confort that thow craiffis? suppois thayis sophystis the dissauis, thow knawis it is the chyrrie. sen for it only thow bot thristis, the sla can be na buit: 465 In it als thy helth consystis, and in na vber fruict. thow quaikkis now, and schaikis now, and studies 2 at our stryfe: auise 3it, it lyis 3it, 470

on na les nor thy lyfe.

¹ MS. slay. Cf. pp. 35, 89.

² MS. standis. Cf. pp. 35, 89.

475

33. WALDEGRAVE "Luik quhair thow 1 licht befoir thou loupe. and slip na certaintie for hope. 450 quha gydis thee bot be gesse." Quod currage: "cowartis takis na cuire to sit with schame, sa thay be suire: I like thame all the lesse. Ouhat plesour purchessit is but paine. 455 or honor woone with ease? He will not lye quhair he is slaine. that douttis befoir he deis. For feir than, I heir than, bot onlie ane remeid: 460 That latt is, and thatt is for to cuttee 2 off the heid. 34. "Ouhat is the way to heall thy hurt? quhat way is thair to stay thy sturt? quhat meanes may mak thee merrie? 465 Quhat is the comfort that thou craues? suppois the Sophists thee dessaues, thou knawis it is the Cherrie. Sen for it only thou bot thristis. the Slae can be na buit : 470 In it also thy health consistis, and in na vther fruit. Thou quaikis aye,3 and schaikis aye,3 and studies at our strife:

on na lesse nor thy life.

Aduise ye, it lyis ye,

35.

F. 23 b.

"Gif ony patient wald be pancit, guhy suld he loip guhan he is lancit, or schrink guhan he is schorne? For I haif hard scherurgeanis say, 475 oftymes posponing of ane day may nocht be mendit the morne. tak tyme in tyme, or tyme be tint, for tyme will nocht remane: guhat force hes fyre out of the flint 480 bot als hard mache agane? delay nocht, and stay nocht, and thow sall sie it sa: sic gettis ay, as settis ay stout stomakis to the bray. 485

36. "Thocht all begynning be maist hard, anes rytches haif than efterward; 1 than schrink nocht for ane schoure: fra anis that thow thy ganning gett, thy pane and travell is forgett: 490 the sweit exceiddis the soure. go to now quyklie, feir nocht thir, for hoip and hap haddis heiche."2 quod danger: "be nocht dreddand, sir, the mater is of mycht: 495 fyrst spy bayth, and try bayth, aduysment dois no ill: I say than, thow may than, be wilfull quhan thow will.

¹ Line corrupt. Cf. pp. 37, 90. ² Line corrupt. Cf. pp. 37, 90.

35. [WALDEGRAVE

"Gif ony patient wald be panssit,
quhy suld he loup quhan he is lanceit,
or schrink quhen he is schorne?

For I haue hard Chirurgianes say,
480

oft tymes defferrand of the ¹ day may ² not be mend the morne. Tak tyme in tyme, or tyme be tint,

Tak tyme in tyme, or tyme be tint, for tyme will not remaine:

Quhat forssis 8 fyre out of the flint,
bot als hard matche againe?

Delay not, nor stay not,

and thou sall sie it sa:
Sic ⁴ gettis ay, as ⁵ settis ay
stout stomakis to the bray.

to the bray. 490

36.

"Thocht all beginnings be most hard,
the end is plesant 6 efterward;
now 7 schrink not for ane schoure:

Fra anes that thou thy grening get,
thy paine and trauell is forget:
the sweet exceids the soure.

Go to now 8 quicklie, fear not thir,
for hope gude hap hes heichte."

Quod danger: "be not suddane, schir,
the matter is of weichte:
First spye baith, and trie baith,
aduisment dois na ill:
I say to,9 thou may to,9

¹ ane. ² micht. ³ force hes.

4 So. 5 that. 6 And yschewis plesand. 7 Then. 8 than. 9 than . . . than.

be wilfull quhen you will.

LAING 37. "Bot zit to mynd the proverb call, F. 24 a. 500 'quha vsß perrellis perysch sall'; schort quhill bair lyffis lestis." "and I haif hard," quod hoip, "that hie suld nivir scheip to saill the sie. that for all perrellis castis. 505 how money throwcht dispair ar deid, that neuer perrellis previtt! how mony also, gif ze reid, of lyffis hes bene releiffit. quha being, sum deing, 510 but danger and dispair: ane hunder, I wunder, bot thow hes hard declair. 38. "Gif vertew held nocht vp thy hert, quhilk is the best and noblest pairt, 515 thy work wald nocht go weill: considderring thy companzeonis can persuad ane syllie sempte man to hasart for his heill. suppois thay haife dissauit sum, 520 or we and bai mycht meit, thay gett na creiddit quhair we cum, In ony men of spreit: be reassoun bair treassoun

be ws is fyrst espyit;

quhilk dow nocht be denyit.

reveilling pair deilling,

525

37.	WALDEGRAVE
"Bot 3it to mind thir proverbs 1 call,	~
'quha vsis perrellis perrisch sall';	5°5
schort quhile thair lyffis 2 lastis."	
"And I have hard that hoip," quod he,	
"maid never schip to saill the see,3	
that for all perrils castis.	510
How many throw dispaire ar dead,	510
that never perrellis preiuit!	
How many also, as we read, ⁴	
of liues hes bene ⁵ releiuit.	
Some deing, some being,6	515
but danger or dispaire: ⁷	
Ane hunder, I woonder,	
that I haue hard declair.8	
38.	
"Gif we twa hald not vp thy hairt,	
quhilk is the cheife and nobillest pairt,	520
thy work will 9 not gang weill,	
Considdering that 10 companions can	
perswade ane sillie sempill man	
to haissard for his heill.	
Suppois thay haue disswadit 11 some,	525
or we and thay 12 micht meit,	
Thay get na credit quhair we come,	
in ony man of spreit:	
Be ressoun thair tressoun	
be vs was first espyit;	530
Preveilling 13 thair deilling,	
quhilk dowe not be denyit.	
1 the proverbe. 2 lyfe them.	
³ And I haif hard (quod Hope) that he Sall nevir schaip to sayle the se.	
4 gif thow reid. 5 we haue. 6 Quha being	
 7 bot dispaird, 8 Bot thou hes hard declaird. 10 thae. 11 desauit. 12 Or thay and we. 	 wald. Reveiling.
that desaunt Of thay and we.	revening.

LAINO	7

39.

F. 24 b.

"With sleikie sophismes semyng sweit, as all bair doingis war discreit. bai wis be to be wyse: 530 posponing tyme fra hour to hour. bot, fayth, In vnderneth the floure, the lurkin serpent lvis. suppois thow sie hir not ane styme, till bat scho stang thy fuit. 535 persauis thow nocht quhat pretious tyme thy slowthing dois ourfleit? allace, man, thy cais, man, In langerring I lament: go to now, and do [now], 540 that currage be content.

40.

"Quhat gif malancolie cum in, and gett ane greip or thow begin? than is thy lawbour lost; for he will hald be hard and fast,

quhill thow gif vp the gaist:
than salbe gravin on be stane,
that on thay graife is laid,
'sumtyme thair levit sic a ane'—
bot heir sall it be said,
'heir lyis now, but prys new,
Into dishonorit bed,
ane cowart, (as thow art),
quhilk frome his fortoun fled.'

545

550

¹ Line omitted in MS.

39⋅	[WALDEGRAVE
"With sleikit sonats 1 seiming sweit, as all thair doings war discreit, thay wis thee to be wise; Postponing tyme from hour to hour. bot, faith, In vnderneath the flour,	535
the lurking Serpent lyis, Suppois thou seis hir not ane styme, till tyme scho stang thy fute. Persauis thou not quhat pretious tyme thy slewthing dois oreschute?	540
Allace, man, thy cace, than, in lingring I lament: Go to now, and do now, that curage be content.	54 5
40.	
"Quhat gif melanchollie come in, and get ane grip or thou begin? than is thy labour lost: For he will hald thee hard and fast, till tyme and place and all 2 be past, that 3 thou giue vp the ghost: Thane sall be gravin on 4 the stane, quhilk on thy graue is 5 laid,	550
'Sometyme there liuet sic a ane'— bot how sall 6 it be said? 'Heir lyis now, but prise now, into dishonors bed, Ane cowart, (as thou art),	555
Dopinsins.	560 Till.

LAING]	41.	
F. 25 a.	"Immagening gif thow war laid In graif, and syne mycht heir it said, wald thow nocht sweit for schame? 3it, fayth, I dowt nocht bot thow wald; thairfoir, gif thow hes eis, behald	555
	how thay wald smoir thy fame! go to, and mak na mair excuifs, or lyfe and honor loifs, and owther thame or ws refuifs; thair is na vyer choifs:	560
	Considder, Togidder, that we can neuir duell: at lenth ay, by strenth ay, thay pultronis we expell."	565
	42.	
	Quod danger: "sen I vnderstand that counsall can be na command, I haif na mair to say; Except bot gif thow think it guid, Tak counsall 3it, or we concluid, of wyser men nor þai,	57°
	that ar bot rakles, 30ung and rasche, suppois 3e think ws fleit: gif of our fallowschip 3e fasche, gang with [thame] hard[l]ie beit. god speid 30w, thay leid 30w,	575
	that hes nocht meikle wit: expell ws, 3e will tell ws, heirefter quhat cumis 3it."	580

[WALDEGRAVE

"Imagine than 1 gif thou were laid in graue, and syne micht heir that 2 said, wald thou not sweat for schame? Yes, faith, I dout not bot thou wald; thairfoir, gif thou hes eyes, behald 565 how thay wald smoir thy fame! Go to, and mak na mair excuse; now life or honor lose, and ather thame or vs refuse; Thair is na vther chose: 570 Considder, togidder, that we can never dwell: At lenthe aye, be 3 strenth aye, sic 4 pultrons we expell."

42.

Quod danger: "sen I vnderstand 575 that counsall can be na command, I haue na mair to say; Except that gif he think 5 it gude, tak counsall zit, or ze conclude, of wiser men than 6 thay: 580 Thay ar bot witlesse 7 young and rasche, suppois thay think vs fleit:8 Gif of our fellowschip you fasch, gang with thame hardlie beit.9 God speid you, thay leid you, 585 that hes not meikill wit: Expell vs, and tell vs, heirefter comes not 3it."

 1 man.
 2 this.
 3 be.

 4 Thae.
 5 gif that he thocht.
 6 nor.

 7 rakles.
 8 fleid.
 9 beid.

43.

F. 25 b. Quhill danger and dispair reteirrit,
expereance come in, and sperit,
quhat [all] be mater menit.

with him come ressoune, wit, and skill,
and bai begound to speir at will,
"quhair mak 3e to, my freind?"
"To pluik 30wn lustic cherrie, lo!"
quod he, "and nocht the slay."

quod bai: "is bair na mair ado,
or 3e win vp the bray,
bot to it, and do it,

595

600

605

610

44.

perforce the fruit to pluik?

our mater to conduct.

"I grant 3e may be guid aneuch,
bot 3it \$\psi\$e hasard vp the heuche
requyris ane greittar gyd.
als wyse as 3e ar may gang wrang;
thairfoir tak counsall, or 3e gang,
of sum that standis besyd.
bot quhilk war thai thre 3e forbad
3our company rych now?"
quod will: "thre preichouris, to persuad
the poysonit slay to pow.
thay tratlit, and ratlit,
ane lang half hour and mair:
fuill haist \$pam!^2\$ thay call thame
dreid, danger, and dispair.

¹ Line omitted in MS., space blank.

² MS. ban.

	43.	[WALDEGRAVE
Experience quhat all	er and dispair reteirit, came in, and speirit, the matter meind:	590
	ame ressonn, wit, and ski gan to speir at will,	11,
	mak 3e to, my friend?"	404
	one lustie cherrie, loe!" "and not the slaye."	595
Quod thay:	" is thair na mair adoe,	
	g vp the braye,	
	it, and do it, orce the fruit to pluck?	600
-	orother, some other,	
wer l	better 2 to conduck.	
	44.	
	may be gude aneuch,	
	assard of ane 3 hewch,	
	ne better 4 gyde. ge ar may gang wrang;	605
-	counsall, or 3e gang,	
	hat stands beside.	
	wer 30ne thrie 3e forbad,	
	pany richt now?"	610
_	"thrie prechours, to personit Slae to pow.	swaq
	rattell, ⁵ thay rattell, ⁵	
	lang halfe houre and mai	
	all thame! they cal tham d, danger, and dispair.	e 615
1 pluk.	² meter.	³ 30n.

¹ pluk. ² meter. ³ 3on. ⁴ grauer. ⁵ tratlit . . . ratlit.

			-	
T	AT	3.7		
ш	AI	. IN	G	

45.

F. 26 a.

"Thay ar mair fascheous nor of effect:
3 on fasarddis 1 durst nocht, for pair nek,
clyme vp the craig with ws.
fra we determenit [to] die,
or ellis to clyme the chyrrie trie,
thay baid about the bus.
thay ar conditionat lyke the catt—
thay wald nocht weit thair feit;
bot 3it gif of the fruict we gett,
thay wald haif fane to eit.
thocht thay now, I say now,
to hasard hes na hert;
3it luik we, and pluik we

615

620

46.

the fruit, bai wald haif pairt.

"Bot fra we gett our wayage win, thay sall nocht than the cherrie cun, that wald nocht Interpryß."
"weill," quod expereence, "3e bost; bot he that counttis without his ost, oftymes he counttis twyß.

3e sie the bair skin on his bak, bot byd quhill 3e it gett; quhan 3e haif done, it is tyme to crak:

3e fysche befoir pe net.
quhat haist, schir, 3e taist, 2 schir, the cherrie, or 3e pow it:
bewar 3it, 3e ar 3it,
mair talkattiue nor trowit." 3

630

625

635

630

45.

"Thay ar maire faschious nor of feck: zone faissard 1 durst not, for his 2 neck, clime vp the Craig with vs. For we determinate war 3 to die, 620 or else to clime zone Cherrie trie: thay baid about the busse. Thay ar conditionate like the Cat, that 4 wald not weit her 5 feit: Bot 3it gif of the fruite we gat, 625 thay wald be faine to eit. Thocht thay now, I say now to haissard hes na hart:

46.

the fruit, thay wald have part.

3it luck we, and pluck we,

"Bot gif 6 we get our voyage won, thay sall not than our 7 Cherrie con, That wald not Interprise." "Weill," quod experience, "3e boist; bot he that comptis without his oist, 635 oft tymes he comptis twise. 3e sell the Bear skin on his bak, bot bide quhill 3e it get; Quhen 3e haue done, its tyme to crak: fisch not 8 befoire the net. 640 Quhat haist, schir, ze taist, schir, the Cherrie, or 3e pow it: Beware 3it, 3e ar 3it, Mair talkatiue nor trowit."9

2 thair. 3 Omits 'war.' ⁴ They. 5 their. faizardis. 6 fra. 7 the. 8 3e fische. ⁹ Orig. trow it.

47.

F. 26 b.

"Call danger bak agane," quod skill, "To sie quhat he can say to will, 640 we se him schod to strait: we may nocht trow quhat ilkane tellis." quod danger: "we concluddit ellis, he schiruis not for our mait:1 for I can tell 30w all perqueir, 645 His counsail, or he cum," quod will: "quhairto suld he cum heir for to behald his cunning? he speikis av, and seikis av, delay of tyme by dryftis: 650 he greiffis ws, and devis ws, with sophistrie and schiftis."

48.

Quod ressoun: "quhy was he debard? the taill is euill may nocht be hard: 3it lat ws heir bame anis." 655 than danger to declair 2 begane, how hoip and currage tuik be man, to leid him all pair lanis; for bai wald haif him win the hill, but ather stop or stay: 660 and quha was welcumer nor will? he wald be formast ay. he culd do, and suld do, quha euir wald or nocht. sic speidding proceidding 665 Vnlyklie was, I thocht.

¹ MS. nait.

² MS. dispair.

	47.	WALDEGRAVE
"Call da	nger back agane," qu	od skill, 645
	ee quhat he can say to	
We se	e him schod to 2 strait	:
We may	not trowe that ilk and	e tells."
	rage: "we concludit o	ells,
	ues not for our mait:	650
	n tell you all perqueir	,
	unsall, and 3e will." 3	
_	1: "quhairto suld he	come heir?
	not hald him still.4	
	speiks ay, and seiks a	
	elayis of tymes 5 be di	
	grieues vs, and deues	
w	ith sophistries and sch	hitts."
	48.	
Ouod re	ssoun: "quhy was he	debard?
_	is ill may not be hard	
	vs heir him anes."	
-	anger to declaire bega	ine,
how hop	e and curage tuik the	man,
and le	d him all thair lanes;	
For thay	wald haist 6 him vp th	he hill, 665
but at	her stop or stay:	
And quh	a wes welcomer nor w	vill ?
he wal	d be foremaist ay.	
He	culd do, and suld do,	
-	uha ever wald or noch	nt. 670
	speiding preceiding	
V	nlikelie was, I thocht.	
¹ To.	² sa.	³ or he cum.
4 his tung.	⁵ Delay of time.	⁶ haif.

⁶ haif.

49.

F. 27 a.

"Thairfoir I wis pame to be war,
and ryche not to run our far
without sic gyddis as 3e."
quod currage: "freind, I heir 30w faill; 670
remember better on 30ur taill:
3e said it culd nocht be:
besyddis pat he wald nocht be content,
that euir we suld clyme."
quod will: "for my pairt, I repent 675
we saw pame mair nor him:
for pai ar the stayar
of ws, als weill as hie:
I think now, thay schrink now;

680

685

690

50.

go fordward, lat bame be.

"Go, go, we do nocht heir bot gukkis; thay say hat wayage neuir luckis quhair ilk ane hes ane woit."
quod wysdome graiflie: "schir, I grant we war na war 30ur wit to want, sum sentence now I not: suppois 3e spak it bot be ges, sum fruit hairin we fynd: 3e wald be fordward, I confeß, and cumis oftymes behind.

It may be, that thay be

Dissauit that neuir dowtit:

Indeid, schir, that heid, schir, hes meikle wit about it."

49.	[WALDEGRAVE
"Thairfoir I wisse him 1 to be war, and raschlie not to run ore far, with sic ane 2 gyde 3 as 3e."	675
Quod curage: "friend, I heir 3e 4 faill; remember better on your taill: 3e said it micht 5 not be:	;
Beside that 3e wald not consent, that ever we suld clim."	680
Quod will: "for my part, I repent that we saw you or him; 6	
For thay ar the stayer of vs, als weill as he:	
I think now, thay schrink now; go fordwart, let thame be.	685
50.	
"Go to, quhat do we heir bot gucks? 7 thay say that voyage never lucks, quhair ilk man 8 hes ane voit."	
Quod wisdome grathlie: 9 "schir, I grawe were the 10 war your voite to want, some sentence now 11 I note: Suppois 3e speak it bot be gesse,	ant, 690
some fruit thairin I find:	
3e wald be fordwart, I confesse, and comes oft tymes behind. It may be, that thay 12 be	695
dissavit that never doutit: Indeid, schir, that heid, schir,	
hes meikill wit about it."	700
wischt them. wischt them. without sik. without sik. We saw them mair nor him.	4 3ou.
 Go, go, we do not heir bot guckis. grauelie. na. heir. 	⁸ ane. ¹² may.

LAING]	51.	
F. 27 b.	Than wilfull will begane to raige,	695
	and sweir he saw na thing in aige,	
	bot anger, Iyr, and gruge:	
	"and for my self," quod he, "I sueir	
	To quyt all my companzeonis heir,	
	and þai admit 30w Iudge.	700
	experience hes growne sa auld,	
	that he begynnis to raife:	
	the laif, but currage, ar sa cauld,	
	na haisartting þai haife:	
	for danger, for stranger,	705
	he maid þame go fra þame;	
	We pray þame,1	
	That nowther dow nor dar.	
	52.	
	"Quhy may nocht we twa leid bis ane?	
	I led ane hundreth all my lane,	710
	but counsall of pame all."	
	"I grant," quod wysdome, "3e haif led;	
	bot I wald speir, how mony sped,	
	or fortherit but ane fall?	
	bot owther few or nane, I trow,	715
	experience can tell.	
	he sayis bat man [may] wit bot 30w,	
	the fyrst tyme bat he fell.	
	he kennis now, quhais pennis now	
	thow borrowit him to flie.	720
	his woundis 3it, quhilk stoundis 3it,	

¹ Rest of line blank. For correct reading of this, and preceding line, see opposite page.

he gat pame euir of pe."

51.

WALDEGRAVE

Thane wilful will began to rage, and sware he fand na thing in age, bot anger, vre, and grudge: "And for my selfe," quod he, "I sweir to quite all my companions heir, 705 and thay admit you 1 Judge. Experience is growne sa auld, that he begins to raue: The laife, but curage, are sa cauld, na hassarting they haue: 710 For danger, for stranger, hes ever maid thame ware 2 Go fra thame, we pray thame,

52.

that neither do nor dare.

"Ouhy may not we 3 three lead this ane? 715 I led ane hundreth myne allane.4 but counsall of thame all." "I grant," quod wisdome, "3e haue led; bot I wald speir, how many sped, or fordward 5 but ane fall? 720 For thair is nane or few,6 I trow, Experience can tell: Men sayis that he 7 may wite bot you, the first tyme that he fell. He kens now, quhais pennes now 725 thou borrowit fra the Clarkis.8 His wounds zit, quhilk sounds zit, I trowe dois beir the markis."9

¹ the. 3 these.

⁶ But uther few or nane.

⁸ Thou borrowit him to flie.

² Hes maid them nor they war.

⁵ furderit. 4 all my lane.

⁷ He savis that man.

⁹ He got them than throw thee.

LAING]	53•	
F. 28 α.	"That," quod ex[p]erience, "is trew:	
	will flatterrit him quhan first he flew,	
	and sett him, in ane low.	725
	will was his counsall and convoy,	
	to borrow fra the blindit boy	
	bayth quaver, wingis, and bow;	
	quhairwith befoir he sayit [to] schuit,	
	he neuir zeild to zowth,	739
	nor 3it had neid of ony fruit,	
	to quensche his deidlie drewth:	
	quhilk pynnis him, and dwynnis him,	
	To deid, I wait not how:	
	gif will þan did Ill þan,	735
	himselff remember now.	
	54•	
	"Fyrst, I, experience, was pair,	
	Lyk as I wse to be all quhair,	
	quhat tyme he wyttis will	
	to be maist [cause] of his myscheife;	749
	I my selff can be ane 1 preife	
	and witnes þairintill.	
	thair is na boundis bot I haif bene,	
	nor secreittis fra me hid;	
	nor secreit thing bot I haif sene,	74
	that he or ony did:	
	thairfoir now, na moir now,	
	Lat him think to recyll;	
	For quhy now, evin I now,	
	am detbound to reveill.	75
	¹ MS. na. Cf. pp. 55, 99.	

53-	[WALDEGRAVE
"Than," quod Experience, "is it trew:	1
Wil flatterit him, quhan that he flew,2	730
and set him in ane low.	
Wil, was his counsall and convoy,	
to borrowe fra the blindit boy	
baith quiver and his 3 bow;	
Quhairwith befoir he seyit to schuit,	735
he never 4 yeild to youth,	
Nor 3it had need of any fruit,	
to quench his deadly drouth:	
Quhilk pynis him, and dwinis him	l,
to deid, I wat 5 not how:	740
Gif Will than did ill than,	
himselfe considder 6 now.	
54∙	
"For I, Experience, was thair,	
like as I vse to be all quhair,	
quhat tyme he wytis 7 will	745
To be the 8 cause of his mischeife;	
for I my self can be ane preife,	
and witnesse thairintill.	
Thair is na bounds bot I haue bene,	
nor heich things 9 from me hid;	750
Nor secreit things bot I haue sene,	
that he or any 10 did:	
Thairfoir now, na moir now,	
let him think to conceill; 11	
For quhy now, evin I now,	755
am detbond to reveill.12	

1	That (quod Experience) i	s trew.	2	when first he flew.
	wingis, and.		neither.	5	he wattis.
	1	7		8	maict

⁶ remembers. ⁷ wytit. ⁸ maist. ⁹ Nor hidlingis. ¹⁰ onie. ¹¹ conceild. ¹² reveild.

55.

F. 28 b.

"My custome Is for to declair the trewth, and nowther eik nor pair, for ony man, ane Iott: gif wilfull will delyttis in leis. example in thy selff thow seis, 755 how he can turne his coit. and with his langage wald alloure the 3it to brek thy banis. sum tyme thow saw gif he was suir: thow vsit his counsall anes:1 760 quha wald zit behald zit. To wrak be war nor we. think on now, of 30n now," quod wysdome than to me.

56.

"I will," quod experience, "gif bat he 765 submittis him self to 30w and me, I wait quhat I suld say: oure guid adwyß he suld nocht want. provyding alwayis bat he grant to put 3on will away, 770 and bainnis bayth him and dispair. bat all guid purpois spillis; swa he will mell with him na mair. lat pame twa flyt pair fyllis. sic cossing, but lossing, 775 all honest men may vse." "that change now war strange now," quod ressoun, "to refuiß."2

¹ MS. oftymes.

² The revised edition of 1615 introduces nine additional stanzas here. See pp. 100-104.

"My custome Is for to declair the trueth, and nather 1 eik nor pair, for any 2 man, ane jot: Gif wilfull will delytis in leis, exempill in thy selfe thou seis, how he can turne his cote, And with his language till 3 allure thee for 4 to brek thy banes. Some tyme 3e sawe 5 gif 3e war 6 sure: 765 thow vsit his counsall anes, Quha wald 3it, behauld 7 3it, To wrak thee, war than 8 we. Think on now, of 3one now," quod wisdome than to me. 770 56. "Than," 9 quod Experience, "gif that he will come himselfe 10 to you and me, I wat quhat I suld say: Gif he be wise, 11 he sall not want, providing alway that 12 he grant to put 3one will away, And banisch baith him and dispaire, that all gude purpose spillis; Swa he wald mell with vs 18 na mair, let thame twa flyte thair fillis: 5 sic coissing, but loissing, all honest men may vse." "That change now were strange now," quod ressoun, "to refuse." 1 nevir. 2 onie. 3 wald. 4 3it. 5 thou knawis. 6 he was. 7 be bald. 8 wer not. 11 Our gude advyse.	55.	WALDEGRAVE		
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1 nevir. 2 onie. 3 wald. 4 3it. 5 thou knawis. 6 he was. 7 be bald. 8 wer not.				
5 thou knawis. 6 he was. 7 be bald. 8 wer not.	quod ressoun, "to refuse."			
Tubilitis ministri, Our gude advyse.				
12 alwayis gif. 13 Sa he will melle with them.				

57.

F. 29 a.

Than altogidder bai began To say, "cum on, thow marterit man, 780 and do as we devyße." abbaysit, ane bony quhill I baid, I maysit, or I my ansir maid; I turnit me anis or tuyse, behaldin euerie ane about: 785 I ferrit to speik in haist. sum semit asuird, sum dred for dout, will ran reid wod almaist, with wringing, and thringing, his handis on vber dang: 790 dispair to, for kair to, wald neiddis himselff go hang.

58.

Quhill than experience persauit,
quod he: "remember gif he¹ raiffit,
as will alleggit of lait,
quhan as he sueir, nocht ellis he saw
In aige, bot anger, slak and slaw,
and cankarrit of consait:
he culd nocht luik, as he alleggit,
þat all openyonis sperit.
he was sa frak and fyre edgit,
he thocht ws sone bot feirde.
'quha pances quhat chancis,'²
quod he, 'na wirschip wynnis:
ay sum best sall cum best,
that hap weill, raik weill rynnis.'

¹ Cf. p. 105.

² MS. chanchis.

795

800

805

57.	[WALDE	EGRAVE		
Thane altogidder thay b	egan	785		
to say, "come on, thou				
and do as we devise,"				
Abaisd, ane bony quhile	I baid,			
and muissit, or I 1 answe	er maid,			
and turnit 2 me anes of	or twise,	790		
Behalding every ane abo	out:			
I feirit to speik in hai	st.			
Some seimd assurit, som	ne dred for dout,			
Some 3 ran reid wood	almaist,			
With wringing, and	thringing,	795		
his hands on vth	er dang:			
Dispaire to, for cair	r to,			
Wald needs hims	selfe go hang.			
58.				
Fra time 4 experience pe	ersauit.			
quod he: "remember 3		800		
as will alledgit of laite				
Quhen as he sware, nocht else 6 he saw				
in age, bot anger, slack				
and cankerit of consa	it:			
He 7 culd not luck, as h	e alledgit,	805		
that all opinions speirit.				
He was sa frak and fyerie edgit,				
he thocht not to be feirit.8				
'Quha pansis on chancis,'				
quod he, 'na worschip winnis:				
Ay some best sall come best,				
that hapweill, rakwell rinnis.'				
¹ And musd or I my.	I turnd. 3 Will.			
4 Quhilk quhen.	remember gif we rauit.			
6 nocht else. 7 3e. 8	He thocht us four bot feiri	it.		

59.

F. 29 b.

"3it," quod experience, "behald, for all the taillis that he hes tauld. how he him self behaiffis. 810 becaus dispair culd cum na speid, Lo! quhair he hingis, all bot the heid, and in ane widdie wayffis. gif bou be suir, 1 now thow may sie To men that with bame mellis: 815 gif bai had hurt or helpit the, considder be bame selffis. than chuiß be to vse be, be ws, or sic as 3on: say sone now, haif done do, mak owther of or on." 820

60.

"Persawis bow now quhair fra proceiddis the franik fantassais bat feiddis thy fureous flamyis of fyre? quhilk dois thy belfull breist combure, that nane bot we quha can the cuir, 825 nor knawis quhat dois requyre. the passiones of bi persing spreit, that waistis thy wettal breth, hes held thy havie hairt with heittis: dyßir drawis on the drewth.2 830 thy pynces renvnces all kynd of quyet rest; that fewar hes euir thy persoun so opprest."

¹ MS, besuir.

² Cf. pp. 61, 106.

	59	9•	[WALDEGRAVE	
	"3it," quod experien	ce, "behauld,		
	for all the tales that h			
	how he himselfe be	ehaues.	815	
	Because dispair culd	come na speid,		
	luik,1 quhair he hang	s, all bot the heid	,	
	and in ane withie	vaues.		
	Gif thou be sory,2 the	ou may see		
	two men that with	thame mellis:	820	
	Gif thay haue hurt or	helpit thee,		
	considder be tham	e selfis.		
	Than chuse 3e,3	to vse 3e,3		
	With 4 vs, or s	sic as 30ne:		
	Say sone now, h	aue done now,	825	
	mak ather off	or one."		
60.				
	"Persaues thou not quhair fra proceids			
	the frantick fantasses that feids			
	thy furious flaming fire?			
	Quhilk dois thy bailfull breist combuir, 830			
	bot 5 nane bot we" (quod thay) "can cuir,			
	nor kennis 6 quhat dois require.			
	The passions of thy p	pensiue spreits,7		
	that waists thy fatall 8 breath,			
	Hes healit 9 thy heavie hart with heits: 10 835			
desire drawes on the 11 death.				
Thy punssis denuncis 12				
all kind of quiet rest;				
That fever, hes ever,				
thy person ay 13 opprest." 840				
1 Lo.	² Gif 3ou be suir ains.	3 the the.	4 Be.	
⁵ That.	10			
⁸ vitall,				
tily.	140111110101			

61.

Ouod thay: "war thow acquentit with skill, F. 30 a. 835 he knawis quhat hymoris dois the ill, quhair throw thy cairris contractis; he knawis the ground of all thy greif, and recepie for thy releife; all medecinis he makis." 840 "cum on," quod skill, "content am I To put to my helping hand; prouyding alwayis he apply To counsall and command. quhill we than," quod he than, 845 "ar myndit to returne,1 gif place now, in cais now, 3e get ws nocht agane.

62.

"Assuir thy selff, gif bat we sched, thow sall nocht get thy pyrpois sped; 850 tak tent, we haif the tauld. haif done, and dryfe nocht of the day: the man that will nocht quhan he may, he sall nocht guhan he wald. quhat will thow do, I wald we wist: 855 accept, or gif ws oure." quod he: 2 "I think me mair nor blist to find sic famous foure besyd me, to gyd me, now quhan I haif to do, 860 considdering the sueiddring I fand me first Into.

¹ Cf. pp. 63, 107.

² 'I' in Wreittoun and all later editions.

6т.

[WALDEGRAVE

Ouod thay: "were thou acquaint with skill, he knawis quhat humors dois thee ill, quhair thou thy cares contraks; He knawis the ground of all thy griefe, and recepts 1 to for thy releife; 845 all medicines he maks." "Come on," quod skill, "content am I to put my helping hand; Providing alwaies he apply to counsall and command. 850 Ouhill we than," quod he than, "ar mindit to remane; Gif place now, in caice now, thou get vs not agane.

62.

2 we.

1 recept.

"Assure thy selfe, gif that we sched, 855 thou sall not get thy purpose sped; Tak tent, I 2 haue thee tauld. Haue done, and driue not of the day: the man that will not, guhen he may, 860 he sall not guhen he wald. Ouhat will 3 you do, I wald we wist: except, or gif vs over." Quod he: "I think me mair nor 4 blist, to find sic famous foure Beside me, to gyde me, 865 now quhen I haue ado,5 Considering the swidering 3e fand me first Into.

4 than.

5 to doe.

3 wald.

04	THE CHERRY AND PE SLAE.	
LAING]	63.	
F. 30 <i>b</i> .	"Quhan currage craiffit ane stomak stout, and danger draife me Into dowt,	
	With his companzeoun dreid:	865
	quhyllis will wald vp abone the air,	
	quhyllis I was arplonit 1 in dispair;	
	quhyllis hoip held vp my heid.	
	sic prettie reassonis and replyis,	0
	on ewerie syd thay schew,	870
	that I, quha was nocht werray wyse, thocht all thair taillis was trew.	
	Sa mony, and bony,	
	auld problames thay proponit,	
	bayth quyklie and lyklie,	875
	I mervellit meikle on it.	, ,
	64.	
	"3it hoip and currage wan the feild,	
	thocht dreid and danger never zeild,	
	bot fled to find refuige.	
	swa, fra the foure come, þai war fane,	880
	becaus he callit thame bak agane,	
	and gled hat 3e war Iudge;	
	quhair thay war fugitive befoir,	
	now þai ar frak and fre,²	00-
	to speik and stand in 3 aw no moir," quod reassoun, "sa suld be:	885
	ofttymes but crymes,	
	bot evin be force 4 It faillis:	
	20001111 2010100 2011111111111111111111	

the strange ay, with wrang ay, pvsß waikar to [the] wallis;

890

¹ Scribal error for 'oreplon[g]it'?
2 MS. na.

MS. fure.
 MS. befoir.

63. [WALDEGRAVE

"Than currage with 1 ane stomack stout. and danger drewe me into dout, 870 With his companione dreid: Quhillis will wald vp abune the ayre, quhillis I was dround into dispaire; quhillis hope held vp my heid. Sic pithie ressounis and replies. 875 on every side thay schewe, That I, quha wes not very wise. thocht all thair tales wer 2 trewe. So monie, and bonie, auld probleames thay expound,3 880 Baith quicklie and liklie. I marvell 4 meikill ond.

64.

"3it hope and currage wan the feild, thocht dreid and danger wald not 5 zeild. bot fled to find refudge: 885 Fra we conveind, sa 6 thay were faine, because he? cald thame bak againe, thay glaid to get him 8 Judge: Quhair 9 thay were fugitiue befoir, now ar thay 10 franck and fre. 890 To speak and stand in awe na moir." 11 quod ressoun: "swa suld be: Oft tymes nowe, but crimes now, men being forced falls: 12 The strang ay, with wrang ay, 895 puts waiker to the walls;

Quhen Courage crau'd.propond.

⁶ Swa fra 3e fowr met.

⁸ And glad that 3e war.
11 stand na awna moir.

² was.

⁴ marveld. 5 Danger nevir.

⁷ 3e.
⁹ For.
¹⁰ thay are.

¹² Bot evin be force it falls.

65.

F. 31 a.

"Quhilk Is ane falt, thow man confeß; strenth Is nocht ordanit to oppress with regour by the rycht; bot, be the contrar, to sustene the waik, that over burdenit bene, ats meikte as bai mycht." "sua hoip and currage did," quod I, "experience sic lyk, schew skill and wit reassonis guhy

895

that danger lap the dyk."

900

quod dreid: "ßir, tak heid, ßir, Lang speiking part man spill: Incist nocht, we wyst nocht, we want aganis oure will.

66.

"With currage we war sa content, ze neuir socht oure small consent; of ws 3e stand na aw. thair Logeik Ressonis 3e allowit; 3e war determenit to trow it:1 alleggences past for law. for all be proverbes we pervsit, 3e thocht thame skantlie skyllit; oure reassonis had bene ats weill refusit, had ze bene ats weill willit 2 To our syd, as 30ur syd, sa trewlie I may term it:3 we sie now In the now

effectioun dois afferm it." 4

905

910

915

¹ MS. trowit.

² MS. will it. ³ termit.

4 MS. affermit.

65.

WALDEGRAVE

"Ouhilk is ane fault, 3e 1 man confesse; strength Is not ordanit to 2 oppresse With rigour by the richt; Bot, be the contrair, to susteine 900 the waik anes, that oreburdenit beine, als meikill as thay micht." "So hope and currage did," quod I, "weill exprementit like,3 Schaw skills and wills occasion quhy 4 905 that danger lap the dike." Quod dreid: "schir, tak heid schir lang speiking part will 5 spill: Insist not, we 6 wist not, we went aganis our will. 910

66.

"With currage 3e were sa content, ge never socht our small consent; of vs ze stand na awe. Thair logick Ressouns 3e allowit; ze wer determinate to trow it: 915 alledgeance past for lawe. For all the proverbs 3e 7 pervsit, 3e thocht vs 8 skantly skillit; Our ressouns had bene als weill vsit,9 had ze bene als weill willit 920 Till our side, as your side, sa trewlie as wes 10 termit: I 11 see now In thee now. effection 12 dois affermit."

thow.
 ordaynd till.
 Schaw skild and pithie resouns quhy.
 man.
 man.
 them.
 rusit.
 Affection.

67.

F. 31 b.

Experyence than smyrtling smyllit: "we war no barnis to be begyld," quod he and schuik 1 his heid: "for awthoris quha allegis ws, thay man nocht ga about the buß, For all thair deidlie feid."

920

Finis quod mongomerie

¹ MS. schuit.

67.	[WALDEGRAVE
Experience thairat blinkt and smylit:1	925
"We are na bairns to be begylit,"	
quod he, and schuik his heid:	
"For authours quha alledgis vs,	
thay may not win 2 about the bus,	
for all thair deadly feid."	930

Printed be R. W.

cum Privilegio Regali.

¹ Experience then smyrkling smyld. ² ga.



THE CHERRIE AND THE SLAE

(WREITTOUN TEXT)

THE CHERRIE AND THE SLAE.

Ι.

ABout a Bank with balmie bewes. where nightingals their nots renews, With gallant Goldspinks gay, The Mavise, Mirle, and Progne proud, The Lintwhite, Lark, and Laverock loud. 5 Saluted mirthful May. When Philomel had sweetly sung, To Progne she deplored, How Tereus cut out her tongue, And falsely her deflorde; TO Which storie, so sorie. To shew ashamd she seemde.1 To heare her so neare her, I doubted if I dream'd. The Cushat crouds, the Corbie cries, 15 The Cuckow couks, the pratling Pyes To geck her they begin. The Iargoun of 2 the iangling Iayes, The craiking Crawes, the keckling Kayes, They deav'd me with their din. 20 The painted Pawne, with Argoes eyes, Can on his Mayock cal; The Turtle wailes on withered trees, And Echo answered 3 all. Repeiting, with greiting, 25

How faire Narcissus fell,

By lying, and spying, His shadow in the Well.

¹ E. To schaw hir self scho seimt.

² Orig. Largoun or. E. Jargoun or.

³ E. answers.

	3•	[WREITTOUN
In hidlings hirp To make the	heon and the Ha ling heere and th ir morning mang Conny, and the C	nere, 30 e;
Whese dainty d With stiffe m The Hart, the I The Fulmart The bearded B	ounes with dew ustaches strang; Hynd, the Dae, to, and false Foxe uck clamb up the saires and Brocks	were wat, he Rae, 35 : e brae,
Some feedi The Hu With skipp	ing, some dreading some dreading and tripping and tripping aid them all in particular tripping aid them all in particular tripping aid them all in particular tripping and tripping	ng, es, 40
	4.	
But ¹ mistie van But quyet, ca To foster <i>Flora</i> Whereon <i>Apollo</i> Had trinckle	d many a teare;	weet, 45
Imbrodering Wherewith thei In Mayes co Some knop	oping, some drop	50 clinde,
Excelling i	ie liquor sweet, n ³ smelling, n Phæbus wholso ² E. nor.	55 me heat. ³ E.W. ² and.

WREITTOUN]

5.

Mee thought an heavenly heartsome thing, Where dew like Diamonds did hing, Ou'r twinckling all the trees, To study on the flourishde twists, 60 Admiring natures alcumists, Laborious busie Bees. Whereof some sweetest hony sought To stay their lives to 1 sterve; And some the waxie vessels wrought, 65 Their purchase to preserve: So heaping for keeping, It in their hyves they hide; Precisely, and wisely, For winter they provide.

6.

To pen the pleasures of that Parke, How every blossome, branch, & bark, Against the Sun did shine, I passe to Poets to compile In high heroick stately stile, 75 Whose Muse surmatches mine. But, as I looked mine alone. I saw a river rinne Out ou'r a steepie rock of stone, Syne lighted in a linne, 80 With tumbling, and rumbling, Amongst the Roches round, Devalling, and falling, Into a pit profound.

¹ E. frae.

7.	WREITTOUN
Through routing of the river rang	85
The Roches, sounding like a sang,	03
Where Descant 1 did abound,	
With Treble, ² Tenor, Counter, Meene;	
An ³ echo blew a Basse between,	
In Diapason sound,	90
Set with the C-sol-fa-uth cleife,	,
With long and large at list,	
With Quaver, Crotchet, Semi-briefe,	
And not a Minim mist:	
Compleetly, and 4 sweetly	95
She firdound 5 flat and sharp,	
Than Muses, which uses 6	
To pin Apollos harpe.	
8.	
Who would have tyr'd to heare that tone	2
Which birds corroborate ay abone,	100
With layes of lovesome Larks;	
Which climb so high in Christal skyes,	
While Cupid wakned 7 with the cryes	
Of natures chappel Clarks;	
Who, leaving al the heavens above,	105
Alighted on the eard.	
Lo! how that litle Lord of love	
Before me there appeard!	
So mild-like, and child-like,	
With bow three quarters skant;	110
Syne moylie, and coylie,	
Hee looked like a Sant.	
¹ E. Das Kane. Cf. L. p. 8. ² E. Triple. ³ ⁴ E. W. ² more. ⁵ E. fridound.	E.W. ² And.
⁶ E.W. ² Nor Muses that uses. ⁷ E. walkens, W	V. ² walkinnes.

wreittoun]

9.

A cleanly crispe hang over his eyes; His Ouaver by his naked thres Hang in a silver lace: 115 Of gold betweene 1 his shoulders grew Two pretty wings wherewith he flew, On his left arme a brace, This god soone off his geare he shook Vpon the grassie ground: T20 I ran as lightly for to looke Where ferlies might be found: Amazed, I gazed To see his geare so gay; Perceiving mine having, 125 He counted mee his prev.

10.2

His youth and stature made mee stout;

Of doublenesse I had no doubt,

But bourded with my Boy.

Quoth I, "how call they thee, my child?"

"Cupido, sir," quoth he, and smilde;

"Please you mee to imploy?

For I can serve you in your sute,

If you please to impire,

With wings to flee, and shafts to shute,

Or flames to set on fire.

Make choice then of those then,

Or of a thousand things;

But crave them, and have them:"

140

With that I woo'd his wings.

¹ E. betwixt; W.2 betwix.

² This stanza first appears in the revised version of 1615.

II.

"What would thou give, my heart," 1 quoth he, "To have these 2 wanton wings to flee, To sport thy sprite a while? Or what if love 3 should send thee heere Bow, quaver, shafts, and shooting geare, 145 Somebody to beguile?" "This 4 geare," quoth I, "cannot be bought, Vet I would have it faine." "What if," quoth he, "it cost thee nought But rendring all againe?" 150 His wings then he brings then, And band them on my back: "Goe flye now," quoth he now, And so my leave I take.

12.

I sprang up with Cupido's wings, 155 Whose shots 5 and shooting geare resignes, To lend me for a day: As Icarus with borrowed flight, I mounted higher than 6 I might, Ou'r perilous a play. 160 First 7 foorth I drew the 8 double dart Which sometimes 9 shot his mother, Wherewith I hurt my wanton heart, In hope to hurt another. It hurt me, or burnt mee, 165 While either end I handle: Come see now, in mee now, The Butterflee and candle.

E.W.² freind.
 E.W.² That.
 E. Quha bow.
 E.W.² nor.
 E.W.² than.
 E. that; W.² that deadlie.
 E.W.² sumtyme.

WREITTOUN]

13.

As she delites into the low, So was I browden of my bow, 170 As ignorant as she: And as she flyes while she is 1 fir'de, So with the dart that I desirde. Mine hands hath 2 hurt mee to. As foolish Phaeton by sute, 175 His father's chaire 3 obtainde. I longed 4 in loves bow to shoote. Not marking what it mean'de: More wilful, than skilful, To flee I was so fond. т80 Desiring, impyring,5 And so was seene upond.

14.

Too late I knew, who hewes too high, The spaile shal fall into his eye: Too late I went to schooles: 185 Too late I heard the swallow preach, Too late Experience doth teach— The Schoole-master of fooles. Too late I find 6 the nest I seek, When all the birds are flowne; 190 Too late the stable door I steeke. When as the steede is stowne.7 Too late ay, their state ay, As 8 foolish folk espy; Behind so, they finde so 195

Remead, and so doe I.

E.W.² quhyl scho be,
 E. sa langt I.
 E. sa pyring. Cf. L. p. 12.
 E.W.² cart.
 E.W.² to fynde.

⁷ E.W.² Quhen all the steids are stowin.

⁸ E.W.2 all.

15.	[WREITTOUN
If I had ripely beene advisde,	
I had not rashly enterprisde	
To soare with borrowed pens;	
Nor yet had sayde the Archer-craft,	200
To shoot myselfe with such a shaft	
As Reason quite miskens.	
Fra Wilfulnes gave me my wound,	
I had no force to flee;	
Then came I groning to the ground:	205
"Friend, welcome home!" quoth he.	
"Where flew you? whom slew yee?	•
Or who brings home the booting	?
I see now," quoth he now,	
"Ye have beene at the shooting!	" 210

т6.

As scorne comes commonly with skaith, So I behovde to bide them baith: So staggering was my state, That under cure I got such check, Which I might not remove nor neck, 215 But either staile or mait. Mine 1 agony was so extreame, I swelt and swound for feare; But, ere I wakned off² my dreame, He spoild me of my geare. 220 With flight then, on hight then, Sprang Cupid in the skyes, Forgetting, and setting At nought my carefull cries.

wreittoun]

17.

So long with sight I followed him, 225 While both my dazeled eyes grew dimme Through staring of 1 the starnes; Which flew so thick before mine evne. Some red, some yellow, blew, and 2 greene, Which troubled all mine 3 harnes, 230 That every thing appeared two To my barbuilied braine; But long might I lye looking so Ere 4 Cupid came againe; Whose thundring, with wondring, 235 I heard up through the Aire; Through clouds so, he thuddes so, And flew I wist not where.

18.

Then when 5 I saw that god was gone, And I in langour left alone, 240 And sore tormented too. Sometime I sigh'd while I was sad, Sometime I musde, and most gone mad, I doubted 6 what to doe; Sometime I rav'd halfe in a rage, 245 As one into despare: To be opprest with such a page Lord! if my heart was saire! Like Dido, Cupido I widdle and I wary, 250 Who reft mee, and left mee. in such a feirie farie.

¹ E. With stairing on.

⁴ E.W.² or.

² E. sum.

E.W.² my.
 E.W.² wist not.

⁵ E. frae.

19.	[WREITTOUN
Then felt I Courage and Desire	
Inflame mine heart with uncouth fire,	
To me before unknowne;	255
But then 1 no blood in me remaines,	
Vnburnt or 2 boyld within my vaines,3	
By loves bellowes blowne.4	
To drowne 5 it, ere 6 I was devourde,	
With sighs I went about;	260
But ay the more I shoope to smoor'de,	
The bolder it brake out,	
Ay preasing, but ceasing,	
While it might break the bounds	
Mine 7 hew so, foorth shew so,	265
The dolour of my wounds.	

With deadly visage, pale and wan, More like Anatomie 8 than man, I withered cleane away: As waxe before the fire, I felt 270 Mine heart within my bosome melt, And piece and piece decay, My veines by 9 brangling like to break-My punses lap with pith-So fervency did mee infect, 275 That I was vext therewith. Mine heart ay, it 10 start ay, The firie flames to flee: Ay howping, through lowping, To leape at libertie. 280

E.W.² now.
 E. By Luve his Bellies blawin.
 E. By Luve his Bellies blawin.
 E.W.² quench.
 E.W.² or.
 E.W.² with.
 E.W.² did.

WREITTOUN

21.

But O! alas! it was abusde, My carefull corps kept it inclusde In prison of my breast, With sighs so sopped and ou'rset, Like to a fish fast in a 1 net. 285 In deadthraw undeceast: Which, though in vaine it strives 2 by strength For to pul out her head, Which profites nothing at the length, But hastning to her dead; 290 With thristing and wristing 3 The faster still is sho; There I so, did lye so, My death advancing to.

22.

The more I wrestled with the wind,

The faster still my selfe I finde: No mirth my minde could 4 mease. More noy than 5 I had never none, I was so altered and ou'rgone, Through drouth of my disease: 300 Yet weakly, as I might, I raise, My sight grew dimme and dark; I staggered at the windling strayes,6 No token I was stark. Both sightles, and mightles, 305 I grew almost at once; In anguish I languish, With many grievous groanes.

295

¹ E.W.² the.

³ E.W.² wristing . . . thirsting.

⁵ E.W.² nor.

² E. Quha thocht in vain scho stryve.

⁴ E.W.2 micht.

⁶ E. windill-straes.

23.	[WREITTOUN
With sober pace yet I 1 approach	
Hard to the River and the Roch,	310
Whereof I spake before;	
The river such a murmure made,	
As to the sea it softly slade:	
The Craige was stay and shore.2	
Then Pleasure did me so provoke	315
There partly to repaire,	
Betwixt the River and the Rocke,	
Where Hope grew with Despare.	
A tree then, I see then,	
Of Cherries on the Braes;	320
Below, too, I saw, too,	
A bush of bitter Slaes.	
24.	
The Cherries hang aboue mine head,	
Like trickling 3 Rubies round and red,	
So high up in the Heugh;	325
Whose shadowes in the river 4 shew,	
As graithly [glancing], as they grew	
On trembling twists and teugh,	
Whiles 5 bow'd through burden of their	birth,
Declining downe their tops:	330
Reflexe of <i>Phæbus</i> off ⁶ the firth	
Now coloured all their knoppes,	
With dancing, and glancing,	
In tirle as ⁷ Dornick champe,	

Which streamed,8 and leamed,

Through lightnes of that lampe.

335

² E. The craig hich, stay and schoir. Cf. pp. 22, 23. ¹ E.W.² I did.

³ E.W.² twynkland. Cf. pp. 24, 25.

⁴ Orig. rivers.

⁵ E.W.² Quhilk.

⁶ E. aff.

⁷ E. In tirles. Cf. pp. 24, 25.

⁸ E. streimaned.

WREITTOUN

25.

With earnest eye, while I espy That 1 fruite betwixt me and the skye, Halfe gate almost to Heaven; The Craige so cumbersome to climb, 340 The tree so tall of growth, and trim As ony arrow even; I calde to minde how Daphne did Within the Lawrel shrinke. When from Apollo she her hid: 345 A thousand times I thinke That tree there to mee there, As hee his Lawrel thought; Aspyring, but tyring, To get that fruite I sought. 350

26.

To climb that 2 Craige it was no buite, Let bee to prease to pul the fruite In top of all the tree: I know 3 no way whereby to come, By any craft, to get it clum, 355 Appearandly to mee: The Craige was ugly, stay and dreigh, The tree long, sound and small; I was affraide to climb so high, 360 For feare to fetch a fall. Affrayed, I stayed,4 And looked up aloft, Whiles minting, whiles stinting, My purpose changed oft.

² E.W.² the. ³ E.W.² saw.

⁴ E. affrayit to sey it.

27.	WREITTOUN
Then Dread, with Danger, and Despare,	365
Forbade me 1 minting any mare,	
To raxe above my reach.	
"What? tush!" quoth Courage, "man, g	o to,
He is but daft that hath to doe,	
And spares for everie speach;	370
For I have oft heard sooth men say,	
And we may see't 2 ourselves,	
That Fortune helps the hardie ay,	
And pultrons ay 3 repels.	
Then care not, an[d] feare not,4	375
Dread, Danger nor Despare:	
To fazards, hard hazards	
Is death, ⁵ or they come there.	

"Who speeds, but such as high aspyres?	
Who triumphs not, but such as tyres	380
To win a noble name?	
Of shrinking what but shame succeeds?	
Then doe as thou would have thy deeds	
In register of fame.	
I put the case, thou not prevailde,	385
So thou with honour die,	
Thy life, but not thy courage failde,	
Shal Poets pen of thee.	
Thy name then, from Fame then,	
Can 6 never be cut off;	390
Thy grave ay shal have ay	
That honest Epitaph.	

¹ E.W.² my.

² E.W.² see.

³ E.W.² plaine.

⁴ E. Then feir nocht nor heir nocht.

⁵ E.W.² deid.

⁶ E.W.² Sall.

-
WREITTOUN]

"What canst thou losse, when honour lives? Renowne thy vertue ay revives, If valiantly thou end." 395 Quoth Danger: "huly, friend, take head; Vntimous spurring spilles the stead: Take tent what yee pretend. Thogh Courage counsel thee to climb, Beware thou kep no skaith: 400 Have thou no helpe, but Hope and him, They may beguile thee baith. Thysell now can 1 tell now The counsel of these 2 Clarkes; Wherethrow vet, I trow vet, 405 Thy breast doth beare the marks.

30.

"Burnt bairne with fire the danger dreads; So I believe thy bosome bleeds, Since last that fire thou felt: Besides that seindle times thou sees 410 That ever Courage keeps the keyes Of knowledge at his belt: Though he bid fordward with the 3 Gunnes, Smal powder he provides: Be not a Novice of that Nunnes 415 Who 4 saw not both the sides. Fooles haste 5 ay, almaist ay, Ou'rsyles the sight of some, Who luikes not, or huikes not,6 What afterward may come. 420

¹ E. may. ² E.W.² thae. ³ E. his. ⁴ E.W.² That.

⁵ E. fule-haist; W.² fuil-haist. ⁶ E. Quha huikis not, nor luikis not.

31.	WREITTOUN
"Yet Wisedome wisheth thee to wey	
This figure in Philosophy—	
A lesson worth to leare—	
Which is, in time for to take tent,	
And not, when time is past, repent,	425
And buy repentance deare.	
Is there no honour after life	
Except thou slay thy sel?	
Wherefore hath Atropus that knife?	
I trow thou canst 1 not tell,	430
Who but it, would cut it,	
Which Clotho scarce hath spun,	
Destroying the 2 ioying,	
Before it be begun.	
32.	
"AN 1	
"All ou'rs are repute to be vice—	435
Ou'r high, ou'r low, ou'r rash, ou'r nice,	
Ou're hote, or yet ou'r cold:	
Thou seemes unconstant by thy signes; Thy thought is on a thousand things;	
Thou wats not what thou would.	440
Let Fame her pitty on thee powre,	440
When all thy bones are broken:	
Yon Slae, suppose thou think it sowre,	
Would ³ satisfie to sloken	
Thy drouth now, of youth now,	445
Which dries thee with desire:	110
Asswage then, thy rage then, ⁴	
Foule water quencheth fire.	
	V. ² May.

WRI	EITT	OUN	I

"What foole art thou to die a thirst,1 And now may quench it, if thou list, 450 So easily, but paine? More honour is to vanquish ane, Than fight with tensome and be tane, And either hurt or slay[ne]: The practick is to bring to passe, 455 And not to enterprise; And as good drinking out of glasse As gold in any wise.2 I lever have ever A fowle in hand, or tway, 460 Then seeing ten flying 3 About me all the day.

34.

"Looke where thou lights 4 before thou loupe. And slip no certainty for Hope, Who guides thee but be gesse." 465 Ouoth Courage, "cowards take no cure To sit with shame, so they be sure: I like them all the lesse. What pleasure purchast is but paine, Or honour won with ease? 5 470 He wil not lye where he is slaine, Who 6 doubts before he dies. For feare then, I heare then, But onely one remead, Which latt is,7 and that is, 475 For to cut off the head.

¹ E. of Thrist, ² E. ony ways, ³ E.W.² Nor seand ten fleand, ⁴ E. light, ⁵ E.W.² wyn with eis. ⁶ E.W.² That, ⁷ Orig, lattis,

WREITTOUN 35. "What is the way to heale thine 1 hurt? What way is there 2 to stay thy sturt? What meanes to 3 make thee merrie? What is the comfort that thou craves? 480 Suppose these Sophists thee deceaves, Thou knowes it is the Cherrie. Since for it onely thou but thirsts. The Slae can bee no buite: In it also thine 4 health consists. 485 And in none 5 other fruite. Why quakes thou,6 and shakes thou, Or 7 studies at our strife? Advise thee, it lyes thee, On no lesse than thy life. 490 36. "If any patient would be pansde, Why should he loupe when he is lansde, Or shrinke when he is shorne? For I have heard Chirurgians say, Oft-times deferring of a day 495 Might not be mend the morne. Take time in time, ere 8 time be tint, For time will not remaine: What forceth fire out of the flint. But as hard match againe? 500 Delay not, nor 9 fray not, And thou shall see it sa: Such gets av, as sets av,10 Stout stomackes to the brae.

¹ E.W.² thy. ² E. Quhat is the way. ³ E.W.² may.

⁴ E.W.² thy. ⁵ E.W.² na. ⁶ E. now. Cf. pp. 34, 35. ⁷ E.W.² And. ⁸ E.W.² or. ⁹ E. and. Cf. pp. 36, 37.

¹⁰ E. Sic (W.2 So) gets ay that setts ay.

WREITTOUN	1
WKEILIOON	J

"Though all beginning 2 be most hard,	505
The end is pleasant afterward;	
Then shrinke not for no 3 showre:	
When once 4 that thou thy greening get,	
Thy paine and travel is forget:	
The sweete exceeds the sowre.	510
Goe to then quickly, feare no 5 thir,	
For Hope good hap hath height."	
Quoth Danger, "be not sudden, Sir,	
The matter is of weight.	
First spy both, then ⁶ try both,	515
Advisement doth none ill:	
Thou may then, I say then, ⁷	
Be wilful when thou 8 will.	
38.9	
"But yet to minde the proverbe call,	
'Who uses perils perish shal';	520
Short while their life them lasts."	
"And I have heard," quoth Hope, "that he	
"And I have heard," quoth <i>Hope</i> , "that he Should ¹⁰ never shape to saile the sea,	
Should 10 never shape to saile the sea,	525
Should ¹⁰ never shape to saile the sea, That for all perils casts.	525
Should ¹⁰ never shape to saile the sea, That for all perils casts. How many through <i>Despare</i> are dead	525
Should ¹⁰ never shape to saile the sea, That for all perils casts. How many through <i>Despare</i> are dead That never perils priev'd!	525
Should 10 never shape to saile the sea, That for all perils casts. How many through Despare are dead That never perils priev'd! How many also, if thou read,	525
Should 10 never shape to saile the sea, That for all perils casts. How many through Despare are dead That never perils priev'd! How many also, if thou read, Of lives have we releiv'd!	525
Should 10 never shape to saile the sea, That for all perils casts. How many through <i>Despare</i> are dead That never perils priev'd! How many also, if thou read, Of lives have we releiv'd! Who being even dying,	

⁹ In orig. wrongly numbered 37. ¹⁰ E.W.² sall.

39.	[WREITTOUN	
"If we two hold not up thine 1 heart, Which is the chiefe and noblest part, Thy works 2 would not goe well; Considering the 3 companions can Disswade a silly, simple man	535	
To hazard for his heale.		
Suppose they have deceived some,		
Ere we and they 4 might meete,	540	
They get no credance where we come,		
In 5 any man of sprite;		
By reason, their treason		
By us is plainely spyde; 6		
Revealing their dealing,	545	
Which dow not be denyde.		
40.		
"With sleekie 7 Sophismes seeming swee	ete,	
As all their doing 8 were discreet,		
They wish thee to be wise;		
Postponing time from 9 houre to houre	550	
But, faith, in underneath the flowre,		
The lurking serpent lyes;		
Suppose thou seest her not a stime,		
While that she sting 10 thy foote:		
Perceives thou not what precious time	555	
Thy sleuth doth 11 overshoote?		
Alas, man, thy case, man,		
In lingring I lament:		
Goe to now, and doe now,	* 60	
That Courage be content.	560	
1 E.W. ² thy. 2 E.W. ² wark, 3 E.W. ² thae. 4 E.W. ² Or thay and we, 5 E. with. 6 E.W. ² first endings. 7 E.W. ² sleikit. 8 E.W. ² doings. 9 E. frae. 10 E. Till that scho stings.	Cf. pp. 38, 39. spyit.	

WREITTOUN]

41.1

"What if Melancholy come in, And get a grip ere thou begin? Then is thy labour lost; For he will hold thee hard and fast, Til time and place and fruite be past. 565 And thou give up the ghost: Then shal be graven upon that place,2 Which on thy tombe is 3 laid, 'Sometime there liv'd such one'-alas,4 But how shal it bee said? 570 'Heere lyes now, but prise now, Into dishonours bed, A cowart, (as thou art), Who 5 from his fortune fled.'

42.6

In grave, and syne might heare this said,

"Imagine, man, if thou were laid

Would thou not sweat for shame?

Yes, faith, I doubt not but thou would;

Therefore, if thou have eyes, behold

How they would smore thy fame!

580

Goe to, and make no more excuse,

Ere life and honour losse,

And either them or us refuse:

There is no other chose.

Consider, togidder,

That we doe never dwell:

575

In orig. wrongly numbered 42.
 E. graif is; W.² graue beis.
 E.W.² liued sik a ane.
 E.W.² That,
 In orig. wrongly numbered 43.
 E. w.² gravd upon the stane.
 E.W.² liued sik a ane.
 E. has ene.

At length ay, but 9 strength ay, The 10 pultrons we expell."

E. W.² That, In orig. wrongly numbered 43. E. has ene.

E. W.² Can.

E. has ene.

E. W.² That,

E. has ene.

43∙	[WREITTOUN
Quoth DANGER, "since I understand	
That counsall can be no command,	590
I have no more to say;	
Except, if that you thinke 1 it good,	
Take counsel yet, ere ye conclude,	
Of wiser men then 2 they:	
They are but rackles, young and rash,	595
Suppose they thinke us fleit:	
If of our fellowship ye fash,	
Goe with them hardly beit.	
God speed you, they lead you,	
Who have 3 not meekle wit;	600
Expel us, yeeil tell us,	
Heereafter comes not yet." 4	
44.	
While Danger and Despare retir'de,	
Experience came in, and spear'de	
What all the matter meande;	605
With him came Reason, Wit, and Skill.	
Then they began to aske 5 at Will,	
"Where make you to, my friend?"	
"To pluck yon lustie Cherrie, loe!"	
Quoth he, "and quyte the slae."	610
Quoth they, "is there no more adoe,	
Ere yee win up the brae,	
But doe it, and to it, ⁶	
Perforce your 7 fruite to pluck?	
Well, brother, some other	615
Were better to conduct.	
¹ E.W. ² he thocht. ² E.W. ² nor. ³ E.W. ² That hes. ⁵ E.W. ² speir. ⁶ E.W. ² Bot to it, and do it.	⁴ Cf. p. 42. ⁷ E.W. ² the.

WREITTOUN]

45.

"We grant yee may be good enough, But yet the hazard of yon heugh Requires a graver guide. As wise as yee ar may goe wrang; 620 Therefore take counsell, ere ye gang, Of some that stands 1 beside. But who were yon three yee forbade Your company right now?" Quoth Wil, "three preachers to perswade 625 The poysonde Slae to pull. They tratled and pratled, A long halfe hour and mare; Foul fal them! they call them Dread, Danger, and Despare. 630

46.

"They are more fashious than 2 of feck: Yon fazards durst not, for their neck, Climb up the Craige with us. Fra we determined to die, Or then 3 to climbe the 4 Cherrie tree, 635 They bode about the bush. They are conditionde like the Cat— They would not weete their feete; But yet if any fish we 5 gate, They would be apt 6 to eate: 640 Though they now, I say now, To hazard have no heart; Yet luck we, or 7 pluck wee The fruite, they would not 8 part.

¹ E. stand.

² E.W.² nor.

3 E.W.2 else.

4 E.W.2 3on.

⁵ E. 3e.

⁶ E.W.² fayne.

7 E.W.2 and.

8 E.W.2 have.

47.	[WREITTOUN
"But when 1 we get our voyage wun, They shal not then a Cherrie cun, Who 2 would not enterprise." "Well," quoth Experience, "ye boast;	645
But he that reckon'd but his hoast, ³ Oftimes he counteth twise. ⁴ Ye sell the Baires skin on his back, But bide while ye it get; When ye have done, its time to crack: Ye fish before the net.	650
What haste, sir, ye taste, sir, The Cherrie, ere yee pow it: Beware, sir, ye are, sir, ⁵ More talkative nor trowit."	655
48.	
"Call <i>Danger</i> back againe," quoth <i>Skil</i> , "To see what he can say to <i>Wil</i> , We see him shoad so straite:	660
We may not trow what each one tels." Quoth Courage, "we concluded els, He serves not for our mate;	665
For I can tel you al perquiere His counsel ere he come." Quoth Hope,6 "whereto should he come He cannot hold him dum:7 He speaks ay, and seeks ay	Ü
Delayes oft times and drifts, ⁸ To grieve us, and dieve us, ⁹ With Sophistrie ¹⁰ and shifts."	670
1 E.W. ² fra. 2 E.W. ² That, 4 E. He aftentymes counts twyse. 6 E.W. ² Will. 8 E.W. ² Delay of tyme be driftis. 10 E.W. ² sophistries. 3 E.W. ² countis witho 5 E.W. ² Bewar 3it, 3e 7 E. He cannot hald be 9 E.W. ² He greuis vs and E.W. ² sophistries.	ar 3it. nis himdumb (!).

WREITTOUN

49.1

Ouoth Reason, "why was he debarde? The tale is ill cannot 2 be heard: Yet let us heare him anes." 675 Then Danger to declare began, How Hope and Courage tooke the man, To leade them 3 all their lanes; How 4 they would have him up the hill, But either stoppe or stay; 680 And who was welcomer than Will? He would be foremost ay: He could doe, and should doe, Who ever would or nought. Such speeding proceeding 685 Vnlikely was, I thought.

50.5

"Therefore I wisht him 6 to beware, And rashly not to run ou'r far, Without such guides as yee." Quoth Courage, "friend, I heare you faile, 690 Take better tent unto your tale, Ye said it could not bee: Besides that ye would not consent That ever we should clim." Ouoth Wil, "for my part I repent, 695 We saw them more than him: For they are the stayare Of us, as well as hee: I thinke now they shrinke now: Goe forward, let them bee. 700

¹ In orig. wrongly numbered 57.

³ E. him; W.2 and led him.

⁵ In orig. wrongly numbered 58.

² E.W.² may not.

⁴ E.W.2 For.

⁶ E.W.2 them.

51.	٢	WREITTOUN	
) - 1	1	" TOTAL TOOL	۱

"Goe, goe, we doe nothing 1 but guckes: They say the voyage never luckes, Where each one hath a vote." Ouoth Wisedome gravely, "Sir, I grant, We were no worse your vote to want, 705 Some sentence now I note: Suppose you speake it but be gesse, Some fruite therein I finde: Ye would be foremost 2 I confesse, But comes oft-times behind. 710 It may be that they bee Deceiv'd that never doubted: Indeed, sir, that head, sir, Hath meekle wit about it."

52.

Then wilful WILL began to rage, 715 And swore he saw nothing in age, But anger, yre, and grudge: "And for myselfe," quoth he, "I sweare To quyte all my companions heere, If they admit you iudge. 720 Experience is growne so old, That he begins to rave: The rest,3 but Courage are so cold, No hazarding they have; For Danger, farre stranger, 725 Hath made them than they were; Goe fra them, we pray them,4 Who neither 5 dow nor dare.

⁴ E. Gae frae then, we pray then. ⁵ E. That nouther.

¹ E. we naithing do. ² E.W.² fordward. ³ E.W.² laif.

			1
WR	EIT.	roun]	Į

"Why may not wee 1 three leade this one?	
I led an hundreth mine alone,	730
But counsel of them all."	
"I grant," quoth Wisedome, "ye have led;	
But I would speere, how many sped,	
Or furthered but a fall?	
But either few or none, I trow,	735
Experience can tell.	
He sayes that 2 man may wite but you,	
The first time that hee fell.	
He kens then, whose pens then,	
Thou borrowed him to flee.	74
His wounds yet, which 3 stounds yet,	
He got them then through thee."	

54.

"That," quoth Experience, "is true:	
Will flattered him, when first he flew,	
Wil set him in a low.	745
Will was his counsell and convoy;	
Will borrowed 4 from the blinded Boy	
Both Quaver, wings, and bow;	
Wherewith before he say'd to shoote,	
He neither yeeld to youth,	750
Nor yet had need of any fruite,	
To quench his deadly drouth;	
Which pines him, and dwines him,	
To death, I wot not how:	
If WILL then, did ill then,	755
Himselfe remembers now.	

¹ E.W.² these. ² E. the. ³ E. that. ⁴ E.W.² To borrow.

r r	WREITTOUN
55∙	(WEIIIOUN
"For I, Experience, was there,	
Like as I use to bee all where,	
What time hee wited Will	
To be the ground of all his griefe,	760
As I my selfe can bee a priefe	
And witnes thereuntill.	
There are no bounds but I have beene,	
Nor hidlings from mee hid,	
Nor secret things but 1 I have seene,	765
That he or any did;	
Therefore now, no more now,	
Let him thinke to concealde;	
For why now, even I now	
Am debtbound to reveald."	770
56.	
"My custome is for to declare	
The truth, and neither eke nor paire	
For any man a ioate:	
If wilful Will delytes in lyes,	
Example in thy selfe thou sees,	775
How he can turne his coate,	
And with his language would allure	
Thee yet to breake thy bones:	
Thou knowes thyself if he be 2 sure:	
Thou usde his counsell ones;	780
Who would yet behold 3 yet	
To wreak thee, were not wee.4	
Thinke on you on yon now,"	
Quoth Wisedome then to mee.	
¹ E. that. ² E.W. ² was. ³ E. be bauld 3et; W. ² ⁴ Cf. pp. 56, 57.	be bald 3it.

			7
337 D	TOTAL	rro	UN
AA TZ	EI.	110	0.14

"Wel," quoth Experience, "if hee 785 Submits himselfe to you and mee, I wote what I should say: Our good advise he shall not want. Providing alwayes that hee grant To put you Will away, 790 And banish both him and Despare, That all good purpose spils; So he will mell with them no mare. Let them two flyte their fils: Such cossing, but lossing, 795 All honest men may use." "That change now were strange now," Quoth REASON, "to refuse."

58.1

Quoth Will, "fy on him, when he flew, That powde not Cherries then anew 2 800 For to have staide his hurt." 3 Quoth Reason, "though he beare the blame, He never saw nor needed them. While 4 he himselfe had hurt. First when he mistred not, he might, 805 He needs, and may not now: Thy folly, when he had his flight, Empashed him to pow. Both hee now, and we now, Perceives 5 thy purpose plaine, 810 To turne him, and burne him, And blow on him againe."

¹ Stanzas 58-66 first appear in the revised version of 1615.

² Orig. a new. ³ E. sturt. ⁴ E. Till. ⁵ E. Perceiv.

[WREITTOUN

Ouoth Skil, "what would wee 1 longer strive? Far better late than never thrive; Come let us helpe him yet: 815 Tint time we may not get againe, We waste but present time in vaine:" "Beware with that," quoth Wit: "Speak on, Experience, let 2 see; We think you hold you dumb." 820 "Of bygones I have heard," quoth he; "I know not things to come." Quoth Reason, "the season, With slouthing slydes, away; First take him, and make him 825

60.

A man, if that you 3 may."

