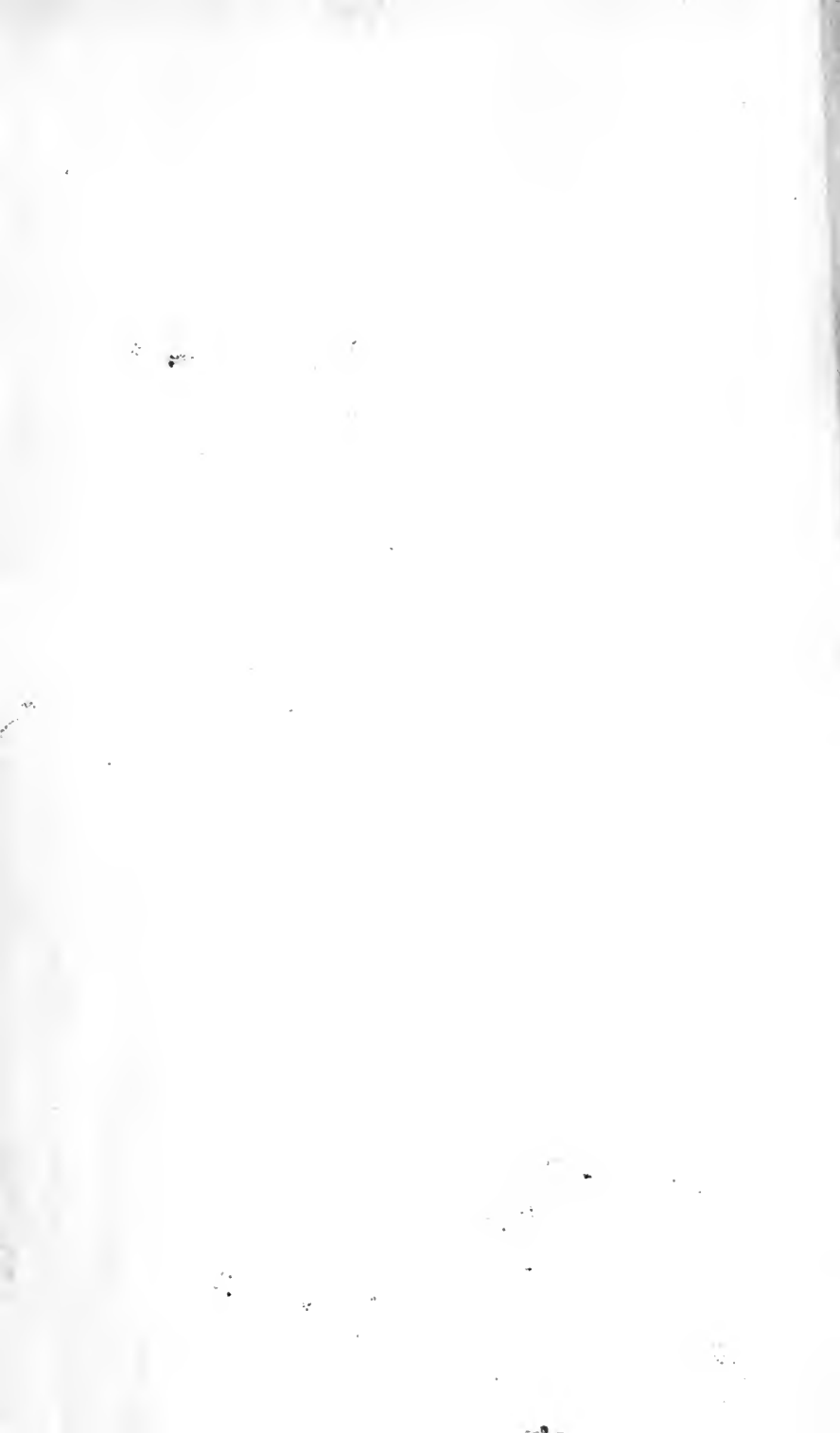


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The Complaynt of Scotlande

with

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A.D. 1549.

WITH AN APPENDIX OF CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH TRACTS,

VIZ.

- The Just Declaration of Henry VIII (1542),
- The Exhortacion of James Harrysone, Scottisheman (1547),
- The Epistle of the Lord Protector Somerset (1548),
- The Epitome of Nicholas Bodrugan *alias* Adams (1548).

RE-EDITED FROM THE ORIGINALS

with Introduction and Glossary

BY

JAMES A. H. MURRAY.

PART I.

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THE COMPLAYNT

it dois of prefumptions or vane gloir. thy chere-
 retil correctioun maye be: ane prouocatioun
 ne to gar me studeye mair attentiuelye in the
 nyxt verkis that i intēd to set furth, the quhilk
 i beleif in gode sal be verray necessair tyl al
 them that desiris to lyue verteuouslye indurād
 the schoort tyme of this ourē fragil peregrina-
 tiouē, & sã fayr veil.

☛ The complaynt of scotland.

☛ THE FYRST CHE

PTOVR DECLARIS THE

caufe of the mutations of mo-
 narches. Chap. I.



S the hie monarchis, lord-
 schips, ande autoriteis, ar sta-
 blit be the infinite diuine or-
 dināce, ande mentemit be the
 sempeternal prouidēs, sclyik
 ther ruuynē cummis be the sentence gyffin be
 the fouerane consel of the diuynē sapiens, the
 quhilk doune thringis them fra the hie trone
 of ther imperial dominations, ande garris

OF SCOTLAND. 16

them fal in the depe fosse of feruitude, ande
 ther magnificēis in ruuynē, ande caulis cōque-
 rious to be cōquest, ande til obeye ther vm-
 quihile subiectis be dreddour, quhome of be
 sit propter *Regnā a*
 for thai commādīt be autorite. This decreit *gite in gē-*
 procedis of the diuynē iustice, be rason that *teus tran-*
 princis ande vthirs of autorite becumis am- *be sit propter*
 bitius ande presumptheous, throucht grite *iniusticias*
 perflute of veltht: ther for he dois chesteē thē *Et vniuer-*
 be the abfractione of that superfluite. that is *sos dolos.*
 to. say, he possessis vthir pure pepil that knauis *Eccle. 10.*
 his gudnes, vitch the sãmyn reches that he
 hes tane fra thē that hes arrogantly miskna-
 uen hym. Ane pottar vil mak of ane masse of
 mettall diuerse pottis of differēt fassons, &
 syne he vil brak the grite pottis quhen thai
 pleyse hym nocht, ande he makkis smal pot-
 tis of the brokyn verk of the grite pottis, ande
 alife of the mettall ande mater of the smal pot-
 tis he formis grit pottis. this exempl may be
 applyit to the subuertions ande mutations of
 realmis ande dominions, ande of al vorldy
 prosperite. childir that ar neu borne grouis &
 increffis quhil thai be ascēdit to the perfyit
 strynght of men: bot ther efter, tha begyn to
 decreffe ande declinis til eild ande to the dede.

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I. CIRCUMSTANCES OUT OF WHICH THE COMPLAYNT AROSE.



TO understand fully the position of affairs which gave birth to the *Complaynt of Scotland*, it will be necessary to take a brief retrospect of the political history of the country during the period which immediately preceded the appearance of that work. Of the three centuries of Scottish history which elapsed between the struggle for

National Independence under Robert Bruce, and the accession to the English crown of James VI., nearly a century and a half were occupied by the reigns of infant sovereigns; during the last two centuries of the period, or from the accession of James I., regencies *de jure* or *de facto* covered a space of one hundred and twenty years. Not one of the seven sovereigns whose reigns extend over this period had reached the age of manhood when called to the throne; several of them were helpless infants when the crown devolved upon them, by the violent and premature death of their predecessors. Not without reason do we find writer after writer taking up as the burden of his wail, "Wo to the realme that hes our 3oung ane kyng!"

for the chronic condition of the country was one of anarchy, confusion, and outrage, fitfully varied by brief intervals of more or less vigorous efforts in the direction of order by rulers whose footing was scarcely secured before they fell victims to their own abounding activity, leaving the country to another ten or twenty years of misrule, destined in like manner to task all the energies of their successors. That the kingdom was at all able to maintain its independence through these centuries of trouble, was owing to two causes. No English king after Edward I. devoted himself to the subjugation of Scotland with the singleness of purpose which marked that indefatigable monarch; in the early part of the period the more glittering prize of the crown of France, at a later date the Wars of the Roses, fully occupied the attention of his successors. But of much greater importance than even the distractions of England, was the offensive and defensive league between Scotland and France, by which these two nations made common cause against their common foe, and through which, even after England became once more united and powerful, her efforts against Scottish independence were effectively checkmated. This

"weill keipit ancient alliance,
Maid betuix Scotland and the realme of France,"

provided that neither country should ever make a separate peace with England, but that when England attacked either, she was herself to be invaded by the other, while a defined number of men-at-

arms were to be sent to the assistance of the country attacked. It was in compliance with the terms of this arrangement, that the invasion of France by Henry VIII. in 1512 was at once followed by the invasion of England by James IV., who, as is well known, fell with the whole chivalry of his kingdom on the field of Branxton near Flodden. The infancy of his son and heir, a child of eighteen months, gave full scope to all the elements of disorder, which the preceding twenty years had in some measure composed. During the scramble of two or three rivals for the regency, and for possession of the person of the infant prince as the symbol of authority, the barons, unawed by any superior, assumed prerogatives of more than sovereign power, the ecclesiastical dignitaries stretched their pretensions to unparalleled limits, while the body of the clergy revelled in the grossest depravity, only equalled by the rapacity with which they plundered the miserable commons. To crown the edifice of suffering, the uncivilized clans of the Highlands,—who were to the Scottish kingdom of that day much what the Indians of the Prairies are to the western settlers of America now,—and the borderers or dwellers on the English marches, whom chronic familiarity with the ravages of fire and sword had rendered scarcely less savage and barbarous, carried on their depredations with impunity in the very heart of the most settled districts of the country.

At length, after sixteen years of what must have been to the industrious and productive part of the community well nigh the unsounded bottom of misery, the young king, James V., having effected his escape from the clutches of the particular noble brigand (an Earl of Angus he was) who then held him, and wrought his own pleasure in his name, at once began with a vigorous hand to attack the gigantic abuses which he found around him. The power of the barons was curbed, the highlanders and borderers reduced by summary examples of severity to a wholesome dread of law, while the intolerance, greed, and shameless immorality of the clergy were, with the approbation and countenance of the king himself, exposed with scathing sarcasm by the Lord Lyon King at Arms. That little was done practically to reform the Church, appears to have been due less to the king's private convictions, than to political exigencies which

impelled him in religious, as in secular matters, to side with France rather than with his uncle, Henry VIII., and, moreover, to the fact that in his struggle with the temporal barons he found support and counsel in prominent members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Had he lived, the forecastings of Lyndesay's muse, which ceased not to remind him in acceptable terms that now that temporal abuses were reformed,

"Swa is there nocht, I vnderstand,
Without gude ordour in this land
Except the spiritualitie
Prayand thy Grace thareto haue ee,"

incline us to believe that the Reformation in Scotland as well as in England might have started with the impress of a royal hand. From the contagion of such a king's evil, fortunately for the liberties of Britain, the Scottish Reformation was to be saved. The very energy of the king sowed around him a harvest of troubles. The defeat of Flodden, the most signal and disastrous in the national history, had left in the minds of many in Scotland a conviction that it was time to make an end of this perpetual struggle with England; and now many of the dispossessed and discontented barons took refuge in that country, where they were welcomed and entertained by Henry VIII., in the hope of their one day proving useful to his designs. Some even of the Border clans, in revenge for the rigour with which James had visited their chiefs, transferred their allegiance bodily to England. Moreover, the reformed doctrines somewhat late in the day were beginning to make impression on Scotland, and their adherents, smarting under the fiery persecution that the Bishops were permitted to carry on against heretics, naturally looked to England and its anti-popish king with cordial sympathy. From all these causes there gradually rose in the country an English faction,—a party who would substitute for the ancient close connection with France, an amicable understanding with England, and most of whom would have been willing to see the two kingdoms united under a common head, though they might differ widely as to the means of attaining that desired end.

The animosity of the nation as a whole against "our ald enemies of England" was so much blunted, that when James declared war against that country in 1542, his troops, maintaining that they were

ready to defend their country, but not disposed to assist in an invasion of England, mutinied on reaching the frontier at Solway Moss, and being in their confusion and deray attacked by a small English force, fled without striking a blow. The king, already worn out by the difficulties of his position, succumbed under this new disgrace, and died within a few days after, at the age of 30, leaving an infant daughter of eight days old to be the bone of contentions even more disastrous than those which had closed around his own infant cradle.

The aim of Henry VIII. was at once to arrange a marriage between this infant, Mary Stewart, and his son Edward, now in his fifth year. After a good deal of scheming, during which the Scottish barons, who had taken refuge in England, as well as the captives of Solway Moss, were allowed to return home on the understanding that they should assist the English interest, the Earl of Arran, Regent of Scotland, was gained over, and a treaty concluded in August, 1543, arranging for such a marriage when Mary should reach the age of ten. But there was in Scotland at this time a master-spirit more powerful than Arran, in the person of David Beaton, the Cardinal Archbishop of St Andrew's, a staunch supporter of French interests, and a cordial hater of everything English, from the English New Testament to the English king. This prelate had gained great influence over the late sovereign, and, according to contemporaries, was the chief cause of his embroilment with England:—

Sone eftir that, Harye, of Inghland Kyng,
 Off oure Soueraine desyrit ane commonyng.
 Off that meiting our Kyng wes weill content,
 So that in 3orck was sett baith tyme and place :
 Bot our Prelatis nor I wald neuer consent
 That he suld se Kyng Harye in the face ;
 Bot we wer weill content, quhowbeit his grace
 Had salit the sey, to speik with ony vther,
 Except that kyng, quhilk was his mother brother :
 Quhair throuch þar rose gret weir & mortal stryfe,
 Greit heirschippis, hounger, darth, and desolatioun :
 On ather syde did mony lose thare lyfe.
 Geue I wald mak ane trew Narratioun,
 I caisit all that tribulatioun :
 For tyll tak peace I neuer wald consent,
 Wythout the kyng of france had bene content.

Duryng this weir war takin presoneris,
 Off nobil men fechtynge full furiouslye,
 Mony ane Lorde, Barrone, and Bachileris,
 Quhar through our king take sic melancolie
 Quhilk draue him to the dede, rycht dulefullie.
 Extreme Dolour ouriset did so his hart,
 That frome this lyfe, allace ! he did depart.
 Bot efter that baith strenth and speche was lesit,
 Ane paper blank his grace I gart subscriue,
 Into the quhilk I wrait all that I plesit
 Efter his deth—quhilk lang war tyll discriue.
 Through that wrytting I purposit, belyue,
 With supporte of sum Lordis beneuolens,
 In this Region tyll haue Preemynens.
 Lyndesay, *Tragedie of the Cardinall*, 97—126.

The confession is put in his mouth by one who, though an avowed enemy, had the amplest means of knowing who pulled the wires of events. The production of the "forged will" referred to did not prevent the elevation of Arran to the regency, but brought the Cardinal himself into prison, and it was during his forced absence from the scene, that the treaty with England was arranged. The influence of the Queen Dowager, Mary of Guise, and a judicious use of French gold, soon restored Beaton to liberty, and he set himself at once to mar the good understanding initiated between the two nations. In accomplishing this, his ends were served only too well by the arrogant and impatient conduct of the English king, who was but half satisfied with a treaty in which he had had to yield many of his first demands, and, above all, failed to obtain immediate possession of "the child." The astute churchman gained the weak Regent over to his views, the treaty was disowned, and the old league with France renewed in all its vigour. If the conduct of the Scottish Estates boded ill for an amicable settlement, the passionate measures immediately taken by Henry VIII. were such as to render it altogether hopeless. Vowing that he would drag "the child" from the strongest fortress the Scots could hold her in, he sent, as a fore-taste of his temper, a maritime expedition under the Earl of Hertford, which sacked Leith, burnt Edinburgh to the ground, and plundered and fired the thriving Scottish burghs which crowded the coast of Fife. A division of the army, which carried the work of destruction southward to the banks of the Tweed and Teviot, was encountered

and routed by the Earl of Douglas at Ancrum Moor, but the Scottish army, largely composed of the followers of Lords in the English interest, dispersed without following up their advantage, or even maintaining the defensive. A second *razzia* of the English on a much larger scale followed in 1545, during which the entire south of Scotland was laid waste, its towns, castles, villages, and farm houses levelled to the ground, and the magnificent abbeys of Tweedside reduced to that ruinous condition in which they still remain. The fortresses allowed to stand were garrisoned by English soldiers, and most of the barons of Teviotdale, Eskdale, Annandale, Nithsdale, and Galloway, with their clans, made their submission, and were received into English protection as *assured Scots*. Whatever might be the genuine feeling of these latter toward England, there were some at least of their countrymen who still sympathized with the English. These were the adherents of the Reformation, who, after enjoying some measure of toleration from the Regent at first, had, since the ascendancy of Beaton, again been mercilessly pursued with the faggots and the flame. Common interests drew some of these Reformers to make common cause with the King of England, against the prelate whom both had so much reason to desire out of the way, and a plot was formed for the death of the Cardinal. The burning for heresy of George Wishart, one of their number, brought their resentment to a climax, and two months after that event a small body of armed men surprised and murdered Beaton in his own castle, which they forthwith held as a refuge for the protestant and English interest in the country. The death of Henry VIII. shortly after caused the results to be other than they expected. The party opposed to England still comprised the great bulk of the nation, and the leading place vacated by the Cardinal was filled by the Queen Dowager, whom a packed meeting of the Estates at Stirling in 1544 had indeed recognized as Governor or Regent, to the exclusion of the facile Arran, whom they formally deposed. Although her position was not regularly recognized till the voluntary abdication of Arran in 1554, she was now generally looked up to as the rightful governor. To back her up, a force of 16 French galleys appeared on the Scottish coast, and in August, 1547, compelled the insurgents,

who had held Beaton's castle for 14 months, to surrender. The last injunction of Henry VIII. had been that the marriage of his son with the young Queen of Scots, and the union of the kingdoms should be carried through by persuasion or force ; but it was not till after the surrender of the Castle of St Andrew's to the French that the Protector Somerset himself invaded Scotland with an army of 15,000 men. At Pinkie-cleuch, near Musselburgh, he was met on the 4th Sept. by a Scottish force, it is said of nearly twice the number, who proved their allegiance to the Catholic faith by saluting their enemies with opprobrious epithets, as "foresworn heretics and infidel louns." In their confidence of victory, the Scots repeated the error of Flodden, and allowed themselves to be drawn from their position of advantage, and, being attacked when still in disorder, were routed with prodigious slaughter. Such was the battle of Pinkie, "which at once renewed the carnage of Flodden and the disgrace of Solway." The sequel was such as to recall the curses of Old Testament story, when what was left by the hail should be consumed by the mildew, and what the mildew left over, the locust should eat ; for the twice ravaged country was ravaged yet once more, till one should think there could not possibly be anything left to destroy. The threat of Henry VIII. to drag the child from any Scottish fortress seemed at length in danger of fulfilment, when the leaders of affairs determined at once to consult her safety, and remove the bait for the "bitter wooing" of the English, by affiancing the princess to the Dauphin of France, and sending her to that country for protection and education. This was safely accomplished in the summer of 1548, while at the same time a large body of French auxiliaries, bringing with them a supply of cannon, for the reduction of the fortresses in English hands, landed in Scotland.

It was while the presence of these foreign auxiliaries formed a nucleus round which his countrymen might once again rally with better hopes of success than had followed their efforts in times by past, that an ardent patriot and staunch adherent of the ancient alliance with France was moved to appeal to his countrymen to cease from their feuds and factious strifes, which had brought the country to so low an ebb, and by showing moderation and rendering

justice to one another, to make common cause against their merciless enemy. Pamphleteering was the order of the day, and England had led the way in carrying on the contest with the pen no less eagerly than with the sword. When Henry VIII. declared war in 1542; he had issued an elaborate vindication of his conduct, detailing the provocations of the Scots, and at the same time raising anew the title of the English kings to the supremacy of Scotland.¹ After the expedition of Hertford, a narrative of "the late Expedition in Scotland" was printed in London in 1544, to show the calamities which the obstinacy of the Scots had brought upon them. In 1547, just before the battle of Pinkie, "James Harryson, Scottissheman,"—in the eyes of our author, it is to be feared, one of the "renegat Scottis," and probably one of the "Scottisshmen abufe thre thousand, that hes duelt in England thir fiftye 3eir by-past,"—put forth a tract upholding the English claims, and earnestly appealing to his countrymen to yield to them, and let the realms be united in one.² In 1548, after Pinkie had been fruitlessly won, Somerset sent an *Eirenicon*, deploring that battle, and trying too late to effect by an appeal to friendship and reason what he had only put farther from his reach by an appeal to arms.³ He carefully avoided any allusion to the old English claims of supremacy; but as if to show that these were still at hand, if persuasion failed, there appeared at the same time from the press of the King's Printer, a tract by Nicholas Bodrigan, *alias* Adams, addressed to Edward VI.,⁴ and doubtless with the Protector's sanction, reminding him that though it was all very well to travail to unite Scotland to England by marriage, his majesty's right to the sovereignty of that kingdom remained as undoubted and intact as ever. Finally, Patten, who published the same year a graphic account of the new campaign which culminated at Pinkie, had pre-faced the record of Somerset's martial achievements with an eloquent exhortation to his "Countrymen of the North," as he would venture to call them, to bow to the will of the God of battles, and as they were one with their English brethren in language, manners, and interests, to be one with them also in government and allegiance. Some of these numerous appeals must have reached Scotland, all of

¹ Appendix No. I. ² Appendix II. ³ Appendix III. ⁴ Appendix IV.

them were probably known to the author of the *Complaynt*, and was partly to counteract their influence, as well as to arouse his countrymen, that he now took up his pen. Thus appeared the "Complaynt of Scotland, with an Exhortation to the Three Estates to be vigilant in defence of their public weal;" and the book's own statements assign to its composition the date of the beginning of 1549. The author cast his work, after the fashion of the age, into the form of an allegory of Dame Scotia and her three sons, and sought to give each of the Estates of the realm, the Nobility, Spirituality, and Commons, the special exhortation which they needed, and to awaken them to the gravity of the crisis. What direct results may have flowed from his appeal we do not know; no contemporary writer deigns to notice him or his work; but the object which he had at heart was, for the time being at least, accomplished, the country being recovered, bit by bit, by the Scotch and their French allies, till at length an honourable peace, secured in connection with the treaty of Boulogne, between England and France, April, 1550, gave Scotland a breathing-time from its miseries. Perhaps this result may even have been accomplished before the *Complaynt* left the printer's hands, and may account for the recasting which the author saw fit to give to many portions of his book, and the extraneous attractions which he subsequently added in the "Monologue Recreative of the Author", the interest of which to us now far transcends that of the original and legitimate contents of his main work.

II. THE WORK.

§ 1. EXTERNAL.

OF the book in these circumstances given to the world, only four copies are known to have come down to recent times. Two of these were in the collection of Harley, Earl of Oxford, and in the elaborate Catalogue of his Library¹ published after his death, in order to

¹ Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae in locos communes distributus cum Indice Auctorum. Londini apud Thomam Osborne, 5 thick vols., 8vo, appearing at intervals from 1743 to 1745. The editors, who do not give their names, are said to have been B. S. Johnson, M. Mattaire, and W. Oldys. In their

acquaint the public with its riches, and, if possible, lead to its being acquired by the nation or some public body, they are thus entered :

In Vol. I. under heading "HISTORY OF SCOTLAND, OCTAVO," Nos. 8341—8394 :

No. 8371. Vedderburn's *Complainte of Scotlande, vyth ane Exortatione to the thre Estaits to be vigilante in the Deffens of their Public Veil*. 1549.

In Vol. IV. under heading "*Books relating to the Ecclesiastical and Civil History of Scotland, its Parliamentary affairs, Law, Policy, Government, and Trade*, Octavo," Nos. 11952—12074.

No. 12070. Vedderburn's *Complainte of Scotland, with ane Exoratione to the three Estates to be vigilant in Defence of their public Weel*.¹ 1549.

One of these copies was acquired by the British Museum, where its press mark is C. 21. a. The other was secured for the library of the Duke of Roxburgh, where it was when Dr Leyden printed his edition of the *Complaynt* in 1801. After the dispersion of the Roxburgh collection, it passed successively through the hands of Constable² and Heber, was secured by Mr Grenville, and finally with

preface, they say "Our Design like our Proposal is uncommon, and to be prosecuted at very uncommon Expense ; it being intended, that the Books shall be distributed into their distinct Classes, and every Class ranged with some regard to the Age of Writers ; that every Book shall be accurately described, that the Peculiarities of Editions shall be remarked, and Observations from the Authors of Literary Histories occasionally interposed, that, by this Catalogue, we may inform Posterity, of the Excellence and Value of this great Collection, and promote the Knowledge of scarce Books and elegant Editions."

¹ Mr David Laing, to whose valued assistance I am greatly indebted in tracing the bibliography of the *Complaynt*, believes that there was only *one* copy in Harley's Collection, and that No. 12070 is evidently a repetition of No. 8371, the book still remaining unsold. I am unable to come to this conclusion, which seems inconsistent with the plan of the Catalogue. Mr Laing kindly adds the information that many of the books of this class in Harley's Collection had belonged to Mr James Anderson, Writer to the Signet, who latterly settled in London ; and having ruined himself by his great work "*Diplomata et Numismata Scotiæ*," published after his death in 1739, was obliged to sell his own library to Harley.

² "The copy from the Roxb. sale, I remember well in its old original binding. It was bought for Mr Archibald Constable, publisher, Edinburgh, for £31 10s. In the Catalogue, it is marked (No. 8734) as *wanting the Title and 5 pages in the middle* ; it really wanted the Title only. Mr Constable's private collection was purchased by Mr Thorpe, London, and Mr Heber, to whom

the rest of his library was bequeathed also to the British Museum, where it forms No. 5438 in the Grenville Library. The third and fourth copies were, when Leyden wrote his preliminary dissertation, in the possession of Mr George Paton of the Custom's House, Edinburgh, and of John M'Gowan, Esq., an Edinburgh collector, who died about the beginning of this century. The former of these is now in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh;¹ Mr M'Gowan's copy was afterwards acquired by George Chalmers of the *Caledonia*, and at the sale of the 3rd section of his library in November, 1842, No. 127, the Complaynt of Scotland, Printed circa 1548, was purchased by T. Rodd, a well-known London old bookseller, for £5 5s. A copy, evidently the same, appears in the Catalogue of Mr H. B. Bright's sale in 1845, described as imperfect, wanting all before p. 16.² It was again purchased by Rodd for £4, but for whom it was bought, and what have been its further fortunes, I have been unable to learn. Leyden, writing in 1801, says, "all four copies were imperfect, but three of them have been completed from each other."³ Having had

Leyden had dedicated his reprint, secured the best part, including this little volume. At Heber's sale, the Complaynt fell to Grenville, and so to the Museum."—*D. Laing* in private note.

¹ In the Catalogue of Mr Paton's sale, 25 March, 1809, it is thus inaccurately entered: "No. 2722. The Complaynt of Scotland. *The most perfect copy extant*" (!). It was bought by William Laing, Bookseller, Edinburgh, for £7 10s., and in his Catalogue for 1810, it occurs with this notice, "the leaves are inlaid, and completed from the new edition printed at Edinburgh in 1801." *D. Laing*.

² It is thus described:—No. 4993. The Complaynt of Scotland. n. d. (circa 1550) "This very curious and *extremely rare* little volume is imperfect (as are all the existing copies), wanting all before page 16, and a portion of the last leaf. Its appearance tempts one to believe it to be the identical copy which Jonathan Oldbuck revelled in the possession of, and which is immortalized by Scott: 'For that mutilated copy of the Complaynt of Scotland, I sat out the drinking of two dozen bottles of strong ale with the late learned proprietor, who, in gratitude, bequeathed it to me by his last Will.'—*The Antiquary, Chap. III.*"

³ Meaning, I presume, not that three of them have been completed at the expense of the fourth, the only way in which they could *really* be "completed from each other," but that their deficiencies have been supplied by transcripts from each other. Yet, that something more than this was done, appears from *Ames' Typographical Antiquities*, 1790, where it is stated that the "British Museum copy has recently been perfected, except the title page, from another copy in the possession of Mr G. Paton, of the Custom House, Edinburgh; to whom I am greatly indebted for his kind intelligence concerning printing in Scotland." And yet the "Museum copy" is *not* perfect, while the two leaves

opportunities of fully and carefully examining the three first-mentioned copies, I am able to say that the only imperfection in the Grenville is the want (common to all the four) of the title-page, of which it alone shows a trace, or what is supposed to be a trace (it may be part of the binding), in the shape of a narrow fragment of the inner margin, bearing a small italic long *f* of the beginning of a line, near the middle of the page. The other Museum copy, C. 21. a., wants, beside the title-page, leaves 59 and 142 of the original foliation, which are supplied, not with perfect accuracy, in writing. That in the Advocate's Library is still more imperfect, wanting leaves 1, 2, 3, 25—30, (47), (50, 51), 35 (57), 36 (58), 47 (67), and 84 (96), sixteen leaves in all, including the title-page. The fourth copy, judging from its description in Bright's sale catalogue, is the most deficient of all. The Grenville copy, in addition to its completeness, is also in excellent condition, but the rebinding of it at some recent period in its present yellow morocco cover has obliterated the tokens of the original excisions, cancellations, and substitutions so well seen in the other British Museum copy,¹ which appears to retain its original binding; the leaves, however, of the latter are in places much decayed and rotten, and so brittle as hardly to bear handling.² The Advocate's Library copy fails most of all to give an idea of the original form of the book, the leaves being cut out and "inlaid" in a large quarto of the size of the large-paper copies of Leyden's reprint, leaves of which are also interpolated to supply the numerous deficiencies of the old copy.

The original edition of the *Complaynt of Scotland*, as represented

wanting and supplied in writing are still in Paton's copy in the Advocate's Library. On the other hand, if Leyden meant only "completed" by transcripts, the Roxburgh copy has needed no such completion. Clearly neither his statement nor that of Herbert can be taken in its literal meaning. What they *did* mean to say I have no idea.

¹ Alas! *Troja fuit!* since writing these words, I have again had occasion to refer to this copy, and find that it also has in the interim been reclad in yellow morocco, and in consequence, the treatment to which the original sheets were subjected before publication, as shown by the left edges of the excised leaves, the pasting in of substitutes, &c., is much less distinctly traceable than when I handled it in 1869. I could only feel thankful that I had then thoroughly examined these witnesses to the alterations, while they still survived in their original distinctness.

² In the late rebinding these brittle parts have disappeared.

by these surviving copies, is a small book about the size of a modern foolscap 16mo, the pages measuring $4\frac{1}{4}$ by $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches, and the printed matter $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{8}$ (exclusive of heading, marginal notes, and signatures), consisting of 26 lines Long Primer Roman type. The Headings, which are in capitals of the same size, run across the folio, and are from leaf 2, back, to 7, ANE EPISTIL / TO THE QVENIS GRACE ; from 7, back, to 15, PROLOG / TO THE REDAR ; then, on to the end of the book, simply THE COMPLAYNT / OF SCOTLAND. (In the present edition, for the convenience of the reader, a heading to each chapter has been supplied on the right-hand page.) The titles of the chapters are, with exception of the first (for which see fac-simile), uniformly in italics, small Bourgeois or Brevier, as are also the side-notes, which are mainly the Scriptural or Classical texts quoted in the subject matter. (They are retained in this edition in italics, and thus distinguished from the modern marginal notes.) With the exception of the words "TO THE EXCEL," on leaf 2, and "THE FYRST CHE," on leaf 15, back, which are larger, no other types than the two mentioned occur ; no old English or Black letter is used in the book. The Roman fount has no w, using a single v instead, nor, so far as the Scotch is concerned, any j, although that letter occurs in numerals, as iij, and Latin words like filij. The letter z does not occur, the 3 being used alike for z and y consonant, as in "3enyth" and "3ou." The italic fount has an open splay z instead, and otherwise agrees with the Roman.

The leaves—not the pages—are numbered in the right-hand top corner, and the sheets (eights) are likewise signed C, C ij, C iij, C iiij. A comparison of these shows that the work, as originally printed off, consisted of 144 leaves, or 18 sheets of 8, the signatures running from A to S. But before his work emerged to light, the author saw fit to make numerous important alterations in it, on the reasons for which we can now only speculate. Any how, they entailed the cancellation of no fewer than thirty-three of the original leaves, and the substitution of thirty-seven others, which in one of the Museum copies, as already mentioned, are seen to be pasted in on a narrow edge of the original, and are moreover distinguished by a difference in the paper, being generally thinner and harder than the original

leaves, so that on them the ink has not spread so much, and consequently the print looks paler and cleaner. It is worthy of notice also that it is these inserted leaves which in C. 21. a. have become so brittle and rotten, as already mentioned. The new leaves do not at all correspond in number to their predecessors, for while in some cases a single original leaf has been replaced by a new one, bearing the same number, in others 2, 3, 4, 6, or 9 leaves have been cut out, and only one inserted to bridge over the hiatus or close the chapter, leaving a gap in the paging; and in one notable instance a single leaf is cut out, and no fewer than 23 leaves interpolated, being the greater part of the "Monolog Recreative," with the lists of animals and their cries, the sea scenes, the shepherd's cosmographical lecture, the lists of tales, songs, dances, musical instruments, and herbs. Of these supposititious leaves the first is numbered 31, leaving 22 leaves unnumbered before 32. The signatures are similarly interrupted, the first page of each sheet of the interpolation being marked simply with an *, while the regular series is resumed with the original leaves. The following is a list of these alterations.

One leaf 31 (D 7) cut out, and 23 leaves inserted, the first of which is numbered 31, the rest being unnumbered. The inserted leaves consist of 2 sheets of 8, and 1 of 7 leaves, which have no signatures, the beginning of each sheet being marked with an * instead

Leaf 32 (D 8) follows these, and is pasted in the place of the last leaf of the third * sheet.

Three leaves, 37, 38, 39 (E 5, 6, 7), cut out, and *one* leaf substituted, numbered 37.

Six leaves, 47 to 52 (F 7 to G 4), cut out; *one* leaf substituted, numbered 47.

Four leaves, 71 to 74 (I 7 to K 2), cut out; *one* leaf substituted, numbered 71.

Four leaves, 112 to 115 (O 8 to P 3), *apparently* cut out; *five* leaves substituted, numbered 112 to 116; the original 116 and 117 remain, so that there are *two leaves numbered* 116. The inserted leaves have *no* signatures, nor is the second 116 (P iiij) signed.

Nine leaves, 118 to 126 (P 6 to Q 6), cut out; *one* leaf substituted, numbered 126.

Two leaves, 137, 138 (S i, S ii), cut out; *two* leaves substituted with same numbers and signatures.

Three leaves, 140 to 142 (S iiij, 5, 6), cut out; *two* leaves substituted, numbered 69, 116, (!) no signature.

One leaf, 144 (S 8), cut out, and replaced by unnumbered leaf, bearing "Tabula" of chapters.

The result of these various excisions and insertions is, that the numbers on the leaves, and the signatures of the sheets, do not at all correspond to the form of the book, as it finally appeared, containing 148 leaves, of which the following is the Register

Signatures.	Leaves numbered.	Actual No. reckoning in order. ¹	
A 1—8	1—8	1—8	A, leaf 1, the title page, no longer exists in any copy.
B 1—8	9—16	9—16	B ij, iij, iiij, are erroneously signed A ij, iij, iiij.
C 1—8	17—24	17—24	
D 1—6	25—30	25—30	D 7 unrepresented, D 8 see after * sheets.
1st * (1—8)	31 & 7 unnumbered	(31—38)	
2nd * (1—8)	eight "	(39—46)	
3rd * (1—7)	seven "	(47—53)	
D 8	32	(54)	takes the place of (3rd * 8) cut out.
E 1—5	33—37 (38—39 omitted)	(55—59)	
E 8	40	(60)	
F 1—7	41—47 (48—52 omitted)	(61—67)	
G 5—8	53—56	(68—71)	
H 1—8	57—64	(72—79)	
I 1—7	65—71 (72—74 omitted)	(80—86)	
K 3—8	75—80	(87—92)	
L 1—8	81—88	(93—100)	L iij has no signature.
M 1—8	89—96	(101—108)	
N 1—8	97—104	(109—116)	
O 1—8	105—112	(117—124)	
P 1—4	113—116	(125—128)	
P 4 <i>bis</i> —5	116 <i>bis</i> , 117 (118—125 omitted)	(129, 130)	P iij has no signature.
Q 6—8	126—128	(131—133)	
R 1—8	129—136	(134—141)	
S 1—3	137—139	(142—144)	
S 5—8	69, 116, 143, and one unnumbered.	(145—148)	

¹ In the Harleian copy (C 21. a.) the leaves are so numbered by a recent hand in pencil; in this edition, in references, the actual number of the leaf is added to the *soi disant* number, within parentheses.

§ 2. INTERNAL.

The Complaynt of Scotland consists of two principal parts, viz. the author's *Discourse* concerning the affliction and misery of his country, and his *Dream of Dame Scotia* and her Complaint against her three sons. These are, with rather obvious art, connected together by what the writer terms his *Monologue Recreative*, in which he relates the circumstances that interrupted his discourse, and led to his beholding the Vision. In revising his work before it was published, the author took advantage of this interruption to his theme, to introduce what he knew of Cosmogony, Botany, Naval Architecture, Native Songs, Dances, and popular Tales, under colour of having had these brought under his notice during his "recreative" ramble. Preliminary to all these, is "*Ane Epistil to the Quenis Grace*," dedicating to Mary of Guise this first production of his pen, and a "*Prolog to the Redar*," wherein the author apologizes first for writing at all, and then for using "domestic Scots langage."

I proceed to consider these various divisions in the order in which they come in the Book, leaving, however, the extraneous contents of the "Monologue" to the end.¹

The "EPISTIL TO THE QVENIS GRACE," which in title suggests the "*Epistil to the Kingis Grace*" prefixed by Sir David Lyndesay to his *Dreme*, is addressed not to the infant Queen Mary now in France, but to the Queen-Mother Mary of Guise, who, as we have seen in the Historical introduction, now held *de facto* the office of Regent or Governor, to which the abdication of Arran a few years later gave her undisputed title. Elevated by his subject, the author begins in a florid and highly metaphorical style to extol the heroic virtues of his patroness, "the Margareit and Perle of Princessis," and her services in relieving the unutterable ills of his poor country, scourged at once by the three plagues of invasion, pestilence, and

¹ In this account I incorporate the remarks of Dr Leyden in the preliminary Dissertation to his edition of 1801, wherever these seem satisfactory, omitting, however, most of his illustrative quotations (often very remotely bearing on the subject) from works then existing only in MSS. or scarce editions, but which have since been printed in full, and, therefore, have not the value which they had when Leyden's Dissertation was the only source at which the general reader could obtain an idea of them.

intestine strife. The germ of her nobility brings forth, not only branches and tender leaves of virtue, but also the salutary and health-giving fruit of honour for the healing of a desolate and wasted nation. The heroines of ancient story, the good and noble women raised to eternal fame in the pages of Plutarch and Boccaccio,—Valeria, daughter of Publicola, Clelia, Lucretia, Penelope, Cornelia, Semiramis, Thomyris, and Penthesilea,—are none of them worthy to be compared in virtue or valour to her, who daily signalizes her prowess against the cruel wolves of England, that, since the death of her husband, James V., have not ceased to plot the utter destruction of Scotland. But even as Queen Esther and Judith were divinely raised up to save the Jews from their enemies, so is the Queen Regent inspired to deliver Scotland. No meaner praise can be given to one who sacrifices her pleasure and ease to dwell in this foreign land, exiled not only from her own kindred, but from her only daughter, the infant Mary Stewart, now safe under the governance of the King of France, “the most illustrious potent prince of the most fertile and peaceable realm under the machine of the supreme Olymp.” In short, Ysircata never endured greater hardships attending Mithridates in his most perilous situations than the Queen Regent sustains every day. From praise of the personal virtues of Mary of Guise, the author proceeds to that of her ancestors, Godfrey de Bouillon, Baldwin, his brother, René, king of Sicily, Antonio, duke of Calabria, John Cardinal Archbishop of Lorraine, finishing with her father the Duke of Guise, many of whose actions he celebrates, particularly his success in quelling a formidable insurrection of the peasants on the Upper Rhine, for a knowledge of which he was probably indebted to John Carion’s Chronicle, subsequently quoted.

To a princess thus illustrious alike by virtue and genealogy, the author had resolved to dedicate the first labour of his pen ; and after great difficulty in finding a subject to write about, he has at last concluded it to be most meet for him to rehearse the miseries of Scotland and their causes. Poor as his offering is, he trusts her Grace will humanely accept of it ; and by way of example he relates a story of Darius and a poor man of Persia, as well as our Saviour’s

commendation of the widow's offering of her "tua half penneis" when "she hed na mair" to give.

The "Epistil to the Quenis Grace" is followed by the "PROLOG TO THE REDAR," which reminds us again of Lyndesay's *Epistil to the Redar*, PROLOG, and *Exclamatioun to the Redar twycheyng the wrytting of vulgare and maternal language*, at the beginning of the *Monarché*. He first quotes with approbation ancient decrees against idleness, and then proceeds to reply to the ignorant detractors who might think him idle, in that he uses his pen instead of practising some mechanic craft. Every craft is necessary for the public good; and he that has the faculty of traduction or of composition, has a faculty as honourable, useful, and necessary as that of the mariner, merchant, cordiner (shoemaker), carpenter, captain, or civilist. No man is a *gladius delphicus*; each has his talent which he must cultivate. His own is that of the study and the pen; even in that he will seek not to go beyond his capacity; and in illustration of the danger of doing so, he gives his first long classical "exempil" in the story of Antiochus and Hannibal at the academy of Phormio, from the Apothegms of Plutarch. Having thus apologized for writing at all, which but for his "ardent favour towards this affligit realm, his native country," he had not presumed to do, he next begs the learned among his readers to excuse his "barbir agrest termis, and domestic Scottis langage," which he chooses as "maist intelligibil for vulgare pepil." There have been diverse writers before him who have taken pleasure in mixing their language with uncouth terms, riven from Latin, and who measured their eloquence by the length of their words, as did he who wrote "*gaudet honorificabilitudinitibus*;" but for himself he repudiates all such fantastic conceits, and means to use his "natural Scottis tong," except where compelled to admit such terms as *augur*, *auspices*, *questors*, *tribune*, for which there was no Scottis term, or *animal* for which it had no precise equivalent. This declaration of intentions sounds very curious in the light of the fact, that no Scottish writer of his own or any other age has left us a work so groaning under the burden of its foreign words, for which see the section on the Language. Yet there is no reason to suspect him of irony in the passage, and we can only

extend to him that charitable correction which he craves in closing, and which one hopes he received in his own day with the result of "garring him studye mair attentivlye in the nyxt werkis," that he intended to set forth. The practice of writing apologetic prefaces to works in the vulgar tongue, of which Chaucer and Lydgate had given examples, was still common with the Scottish writers. Gawayne Douglas had thus introduced his translation of the *Eneid* into "Scottis metir :

"And 3it, forsoith, I set my besy pane,
As that I couth, to make it brade and plane,
Kepand no Sodroun, bot oure awin langage,
And speke as I lerned quhen I wes ane page;
Na 3it so clene all Sudroun I refuse,
Bot sum worde I pronounce as nychboure dois,
Like as in *Latine* bene Grewe termes sum,
So me behuffit quhilum, or be dum,
Sum bastard *Latyne*, Frensche, or Ynglis ois
Quhare scant wes Scottis, I had nane vther choise;
Not that oure tounge is in the seluin skant,
Bot for that I the fouth of langage want,
Quhare as the cullour of his propirté
To keip the sentence, thareto constrenit me,
Or that to mak my sayng schort sumtyme,
Mair compendius, or to likly my ryme."

And in the *Dialog of the Monarché*, completed by Sir David Lyndesay only four years later than the date of the *Complaynt of Scotland*, twenty-one stanzas are devoted to "ane exclamatioun to the Redar, twycheyng the wrytting of vulgare and maternal language." In terms not unlike those employed by the author of the *Complaynt*, he says,

"Gentyl Redar, haif at me non dispyte,
Thinkand that I presumptuously pretend
In vulgair tounge so heych mater to writ;
Bot quhair I mys, I pray *the* till amend.
Tyll vnlernit I wald the cause wer kend
Off our maist miserabyll trauell and torment,
And quhow, in erth, no place bene parmanent.

Quhowbeit that diuers deuote cunnyng clerkis
In *Latyne* tounge hes wrytten syndrie bukis,
Our vnlernit knawis lytill of thare werkis,
More than thay do the rauyng of the Rukis.
Quharefore to Colzearis, Cairtaris, & to Cukis,—
To Jok and Thome—my Ryme sall be diractit
With cunnyng men quhowbeit it wyl be lactit."

Probably the latest example of such apologizing for a plain style is to be found in the preface to the *Rolment of Courtes*, written by Abacuc Bysett, servant to Sir John Skeane, in the reign of Charles I., and which deserves publication, as perhaps the latest specimen of the Literary Middle Scotch existing.

“I haue nocht bene copious in langaige be far drevin uncouth evil placed termes, and multiplicatioun of wordis, be paraphrases, and circumloquitoun of speich, silogismes, and refutatioun of argumentes be parabis or comparisouns. Nor haue I adhered to auld proverbis, or bywordis, fair flatterand fenzeit and allurand fictiouns, uttered by archdiaciens, maid up, contrefait, and fraising langaige, nor haue I used minzearde nor effeminate tantting invectiue, nor skorneful wordis, vane saterik, or lowse wowsting and waunting speiches. Nor haue I ower fauerable or luifinglie loved or prased, or zit haue I ower disdainefullie detracted, lakked, or outbraided in ony wayiss. Nather zit haue I prophained nor abused the halie and sacreit scriptouris, be vnlearned and vnskillfull applicatiounis, as sum of the vulgar and raschest, railing, simplest comounis dois, eftir yr awin vaine fantastical fantasies, with[out] ony authoritie, schame, understanding, or knowlege. Bot be the contrare, I haue writtin reuerendlie and spairinglie, usand my awin maternal Scottis langaige, or mother toung as we call it, in als pithie, schoirte, and compendious termes, and clene dictionare, according to my simpill iudgment & knowlege for oppyning up and declaratioun of the truth of my intensiounis of the mater or purposis in hand, and making it sensabill to unlearned and vulgare sortis understanding.”

THE AUTHOR'S DISCOURSE.—After the Prolog, the author proceeds to the subject of his discourse. He starts with the fundamental principle that the mutations of monarchies are due not to fortune, as the ignorant fancy, but to the operations of Divine providence, and illustrates his point by the fate of the great nations of antiquity, and the successive tenure of the empire of the world by Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, French, and Germans. Descending from the general to the particular, the author of the *Complaynt* next concludes that the late disastrous defeat sustained by Scotland at Pinkie was no mere result of the disfavour of fortune, but a part of the Divine dealings with the nation. This conviction has set him a-pondering upon the meaning of this and the other national disasters, and in his search for light, the perusal of certain chapters of Deuteronomy, Leviticus, and Isaiah, has filled him with trouble and

dismay ; for these seem to indicate that the Divine indignation is so hot against Scotland, as to threaten the country with irretrievable ruin.