Quoth Will, "if he be not a man, I pray you, sirs, what is he than? He lookes like one at least." Quoth Reason, "if he follow thee, 830 And minde not to remaine with mee. Nought but a bruital beast. A man in shape doth nought consist, For all your tanting tales; Therefore, sir Will, I would yee wist 835 Your Metaphysick failes. Goe leare yet, a yeare yet, Your Logick at the schooles, Some day then, yee may then Passe Master with the Mules." 840

WREITTOUN

61.

Quoth Will, "I marvel what you meane; Should I not trow mine own two evne. For all your Logick schooles? If I did not, I were not wise." Quoth Reason, "I have told you thrise, 845 None ferlies more than fooles: There be more 1 senses than the sight, Which ye ov'rhaile for haste, To wit, if ye remember right, Smel, hearing, touch, and taste. 850 All quick things have such 2 things. I meane both man and beast, By kinde ay, we finde ay,3 Few lackes them at 4 the least.

62.

"So, by that consequence of thine, 855 Or Syllogisme said like a swine, A Kow may learne 5 thee laire. Thou uses onely but the 6 eyes: She touches, tastes, smels, heares, and sees: Which matches thee, and maire. 860 But since no 7 triumph yee intend, As presently appeares, Sir, for your Clergie to be kend, Take yee two asses eares. No Miter perfyter 865 Got Midas for his meed; That hood, sir, is good, sir, To hap your braine-sick-head.

¹ E. mae.

² E. sick.

³ E. Be kynd then, we fynd then. ⁴ E. in.

⁵ E. teach. ⁶ E. thyne. 7 E. to.

63.	[WREITTOUN
"Ye have no feele for to defyne,	
Though yee have cunning to decline	870
A man to bee a moole:	
With little work yet, yee may vowde	
To grow a gallant horse and good,	
To ride thereon at Yoole.	
But to our ground where wee began,	875
For all your gustlesse iests,	
I must be master of 1 the man,	
But thou to bruital beasts;	
So wee two must 2 bee two,	
To cause both kinds be knowne	880.
Keep mine then from thine then,3	
And each one use their owne."	
64.	
Then Will, as angry as an ape,	
Ran ramping, swearing, rude and rape,	
Saw he none other shift;	885
He would not want an inch his 4 wil,	
Even whether't 5 did him good or ill,	
For thirty of his thrift:	
He would be formest in the field,	
And master, if he might;	890
Yea, hee should rather die than yeeld,	
Though Reason had the right.	
"Shal he now, make mee now	
His subject or his slave?	
No, rather my father	895
Shal quick goe to the ⁶ grave.	
² E. maun. ³ E. keip thyne then ⁵ E. quhither it. ⁶ E. his.	frae myne then.

¹ E. to. ⁴ E. of.

WREITTOUN]

65.

"I height him, while mine heart is haile, To perish first, ere he prevaile, Come after what so may." Quoth Reason, "doubt yee not, indeed, 900 Yet 1 hitte the naile vpon the head: It shall bee as yee say. Suppose yee spur for to aspire, Your bridle wants a bit: That marke 2 may leave you in the myre, 905 As sicker as yee sit. Your sentence repentance Shall leave 3 you, I believe, And anger you langer, When vee that practick prieve. 910

66.

"As yee have dyted your decreet, Your prophecy to bee compleat, Perhaps, and to your paines; It hath beene said, and may be so, 'A wilful man wants never woe' 915 Though he get 4 little gaines. But since ye thinkt an easie thing 5 To mount above the Moone. Of your owne fiddle take a spring, And dance when yee have done. 920 If than, sir, the man, sir, Like 6 of your mirth, hee may; And speare 7 first, and heare first, What he himselfe will say."

¹ E. ze. ² E. Meir. ³ E. learn. ⁴ E. gets. ⁵ E. But sen 3e think it easie Thing. ⁶ E. lykes. ⁷ E. but speir.

67.	[WREITTOUN
Then altogether they began	925
And said,1 "Come on, thou martyrde ma	ın,
What is thy will, advise."	
Abasde, a bony while I stood,2	
And musde, ere I mine 3 answere made;	
I turnd me once or twise,	930
Beholding everyone 4 about,	
Whose motions mov'd 5 me maist.	
Some seem'd assured, some dread for do	ubt,
Will ran red-wood for haist,	
With wringing and flinging,	935
For madnes like to mang;	
Despare too, for care too,	
Would needs himselfe goe 6 hang	;
68.	
Which when Experience perceiv'd,	
Quoth he, "remember if I 7 rav'de,	940
As Will allegde of late,	

As Will allegde of late,

When as 8 he swore, nothing he 9 saw

In age, but anger, slack and slaw,
And cankred in 10 conceite:

Ye could not lucke, as he alledgde,
Who 11 all opinions spearde.

Hee was so frack and firie edg'd,
He thought us foure but feard.
'Who panses what chanses,'
Quoth hee, 'no worship wins.

To some best shal come best,
Who 12 hap wel, rack well rins.'

¹ E.W. ² To say.	² E.W. ² baid.	³ E.W. ² my.	⁴ E. ilky ane.
⁵ Orig. mo'vd.	⁶ E. himsell gae.	⁷ E. gif we.	⁸ E. Quhen that.
⁹ E. he naithing.	¹⁰ E. of,	11 E. That.	12 E.W.2 That.

	-
WRE	ITTOUN
THE LAND	TITOUN

"Yet," quoth Experience, "behold, For all the tales that ye have 1 told, How hee himselfe behaves. 955 Because Despare could come no speed.2 Loe! heere he hings,3 all but the head, And in a widdy waves. If you be sure once, thou may see, To men that with them mels: 960 If they had hurt or helped thee, Consider by themsels. Then chuse thee, to use thee By us, or such as yon: Syne 4 soone now, have done now; 965 Make either off or on."

70.

"Perceiv'st 5 thou not wherefra proceeds
The frantick fantasie that feeds
Thy furious flamming fire?
Which doth thy bailfull brest combur,
That none, indeed," quoth they,6 "can cure,
Nor helpe thine 7 hearts desire.
The piercing passions of the spirit,8
Which 9 wastes thy vitall breath,
Doth hold 10 thine heavy heart with heate:
Desire drawes on thy death.

Thy punces pronunces 11
All kinde of quyet rest;
That fever hath ever
Thy person so opprest.

y person so opprest. 980

970

975

¹ E.W.² he hes.
² E. not cum speid.
³ E.W.² quhaire he hangs.

⁴ E. sae; W.² say. ⁵ E.W.² persaues. ⁶ E.W.² That nane bot we, quod thay. Cf. p. 60.

⁷ E. Or help thy.

⁸ E.W.² passion of thy spreit.

⁹ E.W.² That.

¹⁰ E.W.² Hes holit. ¹¹ E.W.² renuncis.

[WREITTOUN

"Couldst1 thou come once acquaint with Skil, Hee knowes what humours doth 2 thee ill, And how thy cares contracts;3 Hee knowes the ground of all thy griefe, And recipies of 4 thy reliefe: 985 All medicines hee makes." Ouoth Skil, "come on,5 content am I To put mine helping hand: Providing alwayes hee apply To counsel and command. 990 While wee then," quoth he then, " Are minded to remaine, Give place now, in cace now Thou get us not againe.

72.

"Assure thy selfe,6 if that we shed, 995 Thou shalt not get thy purpose sped; Take heede,7 wee have thee told. Have done, and drive not off the day: The man that will not when he may, He shal not when hee would. TOOO What wilt 8 thou doe? I would we wist: Accept, or give us ou'r." Quoth I, "I think me more than blest To finde such famous foure 1005 Beside mee, to guide mee, Now when I have to doe; Considering what 9 swidering Ve found me first into.

E. cond.
 E.W.² for.

² E. He kens quhat Humors dois.

⁵ E.W.² Cum on, quod Skill.

⁷ E.W.² tent. ⁸ E.W.² wald.

³ E. cair contraks.

⁶ E. thysell.

⁹ E.W.² the.

73.

"When Courage crav'd a stomack stout, And Danger drave mee into doubt, 1010 With his companion Dread: Whiles Wil would up above the aire; Whiles I am 1 drownde in deepe Despare; Whiles Hope held up mine head. Such pithie reasons and replies, 1015 On every 2 side they shew, That I, who was not very wise, Thought all their tales were true. So mony and bony, Old problemes they proponit, 1020 But 3 quickly and likely, I marvell meekle on it.

74. "Yet Hope and Courage wan the field, Though Dread and Danger never yeeld,4 But fled to finde refuge: 1025 Yet, when ye foure came,5 they were faine, Because ye gart us 6 come againe: The[y] griende to get you iudge. Where they were fugitive before, Yee made them frank and free 1030 To speak and stand in aw no more." Quoth Reason, "so should bee: Oft-times now, but crymes now, But even perforce, it fals, The strong ay with wrong ay 1035

Puts 7 weaker to the wals;

¹ E. was.

² E. ilka.

³ E.W.2 Baith.

⁴ E. neir wald zeild.

⁵ E. Swa fra 3on (3e, W.2) Four met.

⁶ Read 'them,' as in W.², p. 65.

⁷ E. put.

1040

1045

1055

1060

WREITTOUN 75.

"Which is a fault, ye must 1 confesse:

Strength was 2 not ordained to oppresse

With rigour by the right;

But, by 3 the contrare, to sustaine

The loaden which 4 ov'rburthend beene.

As meckle as they might."

"So Hope and Courage did," quoth I,

"Experimented like,

Show skilde and pithy reasons why

That Danger lap the dyke."

Quoth Dreid,5 "sir, take heed, sir;

Long spoken part must spill; 6

Insist not, we 7 wist not

We went against our will. 1050

76.

"With Courage ye were so content,

Ye never sought our smal consent;

Of us ye stood not 8 aw.

Then 9 Logick lessons ye allowit,

And was 10 determined to trow it: 11

Alleageance past for Law.

For all the proverbs wee perusde,

Yee thought them skantly skild;

Our reasons had beene as well rusde,

Had ve beene as well wil'de

To 12 our side as your side,

So truely I may tearme it;

I see 13 now in thee now

Affection doth affirm't."

¹ E.W.² maun. ² E.W.² is. ³ E. on. ⁴ E.W.² The waik anes that. ⁶ E.W.² Lang speiking Part maun spill.

Orig. Danger; E.W.² Dreid.
 E.W.² Lang speiking Part maun s
 E.W.² 3e.
 E. stude nae.
 E.W.² thair.
 E.W.² 3e ware.

¹¹ Orig. trowit. 12 E.W.2 Till. 13 E.W.2 We se.

77.

Experience then smirking 1 smilde: 1065 "We are no bairnes to be beguild." Ouoth he, and shooke his head: " For Authors who alledges us. They stil would win 2 about the bus To foster deadly feede:3 1070 For wee are equal for you all; No persons wee respect; We have been so, are yet, and shall Be found so in effect. If we were as ye were, 1075 We had comde unrequyrde; But wee now, ye see now, Doe nothing undesirde. 78. "There is a sentence said by some, 'Let none uncald to counsell come, 1080 That welcome weines to bee'; Yea, I have heard another yet, 'Who came 4 uncald, unserv'd shuld sit'; Perhaps, sir, so may yee." "Good-man, grande mercie for your gecke," 1085 Quoth Hope, and lowly lowts: "If yee were sent for, we suspect, Because the Doctours 5 doubts. Your yeares now appeares 6 now With wisedome to be vext. 1090

Till you have tint your text.

Reiovcing in gloysing,

¹ E.W.² smyrkling. ² E. They wald not gae. ³ Cf. pp. 68, 69. ⁴ E. cum. ⁵ E. Doctour. ⁶ E. appeir.

79-	[WREITTOUN	
"Where yee were sent for, let	us see	
Who would be welcomer than		
Prove that, and we are payo		
"Wel," quoth Experience, "be	, ,	
You know 1 not in what case		
Your tongue hath you betra		
The man may able 2 tine a sto	T	
Who 3 cannot count his kind	ch; 1100	
In your owne bow you are ov	rshot,	
By more then halfe an inch		
Who wats, sir, if that, sir,	,	
Is 4 sowre, which seem	eth sweet?	
I feare now ye heare now	7 1105	
A dangerous decreete.		
80.		
"Sir, by that sentence yee ha	ve said.	
I pledge, ere ⁵ all the play bee		
That some shall lose a laike	* '	
Since yee but put me for to p	rove 1110	
Such heads as help for my be		
Your warrand is but waike.		
Speare at the man your selfe,	and see,	
Suppose you strive for state		
If hee regrated 6 not how hee	1115	
Had learnd my lesson late,		
And granted hee wanted		
Both Reason, Wit, and	1 Skill ;	
Compleaning, and meaning,		
Our absence did him i	ill. 1120	
¹ E. Ye ken. ² E. ablens.	³ E. T hat.	
⁴ E. be. ⁵ E. or.	⁶ E. regarded.	

81.

"Confront him further face for 1 face, If yet hee rewes his rackles race, Perhaps and ye shall heare; For ay since Adam and since Eve, Who first thy leasings did believe, 1125 I sold thy doctrine deare. What hath beene done, even to this day, I keep in minde almaist: Ye promise further than ye pay, Sir *Hope*, for all your haste; 1130 Promitting, unwitting, Your heghts yee never hooked: I show you, I know you: Your bygones I have booked.

82.

"I would,2 incace a count were crav'd, 1135 Shew thousand,3 thousands thou deceivde, Where thou was true to one; And, by the contrare, I may vant, Which thou must,4 though it grieve thee, grant, I trumped never a man, 1140 But truely told the naked trueth To men that meld with mee. For neither rigour nor for rueth, But onely loath to lie. To some yet to come yet 1145 Thy succour shall 5 be slight; Which I then must 6 try then, And register it right."

¹ E. to.

² E. could.

³ E. thousands.

⁴ E. maun.

⁵ E. will.

⁶ E. maun.

83.

[WREITTOUN

"Ha, ha!" quoth Hope, and lowdly leugh, "Ye'r 1 but a prentise at the pleugh, 1150 Experience, yee prieve. Suppose all bygones as yee spacke, Ye are no Prophet worth a plack, Nor I bound to believe. Yee should not say, sir, till yee see; 1155 But, when yee see it, say." "Yet," quoth Experience, "at thee Make many mints I may, By signes now, and things now, 1160 Which ay before mee beares, Expressing, by gessing,

84.

The perill that appeares."

Then Hope replyde, and that with pith, And wisely weigh'd his words therewith Sententiously and short; 1165 Quoth hee, "I am the Anchor grip That saves the Sailers and their ship From perill, to their port." Quoth hee, "oft times that 2 Anchor drives, As wee have found before, 1170 And loses many thousand lives By shipwrack on the shore. Your grips oft but slips oft, When men have most to doe, Syne leaves them, and reaves them 1175 Of my companion too.3

1 E. ze are.

² E. the.

³ E. thy Companzions to.

85.

"Thou leaves them not thy selfe alone,
But to their griefe when thou art gone
Gars Courage quite 1 them als."
Quoth Hope, "I would ye understood,
I grip fast if the ground be good,
And fleets 2 where it is false.
There should no fault with mee be found,
Nor I accusde at all.
Wyte such as should have sound 3 the ground
Before the Anchor fall.
Their leede ay, at neede ay,

Might warne them, if they would;

If they there would stay there,

Or have good anchor-hold.

86.

The worst end of the tree,"

"If yee read right, it was not I,
But onely Ignorance, whereby
Their Carvels all were cloven.
I am not for a trumper tane."

"All," quoth Experience, "is ane;
I have my processe proven,
To wit, that we were cald, each one,
To come before wee came;
That now objection ye have none,
Your selfe may say the same.

Ye are now, too 4 farre now,
Come forward, for to flee;
Perceive then, ye have then

¹ E. quhat.

² E. fleet.

³ E. plumd.

⁴ E. owre.

87.	[WREITTOUN
When Hope was gald into the quick, Quoth Courage, kicking at the prick, "Wee let you well to wit; Make hee you welcomer than wee, Then bygones, bygones, farewell he,	1205
Except hee seeke us yet. Hee understands his owne estate, Let him his chiftanes chuse; But yet his battel will bee blate, If hee our force refuse.	1210
Refuse us, or chuse us, Our counsel is, hee clim; But stay hee, or stray hee, We have none 1 help for him.	1215
88.	
"Except the Cherrie be his chose, Bee ye his friends, wee are his foes; His doings we despite. If we perceive him satled sa	1220
To satisfie him with the Slae, His company we quite." Then <i>Dread</i> and <i>Danger</i> grew so ² glad And wont that they had wun; They thought all seald that they had sa	
Sen they had first begun. They thought then, they mought the Without a partie plead; But yet there, with Wit there, They were dung downe indeed.	nen 1230

¹ E. nae. ² E. full. ³ E. with speid.

89.

"Sirs, Dread and Danger," then quoth Wit, "Ye did yourselves to mee submit; Experience can prove." 1235 "That," quoth Experience, "I past: Their owne confession made 1 them fast; They may no more remove. For, if I right remember mee, This maxime then they made, 1240 To wit: the man with Wit should wey What Philosophs had 2 said. Which sentence, repentance Forbade him deare to buy; They knew then how true then, 1245 And preasde not to reply."

90.

Though hee dang Dread and Danger down, Yet Courage could not [be] overcome, Hope heght him such an hyre: He thought himselfe, so 3 soone he saw 1250 His enemies were laid so law, It was no time to tyre. Hee hit the yron while it was hait, Incace it might 4 grow cold; For he esteemde his foes defaite, 1255 When once he found them folde. "Though we now," quoth hee now, "Have beene so free and franke, Vnsought yet, ye 5 mought yet For kindnesse cund us thanke. 1260

¹ E. Thair awin Confessions make.

⁴ E. should.

² E. haif.

⁵ E. he.

³ E. how.

91.

[WREITTOUN

"Suppose it so as thou hast said,
That unrequyrde wee offered ¹ aide,
At least it ² came of love.

Experience, yee start too ³ soone,
Yee dow nothing while ⁴ all be done;
And then perhaps yee prove

More plaine than pleasant, too, perchance:
Some tell that have you tryit;
As fast as you your selfe advance,
Ye dow not ⁵ wel deny it.

Abide then your tide then,
And waite upon the wind;

92.

Ye know, sir, ye ow, sir, To hold you ay behinde.

"When yee have done some doughty deeds, 1275 Syne ve should see how all succeeds, To write them as they were." "Friend, huly, haste not halfe so fast, Lest," quoth Experience, "at last Ye buy my doctrine deare. T280 Hope puts that haste into your head, Which boyles your barmie braine; Howbeit, Fooles haste comes hulie speede; Faire heights make fooles be faine.6 Such smyling, beguiling, 1285 Bids feare not for no freets:7 Yet I now deny now That al is gold that gleets.

¹ E. proffert.

² E. that.

³ E. owre.

⁴ E. Ze naithing dow till.

⁵ E. cannot.

⁶ E. will mak fulis fain.

7 E. Bids feir not any freits.

93.

"Suppose not silver all that shines: Oft times a tentlesse Merchant tines, 1290 For buying geare be gesse; For all the vantage and the winning Good buyers gets 1 at the beginning." Quoth Courage, "not the lesse, Whiles as good Merchant 2 tines as wins, 1295 If old mens tales bee true. Suppose the pack come to [the] pins, Who can his chance eshew? Then, good sir, conclude, sir, Good buyers have done baith; 1300 Advance then, take chance then, As sundry good ships hath.

94.

"Who wist what would bee cheape or deare Should neede to traffique but a yeare, If things to come were kend. 1305 Suppose all bygone 3 things be plaine, Your Prophecy is but prophane; Ve're 4 best behold the end. Yee would accuse mee of a crime Almost before wee met; 1310 Torment you not before the time, Since dolour payes no debt. What 5 by past, that I past, Ye wot if it was well: To come yet, by doome yet, 1315 Confesse ye have no feele."

¹ E. get.

² E. Merchants.

³ Orig. bygones.

⁴ E. ye had.

⁵ E. Quhats.

95.

WREITTOUN

"Yet," quoth Experience, "what than? Who may be meetest for the man, Let us his answere have." When they submitted them to mee, 1320 To Reason I was faine to flee, His counsell for to crave. Ouoth he, "since you yourselves submit To doe as I decreet, I shal advise with Skil and Wit, 1325 What they thinke may bee meete." They cryde then, "we byde then At Reason for refuge; Allow him, and trow him, As governour and judge." 1330

96.

1 E, then.

So 1 said they all, with one consent, "What he concluds, we are content His bidding to obey. Hee hath authority to use; Then take his chose whom he would 2 chuse, 1335 And longer not delay." Then Reason rose and was reioysde: Ouoth he, "mine 3 hearts, come hither; I hope this play may bee composde, That we may goe 4 together. 1340 To all now I shall now His proper place assigne; That they heere shal say heere, They thinke none other thing." ³ Orig. mlne. ⁴ E. gang. ² E. will.

97.

"Come on," quoth he, "companion, Skill, 1345 Ye understand both good and ill, In Physick yee are fine; Be medciner unto this 1 man. And shaw such cunning as yee can, To put him out of paine. 1350 First gard the ground of all his griefe, What sicknes ye suspect; Syne looke what hee lackes for 2 reliefe. Ere 3 further he infect. Comfort him, exhort him, 1355 Give him your good advice; And panse not, nor skanse not, The perill nor the price.

98.

"Though it be cumbersome, what recke? Finde out the cause by the effect 1360 And working of his veines. Yet while we grip it to the ground, See first what fashion may bee found To pacifie his paines. Doe what ye dow to have him haile, 1365 And for that purpose prease: Cut off the cause, the effect must 4 faile, So all his sorrowes cease. His fever shall never From thencefoorth have no force;5 1370 Then urge him to purge him, He will not waxe the worse."

¹ E. mediciner to the.

² E. quhat laiks for his.

³ E. or.

⁴ E. maun.

⁵ E. Frae thencefurth haif a Forss.

WREITTOUN 99. Ouoth Skil: "his senses are so sicke, I know no liquor worth a leeke To quench his deadly drouth; 1375 Except the Cherrie help his heat, Whose sappy sloking,1 sharp and sweet, Might melt into his mouth, And his melancholy remove, 1380 To mitigate his minde. None wholesomer for your 2 behove, Nor more cooling of kinde;3 No Nectar directar Could all the gods him give, Nor send him, to mend him, 1385 None like it, I believe. 100. "For drowth decayes as it digests." "Why, then," quoth Reason, "nothing rests But how it may bee had?" "Most true," quoth Skil, "that is the scope, 1390 Yet we must 4 have some helpe of Hope." Quoth Danger, "I am rad His hastines breeds 5 us mishap, When he is highly horst: I would 6 wee looked ere 7 wee lap." 1395 Quoth Wit, "that were not worst. I meane now, conveene now The counsell one and all; Begin then, cal on 8 then:" Quoth Reason, "so I shall." 1400 1 E. slokning. ² E. his. ³ E. Nor of mair cooling kynd. ⁶ E. will. ⁷ E. or. ⁸ E. in. ⁵ E. bred.

4 E. maun.

wreittoun]

101.

Then Reason rose with gesture grave, Belyve conveening all the lave, To see 1 what they would say; With silver scepter in his hand, As Chiftane chosen to command, 1405 And they bent to obey. He pansed long before he spake, And in a study stood; Syne hee began and silence brake: "Come on," quoth he, "conclude 1410 What way now we may now Yon Cherrie come to catch; Speak out, sirs, about, sirs; Have done-let us dispatch."

102.

¹ E. heir.

Quoth Courage, "scourge him first that skars; 1415 Much musing memory but marres; I tell you mine intent." Quoth Wit, "who will not partly panse In perils, perishes perchance, Ov'r rackles may repent." 1420 "Then," quoth Experience, and spake, "Sir, I have seene them baith, In bairnlines 2 and lye aback, Escape and come to skaith. But what now of that now? 1425 Sturt followes all extreames: Retaine then the meane then, The surest way it seemes.

² E. braidieness.

103.

[WREITTOUN

"Where some hes further'd, some hes faild; Where part hes perisht, part prevaild: 1430 Alike all cannot lucke. Then either venture, with the one, Or, with the other, let alone The Cherrie for to plucke." Quoth Hope, "for feare folke must 1 not fash." 1435 Ouoth Danger, "let not light." Ouoth Wit, "bee neither rude nor rash." Ouoth Reason, "yee have right." The rest then, though[t] best then, When Reason said it so. 1440 That, roundly and soundly, They should together goe

104.

To get the Cherrie in all haste, As for my safety serving maist. Though Dread and Danger feard 1445 The peril of that irksome way, Lest that thereby I should decay, Who then so weake appearde, Yet Hope and Courage hard beside, Who with them wont contend, 1450 Did take in hand us for 2 to guide Vnto our iourneyes end; Impleadging, and waidging, Both two their lives for mine, Providing the guiding 1455 To them were granted syne.

¹ E. maun.

² E. us all.

105.

Then Dread and Danger did appeale, Alledging it could not 1 be well, Nor yet would they agree; But said they should sound their retreate, 1460 Because they thought them no wise meete Conductores unto mee. Nor to no man in mine estate, With sicknes sore opprest; For they tooke ay the nearest gate, 1465 Omitting oft the best. Their nearest perquearest Is alwayes to them both, Where they, sir, may say, sir, "What recks them of your skaith?" 1470

тоб.

"But as for us two, now we sweare By him, before whom we 2 appeare, Our ful intent is now To have you whole, and alway 3 was, That purpose for to bring to passe; 1475 So is not theirs, I trow." Then Hope and Courage did attest The gods of both these parts, If they wrought not all for the best Of mee, with upright hearts. 1480 Our Chiftane than liftane His scepter, did enioyne "No more there uproare there!" And so their strife was done-

¹ E. neir.

² E. befoir we maun.

³ E. always.

WREITTOUN 107. Rebuiking Dread and Danger sore, 1485 Suppose they meant well evermore To me, as they had sworne; Because their neighbours they abusde, In so farre as they had accusde Them, as ye heard beforne. 1490 "Did ye 1 not else," quoth he, "consent The Cherry for to pow?" Quoth Danger, "we are well content; But yet, the maner how? We shal now, even all now, 1495 Get this man with us there; It rest is, and best is, Your counsel shall declare." 2 то8. "Wel said," quoth Hope and Courage, "now We thereto will accord with you, 1500 And shall abide by them; Like as before we did submit. So wee repeate the samine yet; We minde not to reclaime. Whom they shal chuse to guide the way, 1505 Wee shal him 3 follow straight; And further this man, what we may, Because wee have so height; Promitting, but flitting, To doe the thing we can 1510 To please both, and ease both, This silly sickly man."

¹ E. he. ² E. It rests then, ands best then Zour counsell to declair.

³ E. them.

109.

When Reason heard this, "then," quoth hee, "I see your chiefest stay to bee, That we have nam'd no guide; 1515 The worthy counsel hath, therefore, Thought good that Wit should goe before, For perils to provide." Ouoth Wit, "there is but one of three Which I shall to you show, 1520 Whereof the first two cannot bee, For any thing I know. The way heere so stay heere Is, that wee cannot clim Even ov'r 1 now, we foure now: 1525 That will bee hard for him.

IIO.

"The next, if we goe downe about While that this bend of Craiges run out, The streame is there so starke, And also passeth wading deepe, 1530 And broader farre than we dow leape, It should be idle work. It growes ay broader nere 2 the sea, Sen over the lin it came; The running dead doth signifie 1535 The deepnes of the same. I leave now to deave now, How that it swiftly slides, As sleeping and creeping; But nature so provides. 1540

¹ E. owre.

² E. braider to.

III.	[WREITTOUN
"Our way then lyes about the Lin,	
Whereby, a 1 warrand, we shal win,	
It is so straight and plaine;	
The water also is so shald,	
We shal it passe, even as we wald,	1545
With pleasure and but paine;	
For as we see the ² mischief grow	
Oft of a feckles thing,	
So likewise doth this river flow	
Foorth of a pretty spring;	1550
Whose throat, sir, I wot, sir,	
You may stop with your neive	;
As you, sir, I trow, sir, Experience, can prieve."	
Experience, can prieve.	
112.	
"That," quoth Experience, "I can;	1555
All that 3 yee said sen yee began,	
I know to be of 4 truth."	
Quoth Skill, "the samine I approve.	"
Quoth Reason, "then let us remove,	
And sleepe no more in sleuth.	1560
Wit and Experience," quoth he,	
"Shall come 5 before apace;	
The man shall come, with Skill and	mee,
Into the second place.	
Attour now, you foure now	1565
Shall come into a band;	
Proceeding, and leading,	
Each ⁶ other by the hand."	
	E. And all. E. Ilk.

¹ E. ordert.

⁵ E. And.

113.

As Reason ordeinde, all obeyde;

As Mason ordenide, all obeyde,	
None was ov'r rash, nor none 2 affraide,	1570
Our counsel was so wise:	
As of our iourney Wit did note,	
We found it true in every 3 iote:	
God bles'd our 4 interprise.	
For even as wee came to the tree,	1575
Which, as yee heard mee tell,	
Could not be clum, there suddenly	
The fruite for ripnes fell.	
Which hasting and tasting,	
I found myselfe relievde	1580
Of cares all and sares all	
Which minde and body grievde.	
114.	
Praise be to God, my Lord, therefore,	
Who did mine health to mee restore,	
Being so long time pinde;	1585
Yea, ⁵ blessed bee his holy Name,	3 3
•	
Who did from ⁶ death to life recleame	
Mee, who was so unkinde.	
Mee, who was so unkinde.	1590
Mee, who was so unkinde. All Nations also magnifie	1590
Mee, who was so unkinde. All Nations also magnifie This everliving Lord;	1590
Mee, who was so unkinde. All Nations also magnifie This everliving Lord; Let me with you, and you with mee,	1590
Mee, who was so unkinde. All Nations also magnifie This everliving Lord; Let me with you, and you with mee, To laude him ay accord;	1590

And kisse him and blesse 7 him

Whose Glore eternall rings.

² E. nane was.

³ E. ilka.

⁶ E. frae.

⁷ E. bliss.

1595

⁴ E. bliss the.

THE FLYTING

BETWEEN

MONTGOMERIE AND POLWART

(TULLIBARDINE AND HARLEIAN TEXTS)

F. 1 a.1 Invectiues.

CAPITANE

ALLEXANDER MONTGOMEREE

&

POLLVART & CETERA

TO HIS MAIESTIE.

All reddie as al reddie I have bene,
All reddie shall I be quhill lyf may lest;
All reddie evir sorrow to sustene,
On land and sey, at large or fetterit fast;
In trubleous tyme, in boist of fortounes blast,
In heich estate, or 3it in law degree,
In wea[1]the or woe, in healthe or secknes cast,
As I have bene al reddie shall I bee.
Then if my dewtie may deserve sick fee,
Forget not me quhois hart is whoillie 3ouris,
Quhois lyf and deathe sayis bot, forget not mee,
Submitting all into your princelie poueris.

And since alreddie (Sir) I am your thrall, Forget not me amangis your servantis all.

TULLIBARDINE.

5

10

20

POLWART AND MONTGOMERIE FLYTING.

Montgomerie to Polwart.

F.22a. Polwart, 3e peip like a mouse amongest thornes;
Na cuning 3e keip; Polwart, 3e peip;
3e luik lyk a sheipe and 3e had two hornes:
Polwart, 3e peip like a mous amongest thornes.

Bewer what thow spekes, litle foull earthe taid, 5 With thy canigait breikes, Bewar what thow speiks, Or ther shall be weit cheikes for the last pat thow made: Beware what thow speikes, litle foull earth taid.

Foull mismaid miting, borne in the merfs,

Be word and by writting, foulle mismaid miting,

Leiv aff thy Flyting, come kis my erfse,

Foule mismaid miting, borne in the merfse.

And we mell thou shall 3ell, litle cultron cuist;
Thou shall tell even thy sell, and we mell thou sall 3ell.
thy smell was so fell, and stronger nor muist;

And we mell thou shall 3ell, litle cultron cuist.

Thou art deand and dri[d]land like ane foule beist;
Fykand and fidland lyke Robene reid breist,
Strydand and strydland, doand and dridland;
Thow art doand and dridland like ane foull beist.¹

¹ These lines do not occur in the Tullibardine MS.

TULLIBARDINE

F. 7 b. THE FIRST FLYTTING, IN FORME OF REPLY
TO ALEX. MONTGOMEREIS FIRST FLYTTING,
BE POLLART.

DISPITFULL speidder! puir of spreit!

Begune with baibling me to blame?
gok, wyt not me to gar the greit;
thy tratling, trewcour, I sall tame.
quhair pow beleivit to win a name,
thow sall be blasit of ane beild,
and sall resaue baith skaith and schame,
and syne be forcit to flie the feild.

Thy raggit roundaillis, reifand royt, sum schort, sum lang, and [out] of lyne, with skabrous collouris, fowsome floyt, proceiding from ane pynt of wyne, quhilk haultis for fault of feit lyk myne—3it, fuuill, bow thocht na schame to wreit bame, at menis command that laik ingyne, quhilkis doytit dyvouris gart the dyt bame.

25

30

35

Bot, gokit guiß, I am rycht glaid thow art begun in wreit to flyt. sen, loun, thy language I have laid, and put þe [to] thy pen to wryt, Bot, dog, I sall þe so dispyt, with priking put [be] to sik speid, and caus þe, cur, that worklum quyt, syne seik ane hoill to hyd thy heid.

Polwarts reply to Montgommrie.

Dispitefull Spider! poore of Spreite!

Begines with babling me to blame?

Gooke, wyte me not to garre the grete;

Thy tratling, truiker, I shall tame.

Where thow beleives to win ane name,
thow shall be banished of all beild,

And syne receaue bothe skaithe and schame,

And so be forced to leaue the field.

Thy ragged roundells, ravand Royte,

Some schort, some long, some out of lyne,

With scabrous colours, foulsome floyt,

Proceided frome ane pynt of wyne,

Whilk hailts for laike of feitt lyk myne—

3eit, foule, thow thoght no schame to wreit them,
at mens command that laikes Ingyne,

35

Whilk doyted dyvors gars the dyte theme.

Bot, gooked goose, I ame richt glaid
Thow art begune in wreit to flyte.
Senn, loune, thy language I have laid,
And put the to thy penn to wryt,
Now, dogg, I shall the so despyte,
With pricking put the to such speide,
And caust the, cure, that warkloume quyte,
Syne [seeke] ane hole to hyd thy hede.

TULLIBARDINE

F. 8 a.

zit, knave, acknawledge thyne offence, or I grow crabit, for to clair the. 40 ask merce, mak obedience In tyme, for feir that [I] forfair the, Evill sprit, I will no langer spair the. Blaid, blek be, to bring in ane gwyse: And to mak pennance sone prepair the; 45 Syne pas furth as I sall devyse. first fair, threid bair, with fundrit 1 feit, recanting thy vnseamelie sawis, In pilgramage to allareit; suin be content to guyt the caus, 50 and in thy teith bring in the tawis,

And of thir tua tak thou ² thy choiss, for thy awin profeit I procure the, or, with ane prik in to thy noiss, To stand *con*tent, I sall *con*iure the; Bot at this tyme think I forbuir the, becaus I can not trait be fairer. sit bow this charge, I will assure the the secund salbe sumthing sairer.

with bekis my bidding to abyd, quhidder thow will let belt thy bawis, or kifs all cloffis that standis besyde.

55

60

¹ MS, fundeit.

² MS. to.

		[HARLEIAN
F. 22 <i>b</i> .	3it, knave, acknowledge thy offence Or I grow crabeit, and so clair the. Aske mercie, mak obedience In tyme, leist for ¹ feirles I forefaire [the]. Ill spreite, I will no longer spare thee.	45
	Blaidde, blecke the, to bring in [ane] gysse; And [to] drie pennaunce sone prepare the; Syne pas foorth as I shall devysse.	50
	First faire, thred baire, withe fundred feite,	
	Recanting thy wnseemlie sawes,	
	In pilgrimag to allareitt;	. 55
	Syne be content to quyt the cause,	
	And in thy teithe bring me the tawes,	
	With beckes my bidding to abid,	
	Whither thou wilt let me belt thy 2 bawes, Or kis all cloffs that stands beside.	60
	And of thir twa take thow thy choosse,	
	For thy [awin] profeitt I procure the,	
	Or, with a prick into thy Nosse,	
	To stand content, I shall conjure the;	
	Bot all this tyme thinke I forebuir the,	65
	Becaus I cannot treat the fairer.	
	Sitt thow this chairge, I will assuire the	
	The Second shalbe something sairer.	

2 'belt thy' repeated in MS.

1 Omit.

TULLIBARDINE]

F. 2 a. ANE FLYTTING OR INVECTIVE BE CAPITANE ALEXANDER MONTGOMERIE AGANIS THE LAIRD OF POLLART.

FALS feckles fowlmart, Loe heir a defyance!
Go, sey thy science: do, droche, quhat þow dow.
Gang trot in ane tow, mandrak but myance:
65
We will heir tyance, peild pellet, on that pow.
For mony 3eld 3ow thow cald fra ane know,
And hid þame in ane how, stark theif, quhen þow staw þame,
Mensweirand thow saw thame, and maid bot a mow;
Syne fyld by the row, quhen they come that aw þame.

Thy dittay wes deid; bow docht not deny it:
Thy trumperie wes tryd; thy falset they fand:
Burrio the band: "cor mundum," bow cryd,
Condempnit to be dryd, and hung vp fra hand.

Quhill bow payit ane pand, in that stour bow did stand;
With ane willing wand bow wes weill scurgit;
Syne finallie furgit quhy thow left be land.

Now, Sir, I demand how this poyd may be purgit?

Schort mischappin schit, that schuip sick ane swnzie,
Als proud as 3e prunzie, zour pen salbe plukkit.

Cum kifs quhair I cuckit, and change me bat cwnzie.

3our gruntill lyk grunzie is gracles and gukkit;

3our mowthe wald be mwkkit, till ze wer instructit.

3our flirdome wanfuckit, ze tersell of ane taid,

3our meitter mismaid hes louslie lukkit:

85
thow cwmelie conductit thy termes on ane slaid.

F. 2 b. Arpit angrie Ettercoip, and auld vnsell aip,
Thow 1 grenis to gaip vpon the grey meir.
Ga pley with thy peir, I sall pay the lyk a paip;
Thow will rax in ane raip or be end of the zeir.

¹ MS. Throw.

90

Montgomrie to Polwarte

Fals fecles foumart, Lo heir a defyance!

Go, asay thy sayance: doe, droche, quhat thow dow. 70

Trote, tyke, to a towe, mandrag but myance:

Wee will heir tythance, peild polwart, of thy pow.

Manie 3eild 3ow hes [thow] cald over a know,

Syne hyd them in a how, stark theife, quhen thow staw them,

Mensweiring thow saw them, and maid bot a mow; 75

Syne fyld in the row, quhen the men come that awe them.

Thy dittay was deith; thow darr not deny it:

Thy trumperie was tryed; thy falsit they fand:

Borrow the band: "cor mundum" thow cryed,

Condemned to die, and [be] hung vp fre hand.

While thow paid a pand, in that stour thow did stand;

With a willie wand thy skin was weill scourged;

F. 23a. Syne feinzeitlie forged, thow left the land.

Now, sirs, I demaund how [t]his podd can be purged?

3it, wanshappen schitt, thow schup such a suinzei,
As proud as 3e pruinze, zour penns shalbe plucked.
Come kis where I cucked, and change [me] that cunzie.
3our gryses grunzie is gracles and gooked;
3our mouth must be 1 mucked, quhill ze be Instructed.
Foule flirdome 2 wanfucked, tersell of a taid!

90
Thy metter mismaid hes louslie luicked:
I graunt thow conducted thy termes in a staid.

Little angrie attercope, & old vnsell ape,
3e grein for to gaipe vpon the gray meir.
Play with thy peir, or I will pull the lyk a pape;
Go ryd in a rope for this Noble new 3eir.

¹ MS, me.

² MS, frildome.

TULLIBARDINE]

I promeis the heir to thy chaftis ill cheir, Till þow gang and leir to lik at þe lowderis; With pottingeris poulderis except þow ovrsmeir, that scab that 3e beir will scall the to þe schoulderis.

Tusche, twyscheillit trumpour, with tratling how trowis, 95 Makand vane vowis to mache he with me:

With he poynt of ane kie weill brunt on thy browis,

Now god seu kowis quhairfra come ze.

I tell he, bumbie, ane doggis deid how will die,

Quhen I sall syne sie the hung be he heillis,

for stuff hat how steillis; into he cuntrie

Na man may save the, for how art past the seillis.

Proud, poysonit pykthank, pervers and puir,

I dow not induir to be dobbit with ane duik;

I'se fell the lyk ane fluik, flat on he fluir.

thy scrowis obscuir ar borrow[it] fra sum buik;

fra lyndsay how tuik, how art bot chawceris cuik;

Ay lyand lyk ane ruik, if na man wald scar the.

Bot I sall debar the he kingis kitching nuik;

Thow art fleyit for ane luik, bot I sall ryd nar the.

Stif, stridand stikdirt, I'se gar þe stink,
To teiche þe to think with thy maister to mel.
On sick as thy sell, pert pratling prink,
Culd þow not wair ink, thy tratlingis to tel?
Hy, 3e huirsone, to hel, amangis þe feyndis fel,
And drink of þat wel that poysonit thy pen,
Quhair devillis in þair den dois 3ammer & 3ell:
Heir I the expell from all christinit men.

Finis be Apollois poet Of his first reply to pollart 115

F. 3 a.

[HARLEIAN

120

I promeis the heir to thy chaftes ill cheir,
Except thow go leir to lick at the louder;
With pottingars poudar thy self thow oversmeir,
The castell 3e weir weill seald on 3our shoulder.

This twyfse sealed trumper, with his tratling he trows, Making vaine voues, to match him with me:
Withe the print of a key weill brunt on thy browes,
Now god save kowes quhairfra com 3ee.
For all 3our Bombee, 3e 1 warred a little wie:

105
I think for to see 3ow hing by the heilles,
For tearmes that thow steiles of ald poetrie.
Now quha shuld trow 3ow that is past both the seales?

Proud, poysond pykthank, perverst & perjured!

I dow not Indur it,² to be bitten with a duik;

I shall fell the lyk a fluik, flatlings on be fluir.

Thy sorrowes obscure is borrowed fro some buik;

Fro Lindsey thow tuik; thow art chawsers cuik;

Still lieing lik a ruik, if men would not skarr the.

Bot, beist, I debare [thee] the kings chimney nuik; 115

Thow fliees for a luik, bot I shall ride nere the.

Fals strydand stickard, I will garr the stink.

How durst thow mint with thy maister to mell?

On such as thy sell, littill pratling pink,

Could thow not warre Ink, thy tratling to tell?

How, horsone, to hell, among the feindes fell,

F. 23 b. How, horsone, to hell, among the feindes fell,

To drinke of that well that poysond thy penn,

Wher divelles in ther denn dois 3eammer & 3ell;

Heir I the expell from all cristian men.

¹ Hart, 3e'r.

² MS. Indurit.

TULLIBARDINE

F. 8 3.

THE SECUND INVECTIVE AGANIS
ALEX. MONTGOMERIE, REPLYING
TO HIS SECUND FLYTTING THAT BEGINIS
IN PIR WORDS: 1

Blaird, baibling bystour-baird, obey:
Learne, scybald knave, to knave thy sell,
Vyld vagabound, or I Invey,
Cuistroun, with cuiffis the [to] compell.
Tryit, tratling trewcour, be trewth to tell,
Stowp bow nocht at the secund charge,
Mischevous mischant, we sall mell,
In landward langwad[ge] we sall mell.

120

125

Quhairfoir, loun, as bow luifis thy lyf,

I bothe command and counsall be
for till eschew this sturtsome stryf,
and with thy manlie maister grie.

for bis effect I sumound the
Be publict proclamatione;
Cum and compeir vpon thy knie,
And kiß my fair fundation.

Bot, lord! I lawche to sie the bleitter,
gloir in thy ragmentis, rasche and raill,
with mankit, manschocht, mankit meitter,
Trottand and twmbland top over taill.
As carlingis comptis pair fartis, doyd snaill,
Thy rowstie ratryme, maid but mater,
I culd weill follow, wald I saill,
Or pres to fische within thy watter.

¹ Blank space in MS.

Polwart to Monntgomrie.

Bleird, babling bystor-baird, obey;	125
Leirne, skybald knaue, to knaw thy sell,	
Vyld vagabound, or I Invey,	
Custrone, with cuiffs the to compell.	
3et, traitland truiker, trewth to tell,	
Stoup thow not at the secund chairge,	130
Mischeivous mischant, we shall mell,	
With laidlie language, loud & lairge.	
Whair, lowne, as thow loveth thy lyffe,	
I both commaund and counsell thee	
For to eschew this sturtsome stryffe,	135
And with thy manlie maister grie.	
To this effect I summound thee	
Be Publick Proclamatioun,	
Gouk, to compeir vpon thy knee,	
And kis my foule foundatioun.	140
Bot, lord! I lauch to see the blooster,	
Gloir in thy ragmentes, rash to raill	
With mingtie, mankit, mangleit metter,	
Tratland and traland top over taill.	
As carlinges ther farts, doild snaill,	145
Thy rustie ratrymes, maid but matter,	
I culd weill follow, would I seall,	
Or preass to fishe within thy watter.	

TULLIBARDINE]

F. 9 a.

Onlie becaus, oule, bow dois vs it, I will wreit vers off commune kynd— And, swinzeour, for thy saik refuis it— 145 To crab be, bumlar, by thy mynd. Pudlar, I pittie the so pynd, To buckill him that beiris the bell: Iak stro, Be better anes Ingynit, Or I will flyt aganis my sell. 150 Bot breflie, beist, I ansser the. In sermone schort I am content, And sayis thy similitudis vnslie Ar nawayis verie pertinent: Thy coyd comparisonis asklent 155 Ar monstrous lyk to the that maid thame: Thy barking borrowit is vnlent, 3it wer they waik let the invaid bame. Also I may be Chawceris man, And [3et] thy maister not the les; T60 Bot, wolf, thow waistis in cop and Can, In gluttonie, thy grace I ges. ga, drunkin dyvour, be addres, or borrow be Ambassattis 1 brekis, To heir me now bei prais expres, 165 Knaif, if bow can, vnwait thy cheikis. First, of thy iust genologie, Tyk, I sall tell be trewth I trow; Thow wes begottin, sum sayis to me, betuix be devill and ane duin kow, 170 sa quhen the feynd wes a nicht fow, In banket birland at the beir; Thow sowkit syne ane broid blak sow,

Amangis be middingis, mony zeir.

¹ In the margin of the MS. the scribe has written, 'ambassatis Is be name of ane fuill.' Cf. 'Als Jhone Makrery, the kyngis fule gat dowbyll garmoundis agane the Yule' (Lyndsay, vol. i. pp. 53, 283-4).

Only becaus, owle, thow dois vise it,

I will wryt veris of common kynd—

And, Swingeor, for thy saik refuse it 1—

To crab thow, bumbler, by thy mynd.

Pedler, I pittie the so pynd,

To buckle him that 2 beres the bell;

Iockstro, be better one Ingynd,

Or I shall flit against my sell.

Bot breiflie, beist, to aunsweire thee,

F. 24 a. Bot breiflie, beist, to aunsweire thee,
In sermon schorte I ame content;
And says 3 thy similitudes wnslie
Ar4 nowayes verie pertinent:
Thy tyrd comparisones asklent
Are monstrous lik the mule that maid them;
Thy borrowed barking is violent,
3ett war they warse, let men owt wear them.

Also I may be CHAUSERS mane,

And 3et thy maister nocht the les;

Bot, volfe, that waists both cop and cane
In gluttonie, thy grace I gese.
Go, drukin divor, the addrese,
And borrow the ambassed breekes,

To heir me now thy praifs exprese,
Knaue, if thou can, without wett chekes.

First, of thy Iust genalogie,
I shall tell the treuth I trow;
Thow was begottin, some says to me,
Betwixt the Devill and a Dumme⁵ kow,
And at nicht quhen that the feind was fow,
At banqueit birland at the beir;
Thow sowkit⁶ syne ane sweit bed sow,
Among the midings, mony a yeir.

¹ MS. that. ² 'him that' repeated in MS. ³ MS. asays.

⁴ MS. Or. ⁵ sic! ⁶ MS. swallowed!

144 THE FLYTING OF MONTGOMERIE AND POLWART.

TULLIBARDINE

On ruittis and ruinscheochis on he feild,

with nolt how nurischit neir a zeir,

quhill that how past both puir and peild,

Into argyle, sum guide to leir;

As, he last nicht, did weill appeir,

quhill how stuid fidging at the fyre,

fast fykand with [thy] hieland cheir,

my flytting forcit he so to flyre.

Into be land quhair bow wes borne,

I reid of nocht bot it is scant,
of cattell, clothing, and of corne,
Or welth and weilfair bothe dois want.
now, taidface, tak bis for ane tant,
I heir 30wr howsing is richt fair,
quhair howland howlattis ay do hant,
with robene reidbrest but repair.

190

185

F. 9 b. The cuntre folkis within the land,

I knaw, ar men of meikill rent

And luifing, as I vnderstand;

quhilk in ane Innes wilbe content

To live, and leave pair hous in lent.

In lent moneth, and long in summer;

Quhair tuelf knichtis kichingis hes a vent,

It will to furnes 1 do pame cwmmer.

195

In stoir of lambes and lang taillit wedders, bow wattis quhair money cupple gais,
In scheilling, tyit fast in tedderis,
In felloun flokis of anes and twais.
Abreid, athort 30ur bankis and brais,
3e do abound in coill and calk;
and thinkis, lyk fuillis, to fly all fais,
with targettis, twil3eis, and twm talk.

200

205

¹ MS, furmes,

On ruits and ruinchs in the feild. With nolt thow nurished was a yeir, Whill that thow past both puir and peild, Into Argyle, some lerr to leir; As, the last night, did weill appear, 185 quhen thow stood fidging at the fyre, Fast fykand with thy hiland cheir, My flyting forct the so to flyre.

Into the land guher thow was borne, I reid of naucht bot it was scant, 190

Wher welth & weilfair baith doth want. Now, taid 2-face, take this for no tant, I heir your housing is right faver. quhair houlring houlates ay doth hannt, 195 With robein reid-breist bot repaire.3

The lords and lairds within that land, F. 24 b. I know, are men of meikle rent And leiving, as I wnderstand; Whilk in ane Innes will be content 200 To leiv, and lett ther hous in lent, In lentron moneth & the long sommer, Wher Twelv Knights chimneys hes ane vent, Whilk for to furnish doth them cumber,

> For store of lambes and long taild wedderes, 205 Thow knowes quhair many couples goes, For steilling, tyed fast in tedderes, In fellon flocks of anes and twaes. Abyd, athort zour banks and braes, Ye do abound in coll and calk; 210 And thinks, lik fools, to flee all faes, With Targetes, tuilzes, & toome talk.

¹ Line awanting in MS.

² MS. taider.

³ MS. repover.

Allas! puir hudpyk, hunger bittin,
Accustomit with scurrulitie,
bydand lyk bystouris all beschittin,
In feildis without felicitie,
Bair, barrane, but fertilite,
for fault of cattell, corne, & gerss ;
30ur bankettis of sick vilitie,
deir of be dog brane of be mers.

210

woif, witles vanter, war nor wys, cwstroun, bow wald "cor mundum" [cry]. Over laidnit loune with lang taillit lyse, Thy doyttit dytmentis sone deny, Trewcour, or I thy trumperie try, And mak a legent of thy lyf; for, flyt I aneis, folk will cry, "fy!" Then bow wilbe warreit with ilk wyf.

220

215

F. 10 a. FOLLOWIS ANE INTERLUDGE

AGANIS C. ALEX*. MONTGOMERY,

BEFOIR POLLARTIS THRID AND LAST

INVECTIVE.

SIR SWYNGEOUR, seing I want wairis
And sawis, to slaik the of thy sairis,
This present from be pottingaris,
I think meit to amend be.

225

for feir thy fevir feidis on follie,
with fasting stomak, tak oydollie
mixt with ane mowthfull of melanchollie,
from flewme for to defend the;

Allace! poore hog-pyks hunger bittin,
Accustomed with scurrillitie,
Bystaud lyk bystors all beschittin,
In feilde without fertility,
Bare, barron with sterility,
For falt of cattell, corne, & gresse;
Your banqueits of most nobility
Deir of the dogbran in the mers.

Witles vaunter, were thow wyse,
Custron, thow would "cor mundum" cry.
Over-laiden loun with long taild lyc[e],
Thy doytit dytting sone 2 deny,
Trooker, or I thy trumperie try,
And mak a legend of thy lyf;
Or, flyt I anes, folk will cry, "fy!"
Then thow will be warred with everie wyf.

Polwarts Medecine to Mountgoumry.

Sit Suingeor, seing I want wairres

And Salues, to slaik the of thy saires,

This present from be potingares,

Me think meit to amend thee.

First, or thy fevour feid on folie,
With fasting stomack, tak oyldolie,
Mixt with a mouthfull of melancholie,
frome floome for to defend thee:

¹ MS. stertily.

² MS. some.

Syne pas ane space, and smell ane flour, Thy Invart pairtis to purge & scour, Tak be thre byttis of ane ill hour, And rubarb, baich and bitter.

This dewlie done, but onie din,
Syne sup sex soipis, but sumthing thin,
of the deill scad, thy guttis with in,
To 1 haill be of be skitter.

235

240

245

250

Vnto ane bed syne mak be boun;
Tak ane sweit serop worth ane croune,
And drink it with be devill ga doun,
To recreat thy sprit.

And, last of all, craig to ane coird, send for ane powder, and pay ford, callit þe vengence of þe lord, for thy muuge mowthe so meit.

F. 10 b. Gif this preßerve 3e nocht from pane,
Pas to the potticaris agane;
Sum recepeis dois 3it remane
To haill bruik, byle, & blister.

As diadregma quhen 3e dyn,
And diagducolicum wat with wyne,
With powder I drait verie fyne,
And mair 3it quhen 3e mister.

1 MS. The.

Syne pas ane space, and smell ane flour.

Thy Inward pairte to purg and scour,

Tak the three byts of ane blacke hour,

And ruberb, bache & bitter.

240

This dewly doone, but any dinne,
Supe syne sax soopis, bot somthing thinn,
Of the devill scade, thy gutes within,
To heall the of thy skitter.

Who thy bed syne make the boune; Take ane sweet sorrop woorth a croune, And drynk it with the devill go doune,

To recreat thy spreit.

245

And, last of all, craig in a cord,
Send for a powder, and pay ford,
Cald the vengeanc[e] of the lord,
For thy mug mouth most meit.

Iff this preserv the not from paine,
Pas to the pottinggars againe;
Some recipies doth 3et remaine
To haill bruik, byll, or blister.

255

F. 25 b. As diadragma quhen 3e dyne,
Or diabolicon watt in wyne,
With pouder I droit fellon fyne,
And more 3it quhen 3e mister.

¹ MS. soopine. The scribe has probably taken down the 'ne' from the word 'doone' in the line above.

THE SECUND INVECTIVE.

Vyld venymous vipper, wanthreivinest of thingis, 255 Half ane elph, half ane aip, of nature denyit, Thow 1 flyttis and bow freittis, bow fartis and bow flingis; Bot this bargane, vnbeist, deir sall bow by it. "The kuif is weill wairit bat twa home bringis," This proverb, peild pellet, to be is applyit: 260 Spruug speidder of spyt, thow spewis furt[h] springis; Wanschaippin wowbat, of be weirdis Invvit. I can schaw how, quhair, and quhat begate the; Ouhilk wes nather man nor wyf, Nor humane creature on lyf; 265 Fals stinkand steirar vp of stryf, Hurkland howlat, have at the! Into the hinderend of harvest, on ane alhallow evin, quhen our goode nichtbouris ryddis, if I reid richt, sum buklit on ane bwnwyd, and sum on ane bene, 270 ay trippand in trowpis fra the twie-licht; sum saidlit ane scho aip all grathit into grene, sum hobling on hempstaikis, hovand on hicht. the king of pharie, with be court of the elph quene, with mony alrege incubus, ryddand that nicht. 275 Thair ane elph, and ane aip, ane vnsell begate, In ane peitpot, by powmathrone; That brachart in ane buß wes borne: They fand ane monstour on the morne,

F. 3 b. The wird sisteris wandering, as they wer wont than, Saw revinis ruge at his rat be ane rone-ruite.

They musit at his mandrak mismaid lyk ane man;

Ane beist bund with ane bunwyd in ane auld bute.

War facit nor ane cat.

MONTGOMERYES ANSWEIR TO POLUART.

Wyld venemous viper, wanthriftiest of things,
Halff ane elph, half ane ape, of natur denyit,
Thow flait with a Cuntrey, the quhilk was the kings;
Bot that bargaine, wnbeist, deare shalt thow buie it.
"The cuiff is weill waired that twa hombe brings,"
This proverb, foull pett, to the is applyit:
First, spider, of Spit thow speus out springs;
Yet, wanshappen wolbet, of the weardes invyit,
I can tell the, how, quhen, or quhere, & quha gat the;
The quhilk was netheir man nor wyfe,
Nor humane creatur on lyfe:
Thow stinkand steirar vp of stryff,
Fals houlat, hav at thee!

In the hinder end of harvest, on ahallow even,

Quhen our good neighboures doth ryd, If I reid rycht, 275

Sum bukled on a buinvand, and some one a bene,

Ay trottand in trowpes from the twylycht;

Some saidland a sho aipe all graithid into greine,

Some hobland one ane hempstalk, hovand to be heicht.

The King of pharie, and his Court, with the elph queine, 280

With mony elrich Incubus, was rydand that nycht.

Ther ane elph, on 2 [ane] ape, ane vnsel begat,

Into ane pot, by powmathorne;

Dat brachart in ane bus was borne;

Thei fand a monstour on be morne,

285

Ware faced nor a cat.

F. 26 a. The weird sisters wandring, as they were woont then,
Saw Reavenes Rugand at that ratton be a rone-ruit.

They mused at the mandrak vnmaid lyke a man;
A beist bound with a boonwand in ane old boott.

¹ MS. deny it.

² MS. one.

How this ghaist haid bene gottin, to ges they begane, 285
Swir sweillit in ane swyneskin and smeirit our with sute;
The bellie that it buir they bitterlie ban.
Of that mismaid mowdywart, mischeif they mwte.
That cankerit camscheocht, vncristnit, they curfs;
And baid bat it suld nevir be but 290
The glengoir, gravell, & be gut,
And all be plaigis bat euir wes put
In pandorus poysonit purs.

"The coche, be connoche, the collik, and be cauld,
The coirdis, be colt evill, be claspis, and the cleikis,
The hunger, be hart euill, be hoist, mot be hauld;
The boche, and be barbillis, and be cannogait breikis,
The ringbane, the banescheven, on thy sprung spauld,
The feirsie, be falling evill, that fellis mony freikis,
Ourgane with angilberreis, as thow growis auld,
The choikis, the charbunkill, with be wormis in thy cheikis,
The snuf, be snoir, be scheippisch, the schanker,
With the bleid[s] and bellithrow,
thy bytting battis, the baneschaw,
the mischeif on thy melt & maw,

"The frenesie, the fluikis, the fykis, and he felt,
The feveris, the totteris, with the spenzie fleis,
The doyt, and the dysmell, indifferentlie delt,
the pelodie, the palsie, he poikis lyk peis,
the [s]neising, the snytting, with swaming to swelt,
the wandevill, he wildfyre, he womeit, he weis,
he mair, the migram, he mureill, he melt,
the warbillis, he wood-worme, that doggis of deis,
The phtiseik, he twithzaik, he tittis, and he tirrillis,

310

315

The scabbis, and be canker.

320

HARLEIAN

How that gaist had bene gottin, to gesse thei began,
Weill sweddelled in a swyns skine and smeirit over with suit;
The bellie at it first bare full bitterlie they bann.
Of this mismaid mowdewart, mischeife they muit.
That crooked, cramschohe cryll, wncristend, they curs; 295
They bad that baith should not be but
The glengoir, graveill, and the gut,
And all the plagues that first was put
Into Pandoraes purse.

"The coch and the cannoch, the colik & cald, 300
The cordes and the Goutewill, the claspis & the cleiks,
The hunger and the hairtill, and the host schall be hold;
The botche and the barbles, with the canigait breikes,
With bokblud, bainespavin, sprong in be spald,
The fersie, the falling-evill, that fells monie a freek, 305
Overgane all withe angleberries, as thow growes auld,
The kinkhost, the charbuncle, & wormes in thy cheeikes,
The snufe and the snore, the chaudpiß, and the canker,
With the bladdes and bellithraw,
The bleirring battes and the baneschaw, 310
With mischeif of the melt and maw,

The clap and canker.

"The frencie, the fluxes, the fyke, and the felt,
The feaveirs, the fercie, with the Spengie flies,
The doit and the dismall, indefferantlie delt,
The powlings, the palsie, with pockes lik peis,

The swerfe and the sweiting, with sounding to swelt, The wonbill, the wildfyre, the vomit and the veis,

The mair and the Ingrame,² with meiths in thy melt,

The warbles, the wood-worme, wherof dogs deis, F. 26 i. The tisicke, the toothaike, the tites and tirles,

This line is written in the margin by the scribe.
 'Mygrame' in the margin in a later hand.

F. 4 a. The panefull poplasie, the pest,
The rottin roup, be auld rest,
with paines and parlasie opprest,
And nippit with be nirrilis.

"The bruik, be byllis, with blisteris and blainis, 320 baith beld and bleirit, brokin bakit, staneblind, wirriand on wind flaiffis, and windie wainis, the hoikis in bi choikis, hakkit heillis av behind, Thy swyne poikis, be poistrume, and, pisching with pane, Hydropasie, herschaw, and hyves, sall the bind. 325 The skunnering cattaris and hartskaid remanis, baith kruikit and crampit, and chitterrit to the chin, the stayne and be stu[r]die, the stane and be sturdie, Lipper lispane of the lidder ill, of dubbis & dreggis to drink thy fill; 330 no wyf will wische the wors with hir will, for bow art not wurdie.

"The messillis, the mwillis, be mallange mak be mantane, The fumyng, be flewme, be foothing, the flame, The gelling, be gulsocht, be gall-hauld, be gauntane, 335 The stane worme, be ringworme, not slaiking of swame, The wirsome, be wraittis, not wormis be thow wantane, The pluirasie, be pluckeuill, ay dwynand in ane dwame, Hoikis hoillis in thy heillis, with the fyre of St Antane, The louslie phirasie, the tarrie vncame, 340 Ay ryvand of ane reif of venymeous water, The lymphat, lunscheocht lithargie, The aikand aixis extasie, Desyrand daylie for to die, Bot nevir the better.1 345

¹ These stanzas occur only in the Tullibardine MS.

The painfull poplisie and Pest,
The rotte, the roupe, and the old rest,
With parleis and plurasies opprest,
And nipd with the nirleis.

"Wo worth," quod þe weirdis, "the wicht[is] that the wrocht!
Threid bair be thair thrift as thow art vanthrewin!
Als hard be thair hansell þat helpis þe [to] ocht!
The rottin rim of thy womb with ruikis salbe revin;
All boundis, quhair þow byddis, to baill salbe brocht;
Thy gall and thy gwißorne to þe glaidis salbe gevin;
Ay schort be thy sollace; with schame be [þou] socht:
In hell mot þow hawnt, and hyd the from heavin;
And ay as þow growis auld, So eik in [thy] anger,
To live with lymmeris and outlawis,
With hurcheonis, aittand hipis & hawis;
Bot quhen þow cumes quhair þe cok crawis,
Tarie no langer.

"Botht schame and sorrow on hir snowt that sufferis the to sowk;
Or scho pat cairis for thy creidill, cauld be hir cast;
Or bringis onie bedding for thy blae bowk;
Or lowsis af thy ludgeotis so long as they lest;
Or offerris the ony thing all the lang oulk;
Or first refreschis pe with fuide, albeit pow suld fast;
Or quhen thy duddis ar bedirtin, pat givis thame ane dowk;
A[1]s gromes, quhair thow grainis, at thy gruntill be agast;
Als freamit be thy fortoune, As foule is thy forme.

First, sewin zeir, be thow dum and deif;
And eftir that, a commoun theif:
Thow art markit for a meischeif,
Foule vnworthie worme!

"Vntrowit be thy tounge, 3it tratling all tymes.

Ay fals be thy fingeris, bot laith to confess.

All cuntreis quhair thow cwmes accuse be of crymes;

Ay be langer that thow live thy luk be the less.

375

"Woe woorthe," quothe the weirdes,¹ "the wichtes þat the wroocht!

Threid-baire be there thrift as thow art wanthriuen!

As hard be ther handsell that helps the to ought!

The rottin rime of thy wombe with rockes shall be reaven;

All boundes, wher thou bides, to baill shalbe broucht;

330

Thy gall and thy guisserone to gledes shalbe given;

Ay schort be thy solace; with schame be [thou] sought:

In hell mot thou haunt, and hide the from heavin;

And ay as thou auld growes, swa eikand be thy anger,

To liue with limmers and owtlawes,

Vith Hurcheons, eitand hippes and haes;

Buit quhen thow comes quhair cockes crawes,

Tarie ther no longer.

"Shame and sorrow on her snout that suffers be souk; Or sho that caires for thy cradle, cald be her caste; 340 Or bringes ony bedding for thy blae bouk; Or louses aff thy linggeiles so lang as they may lest; Or offeres the any thing all [the] long owke; Or fyrst² refresheith the³ withe food, howbeit thow should fast; Or, guhen thy duddes are beshitten, that gives the ane douk; All groomes, guhen thow greites, at thy ganting be agast. 346 Als froward be thy fortune, as foull ill thy forme. First, seavin zears, be thow dumbe & deiff; And after that, ay a common theife: Thuß art thow marked for mischeif, 350 Foull wnwoorthie worme!

F.27 a. "Wntrowed be thy tongue, yett tratling all tymes.

Ay the longer that [thou] lives thy lucke be the lesse.

All Cuntreys quher thow comes accuss the of crymes;

And sals be thy fingers, bot lothe to confess:

¹ MS. wordes.

² Interlineation.

³ Interlineation.

3it still be þow reivand, bot rude of thy rymes.

All ill be þow vsand, and ay in excefs.

Ilk moone be þow mad, fra past be the pryme[s];

Syne plaigit with povertie, thy pryde to oppres.

With wolfis and wilcattis thy weird be to wander;

Draiglit throw dirtie dubbis and dykis;

Taigilt and towsilt with toun tykis.

Say, lowsie lowne, quhat evir þow lykis;

Thy tounge is no sclander."

F. 5 a. Fra þe weird sisteris saw the schaip of that schit,

"Littill luk be thy lot," quod they, "quhair þow lyis."

"Thy fowmart face," quod þe first, "to flyt salbe fit."

"Nikniven," quod þe nixt, "sall nureische þe thryse;

To ryde post in Elphin none abiller nor it."

"To dryve doggis furth to dryt," þe third did devyse:

"All they dayis sall þow be of thy bodie bot a bit.

As suche as þow seames, als scharp be thy syse."

Then dewlie they deimit, quhat deid it suld die.

The first said, "suirlie of a schot";

The nixt said, "In a rynnand knot";

The thrid, "be thrawing of þe throt,

Lyk a tyk on a trie."

The [n] wilfullie voitit the weirdis in ane voce,
The deid of pat daiblet, and then they withdrew;
To let it ly pair allone, they thocht littill lose,
In ane den be ane dyksyde, or the day dew.
Thair a cleir cumpany cum eftir close,
Nickniven with hir nymphis, in nomber anew,
With chairmes from cathnes and chanrie of Roß,
Quhais cwnning consistis in casting a clew;
Sein pat same thing they said to pameself:

Ay reaving and raigne in rood raterrymes.

All ill be thow vsand, and ay in excese.

Ilke moone be thow madd, Fra past be the prymes;

Still plagued with povertie, thy pryd to oppresse.

With warwoolffs and wild cates thy weird be to wander; 360

Draiglit throw durtie dubbes & dikes;

Tousled and tugled with toun tykes.

Say, lowsie lyar, quhat thow lykes;

Thy tongue is no sclander."

Fra the sisters had sene the schaip of that sheitte,

"Littill lucke [be] thy lote, ther quhare thow lyes.

Thy froward face," quoth the first, "to flytte shall be fitt."

"Nieniren," quoth the nixt, "shall nurish the twyfse;

To ryd post to Elphin non ableer nor it."

"To dryve dogges out 1 of dirt," the third can devise: 370

"All thy dayes schall thow be bot of thy bodie a bitt.

Als suith is this sentenc, as scharp is the sysse."

Syne dewly thej demannd, quhat deith it should dy.

The first said, "surlie of a schoote";

The secund, "of a runing knotte";

The thrid, "be the throuing of his throat,

Lyk a tyk over a tree."

Quhen the weirdsisteres had thus voted, all in a voice,
The deid of the dablet, and syne then withdrew;
To lett it ly all alane, thei thocht it litle losse,
In a den by a dyk, or the day dew.
Then a cleere companie and soone after closse,
Nieniren with her Nimphes, in number anew,
With charmes from caitnes and chanrie of Rosse,
F.27 b. Whois cuning consistes in casting of a clewe;
They seing this sarrie thing, said to themselves:

¹ Interlined, and might be 'but.'

"This maikles monstour is meit for ws, And for our craft commodious; Ane vglie aip and incubus, And gottin of Elf."

410

Thir venerabill virginis quhome 3e wald call wiches, In tyme of thair triumph, they tirlt me that taid; Sum bakward on broidswis, & sum on blak bicheis, Sum, in steid of ane staig, over ane stark munk straid. From the heavinis to the hellis, sum hobbillis, sum hichis; With pair mowthis to be moone, sick murgeonis they maid.

F. 5 b. Sum, be force, & effect, the four windis fichis;
And, nyne tymes, wirdersones, about the thorne raid;
And glowrand to be ground grivouslie gaipis,
By craft coniurand feyndis by force.
Furth of ane carne, bysyde ane croce,
Thir ladyis licht fra thair hors.

And band pame with raipis.

Syne bairfute and bair ledgit, to bapteiß that barne,
To ane well went thy west, by ane wood syde;

They saw the schit all beschyttin and soipit in charne.
On ane thre headit hecate in haist pair they cryit:
"As we have fund in this feild this fundlin forfarne,
First, his faith he forsaikis, in the feynd to confyde,
Be vertew of thir wordis & of this raw 3arne,
And thryse thre and threttie knottis on ane blew threed;
And of deid menis memberis, weill schewit in ane schoe,
Ouhilk we have band from top and tae,

Ewin of ane hundreth men and mae:

Now grant ws, devillis, ere ve gae

Our dewtie to doe.

"This thriftles thing is meit for ws, And for our craft comodious; Ane vglie ape and Incubus,¹ Gottin with ane elffe."

390

Thir venerable virgines whome the world call witches,
In the tyme of ther triumphe, tirrd me the taide:
Some backward raid on broodsowes, and some one black bitches,
Some, in stead of a staug, over a stark monnke strade.
Fra the how to the heicht, some hobles, some hitches;
Withe their mouths to the moone, murgions thej maid.
Some, be force, in effect, the four wendes fitches;
And, nyne tyms, withershines, about the throne raid;
Some glowring to ground, some greivously gaipes;
Be craft conjurand feind perforce.
Foorth of a cairne, besyd a croce,
Ther ladies lichtand frome their horse,

Syne bairfoote and bairlegd, to baptize that bairne,
Till a watter they went, be a wode syde;

They fand the shitte all beshittin in his 2 owin shairne.
On three headed Hecatus, to heere them, thej cride:
"As we haue found in the feild this foundling foorfairne,
Firstt, his faith he forsakes, in the to confide,
Be vertew of ther wordes and be this raw zairne;
And quhill their thryse threttie knottis on this blew threid byd;
And of ther mens members, weell sowed to a schoo,

Whilks we have taine, frome top to tae, Even of ane hundreth men & mae: Now grant ws, goddesse, or we gae, Our dewties to doe.

And band them with raipes.

¹ MS. Ineubus.

"Be phe moving of pe mone, mapamone, & pe kingis ell,
Be phlegitoun, the sevin starnis, and pe Chairlvane,
Be the hicht of pe heavin, and lawnes of hell,
Be all the brether of belliallis buird in ane band,
Be the pollis, pe planeittis, and singis all tuell,
Be pe michtis of pe moone—lat mirknes remane,—
Be the elementis [all] that our craft can compell,
Be the floodis Infernall, and fureis of pane,
Be all the ghaistis of our gang, that dwellis pair doun, 445
In signe of stikis, that stinking strand,
And pluto, that our court command,
Resave this harlot of our hand,
In name of Mahoun.

F. 6 a. "That this worme, in our wark, sick wonder can wirk; 450
And, throw poysoun of his poyd, our practic prevaillis
To cut of our cwmmer to cum to the kirk,
For the half of our help I hauld heir is haill.
Let nevir his vndoche of evill doing Irk,
All boundis quhair it bydis may brocht be to baill.
Of blifs let it be als bair as he birk,
That tittest hat taidrell may tell ane ill taill:
Let no wo in his warld to his wrache be wantit."
Be they haid said, the fyre flauch flew;
Bothe thunder, weit, and windis blew;
Quhair be the cwming cummeris knew
Thair asking wes grantit.