That his countrymen may read these passages for themselves, he gives in Chapter II. a vigorous Scotch version of them, from the Vulgate,¹ noting the original Latin in the margin ; and in Chapter III. deploras the unutterable calamities which they portend, hinting, however, the hope of mercy reserved for those who bow to the chastening rod. The chastening is, after all, for the sake of the sufferers, not of the rod, and when this has fulfilled its purpose on his children, the father will gladly break it and cast it into the fire. It may be that the English are but the scourge in God's hand to do his chastening work, and thereafter to be rejected and cast out. Chapter IV. compares in detail the threatenings before quoted with the actual state of Scotland. One of the calamities threatened in the third of Isaiah is that the Lord would give them young princes to govern them. This, as we have already seen, had been the standing curse of Scotland for generations ; but our author is too loyal to his young *illustir* princess to allow that she can be in any way associated with her country's woes, and consequently quotes "diverse of the maist famous doctours of the kyrk," to show that this particular curse must not be taken literally ; it means a prince not young in years, but lacking in discretion. The chapter concludes with a vigorous lunge at the sceptical readers who might perversely hint that the threatenings of Moses and Isaiah referred perhaps not to Scotland but to Israel.

Chap. V. considers various opinions current both in ancient and modern times about the world, its nature and duration. Too many still hope that it will last 37,000 years, as Socrates taught, but will that make human life one day longer ? To show the falsity of this hope however, the author quotes John Carion's² account of the prophecy

¹ Dr Leyden makes the remarkable oversight of saying "In his references to the Old and New Testament, the Bible of Junius is always quoted." The earliest edition of the well-known version of Junius appeared in 1580. When the Complaynt was written, the Vulgate and the N. T. of Erasmus were the only Latin versions existing.

² John Carion, professor of Mathematics at Frankfort on the Oder, where

of Elijah that the world shall endure but 6000 years, and shows that as 1548 of the last two thousand are already past (thus fixing the date of his writing), there remain but 452 till the final consummation of all things; and as these are, for the elects' sake, to be indefinitely shortened, the end of the world may, in fact, be close upon them. A train of reasoning precisely parallel is followed by Lyndesay in the *Monarché* (Bk IV, l. 5284):

Bot be the sentence of Elie,
 The warld deuydit is in thre;
 As cunning Maister Carioun
 Hes maid plane expositioun,—
 How Elie sayis, withouttin weir,
 The warld sall stand sax thousand 3eir,—
 From the Creatioun of Adam,
 Two thousand 3eir tyll Abraham;
 Frome Abraham, be this narratioun,
 To Christis Incarnatioun,
 Rychtso, hes bene two thousand 3eris;
 And, be thir Prophiceis, apperis

he had for scholar Melanchthon, was born at Bütickheim in 1499, and died at Berlin, aged 39. He first published his *Ephemerides*, extending from 1536 to 1550, and containing astrological predictions; his *Practica Astrologica*; but these two works gained him no reputation, when he became all at once famous by a chronicle of which he was not the author, but which had in the 16th century a prodigious success, and appeared in many editions and translations. Carion had composed a chronicle in German, and before printing it, desired Melanchthon to correct it. Instead of doing so, Melanchthon made another, and published it in German at Wittenberg in 1531. This we learn from himself in writing to Camerarius, "Ego totum opus retexi, et quidem Germanice." While M. published this chronicle under the name of Carion, the latter printed his own work, which he dedicated to Joachim, marquis of Brandenburg. He ended it with four or five prophecies applying to Charles V., all of which turned out false. The two chronicles under the name of Carion had many translators. Hermann Bonnus gave a later version of Melanchthon's, and Jean Leblond translated into French that of Carion, Paris, 1556. That quoted in the *Complaynt* by Lyndesay is Melanchthon's "Chronicon absolutissimum ab orbe condito vsque ad Christum deductum; in quo non Carionis solum opus continetur, verum etiam alia multa eaq: insignia explicuntur, adeo ut iustæ Historiæ loco occupatum esse possit." An English version appeared in 1550, "The thre bokes of Cronicles, whyche John Carion (a man syngularly well sene in the Mathematycall sciences) gathered wyth great diligence of the beste Authours that haue written in Hebrue, Greke, or Latine. Whervnto is added an Appendix, conteynnyng all such notable thynges as be mentyoned in Cronicles to haue chaunced in sundry partes of the worlde from the yeaere of Christ 1532 to thys present yeaere of 1550. Gathered by John Funcke of Nuremborough, whyche was neuer afore prynted in Englysh. Ded. to Ed. VI. by Gwalter Lynne."

Frome Christ, as thay mak tyll us kend,
 Two thousand tyll the warldis end,
 Off quhilkis ar bygone, sickirlye,
 Fyue thousand, fyue hundreth, thre & fyfye;
 And so remanis to cum, but weir,
 Four hundreth, with sewin and fourtye 3eir :
 And than the Lorde Omnipotent
 Suld cum tyll his gret Iugement.
 Christ sayis, the tyme sal be maid schort,
 As Mathew planelye doeth report,
 That for the warldis Iniquité,
 The letter tyme sall schortnet be,
 For plesour of the chosin nummer
 That thay may passe from care and cummer.
 So be this compt, it may be kend,
 The world is drawand neir ane end.

The passage of Carion's Chronicle quoted by both authors is as follows :

"It is useful always to have in view, so far as is possible, the whole course of time, and the principal revolutions of the human race. To this end it is most conducive to know a saying which is recited in the commentaries of the Jews,¹ thus :

'The Tradition of the House of Elias

Six thousand years the world shall last, and then the conflagration.

Two thousand years void of law ;

Two thousand in the law ;

Two thousand in the days of Messiah. And because of our sins, which are many and great, the years shall lack that shall be lacking.'

Thus did Elias prophesy concerning the duration of mankind, and distinguish the principal revolutions. Of the third period, he signifies, that the two millenniums shall not be completed, for that iniquity shall abound, on account of which the whole human race shall be the sooner blotted out, and Christ shall appear for judgment, as he saith, 'For the elects' sake shall those days be shortened.' We shall therefore divide our History into three parts, according to the saying of Elias."

"His historical examples are chiefly drawn from the Chronicle of John Carion, and from Boccaccio ; but the painting exhibits, in some instances, the strength and richness of old romance," as when the author mentions the silver columns and ivory portals of Castell

¹ This tradition is recorded in the Gemara, a division of the Talmud.—*Rev. W. W. Skeat.*

Ylione of the rich triumphant town of Troy, for which, as well as his account of the Tower of Babel, he was evidently indebted to Lydgate's translation of Boccaccio. His invective against those who acknowledged the influence of Dame Fortune in "the subversions and mutations of prosperitie" is probably aimed at Boccaccio and his translator Lydgate, Gower, and a host of their imitators, all of whom have represented Fortune as the prime dispenser of the happiness and misery of human life. "To shewe Fortune's variaunce" is the object of Lydgate's translation of Boccaccio's *De Casibus virorum illustrium*,

"By example, as there is no rose
 Springyng in garden, but there be sum thorne;
 Nether fayrer blossome then nature list dispose,
 Then may their beuty, as men hath sene toforn,
 With bitter winds be from the braunches born;
 Ne none so high in his estate contune
 Fle from the wayling and daunger of Fortune."

THE MONOLOGUE RECREATIVE.—At this point of the author's discourse a sudden transition occurs; in the preceding five chapters he has put forth his theses as to the causes of national decline and ruin, and the identity of the miseries of Scotland with those threatened against obstinate and vicious nations; and having thus established the framework of his argument, he prefers to convey its special application to the different classes of his countrymen under the similitude of a vision of Dame Scotia and her three sons. To introduce this vision, he now abruptly represents himself as mentally and physically fatigued with the labour of writing the preceding five chapters. To prevent himself from falling asleep right off, he turned out into the open air for a walk, which the beauty of the scenery led him to prolong, first into, and finally through, the short mid-summer night. For the sun had that day entered the 25th degree of Gemini, and it was thus within five days of the summer solstice.¹ A stream clear as beryl, and teeming with fishes of silvery scale, skirted the base of a little mount, on which there hung a verdant wood, vocal with the various melody of birds hopping from bush to branch. The boreal blasts of the three borrowing days of March

¹ It was the 6th June, Old Style, the 15th by modern reckoning.

had chased the blossom of the fruit trees far over the fields, and the fruit was set on the leafy boughs. In such contemplations the night passed, and the messengers of Aurora appeared in the north-north-east horizon. Diana, the lantern of the night, and her attendant stars grew pale, and fled to hide themselves from Titan's golden face. Misty vapours rose lazily from vale and plain, and the green fields drank up the copious dew. Then began the myriad voices of the morning, "the rumour of rammasche (*rammassé*) foulis, ande of beystis that made grite beir," which answered each other even as if blabbering Echo had herself been hid in a "hou hole" crying her half-answer to Narcissus. In the description of these natural scenes, the author displays an eloquence to which he never attains in the *Complaynt*; all the resources of alliteration and of assonance are called in to aid him in telling how "the grene feildis for gret *droutht*, drank up the *drops* of the *deu*, quhilk befor hed maid *dikis* and *dailis* very *done*," and how "the brutal *sound* did *redound*, to the *hie skyis*, of beistis that maid greet beir, as they part beside *burnis* and *boggis* on grene banks" to seek their food. The enumeration of the cries of animals which follows is exceedingly curious, almost every species having a verb appropriate to itself. Some of these are also to be found in Holland's *Houlate*, Montgomery's *Cherry and the Slae*, and here and there in Lyndesay.

Passing on through the fragrant fields the author met many 'landuart grumis' or rural hinds going forth to their morning labour, and himself, contented with his night's recreation, turned his steps townward, to proceed with the compilation of his book. But the sleepy god whom he had defied all night, was not to be so easily baulked of his prey. Assailed with a sudden drowsiness, the author yielded so far as to recline on the cold ground, and with a grey stone to support his head, he attempted the experiment of closing his eyes and looking through his eyelids; but the subterfuge was of course unsuccessful, for he sank into a profound slumber, in which his perturbed brain was visited by the dream of Dame Scotia and her three sons, which forms the subject of the remaining chapters of his work.

In taking this as the original form of the "Monolog Recreative,"

we are guided at once by the original foliation, and by the contents of the chapter themselves. The cries of the animals end at the bottom of leaf 31, and the author meets the “landuart grumis” and bends his steps homeward at the top of leaf 32; the contents of the 44 interpolated pages consequently are no part of the original Monologue. Even as to the cries of the animals we cannot be quite sure; the leaf on which they occur is a cancel replacing the original 31, but it is probable that the changes made in it extended only to the few last lines, so as to lead the reader to the inserted sea-scene, instead of taking him back towards town. The contents of the Monologue form so complete an interruption to the course of the work, that the reader naturally loses all idea of *time*, when listening to the shepherd’s cosmogony, and the tales and ballads which follow; but when his attention is directed to the notes of time occurring before and after, the inconsistency of the actual form of the *Monologue* with the plan of the work becomes at once evident. The sun has already risen, and all the noise of day commenced, when the author describes the cries of the animals; after this comes the sea-scene, to which we cannot allow less than two hours at least; then the author returns to the fields, and finds the shepherds who have brought their sheep down from the hills to the lower pastures, and who now sit down to the morning meal brought to them by their wives and children, *i. e.* an eight or nine o’clock breakfast after they had completed their early morning work. The head-shepherd’s “lang prolixit orison,” which his wife reasonably enough found “tedious & melancolie,” implies a good two hours at least. How long time the forty-eight tales, told each at full length—the thirty-eight and “mony vthir” sweet songs sung “in gude accordis and reportis of diapason prolations, and dyatesseron”—the dances, of which the thirty named are only a poor specimen of the “mony vthir, quihilkis are ouer prolixit to be rehersit”—the walk through the meadow leisurely enough to permit the examination of 22 and “mony other eirbis,” are to be supposed to have taken, I do not presume to say—half a week seems a moderate allowance; but when all is over, to our astonishment it is still only sunrise, “landuart grumis” are on their way to the dewy fields to commence their day’s

work, and all that the author has seen is but "a pleysand nychtis recreation." Bring the "landuart grumis" in immediately after the description of sunrise and the awakening din of nature, and all becomes simple; what comes between is a subsequent interpolation, which the author did not attempt to make consistent (for the very good reason that he could not) with the notes of time that precede and follow.

THE VISION OF DAME SCOTIA, which ostensibly occupies the rest of the book, shows "action" only in Chap. VII. In the Exhortations, Reproaches, and Recriminations, which follow, the allegorical veil vanishes from sight, and the bare poles on which it may be supposed to have been stretched, alone remain standing, in the now-and-then-repeated "o 3e my thre sonnys," or the labourer's "o my dolorus mother."

Chap. VII., however, presents us with very characteristic portraits of the "affligit lady" Dame Scotia, and her three sons. Scotia is represented as a lady of excellent extraction and ancient genealogy, now in deep affliction; her golden hair is disordered and dishevelled; her crown of gold tottering on her head. The red lion, blazoned on a field of gold bordered with the *fleur de lis*, appears wounded on her shield; and her mantle is so rent and torn, that the various devices with which it was adorned "in ald tymys" are almost erased. These devices are of three kinds: on the upper border are embroidered weapons and accoutrements of war, characteristic of Nobility; in the middle, characters, books, and scientific figures, with many charitable acts and supernatural miracles, emblematic of the occupations of the Clergy; while round the lower border appear various figures emblematic of husbandry, traffic, and mechanical arts, in allusion to the various occupations of the Commons. This lowest part of the mantle was worse destroyed than the two others; so completely indeed was it disfigured, that there seemed no possibility of restoring it by any art or device to its original condition. As the lady in this woful plight gazed across her once fertile, but now withered and barren, fields, she beheld approaching her three "native natural sons." These are again described in terms agreeing with the description of the parts of the mantle. The

ignorance of the allegorical second son Spiritualité is graphically noted by a single touch. He is described as clad in a long gown, sitting in a chair, with an aspect of great gravity, holding in his hand a book, "the clasps of which are fast locked with rust." So also the misery of the Commons is depicted in the Youngest Son lying flat on his side on the cold earth, with clothes riven and ragged, making a dolorous moan, and so grievously distressed as to be unable to stand upright even when set on his feet. Dame Scotia begins to reproach the three wretched wights with the cowardice, vice, and unnatural dissensions, which have brought themselves and her to this miserable condition.

Chap. VIII. contains a general reproach, in which all the sons are charged with degeneracy, unnaturalness, and selfishness, in sacrificing their country to their individual interests, for the sake of which many have been content to take assurance of England, and others to become neutral like the "ridars" that dwelt on the Debatable Lands, *i. e.* those portions of the frontier which were claimed by both England and Scotland, and became in consequence the head-quarters of the border freebooters or moss-troopers,

"Who stole the beeves that made their broth
From England and from Scotland both,"

and to whom it was convenient to have a place of retreat into which the wardens of neither country could pursue them without risk of kindling a quarrel with the other.¹ During the minority of the late king, James V., the depredations of the moss-troopers had been extended with impudent daring even to Edinburgh and the towns of Fife. In Lyndesay's "Satyre of the Thre Estaitis," we find *Common Thift*, a riever from Ewesdale, inquiring,

Will na gude fallow to me tell
Quhair I may find
The Earle of Rothus best haiknay?
That was my earand heir away.
He is richt stark as I heir say,
And swift as wind.

¹ The Debatable Land, between the Esk and Sarke, was divided between England and Scotland by royal commissioners appointed in 1522. Scot's Dyke Station, on the railway between Carlisle and Hawick, takes its name from the boundary then constructed. It continued, however, long after to be the rendezvous of the thieves and banditti, who had so long made it their home.

Heir is my bridill & my spurris,
To gar him lance our land and furris
Micht I him get to Ewis durris

I tak no cuir.

Of that hors micht I get ane sicht,
I haif na doubt, 3it or midnight,
That he and I sould tak the flicht

Throch Dysert Mure.

Of cumpanarie, tell me, brother,
Quhilk is the richt way to the Strother [Anstruther]
I wald be welcum to my mother,

Gif I micht speid ;

I wald gif baith my coat and bonet,
To get my Lord Lyndesayis broun Ionet ;

War he beyond the watter of Annet
We sould nocht dreid.

The salutary severity of the king in his raid of 1531, when he executed Johnnie Armstrong and his retinue, as well as Cockburn of Henderland, and Adam Scott of Tushielaw, all renowned chiefs of freebooting clans, quieted the Borderers for the rest of his life, rendering property so safe that, according to Lyndesay, he "gart the rasche bus keip the cow." But since his death the marauders had again become the terror of the country, and their depredations, even at a later period, are plaintively recorded by Maitland of Lethington :—

Off Liddisdail the common theifis

Sa peartlie steillis now and reifis,

That nane may keip

Hors, nolt, nor scheip,

Nor 3eit dar sleip

For their mischiefis.

They plainly throw the country ridis,

I trow the mekil deuil thame gydis !

Quhair thay on-set,

Ay in thair gait

Thair is na 3et

Nor dor thame bydis.

Thay leif richt nocht, quhair euer thay ga,

Their can na thing be hid them fra ;

For gif men wald

Thair housis hald,

Than wax thay bald

To burne and slay.

Tha thiefis have neirhand herreit hail

Ettricke Forest and Lawder dail ;

Now are they gane

In Lowthiane,

And spairis nane

That thay will waill.

The *Englishmen's Assurance*, in which Dame Scotia accuses many of her children as living, dated especially from the battle of Pinkie. On the 24th September, 1547, the Duke of Somerset received the homage of most of the nobles and gentry of the Eastern borders, and took them and their clans into English protection as "assured Scots," while shortly after Lord Wharton, as Warden of the West Marches, compelled the submission of the principal clans of the west, and took them into assurance to the number of more than 7000 men.¹ Their forced submission, however, we find, lasted only till the arrival of the French auxiliaries in 1549.

¹ Patten gives a list of those chiefs of the Eastern borders who submitted to Somerset in Septr., 1547, namely: the lairds of Cessforth, Fernyherst (aucestors of the noble families of Roxburghe and Lothian), Grenehed, Hunt-hill, Hundely, Makerston, Bymerside, Bounjedworth, Ormeston, Mellestains, Warmesay, Lynton, Egerston, Merton, Mowe, Rydell. Of gentlemen, George Tromboul, Ihon Haliburton, Robert Car, Robert Car of Greyden, Adam Kirton, Andrew Meyther, Saunders Purvose of Erleston, Mark Car of Littledean, George Car of Faldenside, Alexander Macdowal, Charles Rutherford, Thomas Car of the Yeir, Ihon Car of Neynthorn, Walter Haliburton, Richard Hangan-syde, Andrew Car, James Douglas of Cavers, James Car of Mersington, George Hoppringle, William Ormeston of Edmersden, John Grymslowe.—*Expedition of the Duke of Somerset*. London, 1548. On the West Marches, the following barons and clans submitted and gave pledges to Lord Wharton, that they would serve the king of England, with the number of men annexed to their names: ANNERDALE—Laird of Kirkmighel, 222; Rose, 165; Hemsfield, 163; Home Ends, 162; Wamfrey, 102; Dunwoody, 44; Newby and Gratney, 122; Tinnel (Tinwald), 102; Patrick Murray, 203; Christie Urwin of Coveshawe, 102; Cuthbert Urwin of Robbgill, 34; Urwens of Sennersack, 40; Wat Urwen, 20; Jeffrey Urwen, 93; T. Johnson of Crackburn, 64; James Johnston of Coites, 162; Johnstons of Craggyland, 37; Johnstons of Driedell, 46; Johnstones of Malinshaw, 65; Gawen Johnston, 31; Will Johnston, the laird's brother, 110; Robin Johnston of Lochmaben, 67; Laird of Gillersbie, 30; Moffits, 24; Bells of Tostints, 142; Bells of Tindills, 222; Sir John Lawson, 32; Town of Annan, 33; Roomes of Tordephe, 32; Lord Carlisle, 101; Laird of Applegirth, 242. NITHSDALE—Mr Maxwell and more, 1000; Laird of Closeburn, 403; Lug, 202; Cransfield, 27; Mr Ed. Creighton, 10; Laird of Cowhill, 91; Maxswells of Brakenside, and vicar of Carlaverick, 310. LIDDSDALE and DEBATABLE LAND—Armstrongs, 300; Elwoods (Elliots), 74; Nixons, 32. GALLOWAY—Laird of Dawbaylie, 41; Orcherton, 11; Carlisle, 256; Loughenvar, 45; Tutor of Bombie, 140; Abbot of New Abbey, 141; Town of Dumfries, 201; Town of Kircubrie, 36. TIVIDALE—Laird of Drumlire, 364; Caruthers, 71; Trumbells, 12. ESKDALE—Battisons and Thomsons, 166. Total under *English Assurance* in the west, 7008 men.—*Bell's Introd. to Hist. of Cumberland*, quoted by Scott, *Introd. to Border Minstrelsy*. Practically, therefore, when the *Complaynt* was written, the entire population of the counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, Dumfries, and Kirkcudbright, were living in the English Assurance, and had English soldiers in their fortresses.

Having given vent to her natural indignation, the "affligit lady" proceeds in Chap. IX. to urge her children to put forth efforts for their own relief, and recites, for their encouragement, examples of diverse countries whose struggle for independence has been successful. The bravery of Mattathias Machabæus and his sons, of Gideon, Miltiades, Leonidas, and Themistocles, is recounted; and they are bidden to remember how, not six score years before, the English, after becoming masters of nearly all France, had been ignominiously driven from that country; as, indeed, they had long ago been expelled from Scotland by the persevering bravery of Robert Bruce. The doom of ambition and tyranny is illustrated by the fates of many ancient usurpers; the Lord Protector of England may yet stand in the chronicles alongside of Philaris, and Nero.

From the early part of this chapter or the end of the preceding, two leaves have been cut out, and leaf 37, on which Chap. IX. begins, is a substitute bridging over the gap. There is nothing to indicate the contents of the excised leaves, or the reason of their cancellation.

Chap. X. combats some of the peculiar weapons which the English had begun to employ against Scotland, viz., "ane poietical buik oratourly dytit," which had been set forth at the Protector's instance, to show that Scotland was originally a colony of England; and that it was essential that the two should again be united under one prince, and called the Isle of Britain as it was in the beginning when the Trojan Brutus conquered it from the giants; also certain pretended prophecies of Merlyne, which in rusty rhyme foretold the same consummation. Kingdoms are conquered not by books, but by blood; and the English may find these pretended prophecies like the ancient ambiguous answers of the oracles, fulfilled in a way they little expect. Against them is to be set a prophecy recorded in Higden's *Polychronicon*, which says that the English are to be successively conquered by Danes, Saxons, Normans, and Scots; and the author expresses his own belief that the generation then alive would yet see England ruled by a Scottish prince, a conjecture which, seventy years later, circumstances proved to be correct.

We have no trace of any work which quite answers to the “beuk oratourly dytit;” and the description of a “poietical beuk” seems to be due to a confusion with the Merlyne prophecies quoted at the same time. But as we have seen in the historical section (p. xv), four English pamphlets have come down to us (besides the appeal to the Scots in Patten’s narrative of Somerset’s campaign), the contents of which answer to the description here given, and are evidently in the author’s mind here and elsewhere in the Complaynt. These are printed in the Appendix; and it will be seen that the Exhortacion of the “Scottisheman,” the Epistle of the Lord Protector, and the “Epitome” of Bodrugan, as well as Patten’s Preface, all have as their “tenor, that it var verra necessare for the veifare of ingland and Scotland, that baytht the realmis var coniunit togiddir, to be vndir the gouernyng of ane prince, and the tua realmis to be callit the ile of bertan as it vas in the begynnyng.” The “Just Declaracion” of Henry VIII., and the tracts of the “Scottisheman” and Bodrugan further profess as here described, “to preue that Scotland was an colone of England, quhen it was first inhabit; and to gar ther cruel inuasions contrar our realme, apeir in the presens of forrain princis that they haue ane iust titil to mak veyr contrar vs.” They also refer to “the begynnyng quhen the troian brutus conquest the ile fra the giantis.”

The story of Brutus is one of the earliest myths of British history. There were two distinct versions of the legend, the older of which is to be found in Nennius, and was at an early period received by the Scottish and Irish Celts. According to this, Brutus and Albanus, the two sons of Isacon (Ascanius), first conquered the island and shared it between them, naming their respective territories after themselves, Briutain and Alban. The *Duan Albanach* which was sung or recited at the coronation of the Scottish kings, down to Alexander II., and which bears internal evidence of having come into its present form about the year 1070, recites this legend in its opening stanzas:

A eolchan Alban uile,
 A shluagh feuta foltbhuidhe,
 Cia ceud ghabhail, an eol diubh,
 Ro ghabhasdair Albanbruigh.

Albanus ro ghabh, lia a shlogh
 Mac sen oirderc Isicon,
 Brathair is Briutus gan brath,
 O raitear Alba eathrach.

Ro connarb a brathair bras,
 Briotus tar muir n-Icht n-amhnas,
 Ro gabh Briutus Albain ain,
 Go rinn fhiadhnach Fotudain.

O all ye learned of Alban (Scotia)
 Ye well-skilled host of yellow hair,
 What was the first invasion—is it known to you?
 Which took the land of Alban?

Albanus possessed it, numerous his hosts,
 He was the illustrious son of Isacon,
 He and Briutus were brothers without deceit,
 From him Alban of ships has its name.

Briutus banished his active brother
 Across the stormy sea of Icht,
 Briutus possessed the noble Alban,
 As far as the conspicuous promontory of Fotudain.¹

Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, No. vi.

Among the Southern Britons the legend assumed a somewhat different form, which we meet with first in Geoffrey of Monmouth, and the contemporary Welsh Bruts, whence it found its way into Wace, and Layamon, and having thus gained the ear of the Norman and the Saxon, found an acceptance far wider than the elder Celtic version of the myth. Brutus the son of Ascanius here appears as the *father* of Alban, or Albanactus, who has besides an elder brother Locrinus, and a younger Camber. Brutus, having conquered the island from the giants, names it after himself, and at his death divides the whole among his three sons, giving to the eldest the larger portion, which thence derived its British name of Lloygir (England); to the second the northern and smaller part called after him, Alban; and to Camber, the territory west of Severn, thenceforth known as Cymry. Locrinus moreover inherits his father's supremacy over the whole island. The later character of this form of the myth is palpable on the surface. The Nennius legend originated at a time when the only facts in British ethnology to be accounted for, were

¹ Of the Ottadini—St Abbs' Head, or the Bass?

the presence in Britain of the Bretts or Britons in the south, and the Albannaich, Caledonii, or Gadhels in the north. These two branches of the Celtic stock, with their obvious relationship and no less obvious points of difference, were satisfactorily accounted for on the hypothesis of two brothers who had shared the island from the beginning, with a shadowy reference to a time when the Gaelic division had extended much farther south, before they had been driven north beyond the Forth by the superior force of the British section. But Geoffrey's legend is adapted to account for facts and names which had no existence till long after the Saxon settlement, as well as to feudal notions of a still later age. It was destined, however, to play a solemn part in the disputes between England and Scotland, forming as it did the starting-point from which the English kings rested their claim to the supremacy of the sister country. Thus we find it paraded with a pompous roll of Latinity in the reply of Edward I. to the Bull of Pope Boniface interposing on behalf of Scotland, in 1300.

“Now about the time of Ely and Samuel the prophet, a certain brave and distinguished hero, Brutus by name, of Trojan race, after the destruction of the city of Troy, betook himself with a multitude of Trojan nobles to a certain island, then called Albion, and inhabited by giants. These having been overthrown and slain by the strength of himself and his followers, he gave to the country the name of Britannia, and to his companions that of Britons, after himself; and he built a city which he named Trinovantum, which is now called London.

“And afterwards he divided his realm among his three sons; to wit, as follows:

“To Loerinus, the first born, that part of Britain which is now called Anglia;

“And to Albanactus, the second born, that part which was then called, from the name of Albanactus, Albania, but now Scotia.

“And to Camber, his youngest son, the part then called from his name Cambria, now known as Walia.

“There being reserved to Loerinus, the elder, the royal supremacy.

“Then, two years after the death of Brutus, there landed in Albania a certain king of the Huns called Humber, and slew Albanactus, the brother of Loerinus; on hearing which, Loerinus, King of Britain, proceeded against him; who fleeing was drowned in a river, which from his name is called Humber, and thus did Albania revert to the foresaid Loerinus;” &c., &c.

In the equally elaborate reply of the Scottish nation, no attempt is made to combat Edward's assertions by producing the older legend of the Duan Albanach, now forgotten like the language in which it lay buried; the Scots admit the story of Geoffrey and the Bruts, but pick holes in the king's logic, and brush away his deductions. Granted that Brutus and his sons ruled all the island, it was as Britons and over Britons that they reigned; but since that distant day, the southern part of Britain had been successively conquered by Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, and the northern part by Picts and Scots; what the mutual relations between Britons in the days of Eli and Samuel could have to do with the relations between Scots and Normans in the 14th century, they could not see, neither did they believe could the pope. But as the Brutus legend grew more and more distasteful to the Scots, something must be provided as a set-off, and hence arose the fable that the Scots were descended from Scota, daughter of Pharaoh who was drowned in the Red Sea, and Gathelus, Gaidhel, or Gayel-glas, a prince of Greece, the former giving her name to the country, the latter leaving his to the race of the Gaidhel or Gaël and the Gadhelic or Gaelic language. This brought the Scots into Britain centuries before the era of Brutus, at whom Scottish historians could accordingly afford a passing sneer, when in their annals they arrived at the comparatively late date at which he and his Trojans landed in the "south partes of oure Ile, and callit it Britan, the quhilk was never callit Bertan but to the Scottis Se, and not be northe." The "impudissimum mendacium" of Brutus, and "non minus fabulosa" legend of Scota, as they were afterwards called by Buchanan in his scarcely less fabulous history, were of too great value, as political weapons, to be lightly surrendered, and were gravely recited on the one side and the other down to the sixteenth century; so that Brutus and Albanactus figure prominently once more, in the Vindication of Henry VIII., and in the subsequent pamphlets of the "Scottisheman" and Bodrugan *alias* Adams.

The fashion of writing History in the form of prophecy is said to have begun in Wales, where the "Cyvoesi Myrddin," written partly in the reign of Hywel dda in the 10th century, and partly in the reign of Henry II., is given in the shape of a prophecy supposed to

be uttered by Myrddin or Merlin in the 6th century. Afterwards the fashion extended to Ireland and Scotland, and a Latin poem of this class assigned to the reign of the Scottish Edgar claims to contain predictions of Merlin and Gildas.¹ These ancient remains were from age to age added to and altered, so as to suit the course of events, and, after giving a history of occurrences already accomplished, under a thin veil of allegory, ended with a few dark and ambiguous allusions to the future. Thomas the Rymour, Bede, Gildas, St Berchan, St Columba, Thomas à Beckett, and at a later date many others, were thus held in popular esteem as prophets, and had predictions fathered upon them; but the name of the ancient British bard Myrddin or Merlin appears to have inspired the widest credit. Prophecies attributed to him exist in Welsh, Latin, English, French, Italian, and German. They are cited by Geoffrey of Monmouth, Robert of Gloucester, and Laurence Minot; and a "Tretise of Merlyn," or his Prophecies in verse, was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1510 and 1529, and afterwards by John Hawkins in 1533. As, according to the Welsh writers, as well as Scottish tradition, Merlin was a native of that Northern Wales (Gwened a Gogledd) which became at length a part of the Scottish Lowlands, his name and fame flourished with special vigour in the south of Scotland, even after many of the Arthur legends had been allowed to die out in this their original birth-land, on account of the unpalatable support which they gave to the English claims over Scotland. Two such prophecies in the Scotch of the second half of the 15th century have been edited for the Early English Text Society, 1870, by the Rev. J. R. Lumby, from a MS. in the Cambridge University Library. They are to be found also in a more modern form in a chapbook which continued to circulate down to the beginning of the present century, under the title of "The whole prophecies of Scotland, England, France, Ireland, and Denmark, prophesied by Thomas Rymer, Marvellous Merling, Beid, Berlington, Waldhave, Eltraine, Banester, and Sybilla [to which the later editions add "Also Archbishop Usher's wonderful prophecies"], all agreeing in one; both in Latin Verse and in Scottish Meeter; containing many strange and

¹ Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, No. xi.

Marvellous Matters, not of before read or heard." This pamphlet contains a dedication to James VI., after whose accession to the English throne it was compiled.¹ Part of the contents also belong to that late period, or at least to the declining years of Elizabeth, such as the *Hempe* prophecy (first in the edition of 1615) :

"When Hempe is come and also gone,
Scotland and England shall be all one.

K. H enry the VIII.	K. E dward the VI.	Q. M ary	K. P hilip of Spain, Q. M.'s husb.	Q. E lizabeth
H	E	M	P	E

Praised be God alone, for Hempe is come and gone,
And left in Old Albion, only Peace joined in one."

A reference to the battle of Pinkie, in the prophecie of Thomas Rymour,

At Pinkie Cleuch their shall be spilt
Much gentle blood that day,

must of course be later than that event. Another, referring to a French wife having a son who should rule all Britain, has been shown by Lord Hailes (*Remarks on the History of Scotland*, Edin. 1773) to have been composed shortly after the battle of Flodden, and to have announced the arrival of the Duke of Albany (born in France, and of a French mother), from whom as Regent great things were hoped.

THE PROPHECIE OF BERTLINGTON.

Of Bruces left side shall spring out a leif
As neere as the ninth degree,
And shall be flemed of faire Scotland,
In France farre beyond the see,
And then shall come againe riding,
With eyes that many may see ;
At Aberladie he shall light,
With hempen holters, and hors of tre.

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¹ The first edition has been reprinted by the Bannatyne Club, its title is "The whole prophesie of Scotland, England, and some part of France and Denmark, prophesied bee meruelous Merling, Beid, Bertlington, Thomas Rymour, Waldhaue, Eltraîne, Banester, and Sibbilla, all according in one. Containing many strange and meruelous things. Printed by Robert Waldegrau, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majestie. Anno 1603." The Dedication to James VI. first appeared in Andro Hart's enlarged edition of 1615, which continued to be reprinted almost verbatim down to the beginning of this century. A copy dated 1806 is in the British Museum. Leyden speaks of it as well-known in his time; I have never come across it, but have heard portions quoted by elderly people in my childhood.

How euer it happen for to fall,
 The Lyon shal be Lord of all ;
 The French wife shal beare the Sonne,
 Shal weild al Bretane to the sea ;
 And from the Bruces blood shall come
 As neere as the ninth degree.

When the prediction miserably failed in Albany's case, it was fondly applied to the offspring of other French wives (of whom James V. had two), the nine degrees being counted now from Bruce himself, now from his daughter Marjory, through whom the succession had come to the Stewarts ; and finally, when Queen Mary arrived home in Scotland, a French widow if not a wife, we find Alexander Scott, a poet of the day, applying the prophecy to her :—

Giffe sawis be suth to schaw thy celsitude,
 Quhat berne sould bruke all *Bretane* be þe see?
 The prophecie expreslie dois conclude,
 The *Frensch* wyfe of the *Brucis* blude suld be :
 Thow art be lyne fra him the nynte degree,
 And wes King *Frances* pairty maik and peir ;
 So be discente, the same sould spring of þé,
 By grace of God agane this gude new-zeir.

At this time also apparently a new version of the prediction appeared, in a prophecy fathered upon Thomas the Rymour, containing the allusion to Pinkie Cleuch already mentioned. When Mary's son, James VI., did actually succeed to the English throne, the people considered their favourite prophet's credit quite substantiated, although the nine degrees could only be got by lopping off both ends of the line.

Setting aside, however, all these later productions which are in rhyme, we find a number of pieces in alliterative verse, of some of which, as already mentioned, 15th-century originals have lately turned up. These are undoubtedly

“The prophiseis of Rymour, Beid, and Marlyng,”

with which Sir David Lyndesay tells us, in the Epistil prefaced to his *Dreme*, he entertained the youth of James V. ; and they are no less certainly the “misteous propheseis of Merlyne and vthir ald corrupit vaticinaris” referred to by the author of the Complaynt. It may, therefore, be of interest to quote a passage from the “rusty ryme,” which predicted the union of England and Scotland under one prince :—

THE PROPHECY OF MERLING.

Their shal a Galyart gayt with a gilten Horne,
 A Pilledow, with a Tode, sic a prime holde,
 With their pieres in a place by the Streame-side :
 To strive with the streame, but they no strength have,
 For their mooving they meete in the mid-way,
 All the Grooms shall grounch be the way-side,
 And many bairnes shal have his byth on the backside.
 And that mervuaille shall fal be a Fyrth-side :
 Where the Leader of the Land shal his Life lose,
 But that bargain shall brew in a baire Burgh,
 That shall bauish from Blisse many bright Helme,
 When it is breued on his back, and his brief knowne
 Of dumb Organes dight, then may thou wel deeme
 Of all the weil & the wealth before then was wrought ;
 With Hunger and Heirshipec on euerie Hill.
 Yet this wicked World shall last but a while ;
 While a chiftane unchosen choose forth himself,
 And ride over the Region, and for Roy holden :
 Then his scutifiers shall skail all the fair South,
 Fra Dunbartone to Dover, and deil all the lands,
 He shall be kid conquerour, for he is kinde Lord,
 Of all Bretaine that bounds to the broad Sea,
 The conquessing shall be kepted and never conquest after.
 Be the coast ye shal know when the knight comes ;
 He has a mark in the middle, where no man may know :
 When he is set in the East where the Sun riseth :
 He has a signe that shal shew on the South Side.
Signum venenosi sanguinis de ventre matris sue,
 All Wailes I wis, shall wend with that Roy,
 For to work his wil, where he thinke would,
 Guiane, Gaskoigne, and Bretane the blyth,
 Shall busk to his bidding on their best wise :
 The whole men will help in his most hight,
 Then shall he turn into Tuskane but trefy or true,
 And busk him over the mountains on mid winter even ;
 And then goe to Rome, and rug downe the walles
 And over all the Region Roy shall be holden,
 Oft this booke have I seene, and better thereafter,
 Of meruelous Merling, but it is wasted away
 With a wicked Woman, wo might she be !
 (For she hath closed him in a Craig on Cornwel cost.)¹

Among the other contents of the chapbook we find, curiously enough, the prophecy cited in the Complaynt as a set-off to the

¹ As showing the variations and corruptions introduced by time, compare the four last lines (which are found as the termination of several of the prophecies) with the same in the Cambridge MS. :

For Bedis buke have I seyn, & Banysters als ;
 And Merwelus Merlyne is wastede away
 Wytht a wykede womane,—woo mycht sho bee !—
 Scho has closede him in a crage of Cornwales coste.

English pretensions. It is thus given, nearly in the words of Trevisa's translation of Higden :

THE PROPHECIE OF THE ENGLISH CHRONICLES.

There shal procede a holy Heremeet in King Elfridus time : in this manner, (in the booke of King Henry the sixth),¹ saying, These Englishmen, forasmuch as they use to drunkennesse, to treason, to carelesnesse of Gods House, First by the Daines, then by the Normands, and the thirde time by the Scottes that they hold the most wretches, and least worth of all other, They shall bee overcome and vincust. Then the world shall be unstabell.

“During the unsuccessful wars of the English against Robert Bruce, this prophecy seems to have had a powerful effect on their desponding minds ; for Higden in another passage, says (according to Trevisa's version) ‘The Scottes waxed stronger & stronger thyrt yeres togyder, unto Kyng Edwardes tyme, the thyrde after the Conquest, and bete down Englyshemen oft, and Englyshe places, that were nygh to theyr marches. Some seyde that that myshappe fell for softnesse of Englyshemen ; and some seyde, that it was goddes own wreche, as the prophecye sayd, that Englyshemen sholde be destroyed by Danes, by Frenshemen, and by Scottes.’”—*Leyden*.

At the end of this chapter occurs one of the largest cancellations in the book, six leaves, 47—52, having been excised, and the existing leaf 47, on which Chap. X. now ends and Chap. XI. begins, inserted to bridge over the gap. This may have been a curtailment of Chap. X. by the omission of other ancient examples of ambiguous prophecies and oracular responses ; but, inasmuch as the next chapter is called XIII., it seems more probable that an entire chapter has here been omitted, and that the one which follows was originally Chap. XII., but altered to XI. on the cancel leaf. In the Tabula of Cheptours at end of the book, this omission is disguised by the chapters not being numbered beyond XI. At the same time Chap. XI. is a very long one, and might naturally be divided into two parts, as indicated in note to page 95.

¹ A mistranslation, as may be seen from Trevisa : “Therof prophecied an holy anker in king Ezelfredus tyme in this maner (Henricus libro sexto) Englyshemen for as muche as they use them to dronkelewnes, to treason & to rechelesnes of goddes house, fyrste by Danes, and thenne by Normans, & at the thyrde tyme by Scottes, that they holde moost wretches, and lest worth of al other, they schal be ouercome.”

The foundation of the claims advanced in the various English tracts was, as we have seen, that the English sovereigns legally represented the Trojan Brutus. In this chapter the author, without ostensibly referring to these statements, essays to overthrow their conclusions by shewing that the English kings are usurpers even in England, and *ergo* can have no title to the crown of Scotland, even though it were at one time a fief of lawful sovereigns of England. So far from the English representing Brutus and the old Britons, they are descended from the false blood of Sergest and Hengest, the two Saxons who had treacherously overcome and dispossessed these very Britons. Since that time, moreover, there have been many breaks in the legal succession, and many usurpations by kings who have been borreaus and murderers of their predecessors—witness King John, Henry IV., Richard III., Henry VII., &c. &c. Although the natives of the Scottish Lowlands were, in the main, as pure Saxons as their English neighbours—purer *Angles*, in fact—yet they had, since the wars of Bruce, been led by association with their Celtic fellow-subjects to adopt from these the use of the word Saxon as equivalent to Englishman, and indeed as a term of hatred and reproach. Thus we find it in Harry the Minstrel's *Wallace*, and so also is it used by the author of the *Complaynt*, who, we may be sure, little dreamed that this “false Saxons blude” was the fluid which coursed in his own veins, and that the Saxon's pure vernacular was better represented in his own pages than in many contemporary English writings. He owned no such relationship; his relations with the Saxon consisted merely in twelve hundred years of mutual enmity—true enough as regarded his Celtic fellow-subjects,—but amusing in a Teuton, and instructive as showing how sentimental and destitute of any real basis may be the feeling of race, since it may exist in direct opposition to all the facts of blood, of language, and of history itself, when this is unknown or forgotten. To constitute a “race” or “nationality” wants only a history; and for this a false one, if only believed, is as good—nay, often better—than a true. Ireland, Switzerland, Scotland, the United States, each composed of diverse stocks speaking different tongues, united by belief in a common history, are our witnesses.

During these twelve centuries of enmity, according to our author, the English had never ceased to profit by Scottish dissensions, even as Darius knew how to profit by the quarrels of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, and Henry VIII. endeavoured to make use of the quarrels of Francis and Charles V. Would his countrymen only consider how their intestine divisions opened the door for English interference, they would remove from among them the injustice and extortion rampant in the land; and by shewing themselves strong and united, soon oblige their enemies to sue for that peace which they were only too glad to obtain when Scotland was at peace with itself. The example of their own valiant predecessors who had so stoutly resisted the Saxon slavery ought to move them to imitate their deeds. The murder of so many Scottish leaders by Edward I. at the Black Parliament at the *Barns of Ayr* (a circumstance vouched for only by “the authority of Henry the Minstrel, and the relations of Arnold Blair, but which is supposed to have been mentioned in the chapters of Book XI of the *Scotochromion*, amissing in the Scottish MS.”), is held up as a specimen of what might happen again if the English should obtain as full possession of Scotland. To deprive a conquered country of its natural leaders had always been a recognized policy of conquerors; witness the directions which Tarquin the Proud gave, in dumb show, as to the chief men of Gabii. The cruel oppression of Wales and Ireland by the English is then expatiated on, and a glimpse afforded us of the Irish Difficulty in an early, but sufficiently intractable stage. We have then an account of the Statutes made by Edward II. on the field of Bannockburn before the battle, and their discovery by the capture of Friar Conraldus; whence by a sudden transition we find ourselves in the Caudine Forks, to see the Romans forced to submit to humiliating terms by the Samnites, for the purpose of being told that a still straiter yoke awaits the necks of those Scots who have assisted the English in their invasions. That the “Assured Scots” on the borders at times accompanied the English army, we find from various entries in the “*Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents happening in Scotland 1513 to 1575.*”¹

¹ Edited for the Bannatyne Club in 1833, 4to.

January 1545: "the English garysoun that lay in Coldinghame to the number of vj^{xx} come and brynt Morhame, Bathgait, Stanpath, and Datrie, quha wes *helpit be our fals Scottis*, for Lawder was sworne all Inglismen; the wardane of Ingland delt thair landis to quhome he plesit."

A month later,

"Vpoun the xxij day of Februar, the lord Gray come to Hadintoun with tua thowsand men, *with all the Merss and Teviotdaill*, and gat all the houssis on Tyne, and tuke plegis of all gentilmen thaj gat, quha did na skaith, bot pait for the thing thaj tuke, and departit hame eftir that thaj had remaynit foure dayes; and in this tyme, the cuntrie for the maist part, was of the opinioun of Inglismen. The Inglismen passand to burne Drumlanrik, the thevis tuke pairt with the Scottis, and pat thame abak, and sua thaj pairtis come to the auld style agane. And vpoun the xxiiij day, the Inglismen being all out of Scotland, the governour past & brynt Ormistoun, and wan the hous of Saltounhall; and heirefter Hallis was randerit to the Scottis agane."

The "thieves" were slippery allies to either side, as another entry shows:

"1547. xix Apryle. Thairefter the governour 3eid at Ewis Durris, and doun the watter of Ewis, bot our awin thevis of Tindaill and Ewisdaill come to the governour, quha war sworne Inglismen, for he brynt all thair cornis and houssis, quhair the governour remaynit ten dayis; bot in thair returnyng, they had ewill wedder."

The feat of Edward at the Barns of Ayr had, we are told, been attempted to be repeated by the Lord Protector in March 1547, in a raid made into the West Marches of Scotland. How then should any Scotsman trust the English promises? More than 3000 Scots with their wives and children, says the author, have gone to dwell in England during the last fifty years, but these have been obliged to disown their nationality and live as "renegat Scottis," who may indeed now be favoured while their treason serves the English king, but will meet the fate of traitors in the end. These fugitives consisted, no doubt, largely of the followers of the banished lords in the reign of James V., and of others who had in like manner either been exiled from their country, or had fled from it to avoid justice—or injustice; they certainly also included many refugees who had adopted the Reformed faith and removed to England for safety from persecution, and perhaps some of the industrious and peace-loving inhabitants

of the southern counties, who sought in England that quiet which their own country had not enjoyed for forty years. Among them we may probably include "James Harryson, Scottisheman," whose appeal to his countrymen before Pinkie is one of the tracts printed in the Appendix.

In Chap. XIII. the "affligit lady" undertakes to explain the chief cause of the deplorable familiarity between England and Scotland, which she finds in the intercourse at markets and conventions on the borders, an intercourse directly opposed to the laws of the two countries, which declared that Scotch and English, like Jews and Samaritans, should have no dealings with each other. The writers of the tracts, on the other side, had used as an argument for the union of the two nations the oneness of their language, character, and customs, but Dame Scotia, while, curiously enough, admitting the unity of language, finds the two peoples utterly opposed in nature and "complexion," and favours us with an analysis of the English and Scottish characters, very much, of course, in favour of that of her own children. It may be contrasted with the equally partial delineation of Higden in the Polychronicon, "Scottes ben light of herte, straunge and wylde ynough, but by medlyng (mixing) of Englyshemen they ben moche amended: they ben cruell upon theyr enemyes, & hateth bondage moost of ony thyng, and holde for a foul slothe yf a man deye in his bed, & grete worshyp yf he dye in ye felde. They ben lytell of meate, and mowe faste longe, and eten selde whan the sun is up; and ete fleshe, fyshe, mylke, and frute, more than brede: and though they ben fayre of shappe, they ben defouled, and made unsemely ynough with theyr owne clothyng. They prayse faste the usage of theyr owne forfaders, and despysen other mennes doynge. Theyr londe is fruytfull ynough in pasture, gardyns and felde." For this character the authority of Giraldus is cited. The English are thus described:—"In beryng outward, they ben mynstrales and herawdes; in talkynge, grete spekers; in etynge and drynkyng, glotons; in gaderynge of catell, hucksters and tauerners; in araye, tourmentours; in wynnynges, Argy; in trauayll, Tantaly; in talkynge lude, Dedaly; in beddes, Sardanapaly; in chirches, mawmetes; in courtes, thonder; onely in preuelege of

clergye and in prebendes, the knowledge themselfe clerkes." An amusing speech of the Duke of Exeter to Henry V., in 1414, on the character of the Scotch and their dependence on France, is recorded in Hall's Chronicle (Edn. 1809, p. 55): "Scotland is like a noun adiective that cannot stand without a substantiue. Their nature is to tary at home in idlenes, ready to defende their countree like brute beastes, thinkyng their rusticall fashion to be high honestie, and their beggerly liuyng to bee a welfare."

The result of the familiar intercourse between the two countries, our author goes on to say, has been that the king of England has been enabled to tamper with sundry gentlemen of Scotland; and there are traitors that, for the sake of private interest, do not scruple to reveal all the deliberations of the Scottish Council to England, so that within twenty hours a full account of all that has been done is presented in Berwick, and three days after, the Berwick Post delivers it in London. With the light that has of late years been thrown on the secret history of the period by the revelations of the State Papers, we know that the practices reprobated by the author prevailed to an extent which even he probably did not dream of. There were few indeed of the Scottish nobles or gentry, who, for English gold, were not willing to volunteer their services (often, it is true, but indifferently performed) as spies to the king of England; and the author's denunciation of the avarice which had "blyndit the reason and infekkit the hartis" of so many of his countrymen who were ready for their "particular profit" to let the common-weal go to the devil, was by no means beside the mark.

In the middle of this chapter three leaves, 72 to 74, have been cancelled; they perhaps contained a further collection of ancient examples of the demoralizing effects of avarice. Lest persuasion and invective should fail to arrest these traitors, Chap. XIV. quotes divers classical and scriptural instances to show that conspirators are always punished, even by those who have profited by their treason. The fate of the chief citizens of Capua, of Pausanias, the Amalekite who slew Saul, Rechab and Baanah, Bessus, and the Black Jacobin Friar who poisoned the Emperor Henry, are recounted at large and held up as warnings.

Thus far Dame Scotia has had the talk all to herself, but now the third son seizes an opportunity to reply, by pointing out that the vices denounced by his disconsolate mother are chargeable on his two brothers, Nobility and Spirituality, but not on himself; and in Chapter XV. he pours forth his lamentable wail against his unnatural kinsmen, who are far more cruel to him than the "ald enemies of ingland." Like a dull ass he is kicked and prodded, and obliged like a body-slave to "ryn & rasche in arage and carriage," i. e. servitude for tillage of the landlord's ground and carrying in his crop at harvest time. Bitter are his complaints against the oppression exercised by the landlords, temporal and spiritual, who plunder him of his "cornis and cattel," and raise his tacks and steadings to such a rent that he is reduced to beggary and starvation. Moreover, he is forced to lend and entrust his little savings to his oppressors, and on daring to ask repayment, is cuffed, kicked, and even killed. That this miserable picture of the state of the commonalty of Scotland is in no point overdrawn, we know only too well from witnesses who wrote both before and after the date of the *Complaynt*. Lyndesay's *Satyre of the Thre Estaitis*, 1540, shows us the common process by which an honest industrious husbandman was turned, by the united offices of priest and laird, into a vagrant pauper.

PAUPER. Gude-man, will ze gif me 3our charitie,
 And I sall declair 3ow the black veritie.
 My fater was ane auld man and ane hoir,
 And was of age fourscoir of 3eirs and moir;
 And Mald, my mother, was fourscoir and fyfteine;
 And with my labour I did thame baith susteine.
 Wee had ane Meir that caryit salt and coill;
 And ever ilk 3eir scho brocht vs hame ane foill.
 Wee had thrie ky, that was baith fat and fair—
 Nane tydier into the toun of Air.
 My fater was sa waik of blude and bane
 That he deit; quhairfoir my mother maid great maine.
 Then scho deit, within ane day or two;
 And thair began my povertie and wo.
 Our gude gray Meir was baittand on the feild,
 And our Lands laird tuik hir for his hyreild.
 The Vickar tuik the best Cow be the head,
 Incontinent quhen my fater was deid;
 And, quhen the Vickar hard tel how that my mother
 Was dead, fra-hand he tuke to him ane vther.
 Then Meg, my wife, did murn both evin and morow
 Till at the last scho deit for verie sorow.

And quhen the Vickar hard tell my wyfe was dead,
 The thrid Cow than he cleikit be the head.
 Thair vmest clayis, that was of rapploch gray,
 The Vickar gart his Clark bear them away.
 Quhen all was gaine, I nicht mak na debeat,
 Bot, with my bairns, past forth till beg my meat.
 Now haue I talde 3ow the blak veritie,
 How I am brocht into this miserie.

DILIGENCE. How did *the* persone? Was he not thy gude freind?

PAUPER. The deuil stick *him*! He curst me for my teind,
 And halds me 3it vnder that same proces,
 That gart me want the Sacrament at Pasche.—1. 1971—2004.

Ten years after the date of the *Complaynt*, William Lauder published his "Lamentatioun of the Pure," with its burden, "How lang, Lord! sall this Warld indure?" and in his "Mirroure" thus addressed the gentry:

3our gredynes! it stinkis and fylis the air!
 I vg 3our Murther and Hirschip to declair!
 For thoct 3e sla nocht pure men with 3our knyues,
 3it with 3our dearth 3e tak from thame the liues!

The pure Plewmen and lauboraris of 3our lands,
 Quhen tha haue nocht to fill 3our gredie hands,
 Quhair 3e can spye ane man to geue 3ow mair,
 3e schute thame furth; syne puts ane vther thair.
 Howbeit the first haue Bairnis aucht or nyne,
 3e tak no thoct, thoct man and all sulde tyne;
 Within few 3eris 3e herye him also,
 Syne puts him furth; to beggin most he go;
 Thus schift 3e our, in to most gredie wyse,
 The quhilk ane Vengeance from the Heauin crys.
 3it for all this 3e neuer ar content!
 Howbeit 3e haue, be fer mair land and rent
 Nor euer had 3our Fatheris 3ow before;
 Bot euer gredie, and gaping still for more.

Lyndesay had in his Satyre represented King Correction as redressing these grievances, but we find from Henrie Charteris's Preface to his Complete Works, published the same year that Lauder wrote, that his exposure of the wrongs under which the Commons groaned had had little permanent effect.

"Quhat laubouris tuke he (Lyndesay), that the landis of this cuntrie nicht be set out in Fewis, eftir ye fassioun of sindrie vther Realmes, for the increas of policie and riches. Bot quhat hes he profitit? Quhen ane pure man with his hail raice and offspring hes laubourit out thair lyfis on ane lytill peice of ground, and brocht it to sum point and perfectioun: then must the Lairdis brother, kin-

nisman, or surname, haif it; and ye pure man with his wyfe and babeis for all yair travellis, schot out to beg yair meit. He yat tuke lytill laubouris on it, mon enioy ye frutis, and commoditeis of it: he man eit vp the sweit & laubouris of ye pure mannis browis. Thus the pure dar mak na policie, nor bigging, in cace yai big yame selfis out. Bot althoucht men wink at yis, zit He sitts abone yat seis it, and sal iuge it. He yat heiris ye sichis and complaintis of ye pure oppressit, sal not for euer suffer it vnpunischit. Quhat hes he alswa written aganis yis Heriald hors, deuyset for monie pure mannis hurt? Bot quha hes dimittit it? And gif he had leifit in yir lait dayis, quhat had he said, of ye vnnatural murtheris: ye cruel slauchteris: ye manifest reiffis: ye continuall heirschippis: ye plane oppressionis: ye lytill regard of all persones to ye common-weilth?"

After this picture of his position in the "good old times," the labourer gives us a bit of his philosophy. He is vulgarly reputed for the youngest brother, but is in truth the eldest, existing long before his "twa brether," nobles and clergy, came into being. In truth he had created their state, though now they profess to be gentlemen forsooth, and to despise him as an untutored rustic. They would fain have it that they are the descendants of angels and archangels, and not of Adam, forgetful of the many instances of distinguished men that have risen from the ranks of the poor. With regard to Dame Scotia's special accusation, it is not the commonalty who are guilty of treason. They have neither the power nor the opportunity, and all conspiracies are fomented by the great. As to taking assurance of the English, what else can the commons do? There is no help in the nobles and clergy, as some who have trusted to them have found to their sad experience. That such was the bare truth, we find from the "*Diurnal of Occurrents*."

"1544. Vpoun the xvij day of December the lieutennent past to Haddingtoun, quhair thair suld haue met him the lardis of Lowthiane, quha com nocht; and thairefter past to Tamptalloun, and thair held his zule, and tuke litill heid to the cuntrie, but let thame doe for thameselfis, quhilk causit the cuntrie to be clene herijt; the cuntrie seiand na helpe of the lieutennant, maid bandis amang thame selfis that ilk ane sould help vtheris, quhairamang was greit watches, ilk ane efter his degrie."

No wonder the narrator has to add, "And the cuntre was all Inglismen sworne, seing na help."

But this attachment to England, the labourer continues, is only

pretended, under that necessity which owns no law; give them but leaders, and a prospect of a successful resistance to the yoke, and their lives and goods will be freely risked in defence of their country. The truth of this was soon shown after the arrival of the French auxiliaries, who supplied the needed rallying-point.

The Labourer's Complaynt, thus analyzed, forms one of the most important and interesting chapters in the book, and no one can read it without feeling that the author thoroughly felt the force of the sentiments which he put in the mouth of the commonalty, albeit in the next chapter he points out that they are by no means themselves devoid of fault.

Chap. XVI. is Dame Scotia's answer to her youngest son. She declines to give ear to his excuses, or to look at his accusation against his two brothers, until he shall have cleared himself from fault. The commonalty deserve punishment no less than the nobles and spirituality, for if their overt acts have not been so bad, that arises solely from lack of opportunity. Then we have the usual argument about the unfitness of the lower orders for liberty, as if men ripened for freedom under slavery, and liberty were a privileged position instead of a condition of growth in any position. The meetings of the commons are described in terms which remind us of too many working-class meetings still; and then we have a description of the labourer viewed from the standpoint of his superiors, which, I think, quite comes up to anything we used to hear of the character of the negro during the old slavery days. He is worse than the brute beast, having all the brutal passions without the compensating instincts: intemperate, lustful, unbridled, lazy; he is steady only by compulsion, and only sometimes then. Give him freedom indeed! what next? We have heard such arguments used of Jamaica in the nineteenth century, and it is well for those free-born Britons who now talk so contemptuously of, and, when they have the chance, tyrannize so unmercifully over, the "inferior races," to read what *their* superiors said of their fathers in England for centuries after the conquest, and in Scotland in the sixteenth century. They will probably find that oppression engenders in all skins the same vices, and in all oppressors the same moral blindness.

But it will sometimes happen that one of these besotted, brutalized creatures will “conquer riches and heretags ;” then he becomes more ambitious and arrogant than any lord, and his children, for want of education, exhibit all the odious characteristics of the *parvenu*. Hence they speedily revert to the base degree from which their fathers rose. In early times it was said of the English serf,

“Give the villein of gold his fill,
What will he be but a villein still ?”

In the same spirit the author of the *Complaynt* (or *Dame Scotia* rather—one really forgets that an allegorical personage is supposed to be speaking) quotes the question of the “Preist of Peblis in ane beuk that he compilit,” “Quhy burges ayris thryuis nocht to the thrid ayr?” and adds, that what the priest asked as to the heirs of townsfolks might with equal force be asked of the universal commonalty both “to burgh and land.” “The thrie Tailles of the thrie Priests of Peblis,” is a Scottish poem attributed to the reign of James III., 1460—1488, which survives, however, only in an edition printed (very incorrectly) by Robert Charteris in 1603, from which it has been successively printed by Pinkerton in 1792, and (in part) by Sibbald in 1801, and by David Laing, in his “Early Metrical Tales,” Edin. 1826, p. 105. Instead of being, as might be supposed from the reference in the *Complaynt*, a book compiled by a priest of Peebles, it is a metrical tale of three priests who meet together on St Bride’s day for the purpose of regaling themselves, and, while their capons are roasting, agree that each shall in turn tell a story to amuse the others. The first tale, “tald be maister Iohne,” relates of a certain king, who, assembling together the Three Estates of his realm, propounds to each of them a question ; of the Burgesses he asks,

“Quhy Burges bairns thryves not to the thrid air,
Bot casts away it that thair eldars wan ?”

of the Nobility,

“Quhairfoir and quhy, and quhat is the cais,
Sa worthie Lords war in my eldaris days ;
Sa full of fredome, worship, and honour,
Hardie in hand to stand in everie stour,
And now in yow I find the hail contrair ?”

The Spirituality are asked why it is that, since in old times so many bishops and clergy had power by their prayers to heal all manner of suffering and "al gude warkis to wirk," their successors now find their strongest resource in cursing; "quhairfoir may not ye, as thay did than?" The answers are given at length, after due consultation, with great humour and point; in that of the Burgesses, we have a vivid picture of the labour, diligence, and self-denial, by which a poor trader would raise himself to a wealthy merchant; while his bairns, born to affluence, "begin not quhair thair fatheris began," and unchastened by a youth subjected to the yoke, speedily scatter all to the winds, "Can never thryue, bot of all baggis is bair." We hope that Mr Laing, whose book is now very scarce, will soon give us the long-promised new edition of this and the other pieces in his "Early Metrical Tales."

Chap. XVII. Having thus, with palpable exaggeration, which might arouse, but could scarcely convict, disposed of the vices of the Commons, Dame Scotia turns with more moderate language but weightier argument to those of the nobility and gentlemen, if such indeed they are to be called, who have scarce a spark of nobleness or "gentrice" among them. A gentleman ought to be the reverse of a villein or carl. The origin of a privileged class is then discussed, and a picture of the golden age

"When Adam delved and Eve span,"

and people drank no wine or beer, or other "confekkit" drinks, or rummaged foreign lands for spices, herbs, drugs, gums, or sugar, to provoke a disordered appetite; nor did they wear sumptuous clothing of fine cloth and gold, and silk of diverse hues. It was after the entry of the Iron age that men, to escape oppression, began to choose them governors and defenders who formed the first nobles and gentlemen. But true nobility is not hereditary, and when the progeny of nobles and gentlemen cease to do noble and gentle deeds, they ought to be degraded from their privileged position as "lasche couardis, vilainis, and carlis." Such a process would thin the ranks of the Scottish nobility, whose imbecility, avarice, and contentions, are unworthy of the ensigns and honours which they had inherited.

The writer of the “Diurnal of Occurrents” can tell us something of this also :

“1544. Vpoun the thrid day of Junij, thair was ane generall counsall haldin at Stirling, quhairat was all the nobillis of Scotland, exceptand the erle of Lennox and Glencarne ; quhair the gouernour was dischargit of his auctorite and maid proclamatiouns, throw the realme that nane obeyit him as gouernour. And als thair thair chesit thrie erlis, thrie lordis, thrie bischopis, thrie abbotts, to be the secreit counsale ; quhilk lastit nocht lang, for euerie lord did for his awne particulare proffeit, and tuke na heid of the commounweill, but tholit the Inglismen and thevis to overrin this realme. *Thair was na credit amang the nobilitie at this present.*”

Little wonder ! When they did show themselves busy at an occasional time, men knew there was sure to be a carcass at hand, since the vultures were thus flocking together :

“1545. Vpoun the xxvij day of September, the Parliament was haldin in Linlithgow, quhair the maist part of the nobillis wes. It was suspectit thaj com for land, becaus few was at the Parliament befor. In this Parliament was foirfaltit the erle of Lennox, his brothir, the bischope of Cathnes, and the laird of Tulibarden wes respletit. Thair landis was delt, pairt to the erle of Argyle, maister of Sympill, and pairt to the erle of Huntlie, quha gat the bischoprik of Cathnes at this parliament. The lordis made ane taxt throw the realme, of ilk pund land of ald extent, to pay viij shillingis to fie men on the bordouris.”

In similar terms James Harryson, Scottishman, in 1547, had characterized the indifference of the nobility and clergy to the misery of the country :

“If this miserie fell onely vpon the mouers and mainteiners of suche mischief, it were lesse to be lamented, but thei sitte safe at home, and kepe holy daie, when the felde lie ful of their bodies, whose deathes thei moste cruelly and vnchristianly haue procured. If Edenbrough, Lieth, Louthian, Mers, or Tiuidale had tongues to speake, their loude complainte would perse the deafe eares. If these [authors of the mischief] should fele but half the miserie which the poore people be driuen to suffre, thei would not be halfe so hastie to ryng alarmes.”

It is his own virtue, our author goes on to say, and not the honour of his predecessors, that makes a man noble ; and, tested by this standard, counterfeit nobility is plentiful in Scotland. Some of the “counterfeit” Scottish nobles and gentlemen were ashamed

that their ancestors had been of plebeian rank,—evidently Scotland had already some who would have been glad to believe, like the Highland Laird, that at the general Flood his ancestor had a “private airk o’ his nain,” when Noah’s more vulgar vessel contained the ancestors of common mortals. To teach them better manners, our author relates the conduct of Agathocles, king of Sicily, who boasted of his father having been a potter. Moreover, the longest line begins in mud and clay, and in this clay there is no distinction of ranks, as indeed there will not be when dust shall have received back its own. To enforce this, we have an anecdote of Cyrus and Croesus, and diverse quotations from the Sacred Scriptures and apocryphal Wisdom of Solomon. A chief form taken by the prodigality of the Scottish nobles is said to have been costly clothing above their means—for which, see the monstrous hose denounced by William Lauder—and the keeping of large numbers of horses and dogs. Like the horses of Diomedes and the hounds of Actæon, these may be said to worry men, for not only do they eat up the substance of their owners, but they devour the poor people as well by consuming the food of the country which the universal dearth has already made scanty enough.

The five leaves, 112—116, in which this chapter ends and the next begins, are cancels, representing four original leaves, showing that the author in his recension made great alterations in the next chapter, which treats of the Spirituality. The latter chapter ought to have been, and before these alterations evidently was, XVIII.; it is now numbered XIX.; the original Chap. XIX., which ought to have followed, having been at the same time taken out of the book altogether, leaving a gap of sixteen pages, from leaf 118 to 126, as hereafter noted.

In reading the Reproof of the Spirituality, we discover a considerable difference of treatment between it and the complaints against the nobles and commons. These two orders had been accused of very special and distinct offences; but in dealing with the clergy, while we have very orthodox representations of the greater heinousness of those who sin against light, and the powerlessness of good precept when unaccompanied by good practice;

while we have general exhortations to the clergy to repent their negligence and remedy their long “abusion;” the author does not “condescend” upon any particular forms in which this negligence and abusion manifested themselves. In reading the chapter, I have been reminded of the words of an eminent modern preacher: “A man will confess sins in general; but those sins which he would not have his neighbour know for his right hand, which bow him down with shame like a wind-stricken bulrush, those he passes over in his confession. Men are willing to be thought sinful in *disposition*; but in *special acts* they are disposed to praise themselves. They therefore confess their depravity and defend their conduct. They are wrong in general, but right in particular.”¹ God knows there were special enormities enough of which to reprove the clergy; and we can fancy what this reproof of the Spirituality would have been, if Sir David Lyndesay, for instance, had had the writing of it;² if any layman, indeed, in the Scotland of the day had had the writing of it; for this chapter is quite sufficient to convince me that the author of the *Complaynt* was himself an ecclesiastic. A good specimen of his class, I have no doubt he was, sincerely attached to the Catholic faith, and with a healthy, not an acrid, hatred of schism; one who had sense enough to see, not the unrighteousness indeed—that we need not expect—but the blunder, the mistaken policy of burning schismatics, so long as the Spirituality remained in the “abusion, & sinister ministration,” which had provoked “the scismas and divers sectis that trublis al cristiantie.” Probably he had not a troop of bastard sons and daughters openly owned, and another assortment of spurious ones in the families of his parishioners, like so many of

¹ Henry Ward Beecher—“Life Thoughts.”

² I need hardly say “we can fancy”—we have *specimens* both before and after this date; *vide* his *Complaynt*, 409—448; the *Commonyng betuix the Papyngo* and her Holye Executoris; the *Tragedie of the Cardinall* in toto; *Kitteis Confessioun*; the *Monarché*, 608—684; 2279—2708; 5850—5925; and above all the *Satyre*, “the whole matter whereof,” as Sir Ralph Eure wrote to England, concludes “upon the declaration of the naughtiness in religion, the presumption of the bishops, the collusion of the spiritual courts, called the consistory courts in Scotland, and the misusing of priests.” The Early English Text Society have published Lyndesay’s poems in full, and his “reproof of the Clergy” can be better read *in situ* than if I were to exhibit it in morsels here.

his celibate brethren; and with his notions of the duty of a priest to bear arms in battle, he would be above staying at home, debauching the wives and wasting the substance of the honest patriots who went to the war, like others of his cloth (*vide* Froude, chap. 18, p. 401); but from his very vague general reproof one never would suppose that the ecclesiastical system of the day was the monstrous compound of lust, fraud, extortion, and cruelty, which we find it in the pages of his contemporaries. He was, however, though evidently in all good faith and conscience, one of those abettors of their country's misery, of whom James Harryson, Scottishman, had said :

“How much is their wikednes to be detested, which haue kindled the fire and still laie on brandes to feede the same ! In whom if either respect of Religion, which they professe, or zeale of Iustice, whereunto thei are sworne, either feare of God, or loue to their countrey, did any thing woorke, thei would refuse no trauaill, nor torment of body nor mynde, no, nor death (if it wer offered) for ye sauegarde of thaim, whose distrucion thei haue wrought. And there bee onely two sortes, the one is of suche, as either for feare of their Hypocrisy to bee reueled, or euill gotten possessions to be translated would haue no peace nor concord. . . . These be thei whiche professyng knowledge, abuve the ignoraunce of the nobilitie, and commonaltie, to y^e destruccion of bothe, haueyng peace in their mouthes, and all rancor and vengeance in their hartes, pretending religion, perswade rebellion, preaching obedience, procure al disobedience, semyng to forsake all thyng, possesse all thyng, calling themselves spirituall, are in deede moste carnall, and reputed heddes of the churche, bee the onely shame and slaunder of the churche. If these people would as earnestly trauail for the concord of bothe realmes, as thei indeuour with toothe and nail to the contrary, these mischeues aforesaid, should either not haue happened, or els at the leaste, not so long haue continued ; by whose lure, so long as the nobles and commons of Scotlande be led, I am in despaire of any amitie or frendship betuene these two realmes. God bryng their falsehed once to light, and turne their iniquitie vpon their awne heddes.”

But then the “Scottishman” had clearly passed the boundary line between Romanism and Protestantism, and the author of the Complaynt was what would have been called in the nineteenth century an “Old Catholic,” with reforming tendencies, but a shrinking from “scismas and sectis.”

There was need for reform, too, upon other considerations than

those of abstract right, and the well-being of the country. If the English king once got Scotland in his clutches, the nobles and commons might feel his hand heavy enough, but the clergy—there's the rub—could only expect those terrible tender mercies of Henry VIII. which had made every churchman in Christendom shiver. Least of all would forbearance be shown to the spirituality of Scotland, whom—and in this friends and foes were quite at one—the English king reputed for his mortal enemies. Well he might, too, for from the minority of James V. to the breaking of the marriage contract and the spiriting away of the child-queen to France, it was the clergy who had stuck fast to the French side, and frustrated all the hopes of England. The chapter finishes with an Exhortation to the spiritual order to change their spiritual habits, “bayth coulis and syde gounis, in steil iakkis and in coitis of mailje,” and assist their countrymen to repel the invasions of the enemy; after the war had been brought to a successful issue, they might reassume their spiritual garb. That this might be lawfully, nay, laudably, done, he proves alike from scriptural example and from the Canon law, in which he here and elsewhere shows himself well versed. Even the Pope's license is not necessary for this action; the Canon law has expressly justified war against Saracens, and Englishmen are more Saracen than Christian; it has declared war against the excommunicated and the infidel to be meritorious, and the English are excommunicated and denounced God's rebels for their infidelity, unbelief, cruelty, tyranny, and sacrilege. It is to be feared the clergy were as deaf to admonition as the laity. So, at least, says the writer of one of the “Gude and Godly Ballates,”¹ referring to this very war:

“Scotland was neuer in harder case,
 Sen Fergus first it wan:
 The preistis we may fairly ban,
 Quhilk hes the wyte that brak the peace
 For to put downe the word of Christ.
 Ane hundreth thousand thay wald se
 3ockit in till ane feild,
 Under the speir and sheild;
 Bot with the wyfis thay wald be
 At hame, to smoir the word of Christ.

¹ Reprinted by David Laing from the original edition of 1578, p. 159, “I am wo for thir wolfis sa wyldc.”

Defend na mair thir wolvis sa wyld,
 Sa ful of cruelnes,
 Thair cloikit halynes,
 Baith men and wyfis sa lang hes fylde,
 And ar the verray Antichristis."

After the Reproof of the Spirituality, as we have already seen, a chapter extending over sixteen pages has been subsequently rescinded, and in Chap. XX. Dame Scotia concludes her exhortations with an address to her three sons in general. She recounts anew the evils of intestine strife which had rendered Scotland the theatre of all the various kinds of war described in history. Among these the author mentions that he has seen nine or ten thousand men collected in an illegal manner for the violent ejection of tenants, or the seizure of a poor man's teind or tithe in harvest; a witness to the way in which the barons and churchmen took the law into their own hands when the country had no effective ruler.

If the weeping philosopher and his laughing brother were to traverse Scotland, both would find matter enough to exercise their diverse humours. On this subject the author quotes six lines from the Italian poet, Philiremo Fregoso, and gives us a specimen of his own talent in versifying, by translating the same into Scottish metre. The three plagues with which the book began—war, hunger, and pestilence—are again mentioned; they abound indeed in all the literature of the time. The Scottishman, in 1547, had deplored the fruite which the "warre bryngeth furthe, whiche is sackyng of tounes, subuersion of holdes, murder of men, rauishment of women, slaughter of olde folke and infantes, burnyng of houses, and corne, with *hunger and pestilence, twoo buddes of the same tre.*" To us now, trying to pierce the mist of three centuries, the war stands out in darkest outline on the horizon, but the famine which followed the destruction of the corn crops, and the pestilence which, like a shadow, stalked behind the famine, were perhaps even more severely felt by the sufferers. To one reading the domestic history of Scotland in the 16th century, every third year seems to bring a famine, and every sixth the pestilence. "Little doubt is now entertained that the exanthematous disease called long ago the Pest, and now the Plague, and which has happily been unknown in the British

Islands for two centuries, was the consequence of miasma arising from crowded and filthy living, acting on bodies predisposed by deficient aliment and other causes, and that at a certain stage it assumed a contagious character. It will be found that the malady generally, though not invariably, followed dearth and famine—a generalisation harmonizing with the observations of Professor Alison as to the connection between destitution and typhus fever, and supporting the views of those who hold that it is for the interest of the community that all its members have a sufficiency of the necessaries of life.”¹ How the Pest—the *Plague of God*, Harryson calls it—haunted the country all these dismal years of strife, we see from occasional entries in the *Diurnal of Occurrents*, already quoted:

“1545. In this tyme (Aug. 9) the Pest was wonder greit in all burrowis townis of this realme, quhair mony peipill diet with greit skant and want of victuallis.

“1549. Vpoun the xiiij day (of Septer), the Inglismen past out of Haddingtoun, and brunt it and Leidingtoun, and past away without ony battell, for the Pest and hungar was rycht evill amangis tham, quha mycht remayne na langer thairin.”

And in November, 1548, the following entry occurs in the Treasurer’s Accounts (Compot. Thesaur. 1546-50. General Register House, Edin.):²

“The Quenis Grace [the child Mary Stuart] being suspect of the Pest, the Treasurer paid for the expensis of his Graces douchter, Lady Barbara, eight dayis in Alexander Guthries chalmer in the Castle-hill, being with hir in cumpany with three other gentlewomen with thair servantis, ij*li*. xixs. ij*d*.”

The Pest has left its mark deeply in the popular traditions of Scotland; numerous stories relate its ravages; in many districts conical mounds, in some cases natural, in others human works of the prehistoric ages, are accounted for by a legend of a cottage in which the Pest had broken out, when the whole horror-struck inhabitants of the surrounding district assembled, each man with his stone, and buried up the dwelling with its ill-fated occupants from human sight. Almost everywhere, too, large flat stones or *throughs* (Anglo-

¹ Robt. Chambers—*Domestic Annals of Scotland*, sub. 1568.

² D. Laing, in Additional Note to Lauder’s Poems, Early Eng. Text Soc., No. 41, 1870.

Saxon purh, a *coffin*) are pointed out, in the lonely glen, or on the bare moor, under which the Pest is supposed to be buried, and which the peasant is careful never to move. Leyden, in his "Scenes of Infancy," tells us of Denholm Dean, in Teviotdale :

"Mark, in yon vale, a solitary stone,
Shunn'd by the swain, with loathsome weeds o'ergrown !
The yellow stone-crop shoots from every pore,
With scaly, sapless lichens crusted o'er :
Beneath the base, where starving hemlocks creep,
The yellow pestilence is buried deep,
Where first its course, as aged swains have told,
It stayed, concentrated in a vase of gold ;"

and relates an associated legend, similar to that of the well-known tale of *Bessie Bell and Mary Gray*.¹

To avoid the three plagues, the "affligit Lady" exhorts her children to turn their hearts unto God, and their affection towards each other, and fortifies her exhortation with various stories from ancient history, illustrative of the strength of unity and the weakness of division. Turning once more to the treason of which so many of the nobility are accused, she is willing to believe that some of them are falsely slandered by the Commons, but reminds them that the proper course for men under suspicion is to clear themselves by some signal deed of valour against the enemy, as divers of the ancient heroes did when they were unjustly suspected. Finally, she devotes a parting word to the neutrals—from her earnestness, evidently still a numerous party—who, when they spake with Englishmen, cursed the fickleness of the Scottish lords that had broken their promise and bond, honestly contracted, to complete the marriage of the two youthful sovereigns ; and when they spake with Scotsmen, deplored the dissensions of the Scotch, which rendered them vulnerable to the falsehood and subtilty of the English. These she implores to cease from their do-nothing-ism, which will land them in the end between the two chairs, both of which they try to secure. War is preferable to an insecure peace. No peace

¹ Poems and Ballads of Dr John Leyden, edited by Robert White of Newcastle. Kelso, J. & J. H. Rutherford, 1858, p. 154 ; where in the notes a large number of Pest-legends are given. See also on this subject Chambers's Edin. Journal, 1833, i. 7 ; 1842, x. 11.

must be made with England, except on conditions humiliating to that power, and which, translated into practical language, meant NEVER!

The book ends with a quotation from Cicero, “Nihil est turpius, quam sapientis vitam ex insipientium sermone pendere,” having no discernible bearing upon the context, and seemingly explicable only on the supposition of Leyden, that the author did not give his name, but preferred thus obscurely to hint the folly of a wise man by disclosure of his identity, making his life depend on the suffrages of fools.

“A Historian of extensive erudition, and indefatigable research, terms the *Complaynt of Scotland* ‘a most curious piece, well written, and fraught with great learning—the only classic work in old Scottish prose.’” Though the position thus claimed for it by Pinkerton can by no means be conceded, we may agree with Dr Leyden “that the *Complaynt* is well written and fraught with great learning. The style of remark is shrewd and forcible, though frequently quaint and affected; and the arrangement of the materials, though sometimes careless, is not devoid of method. The refining, logical mode of demonstrating the plainest truisms was the fault of the age, as it had formerly been that of the scholastic philosophers, and some traces of the habit may be observed in the *Complaynt*. The author displays a degree of erudition which, in a refined age, would be denominated pedantry, but which, at that early period, did not deserve so severe an appellation. After the discovery of the ancient models, the general admiration which they excited, while it established the principles of taste upon a sure basis, produced, in an equal degree, a servility of understanding, which never considered that ‘no ancient of them all was so old as Common Sense.’ For this reason the author of the *Complaynt*, instead of establishing his opinion by solid and rational arguments, is often contented with exhibiting his authority or *exemplum*. This species of reasoning, however inconclusive, is attended with the advantage, that it informs us what kind of reading was fashionable, and what authors were popular when the work was composed.” The following is a list of authors cited in the *Complaynt*; and it may be noticed, that in

no case does the original of any Greek author appear to be quoted ; Greek was only struggling for recognition at Oxford and Cambridge ; it was not till after the Reformation that it became an ordinary acquirement of the Scholar.

AUTHORITIES CITED. Aristotle, Politics ; St Augustine ; Boccaccio ; Boethius ; Carion's Chronicle ; Cato ; Cicero, De Officiis, Parod., De Finibus, Epistolæ ; Diodorus ; Josephus ; Justin ; Juvenal ; Lactantius ; Livy ; Mimus Publianus ; Persius ; Philiremo Fregoso ; Plutarch ; Priest of Peebles ; Sallust ; Seneca the tragedian ; Thucydides ; Valerius Maximus ; Vincentius ; besides many references to the Civil and Canon Law, to the Annals of Rome, and to the Old and New Testament, with the Apocryphal books, when the Vulgate is of course always quoted.

THE SUBSEQUENT ADDITIONS TO THE MONOLOGUE.

The fact of these additions has already been discussed ; as to the cause of them, I can only suggest that, by the time the work was printed, either the flame of the author's patriotism had begun to burn less fiercely, or the course of events had rendered his work less necessary ; and he, fond parent, anxious that his literary child should present some attractions to commend it to public esteem, made these miscellaneous additions that those who cared nothing for his patriotism might be attracted by his physical science, and those who cared not for physical science might be moved by his music or tickled by his tales.

According to these additions, then, the author, after listening to the cries of the animals which saluted the awakening day, made his way to the sea-side, where he became spectator of a naval conflict between a galiasse—a broad vessel moved at once by oars like a galley and by sails, and another ship. The whole scene strongly suggests passages in Lyndesay's *Dreme*, the author of which, likewise, after describing a rural scene, passes in pensive mood to the sea-shore, where he has his dream, and is awakened from it by the "felloun fray" of a ship, when

"Al hir Cannounis scho leit crak of at anis."

The account in the *Complaynt* is, however, much fuller and more valuable, inasmuch as it preserves to us the sea-cries then in use, several of which also are the same still, as well as a list of the various kinds of artillery and firearms known in Scotland early in the 16th century. "The cheers and terms," says Leyden, "are chiefly of Norman and Flemish origin, and, with many others of a similar kind, were preserved to a late period, by that singular race of men, the fishers of the east coast of Scotland, many of whom have hardly, at this day, abandoned the peculiar habits and phraseology by which they were long distinguished from the pastoral and agricultural inhabitants of the interior parts of the country." To me they seem, to a great extent, to be Lowland Scotch, phonetically spelt as heard; the author himself says that he will "reherse & report ther crying and ther cal," although he "wist nocht quhat thai menit." I am bound to say still less should I, a landsman barely knowing starboard from larboard, and I therefore gladly insert the following notes upon the subject, which Mr Furnivall has kindly procured for me from a friend of ample naval experience, Mr G. M. Hantler.

"In the first the master of the galiasse caused the *boatswain* to pass up to the top, &c. Then the master whistled (the *boatswain* whistles now), and bade the mariners lay the cable to the *windlass*, to *wind* and *weigh* [the anchor]. Then the mariners began to wind the cable (the cable is wound about three turns round the windlass, and the anchor is *weighed*, or lifted from the bottom, by turning or winding the windlass by means of handspikes), with many loud cry; and as one cried, all the rest cried as it had been an echo (they all cry together, as it is necessary that they pull together), one man leading with a few words, some of which are the same now as in the *Complaynt*. 'Oh, one and all! heigho!' the rest then sing 'Cheerily man,' pulling with the words 'Wind, I see him, haul him up.' [The words in the *Complaynt* seem to be "Ware all! ware all! gentle gallants! wind, I see him, pourbossa (? pu' our best a'), haul all and one, haul him up to us!"—J. A. H. M.] Then when the anchor was hauled up above the water, &c., *caupona* = cat head him? (The cable passes through the hawse hole, close to the stem of the vessel, the anchor hanging there would stop the vessel's way and would cut through the stem; it is therefore brought round to the *Cat-head* on the bow of the vessel, which is sufficient for a vessel working by tides in a tide-way, but in a sea-way it is necessary to

fish the anchor, i. e. to bring up the flukes, so that it lies horizontal.) And the master whistled 'Two men aloft to the *foreyard*, loose the raibands, i. e. yard bands, *gaskets* (flat small yarn plaited flat like ladies' hair, bending the sails to the yard), and let fall the *fore sail*; haul down the *starboard luff* (we say *tack* now) hard aboard; haul aft the *fore sheet* (*sail* not now used), haul out the *bow-line*.

"The upper part of the fore-sail being fixed to the yard, the lower ends are each provided with two ropes, called the *tack* and the *sheet*. There is a *starboard tack* and *sheet*, and a *larboard ditto*; there is also a block on each side of the deck to make fast the tacks, and a *sheave* over the bulwarks and outside the vessel, through which the sheet is brought and made fast inside. The starboard luff or tack being hard a board, means that the wind was from the starboard side, and hard a board, that she was close hauled, either a foul wind or nearly so. The *bow-line* is a small rope attached to the edge of the sail to keep it from shaking or lifting. [The words to which this is done, seem to be, "Ho! ho! Pull, pull all! bow line all! —, haul out stiff, before the wind; God send fair weather! many prizes! good foreland; stop! make fast, and belay!" J. A. H. M.]

'Then the master cried, and bade rein a bonnet, vire the trosses, now hoist, and the mariners began to hoist up the sail':

"A *bonnet* can scarcely be a bonnet-sail, which would only be set after all the ordinary sail; the sail next in order would be one of the *head sails*, viz. those from the bowsprit, called *jibs* or *staysails*, because they run upon small wooden hoops up the *stays*, or support to the masts. A *bonnet* is now often attached to a *jib* in a yacht or small vessel; it may once have been the name of the sail. '*Now heise*' shows that it was to be raised from the level of the deck or bowsprit. The words 'More might, young blood, great and small, one and all,' are used still in the hauling songs. [The *Complaynt* has in full "Hoist all, —, wow! wow! a long draught, more might, young blood, more mood, false flesh, lie aback, long swack (= jerk), that, that! there, there! yellow hair, hips bare, to him all, gallows-birds all, great and small, young and all, hoist all." J. A. H. M.] 'Make fast the *tiers*'—now the *haulyards*. Then the master cried 'Top your topinels, i. e. set your topsails; haul out your top-sail sheets'; the sheets, already explained, are hauled out to the yard-arm below them; they require no tacks as the lower sail do, as they change tacks by the wind carrying them round. 'Vire your lifters', = loose or let go your clew-lines, 'and your top sail trosses or braces, and hoist the top sail higher, haul out the top sail bowline': when a sail is furled, the two lower ends, called the *clews* to which the sheets are fixed, are hauled up to the yard to which the upper part of the sail is attached, by means of *clew lines* attached to

the clew and to the centre of the yard (the *bunt*), and as they thus lift the sail to the bunt, may have been called *lifters*; to set the sail, these must be loosed, as also the bunt-lines, which are small ropes attached to the lower ends of the sail towards the centre, bringing up the belly of the sail to the yard. The braces on the top-sail yard which would be hauled tight—*taught*, sailors say—to steady the yard when furling the sail, must be loosed when the yard is to be hoisted. When the sails are furled, all the upper yards are lowered on to the cap; when set, they are raised to the top of their several masts. ‘Hoist the mizen and change it over to leeward’: the mizen is the fore and aft sail on the mast nearest the stern; it is fixed aloft to a gaff,—not a yard—and below to a boom, and this boom required swinging over to leeward before the sail was set, or the wind would have done so, and probably taken the helmsman’s head along with it. ‘Haul the linche, and the sheets, haul the brace to the yard’: *linche* I can’t make out [Leyden says ‘*linch-pin* or *linspin* for belaying the ropes on’]; the sheet is here hauled out to the end of the boom; the brace was hauled from the gaff to the yard, after the sail was set to keep it steady. Then the master cried to the helmsman, ‘Mate, keep [her] full and by, a luff—i. e. close to the wind—but come no higher; *holabar*’—this word I give up,—‘*arryua*’? as you are; ‘steer clear up the helm—this and so’—*thus and so* we say, meaning ‘keep her as you are now going.’ Then when the ship was tackled, i. e. all her sail set, or all her gear upon her, the master cried, ‘Boy! to the top [mast head], shake out the flag; take in your topsails and furl them, pull down the nook or corner of the yard dagger-wise’—apparently furling the top-gallant sail because the wind was too strong, and pointing the yard toward the wind, so that it should offer less resistance to it. ‘Mariners, stand by your gear *in*’—I should read *and*—‘tackling of your sails’. Afterwards the galiasse puts forth her *stoytene*, i. e. studding-sails, —small sails outside the others, carried only with a fair wind—and a hundred oars on each side to accelerate her speed.”

The artillery seem to comprise most of the various kinds of guns then known: several of them are mentioned in Pitscottie’s account of the Great Michael, a vessel of enormous magnitude, built by James IV., which “cumbered al Scotlande to put her to the see;” “she bare many cannons, six on every side, with three great bassils, two behind & one before; with three hundred shott of small artaillzarie, that is to say, myand and battert falcon and quarter falcon, slings, pestilent serpentens, and double dogs, with hagtor and culvering, corsbows and handbows. She had three hundred marinellis to gouerne hir, six scoir of gunneris to vse hir artaillzarie,

& ane thousand men of warr, by (*i. e.* besides) capitanes, skipperis, and quarter masteris."

Leaving the two vessels veiled in the smoke of powder, the author returns to the fields in time to see a party of shepherds, who had been early astir after their flocks, sit down to a breakfast *al fresco* brought out for them by their wives and children, and for which each was forearmed with a horn spoon in the lug of his bonnet—an outfit provided by reapers and other out-of-door labourers almost to the present day. After the repast, the chief shepherd makes an oration to his comrades, extolling the advantages and superiority of the pastoral life, and claiming for those of his occupation in ancient times the credit of first observing the motions of the heavenly bodies, and founding the sciences of astronomy and physics. To vindicate this claim, he himself gives a long scientific lecture, traversing the fields of astronomy and meteorology, with numerous excursions into the domain of astrology, and forming a useful popular compendium of the natural science of the time. The Solar system is of course described according to the Ptolemaic theory; but the author stoutly fights against St Augustine and other doctors of the Church in behalf of the Antipodes. His statement that the Milky Way was commonly known in Scotland as *Watling Street*, and his account of the dog-days, and of curious freaks of thunder, are among the points of special interest.

Having thus made the shepherd a mouthpiece for his scientific lore, the author next uses his *dramatis personæ* with less incongruity to introduce a list of the popular tales, songs, and dances then current in Scotland, by professing to give us the titles of them as they were said or sung by the shepherds, as a recreation after the dry "prolix orison" of their leader. These lists are of the utmost value in connection with the history of Scottish Popular Literature—indeed, of the ballad literature of Great Britain as a whole, giving us our earliest data for the existence of many tales, ballads, and tunes. To them is, without doubt, due the chief part of the interest which the *Complaynt* has for the modern reader; and we cannot but be grateful to the author for the afterthought which led him to make this welcome addition to his book. The work of analyzing these

lists, very imperfectly done by Dr Leyden, from the lack of materials seventy years ago, has recently been done so thoroughly by Mr Furnivall in his Introduction to "Captain Cox, his Ballads and Books," edited by him for the Ballad Society, 1871, that my labour is altogether saved, and the following account is transferred entirely from Mr Furnivall's Introduction.

THE TALES.

(1) *The taylis of cantirberrye*. By Geoffrey Chaucer. Editions before 1548: by Caxton, about 1478, from a bad MS., and ab. 1484 from a better MS.; by Pynson about 1493 and (with the Boke of Fame, and Troylus,) in 1526; by Wynkyn de Worde in 1498; in *The Workes* (ed. Wm. Thynne), by Thomas Godfray in 1532; and by John Reynes or Wylyyam Bonham in 1542.

(2) *Robert le dyabil, duc of Normandie*. The prose Life (from the French *Romant de Robert le diable*) was twice printed by Wynkyn de Worde without date: 'the lyfe of the moost feerfullest and vnmercifullest and myscheuous Robert y^e deuyll, whiche was afterwarde called the seruant of our lorde Ihesu cryste.' A copy of one edition is in the British Museum, C. 21. c.; and another is in the Cambr. Univ. Library. Mr Thoms reprinted this in vol. i. of his *Early Popular Romances*, 1828, and says it is taken direct from the French, and is not a reduction of the English verse text.

Of the verse Life, which, says Mr Hazlitt, 'follows in general the prose narrative, but exhibits occasional amplifications,' 'a fragment printed with the types of Wynken de Worde or Pynson is in the Bodleian Library.' The verse romance was reprinted for J. Herbert in 1798, 8vo, from a MS. 'which appears to have been transcribed word for word' (*Thoms*) from the old printed edition, and has been again reprinted in Mr Hazlitt's *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, i. 217—263: see also p. 264-9. (The story is told by Mr Furnivall, *Captain Cox*, cxxxviii.)

(3) *The tayl of the volfe of the varldis end*. *Volfe* is, without doubt, a misprint for *volle* or *velle* = *well*. Robert Chambers, in his *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, 1870, tells at p. 105-7 a fairy tale of "The Wal at the Warld's End" (*Fife*), whither a nasty queen, with a nastier daughter, sends the nice daughter of a king to fill a bottle with water. The nice daughter comes back ten times nicer, and marries a bonnie young prince; but the nasty daughter, when sent, comes back ten times nastier, and marries a cobbler, who licks her every day with a leather strap.

(4) *Ferrand, erl of Flandris, that mareit the deuyll*. The story is probably the same which is related by Gervase of Tilbury, "de Domina castri de Espervel¹," and by Bournaker, of the ancestor of

¹ *Otia Imperialia*, ap. Script. Rer. Brunsvic. vol. i, p. 978.

the Plantagenet family¹. *Leyden*, p. 237. Barbour mentions Earl Ferrand's mother in *The Bruce*, book iv, l. 241, etc., p. 85, ed. Skeat:

The erll ferrandis moder was
Ane nygramansour, and sathanas
Scho rasit, and him askit syne,
Quhat suld worth of the fichtyne
Betuix the franch kyng and hir sone.

The devil gave an ambiguous answer; and the outcome was that the Earl

. . . discumfit wes, & schent, (l. 280)
And takyn, and to paris sent.

See also *Complaynt*, ch. x, p. 84, where the story is told among the 'exempils' of ambiguous responses.