Quhen be cummeris that crab with pluto contractit,²
They promeist, as parentis, [syne,] for thair awin pairt,
Ane mother of mischeif, an they micht mak it,
Ane Imp of all ill most meit for bair airt.

1 maxamone.

² The order of this stanza and the next is reversed in Hart's edition of 1629 (see Cranstoun's print). The Harleian text would appear to have been copied from a version following the same order as Hart's; but the scribe has omitted thirteen lines by passing from the tenth line of the stanza to line eleven of the next. See opposite page.

"Be the heiht of the hevins, & be the howness of hell, Be the weindes, and the weirdes, & the charlewaine, Be the hornes, the handstaffe, and the kinges Ell, Be thunder, be fyreflauchtes, be drouthe, & be raine, 420 Be the Polles, and the plannetts, & the signes all twell. Be the mirknes of the moone—lett mirknes remaine— Be the elementes all, that our craftes 1 can compell, Be the feindes infernall, and the furries in paine— Gar all the gaists of the dead, that dwels ther doune, 425 In Lethe and Styxe the stinkand 2 strand[s], And Pluto, that your courts commands. Receiv this howlett aff our hands. In name of MAHOUNE:

28 a.

"That this worme [, in our] worke, some wonders may wirk; 430 And, through the poysone of that podde, our partiquies prevaill To cutt off our cumber frae coming to the kirke, For the halfe of our help and hes it heir haill. Lett never this vndoght of ill doing irke. Bot ay blyth to begin all barrett & baill. 435 Off all blis lett it be alfs bair as the birk. That titest the taidrell may tell ane ill telle: Lett no vice in this world in this wanthrift be wanted." Be they had said, the fyreflauchts flew: And as they could the [y] maid it whryne. 440 Itt shaine the self ay sensyne The baird of it so bair.3

Fra the kummers that crab had with Pluto contracted, They promist, as parents, syne, for ther owin parte, A mover of mischeife, and thei mycht, for to do it: 445 as an imp 4 of all ill, most apt for ther art.

¹ MS. draftis.

² MS, sturkand, ³ Cf. lines 486-8 on page 164. See footnote on page 162.

⁴ MS. a Nimphe!

Nikniven, as nwrische, to teich it, gart tak it, To saill the see in a sive, bot compas or cairt; And milk of ane harin tedder, that wyfis suld be wrakit, And be kow give ane choppin wes wont give a quart; 470 That bairnis suld bane baith bloode & banis,

Quhen they have neither milk nor meill; Compellit be hunger for to steill, Then sall they give him to the deill, Ofter nor anes.

475

Fra the dames devoitlie haid done þair devoir,
In having that hurchoun, they haistit þame hame,
of þat mater to mak amangis þame na moir,
saifing, nixt, þat þe Nunes þat nirlend suld name.
thay cowit ther [the] kytrell, the face of it bair,
And nippit it so done neir, that to sie it wes schame;
Syne callit it peild pollart, they peild it so sair.
"Quhair we clip" quod þe cwmmeris, "it cummeris na kame,
F.66. For we have [heght] to Mahoun for hansell his hair."

They maid it lyk a scrapit swyne;

And ay as they pold it, they gart it quhryn,

And schuif, as we may sie syne,

The face of it bair.

Be ane eftir midnicht, pair office they endit; for then it wes na tyme for trumpouris to tairie:

490 sum bakvard on biches and broodsowis bend[it], that cruikit crokadeill [they] quyt with pame they carie.

vnto pe cocatrice in ane creill they send it; quhair, sevin zeiris, it sowkit, sweillit, singit and sarie,

The [kin of it] be pe cry, incontinent kend it,

feching fude for to feid it, from the feild of pharie.

Ilk elph of pame all broch ane almond oisteris; 1

¹ Cf. correct reading on p. 165.

NIENIREN, as Nurish, to teach [it], gard tak it
To saill sure in a seif, but compas or cairt;
And milk of ane hairne tedder, thocht wyffes should be wraikit,
And the kow giv a choppin was woont to giv a quart.

450
Mony babes and bairnes shall blis thy bair banes,

Quhen they have nether milk nor meill; Compeld for hunger to steall: Then shall thej giv to be devill, Able ofter nor anes.

455

Being after midnycht, ther office was ended:
Al that tyde was no tyme for trumpers to tarrie:
Syne backward, on horsebacke, breiflie they bended;
That camiosed cokatris they quyt with them cary.
To Kait of Creif, in a creill, soon they gard send it;
Wher, sevin 3ears, it satt, baith singled & sarrie,
The kinne of that, be the cry, Incontinent kend it;
Syne fetchet food for to feid it, furth fra the pharrie.
Ilk elffe of them all brought ane almous hous oster;

Bot wes no dayntie dische;
Ane foul phlegmatik fowsum fiche:
Insteid of sawthe, on it they piche.
Sic fude [feid] sick foisteris!

500

And first fra þe father, syne sindrie haid fed it,

Mony mwnkis and marmaidynis come with þe moþer.

"Black boiche on þair bouk," quod thay, "that first breid it!"

Ay offerring þat vndoche fra ane to ane vþer: 505

quhair that serpent [had] sowkit, sair wes to sched it.

bot belyve it began to bwkill the brother.

In þe bark of ane bowrtrie, quhyllumis they bed it.

Thair taillis with the tounge of it, they lyk and ruther;

Sum fartand, sum flyrand, thair phisnomeis þi flyp;

Sum schevilland þair chaftis, and slavere chek[is];

sum luiking lyce in þe croun of it keikis;

sum in thair oxteris it cleikis,

Lyk a bagpype.

F.7a. With mudgeounes, and murgeounis, and mowing be bane, They leit it, they lift it, they loif it, they lak it, 516 They graip it, they grip it; It greitis, they grane; They bind it, they baw it, they bed it, they brat it. It skitterit, it squeillit; they startit ilk ane, quhill be ky in the cuntrie startillit and chaisit, 520 quhilkis rairing ran rid wood, rowtand in a rane. be wild deir in thair den be din hes displasit. The cry wes [sa] vglie, of aipis, elfis, and owlis, That geiss and geislingis cryis & craikis; In dubbis dowkit duikis & draikis; 525 All folkis, for feir, be feildis forsaikis; And the toun tykis 30wlis.

Indeed it was a dentie Dishe;
A Foull flegmutricke foulsome fishe;
In steid of sault, on it they pyshe.
Sike food feid sike a foster!

465

Syne, fra the fathers side fynlie had fed it, Mony monkes and marmasits come with the mother— 470 Blacke botche fall the breist and the bellie that bred it! Av offered they that vndoght fra ane to another: Where that smatched hade sucked, so sair it was to shed it. But beleife it begane to buckie the brother. In the barke of ane bourtrie, whylloms they bed it. 475 All talking 1 with ther tongues the ane to another, With flirting and flyrring, ther fisnomie thei flipe; Some, lookeand lyce, in the croune of it keikes; 2 F. 29 a. Some choppis be keddis into ther cheekes; Some in there oxtere hard it cleekes, 480 Lyk ane auld bagpype.

Withe mud3ons, and murgeons, And moving the braine,
They lay it, they last it, they lowse it, they lease it,
They graipe, they gripe it; It greets, and the[y] graine.
They bed it, they baw it, they binde it, they braste it. 485
It skittered, it scarted; they skirlde Ilk ane:
All the kye in the cuntrey they skarred & chased,
That roaring they 3 woodraine, and rowted in a raine.
The wyld deir fra there denne ther dine hes displaced.
The cryes so vglie, of elphs, aips, and Oules,
That geese and geisling cryes & craikes;
In dubes doune [douks the] doiks & draikes;
All beistes, for feare, the feildes forsaikes;
And the toune tykes 3 oulles.

¹ MS, tuckine.

² MS. breikis.

³ MS, that,

Sick ane mirthles music the mentrallis did mak,
That cattell keist capriellis behind with pair heillis;
Bot littill tent to be toune [pair time 1] leit pame tak, 530
Bot rameist ran reid-wood, and raveld be reill[is].
fra pe cummeris thame knew, they come with a crak,
To coniure the vndoche, with clewis and creill[is];
All pe boundis pairabout grew bleknit & blak:
for the din of that daiblet raisit pe devillis.

To coniure with a clap, fra caves they came far;
And for godbarne gift they gave,
To teich that theif to steill & rave;
Bot ay pe langer pat it live,
The warld be pe war.

540

Finis quod alex^r. Montgomerie

contra

Pollart.

F. 10 b. THE LAST AND THRID FLYTTING AGANIS
C. ALEX*. MONTGOMRIE, AS ANE REPLY
TO HIS THIRD INVECTIVE, BEGINAND
IN THIR WORDs: IN THE HENDER END.

Infernall, froward, fumus fureis fell!
Curst, crabit, cankert sclawe, comper to quell
3 on chairibald, 3 on cative execrabill.
provok my pen profundlie to distell
Sum dour dispyt, to daunt 3 on dewill in hell,
And dryve, with duill, to deid detestabill,
That mad, malitious, monstour miserabill;
Ane tyk tormentit, tratling out of Tun,
That rynis reid-wood, at ilk midis of pe moone.

¹ MS, to twne,

Sike a nurishles musick ther menstrales did mak, 495 Whilk kye caist capreles behynd with ther heeles; Little tent to their tyme the tone 1 leot them take, But ay remaniest reid-woode, and raveild in ther reilles. Then the kumeres that ze ken came all with a clake, To conjur that Codzoigh, with clewes in ther creeles; 500 Whill all the bounds them about grew blaickned & blacke: For the dinn of theifs daiblettes raisd all the devills. To concurre in the cause they were come so farre; For they were godbairne gifts wald giv, To teache the child to steall and reaue; 505 And av the longer that it leiv, The warld should be the warr.

Polwarts 3 flyting against Mountgoumrie.

Internall, frawart, feaming furryes fell! Curst, cankerd, crabd clotho! help to quell 3on caribald, 3on cative execrable: 510 Provyd my penne profoundlie to distell Some dure dispyte, to daunt 3on devill of Hell, And dryve, with dulle, to death detestable, This mad, malicious, monstour miserable; Ane tyk tormented, trotting out of towne, 515 That rynes reidwoode, at ilk mides of the moone.

170 THE FLYTING OF MONTGOMERIE AND POLWART.

TULLIBARDINE

manuaj	
Reveill 1 30ur rairing [rage] and eger Ire, Inflamit with fairfull thundring thudis of fyre	550
To plaig the poisonit pykthank pestalent.	
with fleing fyreflauchis burning bricht and schyre,	
Devoir 30n devillish dragone, I desyre;	
And waist his wareit venym violent.	555
Coniure pis beistlie begger impotent:	
Suppres all power of king pluttois sprit,	
That ² byddis and barkis in him als blak as Iet.	
Bot, reikis rewkis and rewinis, ere 3e ryve him,	
desist, delay his death, quhill I discryve him;	560
Syne ryplie to his rude raving reply.	
To doolfull dollour derflie, or 3e dryve him,	
Throw plutois power, all pleassur I depryve him;	
The loun 3 man lik his womeit, and deny	
His schameles sawis, lyk sathanis slavish smy,4	565
Quhais maneris, with his mismaid memberis heir,	
Dois correspond, as planelie dois appeir.	
• ' •	
His peild pallat, and vnpleasant pow,	
The fowsome flokis of flaeis dois overflow,	
with vamis and wondis; all bleknit full of blainis	570
Out our be nek; athort his nittie now	
Ilk lowsie lyce lurkand lyk ane lint bow, ⁵	
His hairie hair, and bruisit, birny branis	
weill baillit, be bluid evanischit from his wanis;	
with scoiris and crakis athort his froisnit front,	575
,	5,5

His luggis baith lang and lasie quha can bot lak, That to be trone he can so mony tak? with blastit bowellis, boldin with bristin 6 baill, and streichlie hairis blavin widdersins abauk.

In runkillis run ruwth in be stewis brunt.

Hart, Renew.
 MS. And.
 MS. slavishing.
 MS. Dow.
 MS. WS. toun.
 MS. brist in.

F. 29 b. Resceiv 3our roaring rage and eager Ire,

HARLEIAN

.1

Inflamed with fearfull thundring thuddes of fyre,	
To plague this poysond pykethanke pestilent.	
With flieing fyreflaughts burning brycht & shyre,	520
Devore 30n develishe dragon, I desyre;	
And waist his wearied venome virolent.	
Conjure this braislie begger Impotent:	
Suppres all power of this evill spereit,	
That bides & barkes in him alfs black as Ieit.	525
But, Reikie Rookes and Ravens, or 3e riue him, Desist, delay his death, whill I descryue him;	
Syne Ryplie to his Reauing rood Reply.	
To dreadfull dollour derflie, or zea dryue him,	
Throgh Plutoes power, pleasure to depryue him,	530
The loune may licke his vomit, & deny	
His schameles sawes, lykes Sathans slaiuish smy,	
Whois maneres, with his mismaid members heere,	

His peild pallat, and vnpleasant pow, 535
The fousoume flocke of fleaes dois overflow,
With wames and woundes; all blackned full of blaines
Out over the necke; athort [h]is neatie nowe
Ilk louß lyes lucked lyk a lardge lint² bow,
That hurtes his harnes and pearce them to his paynes;
Whill witt and vertue vanished fra the vaines; 541
With scarts and scores athort his frozin fronnt,
In Rankells rune, within the stew brunt.

His luggs baith lang and leane quha can but lacke,
That to the trone hes tane so many a take?

With blasted bowels, bounden with bruised bluid;
And happing hairs blowin withershines Aback.

¹ Line omitted in MS.

² Illegible in the MS.

for fundrit 1 beistis, for fault of humour wak, Hes not bair hairis so sned as totheris gude. The blairit buk and bystour, to conclude, Hes richt trim teith, sum quhat sett on ane thraw, Ane toppit turde richt tewchlie for to taw.

585

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With laidlie lippis, and lynning-syd turnd out; His noifs weill lit in bacchus blude about ; his stinkand end corroptit as men knawis; Contageous cankers clairis his sneivilling snowt; his schewin schoulderis schawis be merkis, but dout, 590 of tarledderis tewch, tyris and vber tawis, and girdis of gaylayis, growand new in gawis.

F. 11 b. Swa all his fowsome forme thair[to] effeiris, quhair with, for filth, I will not fyll zour earis.

> Bot of his conditionis to carp for a quhyll, and compt 30w his qualiteis compassit with cair, appardoun me, poettis, to alter my styil, And wissel my werfs, for fylling be air. Returning directlie agane to Argyle, Quhair last bat I left him baith bairfute & bair, Quhen richtlie I raknit thy race verie vyld, Discendit of a dewill, as I did declair-Bot quhilk of be godis sall gyde me aricht, Abhorring sa abhominabill, Sua doolfull and detaistabill. sua knavishe, canker[d], execrabill, And vareit ane wicht?

¹ MS. fundeit; Hart, foot-foundred.

For fundred beistes, for fault of foodde full weak,
Hes not there haire so snood as other good.
The blaired bucke and bystour, to conclude,
Hes right trume teathe, somwhat sett in a thrawe,
Ane Toped turde right tewchlie for to taw.

His nose weill little in bacchus blood about;
His stinking end corrupted as men knawes;
Contogious cankers carues his snasting snoote;
His shaven shoolders schawes the markes, no dout,
Of tewch tairledders, Tyrs and other tawes,
And girdes of galeyes, ground now in gawes.
Swa all his foulsome forme therto effeires,
Vith whilk, for filth, I will not fill 30ur eares.

The Second Pairt of Polwarts 3 Flyting.

Mot of his conditiones to carpe for a quhile,
And count 30w his qualities compast with caire,
Appardone me, Poetes, to alter my style,
And wyslie my verse, for fylling the air.

Returning directlie againe to argyle,
Where last þat I left him baith bairfoote & baire,
Where rightlie I reckned his race verie vyld,
Descending of devills, as I did declaire—

But quhilk of the gods will guyd me aright,
Abhorring so abhominable,
So dulefull and detestable,
So knavishe, cancerd, execrable,
And wearried a wicht?

In Argyle, with be gate, he zeid amange glennis, Ay vsing be office bair of a beist, Quhill blistles wes banisit for handling be hennis; 610 Syne fordward to flanderis fast fleid or he ceist. from be poore anis be pultrie he plukit be be pennis, Incressing In corpis; be hart in his breist, And Curage, inclynit to knaverie, men kennis, To pestilent purpoiss planelie he preist.1 615 Bot trewlie, to tell be trewth vnto 30w, In nawayis wes he wyse; He vsis cairtis and dyce, And fled na kynd of vyce, Or few, as I trow. 620

F. 12a. He was ane fals schismatik, notor[ious]lie namit;
Baith hurdome, & homeceid, vnsell he vsit;
for schismes, and Symonie, þat smachart wes schameit;
Pryde, Ire, and Invy, that vndoche abvsit.
Of caching, and coweitting, bitterlie blameit;
for baidrie, and bordaling, lukles he lufit;
[Thrist²], drynes, and drinking, that devill defamit;
fals, fenzeit, and flytting with [flaterie] infusit;
Maist sinfull and sensuall—schame to reherfs!

Quhais feckles fuilichnes,

And beistlie brukilnes, Can na man, I ges, weill put in verss.

Ane vairloche, ane woirwolf, ane wowbat of hair,
Ane devill, and ane dragoun, ane doyld dromodarie;
Ane counterfute cuistroun that clerkis dois not cair;
Ane claverand cohubie that crakis of þe farie;
Quhois favourles phisnome dois dewlie declair
His vyces and viceousnes. thocht I wald warie,

¹ MS. preisß.

² Blank space in MS.

In argyll, among Gaites, he zead within glenns, 575 All there vsing Offices of a bruit beast, Whill blisles wes banished for handling of henns; Syne forthward to flanders fast he fled or he ceast. Frome poore anes the pultrie he plucked be the penns, Delighting in thift; the hart in his breist, 580 And Couraig, inclyned to knavery, men kennis, To pestilent purposes playnly he preast. Bot trulie, to tell all the treuth wnto 30w, In nowayes wes he wyse; He vsed both caird & dyce, 585 And fled no kynd of vyce, Or fewe, 1 as I trow.

F. 30 b. He was ane fals Chismatick, notoriouslie named;
Both hoordoome, homicid, vnsell he vsed;
With all the sevine sinnes, the smatched wes schamed;
Pryde, Ire, and Invye, this vndooght abused.
For greedie coveteousenes bitterlie blamed;
For badrie, and bordelling, luckles he loved;
Thrist, drynes, ad drunknes, the dytour defamed;
Fals, feinzeid, with flytterie & flaterie infused;
Maist sinfull and sensuall—shame to rehearse!
Whose fecles folishnes
And beastlie brucklenes,

Weill put into verse.

Ane warloche, ane warwoolffe, Ane volbet but hair, Ane devill, and a dragon, ane deid dromadarrie; Ane counterfit Coustroun that clarcks doth cair, Ane clavering Coohoobee that craks of the pharie, Whais favourles fisnome doth dewlie declaire His vices and viciousnes. altho I wald wearrie,

¹ MS. flewe.

² MS. dryves.

³ MS, refused.

⁴ Line omitted in MS.

Arcandam astrologia, a lanterne of lair,

Affirmis his bleiritnes, to wisdome contrair,
betaikning bothe bobbing and beldnes in aig.

Greit fraud, and fals dissait,
Capping with coyd conceat;
witness sum vers he wreit,

Half in a rage.

640

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670

Ane Anagrame, also, concerning that race, Suirlie sayis, it is a signe of a licherous lowne. His pailnes mixt pairtlie with broun in the face, Arcandam ascryvis to baibling ay boun, And tratling Intemperat, tymeles but place; Ane cowart, 3it cholerik, and drunk in lik toune. And als his asseris, an signe in schort space, That frenatik fuil sall grow mad lyk mahoun, Bot 3it sall he live lang, allace, quhilk wer loss; for sick ane traitling tratour, And baibling blasphimatour, wes nevir formit of natour—

Sua gukit ane guise.

Quhois honorabill origine, be note of his name, Callit etimoligie, beiris richtlie record:

His surname, it flowis fra tua termes of defame—
from mont & gomorath, quhair dewillis, be be lord,
His kynsmen, wes clenelie cast out, to his schame,
That is of bair clan, quhome chryst hes abhord;
and beiris of be birth place be horribill name,
Quhair sodomeit synneris with smwik wer smord.
Now sen all is suth is said sonzie,3

Vnto be cappit clerk,

A prettie peice of wark,

That bitterlie dois bark,

I mak ⁴ bis reply.

4 MS. has 'k' written over 'y.'

¹ MS. Indagine. ² MS. drunkin.

³ Line incomplete. 'Son3ie,' scribal error for 'smye.' Cf. p. 177.

ARCANDAMS astrology, ane lainterne of laire,

Affirms his blairdnes, To wisdome contrairrie,

Betaiking baith baibling and boldness of ag[e],

Great fraude, and fals deceat,

Capped with quyet conceat;

Witnes some verse he wreat,

Halff daft in a rage.

His Anagrame, also, concerning that race, Says surlie, it is a signe of a lecherous loune. 615 His palen[e]s mixt pairtlie with broun in the face, Arcandam descryues to babling ay boun, And tratling Intemperat, tymles, but place; A Cowart, zett collerick, and drunk in 1 in ilk town. And als his asse eares, they signe in short space, 620 The frantick fooll shall grow made lyke mahoun, But 3it shal he 2 liue long, quhilk, allace! were a los; for sic a tryed t[r]aitour, and babling blasphematour, wes never formed of nature-625 Sa gooked a goosse.

F. 31 a. Whais origine noble, the note of his name,

Called ETIMALOGIE, beirs rychtlie record:

his surname doth flow from twa terms of deffame—

frome Mount and Gomora, where devils, be the lorde,
his kinsmen, wes cleinlie cast out, to his shame,
That is of there Clan, quhom chryst hes abhored;
And beirs of the birthplace the horrible name,
Where sodomeit sinners with stinking were smorde.

Now sen all his suith that's said of this smye,

635

Now sen all his suith that's said of this smye,

Wnto that capped clarke,

And prettie pece of wark,

That bitterlie doth barke,

I may this reply.

¹ MS. drukin.

² MS. shalhe.

ANE VTHER.

Vyle villane, vane, and war nor I have cald þe,
Thy widderit vane ¹ is dammischit, deid & dryit.
Beschittin bystour bodie, I forbaid þe
675
To mache with me, or elis þow sall deir by it.
Thy speich but purpois, sporter, is espyit,
That wreitis of wichis, warlochis, & of wratches;
Bot Invective aganis him þow defyit,
Rob stene,² 3e raif, forsetting quhom 3e mache.

Leve boigillis, brouneis, gyr carlingis, & ghaistis: dastard, bow daffis, that with sic dewillrie mellis. Thy peild perambillis alfs prolixtlie lastis; Thy reasonis sawres of reik and nothing ellis;

F. 13 a. Thy sentences of swit richt sweitlie smellis,

Thow [sat] neir the chymlay [nuik] þat maid þame,

Seik be þe ingle, amangis þe oister schellis,

Dreidand my danger, durst not weill debait þame.

Thy tratling, tinklar, wald gar ane taid spew,
And cairl cattis veip vinager with bothe pair ene.

Thow said, I borrowit blaidis, quhilk is not trew:
The clene contrarie, smachart, salbe sene.
I neuir haid of that making 3e mene
ane vers in wreit, in print, or 3it perquere;
quhilk I can prive, & clenge me wonder clene;

Thocht singill votes no wreiter can forbeir.

¹ Hart, wame.

² In the margin of the MS, the scribe has written, 'Rot stene be kingis fuile.'

Polwarts last Flytinge against Mountgomrie.

Thy withered vane is damnified and dryd, 641
Beschittin bystour, bauldlie I forebad thee
To mell with me, or els thow should deir buy it.
Thy speach but purpose, sporter, is espyed,
That wryts of witchs, warloks, wraths, and wratchs; 645
But invectives against him weill defyed,
Rob stevin, thou ravis, forgetting whom thow matches.

Leife boggils, bruneis, gyre carlings, and gaists;
Dastard, thow daffs, that with such develirie mels.

Thy peild preamables our prolixlie lests;
650
Thy reasons savours of reeke & nothing els:
Thy sentences of suit rycht sweetlie smells,
Thow satt so neare the chimney nuik that made thame,
Fast be the Ingle, among the oister shells,
Dreadand 1 in danger, durst no weell debate thame,

F. 31 b. Thy tratling, Truiker, wald gare taides spew,
And kerle catts weepe vinegar with ther ein.
Thow said, I borrowed blades; that is not trew:
The contrarie, fals smatched, shalbe sene.
I never had of that making 3e mene
Ane verst in wryt, in print, or 3it perqueir;
quhilk I can prove, & clenge [me] wonder cleene;
Thocht single wordes no wryter can forbeare.

1 MS. Dread and.

TULLIBARDINE

To prive my speikin probabill & plane,
Thow man confess pow vsit my Inventioun:
I raknit first thy race; syne pow agane,
In pe same sort, maid of thy maister mentioun.
Thy wit is waik, with me to have dissentioune,
for to my speichis pow nevir maid reply.
at libertie to ly is thy intentioun:
I anssuer ay, quhilk pow dar not deny.

700

715

720

725

Thy freindis ar feyndis; of aipis bow fengeis myne; 705 with my assistance, saying quhat bow can.

I compt sik kynred 1 better 3it nor thyne—
Cheiflie of beastis bat ar most lyk to men.
grant, guis, bat my Inventioun waris the than,
with out be quhilk bow micht haue barkit waist:
and laid the ground quhairon thow, beist, begane
to big be barge 2 quhairon bow braggis maist.

The lak of Iudgment may be als persawit.

Thir tua cheif pointis of reasoun wantis in be:

Thow attribuittis to aipis, quhair thow hes ravit,

The illis of hors! a monsterous sicht to sie!

na mervell that ill wyn ill wairit be;

for all thir illis thow staw, I am certane,

from simplis dytmentis of ane hors did die,

Or porterfeildis that dwellis into dumbartane.

F. 13 b. Amangis thes illis of aipis, quhilk thow hes tauld,
Thocht to ane horse perteining properlie,
Thow puttis be spaven in be former spauld,
Quhilk vsis in be hinder hocht to be.
fra horsmen anes thy cunning heir and sie,
I feir auld Allane haue no moir ado:
Allace! puir man! he may ly doun and die,
Syn thow succeid to weir the siluer scho.

¹ MS. kynrik; Hart, kindred. Cf. p. 181.

² Hart, brig. Cf. p. 181.

[HARLEIAN

	To proue my speeches probable and plaine, Thow must confesse thow vseed my Invention: I reckened first thy race; syne thow againe, In that same sorte, made of thy maister mencioun. Thy witt is weake, with me to have discention, For to my speeche thow never made reply.	665
	Att libertie to ly is thy Intention: I Answeire ay, quhilk thow cannot deny.	670
	Thy freindes ar feindes; of Aips thow fenges myne; With my assistance, saying all thou cane. I count such kinred better 3it nor thyne—	
	Cheiflie of beastes that most resemble mane. Grant, if that my invention wars thyne then, Without the quhilk thow might haue barked waist: I laid the grounde whairon thou, beast, begane To big the bridge whairof thou bragis maist.	675
	Thy lake of Iudgment may be als perceaued. Ther twa cheif poyntes of reason wantis in thee: Thow attributes to aips, quher thow hes reaued, The Ills of horfs! ane monstrous sight to see!	68 o
	No marveill thoght ill wyne ill waired bee; For all the ills thow stawe, I ame rycht certayne, from Semples ditmentes of ane horfs did die, of Porterfeildes that dwelt into Dumbartane.	685
F. 32 a.	Amongs the Ills of aips, that thow hes taulde,	
	Thogh to a horsse perteyning properlie, Thow puttes the Spavein in the forder spald, That vses in the hinder hoche to bee. Fra horse-men anes thy cuning heir & see, I feir auld Allane gett no moir adoe:	690
	Allace! puir mane! he may ly doune & dye, Syne thow shall succeede to weare the silver shoe.	695

TULLIBARDINE]

Forder pow fleis vith vther foulis vingis,	
Ourcled with cleirar collouris nor thy awin,	730
But speciallie with sum of simpillis thingis,	
Or for ane plukit guiß, thow haid bein knawin;	
Or lyk ane cran, In mowt-tyme soone ourthrawin,	
That man tak ay nyne steppis befoir scho flie;	
So in be gut bow micht have stand and blawin,	735
As long as thow lyis gravellit, lyk to die.	

I speik not of 30ur viteous divisiounes,

Quhair thow 1 pronuncit, bot 3it proponit bot pairt;

Incummerit with so mony coyd infusiounes:

quhilk schawis ye rimde 2 but rethorik or airt.

740

Thy memorie is schort—beschirew thyn hairt!

Speikand of ane thing, twyse or thryfs at aneis,

And can not from ane proppit place depairt,

Except I wer to force the with quhin staneis.

for crokodeill thow ³

of ignorence, fy! fuill, thinkis þow no schame?

Thy pikkillit, puir paremeonis, but skill,
pykit from Irisch Italianis, ar to blame;
beggit from poetis brokingis for to blame,
for laik of language I wat weill þow dois it,
making that vertew vice to thy defame,

Quhair evrie minnym ⁴ aucht to be refuisit.⁵

F. 14 a. The thingis I said, gif how wald now deny,
Weining to wry he veritie with wylis;
Lik quhair I laid, and pikill of that py:
Thy knaverie knawin, credence from he expellis;
The feckles folie all he air defylis;
I find so mony faultis, ilk ane our vther,
first, I man tell the all thy staitlie styllis,
Henc[e] I beteich he to thy birkin brother.

760

¹ MS. throw.

² MS. rinde.

³ The rest of this line is awanting.

⁴ MS, minmyn.

⁵ This stanza appears only in the Tullibardine MS.

HARLEIAN

farter thow flies with other foules winges,
over-clade withe cleerere collours then thy awin,
but speciallie with some of SEMPLES things,
or for ane plucked goosse, thow had bein knowin;
Or lik ane Craine, in mounting sone ouerthrowen,
That must take ay nyne stepps befoir she flie;
So in be Goute thow might have stand & blowen,
Als long as thow lay graveled, lyk to dye.

I speak not of thy vitious diuisions,
Where thow pronounces, and 3it propones bot pairt; 705
Incombred with so many tryed confusions:
Quhilk schaws thy ryme But rethorick or airt.
Thy memorie is short—beschrew thy hairt!
Telling ane thing over, twyse or thryse atgines
And cannot frome ane proper place depairt, 710
Except I were to frigg the with quhin stones.

The things I said, if that thow would deny, Weaning to wrye the veritie withe wyls; Lick quher I laid, and pickle of that pye: Thy knaverie credence fra the quyt exylls; Thy fecks follie all the air defyls; I fynd so many faults, ilk ane over other, First, I must tell the all thy staitlie styls, And syne bequeth the to thy birken brother.

715

TULLIBARDINE

POLLART GUID NICHT.

FONND flytter, scheitt schytter, baccoun bytter, befyld!
blunt bleitter, padok speitter, pudding eitter, perverss!
hen pluker, closet muker, hous cukker, vere vyld!
Tanny cheikis, [I] think pow speikis with thy breikis, foul erfs!
Woodelyk hudepyk, ay lyk to live in lak! 765
flour þe pin, scabbit skin! eit it in þat þow spak.

Gum gait, gallit and scald, foul fawit, quhy flait þow?

Steill 30w, fill tow, þow dow not defend þe.

Rum royt, found floyt, doyld doyt, sillie fuuill!

Quhat if I wald out cry, fy! fy! folk wald fell the.

Sweir sow, ay fow, doyld kow, foul fall thy banis!

Richt styld, defyld, wood wyld, ilk mone aneis.

Tairie taid, mismaid, Invaid me if þow dow;
Lik laidill, husche paidill, schyt þe saidill, þowis be drest.
Kreschie sowtter, scho cluitter, mensche mowter, dar þow mow?
Swamp sandie, come fra candie, with grandie opprest,
Led preif, lo theif, mischeif on thy lippis!
blaird baird, thy revaird is prepaird for thy hippis!

Bumbill baitie, Ise defait the: now debait the, if þow dar.

Tarmigant, and þow vant, Ise dant þewith dinging.

780

Taid bak, swith pak, and thow crak, cum not nar.

Sillie snark, lene raik, rak ane aik with þe hinging.

vnhallat, peillit pallat, ryp wallat, quhen þow spotches;

mischanchit, ill pancit, thryse lancit of þe boches!

F. 14 b. Saitling slaiker, glaid glaiker, rum raiker for releif,
Lounatik, frenatik, schismatik swinzeour, sob!
Tuirdfacit, ay chaisit, almaist fyld for ane theif!
Meslie kyt, and þow flyt, deill dryt in thy gob.
Cruik mow, widdiesow, soone bow, or I wand the,
Hellis ruik, with thy buik, leif þe nuik, I command þe.

720

Ifond flytter, shite shytter, bacon bytter, all defyld! Blunt bleitter, paddock pricker, puddein eatter, perverss! Henn plucker, clossett mucker, hous caker, very vyld! Tannie cheeks, I think thow speiks with thy breeks, foull ers! Wood tyk, hoodpyk, av like to live into lake! Floure the pinn, scabbed skine! eit it in bat thou speiks. 725 32b. Gumaad, bald skade, foull 1 faide, quhy flait thow? Steil 30w, fill tow, now thow dowe not defend thee. Wha kend thy end, fals fiend, phantastick muill! theif smye! they wald cry, fy! fy! to gar end thee. Sweir sow, doild kow, ay fow, foull fall thy banes! 730 Verie vyld, defyld, ay woodwyld, ilk month anes.

Tarrie taid, thows defait; now debait the, if thow dow. Hush padle, lick ladle, shyt sadle, thows be drest. Creishie soutter, shoo clooter, minche moutter, dar thow mow?

Fals preife, lean theiff! mischeif fall thy lipps! 735 Blaird baird, thy rewaird is prepared for thy hipps!

Erse slaiker, gled glaiker, roome Raiker for releiffe, Lunaticke, frenatick, Swingeor! Sobb. Turd facd, ay chasd, almost fyld for a theife! Mislie kite, and thow flyte, Ille dryte in thy gobb. 740 Tout mowe, woodie sow, sone bowe, or I wand thee, Hell ruik! with thy book, leiue be nuike, I command thee.

¹ Repeated in MS.

² MS. flend.

³ Line omitted in MS.

⁴ MS. frematick.

TULLIBARDINE]

Land lowper, licht scoipper, raggit rowpper, lyk a revin, Halland schaiker, drawcht raiker, bannok baiker beschittin. Craig in perrell, twm barrell, quyt þe querrell, or be schevin.

Hellis spark, skald clark, & pow bark, I sall belt pe.
Scaid scald, our bald, soone fauld, or I melt the.
795

1

Laisie luggis, leap Iuggis! twm mwggis on þe midding;
Tanny flank, reidschank, pyk thank, I man pay the.

Spew blek, brek nek, cum and bek at my bidding.

Fals loun, mak þe boun, mahoun man have þe;
Rank ruittour, scurliquitour, and Iuittour, nane fower,

Decrest, opprest, possest with plutois power.

Cappit knaif, proud slaif, 3e raif vnrokkit;

Quhillis slaiverand, quhillis claverand, and vaiferand with vyne.

greidie gukkit, puir vnplukkit, ill Instructit, 3eis be knokit.

Gleyit gangrell, auld mangrell, to be hangrell vith pyne.

Callumniatour, blasphimatour, fals tratour most vntrew,

Thy cheiping and peiping, with weiping bow sall rew.

Mad manter, vane vanter, & hanter of sclavrie,
Keillie lippis, kis ² my hippis, in grippis þowß behint.³
Pudding prikker, bang þe bicker, nane quiker in knaverie.

810
Baill brewer, poysone spewer, mony trewer hes bene tint.

Swyne keiper, dirt dreiper, throt steiper fra þe drowth!

Lieand lymmer, mony trimmer, I man skymmer in thy mowthe.

Fleyit fwill, mad mule, die in duil on ane aik.

knave kend, christ send euill end on þat mow!

Pudding wricht, out of sicht thowse be dicht lyk a draik.

Iok blunt, thrawin frunt, kis þe cunt of ane kow.

Purspeiller, hen steiller, cat keiller, now I knaw þe. Rubiatour, fornicatour by natour, foul fa the!

¹ Line omitted in MS. ² MS. Kif.

³ Cf. lines 809-810 with Harl. MS., which has the same order as Hart.

HARLEIAN

Land louper, light skouper, ragged Rouper, lik a Raven, Halland shaiker, draught raiker, bannock baiker, all beshittin. Craig in parrell, toome the barrell, quyte the quarrell, or be shavi[n]. 745

Rude ratler, commone tratler, poore pratler outflittin! Hell sparke, scalded clairk, & thow bark, I shall belt bee. Scad skald, overbald, sone fald, or I melt thee.

Lousie lugges, leape Iuggs! toome the muggs on be midding; Tanny flank, reedeshank, pykethanke, I must pay thee. Spew blecke, wooddie necke, come & becke at my bidding. Fals loune, make the boune, MAHOUNE must have thee; Ranke riatoure, scurliquhittor! and Iuitore, nane 1 fower, Decrest, opprest, possest with plutoes power.

Capped knaue, proude slave, ze reave ay wnrocked; 755 Whils slauerand, whils stamerand & wavering with wyne. greedie gouked, poore and plucked, ill Instructed, zeis be knoked. 33a, Gleyde gangrell, auld mangrell, to the hangrell, & sua pyne. Calumniatoure, blasphematour, wyld traitor vntrew, Thy cheiping and peiping, withe weep[ing] thow shalt rew. 760

Madd mantor, vaine vaunter, ay haunting in slavery, Pudding pricker, baing the bicker! none quicker in knavery. Kaillie lipps, kis my hipps, into grips thowfs behind. Baill brewer, poysan spewer, monie trewer had bein pynd. Swyne keeper, landleeper, tuird steipar frome be drouthe! 765 Leane limmer, steell gimmer, I shall skimmer in thy mouth.

Fleyd foole, madd moole, die with doole on 2 ane aik. Knave kend, cryst send [ill end] on that mowe! Pudding wrycht, out of sight thow shall be dight lik a draik. Iock blunt, thrawin frunt, kill the cunt of a kowe. 770 Purse peiller, henn steeller, catt killer, now I quell thee. Rubiatour, fornicator by natour, foull befall thee!

¹ MS. mane.

TULLIBARDINE]

F. 15a. Tyk stikker, spewd viccer, pot likker, I man pay þe. 820 feird fleir, loud leir, & gleir in þe gallowis!

with a cunt, deid runt, I sall dunt quhill I flie the.

Buttrie bag, fill the knag, þow will wag with the morrowis.

Coyd clatterer, skin batterer, and flatterer of freindis,

Vyld, widderit, mathie midderit, & confedderit with
feyndis!

Blind brok, kifs dok, boird bloik, banischit townes!
Allace! theifis face, na grace for that grunzie!
Beld bissat, marmissat, lancepissat 1 to the lownes!
Deid dring, dryd sting, þow will hing but a sunzie.
Lik butter, throt cutter, fisch gutter, fyl þe fetter!
Cum bleitand, and greitand, and eitand thy letter.

Finis

¹ MS, lance pissat.

[HARLEIAN

Tyk stiker, Poysand vickar, pott lickar, I mane pay þee.
Feard flyer, loud lyer, gocked gleyer on þe gallous!
Iocke blunt, deid runt, I shall dunt whill I sla thee.
775
Buttrie bagg, fill knagg, thow will wagg with thy fellows;
Tyrd clatterer, skine batterer, & flatterer of freinds,
Vyld, woodered, misordered, confeddered with feinds!

Blind blocke, loose dock, bord block, banishd tounes!

Alace! theifs face, no grace for pat groonzee!

780

bald bisset, marmisset, landpreized to pe louns!

Deid dring, dryd sting, thow will hing bot a soonzee.

lick butter, throat cutter, fishe gutter, fill pe fetter!

Sone bleitand, & greetand, fast eitand thy laidlie letter.

Finis.

Scriptum per me iohanem rutherfurd

Finnis. Amen.1

On F. 33 6., besides some scribble, is written, "Vir sapit qui pauca loquitur, the man is wyße that speikes few things."

John rutherford
his buik.



MISCELLANEOUS POEMS

(FROM THE LAING MANUSCRIPT)

MISCELLANEOUS POEMS.

I.

[LUIF STILL IN HOPE WITH PACIENCE.]

F. 8 a.	OIF still in nope with pacience,	
	My gentill hairt, for all thy woo.	
	Quhy ar[t] thow euer so [in] suspence)
	Quhy threat 3e in 3our body so?	
	Quhy is all plesure past 3e fro?	5
	Quhy art thow so dismaid but sence?	
	Quhy art thow to thy self sic fo?	
	Luif still in hope with pacience.	
F. 8 &.	Althocht I leive in mirthles mone,	
	Half mingled with melancolie,	I
	Wald god be day sall come anone,	
	That pow thy awin desyre sall sie;	
	Althocht it cum nocht instantlie,	
	As 3e wald wifs with diligence,	
	3it on na wayis 3e weirie be,	1
	Bot luif in hope with pacience.	
	In Luifis court quha listis to duell,	
	At euerye schoure þai may nocht schrink,	
	Bot oft man suffer stormes fell,	
	And of be well of dolour drink;	2
	No thing can gar þame wray nor wrink,	
	No thing can do to thame offence,	
	Bot pacientlie that thay will think,	
	To luif in hope with pacience.	

		[LAING	MS.
	Hope is be onlie meit remeid, For bame bat lyis in memorie; Hope causis captivis demit to deid, In presoun strang richt blyith to be;		25
	Hope causis men in rageing see, To sowme thocht hai sie no defence: Hope causis luifaris, verrilie, To luif in hope with pacience.		30
·. 9 α.	Hope causit Jacob fourtene zeiris In bondage baß for to remane; Hope causit atrides and his feiris		35
	In Troy ten zeiris to fecht full fane; Houpe causit penelopie to refrane Lang tuentie zeiris in observance: Hope causit luifaris to constrane, And luif in hope with pacience.		40
	My Ladyis hert is nocht of Stone, I watt sche will nocht sie me die; I watt sche is nocht sie ane one As, god forbid, se crueltie.		
	Hir gentilnes assuris me My service sche will recompance, Assuring hir that quhill I die, To luif in hope with pacience.1		45
	O peirles peirle of pulchritude! O cheif charbucle of chaistitie! O deaisie deir! O rubie rude! The fairest flour of feminie.		50
	O plicht-anker of constancie! Eccept my seruice but offence, Assuring 30w þat quhill I die, To luif in hope with pacience.		55

¹ The MS. has a line drawn between the last two stanzas, perhaps to indicate that the poem is not completely given.

F. 9 b.

LAING MS.

II.

[SUEIT HAIRT, REIOS IN MYND.]

SUEIT hairt, reioß in mynd,

With conforte day and nicht, 3e haue ane luif as kynd As euer luifit weicht; Thocht I be out of sicht, 5 Latt nocht 3our courage fall, My Joyfull hert and licht, 3e haif and euer sal. My bony burde, be blyith, And ze sall find me so 10 Imprent to 30w, I kyith, To latt 30w nocht be woo; Ouhaireuer I ryde or go, 3e sall nocht sorie be, My leill luif, hert, and Ioo, 15 Nane hes my hairt bot 3e.1

And 3ie, my trew luif sueit,

This do 3e nocht gang stand,
My blyithnes for to beit,

As I serve at 3our hand;
To think me nocht constand,

My bony burd, lat be:

My constant hairt sall stand
To 30w quhill bat I die.

20

¹ A stroke is drawn between this stanza and the next.

² MS, has 'd' written over 't.'

15

		- 23
	LAING	MS.
F. 10 a.	I bid no mair of 30w, But god grant 30w his bliß:	25
	God be als blyith of 30w,	
	As I wald be of his,	
	3 our lillie lippis to kiß,	
	Thinkand þat mynd of 30uris,	30
	My awin trew luif sche is, That luifis hir paramouris.	
	That fulls in paramouns.	
	Finis quod nescio.	
	III.	
	111.	
[V	WO WORTH THE FALL OF FORTOUNIS	
	QUHEILL.]	
F. 10 a.	Wo worth the fall of fourtounis quheill,	
	That was so cheangeabile vnto me!	
	Than, quhen I thocht me sure and weill,	
	Thow threw me down rycht suddanlie;	
	Syne causit all my pleasures be	5
	Turnit in dolour day and nicht,	
	For absence of hir fair bewitie,	
	Quha onlie hes my hairtis licht.	
	Schir Troyalus was nocht opprest	
	With sic lamentabill peirsit payne	10
	For Cresceidis luif, quhome he luifit best,	
	Wald into troy turne nocht agane;	
	Bot 3it, sueit hairt, I mak 30w plane	
	Of þis oure pairting so suddanlie,	

I may nocht langer bis remane,

Sen all my pleasure is gone from me.

F. 10 b. I am into dispair, allace!

Agane I will 30w newer sie,

Remane or hant into be place

Quhair I may beir 30w company;

Bot 3it, sueit hairt, I testifie,

My constant hairt sall nocht remove,

Albeit 3e haue fra me absent be,

Ouha onlie hes my hairtis love.

Finis quod nescio.

5

10

15

IV.

[PREPOTENT PALME IMPERIALL.]

PREPOTENT palme Imperiall,
Of perfyte pulchritude preclair!
O lusume Lamp Etheriall,
Quhais beamis bricht hes no compair!
3 our angell face, fragrant and fair,
Hes me bereft of my puir hairt,
Quhais perfytnes I will declair,
Gif 3e wald tak it in gude pairt.

My witt of knawlege is to faint,

With barrane speich and barbour brane,
My toung vnabile is to paint

That constant lufe pat dois remane

Within my hairt, with greif and payne,

For laik of knawlege to furth schawe;

Sens I can nocht pe same explane,

O wald to god 30ur grace wald knawe!

O happie war the Rethoriciane, That with sueit wourdis wald lament it! Alß happie war the gude musiciane,	
Wald sett and caus it to be prentit; And in 3our graces hand present it,1	20
Sua that 3e wald reid and pervs it,2	
To knaw so soir I am tormentit,	
So that my grosnes war excusit.	
The vehement wodnes of the wind,	25
Or rageing of be Roring sey,	
Nor cannownis with pair thundering din,	
Nor 3et in battels for to be,	
Throw force of armes thocht I suld die,	
War nocht so grevous to my hairt,	30
As to schaw furth my mynde to be,	•
Or latt 30w knaw my painfull pairt.	
For quhen I haue declairit at large	
My mynde to 30w with diligence,	
And hes committit all be charge	35
To 3our wisdome and excellence,	
Or 3it to 30w suld do offence,	
That I so bauldlie durst proceid,	
Than suld I tak in patience,	
Ilk day to die ane sindrie deid.	40
Quhairfore I humele pray 30ur grace,	
Latt my complaint cum peirs 30ur eareis,	
Gif pitie in 30ur hairt hes place,	
As be 30ur pulchritude appeiris;	
Than suld I nocht, with fludis of teiris,	45
Bevaill the day, nor weip be nicht,	
Nor 3it be faischet with deidis feiris,	
Throw absence of 30ur bewte bricht.	

F. 13 b.

¹ MS. presentit.

² MS. pervsit.

F. 14 a. Lyke as it is the lizairtis kynd,

Of mannis face to pray hir fude,

So nature still steris vp my mynd

To wew 3our peirles pulchritude;

Quhairfore schortlie to conclude,

Lat clemencie in 3ow be schawin,

And nocht of mercie so denude,

As rigorouslie to slay 30ur awin.

Quhat vantage hes ane armit knycht,

His zeild in presoun for to kill?

Or be quhat equitie or richt,

May he on him his rage fulfill?

Lykewyse, sens I am in zour will,

And for zour pitie dois imploir,

Lat zour sueit confort cum vntill

Zour bundman now and euir moir.

Finis quod ane luiffar.

5

V.

[KING CUPAID, GRACLES GOD OF GLAIKES.]

F. 32 a. King cupaid, gracles god of glaikes,
Sen bou takis pastym for to pyne
Thay sarwandis bat sick pleßur takis
To leif lyk sempell slaives of thayne,
Thow sell nocht hurtt bis hairtt of myne;
I sell lett all bai flanis fle bay:
Schott on, thow sall bott trawill tyne:
Deirtt In bai nok, I be defay.

LAING MS. I call be king bott in to s[c]ourne, Thay mober, gwklett goddes quene; 10 For sene be our bat I was borne, Thay baneist rebell I hawe bene. Thay curtt I have contemitt clene, And ever sell do quhill I die: In spaitt of be, itt selbe sene, 15 Fra leuff I sell leif ever fre. Blind 1 best, I bid be bend bai bowe, Schairp w[e]ill bai schaft, bind on bai braice; Than, drocht, do att bat bow dow, For luf I sell nocht say, 'ales !' 20 Nocht throw gud gaiding, bott be grace, I hawe eschewitt bai deidlie dairttis: My freddome bow dar nocht defaice, For all bai bowttis of bludie hairttis. In nathing zeitt I hawe bene wyß, 25 except I newer followitt be; For all be wyllis bow can deways, bai sleichtis sell neu[i]r subgek me. na presens, nor perswationis slie, sell newer mouf my mynd ane Inch; 30 nor bewtie sell nocht blind my eie, For I have leirnid to countt my kinch. Thay painfull plessuris & annoyis, Thay hukis pat hundrethe hes orthraune, Thay schortt delytt in constantt loyis, 35 Thy creweltie is ever schawin Bott contra sik as is [thayne] awin; Sa, Fas tratour, vngraitt & periurd, By art & prouff, bai craff Is knayne To me, quha newir bis kyndnes curd. 40

F. 32 b.

¹ MS. Belind.

Τ. Δ.Τ	NC	MS.
TUTI	MAG	M.O.

Now of pai outtlawes I am ane,
Sell newer ser the for reward,
Be trane or tressone be I tene,
For panis will be for me prepairitt;
I sell nocht houp for to be speritt,
Pat hes pai dedlie wraithe deserwitt;
Bott I sell stand vpoun my gaird,
Ay bodin as I wald be serwitt.

45

5

F. 33 a. 3itt sair, alas, I pittie some,

Thatt hes bene men of knawlege kend,

And 3itt with the hes bene owircum,

Quhais witt I can na wayis commend;

As for mysellff, I sel defend,

And cairis nocht by þai feid ane ble,

Dischairging frindschip; and so I end:

Fair will þat day I dyne with the!

FINIS. Amen.

VI.

[NAN LUFFIS BOTT FULLIS VNLUD AGANE.] 2

P. 36 b.

Nan luffis bott fullis vnlud agane,

Quha spendis 3 þair tyme and cumis na speid;

Mak þis ane mexeme to remene,

Thatt luifis 4 beiris nan bott fullis at feid;

And þai gett ay ane gud geis heid

In recompence of all þair pane:

So of nacessetie man succeid,

Nan luifis bott fullis vnlude agane.

¹ MS, sene.

² This poem is by Montgomerie. See Cranstoun (Misc. Poems, x.) for complete version of six stanzas from the Drummond MS.

³ tyns. ⁴ Love.

5

LAING MS.

3itt will 1 ane wyß man weill 2 be war,

And will nott wenter butt adwyß:

Gritt foullis, for me, I think þai ar,

That seikis hett 3 watter wnder yse.

3itt sum mair welfull ar nor wyß,

Thatt for þair lufis saik wald be slene 4

Bayand repentance on 5 þatt pryce:

Nan luffis bott fulis vnnlud agane.

Thocht sume we sie In evere age,

Lyk as gukitt ⁶ fulis gangis ⁷ gukitt gaittis,

Quhair ressone gettis na place for [r]age,

Thay luf þame best þat þame bott cancentis ⁸

20

Same ⁹ of þair ¹⁰ folleis wyttis þe fattes,

As desteneis ¹¹ did þame disdane

[Quhilks are bot cappit vane conceats]: ¹²

Nan lufis bott fullis onlud ¹³ agane.

Finis.

VII.

[FRESCHE FLUREIS FAIR, AND LUSUM LADIE OUHYTE.]

F. 82 a. Fresche flureis fair, and lusum ladie quhyte,
Off natouris work in erthe the maist perfyte,
Gewe eir vnto my wofull hewines:
This sedell schorte my sorrowis sall resyite,
And bitter greife, that dois my bowellis byte,

¹ 3e wot.
 ² will.
 ³ warme.
 ⁴ MS. bestene.
 ⁵ Buy on repentance of.
 ⁶ Lyk glaikit.
 ⁷ gang.
 ⁸ They love best them vhilk thame bot haits.
 ⁹ Syne.

Repeated in the MS.
 Destinie.
 Line omitted in MS.
 MS. on lud.

That toung, nor tyme, nocht trewlie can expres; Bot being drewin throw dolour to distres, Pane doithe me preis this paper to present, In my absence, my langour to lament.

For as the seik in dainger oft is sene,
lang tyme he hoipis for help of medecein,
his sair to cuir, and dollour to remeid;
Sua haif I fund aganis my predestene,
The lang dissimulance of my cairis kene,
To my grit greife and sorrow to succeid;
Quhairthrow at lenthe, taisting the stoundis of deid,
Forceit I am 30ur mercie to Imploir,
To be my leiche, or dollour me dewoir.

Oft in deserte I wander myne alone,
From day to nicht in mynd makand my mone,
Calling to count be caussis of my cair.
Sum tyme guid hoip 30ur luiff trowis to obtane,
Sum tyme dispair byddis me lat it alane:
30ur hie estait to myne is na compair.
Sum tyme I think, quhairfoir sould I dispair,
Sen luiffe is blind, & fleis but Iudgement?
Quhair luiffe doith licht sould nane be miscontent.

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25

F. 82 b. Sua esperance my fyrie flameis doith feid,
Prowoiking will in purpois to proceid,
Dryweand of tyme in rampart of the laife;
And I agre, thocht I sould suffer deid,
Tyme to prowyde, quhill tyme prowyde remeid,
For tyme of tymeis to luiffaris is 1 releife;
Quhilk tyme, I dout nocht, gewe 3e haid to preife,
And my trew pairt and Faythfull constantnes,
Bot sumtyme 3e wald pitie my distres.

Christ, gewe my Breist war of the cristell cleir,
That my trew hairt in presence micht appeir,
With Iudgeing eis beffore 30w to be sene,
Thair sould 3e se 30ur portratour but peir,
30ur face so sueit to me that is sa deir,
30ur cheik, 30ur chin, 30ur lywelie cristell ene;
Thair sould 3e se þe dairtis and arrowis kene,
quhilk in 30ur handis my bludie hert doith pers,
mair crewalie nor I can heir reherse.

45

With perceing eis, fra that I did persaife
the guidlie gift þat natour to 30w gaife,
30ur bewtie Bricht, 30ur bountie but compair,
the wantoune 30uthe, quhilk libertie doith craiffe,
Fredome forsuik & vald na fredome haiff,
50
bynding myself to be 30ur pressoner;
my mynd also opprest with crewell cair,
Into 30ur will dois 3eld without ane straik,
refuseand lyfe and Fredome For 30ur saik.

F. 83 a. O sueit, contreit, my spreit talk in 30ur hauld,
With hert Inwart, conwert my cairis cauld;
lang thocht hes socht, and brocht me to this place;
persaife 30ur slaiff, 3e hawe me as 3e wald,
heir to fulfill 30ur will, my ffeit I fawld;
Sen I apply, deny me nocht 30ur grace,
In neid, vith speid, remeid my crewall caiss;
It war to Far to mar me but offence,
Sen stay 3e may alway my wiolence.

Sueit thing, conding, benyng of memorie,
my Paneis to lane war wane but remedie;
But sen 3e ken quhairin the mater standis,
my sair dispair prepair to pacifie.
hawe reuthe, with trewth, let nocht 30ur schiruand[is]

For stownd of wond ar found amang 30ur handis; Bot sen 3e ken that men ar in 30ur bandis, Crowall at all 3e wilbe callit awayis, to sla be man that 3eldis at 30ur deuyse.

FINIS. Amen. quod I Nisbit.

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VIII.

[AS EIS AR MESSAGE TO PE HAIRT.]

As eis ar message to be hairt, F. 6 a. The hairt consultis with be thocht, So thocht and mynd consultis Inwart To will, and guhen that thay have wrocht, Directis be handis, and handis hes brocht 5 This bill vnto 3our guidlie heidis; 3our guidlie heidis this send hes socht, And socht is mercy and remeid. Remeid man mend my mellodie, Than mellodie is my desyre, 10 Desyre is medicene for me, And medicene bat I requyre, And I requyre luif to inspyre, 3our hert to myne, as myne is 3ouris, That 3ouris ower myne may haif impyre, 15 And myne to serve 30w at all houris.

As at all hour I salbe readie,
quhen 3e ar readie to ressaue it,
Ressaue it, 3e [quha] ar my Ladie,
for 3e ar Ladie quha suld haif it,
Sen 3e suld haif it quha can craif it,
Craif it can none bot 3ow allone,
To 3ow allone now heir I laif it,
Now laif 3e it, my hairt is gone.

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[LAING MS.

IX.

[OCH, LUIF, IN LANGOUR HEIR I LY.]

F. 6 b. "Och, Luif, in langour heir I ly Interrogatis." With wofull cheir;
In luifis rage opprest am I,
As a sall heir,

That I am cassin clene in cair, And confortles.

And woundit in 30ur bewtie fair With sic distres.

Och love, haue pitie on my payne And constancie,

And caus my wofull cair refrane:

Sueithairt haue reuth on me."

She answeris.2 "3our lust & languore I lament With hairt richt soir; 3

3our Ramping rage, and 3our intent,

Dois evill dischore;

That 3e ar cassin clene in cair, And confortles,

And woundit in my bewtie fair

With sic distres— 20

3e may gang seik sum medicene, Bot nocht at mee, Sum vber may that may 30w deine

Sum vher may that may 30w deing 30ur lust to satisfie."

och, loue, haif pitie on my payne, with hert richt soir.

The alteration in the text has been made in a contemporary, but different, hand.

^{1, 2} In the margin in a different hand.

³ Originally these two lines read—

	"My burd so bricht, bayth day and nicht,	25
	With wofull cheir,	
	Quhen þat 3e ar out of my sicht,	
	And luif but weir,	
	It dois me peirß so vehement	
	In at my braynis;	30
	Sueit hairt, 3e suld be weill content	
	To eiß my paynis.	
	It is 30ur luif þat I do chois	
	& crawe trewlie,	
	Al vbir vemen to refuis:	35
	Sueit hert haif Reuthe on me."1	
F. 7 a.	"Quhy call 3e me 3our burde so bricht,	
Anssueris.2	Be day or nicht?	
	My freindis will cheis sum vber weicht	
	For me, I say,	40
	That of great kin and clan is cummit,	
	To be my maik;	
	Thairfoir I pray 30w hald 30ur tung,	
	3our paynis to slaik,	
	And nocht perturbe 3our mynd no moir	45
	in vanitie;	
	Latt wit and wisdome 30u restoir,	
	And seik no louf of mee."	

"O fragrant flouris of eloquenc[e],3
of femini[e],
Sen euer in 30w is my pretens,

50

1 Last four lines added in the same hand as has amended lines 13 and 14.

Quhill bat I die,

² In the margin in a different hand.

³ MS. eloquent.

	[LAING	MS.
And sen I schaw be suith full sueit To 30w but weir,		
Ane temperat tree will bear gud frute		55
Ainis in be zeir,		33
Althocht be branches dois nocht glance		
In wemenis eie;		
3it for 3our humble observance,		
Sueit hert haif reuth on mee."		60
"As fragrant 1 flouris of eloquence		
I neuer knew,		
Now as I sie, 3e man go hence,		
And nocht persew,		
Nor braik 30ur brane for me in vane		65
In ony wayis,		
For sindrie tymes I schew [3e] plane		
Thair was na mayis.		
Go, ² plant 30ur treis quhair euer 3e pleis,		
And latt me bee;		70
Ressaue 3our frute with mekill eis,		
And seik na luif of mee."		
"Now, I possessour of all cair,		
Sueit ladie fair,		
Till oppin my pak and sell no wair,		75
I say no mair,		
For gif my life lay in 3our luif,		
Than war I lost;		
Quhen I offend, 3e may repruif		
Me with gryte bost		80
Heir as I meane 3e may obstene		
From feminie,		
Les nor 3our grace, do as 3e meane:		
Sueit hairt haif reuth on me."		
¹ MS, flagrant. ² MS, To,		

F. 7 b.

		- 7
LAIN	C M	SI
THEFT	U 111	O .

	"O lustie lufe of luferis all,"	85
	This lady sayis,	
	"3our wordis with weping makis me fall,	
	This all my dayis,	
	To pas with 30w in ony place,	
	Quhair euer 3e pleiß,"	90
	Into hir armes sche did him brace,	
	And to him sayis:	
F. 8 a.	"O trew luif myne, quhilk is myne awin,	
	And ay salbe,	
	Desyring 30w þat it war knawin,	95
	That 3e wad marie me."	
	"To marie the!" he sayis agane,	
	"How micht hat be?	
	For sindrie tymes 3e schew me plane	
	My law degree,	100
	And said thy frendis wald nocht consent,	
	Nor gif to leive	

And bad me seik sum medicene,

Quhilk did me greive;

Most rissolut expell[t] my suite 1

In termis hie: ²
3e and 3our freindis thay may go hence,

And seik no luif of me."

Finis quod nescio.

105

X.

[REDOLENT ROIS, MY ONLIE SCHOIS.]

F. 72 a. REDOLENT roiß, my onlie schois,

I man disclois my siching sair;

my frendle fois, throcht passing wois,
for to reioß I may no mair.

¹ MS, frute, ² Written over the word "intermitive," which is stroked out.

MISCELLANEOUS POEMS.	209
	[LAING MS.
quhat cruell cair, quhat deip dispair,	5
maybe <i>com</i> pairt into my pairt?	
quha may repair my siching sair,	
or sall prepair to mand my smairt?	
Except my sueit, with hairt contreit,	
I do repeit with fervencie,	10
quhilk to retreit, luif causis fleit,	10
for sorrow, heit of ardencie.	
Sen destinie, my libertie,	
Alluterlie is reft away,	
assuring me that I sall die,	15
Except 3e be þe onle stay.1	
Can hat I now an favor must have	
Sen pat I now on force mun bow to 30w, in deid, to seik remeid,	
houping thairthro 3e will allow,	
to quha I bow I sall proced,	20
seiking but dreid, favour, or steid,	20
Till atropis threid my lyve devoir:	
To seik my deid, 30ur name will spreid,	
as homicede for euermore.	
my hairt, convert þis dairt fra me,	25
my luif, remow bis ruif of cair,	
my deir, apeir, þat feir my 2 fle,	
my dow, be now my conforter;	
my bird, 30ur word, as suord, is sair;	
my breist, is persit with uyolence:	30
me saif, I craif, to haif na mair	

bot hert for hert in recompence.

 2 my = may.

F. 72 b.

¹ Between this stanza and the next a line is drawn in the MS.

quhilk hert, as rube in this ring,

I do coniwr into 30ur cuir,

Hoiping it sall get conforting,

theruand 30ur plesand portratour;

quhilk, gif 3e do ressaue, be suir,

nocht cowntting bis my crwell cair,

my lyfe my na langer Indwre,

quhill meitting 1 . . .

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XI.

[MY FREIND, IF POW WILL CREDEITT ME IN OUCHT.]

F. 33 a. My freind, if bow will credeitt me in oucht,

To quhome be treuthe in trayall weill appeiris,

Nott worthe is witt quhill it be derlie bocht:

Thair is na wisdome bott in hoirie hairis.

3itt, gif I can of wisdome aucht defyne,

As weill as whairis hawe of happynes,

Than to may wordis, my freind, bi eris inclyne:

The thingis bat mak be wyse ar thes I ges:

Feir god, and knaw þi self in eiche degrie;

Be freind to all, familiar bot to few;

to licht of credeit se þow newer be,

for trayall oft in trust dois tresone schawe;

To wthairis faultis cast not to muche þai eir²;

Accuse na man of guild, amend þai awin;

of medling muche dois mischeif of [t] aryis,

And oft debaitt by tiekill toung is sawin.

1 Unfinished in the MS.

² 'eyes,' correctly in English version. See note.

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LAING MS.

r. 33 0.	Qualit thing pow willt have hid, to have declair,	
	in word or deid bewer of had I wist;	
	So spend þai gud þat sum þow ever spair,	
	For freindis lyk halkis dois soir frome emptie fist.1	20
	Cutt outt þai cott according to þai claithe;	
	Suspectit persounes se bow alwayis flie;	
	Beleue not him bat anes hes broken his treuth, ²	
	Nor 3itt of gilt without desert be fre.	
	Tyme quicklie slippis, bewar how thow it spend;	25
	of wantoun 30uth repentis ane panefull aige;	
	Begin na thing butt ane eye to be end,	
	nor bow hai eir frome counsell of he saige.	
	gif thow to far lett out bi fansie sleip.	

and wittles will frome reasonnes rewle outstartt, thy folie sell at lenthe be maid bi quhipp, And soir be stryippis of schame sell caus be smartt.

To do to muche ffor auld men is bott lost: Of freindschip had to wemen comes 3 lyik gane; Bestow not bow on childrene to much cost, 35 For quhat bow dois for thais is all [in] waine. The auld man, or he can requyt, he deis; Vnconstand is be womanis wauering mynd: Full sone be boy thy freindschip will despyis, And him for luif bow sell ingratfull find. 40

The agit man is lyik be barrane ground; The woman lyik be reid bat waggis with wind; Thair my na trust in tender age be fund; And of be thre the boy is most vnkynd. Iff bow haif fund ane faithfull freind indeed, 45 Bewer bow lose not loufe of suche a one; He sell sumtyme stand be In better steid, Than treasure greitt of gould or pretious stone.

¹ I remember an old verse of Chaucer, 'With empty hand men should no hawkis lure' (Maitland of Lethington to Cecil, Jan. 20, 1560).

² English version, 'troath,' to rhyme with 'cloath.'

³ MS. comemes.

XII.

[O FRAGRANT FLOUR, FAIR AND FORMOIS.]

F. 75 α.	O FRAGRANT flour, fair and formoifs, And nychtingall in to the nycht,	
	Quhat suld I say? thow art the choiß,	
	Ane Lantern and ane Lamp of Lycht. I wait thair is na warldlie wycht,	
	That for 30ur favour mair remanis;	5
	Quhan I think on 30ur bewteis brycht,	
	My spreit is pacefiit from panis.	
	I suffer tormenttis for 30ur saik,	
	So hat my eyes with tereis dois weir.	10
	Ane cumlie mak, 3e haif na maik,	
	Nor 3it in persoun hes na peir.	
	Bot wnto fantus I effeir,	
	Becaus I am tormentit so;	
	Quhan he thocht on his darling deir,	15
	his hairt was woundit ay with wo.	
	To teirris he did himself apply,	
	The dairttis of luif so did him lance;	
	Into the lyk estait am I,	
	Vpoun 30ur persoun quhen I pans.	20
	Quhan of 30wr face I gett ane glanß,	
	30ur bewtie dois my body bind;	
	My panis wald pacefie, perchance,1	
	In cais I culd 30ur favour find.	
F. 76 a.	Suppoist 30ur self I do nocht sie,	25
	3it I ly trappit In 30ur tranis,	
	And thocht my body absent be,	
	My constant hairt with 30w remanis.	

¹ MS. perchanche.

30

LAING MS.

3our cumlie corpis so me constranis,
That I for favour man procuir.
Be memorantive of my panis,
Quhilk for 3our saik I do Induir.

With dolour damone did dekay
for mentas luif, a[nd] so he deis,
quha had hir pictour present ay,
hung in ane brod befoir his eyes.
3it pancing on hir properteis,
maist madlie 1 pair he did amais:
my luif surmunttes in ma degreis,
howbeid that dayth distroyit his dayis.

40

Now sen my lyf lyis in 30ur handis,
remeid þe dolour quhilk I dree;
I am sa bund into 30ur bandis,
that frome 30ur luif I can nocht flie,
beseiking 30w sa guid to be
me of my tormenttis to relax,
that onlie adamand ar 3e,
Quhairto my luife adheranttis takis.

XIII.

[GRUND THE ON PATIENCE, BLIND NOT THY CONSCIENCE.]

F. 76 b. Grund the on patience, blind not thy conscience,
Do to God reuerance, thankand him ay;
Preis the with dilligence to put away negligence;
Content the with sufficience; this worlde will away.²

¹ MS. modlie. ² Written in a later hand and repeated on F. 77 b.

XIV.

[THE LUIF I BEARE IS FIXTT ON ONE.]

F. 81 b.

The luif I beare is fixtt on one;
I can nocht declair he lufe I bear;
Itt dois me drav to leif alone:
The lufe I beir is fixtt on one.

Absence I meane garris me lament, And wourkis me tene; Absence I meane, It garris me grene for my intent: Absence I meane garris me lament.

Euen for hir saik, I tak þis cair; My hairt will braik, euen for hir saik; No grace dois laik, þis flour so fair; Euen for hir saik, I tak þis cair.

XV.

F. 10 8. Followis the ravisching of Beggis donaldsoun, future spous to Thomas louthian, Mercheand.

JOHNNE NESBIT.

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F. II a. Suppois I be of simple clan,
Of small degrie and michtie name,
My father is ane welthe man,
Howbeit he be of littill fame.
To tell the treuth I think nocht schame:
For sen I was compellit to flie,
I durst nocht duell with freindis at hame,
For feir that folkis suld raveis me.

Quhat fairlie thocht I tuke he flicht?

I was persewit with lad and loun:

Rycht quyetlie into he nicht,

From the falkirk I maid me boun.

My parentis may spair mony croun,

Of gold and geir thay ar richt ryfe;

Thairfor thay brocht me to his toun,

Heir for to be ane burges wyfe.

It is nocht lang sen he begane,

My fatheris hous for to frequent:

Thay bad me tak ane mercheant man,

Quhome with I was richt weill content.

Fra tyme to him I gif consent,

My freindis in haist gart feche me heir;

That mariage he may sair repent,

As his schaft-bleid can witnes beir.

XVI.

[IN SOMER QUHEN PE FEILDIS AR FAIR.]

F. 14 a. In somer quhen he feildis ar fair,

With fragrant flouris ouer spred,

The grund depaintit euerie quhair,

With cullouris costlie cled;

Quhen hat priapus out foirth fair,

That god of garding gay,

And beuche and branche and all was fair

Of all kynde frute I say.1

¹ This is apparently the first stanza of a poem, the rest of which is awanting. It concludes F. 14 α . F. 14 δ . is blank, after which a leaf has been torn out.

XVII.

[I WIS I WAIR TRANSFIGURAT IN ANE RING.]

F. 69 b. I wist I wair transfigurat in ane ring,

To link about my maistris finger fyne;

Or ellis into hir snaw quhyte hals to hing,

To be inclosit into hir bosome fyne.

Gif it war day, I culd my myne inclyne,

To wring hir handis and vew hir bewtie fair;

Gif it war nicht, think be that I suld tyne

That precious tyme bat war presentit ban?

No, surelie, no, no, no, my maistris than

Suld find ane ring transformit in ane man.

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XVIII.

[GLADE AM I, GLADE AM I.]

F. 79 a. GLADE am I, glade am I, my mother is gone to henislie, steiche þe dur & cache me, lay me doun & streche me, ding me, & dang me, 3e, gif I cry hang me—3e, gif I die of þe same, Bury me, burie, in goddis name.

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[LAING MS.

XIX.

[I HOIPE TO SERVE, SANE SYNE TO DESERUE.]

F. 74 a. I HOIPE to Berve, sane syne to deserue,

Syne never for to sucrue from hir hat I luif best;

Quhair for, minerve, Imply my pen to Berve,

for to deserue sum favour that may lest.

XX.

[MY BREIST IS MAID THE VERRAY GRAIF OF WOO.]

My breist is maid the verray graif of woo; F. 12 a. My sichis ar windis and tempestis of my cair; My hairt, allace, quhilk peirsit is in two, Owerquhelmit lyis with cluddis of cauld dispair. O thow, my sueit, my deirrest, and my fair, 5 quhois cristell eis my passioun hes increst, drop doun sum grace quhilk may my paynis impair, And pitie him quhois mynd is woyd of rest. This for your saik and luif I am molest; This for your saik thir sorrowis I sustene; 10 This for your saik I am so sore opprest, That euermore in sadnes I remane; And euer sall quhill that your hevinlie face Pronunce my dume, or ellis grant me sum grace.

Giffand with all dew reuerence,
Peirsit with luif be violence,
To 30w my hairt in governence,
My ladie deir,
Quhois neue sueit wordis of eloquence,
Excell now heir.

Finis quod Constancie.

¹ Written at the top of the leaf, the rest of which is blank.

XXI.

ANE DREAME,

F. 70 a. I DREAMIT ane dreame, o that my dreame wer trew! Me thocht my maistris to my chalmer came, And with hir harmeles handis the cowrteingis drew, And sueitlie callit on me be my name: "Art ze on sleip," quod sche, "o fy for schame! 5 haue ze nocht tauld that luifaris takis no rest?" Me thocht I ansuerit, "trew it is, my dame, I sleip nocht, so zour luif dois me molest." With that me thocht hir nicht-gowne of sche cuist, Liftit be claiß and lichtit in my armis; 10 Hir Rosie lippis me thocht on me sche thirst, And said, "may this nocht stanche zow of zour harmes!" "Mercy, madame," me thocht I menit to say, Bot guhen I walkennit, alace, sche was away.

XXII.

[YOUR OUTUARD GESTURE, FORME, AND FASSOINS FAIR.]

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IO

F. 73 b. Your outuard gesture, forme, and fassoins fair, decleris be invard secrettis of ingyne, quheir is contenit sic verteuis hed and cair, bat al be warld dois se in 30w to schyne, resembling weil be verteuis raice & lyne quhair of 3e com; quhois name to last for ay is eternissid be 30w, and mede devyne in register bat never sal decay.

quhair by I hoip, mestres, hap quhat so mey, for sic revard, as Justly I expect to cum fra hir, quhair vertew beiris be sway, quhilk alvayis suld produice be awin effect.

Sens as be nature, so 3e ar inclynde, plece constancie into bis verteuis mynde.

XXIII.

[I SERVE ANE DAME MOIR QUHEITER THAN THE SNAW.]

F. 74 b. I SERVE ane dame moir quheiter than the snaw, Ouhois straichtnes dois be Ceder treis exceid, Quhois teith surpass be oriant peirle in hew, Ouhois collourit lippis surmountis be skarlet threid. The hinging lokkis that cummis from hir heid, 5 Dois staingre the grace and glorie of be gold; The braith quhilk dois out of hir mouth proceid, Dois moir than flouris a sweitar smell vnfauld. 3it sche, allace, within hir breist dois hauld Moir feirsnes than the lyoun feirs and vyld; 10 Sche hes ane hairt for seasoun hard and cauld, That from my mynd all pleasur hes exyld. Loo, this my dame dois work my lesting soir; 3it will I serve, althocht I die thairfore.

I. ARNOT.

XXIV.

[THE ROYALL PALICE OF PE HEICHEST HEWIN.]

F. 77 b. The royall palice of be heichest hewin, the staitlie fornace of be sterrie round, the loftie wolt of wandring planettis sewin, be air, be fyre, be wattir, & be ground—

suppois of thais be science be profound,
surppassing far our gros & sillie sens,

The pregnant spreittis 3it of be leirnit hes fund,
by age, by tyme, & lang experience,

Thair pitche, thair powir, and Inflwence,
the cowrs of natwre & hir mowingis all;

Sa bat we neid nocht now be in suspence
off erthelie thingis, nor 3it celestiall;

Bot onlie of bis monstwre luif we dout,
quhais craftie cowrs no cwning can find out.

XXV.

[THE TENDER SNOW, OF GRANIS SOFT & QUHYT.]

THE tender snow, of granis soft & quhyt, F. 78 b. Is nocht so sone conswmit vith phebus heit, As is my breist, beholding my delyte, Pyneit vith be presence of my lady sueit. The surgeing sevis, with stormie streameis repleit, 5 Tormovlit nocht be wandring shipis sa sair, As absence dois torment my werie spreit, fleitting a flocht betuixt hoip & dispair. My cative corps consumis with cursed cair; Mistrust & dreid hes baneist esperance, IO That I am forceit to perische quhae sould mair, & trast be wyte vpon rememberance; Than absence, presence, remembrance, all thre, Torment me for hir saik eternallie.1

¹ Underneath this sonnet are scribbled the names 'goirg hay,' 'Iames Arnot,' 'Ihone Hay,' 'Ioannes Arnot.'

XXVI.

ANE SCOTTIS SONNETT.

FIRST serve, syne sute, quhiles seme to lichlie luif. F. 79 a. gif thow intend to win thy ladyis grace; Serve hir, and sche thy constancie sall pruif, gif in hir mynd that modestie haue place; Persewing hir may rander the relaise, 5 Or ellis thow can nocht conqueis hairtis desyre. appeirantlie sumtyme to forgett, I gaise, Hes na les force to kendill cupydis fyre. hes thow nocht hard of mony leirant schyre Thus sayit, 'flie luif and it will fallow the '? IO Ouhilk na wayis commandis the to espyire, Bot wald bow suld nocht perrell libertie. Be trew, craue tyme, assoyt nocht gif thow can: Find sche be deschit, thow art ane marterit man.

XXVII.

F. 83 b. SONET.

THOCHT Polibus, pisander, and vith them, Antinous, vith monie wowaris, than Did preis for to suppryse, & bring to schame, Penellope, in absence of hir man, 3it sche remanit chast as sche began, 5 To tyme vlisses happinit to cum hame; That nane of thais as 3it, do quhat bai can, lang saxtene zeiris dowcht to defyle hir fame. Ewin so, most sueit, discreit, and mansueit muse, Remember on zour zoldin ßiruiture: IO Thoill nane 30ur blaseme bewtie to abuse, Thocht thai vith leing lippis vald 30w allure; Bot sen my lyffe dois on 30ur luife depend, In trew luiff with Penellope contend.

FINIS.

XXVIII.

SONNETT.

F. 5 a. Nevere, madame, of 30ur mercie me infold,

That I may remerciat, throuch 30ur mercie so,

To crave 30ur mercie, gif I durst be so bold:

Without 30ur mercie, my lyfe can haif no ho.

Craifing 30ur mercie, as hes done mony mo,

30ur merciles peirles persoun, most preclair,

Imprent with mercie intill all tyme ago.

That, but 30ur mercie, is trappit in 30ur snair.

Abyding 30ur mercie, and can no wayis eschew,
Sen bountie and bewetie, but mercie, ar but rair,

Haue mercie on me bat is 30ur lufair trew,
For except bat 3e mak mercie of remeid,
My awin tua handis, but mercie, salbe my deid.

FINIS. Amen.

5

TO

5

XXIX.

[SOME MEN FOR SUDDANE JOY DO WEIP.]

F. 34 a. Some men for suddane Joy do weip,
And some for sorrow sing,
Quhen þat þai ly in danger deip,
To putt away mur[n]ing.

Retenen pame tua, pis I begin, being in Joy and pan, In siching to lament my sin, bott 3itt reioce agane.

¹ Line omitted.

•	[LAING	MS.
My sinfull lyf dois still increß, My sorrow is þe mor; Frome wiketnes I can nocht ceiß, Wo is my hairtt þairfor.		10
Som tyme quhen I think to do wiell And serue god nicht and day, My wiecket natur dois rebell, And leidis me astray.		15
As bound and capteue wnto sin, Quhilk grewis me full soire, This miserie I do liue In; Wo is my hairtt þairfor.		20
In deid sumtyme I do repent, And pardon dois obtene; bott 3itt, alace, Incontenentt, I fall to sin agane.		
My corrup nature is so ill, Offending mor and more, That I offend my lord god still; Wo is my hairtt þairfor.		25
Wo is my hairt, wo is my mynd, Wo is my saull and spritt, That to my lord I am vnkynd, In quhome I suld delytt.		30
Hes lowe alwayis I suld regerd, Quhilk towarttis me was so peure; bott I with sin do him reward, Most vnkynd creature,		35

F. 34 b.

The best, be bird, be fiche, be fowll,
Thair maker do obeay;
Bott I, batt am ane leiffing saull,
Am far much worß ban bai.

40

For þai, according to þair kynd, To serue him do nocht ceaß; Bott I, with sinffull hairtt and mynd, Do daylie him displeiß.

Thes do I sore complene of sine, And withe king david weip, For I do ffeill my hairt within, The wairthe of god full deip.

45

F. 35 a.

To hevene my eyis I dar nocht lift, Aganest it I hawe trespast; Nor In be eirthe I find no scheift, Nor succoure bat can lest.

50

Quhat sell I do? sell I dispair, And frome my saweoure slyd? Nay, god forbid, þair is na feir, Sen chrest for me hes deid.

55

God became man and for ws men, He died and rais again; Hes merci greitt, we may se þan, For ever dois remane.

60

Thairfoir my sinns will I confeß,
To god and mur[n]ing mak,
Quha will forgeif be same dowttles,
For his sonne Chrystis saik.

F. 35 b.

	[LAING	MS.
If sin In me god suld respect,		65
Than do I knaw full will,		
hes Justice wald me sone rewers		
To be deip pitt of hell.		
His glorius eyis can nocht abayd		
the full and 1 fillthe smuk,		70
quhairwith I am, on everie said,		
Coweritt as with ane Clok.		
Bott he in Chryst dois me behald,		
In quhome he dois delytt;		
And myn offences manifold,		75
throw him releiffitt quytt.		
Reputting me amang the Just,		
Forgeifing all my sun,		
Thairfor my faithe, my houp, my trest,		
Sell ever be In hem.		80
O Lord, Incres trew faithe In me,		
Thy guid spritt to me geif,		
Thatt I my grow in lowe to the,		
And evir seik to leiff		
In trew obedience of pai will,		85
And thankfullnes of hairtt;		
And with pai graice so gaid me still,		
Thatt [I] my newir depairtt		
Frome thy trew[th], lord, and testement	,	
all þe dayis of my lyff;		90
nor frome 2 þai Churche most Innocent	t,	
thy awin trew spous & wyf.		
¹ MS. fullane. ² MS. frome.		

Bott frome patt fillthie hour of rome, Lord keip me ever more, as gratiouslie as pow hes done, thankis be to be pairfor.

95

F. 36 a.

And sen thow hes of gudnes,
Forgevine all my sine,
Strenthe me þai trewthe for to confeß,
And boldlie die þairin.

100

Thatt as I have confessitt be,

Befor be wickitt sortt,

Thow may in bai guid tyme knaw me,

to my Joy & confortt.

My Saull, returne vnto þai rest,

105

Thow artt will satisfeitt;
The lord hes grantit þai requist,
And nothing þe denayitt.

110

5

Prais be to god, be Faber of micht, praifs be to be, o Cryst, praifs be to be, Helie gost,

Thre in on most heist.

Finis.

XXX.

[PECCAUI PATER, MESER ERE MEI.]

F. 80 a. PECCAUI pater, meserere mei,

I am nocht worthie to be callit thy chyld, quha stubburnelie hes went so lang astray, nocht lyk the sone, but lyk the prodigall wyld. my sillie saull with synnis is sa defylit,

That sathan seik is to cache it as a prey. god 1 grant me grace that he may be begylit:

Peccaui, pater, meserere mei.

¹ MS, got.

40

LAING MS. I am abaysed how I dar be sa bauld, Befoir thy godlie presens till appeir; 10 Or hazaret anis the heavinis for to behauld, Ouha am nocht wourdie that be earth suld beir. 3it damne me nocht, guhome thow hes bocht so deir; Sed saluum me fac, dulcis fili dei, For out of luke bis leasing now I leir, 15 Peccaui, pater, miserere mei. Gif thow, o lord, with rigour wald reuenge, quhat flesche befoir be fatles suld be fund? Or quho is he quhais conscience culd him clenge, Bot by his brother is to sathan bund? 1 20 3it, of thy grace, thow tuke away bat ground, And send thy sone our penulties to pay, To saif ws from be hideous, hellische hund: Peccaui, pater, miserere mei. F. 80 b. I houpe for mercie, thocht my sinnis be hudge: 25 I grant my guilt, and gronis to be for grace. Thocht I wald flie, quhair suld I find refuge? Till heavin? o lord, bair is thy duelling place: The earth, thy futestule, zea, in hels palace,2 doun with be deid; bot all most be obey. 30 Thairfoir I cry, quhill I haif tyme and space, Peccaui, pater, miserere mei. O gracious god, my guiltines forgeve, In sinneris deith sen thow dois nocht delyte, Bot rather bat bai suld convert and leive 35 as witnes for thy sacret holy wryte. I pray the, thanne, thy promeis to perfyte With me, and I sall with be psalmes 3 say, To pen thy prais, and wondrous workis Indyte,

Peccaui, pater, miserere mei.

^{1 &#}x27;Bot by his birth to Satan he is bund?'—Drummond MS.

² 'alace,' Drummond MS. ³ 'Psalmist,' Drummond MS.

				9
TA	TRI	0	MS.	н
1147	TTA	U	TAT 'O.	п

Suppois I sled, lat me nocht sleip in sleuth,
In stinkand sty with sathanis sinfull suyne;
Bot mak my tung he trumpett of thy treuth,
And len my verse sic vingis as ar devyne.
Sen how hes grantit me so gude ingyne
To luif he, Lord, in galland style and gay,
Lat me no moir so trim ane talent tyne:

45

50

55

60

65

70

F. 81 a. Thy spreit, my spreit to speik, with speid, inspyr.

Holp, holie ghost! and be mongomries muse;

flie doun on me in forkit tungis of fyre,
as how did on thyne awin apostles vse;

And with thy fyre me ferventlie infuse
To luif! he, lord, and langer nocht delay.

My former folische fictionis I refuis:
Peccaui, pater, miserere mei.

Peccaui, pater, miserere mei.

Stoup, filthy flesche, careoun of clay;
Stoup, hardned hairt, before he lord, and lout;
Stoup, stoup in tyme, defer nocht day by day.
Thow watt not [weill] quhen thou man pas away;
[The Tempter, als, is bissie to betrey.]²
Confess thy synnis, and schame nocht for to say,
Peccaui, pater, miserere mei.

Stoup, stubborne stomak, bat hes bene so stout;

To gryte Iehova salt all glore be givn,

Quha schwpe my saull to his similitude;

And to his sone, quhome he send doun from heavin,
quhen I was lost, to by me with his blude;

And to be holy ghost, my gyder gude,

Quho mot confirm my fayth to tak na fray,

In me cor mundum crea—I conclude:

Peccaui, pater, miserere mei.

1 'laud,' Drummond MS.

² Omitted line supplied from the Drummond MS.

5

20

LAING MS.

XXXI.

[O LORD, MY GOD, TO PE I CRAY, HEIR MY COMPLENT.]

F. 37 a. O LORD, my god, to be I cray, heir my complent, With sinnis so sair opprest am I that I wax fantt; My hairt is wexit Inwartlie with pane & greif, That I am forst to cum to be to seik releif, Confessing all my sinfullnes in thy presence, beseiking be to grant me grace for my offence. my sinnis hes so provokit thyne Ire, bat I, allace! Deserwitt hes be hellis fyr for my trespaß.

3itt, Lord, to the I call and cray with hairtt Intreit:

Thy word dois say nocht anis at all thow hes delytt

In sinneris deithe, bott wald hat hai suld turne;

quhilk promiß, lord, keip wnto me hat sair dois murne.

If hat how, lord, did call to mynd our sinis ilkane, than Iustifeit of adame kynd hair sell be nane.

Except how of [thy] fre merce saf ws frome deid,

We ar all damnett eternalie without remeid.

Sen nan can throu his awin desertis be maid perfyt, we be beseik into our hairt, grant ws bai spreitt; For nan can come to be excep bat bow him draw, As chryst vnto his awin electt dois planlie schaw; Bott latt 1 thy spritt with ws remane we be exhort, In all our anguishe, greif, & pane; and for bai names saik defend bai flok ilk ane, dispersit to be warldis end, & bring thame hame

1 MS, batt.

be bow hair protectour, and gaid, hair lord, hair god.
thow artt our heid, and over 1 hai scheip, & ever sell
thay faithfull folk defend, & peik frome pittis all;
evin as how keipit hai serwand noy he ark within,
quhen how did all he warld distroy for adame sine;
and sauitt lott, quhen, In thayne air, how did reproue
Sodom, with furius flames of fyre frome hevine abou[e.]

Thow brocht Iserall throw be reid sie, baith saif & sund; and pharaoh, with his gritt armie, bairin bow drownde; and Ionas, in be quhellis bellie, bow safit thre dayis, 35 syne send him into neniwe to preiche bai wayis.

Thow did also preseru & keip bai serwandis thrie, sidrach, misache, abendnago, quhen, cruelie be nebagodneser king, bai wer² all tene, syne to his presoun causit bring bir thrie ilkane.

And furiouslie, into his yre, thir cheldrene thre he cast into ane flame of fyre, þair bruntt to be; bott thy angell withe þame abod þe fyre to suaige, þat hurtt was no hair of þair heid for all his raig. þow did, o lord, defend and keip Susana 45 frome Iudges fals, quhilk did pretend to wirk hir schame; And daniell in þe lyouns dene þow did preserue: Sic is þai fawore to all þame þat do þe ßerue.

F. 38 a. Amangis þir exemplis all, we may imbring,
How thow preserwit Dauid frome saull, and maid him king;
And efter þat, of presone strang þow did relewe
paull þe sulderis frome amang, þat none him greif.
quhatt mister I to multiplie exampellis awld?
thair restis an wark of þai merci zitt to behald,
of Iames the sext, our nobill king, quhome chryst mocht keip
With Dauid, thow did him for to bring of dangeris deip.

¹ MS, 'evare,'

Quhen þat hes fois begud to fane and him persew, Achitophell and absalon thow þan overthrew; And þow did dullfulie doun ding þame, did þhame deir: Chryst, grantt him lang over ws to ring in þai trew feir. 60 Nott onlie dois þow [þame] defend frome perelis gritt, bott als oft [als] þai do offend, þow dois remeitt thair sinnis ilk ane, and dois nocht lay þame to þair chairg, As in þe scriptur fund we may the same at large.

Now sen þat þow hes heirtofor ¹ þai ßæruantis sawitt, and sufferitt nane to be forlone, þat mercy crawitt, with petie than behald my greif, my pane, & smartt, and for þai names saik releif my troublitt hairtt.

The sowme of all þat I wald haue is þai merci,
The quhilk for chrystis saik I craue of þe onlie,
Forgeif me, quhen I haue offenditt, & finalie ²
bring me, quhen þat my lyf is enditt, to glore with þe.

Finis.

XXXII.

[O LORD, MY GOD, SEN I AM BROCHT TO GREITT DISTRES.]

F. 38 b. O LORD, my god, sen I am brocht to greitt distres, and In my bodie þair is nocht bott hewenes, mak haist In tyme to succur me, o richteous Iudge, sene I haue nane In eirth bott þe for my refuge.

My onlie hoip and confidence In þe is sett, assuring me þatt myne offence sell be forzitt,

And all my tormenttis sell tak end with suddan speid, quhen þow sick confortt sell me send as I haue neid.

¹ MS, heir to for.

² MS. fimalie.

5

Lord, strenthen me with patience to suffer ay quhatt pleasis best hai excellence on me to lay, and lett me nocht declyne att all In tyme of neid, bott ever more on he to call for my remeid. help me to beir my burden, lord, for I am weik, and lett hai strenthe and cair accord, for hai name saik. assist me with hai holie spreitt, hat I may still, with constantt hairtt and houp repleitt, abaid hai will.

At leist sum pairtt, I þe beseik, to suaige my pane; as thow artt loving, kynd, & meik, þai wrathe refrane; Into thy iustice and iudgment deall nocht withe me, bott, sen þat I am panitent, grantt me mercie. Quhen strenthe and senses ar all gone, & wordis faill, my hairtt and mynd in þe alone sell be all heill. þai promeß, nor tender love, na tyme, nor tyd, butt of my hairtt will I remoue, nor 3itt lett slyd.

20

F. 39 a. If þat þai pleasur be, þat I sell now depairtt,

I recommend my saull to þe with thankfull hairtt;
quhen it sell hawe ane duelling plaice with angellis hie,
to ring in hevenlie Ioy and peice perpetualie.

If þatt þai pleasure be my lyf to spair,
releif me of my miserie and presentt cair,
remeid me þat am lyk to mange, and sor opprest,
And [I] will sing þai praiß as lang as I my lest.

Finis.

XXXIII.

[QUHA SO DOIS PUT PAIR CONFIDENCE.]

F. 39 a. Quha so dois put hair confidence, and treistis in me with trew accord, to thame I sell be ane defence, In tyme of neid (thus sayis he lord)

	[LAING	MS.
If þai stand stiflie be my word, Frome dangeris gritt þai selbe frei; thocht weickit perische be þe suord, to myne ane bukler will I be.		5
Thocht Pharoth with his gritt armie, Israell to kill he did Intend, I led pame saiflie 1 throw pe sea, And from his bost did pame defend, quhair he maid ane mischeifus end, baith he and all hes compannay;		10
Thairfor to all I mak itt kend, to myne ane bukler will I be.		15
Thocht I did all be warld distroy, becaus be wickit wald nocht mend, 3itt sawitt I my sarwantt Noy,		
And frome pe flud did him defend; quhair Sodem maid ane weickit end, I 2 sawitt lot, as 3e may sie: To weickitt thocht greitt plaigis I send, to myne ane bukler will I be.		20
Thocht wickit saull, and absalon, Dauid his kingdom wald haue rentt, 3itt causit I him to ring abone, And did þame plege with punischement For Saull by his awin suord wes schent,	:t.	25
And absalom was hangitt hie; Be þis it is richt euident, to myn ane bukler will I be.		30
Becaus wickitt Iesabill, be quene, Eleas blod scho snair to spill, On hir gritt sorrow bir was sene; 3itt him I sawitt frome her Ill.		35
MC 41 2 MC a	nd	

F. 39 b.

¹ MS. throw saiflie.

² MS. and.

For hors ran over hir at þair will,

Doggis knew hir baneis assuretlie:

Thocht wickitt wald my sarwandis kill,

To myne ane bukler will I be.

40

F. 40 a. Thocht wickitt haman gartt vp sett
Ane pair of gallows, lairg and lang,
Belewene surelie for to gett
Mordecai thairon to hang;
3itt I red him out of þat thrang;
Haman þairon was hangit hie:
quhair ever myne dois ryd or gang,
to myne ane bukler will I be.

45

Quhen Dan[i]ell wes overthrawin,
in presoun deip with lyonnes strang,
To him they did no thing bot fane,
And lickit him with tungis sa lang;
Bot quhen his fais come hame amang,
they did hame ryis dispytfulie:
Thocht myne sumtyme dois suffer wrang,
to hame a bukler will I be.

50

Quhen susanna was In point of deid, to me scho did boithe cray & call,
And me bethocht to mak remeid, and I did heir hir by and by.

Thay patt accusitt hir wranguslie,

60

55

ane schamefull deid I gartt þame die: Thocht my sarwandis In danger lay, To þame ane i bukleir will I be.

		[LAING MS.
F. 40 <i>b</i> .	Now 3e hat ar myne cheldrene deir, and be with me enteritt in band, 3e knaw full oft 3e stuid in feir of tensall baith of lyf and land;	65
	For quhen grett king did 30w gainstand, and als 30ur preistis bat ar so hie, As ben I sawitt 30w fra bair hand, Sa will I ¹ 3itt 30ur bukler be.	70
	3e knaw they thocht 3ow to distroy, quhairfor þai sett þair men of weir, thinken þairwith 3ow to annoy, and daylie to 3ow do grett deir; Bott 3itt to feicht I did 3ow leir, and I gaue 3ow þe wictorie; As þan I did 3our baner beir,	7 5
	Sa will I 3itt 3our bukleir be.	80
	Sen I frome boundage maid 30w frie, And outt of egypt did 30w call, Thair wickitt lawes se 3e latt be— to þame attend na thing at all. And be not lyk þe doge þatt sell His womett lik maist schamfulie, Do 30w so, plaiges sall on 30w fall, And I sall nott 30ur bukler be.	85
F. 41 a.	And thocht I have begone to serue, according to be law 3e sett, Fra 3e begin and for to sweirue, 3our richteuousnes sell be forsett.	90

1 'Will I' repeated in the MS.

Than I in haist, bott ony latt,
Sall plaige 30w for Inequitie,
Besyd be plaig, bat 3e sell gett,
I sall no mor 30ur buckleir be.

95

Howbeit the wickitt did mak lawis for to suppreß my word of licht,
Compelling myne be greitt ouerthrawis, the sam obey be þair gritt mycht.
Now sa far as they ar not rycht, bot saweris of Idolatrie,
Do þame ganstand, both day and nicht,
And ay 30ur buckler will I be.

100

Thocht nabucadonosor king cast sidrach and abendnago,
And mesach als, into þe fyre,
becaus on na wayis þai wald go
Worschip the Imag he maid tho,
bott prayitt to me richt ardentlie;
And I did saife þame frome þair fo:

Lyk wayis zour bukler will I be.

quhair 3e sell dwell 4 for evermore; quhair I sell ay 30ur bukleir be. 105

F. 41 b. Thocht I the wickit tholl 30w kill, and violent deith do 30w deuoir,
This promeß sure I mak 30w 1 till,
Ane 2 better lyf I sell restoir
To 30w, quhair þat 3e sell In glore
Ay 3 ring withe me continulie;

110

115

120

Finis.

1 MS, to.

² MS, and,

³ MS. Do.

4 MS. dewll.

XXXIV.

[HARKEN, HERKENE, ME THINK ANE TROMPETT DOIS STUND.]

- F. 41 6. HARKEN, herkene, me think ane trompett dois stund, blawing ane dreidfull blast; arys, 3e deid, outt of be grund, cum to 3our Judgmenntt Last.
 - The king of kingis, and god most hie,
 sall mak þis blast to blaw;
 for he sell cum In maistir[ie],
 to Judge boithe hie and law.
 - Ten hundreth thousand angellis bricht,
 appostellis, and prophettis,
 His marteris all in oppin sicht,
 Sell sit In Judgment sett,
- F. 42 a. For to beir witneß, schairp and schor,
 aganis þe wickit trane,
 quhome cryst sell dame for ever more
 wnto eternall pane.

For god, dowtles, most neidis be Just, and thocht it seames lang, ane compt of all men tak he must,¹ of all þair evell and wrang.

Quhat evere man befor hes done, In secreitt or In sicht, In presence of þat feirfull throne, It selbe brocht to licht.

¹ MS. most.

Bott sowme will say, I wein,
and lauche goddis word to scorn:

"the warld is now as it hes bene,
sene mankynd first was borne.

"Thairfoir it is vncredabill,
thatt chryst sould come sa sone;
It is also wnpossibille,
this warld suld be vndone.

"Thir thingis ar feynit of subtill men,
as thingis to mak ws feir:

F. 42 b.

To this sanct peter ansuoris, contrary pair desyre, that bothe pe heven, and eik pe arthe, ar keip in stor for fyre,

Come, lett ws tak oure pleseure than,

as lang as we be heir."

40

35

Unto be day of last iudgment, and of perditioune, quhair with be vngodlie selbe brunt, with greitt distructioun.

Our god, quhilk promisit to come, his promeß will nocht beir; quhairfor he will not tary lang, his coming is not far.

45

Ane day is had as muche with him, as we ane thowsand zeiris;
Agane ane thousand zeiris with him, bott as ane day appeiris.

50

¹ MS, hevenen.

F. 43 a.

	[LAING	MS.
Not onlie peter wryttis so,		
that this day is at hand;		
bot we haue ressonis money mo,		55
as 3e sell vndirstand.		
Our maister, Cryst, himsellff dois say,		
Sa dois þe apposellis all,		
that þis same last & dreidfull day,		
Lyk to ane theif cum sell.		60
Quhen þai sell wein þat all is will,		
In peice and quyit rest,		
euen than sell fall distrouctioun fell,		
quhen þai think on it leß.		
Thai bocht and sauld befor be fluid,		65
thy drank and spairit na coist,		
thy tuik pair lust, as pai wor wod,		
and suddenlie wer lost.		
Sa sell þai do befor the dome,		
as chryst dois plainlie say;		70
we sie the lyk to pas is come,		
quhy doutt we of his day?		
Sanct Iames did beir the Iewis in hand	,	
now money zeiris befor,	,	
that Chryst, be Iudge, did present stand	1,	75
and knokit at be dure.		
There		
In his approalipfs, sant Ihone,		
dois planlie testifie,		
that chryst sayis [in] his awin persone, "behald, I come schortlie."		80
penalu, I come schottic.		

Sant peter wrett ane vbair quhair,1 and I beleif it trew: The finell end of all is neir. and schortlie will Insew.

If they did think be end at hand, F. 43 b. sa mony zeiris ago,

muche moir aucht we to vnderstand, thair be not money mo.

This by be scripturis evident, it planlie dois appeir: now proue we sell by argument, bat this same day drawis neir.

All thingis patt be vnder be sonne, manis saull exceptit plane, Lykwyse as they [did] anis begune, sa sell thay end againe.

The fyre with heitt, and rege ferwent, Dois sor consume and burne, As sur and sertene argument, That all to it sell turne.

Quhat so dois waist in evere pairt, the haill most neidis decay: the warld dois waist in evere airthe. quhairfor it most away.

The sune, be mone, be starnis so fair and all bat hevenlie host, the wateris, and be mowing air, Sum of pair strenthe heve lost.

1 Sic.

85

90

95

100

105

F. 44 a. The erthe of auld gaue heir encress,

without tillage or pane; 1

bott now hir strenthe is les and les,

and les pe workmanis gane.

Now herbes haue lost thair auncient strenthe,
that they did hawe beforn;
Thais do laik thair breid and lenthe,
and smaller is be corn.

The bodie[s] of all beistis grow les
then they hawe bene before;
thairby may 3e planlie ges,
thair kynd is feblit soir.

We have hard tell of gyanttis fell, that wer in elder tyme; bot now we be lyk emmettis small, if we compair to pame.

Euerie thing quhen it is new,
then it is fresche and fair;
bott 3eitt we find this resoun trew,
it waxis auld and bair.

Religioun trew was anis ferwent,
bott now we see it cauld;
that is ane certene argument,
this warld is faint and auld.

Bott quhat so ever waxis auld, it wenischis away; thairfor by resone manifald,

F. 44 i. thairfor by resone manifald, 135 this warld must neidis decay.

¹ MS, labour,

Quhen nott on dall, nor 3itt on hill, 3e sie þe sune do stand, na langer dowtt, I think, 3e will, that nicht is neir at hand.

140

So quhen no wertew wsit is, in greitt, nor 3ett in small, than may we trewlie trust to this, the warld sell hawe ane fall.

145

Quhen naturall hert dois man forsaik, and wynature dois abound,

It cawsis 1 him with fefeir quaik, and dois his lyf confound.

[So] quhen be lowe to god is small, and self lowe dois exceid, then certenlie some plaige mortall, sone efter lett ws dreid.

150

Now luf to god is out of land, and sellff luf waxis strange; quhairfor be warld most ceass to stand, I think, or it be lang.

155

Quhen daithe drawis nereist man vnto, thy raig in þair mad moid; thy hawe no skyll to say or do, bott feir as þai war wode.

160

F. 45 a.

Before be end of all lykways, salbe in quyet rest;
Now Antechryst dois stile deuys the godle to molest.

¹ MS. cawsit.

Bott lett þat beist still rage and roir, and kill by sea and land, feir not, 3e folk of Chryst, thairfor, for 3our iudge is at hand.

He will 30w tak to heven full hie,
and raiß 30w frome be ground:

Prepair 30w then to heir, schortlie,
this ioyfull trompit sound.

Our King is Iames, he we pray,

Lord, saif him with hai grace;

Keip all his subjectis in gud stay,

and all his foes defece.

Come, Lord, come quicklie, we be pray, and tak ws wp on hie, that we may sing [in bliss] for ay eternall praiß to the.

Finis.

XXXV.

[THE WEICHT OF SIN IS WONDIR GREITT.]

F. 45 b.

The weicht of sin is wondir greitt,
quha may pat grevus burden beir.
my god, maist huumle I submeitt
my sellf befoir pai heichnes heir.
och, reuthfuly Inclyne pai eir
wnto my peitifull complentt:
Thy punysmentis & plaigis reteir
frome me, pure pyning pennitent.

F. 47 a.

guhen darknes hes [t]he hevenes rewest, But ather mone or starrie licht; 10 guhen man and beist is at ther rest. throw secreitt silence of be nicht; I, waltering lyk ane wofull wicht, Still walking in my bed I lay: My sinis presentis thame in my sicht, 15 Och, harkin! lord, for help I crav. My pansing dois ogment my pane, becauß I can nocht be excusitt; I am sa oft relapis agane Into be sin quhilk I refussit. 20 Thai clemenci I haue abussitt. be leiding of ane wickit lyff; My spreit, within his flesch Infusitt, is lyk to pereish in the stryff. Och, to my fais than sell I zeild, 25 and all bai merceis quyt dispair? och, sell I now gif over be feild, and newer luik for mercy mair? quhilk hes so oft, baith leitt and air, Sung praifs to be with joyfull hairt? 30 no, lord, preserve me frome bat snair, and leit bis cup frome me depairtt. I have assurance of bai spreitt, that bow be laidneitt will releif, quhilk cumis to be with hairtt contreitt, 35 and in bi bontie dois beleif. my feibill faith, o lord, revieue, for thocht my sinis be lyk be sand, Bit how art habill to forgif, and raifs me with bai helping hand. 40

Ouha can onfenzeitlie repentt? guha can frome wickeitnes abstene vnles bai grace be to bame lentt, to sich & sob with weiping ene? be prayer profeittis nocht ane prene, 45 except be same from faith proceid: Latt faithe and graice In me grow grene, that I may turne to be In neid. Lord, with my sellff I am disspleisitt, and weirreis of bis burdene fasst; 50 thay wreyth, pairfor, let be appeisitt: forgett my full offen[c]is past. I feir, I faint, I am agast, quhen I prepend my awin estait; bot bis releif I find at last, 55 my penitence is no to leitt. Albeitt bow be ane vp richt Iudge,1 thow art my faber nocht be les, My bukler, & my sur refuge, My only 2 confort I confess. 60 Hawe peitie on my greitt distres, cast nocht me catewe clene away: thow knawis be Inwartt hevenes. for sin to suffer everie day. This pan, my god, of graice I craif, 65 With humell hewe hairtt of be, my sinis ar lyk me to dissayff, hot let me nocht desaiffit be. tak nocht bai helping hand frome me, for I am fraell and Imperfytt; 70 gif me nocht over to drone & dei, Into my flechely hairtis delytt.

F. 47 b.

¹ MS. Iugde.

² Repeated in the MS.

F. 48 a.

LAING MS.]

Thy werking spreitt, let me assist, Into bis feirce & fechting feill. that I may wailzeandle resist 75 the fleche, be warld, be dewell, & hell. My secreitt sinis frome me expell; My natur hes currupit bow knawis: Mak me to precteis, & furth tell, Thy preceptis, prayeris, & holy lawis. 80 Thir giftis, I grant, I meritt nocht, For I in sin was borne & bred; bot Iesus Chryst he hes me bocht Frome deith, evene with his blud he sched: hes merittis hes me frelie fred, 85 mak me bairfor perticipentt: Let me be with his Iustice cleid. and conteit bai redemitt santt. Nocht he, bot I, hes deith deserwitt,

Nocht he, bot I, hes deith deserwitt,

Nocht I, bot he, dois merit graice;

For me, nocht for him sellff, he sterwitt,

With the to purches me a plaice.

throw him I am in happie caiß,

evin with hai godheid reconseild;

to the, throw him, quhome I Imbraice,

Be praiß, quha hes hir Ioyis reweild.

90

95

FINIS.

XXXVI.

[CONSIDER, MAN, HOW TYME DO PAS.]

Consider, man, how tyme do pas, And lykvayis how all fleche is gairs; As tyme consumes be strongest ark, So daithe at last sell straik be stark.1 Thocht luistie zouthe dois bewtie beire, 5 3itt 3outhe, be aige, In tyme dois weir; And aige at last a deithe doithe bringe to riche & poure, emprioure & king. Thairfoir liue as thow suldest die. thay saull to saiv frome Iepardie; 10 And as bow waldest be done vnto, So to bai nichtbouris alwayis do. The hevinlie Ioyis at lenthe to sie Lat faithe In chryst bi authour be.

Finnis quod.2

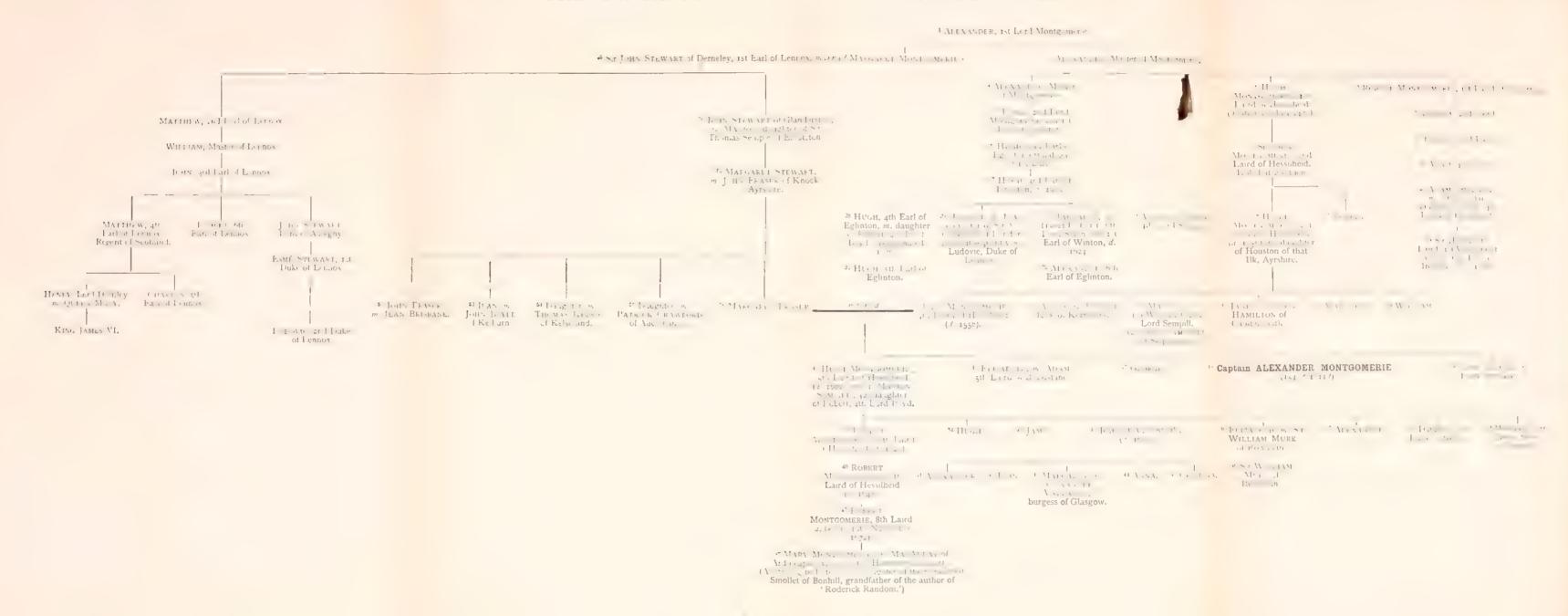
F. 71.

¹ MS. strak.

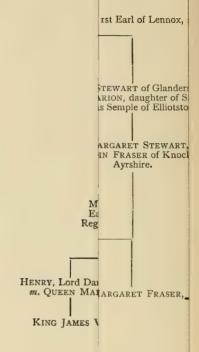
² The name 'hay' has been stroked out.



THE GENEALOGY OF ALEXANDER MONTGOMERIE.



OF ALEX



48 MARY N Ardincaple, (According to Smollet of I

APPENDIX A.

THE GENEALOGY OF ALEXANDER MONTGOMERIE.

THE chart affixed to this appendix practically summarises the results of the present inquiry into Montgomerie's family history. The information on which it is based has been drawn from rather widely scattered, and in part, at least, not very readily accessible sources. These are sufficiently indicated in the detailed references given in the notes. It may be well, however, since the following account of the poet's genealogy is at variance in certain important points with what has been hitherto known of the subject, to state with some fulness the more authoritative parts of the evidence. Those interested in the matter will thus be in a position to judge for themselves of the editor's conclusions. It should be mentioned that the order of birth assigned in the chart to the members of each generation is, with the exception of the eldest born, mostly conjectural. In the case of a family having a landed succession, it is usually, and for obvious enough reasons, not difficult to ascertain the names of succeeding heirs. On the other hand, to settle the respective positions of younger members is far from easy and often impossible. Of the generation to which the poet himself belonged we know that at least two brothers were born before him; but with regard to his sisters, of whom there is authentic evidence of two, it is, as pointed out later, impossible to say with any degree of certainty whether they were older or younger than the poet. The genealogy of the Montgomeries of Braidstane, a collateral branch, is given as far as the sixth laird, since it throws some light on the question of Montgomerie's parentage. His relationship to the Eglinton family is also shown, and to Margaret Montgomerie, Countess of Winton, the lady for whom he has been supposed, on very trivial grounds however, to have indulged a hopeless passion. His mother's connection, too, with the House of Stewart is indicated in order to bring out clearly Montgomerie's own degree of kinship to James VI. and to the two dukes of Lennox, who were his friends and patrons.

The view now generally accepted, that the poet belonged to a well-known Ayrshire family of the sixteenth century, the Montgomeries of Hessilheid, a junior branch of the noble House of Eglinton, has

been fairly well established, although the evidence hitherto adduced is, it must be admitted, rather less precise than one might wish. At the time Dr Irving wrote his first account of Montgomerie, published in 'Lives of the Scotish Poets' in 1802, any evidence there had been to connect the poet with Hessilheid had apparently dropped entirely out of sight, and the notion is accordingly dismissed by Irving as mere conjecture. As far back as 1710, however, Sir Robert Sibbald, in his 'Account of the Writers who treat of the Description of Scotland' (p. 22), had drawn attention to a passage in Timothy Pont's 'Topographical Account of the District of Cuninghame' (at that time in manuscript), written about the year 1604, in which reference is made to Hessilheid Castle as being famous as the birthplace "of that renomet poet, Alexander Montgomery." Pont, whose accuracy has been well vouched for in other particulars, was perfectly familiar with the district, and writing at a time when Montgomerie was probably still alive, he is not likely here to have made a mistake. Some time after the publication of 'Lives of the Scotish Poets,' Pont's account of Hessilheid was rediscovered by Chalmers, the well-known literary antiquarian; and on the strength of this contemporary evidence Dr Irving, to whom the information had been passed on by David Laing, ventures the remark in his second account of the poet, prefixed to the collected edition of Montgomerie's poems, published in 1821, that it is "more than probable that the poet was a younger brother of Montgomerie of Hazelhead."1

A further step towards establishing Montgomerie's connection with the family at Hessilheid was taken a few years later. In 1827 a contributor to the notes in Thomas Lyle's 'Ancient Ballads and Songs' (p. 102) drew attention to the fact that Sir William Mure of Rowallan, in a poem addressed to Charles I., then Prince of Wales, had claimed descent from the family of the poet Montgomerie. The lines are well known now, but it may be permissible to quote them here.

Matchless Montgomerie in his native tongue, In former times to thy great Sire ² hath sung, And often ravish'd his harmonious ear With strains fit only for a prince to hear.

¹ It is not quite clear which laird of Hessilheid Irving is here referring to. Pont mentions that the owner of the estate at the time he was writing was Robert Montgomerie. This was the sixth laird, and, as it now turns out, a nephew of the poet. It may be worth mentioning that the Robert Montgomerie to whom Pont refers succeeded to the estate in 1602, which shows that it was after that date that the 'Topographical Account of the District of Cuninghame' was written. In the Maitland Club edition the date of Pont's Manuscript is given as ''about 1600."

² James VI. of Scotland.

My Muse, which nought doth challenge worthy fame, Save from Montgomery she her birth doth claim (Although his Phœnix ashes have sent forth Pan for Apollo, if compared in worth) Pretendeth title to supply his place, By right hereditar to serve thy grace.

The note in Lyle's volume goes on to state that Mure of Rowallan was the son of Elizabeth Montgomery, who "appears to have been daughter to Hugh Montgomery of Hazelhead, Ayrshire (descended of Eglintoun), by Marioun Sempill, daughter of Lord Sempill, and sister to Montgomery, author of 'The Cherry and the Slae.'" Occasion will be taken later to show that this conjecture as to Rowallan's parentage on his mother's side is so far erroneous, inasmuch as it confuses two Elizabeths of the Hessilheid family belonging to different generations. But otherwise the connection of Sir William Mure with the Montgomeries is well vouched for.

A detailed account of the House of Montgomerie in its various branches was included by James Paterson, a well-known antiquary of last century, in his 'History of the County of Ayr,' published in 1847. Unfortunately, in the section dealing with the Hessilheid family no specific references are given to his sources of information; but it is quite clear he had access to authentic documents of some kind. The successive heads of the family from its origin to its close are traced with accuracy; this it has been possible to verify from independent sources. On the other hand, as will be shown later, junior members are not always assigned to their proper generations; some are included that probably ought not to be,1 while a number, well authenticated, pass unnoted. In his preface Paterson mentions that for the general purposes of his history, in which he includes genealogies of all the more important Ayrshire families, he had consulted the public records and various private charter-chests. Further, it appears he had examined two manuscript accounts of the family of the Montgomeries, - one written by a Hugh Montgomerie of Broomlands (another of the junior branches), not later than the year 1750; the other of more recent date by Captain John Hamilton Montgomerie of Barnahill, County Ayr. He was also acquainted with a printed volume entitled 'The Montgomerie Manuscripts, 1603-1706.' This interesting work was compiled by a certain William Montgomery of Rosemount in the County of Down, Ireland, early in the eighteenth century; but it did not actually appear in print till 1830, in which year it was published at Belfast. In 1869

¹ The most notable example is the statement that Robert Montgomerie, the well-known Archbishop of Glasgow, was the poet's brother. I have not been able to find any definite evidence to connect him with the Hessilheid family. Sibbald is probably the source of this conjecture. See 'Chronicle of Scottish Poetry' (1802), vol. iii. p. 343, where he describes Robert as "perhaps the brother of Captain Montgomery."

it was reissued with elaborate editorial notes, not always accurate, however, by the Rev. George Hill. It contains a great deal of interesting information about the various branches of the Montgomerie family, but singularly ill arranged; without the editorial apparatus provided by Mr Hill in the second edition it is a confusing work to consult. Paterson was necessarily in his perusal of it confined to the first edition, and would appear indeed to have read even this with no very great care.

Seventeen years after the publication of his history of Ayrshire and its families, Paterson returned to the subject of Montgomerie's genealogy in an article contributed to 'Notes and Queries,' in which he also advances arguments to prove that the poet was married and had a family. Brotanek alludes to this article as "der einzige bedeutende Beitrag zur Biographie des Dichters," and as "James Patersons wichtige Mittheilungen." In point of fact, however, it adds nothing material to what had been already more concisely stated in the history of Ayrshire.

Two elaborate histories of the Montgomerie family, one ² published in 1863, the other ³ in 1891, are sometimes cited as works of authority on the question of Alexander's parentage. An examination of these, however, shows that neither in treating of the Hessilheid branch has gone outside the writings of Paterson for information.

From this brief résumé of what has been done to establish Montgomerie's genealogy it will be seen that the poet's connection with the family at Hessilheid is still rather scantily attested. Ultimately it rests on two scraps of evidence,-Timothy Pont's statement that Montgomerie's birthplace was Hessilheid Castle, and the lines quoted from the poem of Sir William Mure of Rowallan. The rest is conjecture. No authentic evidence of any kind has been brought forward to show exactly to which generation of the family the poet belonged, or who were his parents. If the information given in the note, already referred to, in Lyle's 'Ancient Ballads and Songs' were correct, Montgomerie's father would appear to have been Hugh, fifth laird of Hessilheid, and his mother either Marioun Sempill or a daughter of Robert Lord Boyd, for the fifth laird of Hessilheid was twice married. But, as will be shown later, this Hugh Montgomerie was undoubtedly the poet's eldest brother. The view generally accepted regarding Montgomerie's parentage, and that which appears in the usual text-books and works of reference,4 is taken from Paterson. According to this writer, Alexander Montgomerie was the second son of Hugh, third laird of Hessilheid, and of a lady of the name of

¹ January 4, 1868.

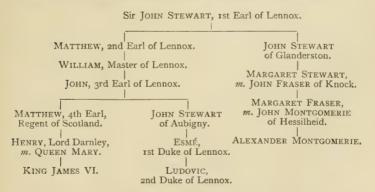
² A Genealogical History of the Family of Montgomery,' by J. H. Montgomery, published at Philadelphia, U.S.A.

^{3 &#}x27;A Family History of Montgomery of Ballyleck,' by George S. Montgomery.

4 For example, the 'Distinguish of National Riography.' The article on Montgomery.

⁴ For example, the 'Dictionary of National Biography.' The article on Montgomerie is written by Dr Cranstoun.

Houston, daughter of a well-known family in Avrshire at that time. Nowhere, however, does Paterson advance any evidence in support of this statement, and it is doubtless a mere guess. In any case evidence can now be brought forward to show that the poet was the son, pretty certainly the third son, of John Montgomerie, fourth laird of Hessilheid. This correction would not perhaps be of so much importance (although it is satisfactory at least to place Montgomerie's parentage beyond dispute) were it not for the fact that it brings to light an interesting relationship for the poet through his mother's family, a relationship which we may not unfairly assume had some considerable influence on his career at the Scottish Court. John Montgomerie, we shall see, married Margaret Fraser, a granddaughter of Sir John Stewart of Glanderston, younger son of Sir John Stewart of Derneley, first Earl of Lennox, from whom were descended in direct line King James VI. and the two dukes of Lennox, Esmé and Ludovic. The King's friendly regard for Montgomerie is well known. He addresses him in one of his poems as "Belovit Sandirs, maister of oure airt," and employed him at the Court as one of his "servitors," often summoning him to his presence when, as Montgomerie himself states, "he took pleasure into poesie." The fruit of their conversation is no doubt seen in the King's 'Reulis and Cautellis.' In 1583 the poet received from his royal kinsman a pension for life,—not, however, a happy gift as it turned out. With the Lennoxes Montgomerie was on equally cordial terms. He makes affectionate reference to them in his sonnets, and was at one time in the service of Ludovic. All this friendly interest in the poet was no doubt quickened by the fact that he was a member of the Stewart clan, and no very distant kinsman of his exalted patrons. The exact degree of relationship may be seen from the following table:-



The most trustworthy account of the house of Montgomerie in its main branch (the Eglinton family) will be found in vol. ii. of 'The Scots Peerage,' now in process of publication. The article is from the

trustworthy pen of the Curator of the Historical Department of the Register House, Edinburgh. The family history, it appears, reaches back to a Norman ancestor, Roger, whose eldest son came to England with the Conqueror, and afterwards figured in history as the Earl of Shrewsbury. It is conjectured that a grandson of this earl was the first of the family to settle in Scotland. The genealogy of the Scottish branch, however, does not become authentic until Sir John Montgomerie of Eaglesham 1 is reached in the second half of the fourteenth century. Through his marriage with the daughter of Sir Hugh Eglinton of that Ilk, the estates of Eglinton and Ardrossan passed into the possession of the Montgomeries.2 Further lands were acquired in the next generation by Sir Hugh Montgomerie, who married the halfsister of King Robert II. Sir Hugh is included in Dunbar's "Lament for the Makaris," and is also celebrated as a poet in Wynton's 'Chronicle.' In 1445 the head of the house, Alexander, was raised to the peerage as Lord (Baron) Montgomerie. His eldest daughter married Sir John Stewart of Derneley, afterwards first Earl of Lennox.

It is tolerably certain that the founder of the Hessilheid branch of the family was a grandson of the first Lord Montgomerie. In Douglas's 'Peerage of Scotland' he is described as "Hugh of Hislot." Elsewhere he is sometimes designated as of "Bagraw," the name of another part of the family possessions. The earliest charter references, however, to Hessilheid which I have noted are two entries in the Register of the Great Seal, dated 25th April and 16th June 1505, in which Sir John Montgomerie (usually denoted as of Corsecraigs), son of "Hugh of Hislot," is found owner of the estate. According to Paterson, Sir John, whom we may describe as the second laird of Hessilheid, fell at the battle of Flodden in 1513. He was succeeded by his son Hugh, whom Paterson, as already pointed out, erroneously states to be the father of the poet.

The first hint that Paterson's genealogy is at fault on this point was obtained from a neglected account of the poet given in 'The Montgomerie Manuscripts,' a volume to which reference has already been made. The writer, William Montgomerie, belonged to the Braidstane branch of the family, founded by Robert Montgomerie,

¹ He is mentioned by Froissart as having distinguished himself at Otterburn in 1388, taking Hotspur prisoner.

² Report on the muniments of the Earl of Eglinton and Winton (Historical Manuscript Commission).

³ I.e., Hessilheid. In the records the name is spelt variously.

⁴ Paterson gives the date of his death as 1452, but the following charter shows that he was alive at a much later time: 5 Jul. 1476, Apud Edinburgh; Rex concessit Hugoni Montgomery de Bagraw et heredibus ejus,—terras de Ireland in baronia de Kilbryde, vic. Lanark, &c.

^{5 &#}x27;Heichedis, Heslyhedis et Bawgraw.'

⁶ Died 23rd January 1556: Register of Testaments, Commissariot of Glasgow, vol. ii. f. 58.

brother of "Hugh of Hislot" (see chart). He had in his possession family documents dating back as far as 1603. Discussing the accomplishments of his ancestors, this writer notes amongst them the "gift of poesy," and mentions "Imprimis, Cap. Alexi. Montgomery, mother brother to our 6t Laird. This gentleman was an Excellent Poet, witness his poesy called the cherry & ye Slae (that magazine of pithy witt), and his sett matches of flyteing in verse (agt the Laird of Polwart before King James 6t & his Scotish Court), out of weh two poems of few Sheets The Advocates in Edinbrugh take many Oratorious and Satyricull Apothegems. Also his Dumb Solsequium: and his confession of a sinner (entituled his Lamentation) haveing for a Chorus (as it were at ye end of every Stanza) those words—viz: Peccavi Pater! misere mei. Then you may read his Non ardes ad Deum converti, it being his morning Muse: and also See his Declina a malo, & fac bonum, weh smal remainders of his elegant writings have had (as I verily beleive) above a thousand impressions in London, Edinbrugh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen (if altogether be reconed), & will never faile to be reprinted again & again in Scotland: I do not think they have as yet been out done, tho paralleled. The first named of them is lyrical, & is Sung to an harmonious musical tune. & was turned into Latin verses with the Same number of foot and unisons as in the Original: a stupendious work indeed! fitt for the acute witts of that Scotish friary (beyond our Seas) weh under-

The sixth laird of Braidstane, to whom Montgomerie is here stated to have stood in the relationship of "mother brother" (i.e. uncle), was Sir Hugh Montgomerie, who (according to Paterson) early in the seventeenth century received from James VI. a portion of the forfeited lands of O'Neil in Ulster, where he proceeded to establish his family. In 1622 he was created Viscount of Ardres. His father was Adam, fifth laird of Braidstane, who in Burke's 'History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland' is stated to have married Elizabeth (a sister of the poet, according to 'The Montgomerie Manuscripts'), daughter of John Montgomerie of Hessilheid. This then clearly points to Alexander Montgomerie having been the son not of Hugh, the third laird (as affirmed by Paterson), but of John, fourth laird of Hessilheid. It is possible now to definitely prove this by evidence obtained from official records. The first entry in the Register of Acts and Decreits (vol. 109, f. 243), dealing with the Erskine-Montgomerie lawsuit,2 begins as follows: "24th December, 1586. The quhilk day the lordis

¹ In Lodge's 'Peerage of Ireland,' published in 1754, there is the following passage: "Adam, the fifth laird (i.e., of Braidstane), purchased lands from Hugh, Earl of Eglinton, and married the daughter of ———— Montgomery, Laird of Hasilheads, by whom he had issue four sons, viz. (1) Sir Hugh, his Successor, created Viscount Montgomery," &c. See also notes to this Appendix.

² An account of this suit is given in Appendix B.

of counsall of consent of the parteis procuratouris vnderwritten, advocattis the action and caus persewit of befoir be Williame, now Archibischope of Glasgow, aganis Alexander Mongomery, brothair-germane to Hew Mongomery of Hissilheid," &c. The "Hew Mongomery" of this date was, on Paterson's own showing, the fifth laird, who succeeded to the estate on the death of his father, John Montgomerie, in 1558, and was in possession until 1602. His brother is here seen to be the poet.

A further interesting piece of corroborative evidence may be cited. John Montgomerie married, as already stated, Margaret Fraser, whose will, dated 7th July 1584, is fortunately preserved in the Register of Testaments of the Commissariot of Edinburgh (vol. 13). It is therein stated that the will was "Faythfullie maid & gevin vp be Alexander Montgummerie, hir lauchfull sone, quhome scho nominat & maid hir executour and intromettour with hir gudis & geir." ²

Lastly, there is in the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, under date 14th July 1597, an entry recording that "Alexander Montgomerie, bruther to the laird of heslott, wes arte parte, at the leist vpoun the counsale, devise, and foirknaulege, with vmquhile hew barclay of ladyland" in a "treasounable interprise" to facilitate the coming of a "Spanishe armey" for the subversion "of the trew religioun, alteratioun of the estate, and disturbing of the publict peace and quietnes of this haill Iland." The "laird of heslott" in 1597 was the Hugh Montgomerie already referred to in the entry in the Register of Acts and Decreits 3 quoted above. Of the poet's intimacy with Hew Barclay of Ladyland we have clear evidence in the sonnets of the 'Drummond Manuscript.' These various items of information leave no room for doubt as to who were the father and mother of Alexander Montgomerie.

The date of the marriage of Montgomerie's parents, which would have been of some assistance in determining his birth year, has not been ascertained; but that it was prior to 21st April 1548 is certain. On that date there is an entry in the first protocol book of William Hegait, a notary of Glasgow, recording the sale of certain properties to "John Monthtgumry, younger, of Hesilheide, and Mergarete Frissell his spous." The marriage of Margaret Fraser's parents took place, according to Robertson, was about the year 1520, and that she herself was married to John Montgomerie some sixteen or seventeen years later seems fairly deducible from an entry in Hegait's second

¹ John Montgomerie's last will and testament is quoted further on.

² A print of the will is given on p. 300.

³ His last will and testament is given in "Glasgow Protocols."

⁴ His father, Hugh Montgomerie, the third laird of Hessilheid, was still alive at this date. He died on 23rd January 1556 (Register of Testaments, Commissariot of Glasgow, vol. ii. f. 58).

^{5 &#}x27;Genealogical Account of the Principal Families in Ayrshire,' p. 352.

protocol book. On 4th November 1560, the notary enters the sale of a "tenement of land" by George Montgomerie, "fiar of the property," second son of "Margaret Frissall, relict of q. John Mwngumry of Hesilheid." It is not likely, seeing that there is no mention of the sale having been made with consent of curators, that at this date George Montgomerie was under twenty-one years of age, which would carry his birth-year back to about 1539. Besides George and his eldest brother Hew, the fifth laird, there were at least three other members of the family: Agnes, who married John Smollat 2 (pretty certainly an ancestor of the author of 'Roderick Random'), and died in 1596; Elizabeth, already mentioned as wife of the fifth laird of Braidstane; and Alexander. Whether the poet was older than his two sisters it is impossible to say. On the whole, however, it would seem that David Laing's original conjecture of 1545, as about the year of Montgomerie's birth, is near the mark. Laing had only one piece of definite evidence to go upon,—the appearance of Montgomerie among the poets of the Bannatyne MS. written in 1568. In the 'Dictionary of National Biography's and elsewhere the date 1556 is given as the poet's birth year, but this is obviously impossible. Montgomerie could scarcely have attained a place in Bannatyne's Manuscript at the age of twelve!

It is of importance now, as establishing Montgomerie's connection with the house of Stewart, to determine the genealogy of his mother, Margaret Fraser. Paterson, in his 'History of the County of Ayr' (vol. ii. p. 290), records that "John Montgomerie of Hessilheid married Margaret, daughter of John Fraser of Knock by Margaret his wife, daughter of the Hon. John Stewart of Glanderston, fourth son of John, first Earl of Lennox." This is given with a circumstantiality which seems to point to its being based on definite documentary evidence. It is possible that Paterson derived his information from the Broomlands Manuscript, a genealogical history of the Montgomeries of Ayrshire, to which, as already stated, he had

¹ An earlier entry, dated 13th June 1558, recording the resignation of "a tenement of land with yard and pertinents" by "John Mwmgwmry of Hesilhede," in "favour of his son George," indicates that John Montgomery, the poet's father, was still alive at this date; but there is evidence to show that he died before the close of the year.

² The marriage contract, dated 5th September 1564, is recorded in the Register of Deeds, vol. viii. f. 464a.

³ Dr Cranstoun, who wrote the article for the Dictionary, took this date from G. S. Montgomery's 'Family History of Montgomery of Ballyleck,' where it is given without any citation of authority. The author of this family history, as already pointed out (p. 252), drew on Paterson for his statements about the Montgomeries of Hessilheid, but is himself responsible for this conjectural variation as to the poet's birth year, Paterson suggesting the date 1554. Mr T. F. Henderson ('Scottish Vernacular Literature') puts it at "probably about 1540," but on what evidence does not appear.

access. In any case corroboration is found in Crawford's manuscript Baronage, where it is stated that John Montgomerie "left issue by Margt Fresile, daughter to John of Knok." The intimacy of the Frasers of Knok and the Montgomeries of Hessilheid is vouched for by the fact that various members of the two families appear as jointwitnesses in documents which have been preserved. Two examples may be cited from records in the Register House. (1) In the Register of Acts of Caution and Consignation in Bills of Suspension, vol. xii., under date 19th June 1592, is an entry recording that Neil Montgomerie of Langschaw had become surety for Patrick Crawford of Auchinames, and among the witnesses are the following: John Boyll of Kelburn, Johnne Fraser of Knock, Hew Montgomerie of Hessilheid (the poet's eldest brother). John Boyll and Patrick Crawford were married to sisters of John Fraser of Knock, and would accordingly stand in the relationship of uncles by marriage to the other witness, Hew Montgomerie, assuming that Paterson's statement regarding his mother's parentage is correct. (2) The last will and testament of John Montgomerie, the poet's father, is preserved in the Register of Testaments of the Commissariot of Glasgow (vol. ii. f. 68b), and is in the following brief terms: "Sen bair Is na thing mair certane nor be deid, nor mair vncertane nor be hour of deid, This Is It, bat be said Johne Montgumery, seik in body and haill in spreit, be his hand-wrytt declaris in effect as eftir followis: In be first, leifand his saull to god omnipotent, and his body to be burreit in be paresche kirk of beith, he constitut and nominat margaret fresher, his spous, and hew muntgumry, his eldast sone and apparent air, his executoris,2 and committet to him be guhatsumeueris person or personis, and siclyk be dettis awchtand be him to quhatsumeuer person or personis, as bai will anser befoir be sicht of be he Iuge. The quhilk handwrytt and subscription was maid & writtin be foirsaid the ferd day of Ianuar, the 3eir of god lm vc lviii 3eiris, Befoir bir witnes, Patrik Muntgumry of giffen,3 Robert Ker of Kerrisland, Johne frest)er of Knok, and Iohne frasher, his sone and apperand air, with vbiris dyuers." John Montgomerie died in the same year that he made his will, two years after his father, and was probably a comparatively young man. Robert Ker of Kerrisland, who signs as a witness, was

¹ Preserved in the Advocates' Library.

² The scribe has evidently omitted a part of the original.

³ In her last will and testament Margaret Fraser is described as "Lady Giffen and Hessilheid, relict of vmquhile Johne Montgummerie." It would appear from this that after the death of her first husband she had married into the family of the Montgomeries of Giffen. This must have been subsequent, however, to 5th September 1564, for on that date her name appears as "Margaret Freser, Lady Hessilheid," in the marriage contract of her daughter Agnes with John Smollet, son and apparent heir to William Smollet, burgess of Dumbarton. But it is noteworthy that in this contract Patrick Montgomery of Giffen appears as one of Lady Hessilheid's sureties (Register of Deeds, vol. viii. f. 464a).

his brother-in-law. It would seem natural that some relative of his wife should be among the witnesses, and from what has been already advanced there can be no reasonable doubt that the two Frasers who adhibit their signatures to the will are the father and brother of Margaret Fraser, the mother of Alexander Montgomerie.

It has been already mentioned that John Fraser of Knock, whom we may now regard as the poet's grandfather, married Margaret, daughter of Sir John Stewart of Glanderston. There is charter evidence to prove this. The genealogy of Stewart of Glanderston is well ascertained, and is recorded in various peerages and histories of the house of Stewart. He was, as Paterson states, the fourth son of Sir John Stewart of Derneley, first Earl of Lennox, from whom was descended Lord Henry Darnley, husband of Queen Mary, and father of King James VI.

Reference has been made to Paterson's article on Montgomerie in 'Notes and Queries' (Jan. 4, 1868), one object of which is to establish the point that the poet was married and had a family.3 According to this account Montgomerie had two children, named Alexander and Margaret, the former of whom went to Ireland, was settled in Derry by his kinsman, Hugh, Viscount of Ardres, and became prebend of Do. Quoting from 'The Montgomerie Manuscripts,' Paterson points out that this Alexander Montgomerie was an Episcopalian, and that, despite his clerical office, he had shown a valiant spirit in the wars of the Irish Rebellion, obtaining a military command. He died in 1658. His son John entered the army and became proprietor of several estates in Ireland. His will is recorded in the Probate Court in Dublin on 28th August 1679. "Singular enough," continues Paterson, "adhibited to his signature are the arms of the Montgomeries of Hessilheid,3 with the initials 'A. M.' above." But the main evidence adduced to prove Montgomerie's marriage is taken from a trial for witchcraft recorded by Pitcairn,4 which took place in Glasgow on 23rd March 1622. It appears there that a certain Margaret Wallace was accused of having bewitched the child of Alexander Vallange or Vallance, burgess of Glasgow, and Margaret Montgomery, his spouse. "Mr Alexander Montgomery," brother to Mrs Vallange, had been called as a witness, but had absented himself on the ground of sickness, forwarding a certificate in proof of this. For the defence it was urged that his (Mr Alexander's) deposition could "nocht haue bene ressauit gif he had compeirit becaus it wald have bene objectit contrair him that he and Margaret Montgomerie (Mrs Vallance) are brother bairns of the hous of Hessilheid quhais dochter is allegit to have bene witchit," &c. "Now, there was no one," adds Paterson, "to whom the expression 'brother bairns' could apply save to the children of Captain Alexander Montgomerie, whose

See notes to chart.
 Dr Brotanek accepts this as proved. Op. cit., p. 22.
 The italics are Paterson's.
 Criminal Trials, vol. iii, p. 535.

elder brother John 1 succeeded to the family estate of Hessilheid. True, when the trial took place in 1622, Robert, the grand-nephew of the poet, was in possession of the property; but the passage does not state the precise relationship of the parties; it merely says that they were 'brother bairns of the hous of Hessilheid,' and there are no others in the pedigree of the family to whom such reference could be made but to the brothers John and Alexander."

This somewhat positive statement of Paterson it is now possible, from charter evidence, to definitely disprove. The Margaret and Alexander Montgomery who appear in the trial for witchcraft were the children not of the poet but of his nephew, John Montgomerie of Auchinbothy. This appears from the following charter: "Apud Edinburgum, 22 Feb., 1634. Rex, ... ratificavit cartam de data apud Stranrawer et Glasgow I et 10 Iul., 1632, per Margaretam, Annam, et Cristinam Montgomeries, filias et heredes portionarias quondam Ioannis Montgomerie de Auchinbothy, cum consensu Alexandri Wallange, mercatoris, burgen, de Glasgow, mariti dicte Marg, et Hugonis Montgomerie de Grainscheoch, mariti dicte Anne, factam Roberto Montgomerie de Hessilheid, heredibus ejus et successoribus, -de earum septima parte terrarum et molendini granorum de Watterheidis (Watterlandis), et terrarum de Halkettis, in baronia de Cunynghame, vic. de Air . . . " 2 Margaret Montgomerie, the wife of Alexander Vallange, is here seen to be the daughter of John Montgomerie of Auchinbothy.3 His will is recorded in the Register of Testaments of the Commissariot of Glasgow, vol. iii. f. 97, and therein appear the names of his three daughters as given in the charter above. It is also clear that the Alexander referred to in the witchcraft trial was another of Auchinbothy's family. Who the Alexander Montgomerie was who went to Ireland and became the prebend of Do. it is impossible to say. He may have been Auchinbothy's son, or he may have been the son of Hugh Montgomerie, fifth laird of Hessilheid, which would equally or rather better explain the appear ance of the Hessilheid arms attached to the will registered in Dublin. The point is of no great consequence. It is at least certain that Paterson's belief in the poet's marriage is devoid of any valid evidence.

The question of Montgomerie's relationship to Sir William Mure of Rowallan remains to be dealt with. Dr Cranstoun and Mr Tough concur in stating that Mure was a nephew of Montgomerie, being the son of his sister Elizabeth. But this, there can be no doubt, is a mistake. Dr Cranstoun cites, apparently as his sole authority, the note, already quoted at the beginning of this article, which appears in Lyle's

¹ As already shown, he was the poet's father.

² Register of the Great Seal of Scotland.

³ That he was a nephew of the poet is proved by charter evidence, to which reference will be found in the notes to the genealogical chart.

'Ancient Ballads and Songs' (1827). It is there stated that "This lady [i.e., Elizabeth Montgomerie] appears to have been daughter to Hugh Montgomery of Hazelhead, Ayrshire (descended of Eglintoun), by Marion Sempill, daughter of Lord Sempill, and sister to Montgomery, author of 'The Cherry and the Slae.' This statement is curiously complicated with error. The Hugh Montgomerie who married Marion Sempill was Alexander Montgomerie's eldest brother, the fifth laird of Hessilheid. The Hugh Montgomerie who has been supposed to be the poet's father was the third laird. The poet had a sister Elizabeth, but, as has been pointed out, she married Adam Montgomerie of Braidstane. The following charter conclusively proves who the Elizabeth Montgomerie was that married into the Rowallan family and became the mother of Sir William Mure.

"24 Ian., 1593. Rex confirmavit cartam Willelmi Mure de Rowallan, qua, proimpletione contractus matrimonialis inter se et Wil. Mure filium suum et heredem apparentem ab una, Hugonem Montgomery de Hessilheid et Eliz. Montgomery ejus filiam legitimam ab altera partibus de data apud Hessilheid 23 Sept., 1592, vendidit dicte Elizabethe Montgomery (spouse dicti filii sui) in ejus pura virginitate in vitali redditu, 40 solidatos terrarum antiqui extentus de Glassoch . . ." At the date this charter was granted the laird of Hessilheid was Hugh Montgomerie, the poet's eldest brother, and it is his daughter Elizabeth who is here seen to have been contracted in marriage with the laird of Rowallan. Her son, Sir William Mure the poet, born in the following year, 1594, was accordingly a grandnephew of Alexander Montgomerie.²

¹ Register of the Great Seal of Scotland. Among the witnesses signing appears "Io. Montgomery de Auchinbothy," brother of the Elizabeth mentioned in the charter.

² From two entries in the manuscript Protocol Book (1612-1620) of Robert Brown, notary public, preserved in the Drummond Collection, Edinburgh University Library, it would appear that by 1620 Sir William Mure had succeeded to the family estate, and that he was also at this date married and had a son named Alexander.

APPENDIX B.

MONTGOMERIE IN THE SCOTTISH LAW COURTS.

ONE of the few facts hitherto ascertained about Montgomerie's personal history is that at some period of his life he was involved in a prolonged and embittering lawsuit. Exactly how this case arose has never been satisfactorily elucidated; and even opposite views have been taken as to the final judgment of the Court. is, however, no dubiety as to what the litigation was about. poet's right to a pension of five hundred merks, granted to him by James VI. in 1583, and made chargeable on certain rents of the Archbishopric of Glasgow, had been challenged, and apparently with sufficient reason to necessitate a lengthy trial. So much can be gathered from a series of sonnets written by Montgomerie himself during the course of the legal proceedings, and from two entries, one in the 'Register of Presentation to Benefices,' the other in the 'Register of the Privy Seal,' to both of which attention was first directed by Dr Irving in 1821. The first of these entries is merely an official record of the King's grant to the poet, dated at Falkland on September 27. 1583; the other, of date March 21, 1589, is of much greater interest. It is primarily a ratification and re-conferment of the former grant, made necessary by the difficulties which Montgomerie was now experiencing in the uplifting of his pension; but, incidentally, it adds in an interesting way to our knowledge of the poet's career and friendly relations with the King. Unfortunately, it falls short at a point where curiosity is naturally aroused. It offers no explanation at all of how a pension, formally conferred by royal grant, and enjoyed by Montgomerie for a number of years, had come to be interfered with, nor does it name the person or persons by whom this had been done. On these points the sonnets also throw no clear light. These poems, however, give a most lively record of the feelings with which the poet followed the changing phases of the case. We gather from them that he had obtained some initial success in the proceedings, which leads him to address the Lords of Session in complimentary terms, and to chaff in good-humoured confidence the opposing side. This mood is succeeded by one of growing anxiety

and irritation. He appeals to the King to come to his assistance, raises points for the judges' consideration, complains querulously of their long delays, and urges them to make a speedy end of the matter—

"Then mak the poet pensioner, I pray,
And byde be justice, as 3e haif begun.
Sen I haif richt, vhy suld I be ou'r-run?"