(5) *The tairl of the reyde eyttyn vitht the thre heydis*. A.S. *Eoten*, a giant. "Sir David Lindsay relates, in the prologue to his *Dreme*, that he was accustomed, during the minority of James V., to lull him asleep with '*tales of the red-etin and the gyre carlin*.'" *Leyden*, p. 319. See the Early English Text Society's ed. of Lyndesay, p. 264, l. 45. As Lyndesay mentions several of the stories named in the *Complaynt*, it may be as well to quote his lines here:—

More plesandlie the tyme for tyll ouerdryue, I haue, at lenth, the storeis done discryue Off Hectour, <i>Arthour</i> , and gentyll Iulyus, Off Alexander, and worthy Pompeyus,	32
Off <i>Iasone and Media</i> , all at lenth, Off <i>Hercules</i> the actis honorabyll, And of Sampson the supernaturall strenth, And of leill Luffaris storeis amiabyll; And oft tymes haue I feinzeit mony fabyll,— Off Troylus the sorrow and the loye, And <i>Seigis</i> all, of Tyir, Thebes, and <i>Troye</i> .	36 40
The <i>Prophiseis</i> of Rymour, Beid, & <i>Marlyng</i> , And of mony vther plesand stoye,— Off the <i>reid Etin</i> , and the gyir carlyng,— Comfortand the, quhen that I saw the sorye.	44

Robert Chambers, in his *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, 1870, p. 89-94, prints "from Mr Buchan's curious manuscript collection"—an untrustworthy source, I assume—a fairy tale of the *Red Etin of Ireland*, a three-headed giant, who is killed by a poor widow's son who answers his three questions, "Whether Ireland or Scotland was first inhabited? Whether man was made for woman, or woman for man? Whether men or brutes were made first?" The young man frees the giant's prisoners, and among them a king's daughter, whom he marries.

¹ Forduni *Scotichron.* a Goodall, vol. 2, p. 9.

(6) *The tail quhou perseus sauit andromadu fra the cruel monstir.* Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, iv. 663, etc. This and the other classical stories were probably only short tales from some translation of Ovid, and, most likely, not printed ones.

(7) *The prophysie of merlyne.* [See antè, p. xlii-xlvi.]

(8) *The tayl of the giantis that eit quyk men.* [Probably some version of Jack the Giant-killer, or Jack and the Bean-stalk, many varieties of which used to thrill me when a boy, when, after darkness had put an end to "Kings, Covenanters!" "Duck," or "Hy-Spy," we used to gather into an entry to "tell boglie tales," till our hair stood on end, and we were too frightened to separate to go home.—J. A. H. M.]

(9) *On fut, by fortht, as i culd found.* That is, "On foot, by Forth, as I did go." A ballad not now known.

(10) *Vallace.* Of the only edition known before 1548, a fragment of 20 leaves only has been preserved. It appears to be printed with Chepman and Myllar's peculiar types, and is supposed to be about 1520 A.D. It is translated from the Latin of Robert Blair, written in the beginning of the 14th century (*Hazlitt's Handbook*). Many later editions exist. The translator is said to have been Blind Harry the Minstrel, about 1470.

(11) *The bruce.* By Chaucer's contemporary, John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, who died in 1395 or 1396. No printed edition before about 1570 is now known. Only two MSS. of the poem are known, of which the best, which has lost its first third, is in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge, and is dated 1487; the other in the Adv. Lib. Edin. is complete, dated 1489. Now being edited for the E. E. T. Soc. by Rev. W. W. Skeat; part I. publ. 1870.

(12) *Ypomedon.* "The Life of Ipomydon." Colophon: "En-ptynted at London in the Fletestrete at the sygne of the Sonne by Wynkyn de Worde;" no date, 4to, but with "L'enuoye of Robert C[opland] the prynter." Only one incomplete copy known. This romance was printed by Weber in his *Metrical Romances*, 1810, vol. ii. p. 279, from the Harl. MS. 2252; and the story of it is told in Ellis's *Early English Metr. Rom.*, p. 505, etc., ed. Bohn. "The hero of this romance is a Norman, though his name be derived from the Theban war. He is son of Ermones, King of Apulia, and, by his courtesy and skill in hunting, gains the affections of the heiress of Calabria, whom he visits in disguise." (*Leyden*, p. 240.)

(13) *The tail of the three futtit dog of norrouay.* Robert Chambers gives the story of "The Black Bull of Norrway" in his *Popular Rhymes*, p. 95-99, and that of the similar "Red Bull of Norrway" at p. 99-101.

(14) *The tayl quhou Hercules steu the serpent hidra that hed vij heydis.* Doubtless a short story from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, ix. 70.

The earliest known English Romance on Hercules is late: "The

History of the Life and Glorious Actions of the mighty Hercules of Greece, his encountering and overthrowing serpents, lions, monsters, giants, tyrants, and powerful armies; his taking of cities, towns, kings, and kingdoms, &c. With many rare and extraordinary adventures and exploits, wonderful and amazing. Also the manner of his unfortunate death: being the most excellent of histories. Printed for S. Bates at the Sun and Bible in Pye-Corner." Small 4to, no date. One copy is among Malone's books in the Bodleian, and another was sold at Mr Corser's second sale (*Catalogue*, p. 55), where was sold also "HERCULES. Sensuyt les proesses et vaillances du preux et vaillant Hercules. Bk 1., small 4to. Paris, par Alain Lotrian. s.d."

(15) *The tail quhou the kyng of est mure land mareit the kyngis dochtir of vest mure land.* Can this be "King Estmere" in *Percy's Reliques*? Percy tore this ballad out of his Folio Manuscript—confound him for it!—so that we cannot tell how badly he cookt the copy he has left us. See the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, vol. ii, p. 200, note 1; p. 600-7.

(16) *Skail gillenderson, the kyngis sone of skellye.* Some Scandinavian legend.

(17) *The tayl of the four sonnys of aymon.* A translation by Caxton about 1489, of one of the French Romances of the Charlemagne cycle. Of Caxton's edition no perfect copy is known. The colophon of the 3rd edition by Wylliam Copland in 1544, now in Bridgewater House, is the only evidence we have of the existence of a second edition by Wynkyn de Worde in 1504.

For story see Mr Furnivall's *Captain Cox*, p. xx.

(18) *The tayl of the brig of the mantrybil.* No doubt a lost English Charlemagne romance, for in Barbour's Bruce it is said that Charlemagne

" . . . wan Mantrybill, and passed Flagot."

Ed. Pinkerton, i. 81 (*Leyden*, p. 237).

(19) *The tail of syr euan, arthours knyght.* No separate printed tale of Sir Ywain is known except the poem of "Ywaine and Gawin," printed by Ritson in his *Metrical Romances* from the Cotton MS. Galba E ix. Leyden says, p. 256, "in Peringskiold's list of Scandic MSS. in the Royal Library of Stockholm, besides a metrical history of King Arthour, which records his league with Charlemagne, the following titles occur: *Sagan af Ivent, Eingland Kappe*;—the history of Ewain, Arthur's best beloved knight in England, containing his combats with the Giants and Blacks. This is undoubtedly the romance of Ewain mentioned in the *Complaynt*.—*Sagan af Herra Bewus*, the Romance of Sir Bevis."

(20) *Rauf collzeur.* Dunbar, in his address "To the King," and Gawin Douglas, in his "Palice of Honour," mention this poem of Ralph the Collier, though no printed edition of it is known before that "Imprentit at Sanct Androis by Robert Lekpreuik, anno 1572,"

which Mr David Laing reprinted in his *Select Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of Scotland*, 1822: "Heire beginnis the tail of Rauf Collzear, how he harbrait King Charlis." See Irving's *History of Scotch Poetry*, p. 88-92. A capital poem it is, that ought to be known better in England. It is the Scotch parallel of *John the Reve* in the Percy Folio (with which Dunbar and Douglas couple it), and is told in humorous alliterative stanzas; only, the Collier treated Charlemagne more roughly than the Reve treated Edward Longshanks, for he

. . hit him vnder the eir with his richt hand
 Quhill he stakkerit thair-with-all
 Half the breid of the hall.

Mr Laing has kept us waiting a most tantalizingly long time for a new edition of his excellent *Select Remains*. The volume contains several English pieces.

(21) *The seige of millan*. Milan has seen many a siege since, at the end of the third century, Maximianus surrounded it with walls. Attila devastated it; so did the Goths in 539 A.D. under Vitiges. Frederic Barbarossa and his Germans took it by assault, and razed it to the ground in 1162. In the petty wars of the Italian cities in the 13th and later centuries, Milan took a prominent part. But I suppose the *Complaynt* tale to refer to the great Barbarossa siege.

(22) *Gauen and gallogras*. A titleless copy of 1508 is in the Adv. Lib. Edin., and its colophon is "Heir endis the Knyghtly tale of golagrus & gawene [imprentit] in the south gait of Edinbrugh be Walter Chepman, & Androw Millar, the viii day of Aprile, the yhere of god m. cccc. and viij yheris." Edited by Sir F. Madden for the Bannatyne Club in 1839. See Mr Furnivall's *Capt. Cox*, p. xxxiv.

(23) *Lancelot du lac*. No early printed Scotch or English *Lancelot* is known; and we have only one MS., a Scotch one at Cambridge, in the University Library, printed by Mr Stevenson for the Maitland Club, 1839 (*Lancelot of the Laik*), and carefully edited for the Early English Text Society, 1865, by the Rev. W. W. Skeat. It is short, and contains only a small part of the French *Lancelot*.

(24) *Arthour knycht, he raid on nycht,
 vitht gyltin spur and candil lycht.*

Leyden says, p. 229, "The romance, of which these lines seem to have formed the introduction, is unknown; but I have often heard them repeated in a nursery tale, of which I only recollect the following ridiculous verses:

Chick my naggie, chick my naggie!
 How mony miles to Aberdeagie?
 'Tis eight, and eight, and other eight;
 We'll no win there wi' candle light."

I don't believe in Leyden's supposed "romance." It was probably a ballad.

(25) *The tail of floremond of albanye, that sleu the dragon be the sec.* This Tale is lost. Leyden says (p. 229) that the name of the hero is mentioned in the romance of *Roswall and Lilian* (Edinb. 1663, blk. lr., 846 lines; and Laing's *Early Metrical Tales*, 1826):—

Because that I love you so well,
Let your name be Sir Lion dale,
Or great *Florent of Albanie*,
My heart, if ye bear love to me;
Or call you Lancelot du Lake,
For your dearest true-love's sake;
Call you the Knight of arm[e]s green¹,
For the love of your Lady sheen.

(26) *The tail of syr valtir, the bald leslye.* Leyden says (p. 230), "This seems to have been a romance of the Crusades. Sir Walter Lesly accompanied his brother Norman to the East, in the Venetian expedition, to assist Peter, king of Cyprus; where, according to Fordun (*Scotichronicon*, lib. xvi, cap. 15) 'cœperunt civitatem Alexandrinam tempore ultimi regis David.' After the death of his brother he became Earl of Ross, and Duke of Leygaroch in France. The romance," if one ever existed, is lost.

(27) *The tail of the pure tynt.* "Probably the groundwork of the Fairy tale of 'the pure tint Rashycoat,' a common nursery tale." *Leyden*, p. 236. The tale of 'Rashie-Coat' (*Fife*) is told in R. Chambers's *Popular Rhymes*, 1870, p. 66-8, and an inferior version follows it. It is "the Scottish edition of the tale of *Cinderella*."

(28) *Claryades and maliades.* No printed copy is known earlier than 1830, when Dr David Irving edited the romance of *Clariodus* from an imperfect MS. of about 1550 A.D., for Mr Edward Piper's present to the Maitland Club. The romance is earlier than its MS., and is translated from a French prose original, of which there was once an English translation, made before the Scotch one. The story is of England:—how, after the days of King Arthur, the young knight Clariodus, son of the Earl of Esture, or the Asturias, wins and weds the lovely lady Meliades, daughter and heiress of Philipon, king of England; and how, after their marriage (at p. 304) feastings, adventures, tourneys, journeys to Castalie, Ireland, &c., go on, till the text ends, imperfectly, at p. 376 of the printed edition.

(29) *Arthour of litil bertangze.* This is the book reprinted in 4to by Utterson in 1814 as "Arthur of Brytayn. The hystory of the moost noble and valyaunt knyght Arthur of lytell brytayne, translated out of frensche in to englushe by the noble Johan Bourghcher knyght lorde Barners, newly Imprynted:" no date, black letter, folio, 179 leaves. (Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* i. 63.) Colophon: "Here endeth the hystory of Arthur of lytell Brytayne. Imprynted at London in Powles church yeard at the sygne of the

¹ Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (Roxb. Club, and E. E. Text Soc.).

Cocke by Roberte Redborne." Only two perfect copies exist, at Althorp and Bridgewater House; and one imperfect copy.

(30) *Robene hude and litil ihone*. The earliest edition known is from the press of Chepman and Myllar, Edinburgh, circa 1508, in 4to, black letter, of which a very imperfect copy is in the Adv. Lib. Editions also by Wynkyn de Worde, and Pynson (?), before 1549. See Capt. Cox's *Robin Hood*, p. li.

(31) *The meruellis of mandiueil*. We know three editions before 1548 of this most amusing book of travels and legends, 1. Wynkyn de Worde's in 1499; 2. at his sign of the Sun in 1503; 3. Pynson's, without date.

(32) (33) *The tayl of the zong tamlene, and of the bald braband*. Leyden identifies Tamlene with the later ballad of The Young Tamlane in Scott's *Minstrelsy*, A.D. 1802 (p. 474-480 of A. Murray's reprint, 1869), a few verses of which appeared in Herd's *Scottish Songs*, 1776, i. 159 (ed. 1869), as 'Kertouhe, or the Fairy Court,' and Johnson's *Museum*. He therefore makes The Bald Braband a separate romance of French or Norman origin. Mr J. A. H. Murray does so too, notwithstanding the author's singular "tayl," which would lead us to suppose that the two heroes belonged to one story. See some doggrel verses on "Tam o' the Linn" in R. Chambers's *Popular Rhymes*, ed. 1870, p. 33, and *Captain Cox*, p. cxxvii.

(34) *The ryng of the roy Robert*. i. e. The reign of King Robert. In Mackenzie's *Lives*, vol. i, and Pinkerton's list of the poems in the Folio Maitland MS., this poem is ascribed to Deine David Steill. It begins "In to the ring of the roy Robert." A modernized copy was issued in 1700 under the title of "Robert the III, king of Scotland, his Answer to a Summonds sent by Henry the IV. of England to do homage for the Crown of Scotland," is [re]printed in Watson's *Collection of Scottish poems*, pt 3, which begins "Dureing the reigne of the Royal Robert." *Leyden*, p. 231. It is also reprinted "in two different publications of Mr Laing, *Fugitive Scottish Poetry*, and *Early Metrical Tales*. It contains a magnanimous and indignant answer, supposed to have been returned by Robert the Third, when Henry the Fourth of England summoned him to do homage for his kingdom. The author's patriotism may be more safely commended than his poetry, which is of a very inferior order." Irving's *Hist. of Scottish Poetry*, p. 201, ed. 1861.

(35) *Syr egeir and syr gryme*. Of this verse Romance no printed copy is known earlier than 1687. It belongs to Mr David Laing, who reprinted the 2nd edition known, that of 1711, in his *Early Metrical Tales*, 1826. By far the best copy is in Bp Percy's Folio MS., and is printed in the *Ballads and Romances* of it, i. 354-400, in 1474 lines. Its "subject is the true and tried friendship of Sir Eger and Sir Grime. It sings how a true knight (Sir Grime) stood faithfully by his friend when misfortune overtook him, and fought his battle, and won it, and was rewarded with the same happiness

which he had so nobly striven to secure for his friend—success in love.” In 1497, the sum of nine shillings was paid to “*twa fithelaris that sang Gray Steel to the King.*” See Mr D. Laing’s Introduction, and Mr Hales’s in the *Percy Folio Bal. and Rom.* Gray steel was the knight who overcame Sir Eger, and who cut off the right little finger of every knight he vanquisht. But Grime slew him for Eger’s sake.

(36) *Bewis of southamtoun.* The earliest copy of this Romance, which is translated from a “*Frensche boke,*” is in the Auchinleck MS. ab. 1320-30 A.D. and was printed by the Maitland Club in 1838. Other MSS. are in the University Library, Cambridge, and the Library of Caius College, Cambridge, &c. The first printed version that we know, is from the press of Pynson, without date, and the only copy known is among Douce’s books in the Bodleian. Of the next print that we know, Wynkyn de Worde’s, “a fragment of two leaves is in the Bodleian among Douce’s books.” Of the third print, William Coplande’s, a copy is among Garrick’s books in the British Museum.

(37) *The goldin targe.* This is a poem of Dunbar’s, first printed on six leaves by Walter Chepman and Andro Millar at Edinburgh in 1508, though the copy in the Advocates’ Library, Edinburgh, has no place or date on it. It is reprinted in Mr David Laing’s edition of Dunbar’s Works, 1834 (with a Supplement 1865), i. 11, and “the object of this poem is to demonstrate the general ascendancy of love over reason: the golden terge, or the shield of reason, is found an insufficient protection against the assaults of the train of love.” Irving’s *Hist. of Scottish Poetry*, p. 235, ed. 1861.

(38) *The paleis of honour.* No copy of this is known so early as 1548-9, though a Scotch printer’s copy must have existed earlier. As William Copland was at the Rose Garland in 1548, his undated edition might have been printed in the first year of Mary’s reign: “The Palis of Honoure composed by Gawyne Dowglas, Byshope of Dunkyll. Imprinted at London in flet-stret, at the sygne of the Rose garland by wyllyam Copland. God saue Quene Marye,” 4to, black letter, 40 leaves. Henrie Charteris’s edition of 1579 was reprinted for the Bannatyne Club in 1827, 4to. The poem, which is the longest of Douglas’s original works, seems to have been written in 1501, and describes the author’s dream of all the worthies of antiquity down to nearly his own day,—heathen gods and goddesses, as well as Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate,—journeying to the Palace of Honour. This he describes, and the lake, wherein those who fail to seek it, fall. The poem is an odd mixture of ancient and modern: Calliope expounds the scheme of human redemption. See Irving, p. 269-277, for an outline of it.

(39) *The tayl quhou acteon vas transformit in ane hart, and syne slane be his auen doggis.* Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, iii. 155, &c.

(40) *The tayl of Pirus and tesbe.* No doubt a short tale

from some lost translation of Ovid (*Met.* iv, 55-165). Golding's translation was not published till 1567.

(41) *The tail of the amours of leander and hero.* The only notice we have of the earliest and otherwise unknown translation of the work of Musæus the Grammarian, *De Amore Herois et Leandri*, is a marginal note in Abraham Fleming's translation of Virgil's *Georgics*, 1589, 4to: "The poet alludeth to the historie of Leander and Hero, written by Musæus, and Englished by me a dozen yeares ago [1577], and in print." J. P. Collier, in *Notes and Queries*, Dec. 8, 1849, p. 84-5. This "tayl" of the *Complaynt* before 1548 may—like many others in the list—have been a broadside. Ovid mentions the story, *Her.* xviii. 19.

(42) *The tail quhou Iupiter transformit his deir loue yo in ane cou.* More Ovid: *Metamorphoses*, bk i.

(43) *The tail quhou that iason van the goldin fleice.* This may be "A Boke of the hoole Lyf of Jason" printed by Caxton about 1477, consisting of 148 leaves, and reprinted in 1492, by Gerard Leeu of Antwerp, with cuts, "The veray trew History of the valiaunt Knight Jason;" but was probably only a short Tale from the 7th book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Caxton's edition is translated from Raoul Le Fevre's French original.

(44) *Opheus, kyng of portingal.* This cannot be the romance of Orfeo and Heurodis in the Affleck MS., printed in Mr D. Laing's *Select Remains*, 1822, in which Orfeo is a king in England, has the city of Traciens or Winchester, and recovers Heurodis who has been carried off by the King of the Fairies. Nor can it be Henryson's poem printed by W. Chepman and A. Millar in 1508:—"Heire begynnis the traitie of Orpheus kyng, and how he yeid to hewyn and to hel to seik his quene: And ane other ballad in the lattir end;—" and reprinted in Mr David Laing's edition of Henryson's Works, 1865. Henryson rightly makes his Orpheus, king of Thrace. Perchance some Middle-age writer altered Thrace to Portugal. Geography was "of no consequence" with the story-tellers of those days.

(45) *The tayl of the goldin appil.* That of Eris, inscribed "to the fairest," thrown among the Gods at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, whence sprang the dispute between Juno, Minerva, and Venus, its decision by Paris, the rape of Helen, and the fall of Troy, that central romance of the Middle-ages. Plenty of stories of it,—long to shorten, short to translate,—were there to serve as the original of the *Complaynt* "tayl."

(46) *The tail of the thre veird systirs.* "Clotho, the spinning fate; Lachesis, the one who assigns to man his fate; and Atropos, the fate that cannot be avoided." Ovid, *Met.* xv. 781, 808, &c.

(47) *The tayl quhou that dedalus maid the laborynth to keip the monster minotaurus.* Ovid, *Met.* viii.

(48) *The tail quhou kyng midas gat tua asse luggis on his hede,*

be cause of his auereis. Another story from Ovid, book xi of the *Metamorphoses*.

Ballad on the same subject among the broadsides of the Society of Antiquaries, written by T. Hedley, and imprinted at London, by Hary Sutton, dwellyng in Poules Churchyard, and reprinted in Mr Halliwell's *Introduction to Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream*, p. 18-19. Sutton printed and publisht from 1557 to 1575.

THE SONGS.

(49) *Pastance vitht gude companye.* English. Written by Henry VIII. Facsimiled, with the tune, for Mr Wm Chappell, in *Archæologia*, xli. 372, from a MS. that once belonged to Henry VIII., and now belongs to a Mrs Lamb. The song was also printed by Dr Rimbault in his *Little Book*, p. 37, and Mr Chappell in his *Popular Music*, from the Additional MS. 5665 in the British Museum, which was once Joseph Ritson's. It is there called "The Kyngis Balade." Here it is from Mrs Lamb's MS., pages 24, 25, as facsimiled in *Archæologia*, vol. xli, Pl. xvi, p. 372; but in the MS. every ll has a line across its top.

The kyng. H. viij.

(1)

Pastyme with good companye
I loue, & shall vntyll I dye;—
gruche who lust, but none denye,
so god be plesyd, thus leue wyll I.
for my pastance
hunt, syng, & daunce,
my hart is sett!
all goodly sport,
for my comfort,
who shall me let?

(2)

youthe must haue sum daliance,
off good or yll, sum pastance;
Company me thynkes then best,
all thoughtes & fansys to deiest;

ffor Idillnes
is cheff mastres
of vices all;
then who can say
but mirth and play
is best of all?

(3)

Company with honeste
is vertu, vices to flee;
Company is good & ill,
but euery man hath hys fre wyll;
the best ensew,
the worst eschew,
my mynde shalbe;
vertu to vse,
vice to reface;
thus shall I vse me.

(50) *The breir byndis me soir.*

(51) *Stil vndir the leyuis grene.* See (96). In the Maitland MS., and printed by Pinkerton in his *Maitland Poems*, p. 205. In his notes, p. 424, Pinkerton says, "This piece, for the age it was written, is almost miraculous. The tender pathos is finely recommended by an excellent cadence. An age that produced this, might produce almost any perfection in poetry." I wonder what the worthy editor's notion of "quite miraculous" was, though the "sang" is a good one. See in Mr Furnivall's *Captain Cox*, p. cl.

(52) *Cou thou me the raschis grene.* Appendix to the Royal MSS., 58 (No. 26 in the "Catalogue of the Manuscript Music in the

British Museum," 1842, p. 10). The *Fayrfax MS.*, leaf 2. Printed in Ritson's *Ancient Songs*, vol. i, p. lxxv, with the music. See *Captain Cox*, clii.

(53) *Allace, i vyit zour tua fayr ene!*¹ i. e. I blame your two fair eyes.

(54) *Gode zou, gude day, vil boy.*

(55) *Lady, help zour presoneir!*¹.

(56) *Kyng villzamis note.*

(57) *The land nounenou [= nonny no].*

(58) *The cheapel valk.*

(59) *Faytht is there none.*

(60) *Skald abellis nou.*

(61) *The abirdenis nou.*

(62) *Brume brume on hil. English.* See *Capt. Cox*, p. cxxviii, and *Pop. Mus.* p. 459.

(63) *Allone i veip in grit distres.* Godlified in *The Gude and Godlie Ballates*, p. 129, ed. D. Laing, 1868.

(64) *Trolee lolee, lemmeu dou.* Cp. *Capt. Cox's Troly lo*, p. cxxix.

(65) *Bille, vil thou cum by a lute,
and belt the in Sanct Francis cord?*

In Constable's MS. Cantus the following lines [probably] of this song are introduced into a medley :

Bille, will ye cum by a lute,
And tuich it with your pin? trow low! (*Leyden*, p. 279.)

(66) *The frog cam to the myl dur.* Pinkerton, in his *Select Ballads*, ii. 33, says that "The froggie came to the mill door" was sung on the Edinburgh stage shortly before 1784. *Leyden*, p. 279, gives a few lines of another nursery song on the frog (or cat) and mouse. The earliest English notice of a Frog-song that we have is the entry on the Stationers' Register of a license to Edward White on 21 November 1580 of four ballads, of which the first is "A moste strange weddinge of the frogge and the mouse" (*Collier's Stat. Reg.* ii. 132). Dr Rimbault has printed in his *Little Book*, p. 87-94, three versions of the wedding of the Frog and Mouse,—one Scotch, from Mr C. K. Sharpe's *Ballad Book*, 1826,—and mentions another old "Frogge Song" in Halliwell's *Nursery Rhymes*, ed. 1843, p. 87, and a parody upon the same in Tom d'Urfey's *Pills to purge Melancholy*, 1719, vol. i, p. 14.

(67) *The sang of gilquhiskar.*

(68) *Rycht soirly musing in my mynde.* Godlified in the *Godlie Ballates*, p. 54, ed. D. Laing, 1868.

(69) *God sen the duc hed byddin in France,
And delaubaute hed neuyr cum hame.*

¹ Mr David Laing thinks, from these first lines, that their songs are likely to have been Alexander Scott's. *Al. Scott's Poems*, p. x.

"This song is not known ; it must have been on 'the Chevalier de la Beauté' (de la Bastie properly), who was left as Pro-regent in Scotland when John Duke of Albany retired to France, in the minority of James V., and who was murdered in 1515." *Leyden*, p. 276. See in Dunbar's *Works*, ed. Laing, i. 251, "Ane Orisoun quhen the Governour past into France."

(70) *Al musing of meruellis, amys hef i gone.* A verse of this song occurs in Constable's MS. Cantus :

"All musing of mervells in the mid morne,
Through a slunk in a slaid, amisse have I gone ;
I heard a song me beside, that reft from me my sprite,
But through my dream as I dreamed, this was the effect."

Leyden, p. 279.

(71) *Mastres fayr, ze vil forfayr.* i. e. Go to ruin.

(72) *O lusty maye, vitht flora quene.* "This beautiful song was printed by Chepman and Myllar in 1508, and also in Forbes's Aberdeen Cantus [thence reprinted by Ritson, *Scottish Songs*, Hist. Essay, p. xli] : a copy with several variations, is preserved in the Bannatyne MS." *Leyden*, p. 279. The latter, not modernized as in Forbes, whose second song it is, is printed at the end of Alexander Scott's *Poems*, p. 97-9, ed. D. Laing. See also *Capt. Cox*, cliv.

(73) *O myne hart, hay, this is my sang.* Godlified in the *Godlie Ballates*, p. 121.

(74) *The battel of the hayrlaw*¹. The battle was fought in 1411 by the Earl of Mar and his force against the plundering Donald of the Isles with an army of 10,000 men. A copy of a ballad on the battle dated 1668 was in the collection of Mr Robert Mylne, the Collector. "But the earliest edition that can now be traced was published by Ramsay : and all the ancient poetry which passed through his hands was exposed to the most unwarrantable alterations. . . The poem consists of 248 lines . . . is a dry and circumstantial narrative, with little or no embellishment, and can only be considered as valuable in the belief of its being ancient. Of the author's historical vein a sufficient estimate may be formed from the subsequent" stanza :

Gude Sir Alexander Irving,
The much renownit laird of Drum,
Nane in his days was bettir sene,
Quhen thay war semblit, all and sum ;
To praise him we sould not be dumm,
For valour, witt, and worthyness.
To end his days he ther did cum,
Quhois ransom is remeidyles."

Irving's Hist. of Scottish Poetry, p. 162-3.

The ballad, as we now have it, is printed in Allan Ramsay's *Evergreen*, 1724, and Laing's *Early Metrical Tales*, 1826 (Haz-

¹ See the Dance Tune, *The Battel of Harloe*, in the British Museum Addit. MS. 10,444, leaf 4, back, No. 8.

litt's *Handbook*, p. 32, col. 2), in "Two old Historical Scots Poems giving an account of the Battles of Harlaw and the Reid-Squair," Glasgow, 1748, &c., &c. [Ramsay's copy is the original of all those in existence, and it is really impossible to tell whether that is a reworking of the genuine old ballad, or a modern one produced to supply its place. The philological evidence leads me to consider it a pure forgery of Ramsay's.—J. A. H. M.]

(75) *The hunttis of cheuet*. This is the older and far finer version of the well-known ballad of *Chevy-Chase*. A noble ballad it is, this *Hunting of the Cheviot*,—no doubt that which stirred the heart of Sidney more than a trumpet,—though it's not known nearly so well as its poorer modernization, *Chevy-Chase*. The only copy we have of it is in the Ashmole MS. 48, leaves 15-18. Hearne first printed it in his Preface to the History of Gulielmus Neubrigensis, p. lxxxii. Percy made it the first ballad in his *Reliques*, and it has been reprinted in Prof. Child's *Ballads*, vii. 29, &c., &c. The Rychard Sheale, whose name is at the end of the ballad, was a well-known minstrel and writer of doggrel, and made either this copy or the one from which it was taken. Copiers in old times often signed their names to that which they copied. The fight of which the ballad tells, is not known to History, except in so far as it's mixt up with the battle of Otterbourne fought in 1388.

Of the modern version of the ballad, *Chevy-Chase*, the copies and variations are many. Perhaps the oldest copy is in the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, ii. 7-16. That in "the Scotch edition printed at Glasgow, 8vo, 1747, is remarkable," says Bp Percy, "for the wilful Corruptions made in all the Passages which concern the two nations."

See Maidment's *Scottish Ballads*, 1868, i. 81; Dr Rimbault's *Musical Illustrations to Percy's Reliques*, p. 1; Chappell's *Popular Music*, &c., &c.

(76) *Sal i go vitht zou to rumbelo fayr?* No such place as Rumbelo or Rumbeloch is known, though the word *rumbelow* has been common in ballad-burdens from early times. "The unmeaning phrase *Rumbylow*," says David Irving, "appears to have been used in the burden of a song by the poets of both kingdoms." It is thus introduced in a passage of Skelton's *Bowge of Court*:

I wolde be mery what wynde that euer blowe :
Heue and how, *rombelow*, row the bote, Norman, rowe.

So in the Scottish song on the battle of Bannockburn, 1314, preserved by the English chronicler Fabyan :

Maydins of England, sore may ye morne
For your lemmans ye haue loste at Bannockysborne,

Wyth heue a lowe.

What wenyth the kynge of England
So soone to have wonne Scotlande,

Wyth *rumbylow* ?

It occurs also in connection with *Heve how!* in "Peblis to the Play," stanza 5 :

Hop, Calje, and Cardronow¹
 Gaderit out thik-fald,
 With *hey and how, rohumbelow,*
 The young folk were full bald.

(77) *Grewit is my sorrow.* Godlified in the *Godlie Ballates*, p. 132. The poem is English: The lament of a sad lady whom her lover's unkindness slays. Sloane MS. 1584, leaf 85. Printed also by Ritson, in his *Ancient Songs*, 1790, p. 93; and in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, 1841, i. 70. See *Capt. Cox*, clvi.

(78) *Turne the, sueit ville, to me:*

(79) *My lufe is lyand seik ;*
Send hym ioy, send hym ioy !

I suppose these two lines belong to one song. ¹

(80) *Fayr luf, lent thou me thy mantil ? ioy !* The original song is probably lost, but a ludicrous parody, in which the chorus is preserved, is well known in the South of Scotland. It begins,

Our guidman's away to the Mers
 Wi' the mantle, jo ! wi' the mantle, jo !
 Wi' his breiks on his heid, and his bonnet on his ers,
 Wi' the merry merry mantle o' the green, jo !—*Leyden*, p. 279.

(81) *The perssee & the mongumrye met.* This is line 117 of the modernized Scotch version of the ballad of "The Battle of Otterbourne," printed in *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, i. 354, and Prof. Child's *Ballads*, vii. 19, &c. :—

The Percy and Montgomery met,
 That either of other were fain ;
 They swapped swords, and they twa swat,
 And aye the blood ran down between.²

The two verses before it have a suspiciously modern twang, and this verse seems to me a modern cooking of the earlier verse about Percy and Douglas :

English version.
 The Percy and the Douglas mette,
 That ether of other was fayne ;
 They schapped together, whyll
 that the swette,
 With swords of fyne collayne.

Scotch version.
 When Percy wi' the Douglas met,
 I wat he was fu' fain ;
 They swakked their swords, till sair
 they swat,
 And the blood ran down like rain.

¹ Places near Peebles.

² In the differing and short version in Herd's *Scottish Songs*, i. 154 (ed. 1869), and Child's *Ballads*, vii. 177-180, where Douglas is killed by a little boy with a little penknife, the verse above runs thus :

Then Percy and Montgomery met,
 And weel a wat they war na fain :
 They swapped swords, and thay twa swat,
 And aye the blood ran down between.

(lines 33-6.)

But it may be one of the genuine repetitions that the old ballad writers often indulged in.

The oldest copy of the ballad that we have is that of the English version, in a MS. of about 1550 A.D., Cotton, Cleopatra C iv, leaf 64, and was printed by Percy in the fourth edition of his *Reliques*, instead of the later and less perfect copy that he had given in his earlier editions from the Harleian MS. 293, leaf 52. The English version says nothing of Sir Hugh Montgomery killing Percy, but only

Then was ther a Scottyshe prisoner tayne,
Sir Hugh Mongomery was hys name. (l. 161-2.)

See the treatise by Mr Robert White of Newcastle, on the *Battle of Otterbourne*, with appendix and illustrations, London, 1857, and his advertised "History" of the battle.

(82) *That day, that day, that gentil day.* The notion that Prof. Child seems to have started (*Ballads*, vii. 34, note), and that Mr Hales sanctions (*Percy Fol. Bal. & Rom.* ii. 2), that the "That day, that day, that gentill day" of the *Complaynt*, is a misquotation of "That day, that day, that dredfull day!" l. 99 of *The Hunting of the Cheviot*, and therefore means that Ballad, I cannot away with. For, 1. the *Complaynt* has already put *The Huntis of Cheuet* in its list of "sueit sangis," eight above "That day, that day, that gentil [or dredfull] day," and would not, of course, repeat it: 2. Why should we suppose the careful writer of the *Complaynt* to have put "gentil" for "dredfull," and thus made a double fool of himself, when the natural supposition that the ballad—like so many others in the list—has not come down to us, removes all difficulty? It is true that Dauney (*Ancient Scottish Melodies*, Edinburgh, 1838, p. 53) runs the two lines together as part of one song or ballad,

The Persee & the Mongumrye met
That day; that day, that gentil day;

but if he is right, this must be a new ballad, and all prior critics have been wrong in identifying the first line with the *Battle of Otterbourne* ballad. Till the discovery of the new ballad, most of us will hold on to the old one, especially since "*That day*" has four accents, as if it were a first line; though four accents often occur in second lines.

(83) *My luf is laid apon ane knyght.*

(84) *Allace, that samyn sueit face!* Godlified in the *Godlie Ballates*, p. 56.

(85) *In ane myrthful morou.*

(86) *My hart is leuit [= left] on the land.*

THE DANCE TUNES.

(87) *Al cristijn mennis dance.*

(88) *The north of scotland.*

(89) *Huntis vp.* This is a lively English tune well fitted for

dancing, printed in Mr Chappell's *Popular Music*, i. 60, with much information about the tune and the various words to it. The reader will find a reprint of the first mention of the tune in my *Ballads from Manuscripts* for the Ballad Society, vol. i, p. 310. This was "in 1537 when information was sent to the Council against one John Hogon, who had offended against the proclamation of 1533, which was issued to suppress 'fond books, ballads, rhimes, and other lewd treatises in the English tongue,' by singing 'with a crowd or a fyddyll' a political song to that tune." (*Pop. Mus.* i. 60.)

Of William Gray—"one *Gray*, what good estimation did he grow vnto with the same king Henry [VIII], and afterward with the Duke of Sommerset, Protectour, for making certaine merry Ballades, whereof one chiefly was *The hunte it [= is] vp, the hunte is vp*"—the reader will find some Birthday Verses to Somerset in my said *Ballads*, p. 311. Religious parodies of *The hunt is vp* are printed at the end of Mr Halliwell's edition of the moral play of *Wit and Science*, from the Addit. MS. Brit. Mus. 15,233, and in the *Godlie Ballates*, p. 153, ed. D. Laing, 1868: "With huntis vp, with huntis vp." Any song intended to arouse in the morning, even a love-song, was formerly called a *hunt's-up*. *Chappell*.

(90) *The comount entray*.

(91) *Lang plat fut of gariau*. i. e. Long flat foot of Garioch.

(92) *Robene hude*. Captain Cox, p. li. ? Does the translator of the *Roman de la Rose* refer to this dance :

But haddest thou knowen hym beforne,
Thow woldest on a booke have sworne,
Whan thou hym saugh in thylke araye,
That he, that whylome was so gaye,
And of the daunce Jolly Robyn,
Was tho become a Jacobyn.

Romaunt of the Rose (? Chaucer's), l. 7455.

Cotgrave has "*Chanson de Robin*, a merrie and extemporall song, or fashion of singing, whereto one is ever adding somewhat, or may at pleasure adde what he list. . ."

(93) *Thom of lyn*. Leyden quotes at p. 274, a verse from Forbes's Aberdeen Cantus :—

The pypers drone was out of tune,
Sing *Young Thomlin*,
Be merry, be merry, and twise so merrie,
With the light of the moon.

I suppose this to be the English ballad licensed later to Mr John Wallye and Mr Toye in 1557-8, *Stationers' Register A*, leaf 22 (*Collier's Stat. Reg.* i. 4), and quoted by Moros in Wager's Interlude :

Tom a lin and his wife, and his wiues mother,
They went ouer a bridge all three together ;
The bridge was broken, and they fell in :
"The Deuil go with all !" quoth Tom a lin.

See *Capt. Cox*, p. cxxvii.

(94) *Freris al.*

(95) *Ennyrnes* [= *Inverness, Gael. Ionar nis*].

(96) *The loch of slene* [= *Slyne*].

(97) *The gosseps dance.*

(98) *Lewis grene.* See No. (51), ante.

(99) *Makky.*

(100) *The speyde.*

(101) *The flail.*

(102) *The lammes vynde.*

(103) *Soutra.* [Soutra or Soultra edge forms the watershed between the Forth and the Tweed; and Soutra is a small hamlet on the ridge, on the highroad from Edinburgh to Lauder. *Soutra* separates the *South countrie* from Lothian.—J. A. H. M.]

(104) *Cum kyttil me naykyt vantounly.*

(105) *Schayke leg fut befor gossep.*

(106) *Rank at the rute.*

(107) *Baglap and al.*

(108) *Ihonne ermistrangis dance.* The earliest ballad that we have on Johnny Armstrong is an English one, but Mr Wm Chappell has not yet found the tune of it. The words are in *Wit restored*, 1658, and in *Wit and Drollery, Jovial Poems*, 1682, called "A Northern Ballet," beginning:

"There dwelt a man in fair Westmoreland,
Johnny Armstrong men did him call;
He had neither lands nor rents coming in,
Yet he kept eight score men in his hall."

Popular Music, i. 260, note.

Another English ballad about this hero is entitled "Johnny Armstrong's last Good-night; shewing how John Armstrong with his eight-score men fought a bloody battle with the Scotch king at Edenborough, *To a pretty Northern Tune.*" A copy is in the Bagford Collection (643, m. 10, p. 94) printed by and for W. O[nley]: also in *Old Ballads*, 1727, i. 170, and in Evans's *Old Ballads*, 1810, iii. 101. *Pop. Mus.* ii. 776.

But the *Complaynt* dance must have been one named in honour of the great Border plunderer Johnie Armstrong of Gilnockie, who was hanged¹ by James V. soon after that king attained his majority in 1524, and about whom Allan Ramsay published a ballad in his *Evergreen*, which he says he took down from the recitation of a gentleman of the name of Armstrong, who was the sixth in descent from the hero. It was printed too in the "Minstrelys of the Scot-

¹ See, in Lyndesay's *Satyre* (ed. E. E. T. Soc.), p. 454, l. 2092-4:

Heir is ane coird baith great and lang—

Quhilk hangit *Johne the Armistrang*—

Of gude hemp, soft and sound.

"Johne the" = "John ye" is a misprint for "Johnye," of the Bannatyne MS.

tish Border," in R. Chambers's *Scottish Ballads*, p. 35, &c., &c. How much of the ballad is Ramsay's writing, no one knows. "Jock o' the Syde" was another Armstrong, and there's a third Johnie Armstrong in "Dick o' the Cow:" see the Ballads in *Chambers*, p. 40, 46.

In R. Chambers's *Scottish Songs*, ii. 528, is also an "Armstrong's Good-night" cookt up from two bits of four lines each found by Burns. He, being a poet, left the bits as he found them. When will his countrymen learn to follow his example, and keep their meddling fingers off their old singers' remains?

(109) *The alman haye.* The Almayne or German haye. The *Hay* was a country-dance, of which the reel was a variety. "In Sir John Davie's *Orchestra*, 'He taught them rounds and winding heys to tread.' (In the margin he explains 'rounds and winding-heys' to be country dances.) In *The Dancing Master* the hey is one of the figures of most frequent occurrence. In one country-dance, 'the women stand still, the men going the hey between them.' This is evidently winding in and out. In another, two men and one woman dance the hey—like a reel. In a third, three men dance this hey, and three women at the same time—like a double reel. In *Dargason*, where many stand in one long line, the direction is 'the single hey, all handing as you pass, till you come to your places.' When the hand was given in passing, it was always so directed; but the hey was more frequently danced without 'handing.' In 'the square dance,' the two opposite couples dance the single hey twice to their places, the woman standing before her partner at starting. When danced by many in a circle, if hands were given, it was like the 'grande chaîne' of a quadrille." *Pop. Mus.* ii. 629.

(110) *The bace of voragon.*

(111) *Dangeir.*

(112) *The beye.*

(113) *The dede dance.* Not known, I believe, in Scotland; but it is, no doubt, either the tune referred to in *Hawkins* (see below) or "The Doleful Dance and Song of Death," of which the tune, and a late Ballad, are printed by Mr Chappell in his *Popular Music*, i. 85. The tune is also called "*The Shaking of the Sheet*," and "is frequently mentioned by writers in the 16th and 17th centuries, both as a country dance and as a ballad tune." In the recently-discovered play of *Misogonus*, produced about 1560, *The Shaking of the Sheets*, *The Vicar of St Fools*, and *the Catching of Quails*, are mentioned as country dances. . . The tune is also mentioned in Lilly's *Pappe with a Hatchet*, 1589; in Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse*, 1579; by Rowley, Middleton, Taylor the water-poet, Marston, Mas-singer, Heywood, Dekker, Shirley, &c., &c. "There are two tunes under this name, the one in William Ballet's Lute-Book, which is the same as [that] printed by Sir John Hawkins in his *History of*

Music (vol. ii. p. 934, 8vo. edit.); the other, and in all probability the more popular one, is contained in numerous publications from *The Dancing Master* of 1650-51, to the *Vocal Enchantress* of 1783." *Pop. Mus.* i. 84.

(114) *The dance of kylrynnne.*

(115) *The vod and the val.*

(116) *Schaik a trot.*

THE MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.¹

"The enumeration of musical instruments used by the shepherds not only supplies an important chasm in the history of Scottish music, by informing us what instruments were popular at that period, but enables us, from the compass of these, to appreciate the comparative antiquity of our most popular airs." The musical instruments are eight in number; "*the drone bag-pipe,*" "*the pipe maid of ane bleddir and ane reid,*" "*the trump,*" "*the corne pipe,*" "*the pipe maid of ane gait horn,*" "*the recorder, the fiddil, and the quhissil.*" The bag-pipe, in some form or other, has been known in almost every country; at this time it appears to have been as great a favourite among the Italian peasantry, especially the shepherds of Calabria, as among the peasants of Scotland. It seems also to have been the favourite instrument of the French peasantry. It is mentioned in a pastoral dirge on the death of Charles VII. of France, in which many traits of the shepherd-life of that country are exhibited. Although now usually associated with the Scottish Highlands, it is only in later times that the bagpipe has there become the favourite instrument, superseding the ancient Celtic harp. Giraldus Cambrensis, about 1188, notices it as a Welsh instrument, but does not include it among the musical instruments of Scotland and Ireland. "Ireland," he says, "makes use of only two, the harp and the drum; Scotland hath three, the harp, the drum, and the chorus (probably the crwth); and Wales has the harp, the *pipes*, and the chorus." The same instruments are enumerated in one of the institutions of *Howel Dda*, about 942: "Every chief Bard to whom the prince shall grant an office, the prince shall provide him an instrument; a harp to one, a crwth to another, and pipes to a third; and when

¹ Chiefly abridged from Leyden.

they die, the instruments ought to revert to the prince." From the Welsh, the bagpipe seems to have passed to the English, and Scottish Lowlanders, and finally to have been appropriated by, and left to, the Highlanders. In corroboration of this we have the Gaelic names *piob*, *piobair* (pronounced *peep*, *peeper*), simply the old English pipe, piper, whence *piobaireachd*, pipership, in recent times imported back from the Gael as *pibroch*. In olden times a *town's piper* was a common adjunct of the Scottish burghs, but the Lowland bagpipe was a different instrument from that of the Highlanders, being inflated by bellows instead of the mouth, so that "the perfection of the piper's art was supposed to consist in being able to sing, dance, and play on the bagpipe at the same time."

The "Pipe made of a bladder and a reed," the second instrument mentioned, is the original and simple form of the bagpipe or *corne muse*. The simplicity of its structure renders it the favourite of shepherd boys, as its formation is scarcely more difficult than the whistle. The *Trump*, or Jews harp, is now chiefly confined to boys, but in the absence of other instruments has been used for dancing to, and about the close of the 16th century was held to be the favourite musical instrument of witches in Scotland. The *Corne pipe* is probably Virgil's "tenuis avena," Chaucer's "pipe maid of grene corne," still formed by shepherd boys under the name of the *drone*, and capable of producing tones resembling those of the bagpipe. The "pipe maid of ane gait horne" is the "stock and horn," or "buckhorn," of the Scottish peasantry, formed by inserting a reed or pipe into a horn, which gives a full and mellow expression to the sound. The reed or whistle was often formed of the excavated elder branch, to which there is an allusion in the ancient poem of *Cockelbie's Sow*, where the "pype maid of a borit bourtre" is mentioned as the appropriate musical instrument of the "nolt hirdis."

The *Recordar* was a small species of flute, or rather flageolet, and has always been a favourite with the Scottish shepherds; it is mentioned as their appropriate instrument in *Cockelbie's Sow*. The *fiddill*, a musical instrument of great antiquity, has, in the Scottish Lowlands, supplanted the bagpipe. From the number of

MS. *cantus* of the last two centuries dispersed through the country, it seems to have been long a very favourite instrument. But the origin of the Fiddle ascends to a very high antiquity. It is frequently mentioned in the ancient *Metrical Romances*; and in some of these the highest degree of female beauty is expressed by the simile, "sweet as the cream of milk, or the music of a fiddle."

THE DANCES consisted of dancing "in ane ring," "licht lopene (leaping), galmonding (gambolling), stendling (striding) bakuart & forduart, dansand *base dansis*, pauuans, galzardis, turdions, braulis, and branglis, buffons, with mony vthir licht dancis." "The Ring dance," says Leyden, "was formerly a favourite in the south of Scotland, though now gone into desuetude. It was the common dance at the *Kirn*, or feast of cutting down the grain, and was always danced with peculiar glee by the reapers of that farm where the harvest was first finished in any district. On such occasions, they danced on an eminence, in the view of the reapers in their vicinity, to the music of the Lowland bagpipe, commencing the dance with three loud shouts of triumph, and thrice tossing up their hooks in the air. The intervals of labour during harvest were often occupied by dancing the Ring, to the music of the piper who formerly attended the reapers. The custom of the piper playing behind the reapers, which has now fallen into desuetude, is alluded to in the *Elegy* on the piper of Kilbarchan :

‘Or quha will cause our shearers shear?
Wha will bend up the brags of weir?’