There is, finally, a complete loss of temper and an unedifying display of reckless abuse and bitter invective, in which he spares neither the Lords of Session nor his own counsel. Were there no other evidence, the mood in which these sonnets close should be sufficient to assure us that the final pronouncement of the Court had been adverse to Montgomerie. Later, when the first rage of disappointment had spent itself, he recovers, and writes with some approach to dignity about his loss. There can be scarcely any doubt that the following sonnet was penned at this time:—

"Adeu, my King, Court, Cuntrey, and my Kin:
Adeu, suete Duke, vhose father held me deir:
Adeu, Companiones, Constable and Keir:
Thrie treuar hairts, I trou, sall neuer tuin.
If byganes to revolve I suld begin,
My Tragedie wald cost 3ou mony a teir
To heir how hardly I am handlit heir,
Considring once the honour I wes in.
Shirs, 3e haif sene me griter with his grace,
And with 3our vmquhyle Maister, to, and myne:
Quha thoght the Poet somtyme worth his place,
Suppose 3e sie they shot him out sensyne.
Sen wryt, nor wax, nor word is not a word:
I must perforce ga seik my fathers suord."

It is clear from what we now know of the circumstances that the result of this lawsuit had a disastrous effect on Montgomerie's fortunes. Besides depriving him of a substantial pension, it would necessarily involve him in a heavy monetary loss. The legal proceedings had engaged the Courts, off and on, for seven years. The view hitherto held that the writ of the Privy Seal, already alluded to, subsequently restored to the poet his pension is quite erroneous, for, as we shall see, the decision in the trial was reached five years after the date of the writ. Far more serious to Montgomerie than these pecuniary losses was the breach occasioned in his friendly relations with the King, and his consequent expulsion from the Court. That this was in some way due to the lawsuit is tolerably certain. It will be more convenient, however, to return to this point later, when the reader has been made acquainted with what can now be told of the matter.

The circumstances out of which these troubles arose prove, on investigation, to have been closely connected with the tangled politics of James's reign, from 1583 (the year in which Montgomerie received his pension) to 1503, when a final decision was given in the lawsuit. To understand how this came about, we must first try to see by what means Montgomerie came to be mixed up in politics at all. and on which side his interests were engaged. It is well known from authentic records, and from several references in his own poems, that he was engaged as a servitor at the Scottish Court, a position he probably owed to his family connections. unfortunately, no means of ascertaining in what year he received this appointment. The view, first tentatively put forward by Dr Irving, the poet's earliest biographer, and since generally accepted. that he was engaged in the service of the Regent Morton as early as 1577, depends on a supposed identification of the poet with a certain "Captain Montgomerie," referred to by James Melville in his diary as "a good honest man, the regent's domestic"; and also on an interpretation of a personal allusion in one of the sonnets. It seems now quite certain that the poetical reference is not to Morton, but to the first Duke of Lennox, who came to Scotland in 1579; and the fact, which Dr Irving himself points out, that amongst the gentlemen of Morton's household was a Captain Robert Montgomerie, must make it, until better evidence is adduced, exceedingly doubtful whether Melville's remark was intended for the poet. Although this particular evidence rather crumbles away on examination, there is nothing improbable in the notion that Montgomerie was at the Court in 1577. The earliest official information on the subject, however, is of date seven years later. This is the King's grant to Montgomerie of his pension, which, we learn from an entry in the Register of Deeds (vol. 40, f. 40), was made on July 7, 1583. It is afterwards recorded, in the 'Register of Presentation to Benefices' on September 27, where it is mentioned that payment was to date from the previous year. We may fairly assume this was a reward for past services, the more so since there is authentic evidence that Montgomerie was acting as servitor to his Majesty in 1584. This we know from two interesting records which appear in the 'Register of Deeds.' These have reference to a curious transaction in which the poet was concerned. first, dated November 3, 1584, is an acquittance by a certain Henrie Gelis, merchant of Southampton, in favour of Montgomerie, in which the former, in consideration of "certane gratitudis and guid deidis done, and sovmes of money realie ressauit be me in novmerit money fra Alexander Montgomerie, gentillman of Scotland, guherof I hald me weill contentit and payit," relieves the poet of his share of a debt of £300 sterling contracted along with two others, "Richert Ramsay and Andro Mertyne, Scottismen." The second entry. dated eight weeks later (December 30), is a renunciation and dis-

charge by Montgomerie of this acquittance. No reason is assigned for this curious act, but it appears that the £,300 debt was "the pryce of ane bark callit the 'James Bonaventor' of Southampton," purchased by the three debtors on December 2, 1580. The original document conveying Montgomerie's renunciation is fortunately preserved in the Register House, and has the poet's autograph signature at the foot. It begins, "I, Alexander Montgomeray, servitor to the Kingis maiestie," but it does not appear whether this position was held by the poet at the time the 'James Bonaventor' was bought. Neither is any hint given of the purpose for which Montgomerie and his two companions acquired a vessel of this size, nor what the occasions may have been for the payment of the "sovmes of money" which the Southampton merchant acknowledges. We may suspect, however, from what is known of Montgomerie's career at a later date, that his dealings with Henrie Gelis were connected with political, and if so, pretty certainly with Catholic, intrigue. Into this it will be necessary to enter more fully presently. As throwing light on Montgomerie's connection with the Court at this time, we may note an affectionate reference in one of his sonnets to his kinsman. Esmé Stewart, first Duke of Lennox, who, it may be mentioned, at the date of the Southampton transaction was secretly sharing in Jesuit schemes for the overthrow of Protestantism both in Scotland and England, and the restoration of Mary Queen of Scots.

Unless we assume that Montgomerie had made acquaintance with the Duke at an earlier period on the Continent, his friendship with his noble kinsman must have been formed at the Scottish Court between 1579 and 1582. Lennox first arrived in Scotland in September 1579, and in a very short time became the chief favourite of the young King. Under the guidance of this gay and accomplished courtier, versed in all the arts of depravity practised at the Court of Henry III. of France, James, for the next few years, was introduced to a round of debasing revels. He was taught to hate the Presbyterians, and even to dally with the notion of becoming a Catholic. His latent disposition to act as an absolute ruler was sedulously encouraged. One of the charges brought against Lennox at a later date was that he had "debauched" the morals of his youthful sovereign. The opposition which these ongoings aroused culminated in the Ruthven Raid in the summer of 1582. In December Lennox escaped to France, where he died on May 26, 1583. The strongest evidence we have that Montgomerie was a well-known figure at the Court during Lennox's ascendency is furnished by the Tullibardine MS. of the 'Flyting.'1 It has long been known from quotation in James's treatise on Scottish prosody, the 'Reulis and Cautelis,' that the 'Flyting' must have been written as early as 1584. The Tullibardine MS., how-

Note also "The Navigatioun" (Miscellaneous Poems), dating probably from 1579.

ever, enables us to date it somewhat earlier. This encounter between Montgomerie and Polwart, we are also informed by the compiler of "The Montgomerie Manuscripts," was carried through "before King James VI. and his Scottish Court." It was, in fact, a rather gross contribution to the Court amusements of those years.

Interesting light is thrown on the King's friendship with Montgomerie at this time by the discovery some years ago of a number of poems by James, contained in an autograph manuscript in the Bodleian Library. One is addressed to Montgomerie in the following terms: "Ane Admonitioun to the Maister Poete to leaue of greit crakking quhich he did shau, leist he not only sklander himself but alsua the haill professours of the Airt." The opening stanzas indicate a friendliness of spirit towards Montgomerie which amply confirms the claim he puts forward in several of his sonnets to have stood high in the King's regard.

"Gif patient eire to sumthing I man say,
Belouit Sandirs, maister of oure airt:
The mous did help the lyon one a day,
Sa I protest ye tak it in guid pairt,
My admonition cumming from a hairt
That uishis weill to you & all youre craft;
Quha uald be sorry for to see you smairt,
Thocht uther poetes trouis ye be gain daft.

A freind is ay best kend in time of neid, Quhilk is the caus that garris me tak sik caire Nou for youre state, sen thair is cause indeid, For all the poetis leaue you standand baire. Auld cruiked Robert makis of you the haire, And elf-gett Polluart helpis the smithy smuik; He countis you done, & hopes, but ony maire, His time about to uinn the chimlay nuik.

But as the guid cherurgian oft dois use,
I meane to rype the uound befoir he heald.
A pardon me! & think it na excuse,
Suppois I tell the cause quhy thay haue raild;
And sine considder quither ye haue failde,
Or quhat hes causid thaim this uay to bakbite you,
In to that craft thay neuer yit preuaild
Abeit of lait thay hope for till out-flyte you."

At the close of this friendly but admonitory poem a sonnet is appended, the opening lines of which run as follows:—

"Remember of my protestatioun now
And think that loue hes gert me tak thir panis;
Fullis counsall quhiles uill help uise men, I trow;
Quhilk is the cause that garris me brek my branis."

¹ See page 254.

In another sonnet, addressed to Bacchus, the King adverts to Montgomerie in terms which seem to give some colour to a charge of intemperance made many times in the 'Flyting' by Polwart—

"O michtie sunne of Semele the faire,
Bacchus, borne be Ioue the god of micht,
O tuis borne boy, quho euer dou & daire
Subdue all mortall uith thy liquore uicht,
Quho uith thy pouer blindit hes the sicht
To sum; to utheris thou the eirs hes deafed;
Fra sum thou takis the taist; sum smelling richt
Dois laike; some tuiching; sum all fiue bereaued
Are of. The greit Alexander craued
Thy mercy oft. Oure maister poet nou
Is uorred be the; ue smaller then sall leue it
To strive uith the. Then on his tombe I uou
Sall be; heir lyis quhom Bacchus be his uine
Hes trappit first, & maide him rander sine."

The allusion in the first of these quotations to "elf-gett Polluart" is a reminiscence of one of Montgomerie's lines in the 'Flyting,' "There ane elph and ane aip ane vnsell begate," referring to Polwart. A very probable date for the composition of the King's 'Admonitioun' would be shortly after, or perhaps just before, Polwart's last epistle in the 'Flyting.' That is in the year 1582. James was then barely seventeen, which may account for the unwonted tone of deference that accompanies his laboured admonition to the much older poet. Montgomerie was at least twenty years the King's senior. In later times, after his expulsion from the Court, Montgomerie recalls how James—

"laughed som tym for to look, Hou I chaist Polwart from the chimney nook."

There is an interesting allusion in another of his sonnets, addressed, in the days of his banishment, to his friend Robert Hudson, a poet and musician, who also took part in the revels of the Court at the time we are considering. He reminds Hudson of happier days—

"3it 3e haif sene his Grace oft for me send, Quhen he took plesure into Poesie,"

These interviews with the King to discuss and read poetry could not have taken place later than 1586, for in that year Montgomerie left Scotland under a royal licence to travel on the Continent for five years, and there is good reason, as we shall see, for believing that he did not again resume his former place of favour at the Court. It is not likely, however, that the conversations with James took place during the time the King was in the hands of the Ruthven Raiders—that is, from August 1582 to June 1583. Either, then, Montgomerie is referring to the time when Lennox was the ruling spirit of the

Court, or to the years immediately after the downfall of the Raiders, when James again gathered his old favourites around him. The King's friendship for the poet at this later time is shown by the pension which he bestowed on Montgomerie a month after he had escaped from the Raiders.

There is a special interest in thus endeavouring to fix within definite limits the period of Montgomerie's conversations on poetry with the King, because of a suggestion thrown out by Dr Hoffmann that our poet was the inspirer of James's famous tractate, the 'Reulis and Cautelis.'1 This, it will be remembered, was published in 1584. IIt may be worth while to mention here that there is authentic evidence of Montgomerie's presence in Edinburgh in this year. His mother, the "richt honorabill Ladie Margaret Fraßer, Ladie Giffen and Hessilheid," died in August 1583. Her will is registered on July 7 of the following year, and the "Commissaris" of Edinburgh certify that the poet had appeared to take the necessary oath before assuming the "office of executorie." Further, in the second of the two entries in the 'Register of Deeds' dealing with the purchase of the 'James Bonaventor' from Henrie Gelis of Southampton, it is mentioned that Montgomerie "compeirit personallie" before the Lords of Council on December 30, 1584.] There is much to be said for Dr Hoffmann's suggestion. At the time the 'Reulis' appeared James was seventeen years old. Astonishingly precocious as he no doubt was, it yet seems highly improbable that, without a good deal of "coaching," he could have formulated the elaborate counsels on Scots versification which appear in his tractate. The old notion that they were derived from his early instructor, George Buchanan, has nothing to commend it. There is no reason to believe that the Humanist poet ever wrote a line of vernacular verse. He died in 1582 when the King was fifteen, and for some time previous to this had ceased to take active supervision of James's education. He had openly forsworn the trivialities of his early muse, and was engaged in the arduous undertaking of his prose history of Scotland. That he devoted any time to schooling his youthful pupil in the artificialities of Middle Scots prosody is scarcely conceivable. On the other hand, the King's tractate is, in the principles of versification which it expounds, related in the closest way to Montgomerie's practice as a poet. Several of the "reulis" and "cautelis" are, in fact, illustrated by quotations from his verse. The purpose of the tractate, no doubt, was to formulate, after the manner of the numerous contemporary treatises on prosody appearing in England, the principles of the "new poetry" which at the Court of James had largely displaced the style and tradition of the "makaris" of the Golden Age. Of this movement Montgomerie was the chief exemplar, and, as we have seen, he is hailed by James himself as the "Maister poete" of the Court.

¹ See also Anglia, Beiblatt, 1894, p. 162 f.

Montgomerie could scarcely have been at the Scottish Court during these early years of James's reign without being drawn into the eager politics of the time. The interest of European diplomacy was for the moment centred in the intrigues then going on in Scotland. Catholic emissaries from France and Spain were flitting to and fro, with no lack of encouragement from a large section. probably a third, of the Scottish nobles. The King's adherence to the Catholic side was zealously sought, and doubtless he would have been quite prepared to yield this, had it been clear to him he would thus further his chances of ascending the throne of England. The dangers of a Catholic invasion by way of the north were well known to Elizabeth, and her policy was directed to strengthening the hands of the Protestant party in Scotland. There can be little doubt that Montgomerie's interests were engaged on the side of the Catholic earls. His family connections, both on his father's and on his mother's side, belonged to this party. Lennox, his kinsman and patron, had come to Scotland "as the express emissary of the Guises to work by all means in his power for the restoration of Mary Stewart and of the ancient religion." 1 When in 1581 Jesuit agents, representing Spanish aims, were in Scotland, among the nobles who cordially received them was the head of Montgomerie's house, the Earl of Eglinton. Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador in England, writing in the same year to Philip of Spain regarding this movement in Scotland, reports that one of their emissaries, Father Holt, "then went to Edinburgh where he was received . . . by the principal lords and counsellors of the King, particularly the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Huntly, Eglinton, Argyle, Caithness, and others, who are desirous of bringing the country to the Catholic faith." Later he adds, "Holt and his predecessor have converted many, and said mass and preached on Christmas Day and Epiphany at Lord Seton's house." Lord Robert Seton, later on the Earl of Wintoun, was, next to Lennox, probably the most active of the Catholic lords. He was a son-in-law of the Earl of Eglinton, having married in 1582 the Margaret Montgomerie whose charms are celebrated by her relative the poet in terms so warm as to have raised the suspicion that Montgomerie was something more than an impartial admirer.2 With another of the noted Catholics of that time, Lord Robert Semple, he was also on terms of intimacy. Semple was married to Agnes Montgomerie, a sister of the Lady Margaret just mentioned; and his daughter married the poet's

1 Hume Brown, 'History of Scotland,' vol. ii. p. 175. Also Dr Law, 'Edinburgh Review,' April 1898.

² Um dieselbe Zeit (April 10, 1582) fand ein Herzens-roman des Dichters seinen Abschluss durch die Heirat Lady Margaret Montgomerys des Tochter Hughs of Eglintoun mit Robert, Maister of Seyton dem nachmaligen Earl of Wintoun (Brotanek, p. 12).

eldest brother, Hugh, the fifth Laird of Hessilheid. Montgomerie sings his praises in a poem of welcome on his return from France, the second stanza of which begins—

"Then welcome hame, my lord, Suete Semple, welcome hame; Quhais vertues wan the word That formest flies with fame."

At a later date, 1591, we find Ludovic, second Duke of Lennox, acknowledging Montgomerie's services, and amongst those who witness the document are such well-known Catholics as the Earl of Huntly, Lord Claud Hamilton, and others. Finally, as establishing the poet's connection with the Catholics, we have authentic evidence of his implication in a plot to land Spanish soldiers in the island of Ailsa Craig, and of his denunciation in consequence by the Privy Council. But this was at a much later time, and will best be discussed afterwards.

We have seen that Montgomerie received his pension soon after the overthrow of the Ruthven Raiders in the summer of 1583. The political party to which there can be no doubt he was attached was once more in office, and under the leadership of Arran pursued a policy of systematic revenge upon the Presbyterians. The most prominent members of the Raid faction were forced to flee the country. During this time Montgomerie was in attendance on the King as one of his servitors. It is unnecessary here to trace the events which brought about the downfall of the Arran Administration, and the return to power of the Banished Lords in November of 1585. But this change, we shall see, had most important consequences for the poet. One of those who had for the past two years been living across the English border, and who now returned to share in the restored prosperity of the Raiders, was a certain William Erskine, cousin of the Earl of Mar. He is mentioned in the Act of Abolition, passed by the new Parliament in December 1585, as "Maister Wm. Erskin, persoun of Campsie," and is, along with many others, relieved of the "dome of foirfaltour" passed upon him during the time of the Arran supremacy. He appears at the first meeting of the new Privy Council, and as member of the Parliament which met at Linlithgow in December to ratify the revolution. Some time prior to 1579 he had been appointed to the Chancellorship of Glasgow University.2 It was this man, a prominent member of the Raid party, an enemy of the Catholics, who was now to be the immediate cause of Montgomerie's troubles.

Amongst those who, on the downfall of Arran, had returned to Scotland, was Lord Claud Hamilton, for many years an exile from his country. Formerly he had held the position of Commendator of Paisley, but had been foirfalted as far back as 1568, and again in

¹ See Life-Records, No. VII., p. 311.

^{2 &#}x27;Register of the Privy Council,' February 14, 1579-80.

1579. In the latter year his commendatorship was given to William Erskine.¹ Owing to the change now brought about in the political situation, Hamilton was able to return to Scotland, and a special Act of Pacification was passed in December 1585 rescinding all previous sentences against him, and restoring him to the full possession of his former "landis, benefices, levingis," &c. He accordingly resumed the commendatorship of Paisley, and some means had to be sought to meet the claims of Erskine. This was done by his elevation to the Archbishopric of Glasgow, the appointment being recorded on December 21, 1585, both in the 'Register of Presentation to Benefices' (vol. ii. f. 139a) and in the 'Register of the Great Seal.' It will be remembered that Montgomery was at this time drawing his pension from the revenues of the see.

It is hard to follow the windings and involutions of James's diplomacy both at this time and later; but it is scarcely possible that Erskine's appointment could have had his willing consent. For four years, ever since the death of Archbishop Boyd in 1581, he had been engaged in a bitter wrangle with the Kirk through his obstinate efforts to place Robert Montgomerie, a worthless but pliant "tulchan," in the vacant see; and as late as May 1584 the Arran Parliament had passed a special Act proclaiming this Robert Montgomerie Archbishop of Glasgow in defiance of the Kirk's pronouncement of excommunication upon him. But now, in the terms of Erskine's appointment, not only is Robert Montgomerie's claim ignored, but also all and every kind of gift made from the lands and revenue of the bishopric (and there had been many) "be our said souerane lord sen the deceis of the said vmquhile Mr James Boyd, last archiebischop of the said bishoprik, with all and guhatsumeuir fewes, rentalles, takks, and pensiones, maid and grantit be our said souerane lord or ony other persoun vpoun the said bischoprick, or onie pairt bairof, sen be deceis [1581] of the said vmquhile Mr James [Boyd]," are declared "to ceas and to be of nane avale, force, nor effect." 2 The Lords of Council and Session are ordered to grant the necessary forms for giving effect to Erskine's appointment, and from another source we know this was done. One grant only is excepted—namely, a pension of 200 merks to a certain "Nicoll Carnecorf)."3

No reason is given for this particular exemption, but possibly Carnecors was not one on whom the restored party had any cause to take vengeance. If the King had a desire, and it is reasonable to suppose he had, to save Montgomerie's pension, apparently he was not in a convenient position to press the matter. Neither the poet nor the other pensioners of the bishopric, however, were willing to

^{1 &#}x27;Register of Presentation to Benefices,' vol. ii. f. 22a.

² Ibid., vol. ii. f. 139a.

³ In a ratification of this pension granted by Parliament in April 1592 he is described as the King's "louit Nicoll Carnecors, son lauchfull to Nicoll Carnecors of Calfbill."

surrender their privileges without a struggle. There was always the possibility that the law-courts, biassed by the strong running currents of political feeling, might endeavour to thwart this attempt to force the King to undo his former gifts to his friends. Erskine was not slow to put the matter to the test. Within twenty-five days of the date of his appointment, an action is filed in his name in the Commissary Court of Edinburgh against James Boyd, second son of James Boyd of Kipps, to have his pension from the revenues of the see of Glasgow reduced.¹ Other suits of a similar kind follow in rapid succession. He even sues Robert Montgomerie "to make payment of the soumis and rentis of be bischoprik of Glasgow of sindrie 3eiris bigane," which shows that Montgomerie, despite the Kirk, had succeeded in intromitting with the revenues of the diocese.²

It is not until the very end of 1586 that we come on the first documentary evidence of proceedings against the poet. This is an Interlocutor of the Court of Session, dated December 24. The record, however, shows that earlier in the year proceedings had been taken against Montgomerie in the Commissary Court of Edinburgh. But for some reason not specified it had been agreed to transfer the action to the higher Court. The Interlocutor of the Lords of Session accordingly discharges the Commissary Court from all further proceeding in the matter. This is explicitly stated to have been done "with consent of the parteis concerned." The Interlocutor further fixes January 6, 1586/7, and days following, for the hearing of the case. Unfortunately, at this point the records fail us, the 'Register of Acts and Decreets' containing no account of what happened when the action was resumed. is, of course, the possibility that in the interval of twelve days some arrangement had been come to which for the time being obviated the necessity of further litigation.

An explanation of the difficulty may perhaps be found in the fact that some time in the year 1586 Montgomerie, under a royal licence, left the country to proceed to "Flanderis, Spane, and vthiris beyond sey." It is not stated in the 'Register of the Privy Seal,' from which this information is derived, in which month Montgomerie set out. The year, it is to be remembered, did not end till March 24, of what in the new style would be 1587. It is thus possible that the poet's departure had been forced upon him at the very time the case was in the Court, and that proceedings were by arrangement suspended during his absence. One thing at least is certain, that when Montgomerie started for the Continent no judgment had been given against him, since the record in the 'Privy

^{1 &#}x27;Commissariot of Edinburgh-Decreits,' 15th January 1585/6.

² He is described in this record ('Register of Acts and Decreits,' vol. 104, f. 399a) as "Robert, allegit Archibischope."

Seal Register' states that James undertook to protect, maintain, and safeguard his pension.¹ The formal and emphatic way in which the King's promise is recorded in the Register, suggests of itself that the poet had been despatched abroad on business touching the King's interests, and at a time when his pension was being threatened. The licence to go abroad, which is for a period of five years, is stated to have been given "vpoun speciall and guid respectis moving our said souerane loird," and the record further informs us that Montgomerie "depairtit of Jis realme to Je pairtis of Flanderis, Spane, and vpiris beyond sey."

The temptation is strong here to connect this journey of the poet with the activities of the Scottish Catholics on the Continent. to which James at this period was paying special and indulgent attention. There was great need for such services as Montgomerie could render as courier or spy. About this time we hear of Robert Bruce, a well-known secret agent, being despatched to the King of Spain by Huntly, Morton, and Lord Claud Hamilton, to urge that the Armada attack should be made by way of Scotland. James was not a party to the scheme, but he was acquainted with it, and prepared without scruple to turn events to his advantage whichever way things might happen. It is an interesting coincidence, if nothing more, that in 1586 a licence to go abroad for five years was given by the King to two notorious Catholic intriguers with whom there is reason to believe Montgomerie was on friendly terms. These were Hew Barclay of Ladyland and Sir William Stewart of Houston. Barclay was a west country laird, and one of the most daring promoters of the Catholic interest in Scotland.2 Two sonnets by him are found in the Drummond MS., one of which is addressed in a friendly way to Montgomerie. It was he who hatched the abortive plot to land Spanish soldiers on Ailsa Craig, for his share in which we shall see Montgomerie was denounced as a rebel in 1597. Sir William Stewart had been the prime mover in rescuing James from the Ruthven Raiders, and as Captain of the King's Guard at the time Montgomerie was acting as one of his Majesty's servitors, must have known the poet well. In 1584 we find his servitor, John Young, witnessing Henrie Gelis's acquittance to Montgomerie for his share of the debt incurred in connection with the 'James Bonaventor.'3 The royal licence,

¹ See Appendix D, VI. It is clear from this that some time between the date of Erskine's appointment and Montgomerie's departure the King had "restored" to the poet his pension, but obviously without the sanction of the new Archbishop.

² He was mixed up in the affair of the Spanish Blanks, and along with others was denounced by Act of Parliament on January 5, 1593.

³ There seems a possibility that Montgomerie had at an earlier date come into contact with Stewart in Flanders. In 1575, if not even before then, Stewart was serving with other Scots under the Prince of Orange, Five years later, as Colonel, he had five companies of Scots under his command. [] From a line in the 'Flyting.'

dated in the 'Register of the Privy Seal,' May 21, 1586, granting permission to Barclay and Stewart to leave the country, states that they are about to "procede to be pairtis of France, Flanderis, and vbiris be3ond sey, during the space of fyve 3eiris, for performing certane honorabill effairis committit to bair charge, to be profitt and commoditie of be publict estait of bis realme. And alsua to be avancement of vbiris his maiesteis honorabill intentions." Shortly after his departure we find Stewart in Paris avowing himself to Mendoza (the Spanish Ambassador), the accredited agent of the Catholic earls of Scotland.

Montgomerie, we learn from the Privy Seal record, set out for the Continent in the same year as Barclay and Stewart, and his business appears to have been of a hazardous kind. In no long time he had fallen under suspicion of some sort and was thrown into prison, but in which part of the Continent it is impossible to say. In March 1589 he is still "deteynit and halden" in captivity, "to the greit hurt and vexatioun of his persoun, attour the lose of his guidis." But the King continues a kindly interest in him. The writ of the Privy Seal, from which we derive our information of this unfortunate chapter in the poet's life, refers to Montgomerie's "service" as meriting "augmentatioun" rather than "diminisching," and also speaks of providing "better occasioun" for the poet continuing in his majesty's employment "in all tyme heireftir." This was in March 1589. By that time Montgomerie had been probably about two years in captivity. In some of his poems he writes with great bitterness of this experience.

written, as we have seen, not later than 1582, it appears that Montgomerie some time previous to this had got into trouble in Argyle, and had fled to Flanders. Polwart's statement could scarcely be a pure invention, although he turns the occasion to humorous account (F., l. 611). In Flanders at this time, Montgomerie, who since Polwart calls him a "redshank" and Dempster an "eques montanus," was certainly a soldier of some sort, would not unnaturally seek to attach himself to the Scots Brigade. Later on, strong efforts were made by the Catholics to detach the Scots from the Dutch. Queen Mary herself even interposed (with what success is not known) to bribe Stewart with the promise of a substantial pension. Now, in a letter written by Dr Wilson, agent for the Low Countries, to Davison, dated January 25, 1578, there is the following suggestive passage: "I told M. de Famara lately, and willed him to signify to the Prince, that practices were laid to corrupt the Scots; and I named two men especially, Captain Wyer and Captain Montgomerie, who are suspected to be of Don John's faction for the Scottish Queen's sake. . . ." It is impossible, of course, to say whether the Captain Montgomerie here referred to was the poet; and for this, amongst other reasons, that his relative Robert Montgomerie of Braidstane held a captaincy, and was an emissary in negotiating Scottish aid to the Prince of Orange. ('Calendar of State Papers,' Scottish Series, vol. iv. p. 602.) But at least it may be said that in what little is known of this Robert Montgomerie, there is no reason to believe that he had any share in or sympathy with the ever-recurring Catholic plots of this period. It is otherwise, we have seen, with the poet. ¹ See Appendix D, VI.

One of them, evidently composed during his confinement, contains these stanzas:—

"Quhen men or wemen visitis me,
My dolour I disguyse,
By outward sight that nane may sie
Quhair inward langour lyes.
Als patient as my pairt appeiris,
With hevy hairt, vhen no man heirs,
For baill then burst I out in teirs,
Alane with cairfull cryis.

All day I wot not what to do,
I loth to sie the licht;
At evin then I am trublit, to,
So noysum is the nicht.
Quhen Natur most requyrs to rest,
With pansing so I am opprest,
So mony things my mynd molest,
My sleiping is bot slicht."

And then his mind reverts to happier times at the Court-

"Remembring me vhair I haif bene, Both lykit and belov't, And nou sensyne vhat I haif sene, My mynd may be commovt,"

At a later date, when the decision of the Commissary Court had gone against him, and his pension had been annulled, he taunts the King with his broken promise—

"Wes Bishop Betoun bot restord agane,
To my ruin reserving all the rest,
To recompence my prisoning and pane?
The worst is ill, if this be bot the best.
Is this the frute, sir, of your first affectione
My pensioun perish vnder your protectione?"

In these lines it would seem to be implied that the restoration of Bishop Betoun and Montgomerie's imprisonment were in some way related to one another. Curiously enough, the first official information there is of James's intention to restore Betoun to the Bishopric of Glasgow is in an entry in the 'Register of the Privy Council,' dated March 17, 1586/7, and of course the scheme would be on foot previous to its official announcement. The plan was accordingly taking shape at the very time we have seen reason to believe that proceedings in the Court of Session over the question of Montgomerie's pension had been suspended. It is a mere conjecture, but not without some shadow of support in the few facts that are known, that the poet had been sent to the Continent to carry despatches to Betoun, and perhaps to put himself at the bishop's disposition as a courier or agent of some sort. Service of that kind was attended

with sufficient risk, and if Montgomerie had been caught with compromising letters it might very well have led to a lengthy term of imprisonment. In one of his sonnets to the King on the subject of his pension, he remarks that he had kept himself "Of crymes . . . clene," and then goes on to use these words—

"With, not without, 3our warrand, 3it I went; In wryt, not words: the papers are in place. Sen chance, not change, hes put me to this pane, Let richt, not reif, my Pensioun bring agane."

In the sonnet following he rehearses to the King this catalogue of his woes-

"If lose of guids, if gritest grudge or grief,
If povertie, imprisonment, or pane,
If for guid will, ingratitude agane,
If languishing in langour but relief,
If det, if dolour, & to become deif,
If travell tint, and labour lost in vane,
Do properlie to Poets appertane—
Of all that craft my chance is to be chief."

If these troubles had befallen Montgomerie whilst engaged in the way suggested, the sarcastic reference to the King having recompensed him by restoring Betoun to the see of Glasgow would have considerable point.

James's object in seeking to reinstall Betoun in his former position was that he might use him for political purposes on the Continent. Circumspection, however, had to be exercised in bringing this about, for Betoun was a notorious enemy of the Reformation, a Catholic, and, till her death, the trusted agent of Queen Mary. It is interesting to note the steps by which the King sought to carry out his plan, and how, later on, the question of Betoun's restoration became the central argument in Montgomerie's lawsuit. James had, in the first place, to deal with Erskine, who, as we have seen, was raised to the bishopric in December 1585. The terms of Erskine's appointment, as recorded in the Register of the Great Seal and in the Register of Presentation to Benefices, are without the slightest ambiguity in their meaning. But on March 17, 1587, occurs a curious entry in the 'Register of the Privy Council' "explaining" Erskine's appointment, of two years previous. It is declared to have been merely contingent, and that the King now "meaning to imploy James sumtyme Archiebischope of Glasgow in his service" has "restoirit and reponit in integrum the said James . . . aganis the sentence of foirfaltour and baratrie given against him."1

¹ Betoun (a nephew of the Cardinal) was consecrated Bishop of Glasgow in 1552 at Rome. In 1560, to escape "the wild fury of the Reformers," he left Scotland, carrying with him to France the muniments of his see, "which he carefully deposited partly in the Scots College, partly in the Charter House or Monastery of

Erskine, however, is to be permitted to enjoy the temporalities of the see until Betoun's restoration is ratified by Act of Parliament. On the day following this entry in the 'Privy Council Register,' Forster wrote to Walsingham: "I thinke your honour hathe knowledge that the Bischope of Glasgow is restored by opyn proclamatioun at Edinburgh to the said bischoprick, and is appoynted by the Kinge to be his ambassadour in France as he was in his late mother's tyme." Four months later Parliament assembled. Whether it was because the King was apprehensive of some difficulty in getting the estates to acquiesce in Betoun's restoration, or because a compromise had been forced upon him, the fact remains that in July a measure was introduced and passed, which, although its immediate purpose was to reinstall Betoun, does not mention his name or his office. Later on we shall see that Erskine took full and successful advantage of the ambiguity thus created. The bill, which passed in July, took the form of a general ratification of the Acts of Pacification, passed in 1573, and of Abolition, passed in the interests of the Ruthven Raiders in 1585. These measures rescinded in general terms sentences of foirfaltour and barratrie passed at various times previous, and extending in their operative power to the date of Queen Mary's return to Scotland on August 19, 1561. But in the Act of Abolition of 1585 Betoun is by name expressly exempted from its provisions. With the obvious purpose of getting over this difficulty, a clause is accordingly inserted in the July Act of 1587 explicitly stating that the Acts of 1573 and 1585 shall apply "without ony maner of exceptioun, aber of personis or crymes, except as sal be exceptit in the present act." That this Act was interpreted at the time as applying to Betoun is shown by the fact that before the session of Parliament closed applications were lodged on behalf of certain individuals to whom grants out of the bishopric had previously been made, craving that the restoration of Betoun might not interfere with their existing rights.

Meantime it would seem that Erskine had been persuaded or forced into acquiescing in this plan for placing Betoun again in the see of Glasgow. The party to which he belonged was not now all powerful as it had been at the time of his appointment in December 1585, and James would be freer to take his own way. There were, however, ties of intimacy between Erskine and the King, going back to James's boyhood, before he had assumed the duties of his royal office in 1579; and while it was necessary for the scheme which

Carthusians in Paris." He became Queen Mary's ambassador at the French Court. As late as 1569 he is referred to in charters as Archbishop of Glasgow in absentia. Sentence of barratrie was passed upon him on September 19, 1570. On February 12, 1573, he is denounced (along with others) in the 'Register of the Privy Council' as a rebel and a traitor. On November 9 of the same year James Boyd of Trochrig was appointed Archbishop of Glasgow. Boyd died in 1581.

the King now had on hand, that Erskine should demit his ecclesiastical office. James would be willing that some compensation should be given. There can be little doubt that this is the meaning of the following curiously reticent entry in the 'Register of Presentation to Benefices' (vol. ii. f. 177b.), dated July 23, 1587—that is, a few days after the so called Act of Restitution had been passed: "Remembering the of ald gude, trew and thankfull Beruise done to his majestie at all tymes be his familiare and weil belouit Beruitour. Mr William Erskin, persoun of campsie, continewallie fra the tyme of his hienes birth: the diligent caires, panes, and travellis tane be him in his maiestie's educatioun, not onlie in tender 3eiris bot als cairfullie bairefter onto the tyme his hienes pleased accept the regiment of this realme in his awin persoun, and now sensyne; Be the quhilk daylie and continewall lang Beruice, the said Mr William hes not allanerlie bestowit and debursit thairthrow his haill leving and patrimonie, bot als consumit be best pairt of his tyme & 3eiris. without ony respect bot depending vooun his graces onlie provisioun of ane honest lyfe and leving." Remembering these things, the King had (this record goes on to state) promoted Erskine "to ane honorabill place, calling, and leving, quhilk baireftir he, at his maiesteis speciall desyr dimittit and ourgave agane, disappointing himself of that thing quhilk his hienes prouidit to him for ane honorabill lyfe & leving: Quhairfoir his grace, not being ony wayis willing the said Mr William sal be frustrat of his expectatioun and lang Beruice foirsaid, bot rather considdering his greit loyaltie, prone, prompt and reddie Beruice & obedience at all times by past. willing to gif him gud occasioun to continew steidfast and affectionat bairin, according to his guid dispositioun and nature, knawin to his hienes," confers upon him a pension of "24 chalderis beir." For greater security thereof, "his maiestie promittis in verbo to caus ratefie be samin in parliament in maist ample forme." There is no record of any such ratification. In view of what had gone before, and what was to follow, these references to Erskine are truly remarkable. A prominent member of the Ruthven Raid faction, he had been foirfalted and obliged to flee the country. Along with Mar and others, he had in August 1584 been summoned for "treasoun" by the Parliament. In 1585 he had ousted Robert Montgomerie, the King's nominee, from the see of Glasgow. Later on he opposed Betoun in the law courts, and, for a time at least, successfully vindicated his title to the bishopric.

The indirect method by which the King had attempted to bring about Betoun's restoration proved ineffectual. The flaw in the scheme lay in this, that while the Ratification Act of 1587 expressly cancels any exceptions to the general pardon given by the Acts of 1573 and 1585, it does not, on the other hand, take cognisance of the fact that these Acts are by their own terms stated to be applicable

only to those who had conformed to the principles and practice of the Reformed Church, and had acknowledged the King's authority. Betoun, whatever might be argued with regard to the second of these conditions, had certainly never complied with the first. This weak point was readily detected by Betoun's opponents, and Erskine, later on in his further proceedings against Montgomerie (whose chief argument is that Erskine has no right to call in question his pension since he is no longer Archbishop), makes successful use of it before both the Court of Session and the Commissary Court.¹

The wrangle over Betoun's attempted restoration continued for some years. The references to it in the 'Register of the Privy Council' are rather conflicting. Thus, in an entry dated March 21, 1588/9 it is referred to as still holding good. But two months later (29th May) a resolution was passed proclaiming that Betoun, and others in similar case, were still under the ban of their former sentences of foirfaltour. The point, however, was not finally settled until 1592, when Parliament by an "Act of Interpritatioun" determined that the benefits of the Pacification of 1573, the Act of Abolition of 1585, and of the Act of Ratification of 1587, only applied to such as had "professed the trew religioun." ²

By this time, however, the situation had become further complicated. James, in November 1587, had bestowed the temporal possessions of the see on Walter Stewart, Prior of Blantyre, and now, when the scheme to restore Betoun (who it had been intended should only get the teind-sheaves along with the ecclesiastical title) was seen to have failed, he proceeded to an attempt to hand the bishopric over to his kinsman and favourite, Ludovic Duke of Lennox.

Montgomerie, on his return to Scotland, probably in 1591, must have found his title to draw his pension considerably embarrassed by the unsettled state in which the legal occupancy of the bishopric of Glasgow was now placed. His first step seems to have been to get his status recognised by Lennox. This we learn from an interesting entry in the 'Register of Deeds,' 3 under date November 2, 1591, in which Lennox ratifies the poet's pension (but reduced from 500 to 400 merks), "seing we haif now vndoutit rycht to be said bischoprik of Glesgw and haill temporall landis berof, being willing that all questioun and pley may be removit and takin away quhilk may impeid be said Capitane Alexander in the peceable bruiking & vptaking of be said pension," the ratification being

¹ Decreet, § 41, p. 327.

² According to a statement in his argument against Montgomerie before the Commissary Court, Erskine obtained decree against Betoun in June 1592, "dischairgand be said Mr James Betoun to trubill be tennenttis of the said bischoprick for bair dewteis as pairtie fundin to haiwe na rycht berto." (Decreet, § 50, p. 331.)

³ Vol. 40, f. 40.

likewise made with "expres consent and assent of Walter, priour of Blantyre for all rycht, titill, entres and clame he hes, or may haif, to be said pensioun, or ony part berof." It is significant of Montgomerie's connection with the Catholic faction that this benefit is conferred "for guid & thankfull seruice done & to be done be be said Capitane Alexander to ws [i.e., Lennox], and to gif him occasioun to continew berin," and that the document is signed by (amongst others) Huntly, Robert Lord Setoun, and Claud Hammiltoun.

Montgomerie, however, had now to reckon with Erskine, who was vigorously pressing his title to the bishopric before the Lords of Session. Under the conditions of Erskine's appointment in 1585, we have seen that all pensions drawn from the bishopric were, with one exception, that to Nicoll Carnecors, rescinded. There can be no doubt, however, that either privately, or by writ of the Privy Seal which has not been preserved, the King had, after the terms of Erskine's appointment were announced, restored to Montgomerie his pension. Accordingly we find, when the poet left Scotland in 1586, James undertaking to safeguard, maintain, and protect his pension. But by whatever means it came about, the royal safeguard certainly proved ineffectual, for Erskine succeeded in uplifting, with the rest of the revenues of the see, Montgomerie's pension for 1586 and 1587.2 To recover this was the poet's first step when, after his return to Scotland, he resumed legal proceedings in the Court of Session against Erskine.3 The answer which Erskine made to this challenge was to raise the whole question of Montgomerie's title to draw a pension at all from Glasgow. This he did in the Commissary Court of Edinburgh, calling upon the poet to produce his "letteris of pensioun." Montgomerie appealed to the Lords of Session to have

¹ In Decreet, § 44 (iii.), p. 329, Erskine refers to an action about this time in which the Lords of Session had upheld his "vndouttit rycht to the said bischoprik." See also § 47, and § 50 in which he states that he "obtenit decreit" against Betoun in June 1592.

² It is to this action of Erskine that the writ of the Privy Seal (21st March 1588/9), ratifying and reconferring Montgomerie's pension, no doubt refers when it states that "nochtwithstanding of þe said licence and protectioun, the said Capitane Alexander his factouris and servitouris hes bene maist wranguslie stoppit, hinderit, and debarrit in the peceabill possessioun of his said pensioun, but ony guid ordour or forme of Iustice." That this was an irregular seizure on Erskine's part would seem to be indicated by a reference [Remit, § 5 (ii.), p. 313] to a successful action of double poinding raised by the poet (probably through his factors in 1587), in which the Lords of Session decerned that payment should be made to Montgomerie of his pension for 1586, "and in tyme cuming, as partie fund be the saidis Lordis to haif best richt þerto, and dischearging the said Mr William [Erskine] of all calling and troubling of the saidis tennentis (i.e., those who were responsible for the payment of the pension) as partie fund be the saidis lordis to have na richt."

³ Remit, § 2, p. 312.

this action taken out of the Commissary Court and brought before the Court of Session, on the ground that the Commissars "being dependents of the House of Mar" were prejudiced in favour of Erskine and sure to give a partial judgment; and, further, that one of the Commissaris, John Prestoun, was acting as Erskine's procuratour in the action which Montgomerie himself had raised to recover his pension for 1586-7. This appeal was so far sustained by the removal of Prestoun from among the judges, but the action was remitted once more to the Commissary Court. This we learn from a Remitt of the Court of Session, dated December 10, 1592. The next record is an Interlocutour of the Commissary Court, February 23 following, in which Montgomerie being called and not appearing to maintain his defences lodged, decree is given against him. The effect of this Interlocutour is to uphold the relevancy of Erskine's principal action, which it would seem had been challenged by Montgomerie, and to permit him to go forward with his proof, his "summondis reductive." The final pronouncement of the Court is given five months later, on July 13, 1593. It is a "decreit" reviewing at great length the arguments of both parties. For all practical purposes the judgment is wholly in favour of Erskine. It "reducis, retreittis, rescindis, cassis and annullis" the poet's pension from the time of Erskine's appointment to the bishopric and during all his future occupancy of the see; but "reservand alwayis to the said Capitane Alexander actionn of improbatioun as accordis of the law." In short, the finding of the Court is that the poet has no title to his pension from 1585 onwards, unless he can prove that Erskine is not, and never was, the Archbishop of Glasgow. This had been one of the main defences laid before the Court on Montgomerie's behalf to defeat Erskine's claim; and it rested on the extraordinary argument that Betoun's restoration was not only accomplished by the Act of 1587, but that it had a retrospective effect, annulling all appointments to the see since Betoun fled from Scotland in 1561; that, in fact, Betoun had never, since his appointment in 1552, ceased to be the Archbishop of Glasgow. A further point in Montgomerie's case brings to light a curious transaction between James and the Archbishop. To maintain the position that Betoun's restoration was a valid one, it was necessary to get over the difficulty of his not having professed the true religion or acknowledged the King. Montgomerie's counsel urges that James, having employed Betoun as his ambassador in a foreign court, had ipso facto purged him of any disability on that score, and further states that a special dispensation had been given by the King in his own handwriting, relieving Betoun from the necessity of making any confession of faith or public acknowledgment of the royal authority.1 The argument is

¹ Decreet, § 14, p. 321.

pressed home with the vigorous statement that such dispensation, coming from the "Prince," is of force to invalidate any decrees in the law courts against Betoun, and, moreover, to nullify Erskine's appointment in 1585.

It is significant of the shadowy character of Lennox's claim that throughout his defences in the final stage of the legal proceedings Montgomerie ignores him altogether. 1 Neither James nor the Duke, who must both have been following the case with keen interest, could have viewed with approval this extreme way of pressing Betoun's title.² It was an awkward time to raise his claims at all. Parliament in July 1592 had passed the Act of "Interpritatioun" which was aimed against Betoun, and in the beginning of 1593 the country had been shaken by the discovery of the Spanish Blanks. At such a time James could not have come to Montgomerie's help to secure a judgment in his favour, which would, by proclaiming at the same time Betoun's restoration, have seemed to flout the action of the Parliament, and have played into the hands of the extreme Protestant faction.3 Montgomerie would be left to fight his own battle. There might well be irritation on the King's part, and the sonnets show that there was certainly vexation and virulence on the poet's. The explanation of his breach with James and forfeiture of his position at the Court probably lies here. In one of his later sonnets, written in exile, addressing two of his old Court companions, "Constable and Keir," he refers to his dismissal-

> "Shirs, 3e haif sene me griter with his grace, And with 3our vmquhyle Maister, to, and myne; Quha thoght the Poet somtyme worth his place, Suppose 3e sie they shot him out sensyne,"

Erskine, in defence of his title to the archbishopric, and in support of his claim to have Montgomerie's pension reduced, takes his stand on the following (amongst other less important) arguments:
(1) he was lawfully provided to the bishopric in 1585; (2) the Privy Council had decided that he should enjoy the fruits of the

¹ Erskine refers to him (Decreet, § 44 (iii.), p. 329) as "pretending ane factorie to be bischoprik of Glasgow."

² It is worth noting that on July 21, 1593, an Act of Parliament was passed in favour of Lennox, in which it is stated that he already was in possession of the rent and patrimony of Glasgow, and is now gifted with "the rycht of the superioritie of the haill temporall landes," &c.

³ It is also not at all improbable that Montgomerie was himself now something of a person "suspect." It appears to have been possible to obtain surreptitiously "pretended decreets" from the Privy Council in cases which were still pending in the Court of Session. (*Vide* Hill Burton's Introduction to the Register of the Privy Council, vol. II. p. xxvii.) In a case recorded in 1573 there was "a direct challenge" on the part of the Court of Session to the Privy Council, affirming that they were not competent judges in the matter.

bishopric till Betoun was restored by Parliament; (3) Betoun has not yet been restored, for he is not "comprehendit" in the Act of 1587; (4) the Privy Council, in May 1589, had definitely pronounced Betoun to be still under the ban of his former sentences of barratrie and foirfaltour; (5) the Act of "Interpritatioun" of 1592 had given statutory sanction to the view that Betoun, and others similarly placed, could not enjoy any benefits from the Acts passed in 1573, 1585, and 1587; moreover, this had been settled by decision of the Court of Session; (6) the terms of his (Erskine's) appointment only admitted the right of Nicol Carnecors to continue drawing a pension from the revenues of the bishopric; (7) that decrees of reduction had been obtained against the other claimant pensioners; (8) that even from the beginning Montgomerie's pension had been granted in violation of the common law, which provided that when a bishopric was vacant (as was the case with Glasgow in 1583) the sovereign had no legal right to prejudice the future occupant by making grants out of the revenues of the see.1

After the judgment given against him in the Commissary Court in July 1503, Montgomerie does not appear to have attempted an appeal to the Court of Session. At least no record of such has been found. Some years later (1597) we find him once more in serious trouble. This was in connection with Barclay of Ladyland's abortive scheme to land Spanish troops in the island of Ailsa, one of the interminable Catholic plots that continued to be hatched in Scotland down to the close of James's reign, the history of which yet remains to be written. Barclay, who, like Montgomerie, came of a well-known Ayrshire family, was a zealous Catholic, and appears in the records as a daring intriguer. At an earlier date (1593) he is found masquerading in Rome under the name of Don Ugo. Later we hear of him being apprehended in Scotland and committed to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. Subsequently he was removed to the Castle of Glasgow. From thence he managed to effect his escape, and fled to Spain, where, according to the 'Register of the Privy Council,' he "trafficqued and had intelligence with the enemeyis of the said trew religioun." He then formed the scheme of capturing the island of Ailsa, and of fortifying and victualling it "for the ressett and conforte of the Spanishe army, luiked for be him to cum and arryuit at the saidis pairtis for invasioun of

¹ Montgomerie seems to anticipate an argument of this kind, based on the common law, in the Remit of November 1592, § 7, p. 314, where he pleads that even were the see vacant in 1589 (which, of course, he does not admit) when his pension was reconferred upon him by writ of the Privy Council, yet the temporal lands of the bishopric had two years previously been annexed to the Crown, and that on that account the King's grant to him "convalesis." But this argument would not hold good for the earlier period from 1583 to 1587, the date of the Act of Annexatioun.

this Iland." The plot was discovered by a certain "Maister Andro Knox, minister at Paisley," who had already made himself conspicuous by his success in tracking Catholic intrigues. It was he who had apprehended in the Isle of Cumray George Ker, brother of Mark Ker, Lord Newbattle, and discovered on him the famous "Spanish Blanks." Getting together a company of friends, as zealous in their hatred of Catholics as himself, Knox encountered Barclay on his arrival at Islay, and demanded his surrender, "meaning nawayes his hurte nor drawing of his blude." To do this Barclay "absolutelie refusit," and defending himself against "sic as drew narrest him . . . and at last passing backwart in the deip, drownit and perisheit in his awne wilfull and disperat resolutioun."

How far Montgomerie was actually implicated in this plot we have no means of knowing. The only record which connects him with it states that he "wes arte, parte, at the leist vpoun the counsale, divise, and foir knawlege with vmquhile hew barclay of ladyland in the lait treasounable interprise divisit tuiching the surprising and taking of Ilisha." He was summoned to appear before the Privy Council, and on failing to do so was denounced as a rebel on July 14, 1597.

After this date Montgomerie disappears from the public records, and of his subsequent life nothing more has been discovered. It is assumed that he died some time between the years 1605 and 1615. For the latter of these dates there is authentic evidence in the fact that on the title-page of the edition of 'The Cherrie and the Slae' published in that year, it is stated that the poem had been "newly altered, perfyted, and divided into 114 Quatuorzeims, not long before the Author's Death." The date 1605, however, may be given up as having any bearing on the question when Montgomerie died. It has been taken into account because of the publication in that year of a small volume of metrical psalms in Scots, entitled 'The Mindes Melodie,' authorship of which has been assigned to Montgomerie, since two of the psalms in the collection are known from other sources to have been written by him; and from the fact that it appeared anonymously, it is concluded that the author could not have been dead, because the publisher in that case would have been sure to put his name upon the title-page. The inconclusiveness both of the reason for ascribing the book to Montgomerie at all, and of the argument drawn from it, need scarcely be criticised. David Laing in the 1821 edition of Montgomerie's poems includes 'The Mindes Melodie'; but in 1852, when he published a "Specimen of a proposed Catalogue of a portion of the Library at Britwell House," he, with more caution, describes this book as having been "attributed to Alexander Montgomery." Dempster, who was a contemporary of the poet, but living abroad and always a careless chronicler, gives the date of Montgomerie's death as MDXCI., which may possibly be a slip, either of the author or the

¹ See 'Life-Records,' No. XI., p. 334.

printer, for MDCXI. It is rather curious that a mistake of a precisely similar kind occurs in the record which Dempster gives of Semple's death.¹ The year 1611 would seem to approximate fairly well to the time of Montgomerie's death suggested by the statement on the title-page of 'The Cherrie and the Slae,' and may, perhaps, be taken as the nearest approach which can now be made to the actual date.² Dempster further informs us that the news of Montgomerie's death was received with great grief by the King, magno regis dolore. If this be true, there is, perhaps, some ground for believing that, although no record survives, James had come to the assistance of the aged poet in his closing years. Some reparation he may have made to him for the loss of his pension, a loss which, from all that can now be gathered of the circumstances, seems to have befallen the poet through no fault of his own, but to have been due to the tangled and conflicting political rivalries of the times.³

¹ Brotanek points out that Dempster falls into another similar error in recording the date of Sir Patrick Hume's death.

² George Chalmers, the well-known Scottish antiquary, states in some notes, preserved in the Laing Collection in Edinburgh University Library, that Montgomerie died as early as 1598, and that the King honoured the poet's memory with an epitaph. He cites no authority, however, and the value of his statements cannot in consequence be tested. G. S. Montgomery, in his 'Genealogical History of the Family of Montgomery,' printed for private circulation at Philadelphia in 1863, gives the date of the poet's death as 1611, but without citing his authority. A similar unsupported statement is quoted in the Appendix of this book from a letter of the Rev. Robert Leask of Belturbit, who assigns Montgomerie's birth to the year 1540 and his death to 1607.

³ The restoration of Betoun was finally, and beyond all question, effected by an Act of Parliament passed on June 29, 1598, in which statutory sanction is given to the very arguments advanced by Montgomerie in the Commissary Court—namely, that the Pacification of February 1572/3 (ratified by Parliament in April 1573), the Act of Pacification and Abolition of 1585, and the Act of Restitution of 1587 did extend to Betoun, "and speciallie dispensand with the Act of 1592"—that is, the so called "Act of Interpritatioun." Had this view of these Acts been accepted by the Commissary Court in 1593, Montgomerie could hardly have lost his pension.

APPENDIX C.

NEW SOURCES OF MONTGOMERIE'S POETRY.

Although we may accept the interpretation which the unknown editor of the 1629 edition of the 'Flyting' gives of the spirit in which Montgomerie and Polwart carried through their famous encounter—

"No cankering envy, malice, nor despite Stirred up these men so eagerly to flyte; Bot generous emulation"—

it would be quite a mistake to suppose that all of the abusive charges which the opponents fling at one another are to be taken in a purely Pickwickian sense. To do so would be to miss a good deal of the point and savour of the 'Flyting.' Under cover of the game, personalities of a most pointed kind were indulged in, sometimes slyly, sometimes delivered with amazing directness and vigour. We may suspect that these were the parts most relished by the circle at the Court for whose amusement the "sett matches of flytting" were undertaken.1 There is no mistaking the intention of Polwart's repeated references to Montgomerie's intemperance, even had we not on this point a further testimony from King James himself.² The most interesting, however, of these personalities, which have in them a suggestion of malice prepense, are the accusations of plagiarism which the two poets bring against one another. Montgomerie himself is the first to introduce this charge. In his second epistle he thus takes Polwart to task-

"Thy scrowis obscuir ar borrowit fra sum buik;
Fra Lyndsay þow tuik; þow art bot Chawcer's cuik,"

And again, more vigorously-

"I think for to see 30w hing by the heills,
For tearmes that thow steills of auld poetrie."

¹ See Appendix A, p. 255.

² See Appendix B, p. 267.

To which his opponent replies-

"Forder pow fleis with vper foulis vingis,
Ourcled with cleirar collouris nor thy awin;
But speciallie with sum of Sempillis things,
Or for ane pluckit guiß thow had bein knawin."

And in an interesting passage which occurs only in the Tullibardine MS.—

"Thy pykillit puir paremeonis but skill, Pykit fra Irisch Italianis ar to blame."

Montgomerie's charge he flings back with some warmth-

"Thow said I borrowit blaidis, quhilk is not trew;
The clene contrarie, smachart, salbe sene.
I neuir had of that making 3e mene
Ane verse in wreit, in print, or 3it perquere,
Quhilk I can prive, and clenge me wonder clene;
Thocht singill wordis no wreiter can forbeir."

This little passage-at-arms is not without its value as evidence of the way in which the gentle art of plagiary was viewed in those days. How the matter actually stands with regard to Polwart there is scant means of testing, for little of his poetry beyond his share of the 'Flyting' survives. In Montgomerie's case the question has now an entirely new interest, since the discovery made some years ago of his indebtedness to Ronsard, and to certain writers in England—an indebtedness which would appear to fully justify Polwart's accusation. It is, however, highly improbable that Polwart had Ronsard in view. He specially names Sempill; and the allusion seems scarcely appropriate. In Sempill's verse, as we have it, there is little to suggest comparison with Montgomerie. He writes in the vein of an older tradition, without any of the French and Italianate graces cultivated by the poets of James's Court. There is, of course, the possibility that Polwart is alluding to earlier compositions of Montgomerie, which have not survived, written, it may be, in the manner of those preserved in Bannatyne's manuscript, before he had felt the attraction of the new poetry in England and France.

A general discussion of the literary influences affecting Montgomerie's practice as a poet scarcely falls within the limits appropriate to this volume. The subject has already received scholarly treatment from two continental writers, Dr Oscar Hoffmann and Dr Rudolf Brotanek, the former tracking Montgomerie's debt to Ronsard, and the latter more particularly examining the influence of Wyatt and Surrey, and their followers.

It may be permissible, however, without trenching unduly on the results which these writers embody in their dissertations, to set forth here certain specific instances of borrowing discovered in Montgomerie's works. It is, of course, open to argument whether he had

any intention of passing off the translations in question as original poems. That at least may be said of some of them; in the case of others it is less easy to resist the conclusion that we are detecting the poet in deliberate plagiarism. In considering the point, however, it is to be remembered that, so far as is known, Montgomerie's miscellaneous poems were not published in his lifetime; and that, with but minor exceptions, our only source is the Drummond MS., which was written out probably not long before Drummond's books and manuscripts became the property of Edinburgh University in 1627. A collection made by an admirer of the poet a number of years after his death, and probably from floating manuscripts, would obviously be liable to contain pieces wrongly attributed to him. Dr Brotanek draws attention to what seems a clear instance of such wrong ascription. On fol. 81 of the Drummond MS. is engrossed a devotional poem, beginning "Auay, vane world, bewitcher of my hairt." Both Laing and Cranstoun accept it as Montgomerie's. It forms, however, part of Lady Culross's 'Godly Dreame,' printed in Edinburgh in 1603, while the authoress was yet living.

Of greater interest is the case, also pointed out by Dr Brotanek, of one of the poems of the Drummond MS. appearing in the well-known Elizabethan miscellany, Procter's 'Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inuentions.' To facilitate comparison the two versions

may be given :-

"My fansie feeds vpon the sugred gall;
Against my will, my weill does work my wo;
My cairfull chose does chuse to keep me thrall;
My frantik folie fannis vpon my fo:
My lust alluirs my licorous lippis to taist
The bait vharin the suttle hook is plaic't.

My hungrie hope doth heap my hevy hap;
My syndrie sutes procuris the mair disdane;
My stedfast steppis 3it slydis into the trap;
My tryed treuth intanglis me in trane;
I spy the snair, and will not bakuards go;
My resone 3eelds, and 3it sayis na thairto,

In plesand path I tred vpon the snaik;

My flamming thrist I quench with venemous wyne;

In daintie dish I do the poyson tak;

My languour bids me rather eit nor pyne;

I sau, I sett—no flour nor fruit I find;

-[Drummond MS., f. 36 b.]

"My fancy feedes vpon the sugred gaule;

My witlesse will vnwillingly workes my woe; My carefull choyse doth choose to keepe mee thraule;

I prik my hand, 3it leaves the rose behind."

My franticke folly fawns vpon my foe:

My luste alluers my lickering lyppes to taste

The bayte wherin the subtill hooke is plaste.

My hungry hope doth heape my heavy hap; My sundry sutes procure my more disdayne; My stedfast steppes yet slyde into the trap; My tryed truth entangleth mee in trayne: I spye the snare, and will not backward go; My reason yeeldes, and yet sayeth euer, no.

In pleasant plat I tread vpon the snake;
My flamyng thirst I quench with venomd wine;
In dayntie dish I doo the poyson take;
My hunger biddes mee rather eate then pine.
I sow, I sett, yet fruit, ne flowre I finde:
I pricke my hand, yet leaue the Rose behinde."

—['Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inuentions,']

It seems reasonable to suppose that the English version is the original. Procter's Miscellany was published in London in 1578, and next to the poem in question is another which is evidently a companion piece. Although Montgomerie appears as early as 1568 in Bannatyne's manuscript, it is not until sixteen years later, in the 'Essayes of a Prentise,' that any specimen of his poetry is found in print, and then only a prefatory sonnet, and a few isolated passages to illustrate some of the King's "reulis and cautellis." The possibility that copies of his poems had been carried into England before the date of Procter's publication is remote; and even had this happened it is unlikely that they would have excited sufficient interest for one of them to have appeared in Southern form in a collection like the 'Gorgious Gallery.'

In the case of another of the Drummond poems—sonnet 40—which is found in Henry Constable's sonnet sequence, entitled 'Diana: the praises of his Mistres in certaine sweete Sonnets,' the circumstances are rather different, although consideration leads to a similar conclusion.

The two versions are as follows:-

"Thine eye the glasse where I behold my hart;
mine eye the window through the which thine eye
may see my hart, and there thy selfe espy
in bloody cullours how thou painted art.
Thine eye the pyle is of a murdring dart;
mine eye the sight thou tak'st thy leuell by,
to hit my hart, and neuer shootes awry:
mine eye thus helpes thine eye to worke my smart.
Thine eye a fire is both in heate and light;
mine eye of teares a riuer doth become,
oh, that the water of mine eye had might
to quench the flames that from thine eye doth come;
Or that the fire that's kindled by thine eye,
The flowing streames of mine eyes could make drie."

—['Diana: The Praises of his Mistres.]

"Thyne ee the glasse vhare I beheld my [hairt;]
Myn ee the windo throu the vhilk thyn ee
May see my hairt, and thair thy self espy
In bloody colours hou thou painted art.
Thyne ee the pyle is of a murth[ering dart;]
Myne ee the sicht thou taks thy levell by,
To shute my hairt, and nevir shute aury:
Myn ee thus helpis thyn ee to work my smarte.
Thyn ee consumes me lyk a flamming fyre;
Myn ee most lyk a flood of teirs do run.
Oh, that the water in myne ee begun
Micht quench the burning fornace of desyre;
Or then the fyr els kindlit by thyn ey,
The flouing teirs of sorou micht mak dry."

-[Drummond MS., f. 71 a.]

The first edition of the 'Diana' was published in London in 1592. By that time Montgomerie had in all likelihood considerable reputation as a poet; and there is reason to believe that before this date he had visited London. Dr Hoffmann, who first drew attention to the appearance of the sonnet in Constable's volume, does not hesitate to ascribe it to Montgomerie. But this can scarcely be conceded. The Drummond MS., the sole authority for including it among Montgomerie's poems, cannot have been written out much before the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century,—that is, a good thirty years after the date of the publication of the 'Diana,' and long after Montgomerie's death. There is, accordingly, no evidence at all that Montgomerie ever laid claim to the sonnet. An interesting fact is mentioned by Dr Brotanek which bears on the point, A manuscript of Constable's sonnets, written about 1590 (known as Todd's MS.), is published in 'Harleian Miscellany,' vol. ix. p. 489 ff. There the sonnets are divided into three parts, "each parte contayning 3 severall arguments, and every argument 7 sonets." The sonnet in question appears as the third in the first part. It thus takes its place as one of a definite sonnet scheme conceived and written by Constable. For the variations which appear in the Scots and English versions, Dr Brotanek offers the ingenious explanation that the Drummond transcript was made from an early draft of the sonnet which was subsequently altered by Constable.

The question of authorship in the case of this poem derives a further interest from the fact that there is a strong probability that Montgomerie and Constable were well known to one another, if not, indeed, intimate friends. Constable, who, it may be mentioned, graduated at Cambridge in 1580 at the age of 18, was much in Scotland during the reign of James VI. A sonnet of his in praise of the King is prefixed to the 'Poetical Exercises' (see also Introduction). It is significant, in view of his possible intimacy with Montgomerie, that as a Catholic he fell under suspicion of being im-

plicated in treasonable dealings with France against Elizabeth, and was forced to leave England for five years. There can be little doubt that it is to him Montgomerie refers in the opening lines of sonnet xvii. (see Cranstoun's edition):—

"Adeu, my King, court, cuntry, and my kin: Adeu, suete Duke, vhose father held me deir: Adeu, companions, Constable and Keir, Thrie treuar hairts, I trou, sall neuer tuin."

This is the sonnet in which Montgomerie alludes to his dismissal from the King's service, and it could not have been written prior to the adverse judgment of the Commissary Court on July 13, 1593, a year after the publication of the 'Diana.' If Constable had, as Dr Hoffmann seems to suggest, cribbed one of Montgomerie's sonnets, it would appear at any rate to have occasioned no breach in their friendship!

Attention is drawn in the Introduction to a Scots rendering, found in the Laing MS. and printed in this volume,² of a poem by Jasper Heywood (son of the dramatist), which appears in yet another of the Elizabethan miscellanies, "The Paradyce of Dainty Devises," published in 1576. These translations are valuable evidence of the interest taken at this time by Scotchmen in the lyric collections of England. In Montgomerie's case there can be no doubt that somewhat of his poetic nurture was drawn from this source. The parallel references given by Dr Brotanek fully establish this. But other influences, coming both from France and Italy, were affecting the poets of James VI.'s Court. The older Chaucerian tradition, which moves so strongly in the period from Henryson to Lyndsay, is almost entirely displaced by those fresh interests. Possibly there is an allusion to Montgomerie's practice in the new style in these scornful lines of Polwart:—

"Thy raggit roundaillis, reifand royt, Sum schort, sum lang, and out of lyne, With skabrous collouris, fowsome floyt, Proceiding from ane pynt of wine."

Dr Hoffmann and Dr Brotanek are apt to assume too readily an ignorance on Montgomerie's part of Italian poetry. The point requires further investigation. In the translations of Fowler and Stewart there is at least evidence of first-hand knowledge of Petrarch and Ariosto among the Court poets; and it is also worthy of mention that Fowler composed a sequence of seventy-one sonnets in the manner of Petrarch, to which he gives the characteristically Italian title, "The Tarantula of Love."

In one of the new stanzas found in the Tullibardine MS. of the

¹ See Appendix B, p. 281.

'Flyting' occurs a jibe of Polwart's which indeed directly affirms that Montgomerie borrowed from Italian sources. The stanza is unfortunately incomplete and somewhat obscure in part; probably for this reason it was not included in the printed editions. But the charge of borrowing gnomic sayings from "Irisch [i.e., contemptible] Italianis" is clear enough:—

"Thy pikkillit, puir paremeonis, but skill, Pykit from Irisch Italianis, ar to blame."

Dr Hoffmann, however, has a strong case when he asserts that it was to Ronsard, "welcher bekanntlich Petrarca und Ariosto nachahmte und theilweise übertrug, verdankt Montgomerie wohl auch zum grössten theile diejenigen gedanken, welche an den petrarchismus erinnern." His discovery of Montgomerie's translations, and, it must be admitted, appropriations from Ronsard, is of great interest. It is disappointing to find among the poems taken from the French poet the sonnet addressed by Montgomerie to his kinswoman, Margaret Montgomerie, daughter of the Earl of Eglinton, on the occasion of her wedding with Robert Lord Seton in 1582. If, as Dr Brotanek affirms, this marriage brought to a close "ein Herzens-roman des Dichters," it cannot be said there is any keen sense of disappointment in the sonnet he borrowed from Ronsard to commemorate her union with Lord Seton.

"Heureuse fut l'estoile fortunée,
Qui d'vn bon œil ma Maistresse apperceut:
Heureux le bers, et la main qui la sceut
Emmaillottes le iour qu'elle fut née.
Heureuse fut la mammelle en-mannée,
De qui le laict premier elle receut:
Et bien-heureux le ventre qui conceut
Telle beauté de tant de dons ornée.
Heureux parens qui eustes cest honneur
De la voir naistre vn astre de bon-heur!
Heureux les murs naissance de la belle!
Heureux le fils dont grosse elle sera,
Mais plus heureux celuy qui la sera
Et femme et mere, en lieu d'vne pucelle!"

OF MY LADY SEYTON.

M. M.

"O happy star, at evning and at morne,
Vhais bright aspect my Maistres first out f[and.]
O happy credle, and O happy hand
Vhich rockit hir the hour that sho wes b[orne.]
O happy Pape, 3e rather nectar hor[ne;]
First gaiv hir suck, in siluer suedling band!

¹ Op. cit., p. 38.

O happy wombe consavit had beforne
So brave a beutie, honour of our land!
O happy bounds, vher dayly 3it sho duells,
Vhich Inde and Egypts happynes excells!
O happy bed vharin sho sall be laid!
O happy babe in belly sho sall breid!
Bot happyer he that hes that hap indeid,
To mak both wyfe and mother of that [maid.]"
—[Drummond MS., f. 74 a.]

Of a numbered sequence of three sonnets found in the Drummond MS. (Nos. 39, 40, 41 in Cranstoun), the first and third are derived from Ronsard; the second is the sonnet already quoted as occurring in Constable's 'Diana.' The first is suggested by, rather than a translation of, a sonnet in 'Le Premier Livre des Amours,' beginning "Œil, qui des miens à ton vouloir disposes"; but both words and thought are borrowed in the concluding lines:—

"Tousiours grauez en l'ame ie ne parte Vn œil, vn ris, vne larme, vne main. 3it vhil I live at leist I sall regrate Ane ee, a teir, a sigh, a voce, a hand."

For the third Montgomerie appropriates a portion of a Chanson of thirty-four lines from 'Le Second Livre des Amours':—

CHANSON.

"Harsoir, Marie, en prenant maugré toy Vn doux baiser acoudé sur la couche, Sans v penser je laissav dans ta bouche L'ame en baissant qui s'enfuit de moy. Comme i'estois sur le poinct de mourir, Et que mon ame amusée à te suiure, Ne reuenoit mon corps faire reuiure, Ie renuoyay mon cœur pour la querir. Mais mon cœur pris de ton œil blandissant Aima trop mieux estre chez toy, Madame, Que retourner, et non plus qu'à mon ame Ne luy chalut de mon corps perissant. Lors si ie n'eusse en te baisant rauy De ton haleine vne vapeur ardente, Qui depuis seule (en lieu de l'arme absente Et de mon Cœur) de vie m'a seruy: Voulant harsoir mon tourment appaiser, Par qui sans ame et sans cœur ie demeure, Ie fusse mort entre tes bras à l'heure Que maugré toy ie te pris vn baiser. Bien que ton œil me face vne dure ecarmouche, Moy veincu de sa flame et luy tousiours veinqueur: Bien que depuis trois ans sa cruelle rigueur Me tienne prisonnier de ta beauté farouche: Bien que son traict meurtrier jusqu'à l'ame me touche, Si ne veux-ie eschapper de si douce langueur,
Ne viure sans avoir ton image en mon cœur,
Tes mains dedans ma playe, et ton nom en ma bouche.
Ce m'est extreme honneur de trespasser pour toy,
Qui passes de beauté la beauté la plus belle.
Vn soudart pour garder son enseigne et sa foy,
Meurt bien sur le rempart d'vne forte Rochelle.
Ie mourray bien-heureux s'il te souuient de moy.
La mort n'est pas grand mal, c'est chose naturelle."

"So suete a kis 3istrene fra thee I reft,
In bouing doun thy body on the bed,
That evin my lyfe within thy lippis I left
Sensyne from thee my spirits wald neuer shed;
To folou thee it from my body fled;
And left my Corps als cold as on Kie.
Bot vhen the Danger of my Death I dred,
To seik my spreit I sent my harte to thee;
Bot it wes so inamored with thyn ee,
With thee it myndit lykuyse to remane:
So thou hes keepit captive all the thrie,
More glaid to byde then to returne agane.
Except thy breath thare places had suppleit,
Euen in thyn Armes thair doutles had I deit."