This dance is still retained among the Highlanders, who frequently dance the Ring in the open fields when they visit the south of Scotland, as reapers during the autumnal months. Similar seems to be the *Rinceadhfada*, *Rinkey*, or field dance of the Irish."

Of the "galmonding," Lyndesay (*Complaynt*, l. 181) describes the courtiers of James V.,

"Castand galmoundis, with bendis and beckis,
For wantones, sum braik thare neckis."

Some of the dances are also mentioned in a work contemporary with the *Complaynt*, "The Boke named the *Gouernour*, deuised by Sir Thomas Elyot, knyght, London, 1546" (fol. 71), where, after

describing the dances of antiquity, the Eumelia, Cordax, Enoplie, and Hormus, he says, "In stede of these we haue now *Base daunces, bargettes, pauyons, turgions* and *roundes*." A little later Webbe, in his "Discourse of English Poetry," 1586, says, "neither is their anie tune or stroke which maye be sung or plaide on instruments which hath not some poetical ditties framed according to the numbers thereof; some to Rogero, some to Frenchmore, to downe right Squire, to *Galliardes*, to *Pauines*, to Iygges, to *Brawles*, to all manner of tunes which euerie Fidler knowes better then myselfe." (*Arber's Reprint*, 1870, p. 61.)

At the conclusion of "The Introductory to wryte and to pronounce Frenche compyled by Alexander Barclay" (London, 1521, 4to), a spare leaf is occupied by a treatise "Here foloweth the maner of dauncynge of bace daunces after the vse of fraunce & other places, translated out of frenche in englysshe by Robert coplande," which Mr Furnivall has printed at p. clx of his *Captain Cox*. We are told that "for to daunce ony bace daunce there behoueth .iiii. paces, that is to wite syngle, double: re pryse & braule. And ye ought fyrst to make reuerence towarde the lady / & than make .ii. syngles .i. double / a re pryse / & a braule." Also "ye ought to wryte that in some places of fraunce they call the re pryse / desmarches and the braule they call / conge in englysshe / leue." Then follows a description of "Bace daunces," consisting of "Filles, a marier / with .iiii. measures; le petit rouen / with .iiii. measures; Amours. with two measures; la gorriere / thre measures; la allemande. thre measures; la brette / foure measures; la royne / foure measures." These, the translator says, he has put at the end of his book "that euerie lerner of the sayd boke after theyr dylygent study may reioyce somewhat theyr sprytes honestly in eschewynge of ydlesse the portresse of vice."

"The Pavan," says Leyden, "was a solemn majestic dance, of Spanish origin, originally performed by nobles dressed with a cap and sword, lawyers in their robes, and ladies in gowns with long trains; the motion of which in the dance was supposed to resemble the tail of a peacock, from which the dance is supposed to have derived its name. From the Pavan, a lighter air denominated the

Galliard, was formed; so that every Pavan had its corresponding Galliard. Pavans and Galliards frequently occur in the musical compositions even of the 17th century, and among some verses annexed to Hume of Logie's MS. Poems, I find 'Certaine wise sentences of Salomon, to the tune of Wigmore's Galliard.' But Mr Chappell says, "*Pavana*, according to Italian writers, was derived from *Paduana*—and not from *Pavo*—a peacock." *Pop. Mus.* ii. 772. "Morley says, 'The *pavan* for grave dancing; *galliards*, which usually follow pavans, are for a lighter and more stirring kind of dancing. . .' Baker, in his *Principles of Musick*, 1636, says, 'Of this sort (the Ionic mood) are *pavans*, invented for a slow and soft kind of dancing, altogether in duple proportion [common time]. Unto which are framed *galliards* for more quick and nimble motion, always in triple proportion; and therefore the triple is oft called *galliard* time, and the duple, *pavan* time.'"—*Pop. Mus.* i. 157. "The *Galliard* was not introduced into England till about 1541 A.D. It is mentioned in the ballad of John de Reeve, in the *Percy Fol. Bal. & Rom.* ii. 579, l. 529."—*F. J. Furnivall*. "Cotgrave has '*Galop gaillard*. The Gallop Galliard; or a Passasalto; or one pace and a leap;' and '*Baladinerie*: f. High, or lively dancing, as of *Galliards*, Corantoes, or Jigges.' *Tourdion* he explains as 'the daunce tearmed a Round. *Dancer les Buffons*: to daunce a morris.' The latter name was also known in Scotland, for in *Christes Kirk of the Grene*,

Auld Lychtfute thair he did forleit,
 And counterfuted Franss
 He vced him self as man discreit
 And vp the *Moreiss* danss
 He tuik
 At Christes Kirk of the Grene."

Some of the musical terms employed in the Monologue are illustrated by the following passage from Higden (*Polychronicon*, 1495, f. 101), quoted by Dr Leyden: "Here wyse men I tell, that Pictagoras passed som tyme by a smythes hous, and herde a swete sowne, and accordynge in the smytynge of foure hamers vpon an anuelt, & therefore he lette weye the hamers, & found that one of the hamers weyed twyes so moche as another. Another weyed

other halfe so moche as another ; and another weyed so moche as another and the thyrd dele of another. As though the fyrste hamer were of syx pounde, the seconde of twelue, the thyrd of eyght, the fourth of ix.—When these accordes were founden, Pictagoras gaue them names, & so that he called in nombre, *double*, he called in sownes DYAPASON, and that he called in nombre *other halfe*, he called in sowne DYAPENTE, & that that in nombre is called *alle and the thyrd dele*, hete in sownes DYATESSERON, and that that in nombres is called *alle & the eyghteth dele*, hete in tewns DOUBLE DYAPASON. As in melodye of one streng, yf the streng be streyned enlonge vpon the holownesse of a tree, and departe euen atwo by a brydge sette there vnder in eyther part of the streng, the sowne shall be Dyapason, if the streng be streyned and touched. And yf the streng be departed euen in thre, and the brydge sette vnder, soo that it departe bytwene the twey deles and the thyrd, then the lenger dele of the strenges yf it be touched, shal gyue a sowne called Dyatesseron. And yf it be departed in nyne, and the brydge sette vnder bytwene the laste parte and the other dele, and the lenger dele of the streng, yf it be touched, shall gyue a sowne that hete Tonus.”

Before altogether leaving rural scenes, the author exhibits his varied knowledge in another direction, by giving us the various names applied to sheep at different ages, and a herbalist's account of the various plants which he found in the fields. One may suspect, however, that his botany was rather book-knowledge than field work, as he includes in his list several plants not native to Scotland or even Britain, as, for instance, Anise seed, Cypress, coriander, and fennel and hyssop. In his birds, at the beginning of the Monolog, he had similarly included the nightingale and the crane.

III. THE LANGUAGE.

For a complete account of the chronological and topographical divisions of the Lowland Scotch, I must refer the reader to the Historical Introduction to my “Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland.” I have there shown that the language of Lowland Scot-

land was originally identical with that of England north of the Humber. The political and purely artificial division which was afterwards made between the two countries, unsanctioned by any facts of language or race, had no existence while the territory from the Humber to the Forth constituted the North Anglian kingdom or eorldom of Northumbria. The centre of this state, and probably of the earliest Angle settlement, was at Bamborough, a few miles from the Tweed mouth, round which the common language was spoken north of the Tweed and Cheviots as well as south. This unity of language continued down to the Scottish War of Independence at the beginning of the 14th century, and even after that war had made a complete severance between the two countries, down to the second half of the fifteenth century. In England, previous to this period, three great English dialects, the Northern, Midland, and Southern, had stood on an equal footing as literary languages, none of which could claim preëminence over the others as English *par excellence*. But after the Wars of the Roses, the invention of printing, and more compact welding of England into a national unity, the Midland dialect, the tongue of London, Oxford, and Cambridge, of the court and culture of the country, assumed a commanding position as the language of books, and the Northern and Southern English sank in consequence into the position of local *patois*, heard at the fireside, the plough, the loom, but no longer used as the vehicles of general literature. But while this was the fate of the Northern dialect in the English portion of its domain, on Scottish ground it was destined to prolong its literary career for two centuries more, and indeed to receive an independent culture almost justifying us in regarding it, from the literary side, as a distinct language. At the same time, the shifting of its centre of gravity from Lindisfarne and Durham to the banks of the Forth, where the Angle blood was mixed with that of the Celts of the original Scotia, north of that river estuary—and where the speech would in consequence be affected by Celtic pronunciation—as well as the influences exercised by a distinct ecclesiastical and legal system, a foreign alliance, and a national life altogether severed from that of England, began to produce modifications in the original North Anglian type of the lan-

guage, which finally became so important as to entitle us to consider the period between 1450 and 1500 as the commencement of a distinct era in the language and literature of Scotland—an era in which, for the first time, it became truly national or Scottish. I have thus divided the language and literature of Scotland into three periods, an EARLY, a MIDDLE, and a MODERN—the latter dating from the union of the kingdoms, when Scotch, following in its turn the fate of the Northern English in England, ceased to be used in books, or for ordinary purposes in writing, though preserved as the speech of the people and of popular poetry. Viewed in its relation to the *Middle Scotch* of the 16th century, and the *Modern Scotch* of Burns or Scott, the language of the early period may be called *Early Scotch*, although, in relation to its contemporary dialects, it was neither more nor less than Northern English. The Grecian scholar may compare this with a similar fact in the history of the Attic dialect: the language of Solon in its relations to the Middle Attic of Sophocles and the New Attic of Demosthenes was Old Attic; in its relation to contemporary dialects it was simply Ionic, the same as the language of Herodotus.

The differences between the Middle Scotch of the 16th century and the Early Scotch or Northern English—call it which you like—of the 14th century, was not one of inflections or grammatical forms. Before the date of the very earliest connected specimens of the Northern dialect in the 12th and 13th centuries, that dialect had stripped itself of the trammels of inflection almost as completely as Modern English. The plurals of nouns, the tenses and persons of the verb, the cases of the pronouns, and uninflected state of the adjectives in *Cursor Mundi*, *Barbour*, and the oldest Scottish Fragments, are identical with those still in use in Scotland and the North of England, probably the only inflection lost since the 13th century being the -s of the plural imperative of verbs, still in use in the 16th century.¹ The Southern English dialect, on the other hand, retained

¹ In the West Saxon, the plural of the imperative was, without the pronoun, *Cumað*, with it *Cume 3e*. In the Old North Anglian *Cumes*, and *Cume 3e*. In Early Scotch *Cums*, and *Cum 3e*. In the Middle Scotch *Cums* was still used, but when more than one verb came in a sentence, only the first usually took the -s or -es.

a great part of the inflection system of the Anglo-Saxon for some centuries later; hence there is a vast difference between the language of *Cursor Mundi* and *Barbour*, and that of the *Ancren Riwe* and *Ayenbite of Inwyt*. In the absence of inflection changes, the transition from the Early to the Middle period in Scotch is marked by a great change in the system of spelling, by the appearance of new words or expressions, and the incorporation of a vast number of French words and Latin words in a French form, as a result of the intimate relations with France. In the very earliest remains, consisting of isolated words and phrases from the vernacular in the old Latin laws, &c., the Anglo-Saxon vowels are retained unchanged, as in *blode, fode, fote, thurch, oper, boke, ut, tun, bur, forutin, abute*; by 1400, these had come to be spelt *blude, fude, fute, through, uthir, buke, out, toun, bour, forowtin, aboute*, but original vowels, Anglo-Saxon or French, were still kept simple and distinct from diphthongs, as in *quha, ald, cald, barne, tham, gane, wele, kepe, deme, rose, thole, flour, mure, buke, wyf*. In the Middle period these simple long vowels were written as diphthongs, *quhay, auld, cauld, bairn, thaim, gayne, weill, keyp, deim, rois, roys, thoill, flouir, muir, buik, wyif*. The indefinite article was in the Early period *an* or *ane* before a vowel, *a* before a consonant, as *ane ald man, an ere, a kyng*; in the Middle Scotch it was *ane* always, *ane auld man, ane eyre, ane kyng*. The relative in the Early period is *þat*, more commonly *at, þa landis at war gottyn*; in the Middle Scotch *quhillk*, plural *quhillkis, thay landis quhillkis war gottin*. Late in the period, even *quha* was used in imitation of the English, *þe quha hes ane judgis cure*. The past participle of weak verbs in the Oldest Scotch as in English was in *-d, assemblyd, grypyd, trastyd* (Wyntoun); in Middle Scotch always in *-it, assemblit, gryppit, traistit*. The demonstrative *tha* = those, and the pronoun *thai, thay* = they, are always kept distinct by the Early writers; by the Middle writers constantly confounded. The participle *etand*, and gerund *etyng*, are always distinct with the Early writers, often confused by those of the Middle Period. In the plural of nouns the syllable *-is, -ys*, formed a distinct syllable after monosyllables in Early Scotch; in the Middle, the vowel was not pronounced, and gradually dropped

in writing. For other points of difference and specimens of different date the reader is referred to the work already mentioned.

The *Complaynt of Scotlande* belongs to the Middle Scotch period, which had already produced the works of Bellenden, Gawain Douglass, and Lyndesay. The orthographical peculiarities of this period of the language have just been pointed out, and it is to be noted that on account of these the Middle Scotch is more difficult to read for a modern Englishman—even for a modern Scotchman—than the language of two centuries earlier. In the case of the *Complaynt* the difficulty is not lessened by the use of *v*, *u*, for *u*, *v* and *w*, without distinction, and the general absence of capitals. I hope, however, all readers will not be as puzzled with it as a literary friend—one who has done some Early English work too—who, after curiously scanning one of the proof-sheets for a minute, asked, “What language is this? Old Flemish—or some Low German dialect dashed with French?”

Of grammatical forms of interest in the text, we may notice the plurals, *brether*, *childer*, *wemen*, *eene*, *ky*, *hors*, *nolt*, still in use in the North; the French fashion of using nouns in *-s* as singular and plural alike, as in *vers*, *burges*, *burgeis*, *verses*, *burgesses*; the occasional occurrence of the genitive without inflection, as in “the *inglismen* handis,” “*3our nobil fudir* broder,” “his *systir* sone.” The original genitives of these words had been lost, and the modern substitute not yet fully recognized.

The numeral *one*, and article *an*, *a*, as usual in Middle Scotch, are expressed by the single form *ane*. The demonstratives are *this*, *that*, with their plurals *this*, *tha* (confused with the pronoun *thai*, *thay*), and *3one* of both numbers. In the adjectives we find the distinction between *mair*, the comparative of *mykil*, and *ma*, comparative of *monie*, still observed in the folk-speech of the South of Scotland: “ther is *maye* of the sect of sardanapalus among vs nor ther is of scipions;” “ane pure vedou that hed na *mair* moneye.”

As in the modern dialect also, *vthir* and *vthirs* are used reflectively for the English *each other*; “there tua natours and complexions ar contrar til *vthirs*;” “marcus emilius lepedus and fuluius flaccus, quha hed mortal heytrent & deidly fede contrar *vthirs*.”

The personal pronouns are as still used in Scotland. In the plural of the 2nd person *ze* is of course always nominative, *zou* objective; the 3rd person plural has *thai*, *thay* (often confused with demonstrative *tha*), and *thaym*, *tham*. In the singular *scho*, as common in Scotch, represents *she*. *Its* is of course not in use, being often supplied simply by *the*, "it hes *the* leyuis appin as lang as the sounne is in oure hemispere, ande it closis *the* leyuis quhen the sounne pass vndir our orizon" (p. 57. 14).

The Relative *at*, so common in the Early writers, nowhere appears; the usual Relative pronoun being *quhilk*, *quhilkis* (compare French *lequel*, *lesquels*). The use of *quha* as a relative—unknown to the spoken dialects of Scotland, the earliest instance of which that I have found in Scottish literature is in the Acts of the Scots Parliament for 1540—is also familiar to the author of the *Complaynt*; thus, p. 5, "Sicylke that maist sapient prince ande prelat fadir in gode, Ihone of Loran, *quha* is *zour* fadir broder, *quhilk* be his prudens hes bene mediatour betuix divers forane princis, *quha* hes nocht alanerly vset him lyik ane vailzeant captan," &c.

In the compound pronouns we find *self* treated as a substantive in the 3rd person as well as the 1st and 2nd, "al the vicis that *his* self committis." There is also, as still in Scotland, a distinction between *our self* and *ourselves*, the former being collective, the latter distributive: "the quhilk misknaulege of *themself* and of god sal be occasione of there auen ruuynne;" "grete familiarite betuix inglismen and scottismen amang theme *selfis*."

The present tense of the verb is thus conjugated with the pronoun subjects:

I bryng.	We bryng.
Thow bryngis.	<i>Ze</i> bryng.
He bryngis.	<i>Thai</i> bryng.

but when unaccompanied by the pronoun, *bryngis* is used in all persons, a peculiarity still marked in the spoken dialect; thus,

"I that *hes* bene in maist fortunat prosperite," "my thrie sonnys that *standis* heir in my presens."

"It aperis that the lau of nature is mair perfytylly accomplisht in brutal beystes, nor it is in *zou* that *professis* to be natural men; for

3our werkis *testifeis* that 3e ar mair disnaturellit nor *is* brutal beystes that *hes* na vnderstanding of raison."

"3e, vndir the collour of frendeschip, *purchessis* my final exterminatione."

"Sum of 3ou *remanis* in 3our auen housis."

"Quhen 3e *haue* fulfillit the inglismennis desyre, & *hes* helpit to distroye 3our natyue cuntre."

"Al thir thingis beför rehersit *is* said to gar 3ou consider that mankind is subject to the planetis and to ther influens; for quhou be it that thai *ar*," &c.

"We that ar commont pepil *visis* na vthir trason, bot *murmuris* and *bannis* our prince secretlye."

The verb *to be* is thus conjugated :

I am.

Thow art.

He is.

We ar.

3e ar.

Thay ar.

but apart from the pronoun, *is* is used in all persons.

The past tense does not vary for the persons : *I sau, thou sau, &c.*, but *vas* has *var* or *vas* in the plural. The *Preteritive* verbs are also invariable, *I vait, thou vait, he vait, we vait, I sal, thow sal, &c.*

With regard to the special dialect of the *Complaynt*, a very careful examination has led me to the conviction that the author was a Southern Scot, and, probably, even a native of the Border Counties. I have already said that the shifting of the linguistic centre northward from the Tweed and Tyne to the Forth, caused the Middle Scotch to represent specially the spoken dialect of Lothian and Fife. From this it has come that the dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland at the present day approaches more closely to the earliest Scottish remains, which were founded on this dialect, than to ordinary written Scotch of the 16th century, founded on a more northern type. Now in many minute points of language in which the *Complaynt* differs from other Scottish productions of the period, it agrees with the peculiarities of the Southern counties. Thus, in the dialect of Fife at the present day, *into* or *intil* is regularly used for *in* : *he's sitten' intil the hoose* ; this usage is constantly employed by Lyndesay, and other of his contemporaries, thus :

the purifyit Virgin trew,
In to the quhome the prophicie was compleit.

Into that Park I sawe appeir
Ane ageit man quhilk drew me nere.

Moses gaif the Law in mont Senay
Nocht *in to* Greik nor Latyne I heir say,

Quhairfoir I wald al bukis necessare
For our faith wer *in tyll* our toung vulgare.

Thocht we *in till* our vulgare toung did know
Off Christ Jesu the lyfe and Testament.

Arestotill thow did precell
In to Phylosophie naturell ;
Virgill, *in tyll* his Poetrye,
And Cicero *in tyll* Oratrye.

But this idiom is never found in the *Complaynt*; on the contrary, *in* is used for *into*, which is hardly recognized; "he resauis *in* his fauoir ane desolat prince;" "thir tua princis entrit *in* the achademya;" "he garris them fal *in* the depe fosse of seruitude, ande fra magnificens *in* ruuyn;" "when the sune cummis *in* the fyrst degre of aries;" "I passit *in* ane grene feild."

The sparing use of *til* for *to*—so common in Fife and Lothian at the present day, and equally so in Lyndesay, &c.—may be noticed; the author of the *Complaynt* uses it for *to* before a vowel to avoid hiatus, as is the usage in the South still: "*til* al them;" "*to* the grene hoilsum feildis." The dialects of Central Scotland have lost the distinction between the gerund and participle, pronouncing both as *-en*, *syngen'*; but in the Southern counties as well as in Northumberland, they are still rigidly separated, as *-an'* (*and*) and *-ene* (*-ing*). Already in Lyndesay we find them constantly confused, in the *Complaynt* never. Moreover, the gerund is often spelt *-ene*, *-een*, as still pronounced in the South: "the ropeen of the rauens;" "the jargolyne of the suallou;" "the lang contemplene of the hauynis;" "lycht lowpene," &c. Compare *tillene* for *tilling* (p. 39), and, as showing that *-ing* and *-een* were convertible, *lateen*, *lating*, *garding*, *gardene*.

There are many points of a similar kind, which I might adduce; but instead of doing so, I make the general statement, that while I cannot read ten lines of Lyndesay without having it forced upon me, as a native of Roxburghshire, that his form of Scotch is not

mine, I have everywhere found the language of the *Complaynt* familiar as the tones of childhood, and ever and anon have been surprised at the sanction which it gives to forms or idioms which I had thought to be modern "vulgarisms" of the local patois, but which are thus shown to have a pedigree of three and a half centuries to plead.

But the most salient characteristic of the language of the *Complaynt* is the French element in it. The intimate connection between Scotland and France in the 15th and 16th centuries, the presence of Frenchmen in Scotland, and still more the education and temporary residence of all Scotchmen of standing in France, exerted a powerful influence upon the language and literature of Scotland, of which it is difficult to say how great the result would have been, had the intimacy not been disturbed by the Reformation, and finally terminated by the acquisition of the English crown by James VI. The literary Scotch of the 16th century teems with French words, not derived through the Norman channel, like the French words in English,—but taken direct from the French of the day. As might be expected from the French sympathies of its author, the *Complaynt* exhibits this French element to an enormous extent, not merely to supply the want of native terms, but in preference to words of native origin, as when *contrar* is preferred to *against*, *esperance* to *hope*, *reus* to *streets*, *bestial* to *cattle*, *verite* to *truth*.

Among the more remarkable French words, and Latin words in a French form, occurring in the book are the following:—

allya, ¹ ally, alliance.	bullir, boil, gurgle.
antecestres, ancestors.	butin, booty.
arryua, arrive.	caduc, fleeting.
avanse, advance.	calkil, calculate.
barbir, barbarous.	carions, corpses, <i>caroignes</i> .
bersis, Fr. berce.	cauteil, craft, caution.
bestial, cattle.	chasbollis, onions, <i>ciboules</i> .
boreau, executioner.	chenzeis, chains.
borrel, rude.	chestee, chastise.
boule, ball.	citinaris, citizens, <i>citoyens</i> .
brangland, shaking, <i>branlant</i> .	conquaise, conquer.

¹ final *a* often used for French final *e*.

conteneu, tenor.
 contrair, against.
 corbeis, ravens.
 cordinair, shoemaker.
 cronic, chronicle.
 curtician, courtier.
 difficil, difficult.
 disjune, breakfast.
 dyte, to word, *dit*.
 ensens, incense.
 escarmuschis, skirmishes.
 eschet, forfeiture.
 euoir, ivory, *ivoire*.
 expreme, express.
 facil, easy.
 fard, paint, *farder*.
 fasson, fashions.
 felloun, fierce.
 fleurise, blossom.
 freuole, frivolous.
 fumeterre, funiitory.
 fyne, end.
 galmound, gambol.
 galzard, galliard.
 garnison, garrison.
 gloire, glory.
 gre, degree.
 impesche, hinder.
 importabil, unbearable.
 lasche, base, *lâche*.
 loue, praise.
 maculat, spotted.
 maltalent, ill-will.
 manneis, threat.
 marbyr, marble.
 merle, blackbird.
 mel, mix.
 mistir, need, *mestier*.
 mue, bushel, *muid*.
 murdresar, murderer.
 neurise, nurse.
 nouvelles, news.
 obfusquis, darkens.
 olynp, olympus.
 oultraige, outrage.
 pastance, pastime.

pasuolan, Fr. *passevolutant*.
 paveis, Fr. *pavoise*.
 pauuan, Fr. *pavane*.
 perdurabil, lasting.
 pissance, power.
 plasmatour, creator.
 popil, poplar.
 potent, stake, gibbet.
 prochane, neighbour.
 prodig, prodigal.
 pulce, push, *poulser*.
 puldir, powder, *pouldre*.
 rammasche, collected, *rammassé*.
 rammel, branching, *ramel*.
 rasche, pull, *arracher*.
 repreme, repress.
 renze, rein.
 reprocha, reproach.
 reu, street.
 roy, king.
 rondellis, Fr. *rondelles*.
 rotche, rock, *roche*.
 salut, safety.
 salutifere, healthful.
 seremons, ceremonies.
 scisma, schism.
 siege, seat, see.
 siecle, age, century.
 sklaue, slave, *ésclave*.
 solist, solicitous.
 spacer, to walk, Ital. *spaziare*.
 succur, sugar, *sucré*.
 suppedit, assist.
 suppreme, suppress.
 temerair, rash.
 turdion, a dance, *tordion*.
 turques, pincers.
 vaig, to ramble, *vaguer*.
 veschel, vessel.
 vertu, virtue.
 vilite, vileness.
 ulye, oil, *huyle*.
 vollage, fickle, *volage*.
 unctit, anointed, *oincté*.
 visye, visit.
 zelaturs, zealots.

This list, extensive as it is, conveys but a poor idea of the influence of the French as shown even in the spelling of common words, as *verite*, *felicite*, *remeid*, *abusion*, *souveraine*, *propriete*, *astrologien*, *damyselle*, *Inde*, *Perse*, *Crisp Salust*, *Absolon*, *Hieremye*, *Deutronome*, *Levitic*, *Capes (Capua)*, *Cartagiens*, *Senegue*, *Italie*, *Mathou*, *Marc*, *Luc*. To the French influence we may also refer the plural form taken by adjectives of Romance origin, as in *batellis socialis*, *batellis intestynis*, *invecyues philipiques*, *demonstrations mathematiques*, *lynis parallelis*; and probably the plurals *the quhilkis*, *the saidis*, *the foirsaidis*, *the pures = les pauvres*, of which the *commons*, the *rustics* are modern instances.

IV. THE AUTHOR AND PLACE OF PRINTING.

To take the latter of these first; it has generally been assumed that the *Complaynt* was printed in Scotland. Dr Mackenzie, the earliest writer who mentions the work, indeed expressly says, "Scotland's Complaint against her Three Sons, the Nobility, Clergy, and Commons, was imprinted at St Andrew's, in 8vo, 1548." Dr Leyden adopts without question the same view, which is followed by the Scottish bibliographers generally. My doubts as to its correctness were first aroused in the process of preparing this edition for the printer. The misprints in the original, as a glance at the bottom of the following pages will show, are very numerous, and I could not help remarking that, in kind as well as number, they bore a strong resemblance to those in Jascuy's Paris edition of Lyndesay's *Monarché*, 1558, part of which I had recently collated, on taking up the editing of the Early English Text Society's *Lyndesay*. These consist mainly in the confounding of *t* and *c*, of *n* and *u*, *f* and *j*, *in*, *ni*, *iu*, *ui*, and *m*, &c., errors very natural for a compositor who did not know the language setting from MS., but, as it appeared to me, impossible for a native printer to make, and a native reader to pass. At least they were such as native printers *did not* make in other works of the day, as may be seen from the typographical productions of Chepman and Millar, John Skot, Henrie Charteris, and

Robert Bassandyne, all of which are very accurately printed; one really could not imagine any of these repeatedly printing *che, chem, chat, bernik, hanyn, nocht, mitht, faych, slandris, vuinersal, enyl, uoht, hane, enryie, laudnart, nouch, nenreisuig, anareis, sterius, soucht, zenyeh, muue* and *mnue, sneit, prysomt, scettis, saythtful*, for *the, them, that, Beruic, hauyn, nocht, nicht, fayth, Flandris, vniuersal, euyt, nocht, haue, euryie, landuart, mouth, neurising, auareis, sternis, foucht, zenyth, mune, sueit, prysonit, Scottis, faythful*, with hundreds of similar blunders, which have their parallels in Jascuy's *Lyndesay*. Then came the facts that the printer used no w or j, while w at least is common in Old Scotch books, being often used for initial v, whereas here, v and u have each to do duty in three capacities, as in *vyuis, vniuers, vou, muue*, = *wyvis, uniuers, vow, muue*; and that the entire book contains no vestige of the black letter in which all the Old Scotch books that I had seen were printed.

Accordingly, when in Scotland in 1870, I set myself, under the guidance of Mr David Laing, and Mr Halkett of the Advocate's Library, to examine all the specimens of Early Scottish typography preserved, and found that until a period long after the date of the *Complaynt*, there was no book printed in Scotland in Roman type; while among the few words in Roman which occur in the title pages, &c., of Early Scottish books, there is no vestige of any type approaching that of the *Complaynt*. On the other hand, the typography bore a striking likeness to that in many French works of the 16th century which I had examined,¹ and I had no hesitation in coming to the conclusion, which the contents of the work entirely favoured, that it was printed in France. I have since been pleased to find that the bibliographer Herbert had come to the same conclusion, and in a copy of his edition of Ames's *Typ. Antiq.* furnished with copious MS. notes for the purposes of a new edition, he supports his opinion by saying that Mr Pinkerton possessed a French book of about the same date—provokingly vague, it must be confessed—printed with the same type. Finally, I find that the experts in typography at the British Museum have just come to the same con-

¹ I may mention as a work in question an edition of Jaques Amyot's Translation of Plutarch's Lives, Paris, 1600, which I have at the moment beside me.

clusion; and that in the new Index, the book has been entered during the last month as "*The Complaynt of Scotlande* (vyth ane Exortatione to the thre estaitis to be vigilante in the deffens of their public veil). Attributed to Wedderburn, Sir J. Inglis, or Sir D. Lindsay, Paris ? 1549 ? 16°."

The first mention we have of the work, as already hinted, occurs in Dr George Mackenzie's *Lives of Scottish Writers* (Edinburgh, 1708, 3 vols. folio). In the third volume we find what is termed a life of Sir James Inglis, Knight, who is stated to have been born in Fife, of an ancient family; to have studied at St Andrew's, finished his education at Paris, and afterwards returning to Scotland, to have ingratiated himself by his skill in poetry with James V. At the death of that prince he became an abettor of the French faction; but after the disastrous battle of Pinkie, in which he commanded a troop of cavalry with such distinction as to obtain the honour of knighthood from the Governor, he retired to Fife "where amid the innocent amusements of a country life, he composed several treatises both in prose and verse, of which we have still extant one called *Scotland's Complaint*, printed at St Andrew's in 1548; by which it appears he was well seen in the Grecian and Roman histories, and was a great mathematician and philosopher; a most faithful and loyal subject, and a great lover of his country." Mackenzie then gives a very full and careful analysis of the *Complaynt* as we have it, and in conclusion relates that Inglis died at Culross in 1554. Besides the *Complaynt* he attributes to him "Poems, consisting of songs, ballads, plays, and farces, in MS." Now, not to speak of other palpable errors, we find that Mackenzie here confounds two different persons of the name of Sir James Inglis, or, at least, one person of that name, with somebody else who may probably have been the other Sir James Inglis. Lyndesay, in the prologue to the *Complaynt of the Papyngo* (1530), mentioning the living poets of his day, says:

And in the Court bin present iu thir dayis
 That ballattis breuis lustely, and layis;
 Quhilkis to our prince daily thay do present;
 Quha can say mair than Schir Iames Inglis sayis,
 In ballatis, farses, and in plesand playis?
 Bot Culros hes his pen maid impotent.

The Maitland MS. also attributes to "Schir James Inglis" a poem entitled "A General Satire," which the Bannatyne MS. has with the name of "Dunbar" affixed. This Sir James Inglis,¹ a "Pope's Knight," was a churchman of considerable distinction at court in the reign of James V. He is shown from the Treasurer's Accounts to have been attached to the Royal household in 1511, was subsequently "Chapellane to the Prince," James V., while Sir David Lyndesay was Gentleman Usher, Secretary to Queen Margaret (1515), Chancellor of the Kingis chapell at Stirling (1527). The earliest and almost the latest entries we have in regard to him concern expenses for materials "to be hym and his collegis *play-coitis*, agane zule," for the "farssis and the plesand playis" commemorated above by Lyndesay. Before 1530 he was advanced to the Abbacy of Culross in Fife. These circumstances seemed all to favour the statement of Mackenzie; a priest who enjoyed well-earned preferment, and had the best reasons to desire the stability of the spiritual and temporal powers in Scotland, above all, one who could write ballads, farces, and plays, and lash the vices of the age in a "General Satire," seemed the very man who united the talents displayed in the *Complaynt of Scotland*. But unfortunately, for the presumption, eighteen years before the book was written, Sir James Inglis, Abbot of Culross, was murdered on March 1, 1531, by the Baron of Talliallane and his followers, who a month after were convicted of "art and part of the cruell slauchtir," and beheaded at Edinburgh, as related in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 151.

Thus the Inglis theory seemed to be irretrievably ruined, when the Scottish Scholar, to whom Scotland owes more than to any other for the exact history of her early literature, Mr David Laing, discovered that contemporary with the courtier, preacher, playwright, and satirist, there was another Schir James Inglis also in priest's orders, who from about 1508 to 1550 was chaplain of the Abbey of Cambuskyneth, in connection with which his name occurs repeatedly in the Treasurer's books—in the not very literary

¹ See a full account of all that is known of him in a long note to the "General Satire," *Dunbar's Poems*, edited by David Laing, Edin., vol. ii. p. 398, to which I am mainly indebted for the particulars here quoted.

capacity certainly of singing masses "for the saullis of vmquhile our souerane Lord, (quham God assolze!) King James the Third, and Quene Margarete his spouss." Now as this Inglis lived over 1550, it is just possible that Mackenzie confounded (naturally enough—till Mr Laing's time, others had done the same) the two men, and that those portions of the "Life" which do not refer to the Abbot of Culross, viz. his share in Pinkie, survival to 1554, and authorship of the *Complaynt*, may refer to the chaplain of Cambuskyneth. The author of the *Complaynt* on his own showing, see Chap. XIX., was likely to be in the fore front in battle with the English; and it is not even a fatal objection to this that Inglis had been a chaplain for 40 years at least, and must, therefore, have been 60 years old in 1547. Nor is it an insurmountable objection to say that he was "an old obscure chaplain, whose name is in no way connected with history or literature." Both directly and incidentally the author of the *Complaynt* calls it his "first werk," and the entire Dedication and "Prolog to the Redar" consistently support this statement, which there really was no reason to feign if it was not true.

Our next information on the authorship of the *Complaynt* is the Harleian Catalogue, already quoted, p. xvii., where the book is without note or comment set down as "Vedderburn's." Now there is no known external authority for the title and author's name there given; yet the title is unquestionably genuine and authentic in form, spelling, and entire character, while it is such as nobody would have invented—at least, it is what I, if after an intimate study of the book I had been required to write a title for it, should certainly never have hit upon, while, the moment I saw it, I felt it must be the genuine one; it follows, therefore, that the authors of the Catalogue must have had *internal* authority for what they wrote, either in a printed title existing in one of the copies, or a written transcript of one. True, neither of the copies traceable to Harley's Library has now a title-page; but when Leyden wrote in 1801, the Roxburgh Copy, he was "informed," bore still a fragment of one, with the words *The Comp* alone remaining. Supposing this information to be true, and comparing it with what I have said as to all

that remains of the title-page of the Grenville copy now (ante, p. xix.), it is certainly possible that if so much has perished since 1801, more may have perished between that date and 1743, and that at the earlier date enough was in existence to supply the title given in the Harleian Catalogue. But while it is, I think, certain that the compilers of that Catalogue had a genuine title-page before them, it is not certain that the title-page bore the author's name: the spelling *Vedderburn* suggests, indeed, the orthography of the book, and implies an *early authority* at least; but internal evidence is, so far as it goes, rather against the author's name having appeared, and the "Vedderburn's," which, from the spelling, I cannot think to have been their own conjecture, may yet have been a written addition merely of an earlier possessor.

The name Wedderburn occurs frequently in Scottish History; the family took their name from the lands and barony of Wedderburn in Berwickshire, and the Wedderburns of Blackness and of Gosford both figure in the Baronage of Scotland. A member of the family settled in Dundee in the reign of James III., where the Wedderburns had multiplied into a numerous connection in the middle of the 16th century.¹ Three brothers, James, John, and Robert, are specially distinguished in connection with the early history and literature of the Scottish Reformation. James, the eldest, "exhibited proofs of dramatic talents, having converted the History of John the Baptist into a dramatic poem, and also the History of Dionysius the Tyrant," in both of which, acted at Dundee, "he carped roughlie the abusses & corruptions of the Papists, counterfeiting their lying impostures, miracles," &c. Such performances soon attracted the attention of the clergy, and obliged him in the year 1540 to flee to France; notwithstanding that he was denounced from Scotland as "an heretick" he continued to reside at Dieppe, or Rouen, till about 1550, when he died, according to Calderwood, giving to his son the dramatic injunction, "We have been acting our part in the theater: you are to succeed; see that you act your part faith-

¹ Preface to "The Gude and Godlie Ballates of 1578," edited by David Laing, Edinburgh, 1868, where will be found all that is known of the Dundee Wedderburns, with the accounts in Calderwood's MS. History, 1636, given in full.

fullie." The second brother John took priest's orders, but soon beginning to profess the reformed doctrines, was summoned on a charge of heresy, and escaped to Germany (ab. 1538), where he sat at the feet of Luther and Melanchthon. "He translated manie of Luther's dytements into Scotish meter, and the Psalmes of David. He turned manie bawdie songs and rhymes in godlie rymes. He returned after the death of James V. in Dec. 1542, but was again pursued by the Cardenall, and fled to England," where we hear no more of him. The youngest brother Robert, likewise in priest's orders, shared the Lutheran opinions of the two others. When he was coming home from Paris (where he completed the education began at St Andrew's), in a ship which was driven by stress of weather on the coast of Norway "upon the Saturday before Whitsonday even 1546, after continuall disputing and reasoning among the passengers, some Popish, and some Protestantes, he, and the rest of his fellowes tooke the boldnesse, notwithstanding they understood nothing of the Cardinall's death, to make his portraiture, or statue of ane great oaken blocke, and therupon write his name in paper affixed thereon. They accuse him, condemne him, and burne his statue in a great fire of timber. The Cardinall was slaine that verie day, in the morning, in his own Castell of Sanct Andrewes." *Calderwood*. Notwithstanding these opinions Robert Wedderburn succeeded his mother's brother, Mr Robert Barry, as Vicar of Dundee (Scottish benefices were even more directly hereditary than this in the 16th century), which office he still held in 1553, and to him are ascribed, as to his brother John, a large part of those parodies or alterations of Popular Songs or Ballads, found in the collection of the "Gude & Godlie Ballates," recently reprinted by Mr Laing from the original edition of 1573.

To this Robert Wedderburn, also, as being in 1549 "still alive and officially connected with the Romish church," Mr Laing seems at length disposed to assign the authorship of the *Complaynt of Scotland*. "I have little hesitation," he says, "in assigning to Mr Robert Wedderburn, Vicar of Dundee, the credit of being the author of that remarkable production, the COMPLAYNT OF SCOTLAND, printed (at St Andrew's) in 1549. In coming to this con-

clusion, we have his residence in the vicinity of St Andrew's, the general tone and character of the book, as conveying the sentiments of one who was, perhaps, inclined in his heart to be a Reformer, although retaining his connection with the Romish Church, and who imitated Sir David Lyndesay in exposing (with a deal of pedantic learning) the prevailing abuses of the time; and more especially his familiarity with the popular literature of the time, while enumerating the names of songs, dances, &c., of which Dr Leyden mentions seven among those which Wedderburn himself is supposed to have 'metamorphosed' in the present collection of *GUDE & GODLIE BALLATES*." The argument from St Andrew's of course (as I think that the writer of these words saw, when we examined the early Scotch printed remains in 1870) falls to the ground. But independently of that, and while disposed to give every weight to the authority of the Harleian Catalogue as to "Wedderburn"—while admitting also, that in a growing age like that of the Reformation, a man who wrote the *Complaynt* one year, might come to write "Hay trix, tryme go trix, under the greenwood tree," "Hay now the day dawis," or "God send euerie Priest ane wyfe and euerie Nunne ane man," a few years after, wide as is the gap between the two positions—I yet cannot identify our author with the Vicar of Dundee. If my view of Chapter XIX. be correct (see ante, p. lx), one who was years before so far advanced in Lutheranism as to have made (according to Calderwood) professed Protestants his chief associates in Paris, and to have, not in a momentary freak, but as the outcome of a "continual disputation between Protestants and Papists," burned in effigy the great Cardinal, was not the man to write that chapter, nor, indeed, to be the thorough-paced partisan of the French faction, of which the Cardinal was the hero and the martyr, that the author of the *Complaynt* proved himself to be. Further, Wedderburn a native of Dundee would not have written in the Southern variety of Scotch.

Leaving the external authority as too slender and conflicting to lead to any conclusion, Dr Leyden, in editing the *Complaynt* in 1801, endeavoured from internal evidence to make out a case in favour of the authorship of Sir David Lyndesay of the Mount, Lord

Lyon King at Arms of Scotland, and the most prominent poet of his day, whose works, after half a century of neglect, have again been rendered accessible to the general reader by the editions of the Early English Text Society, and of Mr Laing. Leyden elaborated a very extensive and, it must be confessed, very striking series of coincidences, in form, style, manner, and matter, between the *Complaynt* and the Poems of Lyndesay, maintaining that these were of such a kind as to be explicable only on the hypothesis of common authorship. I do not think I am called upon here to reproduce his argument, which is probably one of the most successful pieces of special pleading in existence, but need only say that under coincidences in *title*, he points out that Lyndesay wrote many *Complaynts* (The C. of the Papyngo—the C. of Sir D. Lyndesay—the C. of Bagsche—the C. of the Commounweill of Scotland), and many *Exhortations*; that, in manner, both authors apologize for writing in the vulgar tongue—he does not tell that Lyndesay's was for writing in our "Inglische toung,"—both quote, and in almost similar terms, Carion's account of the prophecy of "Hely," applying it so as to fix the date of their own writing; Lyndesay in his Dialogue discusses the mutabilities of monarchies and the causes of present misery, enumerates in similar terms the miseries of Scotland, "a thrinfald wand of flagellation, mortal weiris, hunger and peste;" quotes the proverb, "Wo to the realme that hes our 3oung ane kyng;" uses the simile of the correcting rod thrown into the fire when it has done its work; refers to the young Queen in France; uses many of the same historical illustrations (Death of Cyrus, Battle of Cannae, Sardanapalus, &c.), quotes several of the same authors; in his *Dreme* of Dame Remembrance, uses machinery similar to that employed in the Vision of Dame Scotia, depicting a rural scene, and a sea scene, where, it must be confessed, the similarity of treatment is very remarkable; describes *Iohne the Commonweill* in terms closely agreeing with those employed of Dame Scotia's youngest son in the *Complaynt*; causes him in the *Satyre* to complain of the Spiritualitie and Temporalitie, accusing the latter at least of nearly the same oppression and wrong, &c. In short, had there been nothing on the other side, the circumstantial evidence for Lyndesay's authorship would almost have been decisive;

but there is another side with arguments, as I think, far stronger. It has already been shown that our author was almost certainly a priest; Lyndesay was a layman, with a mental character about as far removed from the priestly as has ever existed. But, besides, he had long since crossed the line which separates the Catholic from the Protestant. His works date from 1528 to 1553; they exhibit in the author's religious belief a steady and progressive revolt against the dogmas of the Church, and an eye wide awake, as any in the nineteenth century, to the bottomless abyss of hypocrisy and pollution in which the Spirituality had plunged Scotland. Whether we take his sentiments as exhibited in works written years before, or those which he must even then have been committing to paper in his long poem of the *Monarché* published three or four years after, we cannot for a moment imagine him as the writer of any of the passages in the *Complaynt* bearing upon the Spirituality, the Sectes, or the Schism. As little can we impute to him the political opinions, or the exclusive sentiments of nationality exhibited by our author; Lyndesay, as a Reformer, a friend of Knox, and avenger of George Wishart, an avowed enemy and satirizer of Cardinal Beaton, nowhere in his works manifests the Anglophobia of the *Complaynt*; but, on the contrary, denounces the Prelates as the cause of the unhappy embroilments with England. While the author of the *Complaynt* endeavours to separate Scotch and English, as sheep and wolves, Jews and Samaritans, Lyndesay ignores political distinctions, claiming "Chaucer, Gower, and Lidgate laureate," as poets who wrote "in till our vulgare tounge," and in every passage where the subject comes up, speaks of his language as "our Inglish tounge," an epithet which the author of the *Complaynt* rejects with indignation and contempt. Lyndesay does, indeed, in an early work put into the mouth of FOLIE, when enumerating the competitors for a fool's cap she has to bestow, after the mode of a cardinal's hat,

Quhat cummer haue ye had in Scotland,
 Be our auld enemies of Ingland?
 Had nocht bene the support of France,
 We had bene brocht to great mischance.—*Satyre*, l. 4564;

but our "auld enemies of Ingland" was a stock phrase, recited in all the Scottish acts, and the poem in question was written long

before James V. quarrelled with England, when, indeed, he was raising high hopes in Henry VIII. that he would join him in resistance to the papal power. Lyndesay's later allusions to England and English things are uniformly friendly and favourable. Finally, Lyndesay has left us copious specimens of his language. It is most characteristically the dialect of Fife, abounding in peculiarities which differ entirely from the Southern Scotch of the *Complaynt*, and which would have been to me an insuperable difficulty, even though it had stood alone, in viewing him as the author.

In conclusion, the only things I consider certain as to the author, are, (1) that he was a distinct and thorough partisan of the French side; (2) that he was a churchman, still attached to the Catholic faith; (3) that he was a native of the Southern, not improbably of the Border, counties. Sir David Lyndesay is peremptorily excluded from consideration; no less so, I think, is Wedderburn, Vicar of Dundee; in lack of further evidence, the claims of Sir James Inglis of Cumbuskenneth, and of some unknown priest of the name of Wedderburn, are equally balanced, though, if the part of Mackenzie's *Life* which calls Inglis a Fife man belongs to this Inglis, the evidence of dialect would be against him.

V. REPRINTS.

LORD HAILES in editing poems from the Bannatyne MS. had declared, that "if the study of Scottish History should ever revive, a new edition of Inglis's *Complaynt* would be an acceptable present to the public," and a limited edition extending to 150 copies was printed by Dr John Leyden (author of the "Scenes of Infancy" and other poems), at Edinburgh, 1801. Leyden's work is very carefully and faithfully done, the few errors in the text which I have come upon occurring mainly in those leaves which were wanting in the copies to which the editor himself had access, and for which he was obliged to depend on the work of others. His edition, however, professes to answer page for page, and line for line, to the original; this it does only roughly; at the beginnings of the chapters especially, which have a large 6-line letter in the original, the first

twenty or thirty lines have no correspondence. Notwithstanding minor defects, however, as the use of a z for the 3 of the original, occasional omissions of the sign of contraction, which Leyden did not expand, &c., the work is a creditable piece of scholarship for the beginning of this century, when such low feelings prevailed generally as to the importance of literal accuracy—indeed the editor was attacked by no less an authority than Pinkerton, for not printing the text “as a classic,” i. e. cooking the spelling, &c., as he himself would have done. A long and valuable Introduction, though badly arranged, and sometimes irrelevant, displayed an immense acquaintance with early literature, and by the accounts and specimens which it furnished of works only existing in MS. or unique old impressions did much to stimulate the formation of the great printing clubs of Scotland a generation ago, which again in their turn paved the way for the Early English Text and kindred popular Societies of the present day. Remarks on the language, for which Leyden was specially fitted, and which would have been a real gain to Scottish Philology, clearing the subject of the fantastic nonsense with which Pinkerton and his followers managed to invest it, he was obliged for want of space to omit. His glossary, however, is of very considerable value, and the information contained in it has been largely used by others with and without acknowledgment.

The accuracy of Leyden’s edition has enabled me to dispense with copying the original; a copy of Leyden’s was carefully read and collated by me with the originals in the British Museum first of all, and having been brought into conformity with these, was used for printing from. The sheets have subsequently been twice read with the original, and now, I believe, accurately reproduce it, although one Erratum in the text has unfortunately escaped my notice till after the sheet was printed off:

page 176, l. 124, *for the spyit read and spyit.*

Contractions, according to the rule of the Society, have been expanded, and side-notes added, epitomizing the text. These additional notes being in small roman type, will not be confounded with the marginal notes of the original in larger italics. I felt a little

difficulty what to do with the misprints of the original, whether to let them stand in the text, and correct them beneath, in which one might often be merely perpetuating a turned *n* as a *u*, and *vice versâ*, or to correct them in the text and place the original under; the latter has been done, at the risk, it may be, of now and then altering, as a misprint, what was only a variety of spelling on the part of the writer. At least, in every alteration, the original is given below, except in the case of Latin citations in the margin, where obvious misprints have been corrected without remark. Having had opportunities of fully examining the two copies in the British Museum, and that in the Advocate's Library (for which I have to acknowledge the courteous help of the late Mr Halkett, and of Mr Jamieson in the Advocate's Library, of the late Mr Watts, of Mr W. Blenchley Rye, and many other officers of the British Museum), I have paid especial attention to the indications of alterations made in the original edition before the sheets left the printer, and which are described in the preceding pages. The true character of these alterations had not before been observed: Leyden does not seem to have known of their existence.

The specimen folio (p. vi), in which our excellent printers, Messrs Childs—to whose care, indulgence, and patience with the irregularities of amateur editors I have to bear grateful testimony—have produced as close a facsimile of the original as could be done by new clean type, gives an excellent idea of the appearance of the book, presenting as it does all the varieties of type contained in it; the outside lines show the size of the pages. Mr W. H. Hooper, who cut the initial A for us, was so much taken with the T which begins the book, that he reproduced it also, and made a present of it to the Society: unluckily the first sheet of the text had long been printed off, but I have managed to make use of his gift to lead off this Introduction, where it faces the specimen folio; many readers will join me in thanking him for this full illustration of the ornamental initials of the original. The assistance which I have received from numerous fellow-workers, especially from Mr David Laing of Edinburgh, Mr Furnivall, Mr G. M. Hantler, and Rev. W. W. Skeat, has been acknowledged as occasion presented, and I

have here again to express my thanks for their valued aid, as well as for the painstaking labour of my wife who compiled the Glossary, and of Miss Toulmin Smith, who copied the Appendix documents from the originals in the British Museum.

The APPENDIX contains four tracts on the English side of the question, which it seemed desirable to print, on account of their extreme scarcity, and because they, or some of them at least, are referred to and combated in the *Complaynt*.

No. I. The "Declaration of the just causes of the warre with the Scottes" was issued in 1542 on the outbreak of hostilities between Henry VIII. and James V., in consequence of the latter breaking his promise to meet his uncle at York. "The first step was a letter to the Archbishop of York by the Council, who . . . state the resolution 'to have the king's majesty's title to the realm of Scotland more fully, plainly, and clearly set forth to all the world ;' and the Archbishop Lee, who is understood to be learned in such matters, is ordered to assist in making out a case 'with all convenient expedition.'"¹ The Declaration accordingly recounts the acts of kindness done by Henry VIII. to his nephew during the minority of the latter, the repeated disappointments and indignities with which he had been rewarded by the bad faith of the Scottish king, and the determined spirit of hostility which leaves him no resource but that of the sword. Then passing from the immediate cause of the war we have a revival of the English claims over Scotland as put forth by Edward I. with Brutus, Albanactus and Locrinus once more trotted out in their support, and followed by a long list of the occasions on which the English supremacy had been acknowledged or enforced by their successors. This pamphlet, of which the part referring to current events has been reproduced in Holinshead's History of Scotland, and by Mr Froude, seemed worth printing in full, as, whether or not directly referred to in the *Complaynt*, it is the foundation of the pamphlets which followed on the English side and are attacked by our author. It is here reprinted from the Grenville copy 5945, in the British Museum Library, a small 4to, black-

¹ J. H. Burton, *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 369.

letter, of fourteen leaves, besides those bearing the title-page and colophon.¹

No. II. "An Exhortacion to the Scottes to conforme themselves to the honorable, Expedient, & godly Vnion betweene the two Realmes of Englande & Scotland." This is a longer document than the preceding; it was published in 1547, when the Duke of Somerset was already approaching the Scottish frontier on the expedition which terminated at Pinkie, by "James Harryson, Scottishe-man," who therein implores his countrymen to pause in their career of blind antipathy to England, before they feel the weight of the Protector's arm. The writer displays especial antagonism to the [Roman] clergy of Scotland, whom he accuses again and again of being the instigators of the deplorable hostilities between the two countries; he was probably himself one of the refugees who had fled to England to escape the tender mercies of the Cardinal. One sentence in the tract ought to help us in identifying the author and his share in the events of the time; it is this (p. 225): "If I should here entre into declaracion of the righte & title, wherby the kynges of England claime to be superior lordes of Scotland, I should of some be noted, *rather a confounder of our liberties and fredomes, then a conseruator, (which name I had late).*" As in the Declaration of Henry VIII., to which Harryson refers his readers for further information, the story of Brutus and his sons is duly set forth and defended; but not content with this, the author proceeds to a critical dissection of the rival Scottish legend of Scota and Gathelus, which he stigmatizes as a mere monkish lie, a specimen of the bread made from the "Coccle which their father Sathan had sowen emong the Corne," wherewith the priests "have fedde the silly people, utteryng their dreames and inuencions, in stede of trouthes & verities." He raises his voice, too, against the Scottish league with France, holding up to ridicule the sorry figure cut by poor *Jehan de Escoce*, when "as a Cypher in Algorism," he serves but as Jupiter's block for the contumely and insults of the Frogges of France. It is noteworthy

¹ It bears a MS. note in the handwriting of Mr Grenville: "I have not heard of any copy of the original Declaration being extant except the present."

also that in personifying Britain as the common mother of English and Scotch, addressing her unnatural and discordant children, he gives a first sketch of a figure amplified in the two following pamphlets, and developed at full length in the *Complaynt*, in the personification of Dame Scotia and her sons. The pamphlet is reprinted from the copy in the King's Library, 288a 40, Brit. Mus. (64 leaves, small 8vo, black-letter), which wants the title-page (here supplied from Lowndes, and therefore not an imitation, as in the case of the other documents of the Appendix).

No. III. The "Epistle or Exhortacion to vnitie and peace" appeared in the year following the "Scottisheman's" Exhortation, after the battle of Pinkie, foreshadowed in it, had been fruitlessly fought and won. It differs greatly from the manifestoes that had preceded it, in its moderation of tone, persuasive reasoning, and omission of all claim to supremacy over Scotland, leaving us with the impression that had it appeared first rather than last, its results might have been more satisfactory. From it we learn that the preceding pamphlets had been by the leaders of affairs in Scotland kept from the knowledge of the people; to this the Protector attributes in part the necessity for the recent battle, which he professes to deplore as deeply as the Scots can. The main part of the argument is devoted to showing the advantages which would result to Scotland from a union of the two realms, by the marriage of the sovereigns, for which he vainly implores the Scottish nation to renew the contract. Great attractions are also held out to individual Scotchmen who will adhere to the English interest, and further the reasonable aims of the English statesmen. The pamphlet is reprinted from the copy in the Grenville Collection, No. 5912, a small 8vo of twenty-eight leaves, black-letter. That foreign nations might be enabled to judge of the righteous character of the English demands, this pamphlet appeared simultaneously in English and Latin, the title of the latter being "Epistola exhortatoria ad pacem missa ab illustrissimo Principe Domino Protectore Angliae, ac caeteris Regiae Maiestatis Consiliariis ad Nobilitatem ac plebem, universumq: populum Regni Scotiae, Lond. per Reg. Wolfium, 1548." 4to, contains D, in fours (Lowndes), printed, like the English edition, by Richard Grafton.

NO. IV. "An Epitome of the title that the Kynges Maiestie of Englande hath to the souereigntie of Scotlande, continued vpon the auncient writers of both nacions." This pamphlet appeared in the same year (1548), and from the same press as the preceding. It is probably to be regarded as a weapon kept in reserve, lest the silence of Somerset's epistle as to the English claims of supremacy should ever be adduced as a renunciation of these claims. The author in his dedication to Edward VI. styles himself Nicholas Bodruga, *otherwise* Adams, and the contents of his pamphlet, no less than his name, testify to his being a Welshman. His history is an abridgment of that of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and it is amusing to see how in vindicating the rights of the English kings, he ignores the fact that the English are not descendants of the ancient Britains, mentioning indeed Hengist and Horsa and the false Saxons' blood as invaders, against whom the English kings had to contend, while Alfred and Athelstan are lineal descendants of Arthur and the old British princes. To this fiction the author of the *Complaynt* probably refers in Chapter XI. p. 86, top. As the pamphlet is very lengthy, I have not thought it necessary to print his tedious abstract of Geoffrey, and have therefore cut short his "history" at Ferrex and Porrex, and returned to him when he returns to Scottish matters (see p. 251). The author says that one objection alleged by the Scotch to the proposed union was their dread of the severity of the English laws; in reply to which he volunteers to show that those of Scotland are much more iniquitous. But the objection in any case was untenable, as it would be quite possible for Scotland to retain her own laws, as indeed "divers places of England have sundry laws to this day." Taking up the figure of the "Scottisheman," he concludes with a personification of "oure countrey the common parent to vs all," calling upon her rebellious children of Scotland to deport themselves no longer as a Viper's brood, rending and tearing the mother who had brought them forth; and asking "the whole members of her family of all great Briteigne" henceforth to cultivate friendship and mutual love, as zealously as they had aforetime persecuted one another with fire and sword. Two copies of Bodruga's "Epitome" are in the Library of the British Museum. One of these C. 21. b.₁ has

MS. notes by the author correcting its numerous typographical errors, and sometimes inserting clauses: these are here included within brackets. The book is small 8vo, black-letter, containing 62 leaves, and one page bearing the colophon.

Such were the works "set furth by the oratours of ingland at ther protectours instance," which, along with the prophecies of Merline already given (p. xlii), the author of the *Complaynt* sought to combat in his vision of Dame Scotia. A perusal of them helps us to realize more vividly the conditions under which he wrote; and though they have swollen the volume beyond the limits originally intended, it is believed that readers will be glad to have them all together as necessary accompaniments of a complete edition of the *Complaynt of Scotland*.

I have now only to apologize for the length to which these introductory remarks have extended. I should have been glad if they could have been shortened without the omission of any point requiring illustration; failing this, I have endeavoured by clearness of arrangement, to put it in the power of readers to find at once what they want; and I hope that they will in return, and in consideration of the very great labour which the work has cost me, look leniently upon the numerous points in which, under a heavy pressure of other work, I may have failed to satisfy their ideas of an Editor's duty.

JAMES A. H. MURRAY.

Sunnyside, Mill Hill, N.W.,

July, 1872.

T O T H E E X C E L - L E N T A N D I L L V S T I R

Marie Quene of Scotlande, the mar-
gareit and perle of
princefsis.

THE immortal gloir, that procedis be the rycht
lyne of vertu, fra your magnanime auansing of
the public veil of the affligit realme of scotlande,
is abundantly dilatit athort al cuntreis; throucht the
quhilk, the precius germe of your nobilite bringis nocht
furtht, alanerly, branchis ande tendir leyuis of vertu:
bot as veil it bringis furtht salutiffere & hoilsum frute
of honour, quhilk is ane immortal ande supernatural
medicynes, to cure & to gar conuallesse al the langorius
desolat & affligit pepil, quhilkis ar al mast disparit of
mennis supple, ande reddy to be venquest & to be cum
randrit in the subiection ande captiuite of our mortal
ald enemeis, be rason that ther cruel inuasions aperis
to be onremedabil. The special cause of our afflictioⁿe
hes procedit of thre vehement plagis quhilk hes al
maist succumbit oure cuntre in final euertione. that is
to saye, the cruele inuasions of oure ald enemeis, the
vniuersal pestilens ande mortalite, that hes occurit
mercyless among the pepil, ande the contentione of

The renown of
your administra-
tion is spread
through all
countries,

4

producing not
only branches and
leaves of virtue,

but salutary fruit
of honour;
a sovereign
remedy for the
affliction of
the people,
who are almost
driven to despair
by the invasions
of our old
enemies.

13

[* leaf 2, back]
Our afflictions
proceed from
three chief
causes:

the inroads of the
English, the
pestilence, and
domestic
dissension.

- diuerse of the thre estaitis of scotland. throucht the quhilk thre plagis, the vniuersal pepil ar be cum disti-
- 3 tute of iustice, policie, ande of al verteus bysynes of body ande saul. Ande nou, illustir princes, engendrit of magnanime genologie, & descendit of Royal progenituris, 3our regement ande gouernyng, ande also 3our honorabil amplitude of verteouse dignite inccressis
- 8 daly in the contenuall auansing of the deffens of oure cuntre; quhar for 3our heroyque vertu is of mair admiratione, nor vas of valeria the dochtir of the prudent consul publicola, or of cloelia, lucesia, penolope, cornelia, semiramis, thomaris, penthasillie, or of ony vthir verteouse lady that plutarque or bocchas hes discruit, to be in perpetual memore. for al thair nobil actis ar nocht to be comparit to the actis that 3our prudens garris daly be exsecut, contrar the cruel voffis¹ of ingland. The quhilk³ voffis ar nocht the ra'uaud sauunge voffis of strait montanis ande vyild fforrestis, that deuoris nolt ande scheip for ther pray: bot rather tha ar dissaitful voffis quhilkis hes euir been oure ald enemeis. Ande nou sen the deceis of oure nobil illustir prince kyng iames the fyift, 3our vmquhile faythtful lord and hisband, tha said ruisant voffis of ingland hes
- 24 intendit ane oniust veyr be ane sinister inuentit false titil contrar our realme, in hope to deuoir the vniuersal floe of oure scottis natione, ande to extinct oure generatione furtht of rememorance: Bot nochtheles, gode of his diuynne bounte, heffand compassionne of his pure
- 29 affligit pepil, ande also beand mouit contrar the ruisant voffis of ingland, he of his grace hes inspirit 3ou to be ane instrament to delyuir vs fra the captiuite of the cruel philaris the protector of ingland: as he inspirit queen esther to delyuir the captiue ieuus, quhen thai & mordocheus var sinisterly accusit, and also persecutit, be amman, befor² assuerus kyng of inde.³ and as the
- Illustrious princess!
- your rule daily adds to the public well-being.
- Your virtue surpasses that of the ancient heroines
- recorded by Plutarch or Boccacio, in your skillful resistance of the cruel wolves of England,
- [* leaf 3 (*misep.* 5)] more ferocious than those that devour cattle and sheep.
- They have ever been our enemies, and since the death of your late husband, James V.,
- they have plotted anew the ruin of Scotland.
- But Providence has made you an instrument of deliverance,
- as Queen Esther was from Haman,

¹ misprint for voffis?² be for³ iude

holy vedou iudich vas inspirit to delyuir the ieuis fra the crualte of that infideil pagan¹ oliphernes. Ther is na prudent man that vil iuge² that this pistil procedis of assentatione or adulatione, considerant that ve maye see perfytye quhou that 3our grace takkis pane to duelle *in* ane straynge cuntre distitute of iustice. Ande als 3our grace beand absent fra 3our only 3ong dochter, our nobil princes, and rychteous heretour of scotland: quha is presentlye veil tretit *in* the gouernance of hyr fadir of lau, the maist illustir potent prince of the maist fertil & pacebil realme, vndir the machine of the supreme olimp, quhar that 3our grace mycht remane & duel amang the nobil princis & princessis of France, quhilkis ar 3our natiue frendis of consanguinite ande affinite, ande ther 3e mycht posses abundance of al pleiseirs most conuenient for 3our nobilite, bot 3it, the feruent loue that 3our grace baris touart that tendir pupil 3our only dochtir, ande for the delyuering of hyr heretage³ furtht of captiuite, 3e daly of 3our gudnes induris as grit pane, as the queen ysicrata indurit vitht hyr lorde metredates. 3our grace deseruis nocht to be callit ane nobil, alanerly throcht⁴ 3our verteous verkis, bot as veil 3e suld be callit ane nobil of genolligie, be rason that 3e ar descendit of the maist vailzeant princis that ar vndir the cape of hauyn.⁵ ther can nocht be ane mair ample probatione, nor is the famous atentic croniklis of diuers realmes, ande alse the verteouse verkis dune be 3our antecessours in oure dais ar euident til vs in this present seicle. In the fyrst, 3our grace is descendit of them, quhilkis be ther vertu ande be ther victoreus⁶ actis hes kepit ande deffendit the liberte of ther subiectis in sure pace ande tranquillite, ande hes repulsit vailzeantly al externe violens. 3our foir grandscheir godefroid of billon kyng of iherusalem,

and Judith from
Holophernes.
Judith 8.

[* leaf 3, back]
No one can accuse
me of flattery
who considers
the sacrifices you
make in staying
here,
absent from your
only daughter
(Mary Stewart),

9

who is with her
father-in-law
in France,
that rich and
peaceful realm,

14

where you also
might dwell in
comfort,

but for your
interest in your
daughter's
heritage.

21

You are also noble
by genealogy,

[* leaf 4]
as proved by the
authentic chro-
nicles of diverse
realms,
and works done
within our own
memory.

30

Your ancestors
defended the
liberties of their
people.

Your great-grand-
father, Godfrey
de Bouillon,

¹ pagam

² inge

³ here age (*not* heruage, as L. says).

⁴ trocht

⁵ hanyn

⁶ victore'

defended Lor-
raine,

and delivered the
Holy Land.

Think how he was
withstood by the
Paynim hosts!

[* leaf 4, back]

His brother
Baldwin, and his
successors, kings
of Sicily, dukes of

Anjou, Calabria,
and Lorraine.

Your grandfather
René, king of
Sicily, slew
Charles the Bold
at Nancy.

*Charlis duc
of burgungze
was the grand-
scheir to this
empriour
Charlis the
fyift kyng
of spangze.*

Your father's
brother Anthony,
duke of Calabria,
Lorraine, and Bar,

[* leaf 5]

hes nocht alanerly kept ande deffendit his pepil ande
subiectis of loran, fra his prochane enemeis that lris
3 contigue about his cuntre : bot as veil be his magnanyme
proues ande martial exsecutione, he delyurit the holy
land of iudia furtht of the handis & possessione of the
infideil pagans : quhar for the vniuersal¹ historiagreph-
ours hes baptist hym to be ane of the principal of al
8 the nyne noblis. for quha vald considir the longinquite
of his martial voyaige, ande the grite forse of the
oriental pepil, ande the multitude of infidelis ande
pagan princis, quhilkis impeschit hym in that barbir
12 straynge cuntre be diuerse cruel battellis : this veil
considrit, thai sal fynd that his magnanyme he'roique
and martial entreprise, vas conuoyit & succurrit be ane
diuyne miracle, rather nor be the ingyne of men. it vil
16 be ouer prolix to rehers all the vailzeant actis of
baudouyne² his broder ande successour to the realme of
ierusalem, ande na les prolix to rehers of his succes-
sours, quhilkis var 3our predecessours, kyngis of secilie,
dukis of aniou, calabre, ande of loran. i suld nocht forzet
the tryumphant victore, exsecut ande conqueist be the
vailzeant ande nobil rene inuictissime kyng of secilie,
duc of calabre, ande loran, 3our gudscheir, contrar that
potent prince Charles duc of Burgungze, quhilk vas
repute to be ane of the maist nobil men of veyr in
cristianite : 3it nochtheles, he vas venqueist ande slane,
be syde the toune of nancy, be the foir said rene 3our
gudscheir : quhar for it aperis veil (illustir princes) that
3e ar descendit doune lynyalie of them that hes been
propungnatours for the libertee of ther cuntre ande
31 subiectis. Siklyke the nobilnes of 3our vmquhile fadir
broder antonius, duc of calabre, loran, ande of bar, quha
maye be comparit to the deuot kyng, Numa pompilius,
the sycond kyng of rome, for his prudens ande dixtirite,
be rason that he hes kept 'his subiectis in liberte but

¹ vniuersal

² baudouyne

oppresseione, quhou beit his cuntre lay betuix tua of the
 maist potent princis that ringis in this varld : that is to 2
 say, the catholic kyng of spanze elect empriour on ane skilfully steered
his realm between
France and Spain
 syde, ande the maist potent cristyn kyng of France on
 the tothir syde, the quhilkis tua riche kyngis hes hed
 diuerse tymes birnand mortal veyr contrar vthirs, 3it which were often
at war.
 nochtheles 3our nobil fadir broder, duc of calabre ande
 loran, hes kepit his landis in liberte fra ther oppresseione, 8
 the quhilk he did be vailzeantnes ande prudens.
 Siklyke that maist sapient prince ande prelat fadir in
 gode, ihone of loran, be the permissione diuyne, Cardin- John of Lorrain,
Cardinal Arch-
bishop of Nar-
bonne, Clugny,
Fecamp, and St
Ouen, your
uncle,
 nal of the apostolic seige, archebischop of narbon, abbot
 of cluny, fekkem, ande of sanct ouyne, quha is 3our
 fadir broder, quhilk be his prudens for the public veil
 off cristianite, hes been mediatour betuix diuers forane 15
 princis, to treit pace ande concorde in diuerse cuntreis,
 as in ytalie, germanie, flandris,¹ ande spanze, quha hes
 nocht alanerly vsit hym lyik ane sperutual pastor, bot
 as veil he hes vsit hym lyik ane vailzeant captan, for renowned both in
spiritual and
temporal matters.
 ane verteous captain can nocht exsecut ane mair vail-
 zeant act as quhen he purchessis pace ande concord, 21
 vytht out diminutione of his rycht, an^de vitht out
 damage slauchtir or hayrschip to be amang the pepil,
 as this nobil prelat hes dune diuerse tymes, vytht out
 dirrogatione of his speritual dignite. Nou (illustir 25
 princes) i vil reherse of 3our nobil ande vailzeant fadir,
 the duc of guise, lieutenant general to the kyng of
 France, of all the cuntre of champayngze ande brie :
 his actis vald be prolix to reherse, quhilkis hes been
 laityt exsecutit in oure dais. The memor of ane of his
 actis is recent, quhen he pat ane garnison of tua thou- 31
 sand men vitht in the toune of sanct quintyne, rycht relieved St
Quentin,
 vailzeantly, contrar the vil of thretty thousand of his
 enemeis, quhar he gart mony of his enemeis resauē ther
 sepulture be for the said toune, vytht out damage or 35

¹ slandris

- hurt til his men of veyr, quhar for euerye man maye
 2 meruel of his dexterite, vertu, ande martial sciens. his
 magnanyme proues did ane vthir vailzeant act, he
 beand bot sex thousand men, he held in subiectione
 and raised the siege of Perone; fourty thousand at the seige of perone, ther durst none
 of that grit companye pas bakuart nor forduart, be rason
 7 of the mony assaltis ande escarmuschis that he maid
 contrar them, quhar that he sleu mony of them, vytht
 [* leaf 6] out damage tyl his men of veyr; be that 'industreus
 martial act, he renforsit the toune vitht victualis, hag-
 butaris, ande munitions. for the hagbutaris past neir to
 12 the camp of ther enemeis, ande entrit in the toune but
 while he kept the enemy awake on the other side. resistance, be cause that 3our nobil fadir held the grit
 armye of enemeis valkand on ther tothir syde, throucht
 the grit assaltis ande escarmuschis that he maid contrar
 them. The toune of sauerne baris vytynes of his dele-
 gent vailzeantnes, that he maid contrar the imminent
 danger that vas cummand on the realme of France, at
 that tyme quhen ane multitude and infinit nummir of
 in the Peasant war. men of veyr, ande vthirs that lyuit vitht out lau, dis-
 21 cendit fra the hicht of germanye. thai var of diuerse
 sectis, haldant straynege opinions contrar the scriptour.
 thai purposit to compel al cristianite tyl adhere to ther
 peruerst opinione: zit nochtheles ther disordinat inten-
 25 tion vas haistyly repulsit ande extinct be the martial
 sciens of 3our nobil & vailzeant fadir. Thir vailzeant
 actis of 3our predecessours (illustir princes) ande 3our
 grit prudens, makkis manifest, that 3our grace is ane
 rycht nobil, baytht of vertu ande of genologie. al thir
 30 thingis befor rehersit, i beand summond be institutione
 of ane gude zeil,¹ hes tane ane teme'rare consait to
 present to 3our nobil grace ane tracteit of the fyrst
 laubir of my pen. bot zit i vas lang stupefact ande
 timide, for falt of ane peremptoir conclusion, i nocht
 heffand ane perfyte determinatione of quhat purpos or

[* leaf 6, back]
 I have been so
 bold as to present
 to you the first
 work of my pen.

I had difficulty in
 deciding what to
 write about.

mater that var maist necessair ande honest to be dilatit: 1
 than dredour ande schame beand repulsit fra my melan-
 colius cogitations, i began to reuolue the librarye of
 my vndirstanding, ande i socht all the secreit corneris¹
 of my gazophile, ymaginant vitht in the cabinet of my 5
 interior thoctis, that ther var na mater mair conuenient
 ande necessair for this present dolorus tyme, nor to re-
 herse the cause ande occasione of the onmersiful afflic-
 tione of the desolat realme of scotland. the quhilk deso-
 latione hes occurrit be the mischance of fureous mars, 10
 that hes violently ocupeit the domicillis of tranquil
 pace, that sueit goddes of humaine felicite. the quhilk
 tracteit i hef dediet ande direcky to 3our nobil grace,
 in hope that 3our grace vil resauē it as humainly as it
 var ane riche present of grit consequens. it vas the
 custum of perse, that none of the subiectis durst cum
 in the presens of ther kyng, bot gyf tha brocht sum
 gyft or present to be delyurit til hym efferand *for ther
 qualite. the historigraphours rehersis of ane pure man
 of perse, quha be chance rencountrit² kyng darius. this
 pure man throucht grit pouerte hed no thyng to present
 tyll his kyng efftir the custum of perse,³ quhar for he ran
 til ane reueire that ran neir by, & brocht the palmis of
 his handis ful of that fresche vattir to the kyng for ane
 present. that nobil kyng, persauand the gude vil ande
 hartly obediens of this pure man, he resauit that lital
 quantite of cleen vattir as humainly as it hed been ane
 riche present of gold, ande he gart delyuir to the said
 pure man sex thousand peces of gold, and ane goldin
 vattir lauar. fra this exempil cummis ane vlgare adagia,
 quhilk sais, that quhen ane pure man makkis ane
 sacrefeis, & throucht his pouerte he vantis ensens to
 mak the seremons of his sacrefeis, that sacrefeis sal be
 acceptabil befor the goddis, be cause that he dois sa
 mekil as his pissance maye distribute. it is vrytin in

I searched the
 treasury of my
 brain,

and concluded it
 most meet to
 rehearse the
 miseries of Scot-
 land and their
 causes.

Deign to accept
 of my poor
 tractate!

A Persian
 custom required
 every one who

[* leaf 7]
 approached the
 king to bring a
 gift;
 A poor man who
 had nothing to
 give, ran and
 fetched a "gow-
 pin full" of
 water.
 Darius accepted
 it for the spirit
 it showed,
 and gave a hand-
 some reward.

*Exiguum
 munus cum
 dat tibi pau-
 per amicus,
 Accipito
 placide, &
 plene laudare
 memento
 Chato.*

The gods accept
 a poor man's
 oblation though
 he has no incense.

¹ misp. cornetis

² reconntrit

³ pse

St Mark tells how our Saviour commended the poor widow more than the rich men. *Cum venisset autem una vidua pauper: misit duo minuta, quod est quadrans. Marci. 13.*

My hope is that you will similarly accept my poor offering, for the sake of my good intention. God preserve your grace!

Sanct marc, quhou oure saluioir estemeit ande commendit the oblatione of tua half penneis that vas offrit in the tempil be ane pure vedou that hed na mair moneye, nor¹ he estemeit the grite offrandis that vas offrit be riche opulent men. Nou for conclusiõne (illustir princes) my esperance is sa grite, that i beleif that 3our grace vil resauie this tracteit as humanly, as kyng darius resauit the clene vattir fra the pure man of perse. this tracteit is na bettir nor as mekil vattir, bot 3it my gude vil & hartly intentione, ande my detful obediens, excedis the hartly intentione of the pure man that offrit the fayr vattir to kyng darius, prayand to god to preserue 3our grace in perpetual felicitate. 13

PROLOG TO THE REDAR.

Amasis II., king of Egypt, made an ordinance against idleness, *Indigetes var goddis of egipt quhilkis hed bene verteouse princes quhen thai lyuit.*

[* leaf 8] requiring every man to show how he earned his living.

The Gymnosophists allowed no man refreshment until he could show that he had justly earned it.

Gymnosophistes var philosophours of inde, quhilkis var ay nakyt

AMASIS the sycond, quhilk vas the last kyng ande indegete of the egiptiens, (ande, as diodore rehersis, he vas the fyift legislator of egipt), maid ane ordinance contrar the vice of ydilnes, that al his subiectis of egipt var oblist, vndir the pane of dede, to bring euery 3eir ther namis, in vrit, to the prouest of the prouince quhar ther remanyng vas, ande ther to testife the stait of ther vacatiõne, ande the maneir of ther lyuing. be this politic ordinance, the egiptiens var inducit tyl adhere to vertu, ande to leyrne sciens, craftis, ande mecanyke occupations, maist comodius ande conuenient for the public veil of egipt. Than efftir this ordinance of amasis, the Gymnosophistes institut ane mair strict ordinance among the pepil of inde: that is to say, that ane person suld nocht be admittit to resauie his corporal refectione quhil on to the tyme that he hed manifest realye, or ellis be certan testificatiõne

¹ Read mair nor

the frutis of his laubours of the daye precedent. the seuerite of thir strict ordinance var augmentit be ane edict of sesostris the grit kyng of egipt: for he statut ane ordinance til excerse his propir childir ande the zong princis ande gentil men of his court to vse them til indure excesse of laubirs: he statut that none of them suld tak ther refectione quhil thai hed gone ande run the tyme of fife or sex houris: to that effect, that throucht sic excerse, ther membris mycht be purgit fra corruppit humours, the quhilkis humours nocht beand degeistit,¹ mycht be occasione to dul ther spreit, ande to mak ther body onabil² to resist ydilnes. thir ordinances of the egiptiens are verrey necessair to be vsit in al realmys, be rason that the maist part of the pepil, throucht ther natural fragilite, consumis the maist part of ther dais in ydilnes. This detestatione that i haue rehersit of ydilnes, par chance maye be ingit be inuyful ignorantis, that i condampe my self, in sa far as thai persauie me nocht ocupeit vitht mecanyc byssynes. nou, to confound ignorant detrackers, i vil arme me vitht the vordis of publius scipio, as cicero rehersis in the prologe of the thrid beuk of his officis, sayand, that scipio vas neuyr les ydil as quhen he aperit to be idil, nor he vas neuyr les solitair as quhen he aperit to be solitair; for quhen he aperit to be ydil, than he vas solist in his mynde anent the gouernyng of the public veil, ande quhen he aperit to be solitair, than he vas speikand vitht hym self anent his auen byssynes, & sa he vas neuir ydil nor solitair, quhou beit that he aperit sum tyme in the sycht of the vulgaris to be ydil & solitair. nunquam se minus ociosum quam cum ociosus, nec minus solum quam cum solus esset. i vil apply thir vordis to my self. for quhou beit that the laubir vitht the pen & the studie on speculatione of vertu apeir to be ydilnes, 3it thai ar

vitht out ony sort of clet- yng. ther doctrine aperit to be rather ciuil lau nor philosophie.

Sesostris allowed his princes no refection till they had run for five or six hours.

10

[* leaf 8, back] These ordinances are still needed.

Most people are still lazy.

17

Ignorant critics may think me idle in not practising some mechanical art.

22

Let them remember the words of Scipio Africanus.

28

The labour of the pen is no idle pastime, whatever it seem.

¹ deycistit

² on abil

[* leaf 9] *no ydilnes, bot rather ane solist byssynes of the body
 2 & of the spreit. ande nou, sen gode hes nocht dotit me
 It is my proper
 talent.
 vitht spéulatione of liberal sciens nor philosophe, nor
 vitht strynght of my body til indure seruile subiectione,
 nor 3it vitht no art nor mecanyc craft, ther for i vil
 6 help to the auansing¹ of the public veil vitht my studye
 & vitht my pen. In the antiant dais, the romans var
 The pen did more
 for the Romans
 than the sword.
 mair renforsit in curageus entrepris be the vertu of
 the pen, ande be the persuasions of oratours, nor thai
 var renforsit be the sourdis of men of veyr. Euerye craft
 Every craft is
 necessary,
 is necessair for the public veil, ande he that hes the gyft
 oftraductione, compiling or teching, his faculte is as honest,
 13 as crafty, ande as necessair, as is to be ane marynel, ane
 marchant, ane cordinar, charpentair, captan, ciuillist, or
 ony vthir craft or sciens. ther is na degreis of vertu
 among them, for gyf ane craft or sciens be gude, than
 it is as gude as ony craft can be, for al sortis of ver-
 18 teous² facultes ar of ane lyik vertu, as cicero sais in the
 thrid of his paradoxis, that ane gude man can be na
 bettir nor ane vthir man that is gude; for gyf ane man
 be gude, than he is as gude as ony gude man can be:
 and equally
 honourable.
 sielyik, gyf ane craft be gude, than it is as gude as ony
 craft *can be; ther for ane man of ane craft suld nocht
 [* leaf 9, back] 24 detest ane vthir sort of craft, considerand that oure
 hurt nature hes nocht dotit ane man til vse al craftis.
 Aristotil sais in the fyrst beuk of his politiques, that
 nature hes nocht maid ane man lyik gladius delphicus.
 Man is not a
 gladius delphicus,
 Nihil enim
 natura facit
 tale quale
 statuarij
 delphicum
 gladium ob
 indiciam sed
 vnum ad
 vnum.
 Polit. 1.
 The significatione of gladius delphicus is of this sort.
 delphos is ane solemnit place, on the hyl of pernasus,
 quhar ther standis ane tempil dedicat til appollo. ther
 cam daly to that tempil diuerse pure men in pilgremage.
 ther duelt on that hil, smythis, & forgearis of yrn ande
 steil, the quhilkis culd mak ane instrument of yrn con-
 uenient for mony officis, for tha vald gar ane instra-
 ment serue for ane hammyr, ane turkes, ane file, ane
 which was
 hammer, pincers,

1 auansuig

2 verteo'

sourd, ane knyf, ande ane borrel. this sort of instrumentis var sellit to pure pilgryms that hed nocht mekil moneye to by ilk instrument be the self: ande be cause that instrument seruit til mony officis, ther for it vas callit gladius delphicus. of this sort aristotil makkis ane comparisone, sayand, that nature hes nocht maid ane man abil for euerye craft or office, bot nature hes maid ane man abil to be ane prince, ane abil to be ane seruand, ane abil to be ane clerk, ane abil to be ane craftis man, be rason *that oure hurt nature hes diuidit oure complexions to be of diuerse qualiteis; ande for that cause ve sal fynd amang ane thousand men, ane thousand consaitis ande ane thousand conditions. for that cause aristotil hes said in his politiques, that in ilk comunite ther is ane multitude, ande ilk ane hes sum part of vertu of diuerse degreis, ande ilk ane of thir degreis ar ordand til help vthirs in necessite. Cicero gyuis ane exempil in his retoric, quhou that the citinaris of cartomat in ytalye, sende for ane excellent payntur, callit eracleon. thai promest to gyf hym ane grit some of moneye, for to paynt ane fayr ymage of the deesse iuno. than eracleon gart al the fayr ande best lyik zong vemen of that cite cum in his presens, ande than he chesit fife of the best lyik amang them al, to be his patrone.² quhen he hed contemplit & spyit the proportions & propreteis of nature of thir fife ladeis he chesit the face of ane, the een of ane vthir, the handis of the thrid, the hayr of the feyrd, the armis, the myddil, ande the feit of the fyift; of this sort he formit the patrone of the ymage of iuno, efftir the proportione of diuerse of the membris of thir foirsaid fife zong ladeis, be cause he culd nocht *get al his patrone in ane special lady. for sche that vas pleyсанд of hyr face, vas nocht pleyсанд of hyr hayr, ande sche that hed plesand handis, hed nocht pleyсанд een, ande sche

file, sword, knife,
ande wimble, all
in one.

3

Each man has his
faculty;

9

[* leaf 10]

*Mille hominum species & rerum discolor vsus; velle suum cuique est, nec voto viuunt vno. perseus.*¹

Quot homines, tot sententie. C. de fini.

19

Heracleon in
painting a Juno,
chose the select
beautie of five
maidens.

25

30

[* leaf 10, back]

For no one was
perfectly
and uniformly
handsome.

¹ Persius, Sat. iv. l. 51, 2.

² i. e. pattern.

*Non in omnes
omnia con-
ueniunt.*

*Cic. pro ro-
scio ameri-
no.*

So no man can
practise all crafts,

but each must
contribute his
own talent.

This to prevent
the detraction of
critics,

*Non tam ea-
que recta
sunt proban-
tur, quam que
praua sunt
fastidiis ad-
herent.*

Cic. de ora.

[* leaf 11]

who are readier
to carp at those
who do their best,
than to try
themselves.
He who would
please everybody,
should first drink
the ocean dry.

*Difficile in
dicendo
omnibus sa-
tisfacere.*

Yet I will not go
beyond my
capacity.

Hannibal in his
adversity was
the guest of
Antiochus.

*This storye is
in the apothig-
mes of plu-
tarc.*

that hed ane veil proportionet body, hed euil propor-
tionet feit; ande to conclude, he culd nocht get ane
lady in special, that vas sufficient to be his patrone, nor
zit that culd be comparit til gladius delphicus, quhilk

5 vas ane instrument that seruit til mony officis. be this
exempil ve maye considir, that nature hes nocht dotit
ane person to be qualifeit to excerse al sortis of craftis;
for that cause aristotil sais that al sortis of craftis suld
concur to gyddir, ande ilkane til help vthirs, as nature
prouidit fyrst in the begynnyng. thir prolix vordis be-

11 for rehersit, ar ane preparatiue, contrar the detractione
of inuyful clerkis that ar mair expert in latyne tong
nor i am, quhilkis vil nocht set furtht ane gude verk
tyl induce the pepil to vertu, nor zit vil correct my
ignorant error; bot rather thai ar mair prompt to repreif
ane smal ignorant fait, nor to commende ane grit ver-
teous act; bot zit no man suld decist fra ane gude pur-
pose, quhou beit that detractione be armit vitht inuy
*reddy to suppedit & tyl impung ane verteous¹ verk: for
quhat euyr he be that intendis to compile ane verk to
content euerye man, he suld fyrst drynk furtht the
ocean see. Ande quhou beit, that ther var na detrak-
kers tyll accuse or to repreif my verkis, zit nochtheles i
suld nocht be ouer temerair to set furtht ane verk that
surpassis my ingyne; for ane hen that seikis hyr meyt
in the mydding, may scraipe sa lang among the fyltht,
quhil sche scraip furtht sum ald knyfe that hes been
tynt, the quhilk knyfe cuttis hyr throt eftiruart, as i
29 sall apply ane exempil conformand to this samyn pur-
pose, as eftir follouis.

¶ Annibal, that vailzeant cartagen, beand venquest
be nobil scipion, past for refuge tyl anthiocus kyng of
sirrie, quha vas at that tyme ane vailzeant prince: he
resaut annibal in his realme, ande in his protectione,
ande did hym grit honour ande reuerens. ane prince

1 verteo'

can nocht schau hym mair nobil, nor mair verteouse, as
 quhen he resauis in his fauoir ane desolat prince, disti- 2
 tute of remeide, ande disparit of consolatione, quhilk
 hes bene violently affligit be aduerse fortune. thir tua
 princis vsit oft to visye the feildis to tak ther 'recrea- [* leaf 11, back]
 tione, ande to pas til hounting, ande til vthir gammis, 6
 conuenient for ther nobilite. at sum tyme thai vald pas
 to the sculis, to heir the lecture of ane philosophour
 callit phormion, quaha remanit in the toune of ephisye,
 ande techit natural ande moral philosophie to the 3ong
 men of the cuntre. on ane day, thir tua princis be
 chance entrit in the achademya, to heir ane lesson of 12
 philosophie techit be the said phormion, philosophour.
 he persauand thir tua princis entir in his scule, he
 changit the mater of that present lecture, ande but
 prouisione, he began to teche the ordour of the veyris,
 declarand quhou that captans suld ordour battellis con- 17
 trar ther enemeis. this philosophour techit sa profoundly
 the maneir of the ordoryng of battellis in presens of thir
 tua princis, that thai that herd hym neuyr of befor,
 meruellit nocht alanerly of his quyk ingyne, bot as veil
 thai that herde hym daly var in grit admiratione. it is 22
 the nature of ane man that hes ane quyk spreit, ande
 ane ripe ingyne, that euerye purpos ande questione is
 familiar tyl hym. kyng anthiocus tuke grit gloir be
 cause he hed sic ane prudent philosophour 'in his cun-
 tre : quhar for he inquirit annibal, quhat iugement he
 hed of his philosophour phormion. Annibal ansuert
 vitht as hardy curage as quhen he venqueist the romans
 at the battel of cannes ; for ane vailzeant prince tynis
 nocht his curage, quhou beit that aduerse fortune resist
 his felicite, bot rather hes gude hope that dame for-
 tune¹ vil mittigat hyr auen crualte. this vas the ansuer 33
 of annibal tyl anthiocus, in the presens of phormion :
 Nobil prince anthiocus,² i hef seen mony ald men tyne

The two princes
 once entered
 the Academy
 of Phormio,

to hear him
 expound
 philosophy ;

but he, seeing
 them, changed
 his tople to the
 art of war,

teaching with
 marvellous
 readiness the
 ordering of
 battles.

Antiochus was
 delighted ;
 [* leaf 12]

but Hannibal

¹ fortune

² anthloc'

thought Phormio
the very mirror of
folly

ther vyt, bot i sau neuyr sa grite ane fule amang them
al as is thy philosophour phormion, for he maye be callit

3 the mirroure of folye. ther can nocht be ane mair folye,
and presumption; as quhen ane ydiot, distitute of knaulage, presumis to
teche or to leyrne ane man that hes baytth speculatione
ande experiens. i pray the to tel me (kyng anthiocus)
quhat hart can thole, or quhat tong can be stil, quhen
thai see, or heris tel, of the presumpteous consait of thy

who dared to
treat of the
theory of battles
before him, who
[* leaf 12, back]
had been so
much in the
practice.

9 vane philosophour, quhilk hes been neurest al his dais in
ane solitar achademya of greice,¹ ande zit he dar be sa
bold to present hym befor prince annibal, to disput ande
tyl indoctryne the² maneir of the veyris ande of the
batellis, as he var prince of affrica, or captan of rome :

God knows the
difference between
a battle on paper
and one in the
field!

between wielding
a pen and a
spear!

15 ellis he estemeis vs to be litil experementit in the
veyris. be his vane consaitis that he hes studeit on
beukis, he beleuis to leyrne annibal the prettik of the
veyris, ande the conquessingis of realmis. o kyng an-
thiocus, al the goddis vait, quhat defferens is betuix phi-
losophie techit in sculis, ande betuix the stait of captans
in the ordoring of batellis on the feildis; ande quhat
defferens is to vrit vitth ane pen, & the vsing of ane
speyr vailzeantly in battel; ande quhat defferens is ther

Your philosophour
never saw
service;

24 betuix mony beukis, ande ane captan heffand his enemye
befor his ee. Ther is diuerse men that can blason the
veyris in the tauerne, or at the fyir syde, amang the
vulgar ignorant pepil; bot i fynd nocht mony that dar
haszarde ther lyue contrar ther enemeis. O anthiocus,
thy philosophour phormion sau neuyr the iunyng of ane
battel, vitth cruel escharmouschis in the ryding of for-

[* leaf 13]
he never heard
the charge
sounded;

31 rais: he sau neuyr the array of men of veyr brokyn,
ande tua armeis myxt amang vthirs, fechtand be fellone
forse, quhar the defluxione of blude hed payntit ande
cullourt all the feildis: he herd neuyr the dolorus
trompet sounde befor the iunyng of ane battel, nor zit

¹ gtelce

² the the

he harde it neuyr sound to gar the men of veyr retere 1
 fra ane danger: he persauit neuyr the trason of ane
 party, nor the couuardeis of ane vthir party: he sau
 neuyr the litil nummir of them that fechtis, nor the
 grite nummir of them that fleis for dreddour. O an- 5
 thiocus, thy philosophour suld teche the thyng that he
 hes studeit at the sculis, & the thing that he hees seen let him stiek to
his philosophy,
that he does
know
 vitht his een, to them that vas neuyr at the sculis, ande
 to them that vas neuyr pretykkit in the veyris, rather
 nor til vs, that hes been experimentit in the veyris al 10
 oure dais. the prettik of the veyris is mair facil to be
 leyrnit on the feildis of affrica, nor in the sculis of
 greice. Thou vait, kyng anthiocus, that this sex ande
 thretty 3eiris i hef beene excersit in the veyris, baytht in
 ytalie ande in spang3e, quhar that fortune hes schauen 15
 hyr rycht aduerse contrar me, as is hyr vse to do to
 them that vndirtakkis difficil entrepricis, as thou may
 see be experiens; for or i hed ane beyrde, i vas seruit
 lyik ane captan, ande nou, quhen my beyrd is be *cum
 quhyt, i am be cum ane seruand. i sueir to the (kyng
 anthiocus) be the gode mars, that gyf ony persone vald 21
 speir at me the maneir of the gouernyng of ane battel,
 i vait nocht quhat ansuere to mak, be raison that
 battellis consistis vndir the gouernance of fortune, ande
 nocht in the ingyne of men, nor in the multiplie of
 pepil. all veyris ar begun be princis on ane iust titil, 26
 ande syne procedis be visdome; bot the ende of the
 veyris consistis in the chance of fortune. Ther for, it
 is grit folye to thy philosophour til vndirtak to leyrn
 the ordiring of battellis vitht in his solitair achademya:
 it var mair necessair ande honest for hym to vse his 31
 auen professione ande faculte, nor to mel vitht ony
 faculte that passis his knaulage. annibal said mony
 vthir gude purposis tyl anthiocus, anent this samyn
 purpose, as plutarque rehersis in his apothigmatis.