-[Drummond MS., f. 71 b.]

Sonnets 56 and 57 in the Drummond MS. form part of a sequence of five. Both are from Ronsard.

"Pardonne moy, Platon, si ie ne cuide
Que sous le rond de la voute des Dieux,
Soit hors du monde, ou au profond des lieux
Que Styx entourne, il n'y ait quelque vuide.
Si l'air est plein en sa voute liquide,
Qui reçoit donc tant de pleurs de mes yeux,
Tant de soupirs que ie sanglote aux cieux,
Lorsqu'à mon dueil Amour lasche la bride?
Il est du vague, ou si point il n'en est,
D'vn air pressé le comblement ne naist:
Plus-tost le ciel, qui piteux se dispose
A receuoir l'effet de mes douleurs,
De toutes parts se comble de mes pleurs,
Et de mes vers qu'en mourant ie compose."

"Excuse me, Plato, if I suld suppone
That onderneth the heuinly vauted round
Without the world, or in pairts profound
By Stix inclos'd that emptie place is none.
If watrie vauts of Air be full echone,
Then vhat contenis my teirs vhich so abound
With sighis and sobbis vhich to the hevins I sound
Vhen Love delytis to let me mak my mone?

Suppose the solids subtilis ay restrantis,

Vhich is the maist, my maister, 3e may mene;

Thoght all war void, 3it culd they not contene

The half, let be the haill of my Complaintis.

Vhair go they then? the Question wald I c[rave]

Except for suth the hevins suld thame [ressave]."

-[Drummond MS., f. 76 a.]

"Qui voudra voir comme Amour me surmonte,
Comme il m'assaut, comme il se fait vainqueur,
Comme il r'enflamme et r'englace mon cueur,
Comme il reçoit vn honneur de ma honte:
Qui voudra voir vne ieunesse pronte
A suiure en vain l'obiet de son malheur,
Me vienne lire: il voirra la douleur,
Dont ma Deesse et mon Dieu ne font conte.
Il cognoistra qu' Amour est sans raison,
Vn doux abus, vne belle prison,
Ou vain espoir qui de vent nous vient paistre:
Et cognoistra que l'homme se deçoit,
Quand plein d'erreur vn aueugle il reçoit
Pour sa conduite, vn enfant pour son maistre."

"Vha wald behold him vhom a god so grievis?

Vhom he assaild, and danton'd with his [dairt,]

Of vhom he frei3is and inflams the hairt,

Vhais shame siclyk him gritest honour givis?

Vha wald behold a 3outh that neuer [leives]

In vain, to folou the Object of his smarte?

Behold bot me, persaiv my painfull pairt,

And th' archer that, but mercy, me misch[eivis.]

Thair sall he sie vhat Resone then can do

Against his bou, if once he mint bot to

Compell our hairts in bondage basse to be[ir,]

3it sall he se me happiest appeir,

That in my hairt the Amorous heid does [lie]

Vith poyson'd poynt, vhairof I glore [to die.]"

-[Drummond MS., f. 76 a.]

Two remaining sonnets, 47 and 60 in the Drummond MS., are taken, one from 'Le Premier Livre,' the other from 'Le Seconde Livre des Amours':—

"Petit barbet, que tu es bienheureux,
Si ton bon-heur tu sçauois bien entendre,
D'ainsi ton corps entre ses bras estendre,
Et de dormir en son sein amoureux!
Où moy ie vy chetif et langoureux,
Pour sçauoir trop ma fortune compendre,
Las! pour vouloir en ma ieunesse apprendre
Trop de raisons, ie me fis malheureux.

Ie voudrois estre vn pitaut de village, Sot, sans raison et sans entendement, Ou fagoteur qui trauaille au bocage: Ie n'aurois point en amour sentiment. Le trop d'esprit me cause mon dommage, Et mon mal vient de trop de jugement."

TO HIS MAISTRES MESSANE.

"Ha! lytill Dog, in happy pairt thou crap,
If thou had skill thy happynes to spy,
That secreit in my Ladyis Armis may ly,
And sleep so sueitly in hir lovely lap.
Bot I, alace! in wrechednes me wrap,
Becaus ouer weill my misery knou I
For that my 3outh to leirne I did apply
My ouer grit skill hes maid my oune misha[p
Vhy haif I not, O God, als blunt a b[raine]
As he that daylie worbleth in the wyne
Or to mak faggots for his fuid is fane?
Lyk as I do I suld not die and duyn:
My pregnant spreit, the hurter of my harte,
Lyk as it does, suld not persave my smarte."

-[Drummond MS., f. 73 a.]

"Si j'avois un haineux qui me voulust la mort,
Pour me venger de luy, je ne voudrois luy faire
Que regarder les yeux de ma douce contraire,
Qui, si fiers contre moy, me font si doux effort.
Ceste punition, tant son regard est fort,
Luy seroit une horreur et se voudroit défaire;
Ny le mesme plaisir ne luy sçauroit plus plaire,
Seulement au trespas seroit son reconfort.
Le regard monstrueux de la Meduse antique
Au prix du sien n'est rien que fable poëtique:
Meduse seulement tournoit l'homme en rocher,
Mais ceste-cy en-roche, en-eauë, en glace, en foue,
Ceux qui de ses regards osent bien approcher,
Et si eu les tuant la mignonne se joue."

"Had I a foe that hated me to dead,
For my Reuenge, I wish him no more ill
Bot to behold hir eyis, vhilk euer still
Av feirce against me with so sueet a feid.
Hir looks belyve such horrour suld him b[reid,]
His wish wold be, his cative corps to kill.
Euen plesurs self could not content his wi[ll;]
Except the, Death, no thing culd him reme[id.]
The vgly looks of old MEDUSA'S eyi[s.]
Compaird to hirs ar not bot Poets leyis;
For hirs exceids thame in a sharper sort:
The GORGON bot transformit men in sta[nis,]
Bot she inflammis and freizis both at anis;
To spulzie hairt, that Minion maks hir sp[ort.]"
—[Drummond MS., f. 77 a.]

These citations by no means exhaust the tale of Montgomerie's debts. Rather is it in the numerous reminiscent lines and phrases, in thoughts and images skilfully wrought into the fabric of his verse, that one finds the strongest evidence of Montgomerie's obligations to Ronsard. Dr Brotanek gives references to some sixty of these.

"Nan luifis bott fullis vnlude agane,"

the refrain of one of Montgomerie's best known minor poems, seems a happy rendering of Ronsard's—

"Car un homme est bien sot d'aimer si on ne l'aime."

In the fine "Sang on the Lady Margaret Montgomerie," lines 31-35,

"Or had this nymphe bene in these dayis Quhen Paris judgit in Helicon Venus had not obtenit sic prayis,"

are probably suggested by-

"Et si Paris qui vit en la valée
La grand beauté dont son cœur fut épris
Eust veu la tienne, il t'eust donne le pris
Et sans honneur Venus s'en fust allée."

Both thought and phrase of Ronsard are found in the lines-

"But she inflammis and freizis both at anis;
To spulzie hairt, that Minion maks hir sport."

"Renflame et renglace mon cœur" is from one poem and from another-

". . . . mais quand je te veux dire Quelle est ma mort, tu ne t'en fais que rire Et de mon mal tu as le cœur joyeux."

Montgomerie was fond of this last thought, and repeats it more than once—

"My pane is but hir pastyme and hir play."

And again-

"I pray thee, nou, thy cunning for to kyth And burne hir breist that of my baill is blyth."

An interesting example of the transmission of a poetic image occurs in his lyric "In Prais of his Maistres." Montgomerie writes—

"The mold is lost vharin wes maid This A per se of all."

Dr Hoffmann finds it in Ronsard-

"Lorsque le Ciel te fit, il rompit le modelle."

And again-

"Ou bien va-t'en la haut crier
A la Nature et la prier
D'en faire une aussi admirable;
Mais j'ay grand peur qu'elle rompit
Le moule alors qu'elle la fit,
Pour n'en tracer plus de semblable."

The thought, however, is of earlier origin than Ronsard. It occurs in Surrey's "A praise of his Love," in which Nature is made to lament that—

"When she had lost the perfit mold

She could not make the lyke agayne."

In this instance, however, it is more likely that Montgomerie borrowed neither from Ronsard nor Surrey, but from an anonymous lyric, "A praise of his Ladye," which, like Surrey's, appears in Tottel's 'Miscellany,' and is usually assigned to John Heywood. It is without doubt an imitation of Surrey's poem. The fourth stanzaruns—

"I thinke nature hath lost the moulde,
Where she her shape did take:
Or els I doubt if nature could,
So faire a creature make," 1

And there are other interesting parallels between this poem and Montgomerie's. Heywood, for example, writes—

"The vertue of her liuely lokes,
Excels the precious stone:
I wishe to haue none other bokes
To read or loke vpon.
In eche of hir two cristall eyes
Smileth a naked boye
It would you all in harte suffise
To see that lampe of ioye."

With which may be compared Montgomerie's lines-

"The bony blinks my courage feeds
Of hir tua christall ees,
Tuinkling illuminous,
With beams Amorous;
Quhairin tua naikit Boyis resorts,
Quhais countenance good hope reports;
For they appeir
Vith smyling cheir,
As they vald speir
At me some sports."

Moralising on the practice of poetic larceny, common among his

¹ The image goes back to Ariosto (Orlando Furioso, canto x. l. 84).

contemporaries in England, Sir Philip Sidney, himself far from immaculate, writes in one of his "Astrophel and Stella" sonnets—

"You that poor Petrarch's long deceased woes,
With newborn sighs and denizened wit do sing:
You take wrong ways! Those far-fet helps be such
As do bewray a want of inward touch;
And sure at length, stolen goods do come to light."

These lines are quoted by Dr L. E. Kastner, in an interesting examination of Drummond's indebtedness to Phillippe Desportes, where he also refers to the "larcenous acts" of Montgomerie and William Alexander of Menstrie. Dr Kastner concludes with the reflection: "In whatever way we look at the matter, the methods of these Scottish poets do betray a 'want of inward' touch, and must in future affect considerably the estimate of their poetic talent." From the latter part of this judgment we must venture to demur. The estimate which has been generally formed of Montgomerie's poetic talent is not, indeed, a very high one; but it is unlikely that it will be in any way diminished by the discovery of his indebtedness to Ronsard and the poets of the English miscellanies. He has left a sufficient body of poetry of his own to maintain the position he now holds in literary history. It would certainly occur to no one to suggest that he is a poet of striking originality. The gift he has of graceful, fluent, and occasionally even beautiful verse-making, he employs (leaving out of count his devotional poetry, some personal sonnets, and his share of the 'Flyting') in expressing in various combinations the allegorical images, conceits, and fanciful similes which, at the time, were, it may be said, the common property of poets. The artificiality of all this he rarely invades and elevates with a genuinely deep personal emotion. He seldom if ever, in consequence, rises above the level of a minor poet. Judged from the point of view of comparative criticism, his chief claim to consideration probably lies in this, that he was the acknowledged master of a little group of Court poets in Scotland, who, by their translations, imitations, and original efforts, were displaying in the Scots vernacular, as far as their limited powers would admit, the fashions of a new style of poetry in vogue throughout Europe. Had the language of Scotland continued to be the medium of a cultivated poetry, this experiment would doubtless have assumed a greater importance; for Montgomerie at least must have credit for developing the native prosody, and for adding not a little to the grace and cadence of the poetic diction of his country.

^{1 &#}x27;The Modern Language Review,' October 1907.

APPENDIX D.

LIFE-RECORDS OF MONTGOMERIE.

T.

[TESTAMENT OF MARGARET FRASER, LADY GIFFEN and HES-SILHEID,1 dated at Irvine, 27th August 1583. Registered 7th July 1584.]

THE testament testamentar and Inventar of be gudis, geir, soumes of money, & dettis, pertening to vmquhile ane richt honorabill Ladie Margaret Fraßer, Ladie Giffen and Hessilheid, relict of vmquhile Iohne Montgummerie of Hessilheid the tyme of hir deceis, Quha deceist in the moneth of August, the 3eir of god Imvelxxxiii 3eris, ffavthfullie maid & gevin vp be Alexander Montgummerie hir lauchfull sone, guhome scho, nominat & maid hir executour and intromettour with hir gudis & geir in hir latter will, vnderwrittin off be dait. at be toun of Irrwine, the xxvij day of August, the zeir of god foirsaid, as be samin at lenth proportis.

In the first, be said vmquhile margaret fraßer, Ladie Giffen and Hessilheid, had be gudis, geir, soumes of money, & dettis of be avale & prices efter following pertening to hir, as hir awine proper gudis & geir be tyme of hir deceis foirsaid, viz.: Item in vtencilis & domicilis, with be abulgementis of hir body, estimat to be soume of tuentie

pundis.

Summa of the Inventar xx^{1} . ffollouis be dettis awand to be deid. [A long list is then given of the deceased lady's debtors.]

iiiclxxxxviilib xviiish viiid. Summa of be dettis awand to be deid. iiijcxvijlib xviijsh viijd. Summa of the Inventar with be dettis. Na diuisioun.

The quot is componit for x merkis.

ffollouis be deidis legacie & latter will.

At the toun of Irrwine, the xxvij day of August, the 3eir of god Imvelxxxiij 3eris, the quhilk day ane honorabill Ladie Margaret Fraser, Ladie Giffen and Hessilheid, maid her Legacie & latter will as follouis, viz.: Item, I leive my saule to god, my maker, and my

¹ The poet's mother.

body to be bureit in be commoun buriall of be kirk of Irrwine. Item, I mak alexander montgummrie, my sone, my executour & intromettour with my gudis & geir. Item, as to be Inventar of my gudis and geir and dettis awand to me, I leive bame to the vpgeving of my said executour. Item, I leive my haill gudis, geir, & dettis awand to me, to be gevin vp, as said is, to my said sone, alexander montgummrie, conforme to my dispositioun, maid of befoir in my former testament be gullime nasmyth, notar at be burgh of Irwine, off be dait the 3eir of god Imvelxxxi 3eris, the xiiij day of September, as be samen in be self mair fullelie proportis. This Legacie & latter will, abouewrittin, wes maid be be mouth of be deid, and writtin be me, Mr Iohn 30ung, Minster at Irrwine, at hir command in hir awine chalmer in be toun of Irrwine, day, 3eir, moneth, & place abouewrittin, Befoir thir witness, hew montgumery of hessilheid, Thomas montgumery in lugdourig, William baillie, Bervand to be said hew montgumery, & Thomas boyd, sumtyme redar at be Kirk of Bayth in Cunynghame, with utheris diveris. Sic subscribitur Mr Iohne 30ung. Minster at Irwine for be tyme.

We, Messrs eduard henrysoun, alexander sym, Iohne prestoun, Commissaris of edinburgh, specialie constitut for confirmatione of testamentis, be be tenor heirof ratifeis, apprevis, & confirmis his present testament or inventar, in sua far as he samyn is dewlie & lauchfullie maid, of he gudis & geir aboue specifeit allanerlie, & gewis & committis he intromissioun with he samen to he said alexander muntgumrie, executour testamentar to he said vmquhile margaret Fraser, his mother, Rerseruand compt to be maid be him herof, as accordis of he law. And he said alexander, being suorne, hes maid faith trewlie to execute he said office of executorie; And hes fundin cawtion hat he gudis & geir aboue writtin salbe furthcumand to all parteis haifand entres, as law will. quhervpoun caution is fundin, as ane act maid hervpoun beris. (Commissariot of Edinburgh, Register of Testaments, vol. 13.)

II.

[REGISTRATION of a grant of a Pension of 500 merks yearly to ALEXANDER MONTGOMERIE, dated at Falkland, 27th September 1583.]

Oure souerane lord ordanis ane lettere etc., Gevand, grantand, and disponand, to Alexander Montgomerie, ane 3eirlie pensioun of fyve hundreth merkis money of this realme, for all the dayis of his liftyme, To be 3eirlie tane and vpliftit of be reddiest maillis, teindis, fruitis, rentis, proffeittis, emolumentis and dewiteis, of the tua pairt of be

bishoprik of glasgow. And for the mair suir payment, to be said Alexander, of be said pensioun, assignand & disponand to him, be victuall of be landis vnderwrittin, pertening to be said archibischoprik: That is to say, furth of dalbethe, nyne bollis malt, sevin bollis meill: furth of comflattis, threttein bollis tua firlottis malt, and ellevin bollis meill; furth of kenmure, nyne bollis malt, sevin bollis ane pect meill; furth of deldowy wester, nyne bollis malt, aucht bollis tua firlottis meill; furth of be four pairtis of sheddilstoun, fourtie bollis malt, and threttie bollis meill; furth of dalmernok, threttie tua bollis meill—To be seirlie tane up and intromettit with, be be said alexander and his factouris, in his name, in tyme cumming, for be space foirsaid, fra be handis of be fewaris, fermoraris, takismen, tennentis, rentellaris and possessouris of be saidis landis, present and being for be tyme, at be termes of payment vsit and wount; Beginnand be first payment berof anno lxxxij 3eiris, and siclike 3eirlie in tyme cumming, during be said space. With power etc. With command berin to the lordis etc. Subscriuit at Falkland be xxvij day of September 1583. (Register of Presentations to Benefices, &c., vol. 2, f. 92b.)

III.

[ACQUITTANCE by Henrie Gelis, Merchant, Southampton, in favour of Alexander Montgomery. Registered 3rd November 1584.]

In presence of be lordis of counsale, comperit personalie henri gelis, merchand of be toun & cuntie of southamptoun in Ingland, and gaif in his acquittance & discharge vnderwrittin, subscriuit with his hand, & desyrit be samin to be insert & registrat in be buikis of counsal to haif be strenth, force, & effect of bair act & decreit in tyme tocum et ad perpetuam rei memoriam. And be saidis lordis decreit & authoritie to be interponit perto, with letters & executorialis to be direct berypoun in maner specifeit berintill. The quhilk desir be saidis lordis thocht ressonable, and berfor hes ordanit & ordanis be said acquittance & discharge to be insert & registrat in the saidis bukis, to haif be strenth, force, & effect of pair act & decreit in tyme to cum et ad perpetuam rei memoriam; and hes interponit & interponis pair decreit & authoritie perto, and decernis & ordanis letters & executorialis to be direct berupoun in manner specifit berintill off the quhilk the tenor followis: Be it kend till all men be bir present lettres, me, henrie gelis, merchand of be toun & cuntie of southhamptoun in Ingland, for my self, & takand be burding on me for all be adminstratouris & assignais in and to be actioun within specifit, ffor certane gratitudis

& guid deidis done, and sovmes of money realie ressauit be me in novmerit money fra alexander montgomery, gentillman of scotland, quherof I hald me weill contentit & pavit. To haif renuncit & dischergit, lik as be be tenour heirof for me & in name & behalf forsaid, I renunce & simpliciter discherges all action, title, interes, or clame quhatsumeuir competent to me, or myne, aganis be said Alexander for his awin pairt allanerlie be vertew of quhatsumeuir band, obligation, or promess maid be him to me, or myne, befor be day & dait heirof; And in speciall my action & clame aganis him for payment of be sovm of thre hundreth poundis striueling vpon his obligation, daitit vpon be secund day of December 1580 3eiris, seilit & subscriuit be him, with all bat may follow or result berupoun for be said Alexanders pairt berof allanerlie, as said is, Byndand & oblissand me & my forsaidis be bir presentis nevir to call, follow, nor persew be said alexander, nor ony in his name, perfor be law, nor by law in Iugement, nor outwith in scotland, nor ellis quheir; And to releif him, his factouris & seruitouris, of quhatsumeuir lettres of our admiralite of Ingland, purchest or raisit be me aganis him, his gudis, or geir, quhenevir be samin may be apprihendit, and to keip him, and his, fre & scavt/less berof for now & evir; Providing alwayis bat bis my renunciatioun & discherge be nocht extendit to richert ramsay and andro mertyne, scottismen, bund with be said alexander conjunctie & severalie to me in be said sovm, as be said obligatioun; Bot bat nochtwithstanding heirof I may persew bam, or ony of bam, berfor in solidum, pro rata, and to vse be power of my saidis lettres of admiralite aganis bam, bair gudis & geir, as gif bis said discharge had nevir bene gevin; And for be mair securite I am content & consentis bat bir presentis be actit & registrat in the bukis of our souerane lordis counsale, and schiriffes or commissaris bukis of Edinburcht, or ony of pam ad perpetuam rei memoriam and pair auctorite to be interponit herto: In Witnes of be quhilk thing to bir my present lettres of renunciation & discherge, I haif subscriuit be samin with my hand as followis at be burcht of be cannogait, besyd Edinburcht be tuelf day of october be 3eir of god Imvc fourscoir & four 3eiris, Befor bir witnes: maister Ihone Chalmer of Corrayth. Patrik Turnour, burges of Edinburgh, Patrik Blacader, Ihone Joung, servitour to William Commendator of Pettinveme, Ihone Robesoun, writter, & James Logane, notar publict. Sic subscribitur.

HENRE GELIS.

Maister IHONE CHALMER of corrayth, witnes.
IHONNE 30UNG, as witnes.
PATRIK TURNOUR, Witnes.
IAMES LOGANE, as witnes.
IHONE ROBESOUN, as witnes.

(Register of Deeds, vol. 22, f. 415 b.)

IV.

[RENUNCIATION AND DISCHARGE by AEXANDER MONT-GOMERY in favour of HENRY GYLLIS, Merchant of Southampton, Registered 30th December 1584.]

In presens of the lordis of Counsale, compeirit personallie alexander Montgomorie, Diruitour to the Kingis Maiestie, and gawe in this renunceation and dischairge vnderwrittin, subscryveit with his hand. and desyreit the samin to be insert and registrat in be buikis of counsale. To remane berin ad perpetuam rei memoriam, To haif the strenth, force, and effect of ane act and decreit of the lordis bairof in tyme tocum. The quhilk desyre the saidis lordis thocht ressonable, and berfoir hes ordanit and ordanis the said renunceatioun and dischairge to be insert and registrat in thair saidis buikis, To remane berin ad perpetuam rei memoriam, To have be strenth, force, and effect of bair act and decreit in tyme tocum, and hes interponit and interponeis bair decreit and authoritie bairto. Off the quhilk the tennour followis: I, Alexander Montgomeray, Diruitor to the kingis maiestie, be the tennor heirof renuncis, dischargeis, and simpliciter reuokis all and quhatsumeuer dischargeis and acquittances quhatsumeuer allegeit gevein and grantit to me be henry gyllis, Inglisman, merchand of the toun and comptie of Southhamptoun In england; and speciallie ane allegeit discharge, maid and gevein be the said henry gellis to me, of ane band and obligatioun maid and subscryuit be me to him anent the payment of the sowme of thre hundrethe pundis sterling, as for the pryce of ane bark callit the James bonaventor of southhamptoun, coft be me, Richart ramsay, and andro martene, as equall portionaris, byaris, and Intromettoris thairof, as the said obligatioun of the dait the second day of December 1580 3eiris at mair lenth proportis: And forder, I am content, and be thir presentis consentis, that the said allegeit acquittance and discharge be null and of nane availl In the selff, and the samin to haiff na strenth, force, nor effect, nather In lugment nor outwith in ony tyme cuming; And to that effect I am content and consentis that the said henrie haiff full powar and libertie to call and persew for the haill contentis and poyntis of be said obligatioun and sowme of money thairin conteinit, befoir quhatsumeuer Iudge or Iudges within this realme siklyk, and als frelie as he micht haiff done In ony tyme befoir the making of the said allegeit discharge, notwithstanding of the saminn. And for the mair securitie, I am content and consenttis that this my revocatioun and discharge be insert and registrat in the bukis of oure souerane lordis counsale and sessioun ad perpetuam rei memoriam, To have the strenth of ane act and

decreit of the Lordis thairof, and har authoritie to be interponeit theirto, withe executoriallis to be direct heirvpoun in forme as effeiris. In Witnes of he quhilk thing, I have subscryveit his my reuocattioun & dischairge with my hand At edinburgh, the aucht day of December, the 3eir of god Imve fourscoir and four 3eiris, Befoir thir witness; Thomas Hay, messinger, Henry Logane, Johnne Robesoun, Alexander Campbell, Wrytteris, and James Logane, notter publict. Sic Subscribitur

A. Montgomorye.
Thomas Hay, as Witnes.
James Logane, as Witnes to the premisß.
Henry Logane, as Witnes.
John Robesoun, as Witnes.

[Indorsed on back of principal.]

Penultimo Decembris 1584. Robert ressaue this lettere & registrat the same, becaus alexander mongomery hes comperit personallie, and consentit to the registratioun thairof.

A. H., Clericus Registre.

Penultimo Decembris 1584.

In presens of he clerk of register, compeirit personalie alexander montgomery, Seruitour to he kingis maiestie, & desyrit his Renunciatioun & Discharge to be registrat ad perpetuam rei memoriam etc. & lettres & executorialis direct herupoun &c. [Signed] R. SCOTT.

(Register of Deeds, vol. 23, f. 80.)

V.

[INTERLOCUTOR, in causa, WILLIAME Archbishop of Glasgow, v. Alexander Mongomery. 24th December 1586.]

THE quhilk day the lordis of counsall, of consent of be partiis procuratoris vnderwrittin, aduocattis be actioun and caus persewit of befoir be williame, now archibischope of glasgow, aganis alexander mongomery, brobair-germane to hew mongomery of hissilheid, befoir the Commissaris of Edinburgh, tuiching be productioun befoir thame of ane gift of pensioun maid be the said archibischope to the said Alexander of ane 3eirlie pensioun of v chalderis, xv bollis, ij

¹ The record here is wrong; the gift was made not by the Archbishop but by the King. Errors of this sort occasionally creep into the Register through the carelessness of the clerk making the "extracted proces" from the papers laid before the Court.

firlotis, i pect meill, and v chalderis, ij firlotis malt, zeirlie, to be vpliftit furth of the rediest fruttis and rentis of the said archibischoprik, and certane landis assignit to him, within the baroney of glasgow, for suir payment thairof to the said alexander during his lyftyme; and to haif hard and sene be samin reduceit, rescindit, cassit, and annullit, for certane causs specifiit in the said precept, raisit in the said mater, as at mair lenth is contenit in the said Commissaris precept, direct in the said mater To thame selffis to be proceedit befoir bame siclyk and in the samin maner as it mycht or suld haif bene proceidit befoir the saidis Commissaris; And hes assignit and assignis to mr John russeill, procuratour for the said alexander mongomery, be sexth day of Ianuar nixt-tocum, with continewatioun of dayis, to answer to be said precept, sua bat berefoir be saidis lordis may proceid and do forder justice in the said mater as efferis; And berfoir dischairgis the saidis Commissaris of all forder proceding in the said mater, and of thair offices in bat part: And in the mentum continuis be said mater etc. vnto be day foirsaid: The said Bischope of glasgow comperand be mr alexander king, his procuratour, and be said Alexander Mongomery compeirand be be said mr Iohn russell, quhilkis ar wairnit heirof abud acta. - (Register of Acts & Decreets, vol. 109, f. 243.)

VI.

[RATIFICATION by writ of the Privy Seal of the pension of 500 merks to Capitane ALEX^R. Montgomerie, dated 21st March 1588/9.]

ANE lettre maid makand mentioun that oure souerane loird, ffor diveris gude caust) and considerationis moving his hienes, and for be gude trew and thankfull service done and to be done to his maiestie be his gude servitour Capitane Alex^{r.} Montgomerie, with avise and consent of be loirdis of his maiesties secreit counsall, Gevand, grantand, and disponand to him ane zeirlie pensioun, during all the dayis of his lyiftyme, of be sowme of fyve hundreth merkis money of bis realme, To be zeirlie tane and vpliftit furth of be reddiest maillis, teindis, fruittis, rentis, proffittis, emolimentis, and dewiteis of be tua pairt of be bischoprik of glasgw; and for be mair sure payment pairof to be maid to the said capitane alexr, assignand to him the victuals of be landis vndirwrittin pertenyng to be said bischoprik—That is to say, furth of dalbathe Nyne bollis malt, Sevin bollis meill; ffurth of conflattis xiii bollis, tua firlottis malt, and ellevin bollis meill; furth of Kenmv[r]e Nyne bollis malt, sevin bollis ane peck meill; furth of daldowy wester nyne bollis malt, aucht bollis tua firlottis meill; furth of be foure pairtis of scheddilstoun fourtie bollis malt, and threttie

bollis meill; and furth of dalmernok threttie tua bollis meill-To be 3eirlie tane vp and Intromettit with be be said alext, and his factouris in his name. In tyme cuming for be space foirsaid, fra be handis of be fewaris, fermoraris, tennentis, takismen, rentallaris, and possessouris of be saidis landis present and being for be tyme, at be termes of payment vsit and wount; Beginnand be first payment bairof off be crope and 3eir of God Imvc four scoir tua 3eiris, and siclyke 3eirlie in tyme cuming during be said space: according to be quhilk, be said capitane alexander obtenit decreit of the loirdis of counsall with lettres in be foure formes bairupoun; Be vertew of be guhilkis he become in peceabill possessioun of vplifting and intrometting with his said pensioun fra be tennentis, and vbiris addettit in payment bairof, Continuallie quhill be zeir of God Imvc foure scoir sex zeiris; at be quhilk tyme, vpoun speciall and guid respectis moving our said souerane loird, his hienes gave and grantit to be said capitane alex. his maiesties licence to depairt and paß of his realme to be pairtis of france, flanderis, spane, and vbiris be3ond sey, for be space of fyve 3eiris þaireftir; during þe quhilk space our said souerane loird tuik be said capitane alex. and his said pensioun vnder his maiesties protectioun, mantenance, and saufgaird, as the protectioun maid bairvpon at mair lenth beiris. According to be quhilk, he depairtit of bis realme to be pairtis of flanderis, spane, and vbiris beyond sev. quheras he remanit Continewallie sensyne deteynit and halden in prison and captiuitie, to the greit hurt and vexatioun of his persoun, attour be lose of his guidis. In be menetyme, nochtwithstanding of be said licence and protectioun, the said capitane alex. his factouris and servitouris hes bene maist wranguslie stoppit, hinderit, and debarrit In the peceabill possessioun of his said pensioun, but ony guid ordour or forme of Iustice, to his greit hurt, hinder, and prejudice; quhair as his guid service meritit rather augmentatioun, nor diminisching of be said pensioun. His hieness, bairfoir, movit with the premisf), and willing be said capitane alex. sall have bettir occasioun to continew in his said service, to his maiestie in all tyme heireftir, Now - eftir his hienes lauchfull and perfyte aige of xxi 3eiris compleit, and generall revocatioun maid in parliament — Ratefeand, apprevand and confermand to be said capitane alexr. all and haill be lettres of pensioun aboue specifeit, And all and sindrie poynttis, pass, clauss, and articlis contenit bairintill, and willis and grantis, and for his hienes, and his successouris, perpetuallie decernis and ordanis the samin to stand guid, valiabill, and effectuall in be self. Eftir be forme & tennour bairof in all poyntis, nochtwithstanding quhatsumevir revocatioun, decreit, sentence, suspensioun, or vbir pretendit rycht or restitutioun intervinand In be meantyme; and speciallie the restitutioun of James bischope of glasgw, out of be quhilk, our said souerane loird now, as ban, speciallie exceptis and reservis to be said capitane alex^r be

said pensioun, Sua bat he may bruik be samin, siclyke as gif be said pretendit restitutioun had nevir bene grantit. Attour his hienes of new gevis, grantis, and disponis to be said capitane alexr., during all the dayis of his lyfetyme, all and haill be said zeirlie pensioun of fyve hundreth merkis money foirsaid; and for sure payment bairof. assignand and disponand to him the victuall of be townis and landis aboue writtin. To be vpliftit and payit to him In maner aboue expremit; Beginnand be first termes payment of be crope and 3eir of god Imyc fourescoir sex 3eiris 3eirlie, sensyne this instant crope and 3eir of god Imvc fourescoir aucht 3eiris, fourescoir nyne 3eiris, approcheand, and siclyke 3eirlie, and termelie, in tyme cuming during his said lyiftyme: ffor payment quhairof oure said souerane loird willis and grantis bat be lettres in be four formes, purchest be be said capitane alexr. vpoun his said first gift, salbe als valiabill, guid, and sufficient, for causing of him to be ansuerit and obeyit of his said pensioun of be croppis and zeiris of god foirsaid and In tymes cuming, Siclyke as gif be samin had past be ane new decreit, and lettres of four formes bairvpoun &c. With command in be samin to officiaris of armes to put bir saidis lettres in be four formes, purchest be be said capitane alexander vpoun his said first gift, to dew executioun In all pointis for causing of him to be ansuerit and obeyit of his said pensioun of be croppis and 3eiris of god foirsaid, and in tyme cuming, nochtwithstanding of ony suspensioun or discharge gevin, or to be gevin, to bame In be contrair, vndir be pane of deprivatioun: quhairvnto be sicht of bir presentis salbe ane sufficient warrand, With command alsua gif neid beis, to be loirdis of counsall, to grant and direct lettres conforme heirto In forme, as effeiris &c. At halieruidhous, the xxi day of merche, The 3eir of god Imvc fourescoir aucht 3eiris.

Per Signaturam.

(Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland, vol. 59, f. 88 a.)

VII.

[GIFT AND RATIFICATION of a Pension of 400 merks to Capitane Alexander Montgomerie by Lodovik, Duke of Levenox. 2nd November 1591.]

In presens of pe lordis of counsall, compeirit personalie Mr Alexander King, procuratour speciallie constitut for Lodovik, Duke of Levenox, and his curatouris vnderwrittin, be pis gift and Ratificatioun vnderwrittin, Giffin in subscryuit with pair handis, And desyrit pe samyn to be insert & registrat in pe buikis of counsall, To haif pe strenth, force, and effect of ane act & decreit of pe lordis perof, Thair decreit and authoritie to be Interponit perto, And lettres and execu-

torialis to be derect wpone thame for fulfilling perof in all pointis in maner specifeit berintill; The quhilk desyre be saidis lordis thocht ressonabill, and berfoir hes ordanit, & ordanis, be foirsaid gift and ratificatioun to be insert and registrat in be saidis buikis, to haif be strenth, florce, and effect of bair act & decreit in tyme to cum. And hes interponit, & interponis, bair decreit & authoritie berto, And decernis and ordanes lettres and executorialis to be derect wpone thame for fulfilling perof in all pointis, in maner specefeit perintill; Off be quhilk the tennour followis: BE IT KEND till all men be bir present lettres, We, Lodovik, Duke of Lennox, Earl Darnelie, Lord Tarboltoun and Obingie, etc., fforsamekle as our souerane lord, vpone be sevint day of Julii, the 3eir of god Imve fourscoir thrie 3eiris, with aduise of he lordis of his hienes secreit counsale, be his lettres vnder be privie seill gaif, grantit, & disponit to Capitane Alexander Montgomrie, for all be dayes of his lyfetyme, Ane 3eirlie pensioun of be sowme of ffyve hundreth merkis money of his realme, to be 3eirlie vpliftit of the reddiest mailes, teyndis, fruittis, rentis, proffeittis, emolumentis, and dewteis of be two pairt of be bischoprik of glesgw; And for be mair sure payment to be said capitane alexander of be said pensioun assignit & disponit to him be victuall of be landis vnderwrittin pertening to be said Archibischoprik—That is to say. ffurth of dalbethe, nyne bollis malt, sevin bollis meill; ffurth of comflattis, xiii bollis twa firlottis malt, and alevin bollis meill; ffurth of kenmur, nyne bollis malt, vij bollis i pect meill; ffurth of daldowie wester, nyne bollis malt, aucht bollis twa firlottis meill; furth of be foure pertis of scheddilstoun, fourtie bollis malt and xxx bollis meill: And furth of dalmernok, xxxii bollis meill; to be 3eirlie tane vp & Intromettit with be be said capitane alexander, and his factouris, in his name in tyme cuming for be space foirsaid, ffra the handis of be fewaris, fermoraris, tennentis, takismen, rentallaris, and possessouris of be saidis landis present and being for be tyme, at be termes of payment vsit & wont; Begynnand be first payment berof in be 3eir of god Imvc fourscoir twa zeiris, And siclyk zeirlie in tyme cuming during be said space, as be lettres of gift, maid to be said alexander berypone, at mair lenth proportis; Ouhilkis wer divers tymes ratefeit be our souerane lord efter his hienes perfyte aige, And be said pensioun of new disponit to be said capitane alexander, guherby he has guid rycht perto during his lyftyme, alwayes seing we haif now vndoutit rycht to be said bischoprik of glesgw, and haill temporall landis berof, being willing bat all questioun and pley may be removit and takin away Quhilk may impeid be said capitane alexander in the peceable bruiking & vptaking of be said pensioun in maner following: Thairfore with expres consent & assent of Walter, priour of blantyre, for all rycht, titill, entres, & clame he hes or may haif to be said pensioun or ony part perof, and als with consent of our curatouris vndersubscryveand for pair interes, for guid & thankfull Deruice done,

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& to be done, be be said capitane alexander to ws, and to gif him occasioun to continew berin, WITT 3e ws to haf gevin, grantit, and disponit, and be bir presentis with consent foirsaid, gevis, grantis, & disponis to be said capitane alexander, during all be dayes of his lyfetyme. All and Haill be zeirlie pensioun of floure hundreth merkis money of bis realme in full satisfaction & contentation of be pensioun abouewrittin; Lyk as we bind & obleis ws, our airis & successouris, be our selffis, our chalmerlanis and factouris, in our name to mak guid & thankfull payment to be said capitane alexander, during be space foirsaid, off all & haill be said pensioun of ffoure hundreth merkis money foirsaid, zeirlie & termlie, at two termes in be zeir, witsonday and mertymes in winter, be equale portionis, Begynnand be first termes payment berof at be terme of witsonday. in be 3eir of god Imve fourscoir ten 3eiris, and sua furth 3eirlie & termlie in tyme cuming, during all be dayes of his lyfetyme; and in cais it sall happin ws, or our foirsaidis, to failie in thankfull payment of be said pensioun, as said is, be be space of Twentie dayes efter ony of be saidis termes, Than & in bat cais It salbe lesum, Lyk as we with consent abouespecifeit grantis & aggreis, bat be said capitane alexander sall haif full and frie regres & ingres to be haill victuallis respective aboue expremit; And with power to him, and his factouris in his name, to intromet with & vptak be samvn victuallis of all zeiris & cropes efter be said failie, but ony declaratour fra be fewaris, fermoraris, rentellaris, tennentis, taxmen, occupearis, & possessouris of be samyn, 3eirlie and termlie, in tyme cuming, during be space foirsaid, and berypone to dispone at his plesour acquittances & dischairges of be said pensioun, to mak, gif, subscryue, & delyuer, quhilkis salbe als sufficient to be ressaueris berof as gif bai wer gevin & subscryuit be ws, but ony reuocatioun or agane-calling quhatsumevir. And we foirsuith with consent foirsaid, our airis, successouris, and assignis, sall warrand, acquiet, & defend be said capitane alexander during all be dayes of his lyfetyme, All & haill the said 3eirlie pensioun of ffour hundreth merkis money foirsaid, 3eirlie To be payit as is abouewrittin, lelilie & trewlie, but fraud or gyle, Aganis all deidlie: And for the mair securitie, we ar content & consentis bat bir presentis be insert & registrat in be buiklis of counsall, to haif be strenth of ane decreit interponit perto, with lettres and executorialis of poinding & horning to be vpone ane simple charge of sax dayes allanerlie, be ane but prejudice of be vber. And for Registring heirof, makis and constitutis mr alexander king, advocat, and ilkane of bame, conjunctlie & seuerallie, our verie lauchfull & vndoutit procuratouris, To compeir befoir be saidis lordis and consent to be registring heirof in maner foirsaid. In WITNES of be quhilk thing, we, & our foirsaidis curatouris, In taikin of pair consentis, and be said comendator, hes subscryvit pir presentis with our handis AT edinburgh, be fuft day of August, be 3eir of god Imyc fourscoir ellevin 3eiris, Befoir bir witness: George Erle

of Huntlie, Claud Lord Paislay, Andro Maister of Vchiltrie, Robert Lord Setoun, Mr Robert Dowglas, provest of Linclowden, John Murray of Tullibardin, and 1 Setoun of Parbroth, Controller. Sic Subscribitur

LENOX.
J. L. THYRLSTANE.
BLANTYRE.
HUNTLY.
R. LORD SETOUN Witnes.
CLAUD HAMMILTOUN as Witnes.
ANDRO, Maister Vchiltrie, as Witnes.
CULLUTHY.²
LYNCLOUDEN Witnes.
PARBROTH Controller Witnes.
TULLIBARDIN as Witnes.

(Register of Deeds, vol. 40, f. 40.)

VIII.

[REMITT in causa Capitane Alexander Montgomery against Mr Williame Erskin, Person of Campsie. 10th November 1592.]

§ 1. Anent our souerane lordis letteres, purchest at the instance of capitane alexander montgomery, Aganis mr Williame erskin, persone of campsie, & Messris Iohnne prestoun, edward bruce, Iohnne arthour, and Iohnne nicolsone, commissaris of edinburgh, for pair interes, Makand mentioun that, quher pe said Mr Williame hes intentit ane pretendit summoundis and actioun befoir the commissaris of edinburgh aganis pe said capitane alexander for productioun befoir thame of the letteris of pensioun, grantit be our souerane lord to the said capitane alexander, of the soume of fyve hundreth merkis 3eirlie, To be vpliftit furth of the reddiest fruitis of the Arche-

¹ Space blank in MS.

² In a charter, dated November 23, 1583 (Reg. Mag. Sig.), the name of Eufamie Wemys is entered as the "spouse of magister David Carnegy of Culluthy." This may have been the lady to whom Montgomerie addressed his sonnet (number 44 in Cranstoun) beginning with the punning line, "TrEU FAME WE MIS thy trumpet for to tune." Culluthy was one of the Lords of Session, a Privy Counsellor, and Commissioner of the Treasury. In the Register of the Privy Council, December 28, 1594, there is this curious entry in reference to another Eufame Wemys: "Bond of Caution by Andro Wemys of Myrecairnie for Eufame Weyms his daughter 5000 merks to remove herself from the Queen's company, not to come within eight miles of her presence without the King's licence, and to have no intelligence with her by word, writing or message."

bischoprik of glasgow, and for suir pament thairof, having assignit to the said capitane alexander begintill. Sex chalderis malt, and fyve chalderis meill. To be tane vp furth of the landis of scheddlestoun, conflattis, daldowie, and vberis speciall landis, liand within the baronie of glasgow, Togidder with quhatsumeuir letteres of ratificatioun, grantit be his Maiestie to the said capitane alexander, of the said gift of pensioun, with quhatsumeuir new gift, or Lettere, grantit or gevin to the said Capitane Alexander be his hienes thairof, at ony tyme sen the said Mr Williames pretendit provisioun to the said archibischoprik, To be sene and considerit be be saidis commissaris, and to heir and sie be samin, retreittit, rescindit, cassit and annullit for certane pretendit ressonis, contenit in the said pretendit summondis; Conforme to be quhilk the saidis commissaris intendis to proceid, and gif pretendit decreit contrar the said Capitane alexander, Albeit bai be very suspect and incompetent to be Iuges berto: BECAUS the saidis commissaris, at he leist, Messrs Iohnne prestoun, edward bruce, & Iohnne nicolsone, ar ordiner procuratouris, favouraris, and dependaris of the hous of mar, and freindis thairof, and is onlie counsilloris and assisteris of thame in all thair actionis. § 2. lyk as the said mr Iohnne prestoun is ordiner procuratour for the said mr williame, not onlie in all his actionis, bot in speciall in the actioun depending at the said capitane alexanderis instance befoir the saidis [Lordis] aganis the said mr william, for the wrangus intromissioun with his pensioun of the croppis and 3eiris of god Ixxxvi and Ixxxvii seiris. As be summound is depending beranent, and minites thairof, schawin to the lordis of counsall, beiris; In the quhilk the said mr Iohnne, is 1 procuratour for the said mr william, in defence of his richt and prouisioun to the said benefice, and impugning of his provisioun to the said pensioun, Quhairby he can na wayis be Iuge competent in the said pretendit reductioun, the samin being lykwayes coincident with the first vooun the richt of the said capitane alexanderis pensioun foirsaid, and deweties thairof of be zeiris foirsaidis; And albeit it might appeir that he wer declynit in the said pretendit reductioun, 3it he is onlie assister & movear of the said Mr William perto, and at his plesour advisis the proces thairof, And not onlie daylie sittis in iugement, pronunces be interloquutouris, Bot also at the advising of the proces Continewallie present with the saidis commisseris, ressonis with thame, and solistis thame in favouris of the said mr william, quhilk be said capitane alexander Referris simpliciter to the aithis of be remanent commissaris, quher he hes nather partie nor procuratour to ressoun for him in the said caus, at the tyme of the advising berof, quhilk forme, obferuit be the said Mr Iohnne, is not onlie contrair to the lordis of counsall (for sa oft quhen ane of be saidis lordis ar dischairgit, he is

removit at the advising of the proces); Bot also the sitting of the said Mr Iohn in jugement, be advising of the proces with the remanent commissaris, The keping of the haill dyettis in jugement, and pronunceing of be haill interloquutouris, makis the remanent commissaris partialitie mair manifest, in sufferring the premiss. § 3. And also the saidis messris edward bruce and Iohnne nicolsone, procuratouris and favouraris of the said hous of mar, be persuasioun of the said Mr Iohn prestoun, will not faill maist partiallie to proceed in the said pretendit reductioun aganis the said Capitane alexander, to his greit wraik, gif they be sufferit to cognosce berin, Seing the commoditie berof redoundis to the said mr williame erskene, ane of the maist speciall freindis of the said houf, & guhome the saidis commissaris grittumlie favour, and ar vnder freindschip; and ilk ane of thame hes already gevin counsall to him berin, for his furtherance contrair the said capitane Alexander. § 4. And als be saidis commissaris in deductioun of the said proces, hes committit manifest iniquitie in repelling of the allegeance, quhilk wes fundin relevant and admittit be the saidis lordis interloquutour in favouris of the priour of Blantyre, in the caus foirsaid, as is recent in the saidis lordis memories—To wit, the saidis commissaris hes maist partialie repellit restitutioun of bischope Betoun, without ony conditioun contenit in the act of restitutioun. § 5. Attour, the said pretendit action of reductioun is, and will not onlie be prejudiciall, (i) to the said actioun depending at be said capitane alexanderis instance befoir the saidis lordis aganis the said Mr Williame, for repayment to him of the said pensioun, wranguslie intromettit with and tane up be him the saidis tua zeiris lxxxvi and lxxxvij, quherin the said mr Iohnne prestoun, ane of the saidis commissaris, hes comperit procuratour for the said [Mr Williame Erskin] as said is, As the said summound is berof schewin to the saidis lordis beiris; (ii) Bot alsua to the decreit of double poinding, gevin at the said capitane alexanderis instance befoir the saidis lordis, decerning the tennentis of the saidis landis To an Ouer and mak pament to him of the said pensioun of the crope and 3eir of god lxxxvj 3eiris, and in tyme cuming, as partie fund be the saidis lordis to haif best richt berto, and dischearging the said Mr Williame of all calling and troubling of the saidis tennentis for the samin, as partie fund be the saidis lordis to have na richt, notwithstanding the haill defens proponit be him in the contrar, as the said decreit schawin to the saidis Lordis at lenth beiris. § 6. Lyk as the said reductioun is only movit to tak away the said capitane alexanderis repament to him of the said pensioun, wranguslie tane vp be the said mr william, he knawing that he will gett sic favourable and summer proces in the said pretendit reduction befoir thame. as he pleiss desyr, sua that be said capitane alexander salbe

¹ MS. has erroneously "capitane alexander."

alluterlie wraikit, and the haill richt of his pensioun & actioun during his lyftyme wranguslie evictit fra him, quherin be saidis commissaris aucht nawayes to be sufferit to proceid in prejudice, and befoir the decisioun of the said capitane alexanderis pensioun foirsaid, depending befoir the saidis lordis as said is.1 § 7. And last, the saidis commisseris partialitie is mair manifest, and bair iniquitie clerlie appeiris, be repelling of tua maist relevant exceptionis: (i) the ane berand that be said mr williame had na power to reduce nor retreat the said pensioun, In respect that albeit the samyn wes grantit sede vacante be his maiestie, 3it the said pensioun being grantit out of the temporall landis of the said Bischoprik of Glasgw, be be act of annexatioun 2 convalest), In sa far as the said act not onlie annexis the temporall landis to the croun, Bot alsua reseruis all pensionis grantit furth berof, quhilkis ather hes tane effect be possioun or decreittis, as the said capitane alexanderis pensioun hes.3 And albeit be be said act the prelattis lyfrent be reservit, 3it he hes na power to reduce, in respect reductioun will tak away the pensioun and caus the samin ceis efter his deceis. (ii) And forder, it wes maist relevantlie allegit that the said mr william erskynis provisioun wes be the restitutioun [of James Betoun] tane away, quha wes restoirit puirlie and simplie without ony kynd of conditionis, and sua be be saidis lordis interloquutour restorit, quhilk restitutioun & benefite of parliament could not be tane away be ony interpretatioun in this posteriour parliament, haldin in Juin lxxxxii 3eiris, without ane new calling and convocatioun, as in the saidis twa exceptionis at lenth qualifiet in the proces is be be saidis commisseris signatouris writtin with pair clerkis handwrite repellit, As be samin merkit vpoun the margene producit befoir be saidis lordis testifies. The proces lykwayis shawin (quhilk the said capitane alexander repeitis as ane part of this his supplicatioun) quherby they [i.e., the defenders] be pair signatouris hes repellit maist just and relevant exceptionis and eikis proponit for the said capitane alexanderis part, not onlie foundit vpoun the saidis lordis decreittis and interloquutouris, Bot alsua vpoun

² This refers to the Act of Parliament passed on the 29th July 1587, annexing the

temporalities of benefices to the Crown.

¹ There is no record of how this action ended.

³ The wording in the Act of Parliament on which this argument is based is as follows: "And Becaus thair ar diuerß pensionis grantit to mony personis furth of be saidis annext landis, alsweill be be saidis prelattis and vhiris ecclesiasticall personis as be our souverane lord, the benefice vacand in his hienes handes, ather throw deceils or be proces of foirfaltour or barratrie led aganis the possessour of be benefice, Oure souverane lord, and his saidis thrie estaittis of parliament, decernis and declairis bat the saidis pensioneris sall nawayes be hurt nor preiugit in bair saidis pensionis (thay being lauchfullie prouidit barto) be be said annexatioun, sua bat be saidis pensioneris have bene authorizit be decreittis of be lordis of counsall, or ober luges ordiner, or have bene in lauchfull possessioun of pair pensionis at ony time preceding."

the expres actis of parliament and ratificationne of the said capitane alexanderis pensioun, grantit be his maiestie. § 8. And albeit the said Bischope betoun had neuir bene effectualie restoirit, and the said mr williames pretendit provisioun continewallie stand, 3it he can not be hard to reduce the said capitane Alexanderis pensioun, gevin be his maiestie zeirlie, to be vpliftit furth of the temporall landis of the said bischoprik, In respect that lyk as the temporalitie to ws be the said persewaris deceiss, sua will be said capitane alexanderis pensioun convales, And his being proponit in the proces at greit lenth is maist partialie & wilfullie repellit be the saidis commissaris, as the proces producit befoir be saidis lordis beiris. And perfoir the saidis commissaris aucht and sould be simpliciter dischairgit of all proceding in the said mater, And be samin advocat to the saidis lordis. § 9. And anent the charge gevin to the said mr william erskyn and commissaris foirsaidis for pair interes, To haif comperit befoir be lordis of counsall, at ane certane day bigane, Bringand with thame the pretendit precept persewit in the said mater, And to haif hard and sene the said caus advocat to the saidis lordis, And be saidis commissaris dischairgit of all forder proceding berintill in tyme cuming, ffor the caussis foirsaidis. Or ellis to haif allegit ane ressounable caus outly the samin sould not have bene done, as at mair lenth is contenit in the saidis letteres: The SAID CAPITANE alexander montgomrey, Comperand be Messris Iohnne scharpe and alexander king, his procuratoris, and the said Mr Iohnne prestoun, ane of the saidis commissaris of edinburgh, being persounalie present for him selff, and as procuratour for the said Mr William erskene, and be remanent commissaris being lykwayes persounalie present, Thair richtis, ressounes, & allegationis being hard sene and considerit be be saidis lordis, and they berwith being ryplie advisit, THE LORDIS of counsall Remittis be foirsaid actioun and cauf), persewit be the said mr williame erskene aganis the said capitane alexander montgomery, agane To Messris edward bruce, John arthour and Iohnne Nicolson, thrie of he saidis commissaris of edinburgh, Allanerlie, and ordinis thame to proceid and minister iustice perintill, as they will ansouer to the kingis Maiestie vpoun the executioun of bair offices, notwithstanding the haill ressoun aboutwrittin of be saidis letteres of advocatioun; As also in respect be saidis thrie commissaris being persounalie present, as said is, and being inquirit gif they had gevin ony partiall counsall in the said mater to ony of the saidis parties, maid faith bat they had gevin nane. § 10. And the saidis lordis Ordains be said mr Iohnne prestoun, the fourt commissar foirsaid, to be removit frome all cognosceing or decyding in be said caus, or to sitt or be present with the rest of the saidis commissaris, the tyme of bair consultationis berintill. In respect the said mr Iohnne declairit that he had gevin counsall to the said Mr William [Erskin], as ordiner procuratour for him in all his actionis, and had removit him self willinglie out of lugement the

tyme of the first intenting and deductioun of the said proces befoir pe saidis commissaris: And in the menetyme, continewis the said mater, depending betuix the saidis parties, in the same forme, force & effect, as it is now, but preiudice of partie. And pe parties comperand as said is ar warnit heirof apud acta. § 11. Attour, the saidis lordis decernis & ordains the said Capitane alexander montgomery To refound, content, and pay to the said Mr William erskin, pe soume of fyve pundis money, as for expensit of pley, maid, debursit, and sustenit be him in obtening the said mater remittit, Togidder with pe soume of vpir fyve pundis pait be him to the saidis lordis, Conforme to pair act & ordinance, maid peranent, and ordinis Letteres to be direct heirypoun, gif neid beis, in forme as efferis. (Register of Acts & Decreets: vol. 138, f. 207.)

IX.

[INTERLOCUTOR in causa Mr WILLIAME ERSKYNE against Capitane ALEXANDER MONTGOMERIE. 23rd February 1592/3.]

In he terme assignit be he saidis commissaris to geiwe and pronunce interlocutour, in be actioun and caus persewit be mr Williame erskyne aganis capitane Alexander montgomerie, and vpoun be defenst), alsweill principall, eikit, as reformit, proponit for be pairt of be said defendar, and vpoun be ansueris maid bairto conforme to be last act; The said Mr Williame erskyne, persewar, comperand be Iames stirling, his procuratour, And be said capitane Alexander Montgomerie, defendar, being oftentymes callit and nocht comperand, The saidis commissaris be bair interlocutour, Repellis be haill exceptionis proponit for be pairt of be said defendar, alsweill principall, eikit, as reformit defensf), proponit for be pairt of the said alexander montgomerie, aganis be summundis reductive, persewit be be said mr williame erskyne aganis him; And admittis be poyntis of be saidis summundis to be said mr williame erskyne his probatioun, togidder with be replyis following: That is to say, the reply proponit aganis be first principall defence, and aganis be first principall eik, As alsua be replyis maid to be secund eikis, As alsua be replyis maid to the last eikit secund exceptioun. And for prewing of be saidis summundis and replyis respective, assignis to him literatorie pro prima, and ordanis him to haiwe preceptis to summund sic witness, & to produce sic richtis and documentis as he will vse for probatioun perof, and ordanis him to wairne be pairtie heirto. (Commissariot of Edinburgh; Decreets, vol. 23.)

X.

[DECREET WILLIAM ERSKYNE, Persone of Campsie, against Capitane Alexander Montgomerie. 13th July 1593.]

§ 1. ANENT be actioun and caus intentit and persewit befoir be saidis commissaris be Mr Williame erskyne, persone of campsie, laufullie prowydit be oure souerane lord to be archibischopre of glasgow, and hawand vndoutit rycht, be vertew of his said prowisioun, to be fruittis, rentis, teindis, maillis, fermis, proffeittis, emolumentis, dewteis, and casualiteis of be samyn, of all zeiris during his prowisioun, And sua hes guid rycht to persew be actioun of reductioun vnderwrittin aganis capitane alexander montgomerie ffor productioun and exhibitioun with him befoir be saidis Commissaris [of] ane pretendit lettere of pensioun of be sowme of fywe hundretht merkis money, to be vpliftit furth of be reddiest fruittis of be said archibischoprie of glasgow, And for suir payment berof, having assignit to him berintill sex chalderis malt, and fyiwe chalderis meill, or berby, To be tane up seirlie furth of be landis of scheddelston. conflattis, daldowie, and vtheris speciall landis lyand within be barronie of glasgow, allegit, grantit and gewin to him for all be dayis of his lyiftyme be oure souerane lord, allegit hawand power to geiwe be samyn as vacand in his hienis handis of be daitt be the 3eir of god Imvc day of 3eiris,1 Togidder with quhatsumewer pretendit letteris of ratificatioun, grantit be oure souerane lord berftir, of be said pretendit gift of pensioun to be said capitane alexander, with quhatsumeuir new gift or lettere, grantit and gewin to him be oure said souerane lord, of be foirsaid pensioun, sen be said complenaris provisioun foirsaid of be said archibischoprie, of quhatsumeuir daitt or daittis be saidis letteris of ratificatioun and new gift of be said pensioun be of; To be sein and considderit be be saidis commissaris, and to haive hard and sein be samyn first pretendit lettere of pensioun, with he said ratification and new gift of be samyn, grantit be our said souerane lord to be said capitane alexander as said is, sua far as be samyn may be extendit to be 3eiris during be quhilk be said complenar stuid fullilie prowydit to be said archibischoprie as said is, Be retreittit, rescindit, cassit, annullit, decernit, and declairit to haive bein frome be begyning, and to be in all tyme cumming, null and of nane awaill, force, nor effect, with all bat hes followit, or bat may follow berupoun, for be caussis following: § 2. In the first, Becaus be said pretendit gift of pensioun was grantit and gewin to be said capitane alexander furth of be said archibischoprie be oure said souerane lord, hawand

¹ Spaces blank in MS.

ban onlie be rycht of patronage of be said archibischoprie. In respect of be place and seate berof being vacand in his hienis handis. And sua during bat tyme had na power to geiwe ony pensiounis furth of be samyn, nor diminische be patrimonie berof in preiudice of be archibischope to be electit: And bat be expres provisioun of be commoun law, prowyding bat sua lang as be place episcopall vaikis bair suld be na innowatioun maid in prejudice of him guha is to be electit, and speciallie in hurt and diminutioun of be patrimonie of be benefice: § 3. Lvik as it is of veritie, eftir be granting and gewing of be said pretendit lettere of pensioun to be said capitane alexander, The said complenar, in be moneth of Decembir 3eir of god Imvolxxxv 3eiris. was deulie and laufullie prowydit to be said archibiscoprie as said is. without ony exceptioun or reservatioun mentionat berintill of be said lettere of pensioun, bot be be contrair contenand and berand ane expres claus of reuocatioun of all pensiounis grantit be oure said souerane lord to ony persoun or personis furth of be said archiebischoprie sede vacante, Except onlie of ane pensioun of tua hundreth merkis grantit to nicoll carnecors, Sua bat be be complenaris prowisioun foirsaid the force and strenth of be said capitane alexander his lettere of pensioun foirsaid, maid and grantit to him during be tyme bat be said seate vaikit, is extinct, expyrit, and of na force at all tyme bereftir; § 4. And albeit be said pretendit lettere of pensioun had been ratefeit be oure said souerane lord at ony time efter be said complenar was lau fullie prowydit to be said archibischoprik, or 3it of new disponit to him, The said ratificatioun or new dispositioun. grantit eftir be said prowisioun, can nathir mak be first lettere of pensioun of ony better estaitt, nor of gritter strenth & force nor be samyn was befoir be said ratificatioun; nather 3it can be said ratificatioun, or new dispositioun, mak ony new rycht to be said capitane alexander for bruiking of be said pensioun of be Beiris foirsaidis, The said complenar than being laufullie prowydit to be said benefice as said is; And berfoir be said pretendit lettere of pensioun, gewin to be said capitane alexander sede vacante be oure said souerane lord, hawand ban na power to geiwe be samyn as said is and ratificatioun perof, with be said pretendit new gift and dispositioun quhatsumewir sensyne of be samyn pensioun eftir, be said complenaris provisioun as said is, aucht, and suld be, retreittit, rescindit, cassit, annullit, decernit, and declairit to haiwe been frome be tyme of be said provisioun, and to be in all tyme cumming, Null and of nane awaill, force, nor effect, with all bat hes followit, or bat may follow berypoun, for be caussis foirsaidis, As be summundis and lybellit precept raisit bervpoun at lenth beris. § 5. The said mr williame erskyne, persewar, comperand be James Stirling his pro-

¹ A special ratification of this pension was passed by Parliament in 1592; but no reason is assigned for its grant. Carnecors is there described as "sone lauchfull to Nicoll Carnecros of Calfhill."

curatour, And be said capitane alexander montgomerie, defendar, being laufuelie wairnit to bis day To haiwe hard sentence and decreitt pronuncit in be said matter, and comperand with James King his procuratour, Ouha befoir sentence allegit bat na sentence aucht to be pronuncit, Becaus he offerit him to impreive directlie be persewaris admissioun, quhilk fallin, be persewar can haiwe na rycht. In respect he is presentit be his presentation contenand ane expres command to ressaiwe and admitt, and berfoir na sentence aucht to be pronuncit in be said matter, bot ane day assignit to him for improbatioun in maner foirsaid. § 6. The rychtis, ressonis, allegationis, of bayth be saidis pairteis, Togidder with be writtis, richtis, and titles producit be bame hinc inde being be be saidis commissaris hard, sein, and considderit, and bai ryiplie berwith aduysit, The saidis commissaris, notwithstanding of be said alleagance, be bair decreitt REDUCIS, RE-TREITTIS, rescindis, cassis, and annullis, be said pretendit lettere of pensioun, with be said ratificatioun and new gift of be samvn. grantit be our said souerane lord to be said capitane alexander, as said is, sua far as be samyn may be extendit to be 3eiris during be quhilk be said complenar stuid fullie prowydit to be said archibischoprie, as said is, and decernis and declairis be samyn to haiwe bein be tyme of be said archibischopis prowisioun, and to be in all tyme cumming during his lyiftyme and provisioun to be said benefice, null and of nane awaill, force, nor effect, with all bat hes followit, or bat may follow berypoun, Reservand alwayis to be said Capitane Alexander Montgomerie actioun of improbatioun as accordis of be law. § 7. BECAUS in be first principall exceptioun, proponit for be pairt of be said capitane alexander aganis be ressoun reductive of be saidis summundis, It was exceptit bat be said capitane alexander aucht to be simpliciter assoil3eit frome be said pretendit precept and haill contentis perof, and [that] be persewar can nawayis be hard to quarrell his gift of pensioun producit, nor ratificationis past berypoun. In respect bat giff ony rycht, title, or provisioun, be persewar had to be said archiebischoprie of glasgow, The samyn was grantit to him be deceis of vmquhile bischope Iames boyde, quhilk ymquhile bischope Iames boyde was prowydit be be foirfaltorie, or baratrie, of bischope Iames betoun, quhilk bischope Iames betoun, lang befoir be intenting of his caus, viz.: in he moneth of Iuly, anno lxxxvij, was restoirit aganis quhatsumewir proces or dome of foirfaltorie, or baratrie, led or deducit aganis him, bat pure et simpliciter without ony kyind of restrictioun or conditioun, quhairby be said bischope Iames betonis prowisioun to be said archiebischoprik of glasgow (quha was prowydit berto lang befoir be persewar and his authour) not onlie conualescit, bot alsua was redintegrat, and all provisiounis grantit to quhatsumeuer persoun or personis, throwch or be his foirfaltorie, rescindit and annullit: And sua be persewaris rycht and title being be expres act of parliament tane away, he can neuir be hard be

virtew berof [to] quarrell be said defender. § 8. And quhair it is meanit, bat in be act of parliament, maid at edinburgh, be fyrst day of Junii, agno lxxxxii zeiris. It was expreslie fund bat be ratificatioun concludit at perthe and berefter ratefeit in parliament, with be act of abolitioun, maid at linlithgow in be moneth of december, anno lxxxv 3eiris, And be act maid in be parliament haldin at linlithgow in be moneth of Iunii, anno lxxxvii, ratifeand be saidis actis, with be haill eikis maid berto, was onlie extendit and maid in fauour of sic personis quha professit be trew religioun (as the samyn is presentlie professit within bis realme), and hes acknowledgit his hienes authoritie, and bairby wald infer bat be said bischope Iames betoun is nawayis restoirit, he nather acknowledging the kingis maiestie, nor ait professand be religioun presentlie professit within bis realme-To bat it is ansuerit, bat be said act of parliament nawayis derogatis to be said bischope Iames betonis restitutioun, nor takkis away be effect berof for dynerss and sindrie caussis efter mentionat: § 9. IN the first, gewand, & not grantand, bat be actis of linlithgow and Edinburgh, maid in be 3eiris of god lxxxv and lxxxvij 3eiris, war relatiwe to be pacificatioun maid at perthe, And bat it war expreslie prowydit in be said pacificatioun bat be samyn suld be extendit to na persoun except these onlie guha ar professoris of the Kingis maiesteis authoritie and religioun, 3it It is of veritie bat in be said act of pacificatioun, it is expreslie prowydit bat in caice bai be in be cuntrie of scotland quha ar restoirit bairby, bai sall be subject to be said conditioun and provisioun; 1 And be act of parliament producit, maid in be zeir of god lxxxxii, quhilk is allegit to be ane interpritatioun of be said act of pacificatioun, be samyn can not be ane interpritatioun maist cleir and manifest in be selff, speceallie be said interpritatioun can not be extend direct contrair to be wordis and meaning of be said former act, quhilk astrictis onlie be present personis within our realme to be subject to the makking confessioun of pair fayth, And be be expres meaning and wordis berof is [not] nor can not be extendit to sic personis, as was furth of our realme be tyme of be granting of pair pacificatioun, and as 3it remanis furth perof; § 10. And trew it is bat be tyme of be restitutioun of be said bischope betoun, and continuallie sensyne, he was and hes remanit furth of our realme, quhairby nather be said first act of pacificatioun, nor 3it be last act interpreting be samyn, can be extendit to him and he berby excludit fra be benefite of pacificatioun. § 11. Secundlie, Becaus be act maid in anno lxxxxii 3eiris is onlie extendit to be act of abolitioun maid in be zeir of god Imvelxxxv, and nocht to be act of pacificatioun maid bat 3eir,2 Quhilk act of pacificatioun is be ground

¹ That is, only those in Scotland at the time of the Act of Pacification are required to profess the reformed religion, not those who were abroad. See reply to this argument in § 44 (i).

² The Statute here referred to is entitled in the Acts of Parliament: "Actis of

and fundament of restitutioun of foirfalt or barat personis; And bis act of pacificatioun, maid now in anno lxxxxij 3eiris, not being extendit to be said act of pacificatioun maid at linlithgow, be samyn remanis haill to all personis foirfalt, notwithstanding ony derogatioun bat may be comprehendit in his present act. § 12. Thridlie, the said act of interpritatioun maid in be moneth of Iunii, anno lxxxxii zeiris, can nawayis derogate nor prejudge be act maid in be 3eir of god lxxxvij,1 quhairby be said bischope Iames betoun is restoirit, Becaus not onlie is be said act pure et simpliciter conteanit without ony kyind of limitatioun or conditioun, but also be said act of restitutioun of be said bischope is fund be be lordis of sessioun to be effectuall to him. and he bairby restoirit, notwithstanding the non makking confessioun of his fayth, & acknowledging be kingis maiesteis authoritie: § 13. And sua be said act being be be lordis of sessioun alreddie interpretit and extendit in favouris of be said bischope betoun, bair is na contrair interpretatioun, albeit be act of parliament,2 can or may be ressauit to be hurt, prejudice, and derogatioun, of ane grace anis grantit in parliament without ony conditioun or limitatioun, quhilk grace can nocht be takkin away be ony kyind of posterior act, without ane new calling or convictioun vooun ane new deid or cryme, seing be be said act of restitutioun all former deidis and crymes ar alluterlie extinct and tane away. § 14. And attour, giff ony fact was in be persoun of the said bischope Iames betoun be tyme of his restitutioun foirsaid, throwch nocht makking confessioun of his fayth and acknowledging of be kingis maiesteis authoritie. It is allegit and offerit to be prowin bat befoir be makking of be said act in anno lxxxxii 3eiris, be samyn war sufficientlie purgit, in sua far as our souerane lord directit ane commissioun to be said archiebischope, gewand and grantand to him commissioun to intreate and do his maiesteis effairis with foraine princes and natiounis, makand and constituand him his maiesteis ambassadour, quhilk commissioun be said archiebischope acceptit; And forder, lang befoir be makking of be said act of interpritatioun foirsaid, oure souerane lord be his speciall handwritt dispensit with be non makking of be confessioun of be said bischopis fayth, and acknowledging of be kingis maiesteis authoritie; quhairby It is cleir and manifest bat be said act of interpritatioun producit can

the restitution of the noblemen and otheris ressauit to be kingis maiesties fauour and abolitioun of the force of processis of foirfaltour and other materis concerning thame." In the 1587 Act it is referred to as "be said general restitutioun, pacificatioun, and abolitioun, maid at lynlithgow." Montgomerie's point seems to be that the Act of 1592 is to be interpreted as applying only to a section of the Act of 1585. It is rather remarkable, on the other hand, that in Erskine's argument it is not pointed out that the Act of 1585 expressly excepts Betoun by name from its benefits.

¹ MS. has lxxxxii, an obvious error.

² This places the interpretation of the Court of Session above that of Parliament.

nawayis be extendit to be said archiebischope, na mair than he had bein suche ane persoun as had maid confessioun of his fayth, and acknowledgit be kingis maiesteis authoritie, quhilk in effect he hes done, in sua far as be kingis maiestie hes dispensit berwith in maner foirsaid. § 15. To THE quhilk It was eikit: Last, the said alexander aucht to be simpliciter assoilseit fra be said pretendit precept and haill contentis berof, and be persewar can haiwe na entres to persew reductioun of be said Alexander his gift, Becaus It is of veritie bat, giff ony rycht be persewar can pretend to be said bischoprik of glasgow, the samyn is as prowydit berto be deceis of vmquhile bischope boyde, or ban be the foirfaltorie of bischope betoun; And trew it is bat be said benefice neuer vaikit be be foirfaltorie of bischope James betoun, nather be tyme bat be persewar was prowydit, nor 3it his predecessour, In respect be said bischope betoun was neuer as 3it foirfalt; § 16. And albeit bair was sentence of baratrie gewin and pronuncit aganis him, git it is trew bat nather be persewar nor his predecessour, was prowydit to be said archiebischoprie as vacand throwcht be said sentence of baratrie; And albeit thay or ather of bame had bein prowydit on bat maner, 3it be said sentence fallin and being tane away, be persewaris provisioun, grantit to him throwcht be deceis of vmquhile bischope Iames boyde, guha was prowydit throwcht be inhabilitie of be said vmquhile bischope betoun of necessitie man fall; And trew it is bat be said sentence and effect berof is tane away, in sua far as sen be gewing berof, viz.: in be 3eir of god Imvelxxxvij, our souerane lord hes gewin and grantit to be said archiebischope Iames betoun, commissioun to intreate his maiesteis effairis furth of be cuntrie and hes maid him ambassadour to his maiestie, and berby hes allowit be departure furth of be contrie, and be remaning furth of be samyn, quhilk takkis away be said sentence of baratrie and effect berof, Quhilk sentence is onlie gewin and pronuncit aganis be said archiebischope for his depairting and remaning furth of be cuntrie, without our souerane lordis licence and traffiqueing with foraine natiounis, and berfoir be said archiebischopis departing and remaning furth of be cuntrie being allowit in maner foirsaid, The said sentence of baratrie being bairby nocht onlie tane away, bot also be persewaris gift dependand bervpoun lyikwayis falland, absoluitour aucht to be gewin simpliciter frome be said pretendit precept. § 17. Lyik as alsua in be secund reformit eikis, proponit for be pairt of be said defendar aganis be ressoun reductive of be saidis summundis, and be persewaris entres conjunctlie, It was exceptit peremptourlie, bat absoluitour aucht to be gewin fra be said haill ressoun, Becaus the persewar can neuer pretend him selff to be laufullie prowydit to be bischoprik of glasgow be his rycht and title producit, ffor in sua far as his pensioun is tane away be be deceis of vmquhile Mr Iames boyde, last pretendit archiebischope of glasgow, be persewaris rycht in bat pairt man fall,

seing he be his new provisioun can be in na better conditioun ban be said vmquhile mr Iames, guha in veritie was neuer laufullie prowydit, bair being ane vther persoun on lyiff prowydit and institute in be said benefice, with lang and continuall possessioun following berypoun, neuer as 3it laufullie tane away; At the leist be said mr Iames, giff ony be or may be pretendit, be speciall act of parliament is reducit, retreittit and rescindit berof; it followis bat be persewaris authoris rycht being tane away, his rycht and prowisioun, in sua far as be samyn leins be be said Mr James deceis, man also fall. § 18. And on be other pairt, in sua far as be samvin provisioun takkis fundament fra be allegit foirfaltour of vmquhile Iames archiebischope of glasgow, It is crawit ante omnia bat be said pretendit foirfaltour salbe producit, seing it is exceptit negative bat he was never foirfalt to bis hour; and pair is na speciall caus sett down in be provisioun bot be deceis of boyde, and foirfaltour of betoun, nather of be tua being causs efficient to mak bis benefice &c. in our souerane lordis handis, seing be boydis deceis, having na rycht, nathing culd fall, and be be allegationis of beatonis foirfaltour, na sic foirfaltour being, far les can fall. § 19. And it is crawit bat 30ur lordships diligentlie aduert to bis argument, bat na vther subject be tane in in bis judgment for mantenance of be said provisioun, bot be speciall caus contenit in be gift producit; ffor quhair indirectlie It is meanit bat seing nather be be deceis of boyde, nor foirfaltour of betoun, quhilk was not, ony rycht can be establischit or pretendit, sentence of baratrie is obtrudit be be persewaris ansuer, It is crawit bat 30ur lordships be nocht mowit berby, ffirst, seing be provisioun is nocht tane in bat respect, nor makkis ony mentioun of be said sentence; Nixt, seing pair is na sentence of baratrie producit to be quhilk, giff be persewaris provisioun suld lein, it man be ane pairt of his rycht, And be excipient man be hard to object bair aganis; And It is merwellit bat 30ur lordships be 30ur decisioun will suddanlie proceid in his matter, quhen as he samyn argument and sentence of baratrie being vsit befoir be lordis of counsaile, in be caus of be reductioun of be rhetour persewit be be kingis aduocate, and be laird of balfour, aganis andro lamb for retreitting of ane service, quherby bischope betoun was servit generall and nearest air to vmquhile Iohnne beytoun 1 of balquhairge, his father, The lordis fand be said matter sua intricate and difficill bat be samyn lyis as 3it vndecydit. § 20. And 3it of superabundance to ansuer forder, certane it is, bat anis bischope betoun was laufullie prowydit, and his provisioun cled nocht onlie with arriennal bot with diriennal possessioun,2 and berfoir his rycht anis standing man stand continuallie

¹ MS. has "seytoun."