¶ This exempil tendis, that al prudent men hes 36

- mair occasione to condamp & repreif this raggit naykyt
 2 tracteit, nor annibal hed occasione to repreif the philo-
 sophour phormion; for my dul rude brane suld nocht
 hef been sa temerair as to vndirtak to correct the imper-
 fectione of ane comont veil, be cause the maist part of
 [* leaf 14]
 6 my knaulage is the smallest part of my ignorance: zit
 nochttheles i hope that vyise men vil reput my ignor-
 ance for ane mortifeit prudens, be rason of my gude in-
 tentione that procedis fra ane affectiue ardant fauoir
 that i hef euyr borne touart this affligit realme quhilk is
 my natiue cuntre. Nou heir i exort al philosophouris,
 historigraphours, & oratours of our scottis natione, to
 support & til excuse my barbir agrest termis: for i
 thocht it nocht necessair til hef fardit ande lardit this
 tracteit vitht exquisite termis, quhilkis ar nocht daly
 vsit, bot rather i hef vsit domestic scottis langage, maist
 intelligibil for the vlgare pepil. ther hes bene diuerse
 translatoours ande compilaris in ald tymys, that tuke
 grite pleseir to contrafait ther vlgare langage, mixand
 ther purposis vitht oncoutht exquisite termis, dreuyn,
 or rather to say mair formaly, reuyn, fra lating, ande
 sum of them tuke pleiseir to gar ane vord of ther pur-
 pose to be ful of sillabis half ane myle of lyntht, as
 ther was ane callit hermes, quhilk pat in his verkis thir
 lang tailit vordis, conturbabuntur, constantino-
 politani, innumerabilibus, so'licitudinibus.
 .27 ther vas ane vthir that vrit in his verkis, gaudet
 honorificabilitudinitatibus. al sic termis procedis
 of fantastiknes ande glorius consaitis. i hef red in ane
 beuk of ane preceptor that said til his discipulis, lo-
 quere verbis presentibus, & vttere moribus¹
 32 antiquis: that is to saye, thou sal speik comont lan-
 gage, ande thou sal lyue eftir the verteous maneirs of,
 antiant men. zit nochttheles ther is mony vordis of
 antiquite that i hef rehersit in this tracteit, the quhilkis

I had not been so
 rash as to make
 this tractate,

but for my ardent
 patriotism.

Pray excuse my
 rustic speech!

*Nullus locus
 nobis dulcior
 esse debet pa-
 tria.*

*Cicc. ad
 Marc. fa-
 mi. 4.*

I have used no
 recherché terms,
 but domestic
 Scots language.

*Sermone, eo
 debemus vti,
 qui notus est
 nobis.*

Cic. offi.

There have been
 writers who were
 fond of mixing
 their vulgar
 tongue with
 Latin,
 and using long-
 tailed words;

[* leaf 14, back]

but such things
 proceed from vain
 conceit.

Yet I have been
 obliged

culd nocht be translait in oure scottis langage, as auguris, auspices, ides, questeurs, senaturus, censours, pretours, tribuns, ande mony vthir romane dictions: ther for gyf sic vordis suld be disusit or detekkit, than the phrasis of the antiquite vald be confundit ande adnullit: ther for it is necessair at sumtyme til myxt oure langage vitht part of termis dreuyn fra lateen, be rason that oure scottis tong is nocht sa copeus¹ as is the lateen tong, ande also ther is diuerse purposis & propositions that occurris in the lating tong that can nocht² be translait deuly in oure scottis langage: ther for he that is expert in latyn tong suld nocht put reproche to the compilation, quhou beit that he fynd sum^{*} purposis translait in scottis that accords nocht vitht the lateen regester: as ve hef exemplif 15 of this propositione, homo est animal, for this terme homo signifieis baytht man ande voman: bot ther is nocht ane scottis terme that signifieis baytht man ande voman: ande animal signifieis al thyng that hes lyue ande is sensibil, bot ther is nocht ane scottis terme that signifieis al quyk sensibil thyng, ther for this propositione, mulier est homo is treu, ande 3it ve suld nocht saye that ane voman is ane man. Ande siclyk this propositione, homo est animal is treu, ande 3it ve suld nocht say that ane man is ane beyst. of this sort ther is baytht termis ande propositions in lateen tong, the quhilk vil be difficil to translait them. i hef rehersit thir vordis, in hope to eschaupt the detractione of inuyful gramariaris, quhilkis ar mair prompt to reprehende ane smal falt, nor tha ar to commend ane verteouse act. Nou for conclusione of this prolog, i exort the (gude redar) to correct me familiarly, ande be cherite, ande til interpreit my intentione fauorablye, for doutles the motione of the compilatione of this tracteit procedis mair of the compassionne that i hef of 35

to use some classical terms where Scots was deficient.

Verba inuenta sunt, non que impedirent, sed que indicarent voluntatem.

Cic. pro a. cecin.

There are phrases that cannot be accurately translated,

[* leaf 15]

15

for idioms differ.

Homo and animal have no exact equivalents.

20

25

Non tam ea que recta sunt probantur, quamque prava sunt fastidiis adherent.

Ci. de ora.

Then, let me not be blamed for a small fault;

look favourably upon my intentions.

35

¹ cope'

² non

[* leaf 15, back] the public necessite, nor it dois of presumptione or
 2 vane gloir. thy cheretabil correctione maye be ane pro-
 uocatione to gar me studye mair attentiuelye in the nyxt
 verkis that i intend to set furtht, the quhilk i beleif in
 gode sal be verray necessair tyl al them that desiris to
 lyue verteouslye indurand the schort tyme of this oure
 fragil peregrinatione, & sa fayr veil.
 So fare-well!

It will encourage
 me in my next
 works.

THE COMPLAYNT OF SCOTLAND.

The Forst Cheptobr

declaris the cause of the
Mutations of Monarches.

CHAP. I.

AS the hie monarchis, lordships, ande autoriteis, Rulers are set up
ar¹ stablit be the infinite diuynе ordinance, and and cut down by
menteinit² be the sempeternal providens, siclyik 3
ther ruuynе cummis be the sentence gyffin be the
souerane consel of the diuynе sapiens, the quhilk doune
thringis them fra the hie trone of ther imperial domina- 6
tions, and garris *them fal in the depe fosse³ of serui- [* leaf 16]
tude, ande fra magnificens in ruuynе, ande causis *Regnum a*
conqueriours to be conquest, ande til obeye ther vmquhile *gente in*
subiectis be dreddour, quhome of be for thai commandit *genteus tran-*
be autorite. This decreit procedis⁴ of the diuynе *sit propter in-*
iustice, be rason that princis ande vthirs of autorite *usticias &*
becummis ambitius ande presumpteous, throucht grite *uniuersos*
superfluite of veltht: ther for he dois chestee them be *dolos.*
the abstractione of that superfluite: that is to say, he 15 *Eccle. 10.*
possessis vthir pure pepil that knauis his gudnes, vitht *This is diuine*
the samyn reches that he hes tane fra them that hes *justice.*
arrogantly misknauen hym. Ane pottar vil mak of ane 18
masse of mettal diuerse pottis of defferent fassons, &

¹ at² mentemit³ fosse⁴ pcedis

The potter uses
his clay as he
will.

syne he vil brak the grite pottis quhen thai pleyse hym
nocht, ande he makkis smal pottis of the brokyn verk
3 of the grite pottis, ande also of the mettal ande mater
of the smal pottis he formis grit pottis. this exempil
may be applyit to the subuertions ande mutations of
6 realmis ande dominions, ande of al varldly prosperite.

Men and nations
grow and decay.

childir that ar neu borne grouis & inccessis quhil thai
be ascendit to the perfyit strynght of men : bot ther
efter, tha begyn to decresse ande declinis til eild ande
to the dede. *siklyik lordschips ande digniteis hes in-

[* leaf 16, back]

11 cressing, declinatione, ande exterminacione. the muta-
tions of euerye varldly thyng is certane, quhou beit
that prosperus¹ men prouidis nocht to resist the occasions
of the mutabiliteis : quhilk occasions ar ay vigilant
15 to suppedit & to spulze al them that ar ingrate of the

This appears
alike from the
Scriptures and
profane history.

benefecis of gode. the mutations of monarchis ande
dominions, ar manifest in the holy scriptur, ande in the
verkis of the maist famous anciant historigraphours.

Where is now
Nineveh ?

quhar is the grite ande riche tryumphand cite of
nynyue, quhilk hed thre dais iournais of circuit ? at

21 this tyme ther is nocht ane stane standant on ane vthir.

where Babylon ?

Quhar is the grite tour of babilone ? the quhilk vas
biggit be ane maist ingenius artefeis, of proportione,
quantite, ande of strynght. it aperit to be perdurabil
and e inuyncibil, bot nou it is desolat, ande inhabit be
serpens ande vthir venemuse beystis. Quhat sal be
said of the riche tryumphand toune of troye, ande of

What has been
the fate of Troy ?

28 castell ylione, quhilk hed al the portis of euoir bane,
and e the pillaris of fyne siluyr ? bot at this tyme ane
fut of hicht of the vallis can nocht be sene, for al the
grond of the palecis² of that tryumphand toune ande
castel is ouer*gane vitht gyrse ande vild scroggis.

[* leaf 17]

What has become
of Thebes ?

Quhar is the grite toune of thebes ? quhilk vas foundit
be cadmus the sone of agenoir, the quhilk vas at that
35 tyme the maist pepulus toune abufe the eird. it hed ane

¹ prosperus

² palecis

hundretht tourettis ande portis, bot nou at this tyme 1
 ther is no thyng quhar it stude bot barrane feildis.
 Siklyik lacedemonya, quhar the legislator ligurgus gef and of Sparta?
 to the pepil strait famous lauis, of the quhilk ane grit
 part ar vsit presently in the vniuersal varld, is nocht 5
 that nobil toune extinct furtht of rememorance? Quhat
 sal be said of athenes, the vmquhile fontane of sapiens, What shall be
 ande the spring of philosophe: is it nocht in perpetual said of Athens?
 subuersione? Quhar is the toune¹ of cartage that dantit or of Carthage?
 the elephantis, ande vas grytumly doutit & dred be the
 romans? vas it nocht brynt in puldir ande asse? ande 11
 nou the grond of it is pastour for bestial. quhat sal be
 said of the riche monarche of rome, quhilk dantit ande
 subdeuit al the varld? is nocht nou the superiorite of
 it partit ande diuidit in mony ande diuerse partis, con-
 formand to the vordis of lucan, quha said that the 16
 vecht of rome suld gar it ryue in mony partis: the
 vecht of it signifeit nocht the vecht of hauy vallis,
 housis, stonis, ande vthir materials: bot rather it [* leaf 17, back]
 signifeit the vecht of the inexorbitant extorsions that it
 committit on the vniuersal varld, quhilk is the cause 21
 that the monarche of it is diuidit amang mony diuerse
 princis. of this sort euere thyng hes ane tyme, for
 mutations of varldly felicite is ane natural habitude,
 quhilkis is the cause that na thyng remanis lang con-
 stant in ane prosperus stait: ande that is the special 26
 cause that al dominions altris, dechaeis, ande cummis
 to subuersione. The fyrst monarche of the varld vas
 translait fra the assiriens to them of perse, ande fra
 perse to the greikis, and translait fra the greikis to the
 romans, fra the romans to the franche men, ande fra
 the franche men to the germanis. ande quhou be it that
 the pepil knauis thir mutations to be of verite, 3it ther
 is nocht mony that knauis the cause of thir mutations,
 be rason that the iugement of gode (quhilk virkis al
 thyng) is ane profound onknauen deipnes, the quhilk

yea, even of
Rome herself?

[* leaf 17, back]

Every worldly
thing has its day.

The empire of
the world has
been successively
held by Assyrians,
Persians, Greeks,
Romans, Franks,
and Germans.

*Quis enim
cogitabit
sensum do-
mini aut
quis consi-
liarius eius
Sapient. 9.*

The ways of God
are inscrutable.

passis humaine ingyne to comprehende the grounde or
limitis of it : be cause oure vit is ouer febil, oure ingyne

3 ouer harde, oure thochtis ouer vottage, ande oure 3eiris
ouer schort. Ther is mony ignorant pepil that imputis

The ignorant
impute it to

[* leaf 18]

fortune, a pagan
idea.

*Intellexi
quem omnium
operum dei
nullam possit
homo inuenire
rationem
eorum que
fiunt sub sole.
Ecll. 8.*

the subuersions * ande mutations of prosperite to pro-
ceid of fortune : sic consaitis procedis of the gentilite

and de pagans doctryne, ande nocht of goddis lau, nor 3it
of moral philosophie : quhou be it that iuuenal hes

said, that fortune is the cause that ane smal man
ascendis to digniteis, ande that ane grite man fallis in

ruuyne. Sic opinions suld nocht be haldin nor beleuit ;
for ther is no thing in this varld that cummis on man-

kynde as prosperite or aduersite, bot al procedis fra the
dyuyne pouer, as is vrityne in the xi. cheptour of

ecclesiasticus, bona & mala, vita & mors, pauper-
tas & honestas, a deo sunt. Ther for it maye be

said, that al thai that imputis aduersite or prosperite to
proceid of fortune, thai maye be put in the nummyr of

them that Sanct paul prophetizit in the sycond epistil
to tymothie, erit enim tempus, cum sanam doc-

trinam non sustinebunt, & ce. Ande also the
prophet esaye, spekend be the spreit of gode, he gyffis

his maledictione on al them that beleuis that fortune
hes ony pouer, quhar he vritis in the lxxv. cheptour,¹

ve qui fortune ponitis mensam tanquam dee.²

This contradictione that i hef rehersit contrar for-
toun, is be cause that mony ignorant pe'pil hes con-

fermit ane ymaginet onfaythful opinione in ther hede,
sayand that the grite afflictione quhilk occurrit on oure

realme in september m.v.xlvii. 3eiris, on the feildis be-
syde mussilburgh, hes procedit fra the maltalent of

dame fortune, the quhilk ymaginet opinione suld be
33 detestit ; for fortune is no thyng bot ane vane consait

ymaginet in the hartis of onfaythful men. 3it noch-
theles, quhen i remembir on the cruel dolourousestruc-

Every thing is of
the divine power.

*Si fortuna
volet, fies de
rethore con-
sul: si volet,
hec eadem, fies
de consule re-
thor iuuenal,
Sati. 7.
Ecll. xi.*

St Paul warned
Timothy of a
"time, when they
will not bear
sound doctrine,
&c."

Isaiah curses
those that believe
in fortune :

"Wo to you who
prepare a table
to fortune as
your goddess."

[* leaf 18, back]

The ignorant
have imputed our
late defeat at
Pinkey to
fortune.

¹ chetour

² die

tione of oure nobil barrons, & of mony vthirs of the 1
 thre estaitis, be cruel ande onmercyful slauthyr, ande
 also be maist extreme violent spulzee ande hairschip of I have pondered
 ther mouabil gudis in grite quantite, ande also oure ald over the national
 enemeis, be traisonabil seditione, takkand violent calamities,
 sessione of ane part of the strynthis ande castellis of 6
 the bordours of oure realme, ande also remanent vitht
 in the plane mane landis far vitht in oure cuntre, ande
 violentlye possessand ane certan of our burghis, villagis
 ande castellis, to ther auen vse but contradictione ;
 ande the remanent of the pepil beand lyik dantit 11
 venqueist slauis in maist extreme vile subiectione,
 rather nor lyik prudent cristin pepil, quhilkis suld lyue
 in ciuillite, policie¹, & be iustice vmdir the gouernance [* leaf 19]
 of ane christin prince. Al thir thingis considrit, causit and searched the
 me to reuolue diuerse beukis of the holy scriptur, & of Scriptures, &c.,
 humanite, in hope to get ane iust iugement, quhididir to see whether
 that this dolorus² afflictione be ane vand of the fadir to they are of mercy
 correct & chestie the sone be mercy, or gyf it be ane or judgment. 18
 rigorus mercyles decretit of ane iuge, to exsecute on vs
 ane final exterminacione. than efftir lang conteneuacione
 of reding on diuerse sortis of beukis, i red the xxviii. of I read Denter-
 deutrono, the xxvi. of leuitic, & the thrid of ysaye, the onomy xxviii.,
 quhilk causit my trublit spreit to trymmyl for dred- Leviticus xxvi.,
 dour, ande my een to be cum obscure throucht³ the 25 and Isaiah iii.,
 multiplie of salt teyris, ande throucht the lamentabil
 suspiring that procedit fra my dolorus hart, be rason
 that the sentens ande conteneu of thyr said cheptours
 of the bibil, gart me consaue, that the diuine indigna- which filled me
 tione hed decretit ane extreme ruuynne on oure realme ; with trouble and
 bot gyf that ve retere fra oure vice, ande also to be cum dismay. 31
 vigilant to seik haisty remeide & medycyne at hym
 quha gyffis al grace ande comfort to them that ar maist
 distitute of mennis supple.

¹ The original has only *poli*, the *cie* having fallen away and been erroneously added to end of leaf 20, which thus reads *straijie-kie* for *straikie*.

² dolor'

³ throucht

[leaf 19, back]

Thir cheptours that eftir follouis, explainis the thretning ande menasing of Gode contrar obstinat, vicious pepil.

CAP. II.

Deuteronomy xxviii. (translation from the Vulgate).
Quod si audire nolueris voce domini dei tui, venient super te omnes maledictiones, eris in ciuitate, maledictus.
 Deut. 28.

Quod si non audieritis me, ego quoque hec faciam vobis, visitabo vos velociter in egestate & ardore.
 Leui. 26.

[* leaf 20]
 Leviticus xxvi. (from the Vulgate).

IT is vrytyme in the xxviii. of deutronome, thir vordis: Gyf thou obeyis nocht the voce of the lorde thy gode, ande kepis nocht his ordinance, thir maledictions sal cum on the: thou sal be cursit on the feildis, thou sal be cursit in the cite; the lord sal send maledictione ande tribulatione on al thy byssynes; the lord sal sende pestilens on the, the heyt feueir, droutht, the sourde, tempest, ande all euil seiknes, ande he sal persecut the, quhil he hef gart the perise: thou sal thole iniuris & spulze, ande ther sal be na man that can saue the: thou sal spouse ane vyfe, bot ane vthir sal tak hyr fra the be forse: thou sal big ane house, bot thou sal neuyr duel in it: thy ox sal be slane befor thy eene, & thou sal get nane of hym tyl eyt: thy flokkis of scheip sal be gyffin to thy enemeis; the oncoutht ande strayinge pepil sal eyt the frute of the eyrd that thou hes lauborit. Leuic. xxvi. *moyses sais, be the spreit of gode,¹ gyf ze obeye nocht my command, i sal visee zou vitht dreddour, vitht fyir, 24 ande vitht suelling: ze sal sau the cornis on your feildis, bot your enemeis sal eit it: your enemeis sal be your masters, ande ze sal flee fast for dreddour, quhen ther sal be litil dangeir, & there sal be no man followuand you; ande gyf ze remane obstinat ande vil nocht 29 be correckt, i sal strik you vitht ane plag, seuyt tymes

¹ go, degyf

mair vehement ; for i sal gar the sourde cum on 3ou to reuenge my alliance ; ande quhen 3e ar assemblit togyddir vitht in 3our tounis, i sal send the pestilens 3 amang 3ou, ande i sal delyuir 3ou in the handis of 3our enemeis.

Ecce enim dominator dominus exercituum auferet a hierusalem & a iuda validum & fortem, iudicem & prophetam.
Esaye 3.
Isaiah iii. (from the Vulgate).

¶ It is vritin in the thrid cheptor of esaye thir vordis : behold the dominator ande the lorde of armis, the quhilk sal tak fra hierusalem ande fra iuda, the mychty ande the sterk man, the victuelis, the men of veyr, the iugis, the precheours. i sal gyf them 3ong childir to be ther kynges, ande effemenet¹ men sal be ther dominatours ; ande the pepil ilk ane sal ryise contrar vthirs, ande ilk man sal be aduersair tyl his nychtbour : 3ong childir sal reproche ald men, ande mecanyng lauberaris sal reproche gentil men. Esaye iii.

13

[* leaf 20, back]

Actor.

CHAP. III.

THE kyng anchises lamentit the distructione of the superb troy, exsecutit be the princis of greice : the queene rosaria regrettit hir spouse kyng darius,² quhen he vas venqueist be grite allexander : the prophet hieremye vepit for the stait of the public veil of babillone, quhen it vas brocht in captiuite : kyng dauid lamentit his sone absolon, quhen Ioab sleu hym : cleopatra vas lyike to dee in melancolie, quhen hyr loue marcus antonius vas venquest be the empriour agustus : the consule marcus marcellus regrettit hauyly 25 the cite of syracuse, quhen he beheld it birnand in ane bold fyir : Crisp salust regrettit the euy³l³ gouernyng of the public veil of rome : the patriarche Iacob lamentit the absens of his sone Ioseph : the kyng demetrius 29

Anchises, Rosaria, Jeremias, David, Cleopatra, &c., &c., have all had causes for regret ;

¹ effement

² dari'

³ enyl

1 regrettit hauly the slauchtir of his fadir antigonus, at
the battel of maraton : 3ong octouian lamentit hauly
the slauchtir of his fadir adoptiue cesar, that gat xxii.

[* leaf 21]

5 strai¹kis vitht pen knyuis in the capitol: thir nobil
personagis deplorit the calamiteis that occurrit in ther
dais ; bot i hef as grit cause to deploir the calamiteis
that ringis presently vitht in ouer realme, throucht the
vice of the pepil. & quhou beit that the thretnyng of

I have as great,
in the present
calamities of my
nation.

9 gode contrar vs be verray seueur ande extreme, 3it
nochtheles i hope that his aful scourge of aperand
exterminatioune sal change in ane faderly correctioun, sa
that ve vil knau his mageste, ande to retere fra ouer
vice ; for he hes promest grace tyl al them that repentis,
and til al them that kepis his command, as is writyn in
the xxvi. cheptor of leuitic thir vordis as follouis : Gyf
3e keip my ordinance, i sal send 3ou rane on 3our
grond in conuenient tyme ; 3our feildis sal bryng furtht
cornis ; 3our treis sal bayr frute ; 3e sal eyt 3our breyde
in suficiens ; 3e sal sleipt at 3our eyse. i sal sende
pace amang 3ou, the sourde of vengeance sal nocht pas
throucht 3our cuntre ; 3e sal follou 3our enemeis, ande

Yet I hope the
rod is that of a
father.

*Si in pre-
ceptis meis
ambulaue-
ritis, dabo
vobis plu-
uias tempo-
ribus suis, &
terra gignet
germen suum
dabo pacem in
finibus
vestris.*

Leui. 26.

Moses holds out
promises to all
that repent.

22 3our sourdis sal gar them fal befor 3ou ; fue of 3ou sal
follou & chaisse ane hundretht, & ane hundretht of
3ou sal chaisse ten thousand ; ande 3our enemeis sal
fal to the grond ²venquest in 3our presens, sa that 3e
26 vil obeye to my command.

[* leaf 21, back]

*Regnum a
gente in gen-
tem transit,
propter iniu-
sticias & uni-
uersos dolos.*
Eccle. 10.

¶ O quhat familiar promese is this that god hes
promeist² tyl al them that vil obey til his command !
quhar for gyf ve refuse this grit promes, i suspect that
his iustice sal extinct oure generatioun furtht of re-
memorance, ande that he vil permit our ald enemeis, or

32 sum ythir straynge natioun, til ocupie & posses our
natural natiue cuntre. bot 3it i hope in gode that our
obstinatione sal altir in obediens, quibilk sal be occa-

I hope that we
shall come to
repentance.

¹ Original reads *strai^{ie}-kis* for *strai^{ik}s*, the *ie* having fallen away from end
of leaf 18, leaving *poit* for *police*.

² promeist

sione that five of vs sal chaise ane hundretht of our ald 1
 enemeis, ande ane hundretht of vs sal chaisse ten thou-
 sand of them furtht of our cuntre, as is rehersit in the
 foir said xxvi cheptour of leuitic. for quhou be it that
 god hes permittit the inglis men to scourge vs, as he
 permittit sathan to scourge the holy man Iob, it follouis
 nocht that god vil tyne vs perpetualye, nor 3it it fol-
 lous nocht that the cruel inglis men, quhilkis ar 8
 boreaus ande hang men permittit be god to puneis vs,
 that thai ar in the fauoir of god, for the exsecutione of
 goddis punitione on vs, as i sal explane be ane exempil
 of comparisone. ane boreau or hang *man is permittit
 be ane prince to scourge ande to puneise transgressours,
 ande ther efftir that samyn boreau is stikkit or hangit
 eftiruair for his cruel demeritis, as is the end of them 15
 that settis ther felicite to skattir & to skail blude.
 Siklyike the cruel inglis men that hes scurgit vs, hes
 nocht dune it of manhede or visdome, nor of ane gude
 3eil: bot rather the supreme plasmator of hauyn ande
 eird hes permittit them to be boreaus, to puneis vs for
 the mysknaulage of his magestie. Quhar for i treist 21
 that his diuine iustice vil permit sum vthir straynge
 natione to be mercyles boreaus to them, ande til extinct
 that false seid ande that incredule generatione furtht of
 rememorance, be cause thai ar, ande also hes beene, the
 special motione of the iniust veyris that hes trublit
 cristianite thir sex hundretht 3eir by past. quha listis
 to reide the prophesye of ysaye, tha sal fynd ane 28
 exempil conformand to this samyn purpos, quhou that
 the realme of the assiriens vas the scourge of gode to
 puneise the pepil of israel for ther disobediens. bot fra
 tyme that the pepil of israel vas reterit fra ther vice,
 gode distroyit there scourge, that is to saye, he distroyt 33
 assure *the kyng of the assirriens, ande transportit his
 realme in the subiectione of the kyng of perse ande
 meid. Siklyik the grite toune of babillon vas permittit

The English have
 been diuinely
 permitted to
 scourge us,
Iob. ca. 2.

but it does not
 follow that they
 are in God's
 favour.

[* leaf 22]

A public hang-
 man is not a
 favourite;

the English are
 only God's ap-
 pointed execu-
 tioners.

I trust that they
 shall have their
 turn from
 another nation;

they have caused
 the wars of
 Christendom for
 six hundred
 years past.

The Assyrians
 executed God's
 judgment on
 Israel;

[* leaf 22, back]

so did Babylon,
but both were
punished after-
wards.

be gode to scourge the pepil of israel: ande ther efftir
quhen the israelieteis var reterit fra ther inniquite, gode
delyurit them fra the captiuite of babillon, ande dis-
4 troyit that grite toune, ande maid it ane desert inhabit-
abil for serpens ande vthir venesum¹ beystis. Euyrie
thing is corruppit be ane vthir corruppit complexione.
ane file is ane instrument² to file doune yrn, ande ane
synnar is maid ane instrument of the diuyne iustice to
puneise ane vther synnar. the file that filit the yrne is

One sinner is
made to grind
down another,
as a file iron,

10 vorne ande cassin auaye as ane thing onutil to serue to
do ony gude verk: bot the yrn that hes beene filit be
the forgear or be ane smytht, is kepit to serue to the
necessite of men. the father takkis the vand or the
scurge to puneise his sonne that hes brokyn his com-

but it is for the
sake of the iron,
not of the file.

15 mand, ande quhen his sonne becummis obedient, the
father brakkis the vand ande castis it in the fyir: bot
3it gyf his sonne rebellis contrar the correccionne of the
vand, than the father takkis ane batton or sum vthir
sterk vappin to puneise his sonne, & forjet'tis fatherly
20 discipline, ande vsis rigorus extreme punitione. ane ox
that repungnis the brod of his hird, he gettis doubil
broddis, & he that misprisis the correccionne of his pre-
ceptor, his correccionne³ is changit in rigorus punitione.

The father
chastises his son
for his good,
not for the sake
of the rod.

[* leaf 23]

Quhou the Actor conferris the passagis of
the thrid⁴ cheptour of Vsage bitht
the afflictione of Scotland.

CHAP. IIII.

Deute. 28.
We have suffered
all the plagues
threatened in
Deuteronomy,

WE maye persauie for certan, that ve haue bene
scurgit vitht al the plagis that ar befor rehersit
in the xxviii cheptour of deuteronomie, that is to

¹ *Orig. reads venesum; probably should be venemus, or perhaps venesum.*

² *instrumento*

³ *correctioue*

⁴ *thrid*

say, vitht pestelens, vitht the sourde, vitht brakkyng 1
doun of our duelling housis, vitht spulze of our cornis
ande cattel.

Siclyik as it is befor rehersit in the xxvi of le-
uitic, ve haue sauene oure feildis to the behufe of
oure enemeis, ve haue fled fast fra oure enemeis, 6
quhen ther vas nocht mony of them perseuand vs,
ande alse ve maye persauie that ve haue bene scurgit
vitht the plagis that ar contenit in the thrid cheptour
of esaye, quhilk sais that the lord sal tak auaye the
mychty men & the sterk men fra hierusalem ande fra

and in Leviticus,
Leui. 26.

iuda, that is to saye, the lord hes tane fra vs oure
lordis ande barons ande mony vthir nobil men that
vald haue deffendit vs fra oure ald enemeis. the said
cheptour sais that the lord sal tak the iugis ande the
prechours. that passage of ysaye maye be veil applyit

[* leaf 23, back]
and by Isaiah.
Esaye. 3. c.

We have lost our
great men.

16
tyl vs, for as to the iugis ande iustice that ringis pre-
sently in oure cuntre, god maye sende vs bettir quhen
he pleysis. ande as to the precheours, i refer that to
the vniuersal auditor of oure realme. the foir said thrid
cheptour sais, that the pepil of iherusalem ande iuda
ilk ane sal ryise contrar vthirs. that passage of the text
nedis nocht ane alligoric expositione, for the experiens
of that passage is ouer manifest in oure cuntre. the
said cheptour of esaye sais that effemmenet men sal
be superiors to iherusalem ande iuda. that passage is

God send us
better judges
and justices!

not to talk of
preachers.

*Sardanapalus kyng
of sirrie
clethit hym
in remens
claitis, &
span on ane
roc.*

Iustine. li. 1.

ouer euident in oure cuntre, for ther is maye of the
sect of sardanapalus amang vs, nor ther is of scipions
or camillus. the foir said cheptour of esaye sais that the
lord sal gyf to iherusalem ande iuda 3ong kyngis to
gouerne them. that passage of esaye vald be veil con-
sidrit, ande nocht to be vndirstandin be the letteral
expositione, as diuerse of the maist famous doctours of
the kyrk hes rehersit: for quhou be it that oure 3ong
illustir princis be ane tendir pupil, ande nocht entrit
in the aige of puberte, that follouis nocht that hyr

We have many a
Sardanapalus
among us.

As for the ca-
lamity of a young
prince,

[* leaf 24]
that must not be
taken literally,
though our
queen (Mary
Stuart) be only
an infant;

35

1 3outhed is ane plage sende be god to scourge vs, for the
 3outhed of ane prince or of ane princesse is nocht the
 cause of the ruuyn of ane realme, nor 3it the perfyit
 4 aige of ane prince is nocht the cause of the gude gou-
 uernyng of ane public veil. Roboam kyng of israel
 beand fourty 3eir of aige, he tynt ten tribis of his
 realmis throucht misgouernance that procedit of euil
 counsel. Ande in opposit, Osias vas bot aucht 3eir of
 aige quhen he vas vntit kyng, & quhou be it of his
 3outhed, 3it he gouernit veil the cuntre ande the
 public veil. ther for as the eloquent cicero sais, ve suld
 nocht leuk to the aige, nor to the 3outhed of ane per-
 13 son,¹ bot rather to ther vertu. ve haue diuerse uthir
 exemplis, quhou that realmis hes beene veil gouernit
 quhen the princis var in tendir aige, as of spangze ande
 flandris, quhen charlis elect empriour vas bot thre 3eir
 of aige. ande quhou be it that Salomon hes said, cursit
 be the eird that hes ane 3ong prince, thai vordis ar to
 be vndirstandin of inconstant superiors of ane cuntre
 that ar nocht in ane accord to gouerne the public veil,
 21 nor 3it hes ane constant substancial counsel to gou-
 uerne ane realme quhen the prince or princes ar in ten-
 dir aige, ther for, that terme 3outhed suld be vndir-
 standin for ignorance & inconstance, ande nocht for
 3ong of 3eir, for euyre inconstant or ignorant person
 26 is aye repute ande comparit to 3ong childir that hes na
 discretione. Sanct paul vritis to the corinthiens that
 var pepil in perfect aige. quod he, my bredir, be 3e
 nocht in 3our vit lyik childir, bot 3e sal be of litil
 maleise, ande of profound knaulage. parchance sum
 inuyful detrakers vil maling contrar me, sayand that i
 32 suld nocht² haue applyit nor conferrit³ the xxviii of
 deuterio. nor the xxvi of Leuitic, nor the thrid of esaye,
 to the afflictione of oure cuntre, be rason that the con-
 tenu of thir for said cheptours var said to the pepil of

3 *Reg.* 12.
 but, as shown by
 the contrast of
 Rehoboam
 2. *Para.* 16
 and Josiah,

*Virtus quam
 etatis, cur-
 sus celerior.
 Cice. phi-
 lip.* 5.

as well as many
 instances in
 history,

[* leaf 24, back]
Eccle. 10.

it refers to a
 fickle and discord-
 ant government,

not to a prince
 young in years.

1. *Corin.* 14.

Detractors may
 malign me,

and say that
 these portions
 of Scripture
 referred to Israel,
 and not to Scot-
 land;

¹ pson

² uocht

³ confetrit

israel, ande nocht to the pepil of scotland. thir detrakers maye saye as veil that the ten commandis var gyffin to the pepil of Israel, ande nocht tyl cristin men, ande sic 'lyik thai maye saye that the doctryne of the euangelistis is nocht to be kept be cristin men. siclyik thai maye saye that the epistylis of paul suld be kept be the romans, corinthiens, epheseis, & be vthir nations that he vrit to in his dais, ande nocht to be kept be vs that professis vs to be cristin men. Sic opinions ande allegeance suld nocht haue audiens amang cristin pepil. for ther is no thyng said in the scriptour, bot it is said generelye tyl al them that hes resaut the 3oilk ande the confessione of crist. Sanct paul vritis to the romans, sayand, euyrye thing that is vritin in the scriptur is vrityn tylloure edeficatione: thir vordis maye suffice til adnul the peruerst opinions of inuyful calumniaturis ande of secret detrackers. 17

they may say the same of the Decalogue and the Evangel, or of Paul's Epistles.

[* leaf 25] Such remarks are unworthy of Christians.

Quecunque scripta sunt ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt: ut per patientiam & consolationem scripturarum spem habeamus.

Rom. 15.

All Scripture is given for our edification.

Of diuers opinions¹ that the pagan philosphours held of the conditions ande induring of the varld, ande quhou the actor declaris that the varld is neir ane ende.

CHAP. V.

THE special cause of the scourge that hes affligit vs, hes procedit of our disobediens contrar the command of god. Ande the cause of our disobediens hes procedit of ane varldly affectione ande cupidite that ve haue touart the vile corruptione of this varld that the scriptour callis mammon, quhilk ve hald for ane

[leaf 25, back]

The chief cause of our afflictions has been our disobedience to God,

Facite vobis amicos de mammona iniquitatis.

Luce. 16.

¹ *opintous*

and our worship
of mammon.

2 souerane felicite, bot nochtheles it is bot ane corruptit
poison, in sa far as ve can nocht serue gode ande it to

*Non potestis
deo seruire et
mammon.*
Mat. 6. ca.

gyddir. as Sanct mathou hes said, 3e may nocht serue
gode ande mammon. Ther is ane vthir cause that makkis
vs disobedient. mony of us beleuis in our consait that

Many believe that
nothing but the
world is lasting,

ther is na thyng perdurabil bot the varld alanerly. sic
abusione procedis of onfaythfulness ande of oure blynd
affectione, quhilk makkis vs sa brutal, that ve vait

9 nocht quhat thing the varld is, nor quhou lang it sal
indure, bot rather ve beleue that it sal be perpetual.

and value tem-
poral good
above eternal
well-being.

ther for oure cupidite constrenzeis vs to desire prolong-
atione of oure dais, that ve maye vse the blynd sensual
felicite of it, quhilk mony of vs thynkis mair comodius
and necessair for our veifayr, nor ve thynk of the

[* leaf 26]

sem^epeternal olimp. Bot vald ve considir the diffini-
tion of the varld, than i beleue that oure solistnes

16 ande vane opinione vald altir in ane faythful consait.
Ther is mony that speikis of the varld, & 3it thai vait

Many speak of
the world, and
know not what
it is.

The pagan phi-
losophers lost
much time in
speculating on
this question.

nocht quhat thing is the varld. the pagan philosophours
held mony vane opinions, & tynt mekil tyme in vane
questions & speculations, ande hes tormentit¹ the[r]
spreitis, drauand & compiland mony beukis, quhilkis

23 ar set furth in diuerse cuntreis: bot 3it ther vas neuyr
ane final accordance concludit among them:² for of the
final verite that thai socht, thai gat lital, ande the ig-
norance that thai haue put in vrit, is verrey mekil, be
rason that the smallest part of ther ignorance in super-

28 natural cacis, excedit the maist part of ther knaulage.

Plato, Aristotle,
Pythagoras, &c.,
tried to describe
the origin of the
world.

Pythagoras dis-
tinguished be-
tween the world
and the universe;
Thales and
Metrodorus
differed as to
the plurality
of worlds;

Plato, aristotel, pithagoras, empedocles, epecurius,
thales, & mony vthir of the pagan philosophours, hes
hed grite defferens ande contentione to paynt ande di-
scriue the origyne ande propriete of the varld. Pitha-
goras said, that the varld is ane thing, & it that ve cal
vniuersal is ane vthir thyng. the philosophour thales
said that ther is bot ane varld.³ the astrologien metro-

¹ tormentir

² chem

³ vardl

dore affermit that ther is mony & infinit varldis. se- 1
 'leucus¹ the philosophour said that the varld² is eternal. [* leaf 26, back]
 Plato said that the varld hed ane begynnyng, ande sal Seleucus and
 haue ane end. epicurius said that the varld is ronde Plato as to its
 lyik ane boule, & empedocles said that the varld is lang Epicurus and
 & ronde lyik ane eg. Socrates techit in his achademya, Empedocles as
 sayand, that eftir seun ande thretty thousand 3eiris, Socrates taught
 al thingis sal retourne to that sammyn stait as thai should repeat
 began, ande he to be borne agane in his mother 9 themselves in
 voymbe, ande to be neurist til his aige, ande sal teche 37,000 years ;
 philosophie³ in athenes. dionisius sal exsecute his ald Dionysius, Cæsar,
 tirrorane in siracuse. Iulius cesar sal be lord of rome, Scipio, Alexander,
 ande annibal sal conques ytalie. scipio sal put cartage &c., play their
 to sac ande to the sourde, ande grit Allexander sal 14 parts over again.
 venques kyng darius. of this sort, al thingis that ar by
 past sal retourne agane to there fyrst stait. My purpos I don't mean to
 is nocht to speik of this material varld that is maid of speak of the
 the four elementis, of the eird, the vattir, the ayr, ande 18 material world,
 the fyir : bot rather i vil speik of the varld that garris but of the world
 vs mysknau gode, ande [be] disobedient tyl his com- in its theological
 mand. quhen the creator of al thingis cam in this varld sense.
 to redeme vs fra the eternal captiuite of sathan, he 22
 complenit ande repreuit the varld, bot 3it *he repreuit [* leaf 27]
 nocht the eird, the vattir, the ayr, nor the fyir, for thai
 foure elementis brac nocht his command. i haue⁴ herd I have heard
 diuers pepil regret, maling, ande mak exclamations con- many malign the
 trar the varld, sayand, o false varld ! o miserabil varld ! world, calling it
 o dissaitful varld ! o inconstant varld ! o malicious false, deceitful,
 varld ! ande 3it thai kneu nocht quhat thing is the &c.,
 varld. eftir my purpos, that varld⁵ that the pepil maling 28
 lingnis, is nocht ane substancial material mas, maid of
 eird, vattir, ayr, & fyir, bot rather it is the euyl lyfe of *Nunc iudi-*
 the pepil that conuersis viciuslye, ande the prince of *cium est*
 this last varld is the deuyl, the quhilk sal be cassin *mundi: nunc*
 furtht, as is rehersit in the euangel of Sanct ihone. *princeps*
huius mundi.
Iohan. 12.
 when they meant
 the evil life of the
 people in it.
 35

¹ selencus ² varld ³ philhsophle ⁴ hane ⁵ vard

This world is not composed of the four elements,

but of seven elements (the seven cardinal sins).

Alas! they super-abound in our afflicted realm.

[* leaf 27, back]

Cumque me convertissem ad uniuersa opera que fecerent manus mee vidi in omnibus vanitatem & afflictionem animi.

Eccle. 2. c.

We are ready enough to seek remedy against material ills, as hurt, heat, weariness, wet, thirst, plague;

but not against moral diseases, avarice, luxury, anger, arrogance, cupidity.

[* leaf 28]

this varld is nocht formit of the fouer elementis, as of eird, vattir, ayr, ande fyir, as gode creat the material varld in the begynnyng, bot rather it is creat of seuyne elementis of sathans creatione, that is to saye, auereise, ambitione, luxure, crualte, dissait, onfaythfulnes, dissimulatione, & insaciabil cupidite. allace! al thir seuyne elementis that this last varld is creat of, ar¹ ouer abundand vitht in oure affligit realme, quhilk is the cause of the calamite that it induris. bot var ve as solist to considir the vanite of this last varld as Salomon considrit it, than doutles ve vald be verray solist to resist the inuasions of it, quhilk prouokis vs to vice: or var ve as solist til impung the occasione of syn, as ve ar solist to seik remeid contrar the exterior accidentis that oft occurris til hurt oure body, than doutles our sensual cupidite vald be cum mortefeit ande venqueist. Oft tymys ve seik remeide to keip vs fra euyl accidentis that hurtis oure body, as, quhen the sune castis oure grite heyt, ve pas vndir the vmbre or the schaddou: quhen ve ar tirit to gang on oure feit, ve ar solist to seik horse to ryde: quhen the rane cummis, ve pas vndir the thak, or vthir couert place: quhen ve ar thirsty,² ve seik drynk: quhen the plag of pestilens occurris, ve ar solist to seik ane cleene duelling place vndir ane temperat climat. Bot in opposit, quhen auereise assailzeis vs, ve seik nocht the vertu of liberalite, nor quhen vile luxure trublis vs, ve adhere nocht to the vertu of temperance ande conteness: quhen ire affligis vs, ve seik nocht the vertu of patiens: quhen arrogans ande ambitione entris in our hartis, ve seik nocht the vertu of humilite. ande nou, be cause that ve seik na remeid contrar our disordinat cupidite, nor zit resistis the occasions ande temptations of the prouocations of vice, ve becum haistyllye venqueist, bo rason that oure smal resistance generis grit hardynes in

the aduerse party of oure saul. ther is ane mair odius thing amang vs ; for al the vicis that oure cupidite pro-uokis vs to commit, our blynd affectione garris vs beleue that tha ar supreme vertu ande felicite, be cause thai ar pleisand tyl oure fragil nature ; the quhilk is the principal occasione that ve conuerse sa viciusle, as this miserabil sensual lyif var perpetual, ande as the dede hed na pouuer to sla oure bodeis, & as there var nocht ane hel to torment oure saulis, bot as ther var ane fenzet hel of the poietis fictions, as virgil hes set furtht in the sext beuk of his eneados. Bot, as i hef befor rehersit, i suspect that there is ouer mony that beleuis in the opinione of Socrates, that is to saye, that the varld sal indure seyn ande thretty¹ thousand zeiris. bot admittand, vndir p[r]otestatione, that Socrates opinione var of verite, zit socrates hes nocht said that the terme of oure lyue dais sal pas the course of nature, that is to saye, to pas the course of ane hundreht zeir. 7

*ve haue experiens daly, that quhar ane man lyuis ane hundreht zeir in ony cuntre, ane hundreht lyuis nocht ane hundreht moneth. Nou, to confound the opinione of Socrates, ande to confound al them that vil nocht beleue that the varld is neir ane final ende, i vil arme me vitht the croniklis of master ihone carion, quhar he allegis the prophesye of helie, sayand, that fra the begynnyng of the varld, on to the consummatione of it, sal be the space of sex thousand zeir. the quhilk sex thousand zeir sal be deuydit in thre partis. the fyrst tua thousand zeir, the varld sal be vitht out ony specefeit lau in vrit, quhilk vas the tyme betuix adam ande abraham. the nyxt tua thousand zeir vas the lau of circoncisione, vitht ane institutione of diuyn policie, ande vitht adoratione of god, quhilk vas the tyme betuix Abraham ande the incarnatione, quhen crist ihus resaut our humanite for our redemptione. 18

7

18

23

30

35

Worse than that, our moral blindness makes us believe these vices to be virtues ;

they are pleasing to our frail nature.

Iam viuunt homines tanquam mors nulla sequatur & velut infernus fabula ficta foret.

Too many expect the world to last 37,000 years :

though it were so, would the duration of human life be any longer ?

[* leaf 28, back]

But I will disprove this idea :

John Carion quotes the prophecy of Elias, to show that the whole duration of the world shall be only 6000 years, divided into three dispensations.

- 1 the thrid tua thousand 3eir sal be betuix the incarnatione & the last aduent, quhilk sal be the consummatione of the varld. bot thir last tua thousand 3eir (as master ihone carion allegis in the prophesye of helie) sal nocht be completit, be rason *that the daye
- The last two thousand shall be shortened for the elects' sake, [* leaf 29]
- 6 of iugement sal be antecipet, be cause of them that ar his electis, as is vrityn in the xxiii cheptour of Sanct mathou, & nisi breuiati fuissent dies illi, non fieret salua omnis caro : sed propter electos breuiabuntur dies illi. quha listis to reide al the
- as written by Saint Matthew.
- 11 xxiii cheptour of Sanct mathou, tha sal persauie evidently that the varld is verray neir ane ende, be rason that mony of the singis & taikkyns that precedis the daye of iugement, that ar expremit in the foirsaid cheptour, ar by past, & the remanent ar nou presently in oure dais : ther for, efftir the supputatione of helie, as
- The world is very near an end ;
- 17 mastir ihone carion hes rehersit, the varld hes bot four hundretht fyfty tua 3eir tyl indure, be cause that ther is fue hundrethe fourty aucht 3eir by past of the foir said sex thousand 3eir ; bot eftir the vordis of Sanct mathou, the consummatione of the varld sal be haistiar nor foure hundretht fyfthe & tua 3eir ; 3it god hes
- most of the signs are already past.
- 1548 of the last two thousand years are past ;
- 23 nocht affixt ane certan daye to fal vitht in the said terme of iiii. c. lii 3eir, as is rehersit in Sanct mathou, de die autem illa & hora, nemo scit neque angeli celorum, nisi solus pater. ther for ve haue mistir
- the remaining 452 shall be shortened ;
- 27 to be vigilant ande reddy, sen the terme of cristis cumming is schort, ande *the day oncertane, as is said in the foir said euangel. vigilate ergo quia nescitis qua hora dominus vester venturus sit. this veil considrit, maye be ane probabil rason that the varld is neir ane ende, quhilk suld be occasione til haue it in detestatione, ande til haue premeditatione of the future
- the exact date is not fixed
- [* leaf 29, back]
- Therefore, detest the world, which is so near an end.
- 34 eternal beatitude & felicite, that gode hes promeist til al them that haldis it in abhominacione.

Ane Monolog of the Actor.

CHAP. VI.