² So in the original, but clearly a scribal error for "triennal" and "dicennal." These terms have reference to a privilege extended by the law of Scotland to churchmen at this date, which is explained in the following passage from

during his lyiftyme, except it be laufullie tane away; giff it stand, ergo be persewar is na bischope; giff it fallis, it man be of necessitie ather be foirfaltour, or be be baratrie; nocht be be foirfaltour, becaus bair was neuer nane, nor can nocht be verefeit; nocht be be baratrie. quhilk is nocht as 3it producit; becaus giff ony sic be, it is expreslie tane away be be act of parliament; And sua, giff be persewar hes na rycht to be bischopiik, far les he is contradictour to be reductioun of be pensioun; § 21. And quhair maist indirectlie bair is ane vnproffitable disputatioun tane in his judgment vpoun he interpritatioun of be act of parliament, It is crawit bat 30ur lordships will not exceid be boundis of 30217 jurisdictioun in bat pairt; And 3it certane it is bat, be be act maid in Iuly lxxxvij, bischope betoun is anis laufullie and deulie restoirit and reintegrat to be title of his benefice; And all and quhatsumeuer provisiounis (And consequentlie be persewaris authoris provisioun quhervpoun his awin dependis) proceding vpoun his foirfaltour or baratrie, expreslie retreittit and rescindit; berfoir bair man be sum posterior fact or deid, statute or constitutioun, quhilk may mak him to tyne and anull bat benefice quhilk was acquyrit. § 22. As to be gewing of be confessioun of his fayth, for ane schort ansuer, pair is na statute, nor act of parliament, maid sen be said moneth of Iuly, Imvelxxxvij, contening ony sic limitatioun. § 23. And now ansuering to be reply maid to be last eik, as to ony decreitt, retouerit of doubill punding at be persewaris instance aganis bischope betoun, be samyn is onlie gewin for null defence in his absence, and nawayis gewin in foro contradictorio, and sua can nocht preiudge be excipient; \$ 24. Item as to be nixt pairt, bat bischope boyde was prowydit to be benefice, and be vertew of his provisioun in possessioun be be space of sex or sewin zeiris, and sua having ane title standing with ane triennal possessioun—It is ansuerit bat, he had nather title nor possessioun; ffor as to his title, pair was ane vthir persoun standing laufullie prowydit, quha is 3it on lyiff, and his prowisioun neuer tane away, And as to be possessioun it is rather intrusio in beneficio vnientis. § 25. As to be nixt argument, bat be allegatioun of bischope

Erskine's 'Institute of the Law of Scotland,' Book III., § 33: "Our law has, however, so far favoured churchmen, because their rights are more exposed to accidents than those of other men, through the frequent change of incumbents, that thirteen years' possession is accounted sufficient to support a churchman's right to any subject as part of his benefice, though he should produce no title in writing to it. But this is not properly prescription: For prescription establishes a firm right in the possessor, which stands good against all grounds of challenge; whereas the dicennalis et triennalis possessio confers on the churchman no more than a presumptive title; his possession is presumed to be well founded, till the contrary appear; and hence the rule is thus expressed by the canonists Decennalis et triennalis possessor non tenetur docere de titulo; his title is presumed from his possession; but as it is barely a presumption, it may be elided by a contrary proof." See also 'An Institute of the Laws of Scotland,' by Andrew M'Douall, vol. ii. (1752), pp. 39, 40.

betonis not foirfaltour is ius tertii, ansueris, it is exclusum iuris agentis; and guhidder be excipient hes rycht fra bischope betoun or nocht, the persewar can neuer be hard to reduce his pensioun. § 26. And quhair in be thrid pairt of be said reply, be persewar offerit him to preiwe, bat he caus of he vacatioun of he benefice of glasgow procedit nocht onlie becaus of he foirfaltour, bot also of he baratrie, 30ur lordships can ressaiwe na vther probatioun by be persewaris prowisioun producit. § 27. As to be last pairt of be reply, first, anent be decreitt of be secreitt counsall, to wit, bat it was decernit in be persewaris fauoris bat he suld be ansuerit and obeyit of be fruittis of be said archiebischoprik ay and quhill bischope betoun war restoirit. be excipient ansueris tua thingis: ffirst, be secreitt counsell war nocht iudges competent to decyid in ony sic caus; next, res inter alios acta and can nocht prejudge be excipient. § 28. The samyn ansuer is repeittit aganis be last decreitt of be sessioun, quhilk is also gewin for non comperance, na pairteis rycht tryit. And far les can be vsit as ane argument aganis be excipient, quha neuer comperit to tak away his provisioun. § 29. In respect of the quhilkis premisf), absoluitour man be gewin fra be saidis summundis of reductioun, protesting in caice 30ur lordships do in be contrair for reduction of be proces. nullitie berof, remeid of law, tyme, and place. § 30. And last of all, in be last eikit reformit exceptionis proponit for be pairt of be said Alexander, It was exceptit and allegit, but be said Alexander aucht to be simpliciter assoilaeit frome be said pretendit precept of reductioun, BECAUS It is of veritie bat, giff ony rycht or title be persewar hes to be benefice and bischoprik of glasgow, be samyn is throwche and be be deceis of vmquhile bischope Iames boyde, or inhabilitie of bischope betoun, quhilk bischope boyde was lyikwayis prowydit be be inhabilitie of bischope betoun, quhilk bischope betoun was onlie maid vnhabile to bruik be said benefice through proces and sentence of baratrie, led and deducit aganis him vpoun be xix day of September, Imyolxxo 3eiris, Be be quhilk be said bischope is decernit and declairit to haiwe incurrit be panis of prescriptioun, and his benefice of be said archiebischoprie of glasgow to vaik, conforme to be act of parliament—quhilk sentence being tane away, be persewaris rycht of all necessitie man fall. § 31. And trew it is bat be said sentence of baratrie is tane away, in sua far as sen be gewing perof, videlicet, in be 3eir of god Imvelxxxvij 3eiris, our said souerane lord gaiwe and grantit full commissioun to be said bischope betoun to trawell in his maiesteis effairis with foraine natiounis and princis, makand and constitutand be said bischope his maiesteis ambassadour, quhilk commissioun is ane sufficient ground and caus to tak away be said decreitt of baratrie, in sua far as be said decreitt is gewin and pronuncit allanerlie aganis the said archiebischope for his departure and remaning furth of be cuntrie without oure souerane lordis licence. and nocht returning to be samyn, being chairgit to bat effect: quhilkis

deids ar sufficientlie purgit and tane away be be said commissioun: And sua be said decreitt and effect berof is fallin, quhilk being fallin be persewar and his authouris rycht of all necessitie is fallin, auherby be persewar hes nather rycht nor entres to reduce. § 32. And bis commissioun grantit to be said bischope betoun is as effectuall [to] be said decreitt of baratrie and giftis following berypoun, as giff be said decreit with all bat hes followit berypoun had bein in foro contradictorio retreittit. In respect bat ane sentence gewin for ane cryme may be tane away, with all bat hes followit berypoun, be ane gracious restitutioun; and be commissioun above specifit is in effect ane gracious restitutioun. § 33. And quhair 30ur lordships meanis in 30ur signatour to repell be principill alleagance, guhairvnto bis eik is maid, in respect of be replyis To ansuer berto, it is trew and of veritie, bat be saidis replyis of nawayis meittis be saidis exceptionis, nor elidis be samyn; ffor albeit vmquhile bischope boyde was prowydit to be said archiebischoprik be our souerane lord, and be vertew perof continewit in possessioun to be hour of his deceis, and had ane provisioun with triennal possessioun, and [that] eftir his deceis be persewar was prowydit, and not onlie continewit in possessioun, bot also obtenit decreittis, 3it bat is na argument to elyde be said exceptioun, quhilk is not foundit nor groundit vooun ony nullitie of be said decritt of baratrie, or provisiounis following pervooun, bot vpoun ane posterior deid done be perince; quhilk is in effect ane gracious restitutioun, and takkis away nocht onlie be haill decreitt, bot also be haill provisiounis. § 34. And quhair It is allegit bat bair is na rycht qualifeit in be persoun of be defendar, To bat it is ansuerit, bat be defendar, being promydit to ane pensioun, hes gud entres to propone be said exceptioun, and to exclude be persewar bayth in his rycht and persute. § 35. And quhair it is allegit bat, be be granting of be said commissioun, be decreitt of baratrie is not tane away bot man byid ane reductioun, To bat it is ansuerit, bat be contrair berof is of veritie, for ane sentence and dome vpoun ane cryme may alsweill be tane away be ane gracious restitutioun, as be ane reductioun. § 36. And quhair It is allegit bat, sen be granting of be said commissioun, be persewar hes obtenit decreittis aganis bischope betoun, To bat it is ansuerit, bat these decreittis militatis nathing in bis caice, in respectt be saidis decreittis ar gewin for null defence, And be said defendar nather callit nor comperand to be gewing berof, quha, nochtwithstanding the samyn, man be hard to use his defensily, resultand vpoun be said commissioun; § 37. And albeit bischope betoun wald nocht use his defenss), 3it be said defendar, hawand rycht of ane pensioun to be takin out of be said bischoprik, and be vertew berof nocht onlie in possessioun be vplifting be samyn, bot also be recouring of decreittis in foro contradictorio aganis be samyn persewar lang efter his rycht and prowisioun producit, Sua hat he decreitt gewin aganis be said bischope can militate nathing aganis be defendar, bot he

may vse quhatsumeuer defence competent, nochtwithstanding be saidis decreittis.1 § 38. SECUNDLIE, absoluitour aucht to be gewin fra be said pretendit precept of reductioun, Becaus be persewar hes na kynd of rycht nor entres to persew be samyn, and his pretendit rychtis and titlis of be said benefice ar allutterlie extinct and tane away, in sua far as be samyn originallie dependis vpoun be inhabilitie of bischope betoun, quhilk inhabilitie is, be act of parliament maid in be 3eir of god Imvelxxxvij zeiris, tane away be be restitutioun of be said bischope, quhilk restitutioun extendis bayth to foirfaltorie and baratrie; And the said bischope being fullie restoirit, all prowisiounis grantit & gewin of his benefice throwch his inhabilitie fallis. § 39. And quhair It is allegit in be pretendit reply, That be act of counsell It is declairit & fund bat be said archiebischope was neuer effectuallie restoirit, and bat be act of parliament aucht nawayis to be extendit to him, And lyikwayis bat be act of parliament maid in be zeir of god Imvclxxxvii is relative to be former actis of pacificatioun, and speciallie be act of perthe quhairintill it is expreslie prowydit, bat be act of pacificatioun salbe onlie extendit to bame guha professis the kingis authoritie and religioun, quhilk be said bischope betoun hes nocht done—To bat it is ansuerit, bat notwithstanding be said provisioun contenit in the act of perthe, and notwithstanding the saidis actis of counsell, the said archibischope is fund be be lordis of sessioun anis effectuallie & fullilie restoirit, quhairby be persewaris rycht is alluterlie tane away; And be lordis having fund be samyn, 3our lordships man find be lyik. § 40. And as to be act of interpritatioun maid in his instant zeir of god Imvelxxxxij zeiris, be samyn is na ground for be persewar. in respect bat, befoir be makking berof, nocht onlie is be said bischope pure restoirit, bot also fund be interlocutour of be lordis of sessioun effectuallie restoirit; quhilk nather be posterior act of parliament, nor be interpritatioun, can neuer be tane away; ffor ane grace anis grantit can neuer be tane away, albeit ane persoun vpoun ane new cryme be of new convictit; In respect quhairof absoluitour aucht to be gewin simpliciter fra be said pretendit precept, AS be saidis exceptiounis and eikis maid berto in bameselff at lenth beiris.

§ 41. To the Quhilk it was replyit for be pairt of be said mr williame erskyne, persewar: And first to be first principall exceptioun proponit for be pairt of be said capitane alexander, defendar, That The first pretendit eik, or new defence, foundit vpoun bischope lames betonis restitutioun allegit grantit pure et simpliciter, without ony conditioun or restrictioun, aucht to be repellit; Becaus nocht onlie be act of counsell maid in be 3eir of god lxxxvj 3eiris, It is expreslie sett down and ordanit bat be persewar suld intromett with be fruittis of be said bischoprik, conforme to his prowi-

¹ The grammar of this sentence has got twisted, though the meaning is clear enough.

^{2 17}th March 158g.

sioun of be crope lxxxvij, and 3eirlie bereftir quhill be said bischope lames betoun suld be laufulie restoirit in parliament, Bot als it is of veritie, bat be said bischope Iames betoun on nawayis was comprehendit in be said act of parliament maid in be moneth of July lxxxvii Becaus be 3eir, nor Bit culd clame ony benefite of restitutioun berby: Becaus be said act of parliament maid in Iuly lxxxvij zeiris contenis ane ratificatioun and confirmatioun of be act of parliament maid in december lxxxv 3eiris, quhilk also ratifeis and apprewis be first pacificatioun concludit at Perthe in be moneth of februar lx tuelff 3eiris, And bereftir confirmit in be parliament haldin at edinburgh, in be moneth of apryile lxxiii 3eiris, quherin it is speciallie prowydit, bat na personis suld bruik be benefite of be samyn act, except bai quha sall mak confessioun of bair fayth, and acknowledge be trew religioun presentlie professit within his realme. § 42. lyik as he kingis maiestie, and lordis of secreitt counsell, hes vooun be xxix day of May, lxxxix 3eiris, and by dyuersis vtheris actis sensyne, decernit & ordanit all actis of parliament maid in our souerane lordis minoritie aganis quhatsumeuer [persounis], sustenand be proces of baratrie, foirfaltorie, or excommunicatioun, and quha hes nocht gewin confessioun of bair fayth, professand be trew religioun presentlie professit within bis realme, and speciallie aganis bischope Iames betoun-to stand in be awin strenth aganis bame, nochtwithstanding quhatsumeuer vtheris actis of pacificatioun, abolutioun, or restitutioun; discharging simpliciter all dispensationis or vther indulgence quhatsumeuer, obtenit be be saidis personis contrair to be tenour of be saidis actis, dispensand with pair nocht gewing confessioun of pair fayth, and decernand be saidis dispensationis to haiwe na fayth in iudgment, nor outwith be samyn. And trew it is bat, be said bischope Iames betoun as 3it hes gewin at na tyme confessioun of his fayth, nor 3it professit be trew religioun presentlie professit within bis realme; And pairfoir, the said act of pacificatioun, nor na benefite perin contenit, can be extendit to be said bischope Iames betoun; [bis] and was expreslie decydit in bir samyn termis befoir be lordis of sessioun, betuix george munro of mekle tarrell and Iohnne rof), proweist of nairne, as be practique heirwith producit testefeis. § 43. And forder to remowe all scrupel, be speciall act of parliament concludit be be estaittis & haill body of parliament in be moneth of Iuly lxxxxij 3eiris, It is expreslie fund decernit and declairit bat, be act of pacificatioun concludit at perthe, be act of abolitioun maid at linlithgow lxxxv Beiris, with be act maid in be parliament haldin at edinburgh lxxxvij Beiris, ratifeand be said actis, with be haill eikis maid berto, Be be quhilk be defendar pretendis be restitutioun of be said bischope Iames betoun, ar onlie extendit and maid in fauouris of sic personis quha professis be trew religioun, as be samyn is presentlie professit within this realme; And pat na persoun nor personis quha war forfalt, convict of baratrie, or quha tint pair benefice ipso facto, may be hard

to seik be benefites of be saidis actis, or clame restitutioun bairby, befoir bat bai profes be trew religioun as said is, as be said act of parliament presentlie producit beirs; And berfoir seing as 3it be said bischope Iames betoun hes not maid confessioun of his favth, he can pretend na restitutioun. § 44. And quhair It is allegit be be defendar, bat be said act of parliament in be lxxx tuelff 3eir, derogatis nathing to be said bischope betonis restitutioun, for be thrie ressonis sett down in be said exceptioun, IT is answerit: (i) first, generallie That it contenis nocht ane derogatioun to bat quhilk was neuer, viz., to be said bischopis restitutioun, guha was neuer restoirit; And to be first ressoun be samyn is irrelewant, nocht affirmand bat be saidis actis of restitutioun dispensis with be confessioun of pair fayth quha is absent furth of be realme; ffor be trewth is bat be first act of pacificatioun, as als be act of abolutioun maid at linlithgow, exceptis be benefitit personis furth of the realme, and excludis bame fra the benefite berof; (ii) Attoure, bayth be first and secund ressoun contenit in be said exceptioun aucht to be repellit, in respect of be speciall wordis contenit in be said act of parliament maid in the lxxx tuelff seir. statute and declaratioun berin contenit, quhilk is ane law and aucht to rewle be subjectis; (iii) And to be thrid ressoun, I repeitt nocht onlie be lordis practique and decisioun betuix be saidis george munro and Iohnne ros, bot also be said act of parliament maid in be lxxx tuelff 3eir, and expres statute and declaratioun berin contenit, Sen be quhilk be said defendar can allege na decisioun of be lordis in fauoris of the said bischopis restitutioun, bot be be contrair pair being ane matter of triple punding, persewit at be instance of certane tennentis of be lordschip of glasgow, aganis be Duke 1 on be ane pairt, pretending ane factorie to be bischoprik of Glasgow be be allegit restitutioun of be said Mr Iames betoun & his inhabilitie bereftir declairit, and aganis be priour of blantyir as fewar of be saidis landis on be secund pairt, and me, on be thrid pairt, The samyn argument being proponit anent be said Mr Iames betonis restitutioun: The lordis hes decernit be persewar to be ansuerit and obeyit be vertew of his prowisioun, as hawand vndouttit rycht to be said bischoprik, and bat of all 3eiris sen be parliament haldin in be lxxxvij 3eir, and 3eirlie in tyme cumming during his lyiftyme. § 45. And quhair it is allegit, bat be said impediment, be nocht gewing of be confessioun of his fayth, was purgit be be directing of ane commissioun to be said bischope to treate his maiesteis effairis as ambassadour, and bat his maiestie be his speciall hand writt dispensit with him for nocht gewing confessioun of his fayth, ffor ansuer perto, I repeitt, (i) be act of counsell producit, maid in be persewaris fauouris in be lxxxvij 3eir2 of god, Ordaining him to be ansuerit of be fruittis of be said benefice, quhill mr Iames betoun war fullie restoirit in parliament; (ii) Nixt, be act of counsell

¹ Ludovic, Duke of Lennox.

^{2 17}th March 1585.

maid in May, lxxxix, annulled all sic dispensationis grantit in maner specifit in be said act, and declarand be samyn to mak na fayth;1 (iii) Thridlie, be persewar repeittit be said act of parliament; (iv) And last, albeit sic dispensationis war, 3it be kingis dispensatioun can nocht prejudge his rycht, nather can be said priwie dispensatioun haiwe be force of ane act of parliament, befoir be samvn war ratifeit in parliament: In respect quhairof, and of be expres derogationis maid to be dispensationis be be saidis actis of counsell & parliament, be said pretendit exceptioun aucht to be repellit. § 46. And Nixt, It Was replyit to be eik proponit for be pairt of be said Alexander Montgomerie to be said first exceptioun proponit aganis be persewaris title and prowisioun, That be samyn aucht to be repellit, In respect of his provisioun standard, with be lordis decreitt interponit berto decerning letteres in all be four formes for ansuering and obeying of him of be fruittis of be said benefice, conforme to his provisioun. according to be quhilk he hes bein in possessioun of be fruittis of be said benefice continuallie sen his said provisioun be vplifting of ane pairt, and recouering of decreittis of ane vther pairt; § 47. Lyik as he hes obtenit ane decreitt aganis be said mr Iames betoun, allegit bischope of glasgow, and certane tennenttis of be said bischoprik, decernand bame to ansuer and obey him conforme to his provisioun of be croppis Imvc lxxxvij, lxxxviij, lxxxix, lxxxx, lxxxxi, and bis instant crope lxxxxij zeiris, and syiclyik zeirlie in tyme cumming, as pairtie fundin be be saidis lordis to haiwe best rycht berto, as be saidis decreittis presentlie producit beris; In respect of be quhilkis provisioun and decreitt standand in the awin strenth, vnreducit or quarrellit, be said pretendit eik aucht to be repellit. § 47. Attour, giff neid beis, he offerit him to preiwe, hat bischope Iames boyde his predecessour was prowydit to be said benefice be oure souerane lord, beand laufull patroun and hawand be rycht of be dispositioun of be title of be said benefice, quha, be vertew of his prowisioun, was in peaceable possessioun to be tyme of his deceis, be be space of sex or sewin 3eiris, or bairby, be vplifting of be dewteis, etc., quha deceisit in august, or bairby, lxxxi, and sua hawand ane title with ane triennal and pacifick possessioun, vnquarrellit in his tyme; & he [i.e., Erskine] beand prowydit throwche his deceis, bayth bair prowisiounis standand, be said eik aucht to be repellit. § 48. fforder, quhair the defendar alleges, bat vmquhile bischope Iames boydis prowisioun, as alsua his [i.e., Erskine's], is grantit vpoun be foirfaltour of be said bischope Iames betoun, and bat he was never foirfaltit, It is ansuerit: (i) ffirst, þat þe defendar deducis na rycht in his persoun frome þe said bischope Iames betoun, bot onlie allegis ius tertii, quhilk can nocht elid per viam exceptionis myne, and myne predecessouris, prowisiounis,

¹ This refers to a writ of the Privy Council, of date May 29, 1589, in which Betoun (along with others) is expressly declared to be still under the ban of his former sentence of foirfultour.

cled with possessioun, standard vnreducit, and authori3it with be lordis decreittis, and speciallie aganis be said mr lames betoun in maner foirsaid; (ii) Nixt, my provisioun is grantit to me be quhatsumewir rycht be samyn mycht haiwe cummit in oure souerane lordis handis; And sua in caice be said benefice vaikit be be said sentence of baratrie, specifeit in be said eik, 3it bat samyn caus is includit in be generall caus of vacatioun, specifeit in my provisioun; (iii) Thridlie, he offerit him to preiwe, gif neid beis, bat be caus of be vacatioun specifeit in be said vmquhile bischope Iames boydis prowisioun to be said bischoprik of glasgow, is nocht onlie be ressoun of be foirfaltour led aganis be said bischope Iames betoun, bot also be ressoun of be proces and sentence of baratrie led aganis him, and specifeit in the said last eik producit be be defendar. § 49. And quhair It is allegit, bat be said sentence is tane away, in sua far as in be zeir of god, etc., lxxxvii, oure souerane lord gaiwe commissioun of ambassadorie to the said bischope Iames betoun, and berby hes allowit his depairting and remaning out of Scotland, That pairt is altogidder irrelewant; ffor albeit he had gewin him commissioun, 3it it followis nocht bat ather his hienes hes allowit his first depairting out of be cuntrie, nor 3it takkis be samyn away be decreitt of baratrie gewin aganis him; ffor albeit now, ex post facto, he wald geiwe ane speciall allowance of his first depairting, 3it be decreitt of baratrie wald stand without ane speciall reductioun: lyik as be posterior allowance culd be na relewant caus of reductioun of be decreitt gewin of befoir. § 50. Attoure, nocht onlie in be said lxxxvij zeir of god is bair ane speciall act of counsell sett down ordaning him to be ansuerit of be fruittis of be said benefice, ay and quhill Iames betoun war fullie restoirit, and bat conforme to his prouisioun. As be act producit beiris, Bot also he hes obtenit decreitt aganis be said mr Iames betoun sen be said fourscore sewin 3eir of god, viz., in Junij 1592, dischairgand be said mr Iames betoun to trubill be tennenttis of be said bischoprik for pair dewteis, as pairtie fundin to haiwe na rycht berto. In respect quhairof be said pretendit eik aucht to be repellit. § 51. THRIDLIE, It was replyit to be reformit secund eikis, proponit aganis be ressoun reductive of be saidis summundis, and be persewaris entres coniunctlie, That be first and secund pairt of be said eik, proponit aganis be persewaris entres, aucht to be repellit, In respect of be titles producit, and of be precept desering reductioun of be said pensioun during be 3eiris and tyme of be said persewaris provisioun allanerlie; lyik as be persewar declairis bat he insistis in reductioun of be pensioun onlie for be tyme of his provisioun during his lyiftyme allanerlie, And is content bat be defendaris pensioun be reseruit to him frielie efter be persewaris deceis, and declairis bat he insistis for reductioun of be said pensioun in tyme cumming during his lyiftyme allanerlie. § 52. And quhair be said defendar, ansuerand to be ressoun of be saidis summundis, opponis aganis be persewaris title

& provisioun of vmquhile mr Iames boyd, be guhais deceis be persewar is allegit to be prowydit. It is ansuerit berto, that be samyn aucht to be repellit. In respect of (i) vmquhile bischope Iames boydis prowisioun standard vnreducit, quhilk was nocht onlie cled with possioun during his lyiftyme be be space of aucht or nyne 3eiris. lyik as he deit in possessioun perof in be moneth of [August] 3eir of god lxxxi zeiris, bot als his prowisioun was authorizit be dyuers decreittis of be lordis of sessioun, & vtheris judgis ordinare gewin berto; (ii) As als in respect of his persewaris provisioun gewin be be deceis of be said vmquhile mr Iames boyde, and vtherwayis in maner specifeit in his prowisioun, Be vertew guhairof be said persewar nocht onlie hes bein in possioun in maner specifeit in be ansuer maid to be last eik producit, bot lyikwayis be said prowisioun is authorized nocht onlie be be lordis decreitt decernand letteres for ansuering and obeying of him conforme perto, bot also be ane vther decreitt of doubill punding vpoun letteres raisit at be tennentis instance aganis be said persewar on be ane pairt, be said mr Iames betoun, on be other pairt, and be Duke of lennox pretendit rycht be factorie to be fruittis of be said benefice, on be thrid pairt. Be be quhilk decreitt be said persewar is decernit to be ansuerit and obeyit as pairtie hawand onlie rycht to be fruittis of be said benefice, and be Duke and be said mr Iames dischairgit to truble & molest be saidis tennentis, as pairteis hawand na rycht to be fruittis of be said benefice, in maner specifeit in be ansuer maid to be last eik and decreitt heirwith producit 1; (iii) As also be said persewar hes bein in use to reduce dyuers pensiounis. be vertew of his rycht gewin sede vacante vpoun be samyn ressoun contenit in his precept: In respect guhairof, and of he said persewaris. & his predecessoures, provisioun standard cled with possessioun sua mony zeiris, authorized be be saidis decreittis standand lyikwayis in pair awin strenth, be said defendar can nocht be hard to object be said pretendit eik aganis be said persewaris, or his predecessouris, prowisioun; (iv) nor 3it can be persewar be compellit to enter in disputatioun with be defendar bervpoun, quha deducis na rycht in his persoun frome be said bischope Iames betoun; (v) nor 3it aucht be persewar to be compellit to produce be foirfaltour, or sentence of baratrie, quhervpoun ather his or his predecesssouris provisioun is foundit, be saidis prowisiounis standard cled with possessioun & authorized with decreittis, as said is; (vi) And quher It is meanit bat be foirfaltour led aganis be said bischope Iames betoun, & all prowisiounis gewin pervooun, is retreittit & rescindit, be same is sufficientlie ansuerit to in he reply maid to he principall exceptioun, quhilk we repeitt in bis place; (vii) And als quher be defendar meanis bat we wald obtrude ane sentence of baratrie as be caus of vacatioun of be said benefice, quhilk is nocht specifeit in be gift pro-

¹ This decree is not to be confused with that given in the action of triple poinding referred to in § 44 (iii).

ducit,—To bat it is answerit, that be samyn is includit in be generall caus of vacatioun, as als be said sentence of baratrie is ane of be caust) speciallie expressit in be provisioun of vinquhile bischope Iames boyde, our predecessour; (viii) Item, to be last eik berand ane ansuer to be reply maid to be defendaris eik, producit of befoir, I repeitt be said reply or ansuer maid to be said eik maid befoir as ane sufficient ansuer heirto. \$ 53. AND last of all, It was replyit to be last reformit eikis proponit for be pairt of be said Alexander. That be first pretendit eik berof, foundit vooun ane allegit commissioun of ambassadrie gewin to bischope Iames betoun, quhilk tacite importis, as the defandar wald meane, ane gracious restitutioun, That be said eik is onlie bot ane repetitioun of bat quhilk was allegit and decydit in be principall defensf); And perfoir be persewar repeittis his ansuer maid to bat pairt of be principall exceptionis, as ane sufficient ansuer heirto. § 54. Secundlie, be secund pretendit eik is lyikwayis decydit befoir, for be defendar hes done na mair in bir last eikis bot repeittit his principall defense, and maid tua eikis of bat quhilk was ane defence befoir, and perfoir be persewar lyikwayis repeittis his former ansueris maid berto. § 55. And quher be defendar in be said last eik wald meane bat be said bischope Iames betoun is fund be the lordis of sessioun to haiwe bein fullie anis restoirit, It is ansuerit berto bat be contrar is manfest be be decisioun of the lordis producit in proces, and decreittis gewin aganis be said bischope Iames betoun at be persewaris instance; Lyik as be persewar offeris him to preiwe, giff neid beis, bat in be proces of dubill punding, quhervpoun be last decreitt proceidit, quhilk now is lyand in proces, be said alleagance of bischope betonis restitutioun was proponit & repellit be be lordis of sessioun; As alsua be expres act of parliament producit lyikwayis in proces, it is fund but be benefite of restitutioun was never extendit to be said bischope Iames betoun, nor to na vberis quha hes nocht gewin confessioun of pair fayth; for albeit be said act of restitutioun war extendit generallie to all personis, 3it it is ever with be provisioun & cautioun contenit in be first act of pacificatioun, ratifeit in be said lxxxvii 3eir of god, To wit, hai sall geiwe confessioun of hair fayth etc., Sua hat albeit all personis war restoirit with hat provisioun, 3it nane can injoy be benefite of be said restitutioun quhill bai fulfill be said provisioun in sic soirt hat, albeit he said bischope Iames betoun war nocht exceptit furth of be said pacificatioun bot comprehendit vnder be samyn, 3it he culd neuer clame be benefite berof befoir he geiwe be confessioun of his fayth; And giff he wald compeir presentlie and geiwe confessioun in but caice, it mycht be but he mycht inion be benefite of be said act of pacificatioun, vberwavis nocht, as at mair lenth is contenit in be ansucris maid to be first exceptionis. respect quherof be said pretendit secund eik aucht to be repellit, As be saidis replyis maid to be saidis exceptionis and eikis respective in pame selff at lenth beris. - Quhilkis replyis, with be poynttis of

be summundis, being fund relewant, and admittit to probatioun and dyuers termes by, he prewit be samyn sufficient. (Commissariot of Edinburgh, Decreets, vol. 24, f. 26a.)

XI.

[DENUNCIATION of ALEXANDER MONTGOMERIE by the Privy Council. 14th July 1597.]

ANENT oure souerane lordis lettres direct, makand mentioun, for sa mekle as it is vnderstand to the kingis maiestie and lordis of his secreit counsale, That Alexander Montgomerie, brother to the laird of heslott, wes arte, parte, at the leist vpoun the counsale, divise, and foirknowlege with vmquhile hew barclay of ladyland in the lait treasounable interprise divisit tuiching the surprising and taking of Ilisha, within the boundis and dominionis of this realme, fortifeing and victualling of the same for the resett and conforte of the Spanishe armey, louked for and procurit be the said ymouhile hew to have cum and arryvit in the saidis pairtis for subuersioun of the trew religioun, alteratioun of the estate, and disturbing of the publict peace and quietnes of this haill Iland: And Anent the charge gevin to the said Alexander, To have compeirit personalie before the kingis maiestie and lordis of secreit counsaile this xiiii day of Iuly instant, To haue ansuerit to sic thingis as sould have bene particularlie inquirit of him concerning the premisf), and to have vndirlyne tryale and pynishment for the same, according to the lawis of this realme, vnder the pane of rebellioun &c., with certificatioun &c., lyke as at mair lenth is contenit in the saidis lettres, executionis, and indorsationis thairof: Ouhilkis being callit and the said alexander not comperand, The lordis of secreit counsale ordanis lettres to be direct. To denunce him &c. (Register of the Privy Council, vol. v, f. 555.)1

¹ The following hitherto unpublished communication from Robert Bowes, the English ambassador at the Scottish Court, to Lord Burghley, dated July 4, 1597, throws interesting light on this Catholic plot: "It is reveyled and knawin to be of veretye that the conspiracye to have ben acomplished by the taking and forcinge of Ilishay was devysed by the Larde of Ladyland, corronall hakerson, the Spanish Ambassadour, quha convenit in Fraunce in the towne of Nants in October last, quhair Ilishay was termed the Isle of Guyanna and giuen out as very fertile and comodious for fisching, but inhabited by barbarous people, and anes possessed nocht recouerable be no enemy out of thandis [i.e. the handis] of men of warr. For taking whereof ther was contributioun promisit by sondry noblemen of Fraunce and of England & of Scotland, the names wherof sall, god willing, come shortlie to knawledge. The trofiquers for this contributioun was in Fraunce Hakerson, In Ingland Richard Skeldon, And in Scotland Ladylande himself. The chiefe ende of the taking hereof was, first, to set off and manteyne

XII.

The following extract from Calderwood (vol. 3, p. 708), which further research may show to have reference to Montgomerie, has been noted since Appendix B was put into type. But it may be well to record it here:—

"Captain Montgomerie being directed from the king required the Assemblie in his Hienesse' name not to meddle with removing anie of the members of the Colledge of Glasgow speciallie the Principal seeing his majestie is patron and erecter of the said Colledge." If this is the poet, it is likely that he was in attendance on the king during his detention by the Ruthven Raiders, for the passage has reference to the General Assembly which convened at Edinburgh on April 24, 1583. Calderwood further mentions [vol. 8, App. 250] that "upon Fryday the Secund (August, 1583) the king's old houshold servants were changid for the most part and the rest were likewise to be removed, as James Murray of Powmaes, Captain Montgomerie," &c. Montgomerie received his pension from the King on July 7, 1583, ten days after his escape from the Raiders.

ane publique mass in this Islande quhilk sould be patent to all distressed papy[s]te[s] quhairfra so ever they sall come. Ane place of releife & refreshment to the Spanyart, or rather a porte to them at ther arryvall in Ireland, And ane store house to keipe furnishing & all thing is profytable to the vse of therle [i.e. the erle] of Tyrone, with the quhilk Erle Ladylande by his comissars hes ben buissy sen his last coming to Scotland. After the taking of the said Island, Ladyland deuysed to have sent william Liddell to Spayne with message of ther interpryse, and to crave mony & furnishing. The bark that was fugetyue, out of the quhilk Ladylande came quhen he drowned, is arryved at Southamton; his coffers broken vp and ane great quantety of letteres gottin therein. Sua that if the said william may be aprehended, and hope to doe, god willing, shortlie, ther wilbe ane great revelation of treason touching both the countryes." [State Papers relating to Scotland (Record Office, London), vol. 61, no. 12. i. endorsed, 'Discoverie of Ladylands dissygnes in taking of Ilishaye.']



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NOTES

TO

THE CHERRIE AND THE SLAE.

§ 1. Allusions to Classical Mythology. — In the annotations appended to Dr Cranstoun's edition of Montgomerie's poems, the various references to legendary story found in 'The Cherrie and the Slae' are already traced to their classical sources. Allusions of this kind, it ought, however, to be remembered, form a conventional feature of the class of poem to which Montgomerie's allegory belongs, and are not to be taken as indicating a close acquaintance on the poet's part with the classical writers who first gave these legends currency in Europe. His 'mythological lore,' which Dr Cranstoun inclines to regard as too ostentatiously paraded, is, as a matter of fact, drawn from a common stock, open and familiar to the romantic allegorists, both in England and Scotland, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Montgomery, out of his own knowledge of the classics, makes no fresh contribution to the ordinary round of these allusions. With Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate to draw upon, and the works of their Scottish imitators, he had no occasion indeed to go farther afield. The following notes, supplementing Dr Cranstoun's, make this clear:1-

7-14. Legend of Progne and Philomela. Told at length by Chaucer in the 'Legend of Good Women' (No. vii.). See also 'Troilus,' II., 64 ff.; Lydgate, 'Temple of Glas' (ll. 97-99)—

"Ther sawe I writen eke þe hole tale Hov Philomene into ny3tyngale Iturned was, and Progne vnto a swalow."

See also his 'Falls of Princes' (f. 9 a.); 'Reson and Sensuallyte'

¹ Unless when otherwise stated, the notes refer to the expanded version of the poem published in 1615, represented in this volume by Wreittoun's print of 1636.

(ll. 4302 ff.); and 'Complaint of the Black Knight' (l. 374); Gower's 'Confessio Amantis' (V., ll. 5551-6047); 'The Kingis Quair' (stanza 55); Gavin Douglas's 'Palice of Honour' (Small, I., p. 23, l. 4).

48-56. Echo and Narcissus (1597 ed.). The legend is related in the 'Romance of the Rose' (ll. 1469-1538). Montgomerie had in all likelihood read Chaucer's translation. 'Here starf the faire Narcissus,' the epitaph which the dreamer of the 'Romance' found written in 'lettres smale' on a stone by the well's side, is echoed in Montgomerie's lines—

"Lamenting sair Narcissus cace Quha staruit at the well."

See also 'The Boke of the Duchesse' (ll. 735.6); Gower's 'Confessio Amantis' (I., ll. 2275 ff.), where the story is told at length; 'Palice of Honour' (Small, I., p. 23, l. 23).

96. Craftie Amphioun (1597 ed.). Cf. Chaucer, 'The Maunciples Tale' (ll. 116-118)—

"Certes the King of Thebes, Amphioun, That with his singing walled that citee, Coude never singen half so wel as he";

'The Knightes Tale' (l. 1546); 'The Merchantes Tale' (l. 1716); Lydgate, 'The Temple of Glas' (ll. 1310-1312)—

"And Amphioun bat hath such excellence
Of musike, ay dide his bisynes
To please and queme Venus be goddes."

See also Skelton, 'Garland of Laurel' (ll. 272-273); Douglas, 'The

Palice of Honour' (Small, I., p. 21, l. 2).

103 ff. Cupid. The description which Montgomerie gives of the god of love, a principal figure necessarily in the romantic allegories, preserves the conventional features. Cf. Chaucer, 'The Knightes Tale' (ll. 1105-1108)—

"Beforn hir stood hir sone Cupido,
Up-on his shuldres winges hadde he two;
And blind he was, as it is ofte sene;
A bowe he bar and arwes brighte and kene."

'The Kingis Quair' (stanza 94)-

"There sawe I sitt the blynd god Cupide, With bow in hand hat bent full redy was, And by him hang thre arowis in a cas."

See also the 'Romance of the Rose' (l. 877 ff.); 'The Goldin Terge' (ll. 110, 111); 'Palice of Honour' (Small, p. 19, l. 24 ff.).

158. Icarus. See Gower, 'Confessio Amantis' (IV., l. 1035 ff.), where the legend is recounted at length.

175. Phaeton. Gower, 'Confessio Amantis' (IV., l. 979 ff.).

249. Dido. Chaucer includes the story of Dido in his 'Legend of Good Women.' Cf. also 'Hous of Fame' (ll. 140-382); 'Boke of the Duchesse' (ll. 731-734); 'Parliament of Foulis' (l. 289); Gower, 'Confessio Amantis' (IV., ll. 77-146); Lydgate's 'Falls of Princes' (II., l. 13); 'Complaint of the Black Knight' (l. 375).

343 ff. Daphne and Apollo. Cf. Lydgate, 'The Temple of Glas'

(ll. 111-115)-

"I saw3 hov Phebus with an arow of gold Iwoundid was, puru3oute in his side, Only bi envie of pe god Cupide, And hou pat Daphne vnto a laurer tre Iturned was, when she did fle."

See also Lydgate's 'Reson and Sensuallyte' (ll. 2466-2486); Gower, 'Confessio Amantis' (I., l. 336, III., l. 1684 ff.); Chaucer, 'Knightes Tale' (ll. 1204-1206); 'Troilus' (III., l. 726-728).

429 ff. Atropus and Clotho. The Fates are often alluded to in the romantic allegories. Cf. Chaucer, 'Troilus,' iv., 1208. Atropos figures in Lydgate's 'Assembly of Gods,' and is assigned an important place in the action, being identified with Death. References also are found in 'The Story of Thebes' (ff. 359 d, 374, &c.); 'Reson and Sensuallyte' (f. 219 a); 'Life of Our Lady' (f. 95 b), where all three Fates are mentioned—Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos; 'Temple of Glas' (ll. 782-783); Lyndsay, 'Experience and ane Courteour,' 'Tyll Atrops cut the fatell threid' (l. 373, Laing); 'Papyngo,' 'Sen Atropus

consumit haith my glorie' (l. 231).

§ 2. Allegorical Figures.—The 'debate' (concerning the poet's enterprise to pull the Cherrie), which is opened at stanza 27 by Dread, Danger, and Despare, on the one hand, and Courage and Hope on the other, and continued from stanza 44 to the end with the help of Experience, Reason, Wit, Skill, Will, and Wisdom, belongs to the same romantic allegorical tradition. Montgomerie invents no new figures, and pursues a thoroughly conventional method in the development of his allegory. In the 'Romance of the Rose' Daunger is the 'cherl' that lies in wait, with Wikked-Tonge and Shame, to intercept adventurous lovers attracted by the beauty of the Rose (ll. 3016 ff.). As in 'The Cherrie and the Slae,' Reasoun figures among the counsellors of the lover to warn him of the perils of his quest (ll. 3189 ff.). Cf. also the long discussion between Reasoun and the lover (ll. 4629 ff.). Drede, also (ll. 3958 ff.), and Hope (ll. 4435 ff.) appear in the Romance. The lover in Gower's 'Confessio' (Bk. III., 1158 ff.) describes a contest in his heart between Wit, 'with Resoun in compaignie,' on one side, and Will, 'which hath Hope of his acord,' on the other. Lyd-

gate's knight in the 'Temple of Glas' (l. 641 ff.) is drawn from side to side by Hope and Dread, and Danger and Despair. Usually in allegories of this type, Danger, the lover's most forbidding opponent, is accompanied by one or other of the following-Disdain, Pride, or Dread, and is opposed by Hope, Courage, Grace, and Pity. Cf. 'Parliament of Foules,' l. 136; 'Confessio Amantis,' III., 1537 ff., V., 6613 ff.; 'Temple of Glas,' ll. 198, 631, 646, 652, 739, 776, 895, 1141; 'Falls of Princes,' f. 311 b; 'Reson and Sensuallyte,' ff. 236 a, 238 b, 280 a; 'Complaint of the Black Knight,' ll. 13, 250; 'Court of Love,' ll. 831, 973, 1036; 'The Goldin Terge,' ll. 150-153, 156, 169-171, 223. Amongst the allegorical figures which appear in Gavin Douglas's 'King Hart' are Danger (Small, p. 97, l. 1 ff.), Dreid of Disdane (p. 02, l. 5), Reassoup, Wit (p. 106, l. 18 ff., p. 114, l. 24), Wisdom (p. 108, l. 28 ff., p. 113, l. 13 ff.). These allegorical figures of the Romances become part of the stock machinery of the sixteenth century lyric writers. Compare, for example, Wyatt's 'Complaint upon Love to Reason, with Love's answer.' 'Despair counselleth the deserted Lover to end his woes by Death, but Reason bringeth comfort.' In another of Wyatt's poems (Ald. ed., p. 138) appear Will, Hope, Desire, Love.

§ 3. Conventional Nature References.—Dr Cranstoun (p. xvii) is inclined to support a long held opinion that the descriptive passages at the commencement of 'The Cherrie and the Slae' were inspired by the beautiful scenery along the banks of the river Dee, where it joins the Tarffe two miles above the town of Kirkcudbright. At this point still stand the ruins of Compston Castle, which a local tradition—to be traced as far back as 1684 1—points to as at one time the dwelling-place of the poet. No doubt it is true, as Dr Cranstoun states, that 'balmy bewis,' 'the routing river,' 'the stark streim,' 'reflex of Phebus in the Waters,' 'roches sounding like a sang,' 'swarms of sounding bees,' 'lays of luvesome larks,' and 'the skipping and tripping of four-footed creatures,' may be noted in and around this charming spot; and that the place-names, Hartland, Buckland, Borland, Brockloch, point to the existence in the district of the 'dae,' the 'rae,' the 'boar,' the 'brock,' although they are now no longer to be found there. But such expressions and lists of animals are mere commonplaces of the romantic allegory. In the 'Kingis Quair' (§ 155-157) are enumerated, amongst others, the hart, roe, hare, rabbit, bear, fox. James does not include the hedgehog, but he has the porcupine and the marten, if not, like Montgomerie, the pole-cat. It is possible that Montgomerie had Henryson's 'Parliament of Foure-futtit Beistis' in mind when he made his catalogue. All of the animals mentioned in 'The Cherrie and the Slae' appear

^{1 &#}x27;A Large Description of Galloway' (1684-1692), by Mr Andrew Symson, MS., Advocates' Library.

at the Parliament. Cf. also such resemblances between the enumerations of the two poets as these:

"I saw the Hurcheoun and the Hare
In hidlings hirpling heere and there."
—Montgomerie, ll. 29, 30.

"The hardbakkit hurcheoun and the hirpland hair."
—Henryson, 1. 895, S.T.S. ed.

"The Hart, the Hynd, the Dae, the Rae."
—Montgomerie, l. 35.

"The Da, the Ra, the hornit Hart, the Hynd."
—Henryson, l. 892.

So far as English poetry in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is concerned, the ultimate source of these conventional lists of animals assembled in the parks and meadows of the romantic allegory is, of course, Chaucer, and Chaucer himself in this is but an imitator of the court poets of France. The persistence of the tradition is well seen by comparing the opening of 'The Cherrie and the Slae' with a stanza like this from the 'Parlement of Foules'—

"On every bough the briddes herde I singe,
With voys of aungel in hir armonye,
Som besyd hem hir briddes forth to bringe;
The litel conyes to hir pley gunne hye,
And further al aboute I gan espye
The dredful roo, the buk, the hert and hinde
Squerels, and bestes smale of gentil kinde."
—Il. 100-106.

Many of the terms used by Chaucer in his descriptions of these imaginary parks and gardens came to have a kind of consecrated usage, and others were gradually added until a language of conventional expressions was evolved on which the later allegorists but ring the changes over and over. There are few of the epithets employed by Montgomerie in the descriptive stanzas of 'The Cherrie and the Slae' which cannot often be paralleled in earlier writers. 'Pratling Pyes' and 'iangling layes' recalls Chaucer's 'jangling pye' and 'scorning jay';1 'keckling kayes' may be suggested by Lyndsay's 'kekill lyke ane ka' ('Papyngo,' l. 94). A single stanza of Lyndsay's 'Dreme' (ll. 92-98) supplies a number of Montgomerie's phrases. Cf. 'balmy liquor sweet,' 'O fair Phebus! quhare is thy hoilsum heit?' 'mystie vapouris,' with Montgomerie's 'balmie liquor sweet' (l. 54), 'through Phœbus wholsome heat' (l. 56), 'mistie vapours' (l. 44). Other expressions occurring in the 'Dreme,' 'I musit myne allone' (l. 116), 'I leif to poetis (l. 439) to describe,' 'Throw vertew of the

¹ Cf. also 'Man of Law's Tale,' l. 676, 'thou janglest as a jay'; 'Garland of Laurel,' l. 1262, 'iangelyng jays.'

temperat air serene' (l. 763), 'reflex of Phebus bemis brycht,' recall Montgomerie's 'Bot as I mussit myne allane' (l. 77), 'I leife to Poets to compyle' (l. 74), 'The air was so attemperat, But ony mist Immaculatt' (ll. 29-30), 'Reflexe of Phœbus in the firth' (l. 317). Lyndsay's lines, 'The Poeitis auld in style heroycall . . . So ornatlie to thair heych laude and glorie, Haith done indyte, guhose supreme sapience Transcendith far the dull intellygence Of Poetis now . . .' ('Papyngo,' ll. 4-10) may have been in Montgomerie's recollection when he wrote, 'I leife thir Poets to compyle (cf. supra) In staitlie verse and ornat style It passis my Ingyne' (ll. 74-76), the two last lines of which, in the 1615 edition, he changed to, 'In high heroick stately stile, Whose Muse surmatches mine.' The second line of 'The Cherrie and the Slae' in its revised version, 'Where nightingals their nots renew,' echoes a line in 'The Buik of Alexander' (p. 107, l. 3). 'And nichtingalis thare notis neuis,' which in its turn may have been suggested by 'Nichtgalis with notes newit there songe' from the older 'Destruction of Troy' (l. 12, 973), which has been credited to the 'mysterious' Huchown of Awle Ryale. That Montgomerie also acquired part of his poetic vocabulary from Dunbar is clear from the following resemblances-

"The birdis sang vpoun the tendir croppis
With courius nottis, as Venus chapell-clarkis

The skyis rang for schowtting of the larkis."

- 'The Goldin Terge,' ll. 20, 21, 25.

"Quha wald haue tyrit to heir that tune,
Quhilk birds corroborate abune,
Throw schouting of the Larkis?
Quha flewe sa hie into the skyis
Quhil Cupid walknit throw the cryis
Of natures chappell clarkis."
— 'Cherrie and the Slae,' ll. 99-104.

Here also in Dunbar's poem appear the familiar phrases, 'reflex of Phebus visage bricht' (l. 33), 'cristall air' (37), 'the mirry fowlis armony' (46), 'balmy levis' (97), and 'rossis reid,' with 'knoppis,' powderit bricht with hevinly beriall droppis' (22-23). Cf. Montgomerie's description of the flowers hanging 'thair heidis out ower the heuch, In mayis cullour cled; Sum knapping, Sum drapping, Of balmie liquor sweit' (ll. 37-40).

Through these imaginary meadows of the romantic allegory a river almost invariably runs, and the poet's description is scarcely complete without a reference to the sound of its waters (see 'The Cherrie and the Slae,' stanzas 6 and 7). Compare the 'Romance of the Rose' (ll. 110-134), where the stream comes down 'full stiff and bold . . . from an hille that stood ther neer'; also the line in the 'Palice of Honour' (p. 8, l. 5), 'the flude rumland as thonder routit.' (Cf.

'Through routing of the river rang the Roches,' C. and S., Il. 85, 86). In the 'Kingis Quair' (§ 152) we have-

> "The cristall water ran so clere and cold That in myn erë maid contynualy A maner soun mellit with armony."

In 'The Cherrie and the Slae' the 'deskant' of the running 'streames' is echoed back-

> "And ay the eccho repercust The Diapason sound." —ll. 89, 90;

while in the 'Palice of Honour' it is the melody of the birds-

"Ouhais schill noitis fordinned all the skvis. Of repercust air the echo cryis Amang the branches of the blomed treis."

-p. 2, 11. 4-6.

Descriptive lists of trees are frequently given (cf., for example, 'The Parlement of Foules,' ll. 176-182), and enumerations of birds as in the garden of 'Romance of the Rose,' where in May-time is heard the 'jargoning' of nightingales, finches, turtles, laverokkes, thrustles, and mavys (cf. Montgomerie's list). Along the banks of the river that flowed through the 'lusty plane' of the 'Kingis Quair,' the poet sees 'a long[e] rawe of treis . . . full of leuis grene' and 'fruyte delitable' (§ 152); and in the 'Romance of the Rose' mention is even made of the very tree Montgomerie chose as the symbol of his love aspirations—

> "And many hoomly trees there were, That peches, coynes, and apples bere, Medlars, ploumes, pere, chesteynes, Cheryse, of which many on fayn is." -ll. 1373-1376.

A reference in 'The Cherrie and the Slae' to bees busy storing their hives (Il. 62-70) is paralleled by a line in the Prologue to the 'Palice of Honour,' 'And beis wrocht materiall for thair hyue' (l. 45). Other parallels might be cited to show how thoroughly conventional the opening description of Montgomerie's poem is. He is writing with his eye on the traditionary gardens and meadows of the 'rose' allegories, and not on the river scenery of the Kirkcudbrightshire Dee. where, indeed, the nightingale does not sing nor the cherry ripen in the month of May. There is little, if anything, in Montgomerie's poetry to warrant the statement that he shows 'a realistic fidelity to nature,' and it must be allowed that in this respect he has nothing to compare with Hume's notable poem, 'The Day Estival.'

§ 4. Proverbs.—The popularity of 'The Cherrie and the Slae' during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries appears to have been mainly due to the rich store of proverbial sayings which it contains. 'That magazine of pithy witt,' the editor of 'The Montgomery Manuscripts' calls it, from which, and the 'Flyting,' 'the Advocates in Edinbrugh take many Oratorious and Satyricull Apothegems.' James Kelly (the compiler of a volume of Scottish Proverbs) some years later, in 1721, refers to 'The Cherrie and the Slae' as 'so commonly known to Scottish men that a great share of it passes for proverbs.' Something of his proverbial wisdom Montgomerie may have gathered from the wiseacres of the market-place; but here again it is clear that he is following a well-marked tradition of the romantic allegory. The 'Romance of the Rose' is rich in adages of a homely sort. 'Burnt bairne with fire the danger dreads,' Montgomerie writes (l. 407); but William of Lorris has it, 350 years earlier, 'Brent child of fyr hath muche drede' (l. 1820). Such 'wise saws' as 'A fooles belle is sone runge,' 'For no man at the first stroke, Ne may nat felle down an oke,' 'The maister lesith his tyme to lere, Whan the disciple wol not here,' are found on almost every other page of the Romance. Chaucer acquired the practice from his French masters, and gathered into his poems a store of proverbs derived probably more from books than from the lips of living men. The 'Troilus' is a mine of wisdom of this kind. Lydgate, as might be expected, is particularly partial to the adage. 'Better late than never' ('Assembly of Gods,' 1204), 'Such as ye haue sowe must ye nedes reepe' (1244, 1245), 'He must nedys go that the deuell dryues' (20, 21), are the kind of proverbs the monk delights in. It is possible sometimes to trace these savings through a succession of writers. In the 'Confessio Amantis' (1917-1918) the lover is warned of setting his love on one beyond his reach—

> "Ful ofte he heweth up so hihe That chippes fallen in his yhe."

Lydgate ('Secrees of the Philosophres,' l. 459) follows with—

"Yit were me loth ovir myn hed to hewe."

An anonymous writer in the Bannatyne Manuscript (f. 257 b.) brings down the saying a stage further—

"Now quho so evir hewis to hie
I heir men say and soth it is
The spailis will fall and hurt his ee."

Finally, it appears in 'The Cherrie and the Slae' (ll. 183, 184)—

"Too late I knew who hewes too high The spaill shall fall into his eye." 1

The Scottish poets of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are particularly fond of interlarding their poems with this sort of old-world

1 In the modernised version by J. D., published in 1779, this line is rendered— "The chips may fall and chase his eye." wisdom. None succeeded better than Montgomerie in couching these proverbial sayings in neat and memorable lines, and it is probable that in Scotland but for 'The Cherrie and the Slae' a number of those 'sweete sawes' had long since perished.

§ 5. The Laing MS. and Waldegrave Texts.—The number of important variations in these texts from one another makes it clear that they are quite independent copies of the poem. Sometimes two of the texts are in agreement against the third, but this happens in no regular and consistent way. In the footnotes to the print of Waldegrave's first edition, I have given the variants of his second impression in every instance, except where it is merely an unimportant difference of spelling. The reader is thus in a position to make a comparison for himself of the three texts, and in this way sometimes to clear up an obscure passage. A few examples of how the three versions vary may be of interest—

the three versions vary may be of interest—		
Laing MS.	Waldegrave, First Edition.	Waldegrave, Second Edition.
The feildis ower all was flureischit (32)	The flouris fair ware flurischit	The flouris fair wer flurischit
Ane suarme of sounding beis (62)	ane swarme of sownding beis	In swarmes the sounding beis
And all away was blawin (243)	be luiffis bellowes blawin	By luffis bellies blawin
quhais cumming sic ane rumour maid; and to the sie It softlie slid: the craig was stay and schoir. (294-296)	Quhais running sicke ane murmure maid, as to the sey It swiftlie slaid, ore craig, ore clewch, ore schoir.	Quhais running sic a murmure maid, That to the Sey it softlie slaid; The craig was high and schoir.
thy thryst now, I traist now, gif bat bow wald it preife; and may to, I say to, thy panis all releife. (426-429)	Thy thrist now, I traist now, gif that thou wald it preife: I say to, it may to thy painis all releife.	Thy drouth now, O youth now, Quhilk drownis thee with desyre; Aswage than thy rage, man— Foull water quenches fyre. (Cf. reading on p. 87.)
for to behald his cunning? (648)	he can not hald him still.	He cannot hold his tung.
he kennis now, quhais peznis now thow borrowit him to flie. his woundis 3it, quhilk stoundis 3it, he gat hame euir of he. (719-722)	He kens now, quhais pennes now thou borrowit fra the Clarkis. His wounds 3it, quhilk sounds 3it, I trowe dois beir the markis.	He kennis now quhais pennis now Thou borrowit him to flee: His wounds 3it quhilk sounds 3it, He gat them than throw thee.
the passiones of bi persing spreit. (827)	The passions of thy pensiue spreits.	The persing passion of thy spreit.
swa, fra the foure come, þai war fane, (880)	Fra we conveind, sa they were faine.	Swa fra 3e fowr met they were fayne.

ze thocht vs skantly skillit;

For all the proverbs they

perusit, 3e thocht them skantly skild.

for all be proverbes we pervsit, For all the proverbs 3e pervsit,

(912-913)

3e thocht thame skantlie

skyllit;

§ 6. Notes to Wreittoun's Text (1636).—The following notes include all the textual variations from Wreittoun's version of the poem found in four representative editions published between the dates of Wreittoun's issue and Ramsav's 'Evergreen' text of 1724. The four editions selected are Edward Raban's (Aberdeen, 1645, denoted here as R.), the Edinburgh edition of 1682, published by Andrew Anderson's heir (A.), Sander's Glasgow edition of 1698 (S.), and the text printed by Watson in his 'Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems,' the first part of which, containing 'The Cherrie and the Slae,' appeared in 1706 (W.). To record the increasing editorial liberties with the text of later editions would be a useless task. But the notes here, taken along with the variants of the 'Evergreen' version from Wreittoun's text, all of which (except orthographical) are set forth in the footnotes to the present edition, will enable those who are interested in the question to see how far Ramsay 'edited' his text. Where Ramsay has a reading which is not in Waldegrave, nor in Wreittoun, nor in any of the four texts from which the variants here recorded are taken, it may fairly be assumed that he is interpolating an emendation of his own. The following variants will also be found useful in clearing up some obscure passages in the poem :-

18. Jargoun of] orig. Largoun or, an error repeated in R.A.S., Jargoun or W. 44. vapours] vapour A.; and] nor S. 48. trinckled] trickl'd W. 55. in] and S. 87. Descant] Dascant R., Descants A. 95. and] more R.S.W. 96. firdound] friddound R., fir'd down (!) W. 98. pin] tune A. 156. shots] shafts S. 174. hath] have A.W. 218. swound] sound R.S., sown'd A. 227. of] on A.W. 230. mine] my A. 232. barbuilied] barboyled R., barbuiled A., barboulied S., parboiled (!) W. 244. I doubted In doubting S. 250. wary wearie S. By loves bellowes blowne] All by Loves bellows blown S., By Love his Bellows blown W. 274. punses] pulses R.S.W. 287. it] she W. 303. Windling strayes] windle-strayes R., windle-straes A.W. 327. glancing as colourd as R., when A., as above S.; for whole line S. has Their Shape as graithly as they grew. Cf. pp. 24, 25. 334. tirle as] Tirleis R., trile as A.S.W. Cf. Laing MS., p. 24. 354. know] knew W. 375. Then care not, an[d] feare not] Then fear not, and hear not R., Then spare not, and fear not A.W. 404. these] those R., their A. 419. or nor R., who A.S.W. 449. a thirst a thrist W., of thirst R. 459. I lever I lle ever W. 463. lights light R.A.S.W. 470. Or honour won] Of honour win R. 477. thine] thy A.W. 503. as] who A.W. 505. beginning beginnings S.W. 511. no] not R.A.S.W. 536. the these R.W. 540, we and they they and we S. 548. doing doings S.W. 592, you thinke thou think A.S., yee think R.W. 607. aske] speir S. 613. But doe it and to it] Bot to it and do it A.S. 622. stands] stand A. 639. we] they R.W. 644. they would not] they would have R.W., We would not A. 649. that reckon'd] that

reckons A., who reck'ned W. 650. counteth] counted R., has counted W. 670. Delayes oft times delay oft times A., Delay of Time W. 678. them all] them A., him all S.W. 781. behold] Bee bold. 795. cossing] tossing W., scoffing A. 801. hurt] sturt A.W. 810. perceives] Perceiv A.W. 813. would we] should wee R., would you W. 819. let] let's W. 826. you] ye R. 847. more] mo R. 851. such] sick A.W. 861. no] to R.A.S.W. 886. his] of R., of's. 905. mark] mare R.W. 908. leave] learn R. 916. get] gets W. 923. and speare] but speir R. 954. Ye have] he hes R.W., I have S. 957. heere] where R. 971. That none indeed (quoth they)] omits indeed R., That indeed (quoth he) W. 973. passions of the spirit] passion, &c., A.W., passions of the sprit A.S., passions of thy sp'rit (W.), spirit R. 977. pronuncis] renuncis R.S.W. 981. couldst] coud A. 985. of] for R. 1013. am] was R. 1021. But] baith R. 1026. ye] the A.W. 1047. Dreid] Danger A.S.W. 1083. came] come R. 1115. regrated] regarded W. 1121. for] to A.S.W. 1135. would] could R. 1136. thousand] thousands S. 1176. my companion] thy companion R., companions W. 1185, sound found S. 1194, trumper trumpet R.S.W. 1200. may must R.A.W.S. 1218. none no R.A.S. 1237. made] make W. 1248. [be] overcome] omits be A.S., bee overcome R.W. 1250. so] how. 1254. might] should A. 1259. ye] he A.W. 1284. make] makes R.A.W. 1295. Merchant] Merchants S.W. 1297. come] comes A.S.W. 1308. ye're] yee are R., ye'ad S., ye'd W., ye had A. 1335. would] will R. 1348. medciner unto] mediciner to W. 1370. thencefoorth] henceforth A.W. 1377. sloking] slockning A.S.W. 1381. your] his R.A.S.W. 1393. breeds] breed A., bred R.S. 1399. on] in R.A.S.W. 1474. alway] alwas W. 1478. of] at A.W. 1491. ye] he A.W. 1533. nere] than R.W., then A. 1570. nor none] none was W. 1574. bles'd] bless R.A.W. 1579. hasting . . . tasting lasting . . . hasting R.A.W.

NOTES

TO

THE FLYTING OF POLWART AND MONTGOMERIE.

To the editions of 'The Flyting' recorded by Dr Cranstoun (Introduction, pp. liii, liv), the following three, noted by Dr Brotanek, may be added: I. 'The Flitting betwixt Montgomerie and Polvvart, Edinburgh, Printed by John Wreittoun. 1632.' 4to. The only known copy of this edition is in the Library of Worcester College, Oxford. 2. 'The Flyting betwixt Montgomerie and Polwart. Newly corrected and amended. Edinburgh, Printed Anno Dom. 1666.' 8vo. (See Hazlitt, Third and Final Series of Bibliogr. Collections and Notes, p. 163.) 3. 'The Flyting betwixt Montgomerie and Polwart. Newly corrected and amended. Printed in the year 1679.' 12mo. (See Hazlitt, Second Series of Bibliogr. Collections and Notes, p. 402.)

Reference should also be made to Dr Brotanek's interesting discussion of the origins of the 'Flyting' as a form of literature both in England and Scotland.¹ While agreeing with the accepted view that the ultimate source is probably to be found in the *jeux-partis* and *serventois* of French poetry, Dr Brotanek maintains the immediate influence of the invectives of Poggius' 'Florentinus' (1380-1459). Poggio, well known, it seems, to Englishmen before he accepted the invitation of Cardinal Beaufort in 1419, was the author of a diatribe, 'In Felicem Anti-papam,' three 'In Philelphum,' and five 'In Laurentium Vallam.' (See Basel edition, 1538, pp. 155-251.) These works appear to have been known in this country. In the 'Palice of

Honour' (Small, vol. i. p. 47, l. 13) there is a reference to his invectives against Laurentius Valla—

"And Poggius stude with mony girne and grone, On Laurence Valla spittand and cryand 'fy!"

Skelton also mentions him-

"Poggeus also, that famous Florentine,
Mustred ther amonge them with many a mad tale."

Dr Brotanek quotes a number of passages from Poggio to show that between the 'streitschriften' of the Humanist scholar and Dunbar's 'Flyting' there is a probable connection. Some of these parallels are remarkably close, but perhaps none sufficiently individual to make it impossible that they are but common abusive epithets expressive of the coarse controversial habit of the age. It is always, however, a possibility that the court 'flyters' were partly burlesquing the more serious invectives of the scholars and theologians of the early renaissance.

The indebtedness of 'The Flyting of Montgomerie and Polwart' to that of Dunbar and Kennedy is sufficiently brought out in Dr Cranstoun's elaborate notes. A few additional points are here dealt with:—

131. 13. cultron. Probably a false form of culroun, culrun, through association with custron, cuistroun. The meaning of the two words came to be much the same, that of 'base-born rascal, low-bred fellow.' (Custron derives from O.F. coistron, coestron, and originally signified 'a scullion,' N.E.D.) Sir James Murray suggests that culroun may be a corrupt form of cullion, 'rascal, vile fellow.' If cuist be taken as a truncated form of cuistron, the preceding word cultron would qualify adjectivally. Cf. 'Where is yon cullion knave' ('Peebles to the Play').

131. 17-20. The scribe has misplaced lines 18 and 19 of this stanza, which should run as printed by Hart—

"Thou art doeand and dridland like ane foule beast;
Fykand and fidland, thou art doeand and dridland,
Strydand and stridland like Robin red-brest:
Thou art doeand and dridland like ane foule beast,"

132. 20. blasit of ane beild. The Harleian MS. and later printed versions read 'banished of all beild.' The 'ane,' as Dr W. A. Craigie suggests to me, may be a misrendering by the Tullibardine scribe of 'a',' meaning all. The only interpretation of 'blasit' seems to be that given in the Glossary, proclaimed, hounded out of every dwelling or shelter—i.e., as a disreputable person.

132. 25. with skabrous collouris. Cf. 'His verse is scabrous and hobbling' (Dedication to Dryden's translation of 'Juvenal'); 'Lucre-

tius is scabrous and rough in these [archaisms] (Ben Jonson's 'Discoveries'), N.E.D.

134. 44. to bring in ane gwyse, to lead in a masked dance.

136. 73. Burrio-Borrow (137. 79), hangman. Fr. bourreau. Cf.-

"For why? a thousand lovers not the les
Thoght they persaiv'd that Burrio Death to bost
Within [hir] eyis and sau him whar he sat,
3it feirles ran they. . . ."

In Hart's edition the word appears in a form nearer to the French—viz., 'burreaue.'

138. 98. kowis—kowes (139. 104). Hart (1629) prints 'crowes,' an apparent misreading which led Dr Cranstoun astray in his annotation. In the 1688 edition the word is changed to 'witness.' The meaning of the line is obscure, but may possibly be interpreted as 'God give his protection to cattle in the countryside where you hail from.' Montgomerie in this epistle has already accused Polwart of stealing ewes (l. 67 ff.), and later on Polwart retorts by bringing a charge of pilfering hens against Montgomerie (l. 610 ff.). It is part of the fun of the flyting.

138. 102. past the seillis—past both the seales (139. 108). It is probable that this has its source in some legal expression. The seals referred to may be the Privy and the Great Seal; and to 'be past the seals' (which from the context would seem to mean to be in a position beyond the help of any man) may imply a judgment that would or could not be rescinded either by the Privy or the Great Council, to whom in criminal causes there was an ancient right of appeal in Scots law.

142. 155. coyd. I am indebted to Dr Craigie for pointing out to me that this is a variant spelling of cude, cuide, glossed in Jamieson as 'hairbrained, appearing as one deranged, Border; synon. skeer.' Later scribes and printers had apparently failed to recognise the word in this unusual form. In Hart's edition of 1629 and in the Harleian MS. it is rendered tyrd, which with the context is meaningless. The word occurs in three other places in the Tullibardine MS. Line 739—

"Incummerit with so many coyd infusiones."

The last word should be 'confusiones.' Hart's edition (1629) and the Harleian MS. read—

"Incombred with so many tryed confusions."

'Tryed' here neither alliterates nor makes good sense. Line 644—
"Capping with coyd conceat"

in the Tullibardine MS. is rendered in Hart's edition—
"Cappit with quyet conceit."

So also in Harleian MS. Line 824-

"Coyd clatterer, skin batterer, and flatterer of freindis."

Harleian and Hart read, 'Tyrd clatterer,' &c.

154. 329. lidder, variant of lither, 'sloth, laziness.' Cf. 'Ill! he's just ill wi' the lidder' (Jamieson, 'Suppl.').

154. 335. gelling. Probably from the verb gell, 'to ache or tingle with cold.' Cf. 'The growlan fishwives hoise their creels, Set a' their banes a gelling' (Picken's 'Poems,' 1788, Jamieson).

154. 343. aixis. Scottish form of access, meaning the approach of some feverish illness, hence an attack of ague, fever, &c. Cf. 'Troilus,' II., 1316, 'A charme . . . The whiche can helen the of thyn accesse' (N.E.D.); 'Kingis Quair,' 467, 'Bot tho began myn axis and turment.'

166. 516. they loif it, they lak it. Cf. 'First to lofe and syne to lak, Peter, it is schame' ('Rauf Coilzear,' l. 87).

166. 518. Baw. Dr Cranstoun takes this in the sense of 'hush, lull.' From the context it is perhaps more likely to be a northern form of 'ball.' Cf. 'Tale of Beryn,' l. 1026—

"And stert up in a wood rage,
And ballid on his croun."
—(N.E.D.) See Glossary

168. 541. Infernal, froward, fumus, fureis fell. Cf. Lydgate, 'Bochas,' VII., ii. (1554), 1666—

"Hasty, fumous, with furies infernal,
Of wilful malice innocentes blood to shede."

170. 573. birny. An adjective derived from birns, the charred stems of burnt heath, suggesting the blackened, sour appearance of the moor after burning. Birny brains probably means here a mind worn to moroseness and sour exhaustion through intemperate living. Cf. 'Why shud ony woman marry wi' a man that has a birny, sour, or wolfish kind of temper' (Ford, 'Humorous Scotch Stories,' 1904, p. 103).

170. 574. baillit. The dictionaries do not record any verbal form of the common substantive bail (bale, bele, beal, &c.), 'flame, fire, blaze'; but the context here is not inconsistent with the interpretation given in the glossary. The N.E.D. derives the substantive from O.N. bál rather than from O.E. blel. Dr W. A. Craigie suggests beillit, bealed, 'festered, suppurated,' as a possible reading, and this, on the whole, would seem to be the more probable meaning of the word. Beillit is used by Wyntoun to describe the appearance of marshy land, and the word is also applied figuratively to the mind. Cf. Montgomerie's use of beill ('Misc. Poems,' vi. 10), and bealing ('Misc. Poems,' xxxvii. 20).

172. 590-592. Jamieson explains these lines thus: 'His peeled shoulders show the marks of the cat-and-nine-tails. Of these, and of the marks of other instruments for flogging, there are tires or rows; as well as of the strokes received on board the galleys which grow in different cicatrices.'

178. 680. Rob Stene. A poem entitled 'Rob Stene's Dream,' an allegorical satire on Sir John Maitland, Chancellor of Scotland (1587-1595), is printed in the publications of the Maitland Club. It contains the following reference to Montgomerie—

"Muntgumry, quhome sacred nymphis In Helicon, with hallowit lymphis, And in Parnase, the Muses myld, Did foster as thair proper chyld."

There is no very certain evidence to identify the author, Rob Stene. Mr G. Neilson points out in an interesting article in the 'Scottish Historical Review' (April 1905) that in all probability he was the Robert Stevin whose name appears in the Exchequer Rolls as receiving wages from the King during the year 1587-8: 'Item to Robert Stevin for his vaiges during the spaice foresaid, takand monethlie £6. summa £72.' His office is not disclosed; but if the sidenote in the Tullibardine MS. (see footnote, p. 178) refers to the same person, he apparently fulfilled the function of a court jester. This, however, does not seem to harmonise very well with Mr Neilson's further identification of Robert Stene with Robert Stevin, master of the Grammar School of the Canongate. The possibility of two persons having the same name in Edinburgh at that time is not to be underrated. There is a further reference to Rob Stene in a passage in King James's 'Admonitioun' to Montgomerie (see App. B., p. 268)-

> "Quhen a' was done ye had sa ill a grace, Ye sta away and durst na maire be sene; Ye sta away and luikit lyke Rob Stene,"

One of the poems of Stewart of Baldyneis is introduced with the following lines—

"Ane New Sort of rymand rym Rymand alyk in rym and rym Rymd efter sort of Rob Steine Teine is to purches Robs teine."

170. 575. froisnit. Perhaps a scribal error for fronsit, 'wrinkled, puckered.' Cf. Henryson, 'The Paddock and the Mouse,' l. 43 ff.—

"The mous beheld vnto hir fronsit face, Hir runkillit cheikis, and hir lippis syde, Hir hingand browis," &c.

But Harleian MS. has frozin, and Hart frozen.

180. 719. Porterfield. The person referred to here may have been 'Robert Portarfeild, clerk to our souerane lordis houss,' whose name appears frequently in the Register of the Privy Seal—e.g., on 27th March 1585, 24th June 1586, 9th June 1587.

182. 746. paremeonis. False plural of paramia, 'adage, proverb.' Cf. Puttenham, 'English Poesie' (Arber), 199, 'Parimia or Prouerb, or, as we use to call them, old said sawes, as thus: As the olde cocke

crowes so doeth the chick,' &c. (N.E.D.).

182. 747. Irisch Italianis. Irisch here can only have the significance of 'contemptible.' Ersch is applied by Dunbar to Kennedy as an expression of the lowlander's contempt for the highlander ('Flyting,' l. 273). This contemptuous reference of Polwart to the Italians, by whom the Scottish poets, like their contemporaries in England, were being influenced, may be compared with Ascham's protest against the invasion of English poetry by Italianate fashions in the second quarter of the sixteenth century. See App. C., pp. 293, 294.

182. 760. birkin brother. Dr Cranstoun suggests 'poverty stricken brother' by analogy from the saying, 'As bare as the birk' (birch tree). The reference to 'staitlie styllis' in the preceding line rather points to birken, being merely a variant of birky, 'strutting, pretentious.' A possible meaning, however, is 'birched, well flogged,' from birken, 'to birch.' Cf. 'They birkened those they met, from the rump to the crown of the head.' The brother referred to was

probably Hew Montgomerie, fifth laird of Hessilheid.

184. 766. Flour be pin. This is probably one of the many expressions which Polwart uses in referring to Montgomerie's intemperance. Pin, in the sense of a four-and-a-half gallon cask, was in use as early as 1570 (N.E.D.). Flour is probably an early example of floor, meaning, 'to finish, empty, dispose of.' Cf. 'I was the first man that floored his gallon.' Polwart in another line of the 'Flyting' (187. 745) applies the term 'toome the barrell' to Montgomerie, which conveys the same idea. Flour be pin is interpreted by Dr Cranstoun as 'gambler,' but it is difficult to see how this meaning is derived.

184. 769. royt, a disorderly or dissipated person, rather than 'babbler,' as Dr Cranstoun glosses it. Cf. 'Royet lads may mak

sober men' (Ramsay's 'Proverbs').

184. 789. Cruik-mow. Cf.—

"O kend my minny I were wi' you,
Ill-fardly wad she crook her mow."

—Herd, 'Collected Songs,' ii. 51,

186. 792. Halland schaiker. Lit. one who shakes the 'hallan' or light partition wall built in former times in cottages between the door and the fireplace to act as a draught-screen. It was on this that wandering beggars rattled when they came asking alms.

NOTES

TO

MISCELLANEOUS POEMS.

(LAING MANUSCRIPT.)

I.

192. 1. Luif still in hope with patience. Cf. the unidentified lines quoted by King James in chapter two of his Reulis and Cautelis:—

"Sen patience I man have perforce I live in hope with patience."

192. 18. At euerye schoure pai may nocht schrink. Cf. Montgomerie, 'Misc. Poems,' xl. 45, 'I shaip not for no suddan schours to shrink'; 'Cherrie and the Slae,' l. 48, 'Than schrink nocht for ane schoure.' Montgomerie's fondness for ringing the changes on his own phrases is noted both by Dr Cranstoun and Dr Brotanek, and cannot fail to impress any careful reader of his poems.

193. 51. O deaisie deir. Cf. Montgomerie, 'Misc. Poems,' xxxix. I, 'Adieu. O desie of delvt.'

The subject of the poem is a variation on a well-worn theme in the chivalric love poetry which has its rise in the 'Romance of the Rose.' Cf. ll. 25-40 with the following passage of William of Lorris's poem as given in the English translation:—

"And so for lovers in hir wening,
Whiche Love hath shit in his prisoun;
Good-Hope is hir salvacioun.
Good-Hope, how sore that they smerte
Geveth hem bothe wille and herte
To profre hir body to martyre;
For Hope so sore doth hem desyre
To suffre ech harm that men devyse,
For joye that aftir shal aryse.

—l. 2766 ff., 'Fragment B.'

III.

195. 1. Wo worth the fall of fortounis quheill. References to the wheel of fortoun are constantly met with in the love poetry of which the Romance of the Rose is the principal source and great exemplar. Cf. Chaucer's 'Fortune,' Troilus, I. l. 848 ff; 'Kingis Quair,' stanzas 159-165; also Montgomerie, 'Invective against Fortun.'

195. 10. Peirsit payne. Cf. Montgomerie, 'Misc. Poems,' lii. 7, 'My hairt is pynd and persit so with panis.' 12. Relative 'Quha' omitted at the beginning of the line in accordance with a common Middle Scots usage.

196. 23. Haue which spoils the line metrically should be omitted.

IV.

198. 49-52.—

"Lyke as it is the lizairtis kynd,
Of mannis face to pray hir food," &c.

Cf. Montgomerie, 'Misc. Poems,' xxxix. 7-10-

"Lyk as the lyssard does, indeid, Leiv by the manis face, Thy beutie lyukyse suld me feid, If we had tyme and space."

Also sonnet xxvii. 3-

"I am a li3ard fainest of his face."

Alexander of Menstrie, in one of the songs (7) of his 'Aurora,' makes use of the same simile—

"Behind a little bush (O poore refuge)
Fed with her face, I Li3ard-like remane."

Dr Cranstoun explains the simile in an interesting note on p. 339 of his edition of Montgomerie's poems.

V.

199. 10. Gwklett. The intrusion of an 'l' into the spelling of this word is possibly due to association with 'glaikit,' which has much the same meaning, viz. 'silly, giddy.' Cf. Montgomerie, 'A Descriptione of Vane Lovers,' l. 18, 'Lyk glaikit fools, gang gooked gaits.' Cf. p. 201, l. 18, and variant in footnote.

199. 17. Blind, best, &c. Cf. Montgomerie, 'Against the God of

Love,' l. 1, 'Blind brutal boy, that with thy bow abuses.'

199. 19. Than, drocht, do att pat pow dow. A corrupt line: 'att may be a scribal error for 'all.' Cf. Montgomerie, 'Flyting,' l. 70. 'Doe, droigh, what thow dow.'

199. 32. For I have leirnid to countt my kinch. Cf. Montgomerie, 'Cherrie and the Slae,' ll. 1099, 1100—

"The man may ablens tine a stot Who cannot count his kinch."

The meaning, as well as the philological source, of kinch is somewhat uncertain. The N.E.D. connects it, but doubtfully, with 'kinch' (parallel form of 'kink,' cf. benc, bench), 'a noose,' in its secondary sense of 'a catch, hold, advantage,' and suggests '(one's) lot' as a further derived meaning. Cf. 'Our Heroick burials are oft led like a martial triumphe. . . . But, alas, if in death we could count our just kinsh we might rather dismay and feare.' Birnie, kirk-buriall (1606). 'To reckon up one's fortune, to take a just measure of one's lot,' seems to suit the context in the passages quoted. Dr Cranstoun glosses kinch as 'cattle, kine,' and quotes from Henderson's 'Scottish Proverbs,' 'The man may eithly tine a stot that cannot count his kine.' But this, there can scarcely be any doubt, is a corrupted form, through popular usage and misunderstanding, of Montgomerie's lines in 'The Cherrie and the Slae.'

VI.

The fact that this and another authentic poem of Montgomerie, No. xxx., appear anonymously in the Laing MS. strengthens the supposition that some of the other pieces are by him. The refrain, 'Nan luifis bott fallis vnlude agane,' is no doubt a rendering of Ronsard's line, 'Car un homme est bien sot d'aimer si ou ne l'aime.' See App. C., p. 299.

VII.

202. 30. Dryweand of tyme in rampart of the laife. This line seems hopelessly obscure. Apparently it modifies 'will' in the preceding line, and perhaps has some such meaning as 'putting off time, loiter-

ing behind the rest' (i.e., other lovers or suitors). Cf. Hawes, 'Pastime of Pleasure,' xvi. 29, 'Dryve of no lenger but tell me your mynde.' 'Rampart' may be a scribal error for 'rearwart.'

203. 59. my ffeit I fawld-i.e., in sign of subjection. Cf. Mont-

gomerie, 'Misc. Poems,' li. 35, 36 :-

"Quhen Iupiter the schap of bull did tak, Befoir Europe quhen he his feit did fauld."

The expression is found as early as Ælfric, Gen. xlix. 32, 'He feold his feet [vulg. collegit pedes suos] uppon his bed' (N.E.D.) Cf. also colloquial use, 'Ye hinna faul't yer fit i' my hoose this towmon'

(Alexander, 7ohnny Gibb).

203. 57. lang thocht hes socht, and brocht me to this place. Cf. Montgomerie, 'Misc. Poems,' xxxiv. 5, 'For thoght hes wroght and broght me to despair.' 61. In neid, vith speid, remeid my crewall caif. Cf. Montgomerie (ib. 1. 4), 'Remeid with speid, or deid I must sustene.' 64. Sueit thing, conding, benyng of memorie. Cf. Montgomerie (ib., 1. 2), 'Sueit thing, bening, and 3ing, of 3eiris grene.'

IX.

This is apparently a crude imitation or burlesque of the pastoral wooing of Henryson's 'Robin and Makyn,' with the position of the wooers reversed. Here it is the maid who first rejects the advances of her lover and afterwards repents, only to find she has lost her chance. It is a feeble production, and apparently was not revised by its author. Some other hand has tried to mend it.

207. 65. braik 3our brane. The expression is frequently met with in old Scottish poetry. King James uses it in the sonnet, part of which is quoted on page 268—'Quhilk is the cause that garris me brek my branis'; also Montgomerie (Sonnet xlvi, l. 9), 'To brek 3our brains, 3e bunglers, is no bute.' Cf. modern expression, 'to cudgell my brains.'

207. 75. Till oppin my pak and sell no wair. A proverbial expression. Cf. 'To what purpose should you open your pack and sell none of your wares . . .?' (Letter of Maitland of Lethington

to Cecil, 15th August 1581.)

X.

209. 22. Till atropis threid my lyve devoir. Cf. Montgomerie, 'Misc. Poems,' xxxiv. 38, 'My life from stryfe or knyfe of Atropus, also 'The Cherrie and the Slae,' l. 429, 'Wherefore hath Atropus that knife?' See notes to 'The Cherrie and the Slae,' § 1, p. 339.

210. 33. Quhilk hert as rube in this ring. Cf. Montgomerie, 'Misc. Poems,' xxv. 13, 'A rubie rich within a royal ring.' The expression is common, and can be traced to Chaucer.

XI.

This poem appears in the Elizabethan miscellany, 'The Paradyce of Dainty Devises' (1576), and is there attributed to Jasper Heywood, the younger son of the dramatist. This transcript into Scots may have been made by Montgomerie. Father Jasper Heywood was a noted Catholic intriguer, and a prominent figure in the Jesuit schemes for the reconversion of Scotland to Catholicism in the early years of James's reign. Montgomerie's connection with Catholic intrigue is discussed in App. B. He may have become acquainted with Heywood through this connection. The English version of the poem is as follows:—

"Who mindes to bring his ship to happy shore, Must care to know the lawes of wisdomes lore.

My freend, if thou wilt credit me in ought,
To whom the trueth by triall well appeares,
Nought worth is wit till it be deerely bought:
There is no wisdome but in hoarie haires.
Yet, if I may of wisdome ought define,
As well as others haue of happinesse,
Then to my wordes, my freend, thy eare incline:
The things that maks thee wise are these I gesse:

Feare God, and knowe thyselfe in each degree; Be freend to all, familier but to fewe; Too light of credit see thou neuer bee, For triall oft in trust dooth treason shewe; To others faults cast not too much thy eyes; Accuse no man of guilt, amend thy owne; Of medling much dooth mischiefe oft arise, And oft debate by tickle tung is sowne.

What thing thou wilt haue hid, to none declare, In woord or deede beware of had I list; So spend thy good that some thou neuer 1 spare, For freendes like Haukes do soare from emptie fist. Cut out thy coat according to the cloath; Suspected persons see thou alwaies flee; Beleeue not him that once hath broke his troath, Nor yet of gift without desart be free.

^{1 &#}x27;Ever' in Laing version.

Time quickly slippes, beware how thou it spend; Of wanton youth repents a painefull age; Begin nothing without an eye to th' end, Nor bow thine eare from counsaill of the sage. If thou too farre let out thy fancie slippe, And witlesse will from reasons rule out start, Thy folly shall at length be made thy whip, And sore the stripes of shame shall cause thee smart.

To doo too much for olde men is but lost;
Of freendship had to women come[s] like gayne;
Bestow not thou on children too much cost,
For what thou doost for these is all in vaine.
The olde man or he can requite, he dies;
Unconstant is the woman's wauering minde;
Full soone the boy thy freendship will despise,
And him for loue thou shalt ungratefull finde.

The aged man is like the barrane ground;
The woman like the reede that waggeth with the winde;
There may no trust in tender yeeres be found;
And of the three the boy is most vnkinde.
If thou haue found a faithful freend indeede,
Beware thou loose not loue of such a one;
He shall some time stand thee in better steede,
Than treasure great of golde or precious stone."

Finis. Iesper Heywood.

Heywood was born in 1535; educated at Oxford; B.A., 1553, M.A., 1558; Probationer Fellow of Merton College, 1554-8; Fellow of All Souls College, 1558, but resigned on account of religious difficulties; admitted to the Society of Jesus at Rome, 1562; Professor at Dillingen, in Bavaria, for seventeen years; came to England in 1581 with Father William Holt¹ on Jesuit mission; imprisoned, 1583; transported to France, 1585; died at Naples on 9th January 1598. Translated two of Seneca's Tragedies. (See Dict. of Nat. Biog. and article by Dr Graves Law on 'English Jesuits and Scottish Intrigues, 1581-2,' 'Edinburgh Review,' April 1898.)

212. 26. 3it I ly trappit in 3our tranis. Cf. Montgomerie, 'Misc. Poems,' viii. 41, 'To sie my love attrappit in a trane'; Sonnet xxxviii. 5, 'I wyt the trane that took me with a trap.'

XIV.

The triolet or common rondel is used by Montgomerie in the opening epistle of the 'Flyting with Polwart.' The only other Scottish poet of the period I have noted using this verse form is Sir John

1 See App. B., p. 271, for reference to Holt's visit to Scotland as a Jesuit agent in 1581.

Maxwell of Southbar, to whom there is a reference in the line, 'Sprang thou from Maxwell and Montgomerie's Muse,' in a sonnet addressed to Sir William Mure of Rowallan, by a writer whose identity is concealed under the initials A. S. William Motherwell, in an article in the 'Paisley Magazine,' August 1, 1828, quotes examples of Maxwell's verse from a manuscript in his possession, of which he gives the following description: "A small MS. of thirty-six leaves closely and beautifully written, the first date of which is 17th March 1584, and the last date 3rd July 1589. It appears to be nothing else than a book of boyish exercises and attempts at verse-making," &c. Of several triolets quoted this is an example:—

"I die for lwife of sweit Susanna
But rest or rwife, I die for lowe,
I wald remove, sir, yet I canna,
I die for lowe of sweit Susanna."

The manuscript also contains a transcript of Montgomerie's sonnet to King James prefixed to the 'Essayes of a Prentise.'

XV.

The following charter from the Register of the Great Seal of Scotland throws an interesting light on the subject of these verses, which are apparently only a portion of a longer poem:—

24th September 1597. Rex concessit Thome Lowthiane mercatori burgensi de Edinburgh, heredibus ejus et assignatis, terram posteriorem infra duo tenementa terre dicti Tho. per eum noviter edificat. (continen. 3 cellaria, 3 cameras et solium cum superiore horto) ex parte australi vici regii burgi de Edinburgh prope montem castri (inter terram dicti Tho. ab Adamo Wallace conquestam, et terras Francisce Weir); que fuit quondam Roberti Donaldsoun in Falkirk burgensis de Striviling; et regi devenit ob existentiam dicti Rob. mense Aug. 1597 convicti et mortem passi pro quibusdam criminibus magice, sorcerie, diabolice incantationis et consultationis cum sagis: Tenend. in libero burgagio: Test. ut in aliis cartis oc.

The Beggis (Beatrice?) Donaldsoun of the poem was no doubt the daughter of Robert Donaldsoun, who, according to the above charter, was put to death for sorcery in August 1597. Evidently by this date Beggis had become the wife of Thomas Louthian, hence the royal grant of part of her father's land to her husband. In the Register of the Privy Council there is an entry on the 6th October 1584 recording the complaint of "Beigis Wyise, spouse to William Donaldsoun,

¹ Misprinted 'rwise' by Motherwell. Cf. 'My luif remow þis ruif of care,' p. 209, l. 26.

burgess of Striviling," against Lord Robert Semple, 'prior of Quhitterne.' It is not improbable that this is the same Donaldsoun, although the Christian name is different.

XVI.

215. 5. Cf. Dunbar, 'Goldin Terge,' l. 118, 'Thair wes the god of gardynis, Priapus.'

XX.

It is hard to believe that this and the following four sonnets could have been written by any other Scottish poet than Montgomerie. They are clearly the work of a practised verse-maker, and with the exception of Montgomerie there is no known poet 2 writing in Scots at this time who used the sonnet form with any distinction.

XXI.

The subject of this sonnet is a variation of a common theme in the amatory poetry of the century, both in England and in France. Cf. Philippe Desportes, 'Diane,' Livre II. xxviii.:—

"Celle que j'aime tant, lasse d'estre cruelle, Est venuë en songeant la nuic me consoler :

Ouvrant ce beau coral qui les baisers attire, Me dist ce doux propos: 'Cesse de soupirer, Et de tes yeux meurtris tant de larmes tirer, Celle qui t'a blessé peut guarir ton martire.'

O douce illusion! O plaisante merveille!
Mais combien peu durable est l'heur d'un amoureux
Voulant baiser ses yeux, helas! moy, malheureux!
Peu à peu doucement je sens que je m'éveille
Encore long-tans depuis d'une ruse agreable,
Je tins les yeux fermez et feignois sommeiller:
Mais, le songe passé, je trouve an reveiller
Que ma joye étoit fausse et mon mal veritable."

Cf. also Livre I. xliv. :-

"O songe heureux et doux! où fuis tu si soudain, Laissant à ton depart mon ame desolée?" &c.

¹ Semple's daughter was married to Montgomerie's eldest brother, Hugh, the fifth Laird of Hessilheid. See p. 271.

² The only other Scottish sonneteers who have left any considerable body of poems in this form are William Fowler and Stewart of Baldynnis.

A sonnet of Wyatt's deals with the same theme: 'The Lover having dreamed enjoying of his Love, complaineth that his Dream is not either longer or truer' (Aldine Edition, p. 4). Compare also the poem entitled 'A most rare and excellent Dreame' in the Elizabethan miscellany, 'The Phœnix Nest' (1593), where the line occurs, 'She with hir hand doth put the curtaine by,' a close parallel to 'And with hir harmeles handis the cowrteingis drew,' l. 3 of the sonnet in the Laing MS. Sonnet li. in Alexander of Menstrie's Aurora has the same subject:—

"I dream'd the nymph that ore my fancie reignes Came to a part whereas I pans'd alone Then said, 'What needs you in such sort to mone? Have I not power to recompense your pains?'" &c.

The ultimate source of his fancy is no doubt to be found in the 'Romance of the Rose.' Cf. Il. 2552-2585.

XXIII.

The appearance of the name 'I. Arnot' at the end of this sonnet, without the customary 'quod' before it, does not warrant us in taking this to be the name of the author. Underneath Sonnet xxv. are scribbled four names (v. p. 220 n.), two of which are Iames and Ioannes Arnot. There is no means of identifying these. A 'Johnne Arnot' was provost of Edinburgh in 1589 (v. Pitcairn's 'Criminal Trials,' 14th May 1589). Another, or perhaps the same, John Arnot appears in the Register of the Privy Council in 1606, and is described as burgess of Edinburgh and servitor to the King. In the same year also appears the name of 'Sir Johne Arnote, Treasurer-depute.' See also Letters and State Papers of the reign of James VI., p. 153 (Abbotsford Club). The sonnet is quite in the manner of Montgomerie.

219. 3. Quhois teith surpass pe oriant peirle in hew. Cf. Montgomerie, xxxv. 44, 'Hir teeth lyk pearle of orient.'

XXIV.

The author of this sonnet has probably had in mind a passage from Henryson's fable of 'The Preiching of the Swallow':—

"The firmament payntit with sternis cleir
From eist to west rolland in cirkill round
And euerilk Planet in his proper Spheir
In mouing makand Harmonie and sound;
The Fyre, the Air, the Watter, and the ground—
Till understand it is aneuch, I wis,
That God in all his werkis wittie is."

It may strengthen the supposition that the sonnet is by Montgomerie to point out that Henryson's fable of the Swallow is alluded

to in 'The Cherrie and the Slae' (l. 172), and that Montgomerie nowhere else makes reference to any other of Henryson's poems.

220. 9. Pitch, highest point or altitude (of a star). Cf. 'Blazing comets... when they begin to decline from their pitch, they fall to the earth' (N.E.D.).

XXVI.

221. 9, 10. Hes thow nocht hard of mony leirant schyre thus sayit, 'flie luif and it will follow the'? Cf. Montgomerie, 'Misc. Poems,' xlii. 22-24:—

"For folou love, they say, and it will flie, Wald 3e be lov'd, this lessone mon 3e leir; Flie vhylome love and it will folou thee."

221. 12. Ane marterit man. Cf. Montgomerie, 'The Cherrie and the Slae,' ll. 779, 780:—

"Than altogidder þai began
To say, 'Cum on, thou marterit man.'"

XXVII.

221. 11. Blaseme or blaseine. The manuscript may be taken to read either way. As 'blaseine' the word would mean, 'bright, shining.' Cf. Spenser's use in the 'Fairie Queen' (I. iv. 8), 'Her bright blazing beautie.' The other alternative is a northern variant of 'blossom' (cf. blaysum, p. 6, l. 72), making 'flowerlike beauty.' Cf. the theme of the sonnet with Montgomerie's lines (Cranstoun, p. 155):—

"Then lyk Penelope appeir,
Quha wes so constant tuenty 3eir:
Quhen 3our Vlysses is not neir,
Tentation may assay 3ou;
3it vary not, I 3ou requeir,
And I sall stoppe Vlysses eir.
Fareweill, my Love and Lady cleir;
Be permanent, I pray 3ou."

Cf. also 'Tottel's Miscellany', the second edition, 1557 (Arber's reprint, p. 241):—

"I that Vlysses yeres haue spent To find Penelope," &c.

XXIX.

This poem may possibly be one of Hume's compositions. He uses the same stanza in his 'Day Estivall,' and the tone is in keeping with his 'Hymnes and Sacred Songs,' one of which, it is to be noted, appears anonymously in the Laing Manuscript (v. p. 243). Montgomerie has no example of this stanza form, and the coarse allusion to the Church of Rome in 1. 93 could not have come from one whose Catholic sympathies are well vouched for.

XXX.

One of Montgomerie's most popular devotional poems, and composed early in his life. It appears in both the Bannantyne and Drummond MSS., and was printed along with one or two other pieces as an appendix to the frequent editions of 'The Cherrie and the Slae,' published in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is to be noted that it appears in the Laing MS. without any ascription to Montgomerie.

XXXI.-IV.

In style and general tone these four poems closely resemble Hume's 'Hymnes and Sacred Songs.' Cf. especially Hume's 'Recantation,' and 'Of God's Omnipotence.'

XXXV.

This is one of Hume's 'Hymns,' number viii. in the edition published by Waldegrave at Edinburgh in 1599. (Edited, with Hume's other publications, for the Scottish Text Society by Professor Lawson in 1902.) A manuscript volume in the Advocates' Library contains, besides various poems by Burel and Sempill, seven out of the eight 'Hymns' which Hume wrote. The eighth awanting is the poem which appears here in the Laing MS. No other manuscript copy is known to exist. The appearance of one of Hume's poems in the manuscript without his name attached to it strengthens the supposition that the four preceding poems may also be his.

245. 59. My bukler, and my sur refuge. Cf. refrain 'To myne ane bukler will I be' in poem xxxiii., p. 232.

NOTES TO APPENDIX A.

The following notes and references show the sources of the evidence on which the genealogical chart fronting Appendix A. has been based. For the reference numbers see the chart.

1. 'The Scots Peerage,' vol. iii., edited by Sir James Balfour Paul. The article on the Eglinton Family is contributed by the Rev. John Anderson, Curator of the Historical Department, Register House, Edinburgh. 2. 'The Complete Peerage,' edited by G. E. C. The marriage contract is given in the Historical MSS. Report on the muniments of the Earl of Eglinton and Winton, App. I. p. 11. In 1461, July 20, King James III. granted a charter of resignation to 'John Lord Dernele and Margaret Montgomery, his spouse, and the longest liver of them, of the dominical lands of Torboltone, Drumley, Dregarne, and Ragahill, on the resignation of the said John Lord Dernlee.'- 'Archæological and Historical Collections relating to the Counties of Ayr and Wigton,' vol. ii. p. 151. 3. 'The Scots Peerage.' 4. 'The Scots Peerage.' 5. For the genealogy of the Montgomeries of Braidstane see 'The Montgomery Manuscripts,' edited by the Rev. George Hill, 1869; 'A Genealogical History of the Family of Montgomery, comprising the Lives of Eglintoun and Braidstane, &c.' (pp. 35-39), by Emilia G. S. Reilly (a descendant of the Montgomeries of Braidstane), published 1842; Paterson's 'History of the County of Ayr' (1847); Lodge's 'Peerage of Ireland,' 1754; Burke's 'History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland'; G. E. C.'s 'Complete Peerage,' vol. v.; Nisbet's 'System of Heraldry' (1722), p. 384. A charter, dated May 4, 1468, records the grant of the lands of Braidstane by Alexander Lord Montgomerie to his grandson, Robert Montgomerie v. Laing Charters, No. 156, edited by the Rev. John Anderson. On p. 3 of 'The Montgomerie Manuscripts' it is stated that "the first introducer and encourager" of the Braidstane family in Ireland was Sir Hugh Montgomerie, subsequently Viscount of Ardres, who is further described as the "6th Laird of Braidstane." His genealogy is then given as follows: "The said Hugh was the eldest son of Adam (the second of the name), the fifth Laird who married the daughter of Montgomery, Laird of Hasilhead (an ancient family descended of the Earls of Eglintoun). This second Adam (besides breeding his four sons) purchased land from one of the said Earles (I have the deed thereof); which Adam was the eldest son of Adam (the first Montgomery of that name) and 4th Laird of Braidstane. This Adam married Colomboun's sister (the Laird of Luss, chief of his ancient sept). This Adam the first (last-mentioned) was son to Robert, the 3rd Laird of that name, who was son of Robert, the second Laird of that name, who was son of Robert, the first of that name, and first Laird of Braidstane, who was the second son of Alexander, one of the earls of Eglintoun." Lodge's genealogy of the family, published in 1754, agrees with this. Paterson's account is contradictory: he gives two genealogies in different parts of his history, one in agreement with the above and one at variance. Reg. Mag. Sig., July 5, 1476, at which date Hugh Montgomerie was still living; Douglas's 'Peerage of Scotland.' 7. Reg. Mag. Sig., April 25, 1505; May 27, 1508; Nov. 3, 1509; May 8, 1550; Jan. 19. 1607 (confirming charter dated June 16, 1505); Crawford's MS. Baronage. 8. Reg. Mag. Sig., May 4, 1529; Oct. 16, 1548; Nov. 19, 1552: Pitcairn's 'Criminal Trials,' vol. i. p. 388; Reg. Privy Seal, June 22, 1602; Crawford's MS. Baronage; 'The Historie and Descent of the House of Rowallane, p. 86; Hist. MSS. Commission, Tenth Report, p. 25. Hugh, the third laird, died Jan. 23, 1556, v Register of Testaments, Commissariot of Glasgow, vol. 2, f. 58. 9. Paterson's 'History of the County of Ayr'; Index to Deeds (Register House, Edinburgh), July 10, 1555; March 13, 1556; March 26, 1558; Crawford's MS. Baronage; Reg. Privy Seal, June 22, 1602; Calendar of Charters, vol. viii., June 18, 1554 Register House, Edinburgh); Register of Testaments, Commissariot, of Glasgow, vol. 2, f. 68b. In the last Will and Testament of Hugh, second Earl of Eglinton, dated 18th and 31st August 1546, he is described as 'Johne Montgumry, young Laird of Hessilheid.' (Fraser, 'Memorials of the Montgomeries,' vol. ii. p. 142.) 10. Henry Gibsone's Protocol Book, Feb. 19, 1559; Paterson's 'History of the County of Ayr'; 'The Scots Peerage.' 11. Glasgow Protocols, vol. v. p. 14; Pitcairn's 'Criminal Trials,' vol. i. pp. 381-386; G. E. C.'s 'Peerage,' vol. vii. p. 110; 'The Scots Peerage,' vol. iii. p. 437. In an action recorded in the Register of Decreits, Commissariot of Edinburgh, Nov. 17, 1590, 'Robt. Boyd' is described as 'relict of ymquhile Marion Montgomerie.' 12. Calendar of Charters (Register House, Edinburgh), Sept. 19, 1544; Reg. Mag. Sig., Sept. 6 and 11, 1551. 13. Register of Testaments, Commissariot of Glasgow, vol. ii., ff. 58a and 68. 14. Reg. Mag. Sig., Sept. 11, 1551; Feb. 2, 1576; Mar. 20, 1579. 15. Index to Deeds (Register House, Edinburgh), Mar. 14, 1561; Reg. Privy Seal, Mar. 4, 1580; Reg. Mag. Sig., Feb. 13 and Mar. 18, 1590-91; Reg. of Cautions, &c., in Suspension, June 19, 1592; Jan. 4 and 24, 1593; Reg. Privy Seal, June 22, 1602; Pitcairn's 'Criminal Trials'; Gibsone's Protocol Book, vol. i. (v. Glasgow Protocols, vol. v. p. 14). His last Will and Testament given in Glasgow Protocols, vol. ii., f. 68 ('Archæological and Historical Collections relating to the Counties of Ayr and Wigton, vol. i. p. 179 note). The evidence that Hugh, the poet's eldest brother, married Marion Semple is clear. although Paterson thinks otherwise. In the 'Historie of the House of Rowallane' it is stated that the wife of Hugh Montgomerie and mother of the Elizabeth Montgomerie who married Sir William Mure was 'one of eleven daughters to the Lord Sempill.' This is also mentioned in Crawford's MS. Baronage. Her last Will and Testament is given in the Register of Testaments, Commissariot of Edinburgh. She died in 1593. Her name is there given as Marioun. In Pitcairn's 'Criminal Trials' an entry, dated December 1, 1576. alludes to her as 'Marioun Sempill, Ladye Hasilheid,' and there is this further reference, 'Hew Montgomerie of Hasilheid, Marioun Sempill. his spous,' &c. In Sir A. Hay's 'Estimate of the Scottish Nobility,' edited by Rogers for the Grampian Club in 1873 (pp. 33, 57, 61), Hugh Montgomerie's wife is given as a daughter of Lord Boyd. Brotanek accepts this, and adds that it is on this Lord Boyd that the poet wrote the epitaph which appears in his words (v. Cranstoun, p. 222). 16. The Montgomery MSS.; Burke's 'Commoners'; Lodge's 'Peerage' (ed. 1754, vol. ii.); Paterson, in 'History of the County of Ayr,' states that she had issue 'Hugh, Viscount Montgomerie of Ardres, 1560.' 17. Calendar of Charters (Register House, Edinburgh), vol. viii., June 18, 1554; William Hegait's Second Protocol Book (Register House, Edinburgh), June 13, 1558; Index to Deeds (Register House, Edinburgh), May 21, 1563; Glasgow Protocols, vol. v. p. 14. 18. The Montgomerie MSS.; Pont's Topographical Account of Cunningham, Ayrshire; Reg. Privy Council, July 14, 1597. 19. In the Register of Deeds, vol. viii., f. 464a, under date Sept. 5, 1564, is recorded the marriage contract of the poet's sister Agnes, to John Smollet, son and apparent heir to William Smollet, burgess in Dumbarton. Hew Montgomerie, 5th laird of Hessilheid, and Patrick Montgomerie of Giffen, appear as sureties for 'Margaret Freser, Lady Hessilheid'; Reg. Mag. Sig., Aug. 26, 1583 (confirming charter of date July 20, 1570); Reg. Privy Council, May 26, 1592; Paterson, 'History of the County of Avr.' 20. See entries under 5. 21. See entries under 5. 22. Laing Charters (edited by Rev. John Anderson), No. 2243; see also entries under 5. 23. The Montgomery MSS.; Laing Charters, No. 924; Burke's 'Commoners'; Lodge's 'Peerage' (ed. 1754, vol. ii.) 24. The Montgomerie MSS.; Paterson's 'History of the County of Ayr'; Laing Charters, No. 1582 (May 15, 1636), No. 1499 (infefted as heir of his father Adam in certain lands in Beith). 25, 26, 27. 'The Scots Peerage.' 28. 'The Scots Peerage.' Born 1563. His younger sister, Margaret, who married Robert, 6th Lord Seton in 1582,

must have been at least 20 years younger than Alexander Montgomerie, whose sonnets to her have led both Dr Cranstoun and Dr Brotanek into the fanciful supposition that the poet entertained a hopeless passion for her. 29a. 'The Scots Peerage,' vol. ii. p. 442. 29. 'The Scots Peerage.' 30. The marriage bond is dated April 10, 1582. Hew Montgomerie appears as one of the 'cautionaris and sureties.' Fraser, 'Memorials of the Montgomeries, &c.,' vol. ii. p. 321; also vol. i. p. 48. 31. 'The Scots Peerage.' 32. 'The Scots Peerage.' 33. Paterson's 'History of the County of Avr'; Reg. Mag. Sig., Mar. 18, 1590-91; Jan. 19, 1607; Reg. Privy Seal, Sept. 29, 1603. 34a, Reg. Privy Seal, Sept. 24, 1583. 34. Reg. Privy Seal, June 22, 1602, Register of Testaments, Commissariot of Edinburgh (Marion Sempill's last Will and Testament, Dec. 27, 1593); Robert Brown's Protocol Book, p. 192 (v. Archæological and Historical Collections relating to Ayrshire and Galloway, 1895). 35. Reg. Privy Seal, Mar. 4. 1580; June 22, 1602; Reg. Mag. Sig., Jan. 5, 1590; this charter records the transference of the lands of Auchinbothie from John Spreule to John Montgomerie; Mar. 18, 1590; Jan. 24, 1593; Feb. 22, 1634; Reg. of Testaments, Commissariot of Glasgow, Oct. 1603, vol. iii., f. 97. 36. Reg. Mag. Sig., Sept. 1592, Jan. 24, 1593; 'The Historie and Descent of the House of Rowallane,' written prior to 1657 by Sir W. Mure, v. p. 86. The mother of Elizabeth was a daughter of Lord Sempill, v. 15. 37. Reg. Privy Council, Sept. 1623. 38. Crawford's MS. Baronage. 39. Laing Charters, No. 1294, Crawford's MS. Baronage. 40. Paterson's 'History of the County of Ayr.' 41. Pitcairn's 'Criminal Trials,' Mar. 22, 1622. 42. A natural son. See Robert Brown's Protocol Book, p. 192 (Archæological and Historical Collections relating to Ayrshire and Galloway, 1895). 43. Pitcairn's 'Criminal Trials,' Mar. 22, 1622; Reg. Mag. Sig., Feb. 22, 1634; Aug. 5, 1646; Register of Testaments, Commissariot of Glasgow, Oct. 1603, vol. iii., f. 97. 44 and 45. Reg. Mag. Sig., Feb. 22, 1634; Aug. 5, 1646; Laing Charters, Oct. 13, 1647. 46. Reg. Mag. Sig., Sept. 23, 1592. 47 and 48. Paterson's 'History of the County of Ayr.' 49. G. E. C.'s 'Complete Peerage.' 50. Reg. Mag. Sig., Nov. 11, 1537. 51. Reg. Mag. Sig., Nov. 11, 1537; Sept. 13, 1571: Register of Testaments, Commissariot of Glasgow, vol. ii., f. 68b; 'Genealogical History of the Stewarts,' by Andrew Stewart (1798); Robertson's 'Genealogical Account of the Principal Families in Ayrshire,' p. 352. 52. Register of Cautions in Suspension, vol. xii., June 19, 1592; Register of Testaments, Commissariot of Glasgow. vol. ii., f. 68b. 53. Register of Cautions in Suspension, vol. xii., June 19. 1592. Jean Fraser's son John (a full cousin of Alexander Montgomerie) married (1) Marion, da. of Hugh Crawford of Kilbirny, (2) Elizabeth, da. of Barclay of Ladyland (v. Paterson, vol. ii. p. 141, and Crawford's MS. Baronage). This was pretty certainly a sister of Hew Barclay

who figures in Montgomerie's sonnets, and who was the leader of the Catholic plot of 1597 in which the poet was involved. Montgomerie also refers to Kilbirny (v. Cranstoun, p. 123). From an entry, dated June 6, 1548, in the Protocol Book of Henry Preston (Register House, Edinburgh), f. 221a, we learn that Archibald, Earl of Argyle, and David Barclay (brother of Hew), became equal cautioners for Hugh Crawford de Kylburny. 55. Burke's 'Commoners,' vol. i. p. 553; Crawford's 'History of Renfrew'; Nisbet's 'Heraldry,' vol. ii. App., p. 90. 56. William Hegait's Second Protocol Book, Nov. 4, 1560; Paterson's 'History of the County of Ayr'; Glasgow Protocols, vol. v. p. 31, Nov. 12, 1560. 57. Reg. Mag. Sig., May 8, 1550.

GLOSSARY.

THE abbreviations employed are of the usual kind: sb. substantive; v. pp. verb, past participle; pron. pronoun, &c. The reference numbers are to page and line.

Abaid, abayd, v. abide, endure, Apeir, v. imper. appear, 209. 27. Appeirantlie, adv. apparently, 221. 7. 225. 69, 232. 16; abod, pa. t. remained, 230. 43. Appond = upon it, 12. 168. Abaysed, v. pp. abashed, 227. 9. Apprewis, v. pr. t. approves, 328. 8. Ardencie, sb. ardency, 209. 12. Abone, adv. above, 233. 27. Ark, sb. chest, coffer, 36. 3. Abreid, adv. abroad, 144. 203. Abulzementis, sb. pl. wearing-apparel, Arpit, adj. quick, ready, precocious, 136. 87. 300. 18. Aryis, v. pr. t. arise, 210. 15. Accordis, v. pr. t. agrees, is in harmony Asay, v. imper. try, put to the test, with, 301. 27. Adamand, sb. adamant, 213. 47. 137. 70. Ascryvis, v. pr. t. attributes, 176. 650. Addettit, v. pp. indebted, 307. 12. Asklent, adv. aslant, beside the mark, Adheranttis, sb. adherence, 213. 48. Affrayit, v. pp. frightened, afraid, 142. 155. Assoilzeit, v. pp. absolved, acquitted, 26. 340. Agit, ppl. adj. aged, 211. 41. 319. 29. Aik, sb. oak, "the gallows," 186. Assoyt, v. imper. become infatuated, 221, 13. Aikand, ppl. adj. aching, 154. 343. Astrictis, v. pr. t. lays under obligation, 320. 30. Ainis, adv. once, 207. 56. Ather, conj. either, 244. 10. Air, adv. early, 244. 29. Athort, prep. across in all directions, Airthe, sb. direction, quarter, 240. 103. all about, 144. 203, 170. 571. Aithis, sb. pl. oaths, 312. 40. Aixis, sb. ague fit, 154. 343. Attemperat, ppl. adj. temperate, mild, 4. 29. Ales, interj. alas, 199. 20. Attomie, sb. one having a wasted ap-Alevin, numer. adj. eleven, 309. 23. pearance, a living skeleton, 20. 253. Allanerlie, adv. only, merely, 301. 23. Aucht, oucht, sb. anything, aught, Alleggit, v. pa. t. alleged, 58. 795. Alleichtit, v. pa. t. alighted, 8. 106. 210. I, 5. Avale, sb. value, 300. 15. Alluterlie, adv. completely, 209. 14. Aw, awe, v. pa. t. owned, 136. 70. Amaiß, v. wonder, be astonished, Awayis, adv. always, 204. 71. 213. 38. Aneuch, anew, adv. enough, 44. 597, Awin, adj. own, 192. 12. 100. 800. Baibling, sb. foolish talk, 176. 650. Angilberreis, sb. pl. fleshy excrescences Baich, bache, adj. ill-tasted, nauseous, on the feet of sheep, cattle, &c.

148. 234.

Baid, v. pa. t. remained, 4. 54.

(Jamieson), 152. 300.

Ansuoris, v. pr. t. answers, 238. 27.

Baidrie, badrie, sb. bawdry, unchastity, 174. 626.

Baill, sb. mischief, evil, torment, 156. 350, 186. 811.

Baillit, v. pp. festered, bealed (?), 170. 574.

Baine-spavin, sb. a disease of horses, hard swelling on the inside of the hock joint, 153, 304.

Bainnis, v. pr. t. banish, 56. 771. Bairnliness, sb. childishness, 122. 1423. Band, sb. agreement, 303. 8; bandis,

pl. bonds, 204. 70, 213. 43.

Bane, v. curse, 164. 471. Baneis, sb. pl. bones, 234. 38.

Baneist, banisit, v. pp. banished, 220. 10, 174. 610.

Baneschaw, banescheven, sb. sciatica, or hip-gout, 152. 304.

Banket, sb. banquet, 142. 172; pl. bankettis, 146. 213.

Barat, adj. convicted of baratrie, 321. 1. Baratrie, sb. the offence of trafficking in ecclesiastical preferments or offices of state, 319. 36.

Barbillis, barbles, sb. pl. inflammatory disease of the mucous membrane under the tongue of horses and cattle, 152. 297.

Barbour, adj. barbarous, uncultured,

196. 10.
Barbul3eit, barbuil3eit, barbuilied, ppl. adj. confused, bewildered,

ppl. adj. confused, bewildered, 16. 217, 80. 232.
Barmie, adj. flighty, full of ferment,

117. 1282.

Barrane, *adj*. bare, unattractive, 146. 211, 196. 10.

Barret, sb. strife, contention, 163. 435. Baß, adj. base, servile, 193. 34.

Battis, sb. pl. a skin disease caused by parasitical worms; also used to denote colic, 152. 304.

Baw, v. pr. t. thump, shower blows on (?), 166. 518.

Bay, *adv.* by, 198. 6. Be, *prep*. by, 247. 6.

Bedirtin, v. pp. defiled with dirt, 156. 365.

Begud, v. pa. t. began, 231. 57; pp. begone, 235. 89.

Behuiffit, v. pa. t. had to, was obliged, 16. 197.

Beild, sb. shelter, 132. 20.

Beir, sb. beer, 142. 172.

Beir, v. shout, 2. 8. Cf. schouting of the larkis, 9. 101.

Beir, v. carry, bear, 33. 79, &c.; pa. t. buir, 152. 287.

Beit, v. kindle, increase, 194. 19.

Beld, adj. bald, 154. 321.

Belewene, v. pr. p. believing, 234. 43. Bellithraw, sb. colic, 153. 309.

Belyve, adv. immediately, 166. 507. Benyng, adj. gracious, benign, 203. 64. Beschirew, v. imper. beshrew, mischief take, 182. 741.

Beschittin, beshitten, v. pp. befouled with excrement, 146. 209, &c.

Beseik, v. pr. t. beseech, 229. 18; beseiking, pr. p. 229. 6.

Best, sb. beast, 199. 17.

Betaikning, v. pr. p. betokening, 176.

Beteich, v. pr. t. hand over, 182.

Beuche, bewch, sb. bough, 215. 7, 4. 35; pl. bewis, 2. I.

Bewer, v. imper. beware, 131. 5, 211. 46.

Bewitie, sb. beauty, 195. 7; bewteis, pl. 212. 7.

Bicker, sb. drinking cup, goblet, 186.
810.

Bid, v. pr. t. entreat, pray, 195. 25. Big, v. build, 180. 712.

Bill, sb. petition, 204. 6.

Birk, *sb.* birch tree, 162. 456. Birkin, *adj.* strutting (?), 182. 760. Birland, *v. pr. p.* carousing, swilling, 142. 172.

Birny, adj. like charred heath stems (?), 170. 573.

170. 573. Birsie, *adj.* bristly, 73. 38. Bissat, *sb.* buzzard, 188. 828.

Bladdes, bleid[s], sb. pl. a disease like smallpox, 153. 309, 303.

Blae, adj. livid, pallid, 12. 151.

Blaid, sh. fellow, rascal, 134. 44. Blaidis, sh. pl. large portions, long passages, 178. 691.

Blainis, sb. pl. pustules, small ulcerations, 154. 320.

Blaird, blairit, bleird, bleirit, adj. bleareyed, foul-eyed, 140. 119, 172. 583, &c.

Blaseine or blaseme, adj. shining, or blossom-like. See note, 221. 11.

Blasit, v. pp. proclaimed, publicly denounced (?), 132. 20.

Blasphimatour, sb. blasphemer, 176.

Blate, adj. slow, dull, 115. 1213. Blaysum, sb. blossom, 6. 72.

Bleid[s]. See Bladdes. Bleird, bleirit. See Blaird.

Bleiritnes, blairdnes, sb. blurred vision, blindness (mental), 176, 641.

Bleirring, ppl. adj. dimming the sight, 153. 310.

Bleitand, v. pr. p. bleating, com-

plaining, 156. 361. Bleitter, v. bluster, 140. 135. Bleitter, sb. blusterer, 184. 762.

Blek, v. imper. blacken (thyself), 134. 44.

Bleknit, ppl. adj. blackened, polluted,

Blistles, adj. miserable, 174. 610. Boche, boiche, botche, sb. boil, ulcer, 152. 297, 166. 504; pl. 184. 784. Bodin, v. pp. prepared, armed, 200. 48.

Boird, bord, ppl. adj. bored, 188. 826. Boist, bost, sb. threat, menace, boast,

130. 5, 207. 80, 33. 12.

Bok blud, sb. blood-vomiting, 153. 304. Boldin, v. pp. swollen, 170. 579.

Bombee, sb. bluster, 139, 105.

Bonnd, adj. being in a state of serfdom, 223. 17.

Bordaling, bordelling, sb. frequenting brothels, 174. 626.

Bouk, bowk, sb. body, 166. 504, 156. 361.

Bould, v. pa. t. boiled, 18. 242. Boun, adj. ready, 148. 239.

Bourded, v. pa. t. jested, joked, 76. 129.

Bowrtrie, sb. elder tree, 166. 508. Bowttis, sb. pl. spoil, plunder, 199. 24. Brace, braice, sb. a covering for the arm (part of a suit of armour), 10. 118, 199. 18.

Brace, v. embrace, 208. 90. Brachart, sb. little brat, 150. 278. Braislie, adj. blustering, 171. 523. Brane, sb. brain, 196. 10.

Brane, sb. flesh of animals as food, 146. 214.

Branling, brangling, vbl. sb. agitation, pulsing, 20. 258.

Brat, v. pr. t. wrap up in a clout, 166. 518.

Breid, sb. breadth, 241. 115.

Breikes, sb. pl. breeches, 131. 6. Breyis, sb. pl. steep river banks, 22.

302. Bristin, ppl. adj. bursting, 170. 579.

Brod, sb. frame, 213. 36. Broid, adj. brood, having a litter, 142.

Broid-swis, sb. pl. brood-swine, 160.

413. Brok, sô. dirty rascal, 188. 826.

Brokingis, sb. pl. fragments (?), 182.

Brokis, brox, sb. pl. beavers, 2. 24.

Brouneis, bruneis, sb. pl. a kindly disposed elf or sprite, so called from its supposed shaggy brown appearance, 178. 681.

Browdin, v. pp. enamoured, 12, 156. Bruik, sb. boil, 148. 250, 154. 320. Bruik, v. enjoy, 308. 1.

Bruilzeit, v. pa. t. grew hot, burned, 19. 243.

Bruit = burt, v. pa. t. pierce, prick, 188. 831.

Brukilnes, sb. unfaithfulness, 174. 631. Brunt, v. pp. burned, 138. 97, &c. Buckie, v. strike, push roughly, 167.

274. Buckill, bwkill, v. grapple with, to "tackle," 142. 148, 166. 507.

Buie, by, v. buy, 151. 264, 228. 68. Buir, v. pa. t. bore, 152. 287.

Buird, sb. council, 162. 440. Buit, sb. remedy, means of help, 26.

332, 34. 465. Buitting, sb. booty, plunder, 14. 193. Buk, sb. swaggering fellow, 172. 583.

Bukler, sb. shield, protector, 233. 8. Buklit, v. pa. t. mounted, 150. 270. Bumbie, sb. braggart, 138. 99.

Bumbill-baitie, sb. silly bungler, 184. 779.

Bumbler, bumlar, sb. bungler, 143. 152, 142, 146.

Bunwyd, bwnwyd, boonwand, buinwand, sb. hemp- or flax-stalk; hollow stems of cow-parsnip, 150. 270, 284.

Burd, sb. sweetheart, maiden, 194. 9, 206. 25.

Burding, sb. burden, 302. 39.

Bureit, v. pp. buried, 301. I. Burrio, sb. hangman, 136. 73. Buß, sb. bush, 2. 7.

But, prep. without, 202. 26, &c.

Byaris, sb. pl. buyers, 304. 26. Bydand, v. pr. p. remaining, dwelling, 146. 209.

Byle, byll, v. to cause to suppurate, 148. 250.

Byllis, sb. pl. boils, 154. 320.

Bystaud, v. pp. situated, placed, 147. 215.

Bystour, sb. braggart, swaggerer, 172. 583; pl. 146. 209.

Bystour-baird, sb. bragging rhymster, 140. 119.

Bystour-bodie, sb. braggart, 178. 675. Bytter, sb. eater, 184. 761.

Cache, v. imper. catch, 216. 3. Caching, vbl. sb. self-seeking, catching at (for one's own advantage), 174.625. Cair, v. to drive backwards and forwards, 174. 636.

Cairl-cattis, kerle-catts, sb. pl. tom-

cats, 178. 690.

Cairtis, sb. pl. cards, 174. 618. Caiss, sb. case, lot, chance, 203. 61.

Calk, sb. chalk, 144. 204. Camiosed, adj. flat-nosed, 165. 459.

Camscheocht, sb. crooked, ill-grained person, 152. 289.

Candie (?), 184. 776.

Capping, v. pr. p. excelling (?), 176. 644; capped, pp. crowned (?), 177.

Cappit, adj. saucy, impudent, touchy,

186, 802.

Capriellis, sb. pl. caprioles, the capers or leaps a horse makes without advancing, 168. 529.

Careoun, sb. carrion, body, 228. 58. Carlingis, sb. pl. old women, hags, 140. 139.

Carp, v. talk, 172. 595.

Carvels, sb. pl. small, fast-sailing ship, 114. 1193.

Cassin, cuist, v. pp. cast, 205. 5, 218. 9; pa. t. keist, 168. 529.

Cassit, v. pp. annulled, quashed, 312.

Cast, sb. lot, destiny, 156. 360.

Catewe, cative, adj. wretched, miserable, 245. 62, 220. 9.

Cattaris, sb. pl. inflammation of the mucous membrane of the throat and nose, a running cold in the head, 154. 326.

Chaftis, sb. pl. cheeks, jaws, 138. 91,

166. 511. Chairibald, caribald, sb. monster, 168.

Chak, sb. check, 16. 199. Chalmer, sb. bedroom, 218. 2, 301.

Champ, sb. the cloth ground on which embroidery is worked, 24. 316.

Charbunkill, charbucle, sb. carbuncle, 152. 301, 193. 50.

Chaudpiss, sb. gonorrhœa, 153. 308. Chitterit, v. pp. made to "chatter" with cold, 154. 327.

Choikis, sb. pl. jaws, neck, glands of the throat, 154. 323.

Chois, sb. the chosen one, the "flower,"

Choiß, cheis, v. choose, 206. 33, 39. Choppin, sb. a Scottish half - pint measure, 164. 470.

Chymlay, sb. chimney, 178. 686. Claggit, v. pp. clogged, 6. 64.

Clair, v. maltreat, 134. 40; pr. t. clairis, 172. 589.

Claiß, sb. pl. clothes, 218. 10. Claithe, sb. cloth, 211. 21.

Clake, sb. clattering noise (of geese or other birds); applied contemptuously to women's noisy talk, 169. 499.

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Claspis, sb. pl. "an inflammation of the termination of the sublingual gland, a disease of horses" (Jamieson), 152. 295.

Claverand, ppl. adj. palavering, babbling, 174. 637.

Cleikis, sb. pl. "cramp in the legs"

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Clewch, sb. precipitous gorge or rav-

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Duill, sb. sorrow, grief, 168. 546. Duin, adj. dark, dingy coloured, 142. 170.

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Flewme, floome, sb. phlegm, mucous secretion; in old physiology one of the four bodily "humours," 146. 230, 154. 334.

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Flyre, v. to grimace, fleer, 144. 182; pr. p. flyrand, 166. 510.

Flytterie, sb. contention (in words),

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ing, 150. 267.

Husche-paidill, sb. lump-fish, 184. 774.
Hydropasie, sb. dropsy, 154. 325.
Hyre, sb. wage, reward, 116. 1249.
Hyves, sb. pl. any eruptive disease of the skin—e.g., chicken-pox, 154. 325.

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Impair, v. lessen, mitigate, 217. 7.
Impire, v. to rule as an absolute monarch, 76. 134; pr. p. impyring, 78. 181.

Impleading, v. pr. p. putting in pledge, pledging, 123. 1453. Imply, v. imper. employ, 217. 3. Impreiwe, v. disprove, 319. 5. Imprent, v. pp. imprinted, fixed in the mind, constant, 194. 11, 222. 7. Improbatioun, sb., Sc. Law term, an action raised to prove a document (writ, title, &c.) to be false or forged, 319. 25. Impyre, sb. empire, sway, 204. 15. Incubus, sb. "a feigned evil spirit or demon (originating in personified representations of the nightmare) supposed to descend upon persons in their sleep" (N.E.D.), 150. 275. Ingle, sb. fire on the hearth, 178. 687. Ingrame, scribal error for migram (q. v.), 153. 319. Ingyne, sb. mind, intellect, 132. 29, 218. 2. Ingynit, v. pp. minded, disposed, 142. 149. Inhabilitie, sb. disability or disqualification (for an office), 322. 22. Insert, v. pp. inserted, 302. 25. Insew, v. follow, 240. 84. interposes, Interponis, v. pr. t. 302. 34; pp. 302. 28. Invaid, v. imper. attack, 184. 773. Invey, v. pr. t. come with hostile intention, attack, 140. 121. Invyit, v. pp. envied, 150. 262. Inwartlie, adv. inwardly, 229. 3. Ioate, sb. jot, whit, 99. 773. Ioo, sb. sweetheart, 194. 15. Iuittour, sb. tippler, drunkard, 186. 800.

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Knoppis, sb. pl. the rounded flower or seed-vessels of a tree or plant, here applied to the clusters cherries, 24. 314. Kowis, sb. pl. cows, 138. 98. Kruikit, ppl. adj. crooked, bent, 154. Kuif, sb. cuff, 150. 259. Kyith, v. pr. t. declare, 194. 11. Kynrik, sb. kingdom, 180. 707. Kyt, sb. kite, 184. 788. Kytrell, sb. a vile or filthy wretch, 164. 480. Laidlie, adj. foul, loathsome, 172. 586. Laidnit, ppl. adj. ladened, 146. 217; laidneitt, vbl. sb. 244. 34. Laif. See Lave. Laif, v. pr. t. leave, 204. 23. Laik, v. lack, 214. 12; sb. 196. 14. Laike, sb. a stake at a game, 111. 1109. Lair, sb. learning, 176. 640. Laisie, lasie, adj. lousy, 186. 796, 170. 577. Lak, v. pr. t. scold, abuse, 166. 516. Lak, sb. want, 184. 765. Lance, v. pierce, 212. 18; pp. lancit, lanced, lansde, 36. 473, 184. 784, 84. 492. Lancepissat, landpreized, sb. lancecorporal, used as term of contempt, 188. 828, 189. 781. Land-lowper, land-leeper, sb. vaga-bond, 186. 791, 187. 765. Landpreized. See Lancepissat. Landward, adj. rustic, boorish, 140. 126. Lane, all my=all by myself, 52. 710. Lane, v. conceal, 203. 65. Lansde, v. pp. lanced, 89. 492. Latt, sb. delay, 236. 93. Lauche, lawche, v. laugh, 238. 26, 140. 135; pa. t. leugh, 113. 1149. Lauchfullie, adv. lawfully, 301. 23. Lave, laif, sb. rest, those remaining, 52. 703, 122. 1402, 202. 30. Lay, v. pr. t. lie, 244. 14, 234. 63. Leare, leir, v. learn, teach, 87. 423, 235. 77; pr. t. 138. 92; pp. leirnid, 199. 32. Lease, v. pr. t. lace, 167. 483. Leasing, sb. gleaning, saying, 227. 15. Leasings, sb. pl. lies, falsehoods, 112. 1125. Leede, sb. ship's lead, 114. 1187.

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516. Leit, v. imper. let, 244. 32. Leitt, adv. late, 244. 29, 245. 56. Lelilie, adv. faithfully, 310. 34.

Leming, vbl. sb. gleaming, flashing, 24. 317.

Les, v. to make less, degrade, 207. 82. Lest, v. last, exist, 217. 4, 232. 32. Lesum, adj. lawful, permissible, 310. 18.

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Ling3eiles, sb. bandages, 157. 342. Lint-bow, sb. the pod which holds the seeds of the flax, 170. 572.

Lintwhite, sb. linnet, 72. 5.

Lipper, sb. "term of contempt frequently applied to a dog" (E.D.D.), 154. 329.

Lispane, v. pr. p. lisping, 154. 329. Lithargie, sb. lethargy, state of torpor,

154. 342. Lizairtis, sb. poss. lizard's, 198. 49.

Loif, v. pr. t. love, 166. 516. Loip, v. pr. t. leap, 34. 444; pr. p.

loipping, louping, 20. 264.

Louder, sb. "lever or handspoke for lifting the mill-stones; any long stout rough stick" (E.D.D.), 139. 98; pl. 138. 92.

Louf, sb. love, 206. 48.

Loun, lowne, sb. scamp, rascal, 215. 10, 140. 127; pl. 188. 828.

Louslie, adj. lousy, filthy, 154. 340; adv. meanly, scurvily, 136. 85.

Louß, sb. louse, 171. 539. Lout, v. bow, make obeisance, 228.

59. Low, lowe, sb. flame, 12. 155. Lowe, sb. love, 223. 33.

Lowsie, adj. lousy, filthy, 158. 383, 170. 572.

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Lynning-side, adv. inside, 172. 586. Lyse, lyc[e], sb. pl. lice, 146. 217. Lywelie, adv. lively, bright, 203. 42.

Ma, adj. comp. more, 213. 39. Mache, v. to match, contend, 178.

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Maikles, adj. matchless, 160. 407.

Mair, v. waste, 220. 11.

Mair, sb. nightmare, 152. 313. Maisit, v. pa. t. was astonished, amazed, 10. 123.

Maistir[ie], sb. authority, power,

237. 7. Mak, sb. equal, match, 212. 11.

Mallange (?), 154. 333.

Man, mun, v. aux. must, 180. 697, 209. 17, &c.

Mand, v. to heal, make better, 209. 8. Mandrak, mandrag, sb. poisonous plant, used as term of abuse, 136. 65, 150. 283.

Mang, mange, v. to become distracted, 105. 936, 232. 31.

Mange, sb. a meal, 73. 31. Mangrell, sb. mongrell, 186. 805.

Mankit, ppl. adj. mangled, mutilated,

140. 137.

Manschocht, ppl. adj. munched (?), 140. 137.

Mansueit, adj. gentle, 221. 9. Mantane, v. pr. p. stammering (?),

154. 333.

Manter, sb. stammerer, 186. 808. Mar, v. grieve, distress, 203. 62.

Marmissat, sb. marmoset, as term of contempt, 188. 828; pl. marmasits, 167. 470.

Marterit, ppl. adj. martyred, tormented, 221. 14.
Mathie, adj. maggoty, filthy, 188. 825.
Maw, sb. stomach, 152. 305.
May, sb. maiden, 203. 23.

May, pron. my, 210. 7. Mayock, sb. mate, 72. 22. Mede, v. pp. made, 218. 7.

Meikle, meekle, mekill, meckle, adj. much, great, 50. 694, 108. 1022, 109. 1042, 207. 71.

Meiß, mease, v. appease, calm, 22. 282.

Meit, mait, sb. checkmate, 16. 201. Meit, adj. fit, proper, 193. 25. Meiths, sb. pl. maggots, 153. 319.

Meitter, sb. metre, 136. 85.

Mel, v. come to blows with, fight, meddle, 56. 773, 138. 112, 131. 13, &c.; pr. t. mellis, 178. 682; pa. t. meld, 112. 1142.

Melt, sb. melt, spleen, 152. 305,

Melt, v. "to knock down; properly by a stroke in the side where the melt or spleen lies" (Jamieson), 186.

Memorantive, adj. mindful, 213. 31. Mensche, mowter, minche, moutter (?), 184. 775.

Menstrallis, sb. pl. minstrels, 168. 528. Mensweirand, v. pr. p. perjuring, 136. 60.

Merle, sb. blackbird, 2. 4.

Merß, st. low flat ground usually beside a river or sea, or between hills; the district of Berwickshire between the Lammermoors and the Tweed, 131. 9.

Meslie, *adj.* measly, contemptible, 184. 788.

Messillis, sb. pl. measles, 154. 333. Mestres, sb. mistress, 218. 9. Mey, v. aux. may, 218. 9.

Midderit, sb. midriff (?), 188. 825. Midding, sb. dunghill, 186. 796; pl. 142. 174.

Midis, sb. middle, 168. 549.

Migram, sb. severe headache usually affecting one side of the head only, 152. 313.

Mingtie, adj. mixed up, 141. 143. Minnym (?), sb. minim, smallest portion, particle, 182. 752.

Mint, v. venture, strive, 139. 118. Mints, sb. pl. threatening gestures, 113. 1158.

Mischanchit, adj. unlucky, ill-fated, 184. 784.

Mischant, sb. wretch, villain, 140. 125. Mischappin, ppl. adj. ill-shaped, deformed, 136. 79.

Mismaid, adj. deformed, 150. 283. Mister, v. pr. t. to have need of, require, 148. 254, 230. 53; pa. t.

100. 805. Miting, sb. a creature of diminutive

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Mone, sb. complaint, lamentatioun, 202. 20.

Money, adj. many, 239. 55.

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Mow, v. to grimace, make faces, mouth, 184. 775.

Mow, sb. mouth, 186. 815; grimace, 136. 69.

Mowdywart, sb. mole, 152. 288.

Mowt-tyme, sb. moulting-time, 182.

Moylie, moylike, adv. demurely, 8. 111, 9. 111.

Mudgeounes, mudzons, sb. pl. motions of the face denoting discontent, scorn, &c. (Jamieson), 166. 515.

Muist, sh. musk, 131. 15.

Mun. See Man.

Munge, adj. grumbling, 148. 246.

Mureill (?), 152. 313.

Murgeounis, sb. pl. murmurs, grumblings, 166. 515; grimaces, twisting of body and face, 160. 416.

Mwggis, sb. pl. mugs, 186. 796. Mwillis, sb. pl. kibes, chilblains, 154.

333. Mwkkit, v. pp. cleaned out, 136. 83. Mwssis, muisses, sb. pl. muses, 8. 97. Mwte, muit, v. pr. t. mutter, 152.

288. My, v. aux. may, 209. 27, 210. 39, 211. 43, 225. 88, 232. 32.

Myance, sb. means, wages, 136. 65.

Myne, sb. mind, 216. 5. Mynt, v. mount, 26. 340.

Mynting, v. pr. p. venturing, 26. 344.

Nan, pron. none, 229. 17. Nek, neck, v. to prevent receiving

check, a term in chess, 16. 200. Neniwe, sb. Nineveh, 230. 36. Nichtbouris, sb. pl. neighbours, 247.

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Nimlie, adv. nimbly, 2. 13. Nirlend, sb. puny creature, 164. 479. Nirrilis, nirleis, sb. pl. an eruptive skin disease, species of measles, 154. 319. Nittie, neatie, adj. lousy, having nits

or lice, 170. 571. Noiß, sb. nose, 134. 57.

Nok, sb. point of an arrow (?), 198. 8.

Nolt, sb. cattle, 144. 176.

Now, sb. crown of the head, 170. 571. Noy, sb. annoyance, 22. 283.

Noy, sb. Noah, 230. 29. Nuik, sb. corner, 138. 109.

Nureische, nwrische, v. nourish, 158. 388, 164, 467.

Oblissand, v. pr. p. obliging, laying under obligation, 303. 14. Obstene, v. to refrain from, withhold,

207. 81. Ocht, adv. in any degree, in any way,

156. 348.

Ogment, v. augment, 244. 17. Onfenzeitlie, adv. sincerely, 245. 41. Openyonis, sb. pl. opinions, 58. 800. Or, adv. ere, before, 134. 40, &c.

Oreschute, v. pr. t. overpass, allow to pass, waste, 41. 542.

Oriant, adj. orient, 219. 3.

Orthraune, v. pp. overthrown, 199. 34; pr. t. 236. 99.

Oster, sb. oyster, 165. 464; pl. oisteris, 164. 497.

Ought, sb. anything, 157. 328.

Oulk, owke, sb. week, 156. 363.

Our, sb. hour, 199. 11.
Ouresyllis, v. pr. t. covers, blinds, beguiles, 30. 399.

Ourfleit, v. pass away, waste, 40. 537. Oursett, oresette, v. pp. overcame, 20. 269; pr. t. 31. 404.

Oursmeir, v. pr. t. oversmear, 138. 93. Outflittin, v. pp. beaten in a "flytting" match, 187. 746.

Outstart, v. break away from, 211. 30. Owerquhelmit, v. pp. overwhelmed,

Owther, conj. either, 52. 715.

Oxteris, sb. pl. armpits, 166. 513. Oyldolie, oydollie, sb. olive oil, 146.

Pacefie, v. pacify, 212. 23; pp. pacefiit, 212. 8.

Padok-speitter, sb. one who impales frogs with a spit, 184. 762. Paip, pape, sb. pap, 136. 89.

Pair, v. to impair, make less, 56. 752. Pak, sb. pedlar's pack, bundle, 207. 74. Pallat, pellet, sb. crown of the head, 170. 568, 184. 783, 136. 66.

Palsie, sb. palsy, 152. 310. Paneis, sb. pl. pains, 203. 65.

Panse, v. imper. think of, contemplate, 120. 1357, 212. 20; pr. t. pansis, pances, 59. 803; pr. p. pancing, 213. 37; pp. pansed, 122. 1407; vbl. sb. pansing. 244. 17.

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Paramouris, sb. sing. lover, 195. 32. Paremeonis, sb. pl. proverbs, adages, 182. 747. cemia.") (False plural of "par-

Parlasie, sb. palsy, 154. 318; parleis, 155. 324.

Partiquies, sb. pl. practices, 163. 431. Pasis, sb. pl. passages, 307. 38.

Pawne, sb. peacock, 72. 21. Pay (?), 136. 89.

Peik, v. raise, 230. 28.

Peild, adj. shaven, 136. 66, 170. 568; stripped, destitute, 144. 177.

Peip, v. pr. t. squeak (like a mouse), 131. I.

Peir, sb. equal, 203. 40, 212. 12. Peirle, sb. pearl, 23, 3, 193, 49. Peirless, adj. peerless, 193. 49.

Peirsit, ppl. adj. pierced, 195. 10. Peitpot, sb. hole formed by digging

peat, 150. 277. Pellet. See Pallat.

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Perambillis, sb. pl. preambles, 178. 684.

Perfyte, adj. perfect, 201. 2.

Perqueir, perquere, adv. exactly, forthwith, by heart, 48. 645, 178. 694; perquearest, superl. readiest, 124. 1467.

Pers, v. pierce, 203. 44.

Persaife, v. perceive, 203. 46; pp. persawit, 180. 713.

Persew, v. pursue, 207. 63; pp. 215.

Perticipentt, sb. a partaker, 246. 86.

Pervs, v. peruse, 197. 22. Petie, sb. pity, 231. 67.

Pett, sb. peat as a term of obloquy (?), 151. 266.

Peure, adj. pure, 223. 34.

Pharie, sb. fairyland, 150. 274, 164.

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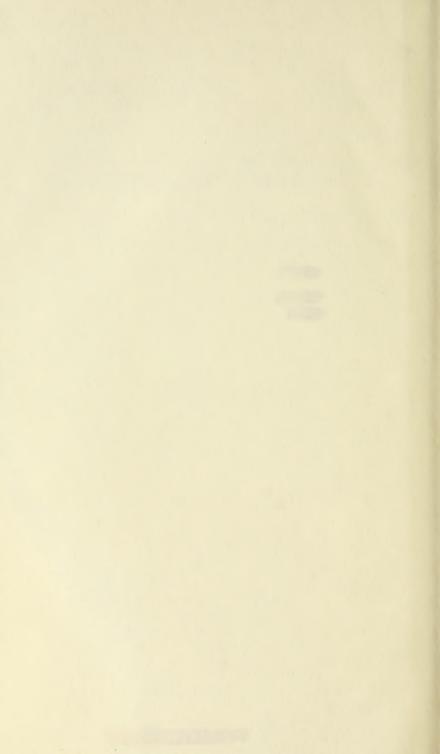
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