THE solist ande attentiu laubirs that i tuke to writ
 thir passagis befor rehersit, gart al my body be cum
 imbecille ande veye, ande my spreit be cum sopit
 in sadnes, throucht the lang conteneuatiōne of studie,
 quhilk did fatigat my rason, ande gart al my membris 5
 be cum impotent. than, til eschaip the euyl accidentis
 that succedis fra the onnatural dais sleip, as caterris,
 hede verkis, ande indigestione, i thoct it necessair til
 excerse me vitht sum actyue recreatione, to hald my spreitis
 valkand fra dul'nes. than, to exsecute this purpose, i
 past to the greene hoilsum feildis, situat maist comodi-
 usly fra distempriit ayr ande corruppit infectione, to re-
 saue the sueit fragrant smel of tendir gyrssis, ande of 13
 hoilsum balmy flouris maist odoreferant. besyde the fut
 of ane litil montane, there ran ane fresche reueir as cleir
 as berial, quhar i beheld the pretty fische vantounly
 stertland vitht there rede vermeil fynnis, ande there
 skalis lyik the brycht siluyr. on the tothir syde of that 18
 reueir, there vas ane grene banc ful of rammel grene
 treis, quhar there vas mony smal birdis hoppand fra
 busk to tuist, singand melodius reportis of natural music
 in accordis of mesure of diapason prolations, tripla ande
 dyatesseron. that hauynly ermonyie aperit to be artificial 23
 music. in this glaidful recreatione i conteneuit quhil
 phebus vas descendit vndir the vest northt vest oblique
 oriszone, quhilk vas entrit that samyn daye in the xxv.
 degre of the sing of gemini, distant fiue degreis fra oure
 symmyr solstice, callit the borial tropic of cancer, the 28
 quhilk, be astrolog supputatiōne, accordis vitht the sext
 daye of iune. there eftir i entrit in ane grene forrest, to
 contempil the tendir zong 'frutes¹ of grene treis, be

The labour of writing the above chapters fatigued the author.

To avoid the evil effects of sleeping by day,

he thought he would take some active recreation.

[* leaf 30]

He walked out to the green fields,

to the foot of a hill where there was a stream, abounding in fishes,

overhung by a wooded bank, melodious with the songs of birds.

Amid these scenes he lingered till sunset,

(It was the 6th of June), and then entered a forest, [* leaf 30, back]

¹ frutss

where he walked
to and fro, the
greater part of
the night.

*Iamque ru-
bescebat
stellis aurora
fugatis.*

Eneo 2.

He saw the first
break of dawn in
the N.N.E.,

cause the borial blastis of the thre borouing dais of
marche hed chaisit the fragrant flureise of euyrie frute
tree far athourt the feildis. of this sort i did spaceir vp
ande doune but sleipe, the maist part of the myrk
nycht. instantly there eftir i persaut the messengeiris
of the rede aurora, quhilkis throucht the mychtis of
titan¹ hed persit the crepusculyne lyne matutine of the
northt northt est orizone, quhilk vas occasione that the

9 sternis & planetis, the dominotours of the nycht, ab-
sentit them, ande durst nocht be sene in oure hemi-
sperre, for dreddour of his auful goldin face. Ande als
fayr dyana, the lantern of the nycht, be cam dym ande
pail, quhen titan hed extinet the lycht of hyr lamp on
the cleir daye. for fra tyme that his lustrant beymis var

15 eleuat iiii. degres abufe oure oblique oriszone, euery
planeit of oure hemespeir be cam obscure, ande als al
corrupt humiditeis, ande caliginus fumis & infekkit
vapours, that hed bene generit in the sycond regione of
the ayr quhen titan vas visiand antepodos. thai consumit

The misty
exhalations
vanished;

20 for sorrou quhen thai sau ane sycht of his goldin scheaip.
the grene feildis, for grite droutht, drank vp the drops
of the fresche deu, quhilk of befor hed maid dikis &
dailis verray donc. there eftir i herd the rumour of ram-

the green fields
drank up the
[* leaf 31]
dew.

Birds and beasts
began their din,

26 seik ther sustentatione. there brutal sound did redond
to the hie skyis, quhil the depe hou cauernis of cleuchis
& rotche craggis ansuert vitht ane hie not, of that samyn
sound as thay beystis hed blauen. it aperit be presum-
yng & presuposing, that blaberand eccho hed beene hid

making the
welkin ring with
their various
noises.

*Methamor-
pho. 3.*

32 in ane hou hole, cryand hyr half ansueir, quhen narcis-
sus rycht sorye socht for his saruandis, quhen he vas
in ane forrest, far fra ony² folkis, & there eftir for loue
of eccho he drounit in ane drau vel. nou to tel treutht
of the beystis that maid sic beir, & of the dyn that the

To tell of the
beasts and fowls,
there were

¹ titam

² ony

foulis did, ther syndry soundis hed nothir temperance 1
 nor tune. for fyrst furtht on the fresche feildis, the nolt the neat-cattle,
 maid noyis vitht mony loud lou. baytht horse & meyris horses and mares,
 did fast nee, & the folis nechyr. the bullis began to bulls, sheep,
 bullir, quhen the scheip began to blait, be cause the 5
 calfis began tyl mo, quhen the doggis berkit. than the calves and dogs,
 suyne began to quhryne quhen thai herd the asse rair,¹ swine, the ass,
 quhilk gart the hennis *kekkyll quhen the cokis creu. [* leaf 31, back]
 the chekyns began to peu quhen the gled quhissillit. fowls and
 the fox follouit the fed geise, & gart them cry claik. the kite,
 gayslingis cryit quhilk quhilk, & the dukis cryit quaik. the fox, geese,
 the ropeen of the rauynis gart the crans crope, the goslings, and
 huddit crauis cryit varrok varrok, quhen the suannis ducks ;
 murnit, be cause the gray goul mau pronosticat ane ravens, cranes,
 storme. the turtill began for to greit, quhen the cuschet hooded crows,
 3oulit. the titlene follouit the goilk, ande gart hyr sing swans,
 guk guk. the dou croutit hyr sad sang that soundit lyik the grey gull
 sorrou. robeen and the litil vran var hamely in vyntir. maw, the turtle
 the iargolyne of the suallou gart the iay iangil. than the and cushat-dove,
 maueis maid myrtht, for to mok the merle. the lauerok the hedge-
 maid melody vp hie in the skyis.² the nyctingal al sparrow and
 the nyct sang sueit notis. the tuechitis cryit theuis the cuckoo,
 nek, quhen the piettis clattrit. the garruling of the stir- the dove,
 lene gart the sparrou cheip. the lyntquhit sang cuntir- robin and the
 point quhen the oszil zelpit. the grene serene sang little wren, the
 sueit, quhen the gold spynk chantit. the rede schank swallow and the
 cryit my fut my fut, & the oxe cryit tueit. the³ herrons jay, the thrush
 gaif ane vyild skrech as the kyl hed bene in fyir, quhilk and blackbird,
 gart the quhapis for fleyitnes fle far fra hame. Than the lark and the
 eftir quhen *this dyn vas dune, i dreu me doune nightingale,
 throucht mony grene dail ; i beand sopit in sadnes, i the lapwings and
 socht neir to the see syde. than vndir ane hingand magpies,
 heuch, i herd mony hurlis of stannirs & stanis that the starling and
 tumlit doune vitht the land rusche, quhilk maid ane the sparrow,
 felloune sound, throcht virkyng of the suelland vallis of the linnet and
 ouzel,
 29 the greenfinch
 and the goldfinch,
 the redshank and
 ox-eye tom-tit,
 the herons and
 the curlewa.

[* leaf 0 (32), the first of the un-numbered leaves.]

Leaving this the author next proceeded to the sea-side.

34

¹ tair

² skryis

³ the

- 1 the brym seye. than i sat doune to see the flouyng of
 the fame. quhar that i leukyt far furtht on the salt
 flude. there i beheld ane galiasse gayly grathit for the
 veyr, lyand fast at ane ankir, and hyr salis in hou. i
- 5 herd mony vordis among the marynalis, bot i vist nocht
 quhat thai menit. 3it i sal reherse and report ther cry-
 ing and ther cal. in the fyrst, the master of the galiasse
 gart the botis man pas vp to the top, to leuk far furtht
 gyf he culd see ony schips. than the botis man leukyt
- 10 sa lang quhil that he sau ane quhyt sail. than he cryit
 vitht ane skyrl, quod he, i see ane grit schip. than the
 maister quhislit, and bald the marynalis lay the cabil to
 the cabilstok, to veynde and veye. than the marynalis
 began to veynd the cabil, vitht mony loud cry. ande as
 ane cryit, al the laif cryit in that samyn tune, as it hed
- 16 bene ecco in ane hou heuch. and as it aperit to me, thai
 cryit *thir vordis as eftir follouis. veyra veyra, veyra veyra.
 gentil gallandis, gentil gallandis. veynde i see hym, veynd
 i see hym. pourbossa, pourbossa. hail al ande ane, hail al
 and ane. hail hym vp til vs, hail hym vp til vs. Than
- 21 quhen the ankyr vas halit vp abufe the vattir, ane marynel
 cryit, and al the laif follout in that sam tune, caupon
 caupona, caupon caupona. caupun hola, caupun hola.
 caupun holt, caupon holt. sarrabossa, sarrabossa. than
 thai maid fast the schank of the ankyr. And the maistir
- 26 quhislit and cryit, tua men abufe to the foir ra, cut the
 raibandis, and lat the foir sail fal, hail doune the steir
 burde lufe harde a burde. hail eftir the foir sail scheit,
 hail out the bollene. than the master quhislit ande cryit,
 tua men abufe to the mane ra, cut the raibandis, and lat
- 31 the mane sail and top sail fal, hail doune the lufe close
 aburde, hail eftir the mane sail scheit, hail out the mane
 sail boulene. than ane of the marynalis began to hail and
 to cry, and al the marynalis ansuert of that samyn sound.
 hou hou. pulpela pulpela. boulena boulena. darta darta.
 hard out steif, hard out steif. afoir the vynd, afoir the

Gazing across the
 flood he saw a
 galiasse accoutred
 for war.

What happened
 on board;

a sail descried,

the anchor
 weighed.

[* leaf 0 (32), back]
 The words to
 which the sailors
 kept time.

The sails
 unfurled.

The sailors again
 keep time to
 words.

vynd. god send, god send, fayr vedthir, *fayr vedthir. [* leaf 0 (33)]
 mony pricis, mony pricis. god foir lend, god foir lend. 2
 stou, stou. mak fast & belay. Than the master cryit,
 and bald ren3e ane bonet, vire the trossis, nou heise.
 than the marynalis began¹ to heis vp the sail, cryand, The unfurling of
the sails
continued.
 heisau, heisau. vorsa, vorsa. vou, vou. ane lang draucht, 7
 ane lang draucht. mair maucht, mair maucht. 3ong blude,
 3ong blude. mair mude, mair mude. false flasche, false
 flasche. ly a bák, ly a bak. lang suak, lang suak. that
 that, that that. thair thair, thair thair. 3allou hayr,
 3allou hayr. hips bayr, hips bayr. til hym al, til hym al.
 viddefullis al, viddefuls al. grit and smal, grit and 12
 smal. ane and al, ane and al. heisau, heisau. nou
 mak fast the theyrs. Than the master cryit, top 3our
 topinellis, hail on 3our top sail scheitis, vire 3our
 listaris² and 3our top sail trossis, & heise the top sail
 hiear. hail out the top sail boulene. heise the mys3en, 17
 and change it ouer to leuart. hail the linche and the
 scheitis, hail the trosse to the ra. than the master cryit
 on the rudir man, mait keip ful and by, a luf. cumna
 hiear. holabar, arryua. steir clene vp the helme, this
 and so. than quhen the schip vas taiklit, the master 22
 cryit, boy to the top. schaik out the flag on the top
 mast. tak in 3our top salis, *and thirl them. pul doune The flag hoisted.
 the nok of the ra in daggar vyise. marynalis, stand be [* leaf 0 (33), back]
 3our geyr in taiklene of 3our salis. euery quartar master 26
 til his auen quartar. boitis man, bayr stanis & lyme
 pottis ful of lyme in the craklene pokis to the top, and
 paueis veil the top vitht pauesis and mantillis. Gun- They prepare for
an engagement.
 naris, cum heir & stand by 3our artail3ee, euyrie gunnar
 til his auen quartar. mak reddy 3our cannons, culuerene 31
 moyens, culuerene bastardis, falcons, saikyrs, half saik-
 yrs, and half falcons, slangis, & half slangis, quartar
 slangis, hede stikkis, murdresaris, pasuolans, bersis, The artillery
brought into
readiness.
 doggis, doubil bersis, hagbutis of croche, half haggis,

¹ began² Or listaris ? the letter is indistinct.

The galliase
bears down on
the ship,

1 culuerenis, ande hail schot. ande 3e soldartis & con-
pangzons of veyr, mak reddy 3our corsbollis, hand
bollis, fyir speyris, hail schot, lancis, pikkis, halbardis,
rondellis, tua handit sourdis and tairgis. than this gaye

7 speid the galliase pat furtht hir stoytene salis, ande
ane hundretht aris on euerye syde. the master gart al
his marynalis & men of veyr hald them quiet at rest, be
rason that the mouyng of the pepil vitht in ane schip,
[* leaf 0 (34)] stoppis hyr of 'hyr faird. of this sort the said galliase

12 in schort tyme cam on vynduart of the tothir schip.
and engages her.

than eftir that thai hed hailsit vthirs, thai maid them
reddy for battel. than quhar i sat i hard the cannons
and gunnis mak mony hiddeus crak duf, duf, duf, duf,
duf, duf. the barsis and falcons cryit tirduf, tirduf, tir-

17 A description of
the firing.

duf, tirduf, tirduf, tirduf. than the smal artailze cryit,
tik tak, tik tak, tik tak, tik tak. the reik, smeuk, and
the stink of the gun puldir, fylit al the ayr maist lyik
as plutois paleis hed been birnand in ane bald fyir,
quhilk generit sik mirknes & myst that i culd nocht
see my lyntht about me. quhar for i rais and returnit to
the fresche feildis that i cam fra, quhar i beheld mony

The author
returned to the
fresh fields,

24 hudit hirdis blauuand ther buc hornis and ther come
pipis, calland and conuoyand mony fat floe to be fed
on the feildis. than the scheiphirdis pat there scheip on
bankis and brais, and on dry hillis, to get ther pastour.

and saw the
shepherds taking
out their flocks.

Their breakfast
was brought out
to them by their
wives and
children;

than i beheld the scheiphirdis vyuis and ther childir
that brocht there mornyng brakfast to the scheiphirdis.
than the scheiphirdis vyuis cuttit raschis and seggis,

31 they eat down on
a bed of rushes
[* leaf 0 (34), back]
and meadwort,
and partook of all
kinds of milk,
curds,

and gadrit mony fragrant grene meduart, vitht the
quhilkis tha couurit the end of ane leye rig, & syne sat
doune al to gyddir to tak there refe'ctiōne, quhar thai
maid grit cheir of euyrie¹ sort of mylk, baytht of ky
mylk & 3oue mylk, sueit mylk and sour mylk, curdis

¹ enryie.

and quhaye, sourkittis, fresche buttir ande salt buttir, whey, butter, reyme, flot quhaye, grene cheis, kyrn mylk. euyrie cream, and scheiphird hed ane horne spune in the lug of there cheese; 3
 bonet: thai hed na breyd bot ry caikis and fustean their bread was skonnis maid of flour. than eftir there disiune, tha began to talk of grit myrrynes that vas rycht plesand to be hard. in the fyrst, the prencipal scheiphirde maid ane orisone tyl al the laif of his conpanzons as eftir follouis. then followed mirth and glee, and the chief shepherd made an oration. 9

¶ O 3e my frendis that ar scheiphirdis, ve hef grit cause to gyf thankis to god for the hie stait and dignite that he hes promouit vs to posses, the quhilk stait preferris al vthir faculte of this varld, baytht in honour and in profeit. for sen the varld vas creat, scheiphirdis 14
 prefferit al vthir staitis. quhar for the maist anciant nobilis that hes bene in ald tymis, tha detestit vrbānite, and desirit to lyue in villagis and landuart¹ tounis to be scheiphirdis, or to laubir rustic ocupation on the hoilsum feildis, as diuerse historigraphours hes maid mentione. for in ald tymis pastoral and rustical *ocupatione 19
 vas of ane excellent reputatione, for in thai dais quhen the goldin varld rang, kyngis and princis tuke mair delyit on the feildis and forrestis to keip bestialite and to manure corne landis, nor thai did to remane in pretoral palecis or in tryumphand citeis. riche kyng amphion vas verray solist to keip his scheip, and at euyne² quhen thai past to there faldis, scheip cottis and ludgens, he playt befor them on his harpe. Siklyik 28
 kyng dauid hed mair affectione to play on his harpe amang his flokkis of scheip, nor he hed to be gouernour of the pepil of Israel. ande appollo, that the poietis callis the god of sapiens, he vas scheiphird to keip kyng admetus scheip. siklyik the nobil romans in 33
 the baran feildis vitht there auen handis, to gar the

He pointed out the excellence of the pastoral life;

quoting the ancients,

[* leaf 0 (35)]

and the manners of the golden age;

citing also the examples of Amphion,

Apollo,

¹ landnart

² enyn

- 1 eird becum fertil to bayr al sortis of corne, eirbis, gytse
& spice, as ve hef exempil of the prudent quintus
Cincinatus, cincinatus, quha vas chosyn be the senat to be dictatur
of rome, at that samyn tyme he vas arand the land
5 vitht his auen hand at the pleuch. siklyik the sapient
Porcius Cato, porcus cathon censor of rome vas verray solist on the
Romulus, art of agreculture. Siklyik romulus the fyrst kyng of
[* leaf 0 (35), back] ro'me set his hail felicite on the manuring of the feildis.
Fabricius, &c. ande also the tua vailzeant romans, fabricius and curius
10 dentatus, var nocht eschamit til excerse them on the
Numa Pompillus, culture of the feildis. Siklyik numa pompilius, that
deuot kyng of rome, statut that the senaturis of rome
suld keip there scheip, as is rehersit in ane verse that i
14 hef red of ane senatur, pascobatque suas ipse senator
oues. Siklyik paris the thrid sounne of kyng Priam of
Paris son of Priam, troy vas ane scheiphird, and keptit bestialite on montht
Scipio Africanus, ydea. Ande also the nobil Scipio, quhilk vas vailzeant
ande no les prudent, he conqueist affrica, and pat cart-
19 age to sac, and subdeuit numance, and venqueist
Annibal, and restorit the liberte of rome. than in his
aige of lij 3eir, he left the toune of rome, ande past to
remane the residu of his dais in ane landuart village
betuix pezole & capue in ytalie, and there he set his
24 felicite on the manuring of the corne land, & in the
keping of bestialite. Ande also lucullus, that prudent
Lucullus, consul of rome, quha hed conqueist diuerse battellis
contrar the parthiens, than in his last dais he left the
toune of rome, and past to duel in ane village besyde
29 naples, quhar that he excersit hym on rustic occupatione
ande on be'stialite. Siklyik the nobil Empriour
[* leaf 0 (36)] dioclesian, eftir that he hed gouernit the empire xvij
Diocletian, 3eir, he left the tryumphand toune of rome, & past til
ane village be syde florens, and ther he vsit the laubor-
34 ing of the cornis and vynis, & on bestialite. Ande also
and Pericles, the prudent duc perecles, quha hed the gouerning of
the comont veil of athenes xxxvj 3eir, 3it in his aige

of lx zeiris, he left the glorius stait of athenes, & past 1
 to remane in ane litil village quhar he set his felicite to
 keip nolt and scheip. quhat sal be said of the patriarchis
 Abraam, Isaac & Iacob, and of the princis & prophetis
 of Israel? var thai nocht hirdis & scheiphirdis? for ther
 prencipal vacatione vas on the neuresing¹ of bestialite. Abraham, Isaac,
and Jacob,
were they not all
shepluerds?

Ther for (O ze my companjons, scheiphirdis and hirdis) 7
 ve hef grit cause to gloir and to gyf thankis to god for
 the grit dignite that ve posses, for ther is na faculte,
 stait, nor vacatione in the vniuersal varld, that can be
 comparit til oure stait. for al vthir staitis of al degreis,
 baytth temporal and speritual, that remanis in tryumph- 12
 and citeis and burroustounis, ther ringis na thing amang
 them bot auareis, inuy, hatrent, dispyit, discention, &
 mony vthir detestabil vicis: and also there bodeis *ar
 subiect tyl al sortis of seiknes, be rason of the corruptit
 infectione and euyl ayr that is generit in ane cite quhar
 maist confluens of pepil resortis, quhilk causis pestilens 18
 and diuerse vthir sortis of contagiuis maladeis, & also
 ocasione that the maist part of them endis ther the in-
 temperans of ther moutht² in eyting & drynkyng, con-
 sumis ther stomakis & al ther membrs, quhilk is occa-
 sione that the maist part of tham endis ther dais in 23
 there green 3outhed. bot it is nocht siclyik of vs that
 ar scheiphirdis, for ve lyif on the fragrant feildis quhar
 ve ar neureist³ vitth the maist delicius temperat ayr,
 and ther is nothir hatrent, auareis⁴ nor discord amang
 vs, nor there is nothir detraction, leysingis, nor calumni- 28
 ations amang vs. ve hef cherite to god, & loue tyl our
 nychtbours, and the maist part of vs hes gude hail in
 our body quhil ve be ane hundretht zeir. ande also
 quhou be it that the riche and opulent potestatis that
 dueillis in citeis and burroustounis, reputis vs that ar 33
 scheiphirdis⁵ to be ignorant, inciuil, & rude of ingyne,
 zit nochtheles al the sciencis and knaulage that thai
What estate can
compare with
this?
[* leaf 0 (36), back]
Cities engender
corruption
and Intemper-
ance.
Shepherds live in
the fragrant
fields
to an old age.
City-dwellers
account them
rude,

¹ nenresing² moucht³ nenreist⁴ anareis⁵ schelphis

[* leaf 0 (37)]
but all science had
its beginning
among them.

ascribe and proffessis to be dotit in them, hes fyrst pro-
cedit fra our faculte, nocht alanerly in the 'inuentione
of natural mecanyc consaitis, bot as veil the speculatione
of supernatural thingis, as of the firmament and of the

5 planetis, the quhilk knaulage ve hef prettikyt throucht
the lang contemplene of the motions and reuolutions of
the nyne hauynis. Siklyik phisic, astronomye and
natural philosophie, var fyrst prettikit and doctrinet be

Especially
Astronomy;

9 vs that ar scheiphirdis, for our faculte knauis the natur
and the vertu of the sternis and planetis of the spere,
and of the circlis contenit in the samyn: for throucht
the lang studie and contemplene of the sternis, ve can
gyf ane iugement of diuerse futur accedentis that ar

they have long
contemplated the
stars.

14 gude or euyl, necessair or damageabil for man or beyst:
for it is manifest that scheiphirdis hes descriuit and
definit the circlis and the mouyng of the speris, as i sal
reherse to 3ou that ar 3ong scheiphirdis, to that effect

18 that 3e may hef speculatione of the samyn. In the
fyrst, ihosephus the historigraphour that treittis of the
antiquite of the ieuis, rehersis in his fyrst beuk, that
the childir of seth (quhilk vas the sounne of Adam) var
the fyrst inuentours of the art of astronomie, and in-

Josephus tells
that the sons of
Seth were the
first astronomers.

23 uestigatours of the celest coursis & mouimentis, the
quhilk art thai grauit vitht 'lettris (for the vtilite of
there posterite) in tua tablis of stane. ane of the tablis
vas of baikyn stane, and the tothir tabil of onbaykyn
stane. the quhilk thing thai did be cause thai hed herd

[* leaf 0 (37), back]

They recorded
their discoveries
on two tablets,

28 ther father seth reherse, that his father Adam hed pro-
phetys3it that the varld sal end be vattir and be the
fyr, and for that cause the baikyn stane vald thole the
fyr, & the onba[k]yn stane vald thole the vattir, and of
this sort the art of astronomie suld ay remane uncon-

one of brick to
stand the fire,
and one of stone
to stand the flood.

33 sumit. ande thai tua tablis hes bene regester and funda-
atione til al them that hes studeit in cosmographie,
geographie, and in topographie. There for, to mak ane
diffinitione of cosmographie (as far as ve scheiphirdis

hes contemplit) it is ane vniuersal discriptione of the varld, contenand in it the four elementis, the eird, the vattir, the ayr, and the fyir, the sone and mune, and al the sternis :¹ ther for ane man that desiris tyl hef ony iugement of cosmographie, he suld fyrst contempil and considir the circlis of the spere celest : for be that distinctione of the said circlis, it sal be facill to knau the distance of diuerse cuntreis that lye vnder the said circlis, bayth of there longitude and of ther latitude, and the proportione of the climatis, and the diuersite of the dais & nychtis of the four quartars of the varld, and it sal declair the mouyng, eleuatione, and declinatione of the sone, mune, and of the sternis fixt, and sternis erratic. and it sal declair the eleuatione of the polis, and the lynis parallelis, and the meridian circlis, and diuerse vther documentis and demonstrations mathematicis.

¶ Nou fyrst to speik of the mouyng of the spere, and of the diuisione of the hauynis, 3e sal knau that the varld is diuidit in tua partis, that is to say, the fyrst part is the regione elementair, quhilk is subiect til alteratione and to corruptione. the nyxt part of the varld is callit the regione celest (quhilk philosophours callis quinta essentia) vitth in the concauite of the quhilk is closit the regione elementar. this said regione celest is nothir variabil nor corruptabil. it is diuidit in ten speris, and the gritest spere quhilk is the outuart spere, inclosis in it the spere that is nyxt til it, & sa be progressionne and ordur, euyrie spere inclosis the spere that is nerest tyl it. in the fyrst, the regione elementair is inclosit vitth in the spere of the mune, and nyxt it is the spere of mercu'rius, and syne the spere of venus, and nyxt it is the spere of the sone, and abufe and about it is the spere of mars, and syne the spere of Iupiter, and than the spere of Saturnus. and ilk ane of

Cosmography
treats of the
universe,
and four
elements;

the great circles
of the sphere;

[* leaf 0 (38)]

the motions of
sun, moon, fixed
stars and planets.

19

The world consists of two parts; a terrestrial and celestial.

24

The celestial world consists of ten spheres,

29

[* leaf 0 (38), back]

¹ sterius

seven having
each a planet;

the eighth is the
firmament;

the ninth is the
crystalline
heaven;

the last the
primum mobile,

which carries the
others along
with it.

Beyond this, all
is immovable;
it is the empyrean
where stands
the throne.

The axis of the
sphere

ends in the two
pole stars.

- thir speris hes bot ane sterne or planete that mouis in the zodiac contrar the muuyng of the fyrst mobil that ve cal the tent spere. nyxt thir speris is the firmament, quhilk is callit the hauyn, or the spere of the sternis, and about it is the nynte spere, callit the hauyn cristellyne, be cause¹ that there can nocht be na sternis seen
- 7 in it. Al thir nyne speris or hauynis ar inclosit vitht in the tent spere, quhilk is callit the fyrst mobil, the quhilk makkis reuolutione and course on the tua polis fra day to daye in the space of xxiiij houris fra orient til occident, and returnis agane to the orient. bot the
- 12 mouyng of the tother nyne hauynis is fra the occident to the orient, quhilk is contrar to the mouyng of the tent spere callit the fyrst mobil. 3it nochtheles the mouyng of the fyrst mobil is of sic violens, that it con- strenzeis the tothir nyne speris or hauynis to pas vitht
- 17 it fra orient tyl occident, quhilk is contrar to there auen natural mouyng, there for the compulsit retrograid mouyng is callit be astrono'mours, motus raptus accessus, & recessus stellarum fixarum. al the
- 21 thyng that circuitis this last tent hauyn or fyrst mobil, is immobil and mouis nocht: there for it is callit the hauyn empire, quhar the trone diuine standis, as effermis the famous doctours of the kyrk. Nou to proceid in the discriptione of the speris of the hauynis. in the
- 26 fyrst, 3e sal ymagyn ane lyne that passis throucht the spere lyik til ane extree of ane cart, callit axis spere, quhilk is the rycht dyametre of the spere, on the quhilk lyne or extre the speris & hauynis turnis on. than at
- 30 the endis of the said lyne, 3e sal ymagyne tua sternis, quhilk ar callit the tua polis of the firmament. ane of them standis at the northt, quhilk is callit the pole artic, boreal, or septemtrional. it aperis til vs in our habitatione, be rason that it is eleuat abufe our ori3one.
- 35 the tothir sterne standis at the southt, and it is callit

the pole antartic austral or meridional. it is ay hid fra
 vs, for it aperis neuyr in our hemispere be rason that it
 is vndir our orizon. 3e sal vndirstand, that the sterne 3
 quhilk the scheiphirdis and marynalis callis the north
 sterne, that sterne is nocht the pole artic, for the pole
 artic is bot ane ymaginet point, distant *iiij degreis fra [* leaf 0 (39), back]
 that sterne that ve cal the northt sterne, the quhilk
 sterne is callit alrukaba. and also 3e sal vndirstand, 8
 that the southt¹ sterne that is eleuat abufe the orizon.
 of them that duellis bezond the equinoctial, it is callit
 canapus. ther for it suld nocht be callit the pole
 antartic, for the pole antartic is bot ane ymaginet
 point, quhilk standis iiij degreis fra the sterne that is
 callit canapus.² There is ane vthir circle callit orizone, 14
 the quhilk cuttis the spere in tua partis. there is tua
 sortis of orizons, ane is callit the rycht orizon, the
 tothir is callit the oblique orizone. thai that hes there
 zenith in the equinoctial, thai hef the rycht orizon,
 be rason that the tua polis ar in there orizon, ande thai 19
 that hes ane oblique orizon, ane of the polis is eleuat
 abufe ther orizon, ande the tothir pole is hid vndir
 there hemispere and orizon. Ther is ane vthir circle in
 the spere callit meridian, the quhilk gais betuix the tua
 polis rycht abufe our hede. than quhen the sune
 cummis fra the orient to that circle, it is iust tuelf 25
 houris of the daye, & quhen the sune is in opposit til
 our meridian vndir our orizon, than it is mydnycht.
 There is ane vthir circle of the spere, callit the circle
 equinoctial, the quhilk deuidis the spere in tua partis.
 it is of ane lyik distance fra the tua polis. it is callit
 equinoctial, be cause that quhen the sune cummis til it,
 than the day and the nycht ar of ane lyntht in euerye³ 32
 part of the varld, and that occurris tua tymis ilk 3eir,
 that is to say, quhen the sune cummis in the fyrst
 degre of aries, quhilk is the xj daye of marche, & in the

The south pole
we never see.

[* leaf 0 (39), back]

The poles are
imaginary points.

The horizon
divides the sphere
in twain.

The meridian
goes from pole
to pole.

[* leaf 0 (40)]
The equinoctial
lies even between
the two poles.

¹ soucht
COMPLAYNT.

² canap'
4

³ enerye

- 1 fyrst degre of libra, quhilk is the xiiij day of september. Ther is ane vthir grit circle in the spere, callit the zodiac, the quhilk deuidis the circle equinoctial in tua partis. the zodiac is deuidit in tuelf partis, and ilk part is callit ane sing, the quhilk zodiac extendis til tuelf
- The zodiac and its twelve signs.**
- 6 singnis, callit Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus, Aquarius, Pisces. Ande euyrie sing is diuidit in xxx degreis. Ther is tua vthir circlis in the spere callit
- The colures.**
- 11 colures. ane of them passis be the zodiac in the begynnyng of Aries and Libra, quhilkis ar tua singnis equinoctialis. the tothir circle passis in the begynnyng of Cancer and capricorn, quhilk ar tua solstice singnis. Ther ar four vthir lital circlis in the spere. ane is callit
- The tropics.**
- 17 the tropic of Cancer, quhilk is the solstice of symmyr. it is distant xxiiij degreis xxx mu'netis fra the equinoctial touart septemtrion. quhen the sune cumis til it,
- The summer and winter solstice.**
- 22 than it is the langest day of the 3eir to them that duellis betuix the pole artic and the equinoctial. The circle of capricorne is callit the solstice of vyntir. quhen the sune cummis til it passand touart the pole antartic, than thai that duellis betuix the equinoctial and the pole antartic, hes ther langast day of the 3eir, & than ve hef the schortest day of the 3eir. The circle artic is xxiiij degreis xxx munitis fra the pole artic. siclyik the circle antartic is xxiiij degreis xxx munitis
- 27 fra the pole antartic, & also the septemtrional solstice callit the tropic of cancer, is xxiiij degreis xxx munitis fra the equinoctial, and the meridional solstice of capricorn is xxiiij degreis xxx munitis fra the equinoctial. The point that is rycht abufe our hede is callit 3enyth,¹ the quhilk is iiij scoir and ten degreis distant fra our
- The zenith is right above our heads.**
- 33 orizon, ande as oft as ve change fra place to place, as oft ve sal hef ane vthir 3enytht,² and the place that is direct contrar til our 3enyth¹ is callit antipodes. tha
- The antipodes.**

¹ 3enyth² 3enytht

that duellis in thai partis, thai hef ther solis direct 1
 contrar til our solis, ande thai hef the hauyn for ther
 3enyth¹ as veil as² ve, & quhen ve hef the langest day of
 sy'myr, than thai hef the schortest day in vyntir, [*leaf 0 (41)]
 ande quhen thai hef symmyr, than ve hef vyntir. 3it 5
 nochtheles, lactantius firmien, that famous doctor of the
 holy kyrk, in his thrid beuk, in the xxiiij cheptor, he
 scornis the mathematiciens that effermis antipodos : &
 syklyk Sainet agustyne de ciuitate dei, in the ix chep-
 tour of his seuynt beuk, allegis mony freuol argumentis 10
 contrar the antipodos : quhar for it aperis veil that thir
 tua doctours, agustin & lactantius, var mair expert in
 theologie nor thai var in cosmographie, considerand
 that ther is sa mony probabil rasons that preuis that 15
 the eird is round, ande that the eird is the centir of the
 ix hauynis,³ and that the sune circuitis and gais about
 the eird euyrie xxiiij houris. for ve maye see be ex-
 periens, that quhen the sune rysis at our est orizon,
 than it ascendis quhil it cum til our meridian, and ther
 eftir it declynis and passis vndir our vest orizon, quhilk 20
 is ane manifest taikyn that the sune gais about al the
 eird : quhar for it aperis veil, that ther is pepil duel-
 land vndir vs. and also ve hef ane vthir probabil sing
 to preif that the eird and the vattir is rond. for admit-
 tand that sum man vald set ane stabil mark at the *see
 syde, and syne this man departand in ane schip fra that
 mark, sailand quhil he be furtht of the sycht of the said
 mark, than he beand in the body of the said schip
 quhen he hes tynt the sycht of his mark, than he
 montis and passis vp to the top of the schip, and than
 he persauis his mark perfytly, the quhilk he culd nocht 31
 persae in the body of the schip, quhou be it that the
 body of the schip be nerar his mark nor is the top of
 the schip. this exempil makkis plane that the eird is
 rond. Siklyk ane man beand on the hede of ane hil, 35

Lactantius and
 Augustine
 ridiculed the idea
 of antipodes ;

they were better
 theologians than
 cosmographers.

Undoubtedly the
 earth is round,

and people
 dwelling under
 us.

[*leaf 0 (41), back]

The example of a
 ship descried at
 sea shows the
 earth is round.

¹ 3enyth

² rs

³ hanynis

- 1 he vil see ane schip farrar on the seye nor he vil see at
 the fut of the hil, quhou be it that the fut of the hil be
 nerar the said schip nor is the hede of the hyl. i hef
 rehersit thir vordis to gar obstinat ignorant men consaue
 that ther is antipodos, that is to say, that there is pepil
 that duellis vndir our feit. i suld hef rehersit of befor,
- 7 quhou that thai that hes the equinoctial for ther zenyth,¹
 ande hes the tua polis in ther orizon, thai hef tua sym-
 myrs and tua vintirs euyrie zeir. for ther fyrst symmyr
 is quhen the sune entris in the fyrst degre of aries,
- 11 quhilk is in the xj day of marche, and ther fyrst vintir
 [* leaf 0 (42)] is quhen the sune entris in the fyrst degre of *cancer,
 quhilk accordis vitht the xij. day of iune; and ther
 sycond symmyr is quhen the sune entris in the fyrst
 degre of libra, quhilk accordis vitht the xiiij. daye of
 16 september; & ther sycond vintir is quhen the sune
 entris in the fyrst degre of capricorn, quhilk accordis
 vitht the xij. day of december. the tua vintirs that thai
 hef ar nocht verray vehement cald, bot ther tua sym-
 20 myrs ar vndir birnand heyt, quhilk is occasione that the
 pepil that duellis vndir the equinoctial ar blac of ther
 cullour. And fra tyme that the sune be past the equi-
 noctial, touart the meridian tropic of capricorn, than
 thai that dueillis vndir the northt pole, thai hef ane
 25 conteneual nycht and no day, quhil on to the tyme
 that the sune return, & is entrit in the fyrst degre of
 Aries. the rason of thir lang nychtis is, be cause that
 the sune beand past the equinoctial, touart² the meri-
 dional tropic, than it is al that tyme vndir the orizon
 30 of them that hes the northt pole for ther zenyth.³
 Siklyik, quhen the sone cummis fra the equinoctial,
 passand touart the septemtrional tropic of cancer, than
 and south pole, thai that duellis vndir the meridional pole, hes con-
 34 teneual nycht quhil the sone returne agane to the fyrst
 [* leaf 0 (42), back] degre * of libra, be rason that quhen the sone is northt

1 zenych

2 tonart

3 zenych

fra the equinoctial, than it is vndir the orizon of them 1
 that hes the meridional pole for ther zenyth¹; & sa be
 this narratione, thai that duellis vndir the pole artic,
 hes ane conteneual nycht half ane 3eir to gyddir, and lasting half a
year
 the tothir half 3eir thai hef conteneual day and no
 nycht half ane 3eir to gyddir; and it is of the samyn 6
 sort to them that duellis vndir the pol antartic. And
 nou, sen i hef declarit the circelis of the spere, i vil
 speik of the reuolutions and of the nature of the vij
 planetis. O 3e scheiphirdis,² 3e sal contempil in the
 firmament ane sterne callit saturn, quhilk is hie abufe *Saturn.*
 al the laif of the planetis, and for that cause it aperis 12
 verry lital to mennis sycht. it makkis reuolutione in
 thretty 3eir, and returnis to the samyn point that it revolves in 30
years,
 cam fra. it makkis ane circle fra occident til orient,
 contrar the fyrst mobil. it is of ane cald frosty natur.
 Nyxt saturne standis the spere & hauyn of Iupiter, 17
 quhilk makkis the cours & circuit in tuelf 3eir. it is *Iupiter.*
 of ane temperat natur, be cause it standis in the myd in 12 years.
 vay betuix the caldnes of Saturn & the byrmand heyt
 that Mars induris throucht the vicinite of sol. Ande 21
 nyxt to Iupiter standis the hauyn and spere of Mars, [* leaf 0 (43)]
 quhilk sum men callis³ Hercules. it reuoluis in ane *Mars.*
 circle in tua 3eir. it is inflammit in ane feruent heyt revolves in two
years;
 that ascendis fra the sone. Nyxt to Mars standis the 25
 hauyn of the sone, the quhilk makkis reuolutione in *Sol.*
 thre hundreth thre scoir of degreis, quhilk is the space the Sun, in one
year;
 of ane 3eir. the verteous heyt of it temperatis al the 29
 sternis of the firmament. Nyxt vndir the spere of the
 soune standis the spere & hauyn of Venus,⁴ quhilk is *Venus.*
 ane grit sterne of ane meruelous lustir. in the mornyng sometimes a
morning star,
 it aperis ane lang tyme or the soune ryise, and gyffis
 ane grit lycht. at that tyme it is callit lucifer, be cause 33
 it auancis the day befor the crepusculine. and siclyk it
 aperis verry haisty on fayr day lycht, quhen the soune

¹ zenych² sheiphirdir³ cellis⁴ Ven'

- 1 discendis vndir the vest orizon : at that tyme it is callit
 sometimes an evening star ; vesper, be cause it prolongis the day. sum men callis it
 Iuno, and sum callis it isis. al thing that the eird pro-
 creatis is confortit be it, be rason of the vertu of the
- 5 fresche deu that discendis fra it. it makkis ane onstabil
 revolves in 348 reuolution in thre hundreht xlviij dais, and ay it is
 days ; vitht in xlvj degreis fra the soune. Nyxt vndir the
Mercurius. spere of Venus, standis the spere & hauyn of Mercurius,
 [* leaf 0 (43), back] quhilk sum men callis ap'pollo, quhilk makkis reuolu-
 10 tione nyne dais mair haistiar nor dois venus, bot it
 aperis nocht as grit as Venus. it is ay sene befor the
 soune rysing, and haisty eftir that the soune is cum to
 the vest orizon, & it is ay xxij. degreis neir to the
- 14 soune. The last and the nerest planet, quhilk is callit
Luna. the mune, the quhilk is ane familiar frende to the eird,
 the creator of al thingis ordand it to be ane remeid
 The moon is the most admirable star, contrar mirknes of the nycht. it is the maist admirabil
 sterne of the firmament. the diuersite & the variance of
 19 it hes trublit the vndirstanding of them that contemplit
 having many phases, it, be rason that sum tyme it grouis & sum ¹tyme it
 decessis,¹ quhilk is contrar the natur of vthir sternis ;
 for sum tyme it aperit neukyt, heffand hornis, and sum
 tyme it vas al rond, and sum tyme it vas bot half rond ;
- 24 sum tyme it vald schau lycht² half the nycht, and sum
 tyme it vald schau lycht al the nycht, & sum tyme it
 vald be thre dais to gyddir nocht sene ; & also the
 reuolutione & circuit of it maid as lang passage in xxvij
 28 dais & viij houris, as the planet saturn did in thretty
 zeir. Nou i vil rehers the cause of the variance ande
 the mutations of the cours of the Mune. 3e sal vndir-
 stand, that the mutacione and variance of the mu'ne,
 in sa mony diuerse sortis, procedis as i sal reherse. The
 33 mune is ane thik masse, round lyik ane boule or bal,
 heffand no lycht of hyr self ; for sche and al the vthir
 The moon has no light of her own, sternis resauis ther lycht fra the soune. there for, sa

1—1 it decessis tyme

2 lycht

mekil of the mune that hes hyr aspect touart the soune, 1
hes lycht; bot the tothir half of the mune, that hes no
aspect to the soune, resauis no lycht. The cause quhy but receives her
light from the
sun. that the mune schauis lycht one time, and is obscure
ane vthir tyme, is be rason that sche is moir suift in
hyr retrograid cours nor the soune is: for of hyr auen 6
propir mouyng fra occident til orient in the zodiac,
sche cummis euyrie xxvij dais viij houris vnder the
samyn degre that the sone is in til. at that tyme the
vulgaris sais that the mune is in the coniunctione witht
the sone. Sum tyme the mune is in oppositione, that 11
is, quhen the mune & the soune ar in apposit degreis.
than ve see the maist part of the lycht that the mune
hes resaut fra the soune. the vulgaris sais, at that
tyme, that the mune is ful, zit nochtheles the mune is The moon is
always full.
ay ful, as veil at the coniunction as at the appositione,
bot quhen the mune is in the eclipsis. for in the tyme 17
of the eclipsis, the eird is betuix the mune and the
sou'ne, quhilk is occasione that the mune resauis no [* leaf 0(44), back]
lycht fra the soune at that tyme. There is ane vthir
admiration of the variant course of the mune,¹ for sche 21
resauis mair lycht in hyr oppositione fra the soune, nor
aperis tyl vs. The quhilk i sal preif be this rason. She receives more
light than
appears to us.
Ane grit roundnes of lycht sal gyf lycht to mair nor
the half of ane les roundnes, be rason that the superfice
of ane grit roundnes hes ane largear aspect touart ane 26
roundnes of ane les quantite, nor ane smal roundnes
can² hef touart ane grit roundnes. There for, sen the
soune is of ane gritar quantite nor is the mune, be that
cause, mair nor the half of the mune resauis lycht fra
the soune. bot zit ve see nocht sa mekil lycht in the 31
mune as sche hes resaut fra the soune in hyr apposi-
tion. Ane parson that behaldis ane roundnes of ane
gritar quantite nor is the space betuix his tua een, that
parson sal nocht see sa mekil as is the half of that

¹ mune² cam

Concerning
eclipses.

roundnes, be rason that the superfice of that roundnes is of mair quantite nor is the space or largenes that is betuix his tua een.

*The eclipsis of
the soune.*

[* leaf 0 (45)]

¶ Nou i vil reherse the cause of the eclipsis of the soune and mune. ve may persauie manifestlye, that the eclipsis of the soune cummis *be the interpositione of

7 the mune betuix vs and the soune, the quhilk empeschis and obfusquis the beymis of the soune fra our sycht.

*Eclipsis of
the mune.*

Siklyik, the mune is in eclipsis be the obiectione of the eird, the quhilk eird empeschis the soune to gyf lycht

11 to the mune¹. of this sort, the soune is maid obscure til vs quhen it clips, be cause the vmbre and schaddou of the bak of the mune is betuix vs and the soune. And also the mune is maid obscure quhen it clips, be rason that the vmbre and schaddou of the eird empeschis hyr
16 to resauie lycht fra the soune. ther for i may efferme, that the myrk nycht is na vthir thyng bot quhen the soune and mune ar vndir our orizon

The influence of
the stars.

¶ Nou, to speik of the influens and constellation of the soune and mune, and of the sternis, doutles man &

21 beyst, ande al vthir² thyng that euyr vas procreat on the eird, ar subiect to ther operatione, & rasauis alteratione throucht there influens. The speculatione and contemplatione of mennis ingyne culd neuyr consaue ane final determinatione of the soune, mune, and of the sternis. fra ther operations and constellations pro-

All are subject
to them.

They cause all
mundane changes,

27 cedis tempest, stormis, fayr veddir, foul veddir, heyt, cald, pestilens, con^ualescens, rane, frost and snau, and al vthir accidentis that cummis on the eird, and on man

yet the Almighty
overrules them.

and beyst: bot zit, at sum tyme, god almychty, be his diuyne permissiōe, mittigatis, augmentis, or dimuncuis baytht the gude operations and euil operations of the
33 planetis, efferand for the vertu and vice that ringis amang the pepil. ve ar veil experimentit, that quhen ther multipleis ane grit numir of sternis in the equi-

¹ mune

² vthir

noctial of Libra, or in the solstice of capricorn, at that
 tyme ther occurris grit tempestis and tormentis of euyll
 yeddir. Ande also, at that tyme, men and vemen of 3
 ane tendir complexione, ar in dangeir of diuers mala-
 deis, as of fluxis, caterris, collic and gut, and to diuers
 vthir contagiis seiknes. Sic lyk, throucht the opera-
 tione of the sternis, the oliue, the popil, & the oszer
 tree changis the cullour and ther leyuis, at ilk tyme 8
 quhen the soune entris in the tropic of Cancer. sic
 lyk, the dry mynt that hingis in ane house, resauis
 sum vertu of the eird, quhen the soune entris in the
 fyrst degre of capricorne. Siklyik, ther is ane eirb
 callit helytropyum, the quhilk the vulgaris callis 13
 soucye; it hes the leyuis appin as lang as the soune is
 in our hemispere, and it closis the leyuis, quhen the
 soune passis vndir our orizon. Siklyik, oistirs and
 mussillis, & al vthir schel fysche, grouis and inressis
 in ther natural qualite, eftir the coniunctione of the 18
 mune, quhil on to the tyme of the appositione. than
 eftir the appositione, thai schel fische dimuneis and
 grouis les, and of ane var qualite.

Siklyik ther is ane sterne callit canis. the euyll
 constellatione of it begynnis at the sext daye of iulye,
 and endis at the xx daye of agust. the natur of it is 24
 contrar tyl euyrie thyng that is procreat on the eird.
 The tyme of the operatione of it in our hemispere, is
 callit be the vulgaris the caniculaire dais. the euyll natur
 of it inflammit the soune vitht ane onnatural vehement
 heyt, the quhilk oft tymis trublis and altris the vyne 29
 in ane pipe in the depe caue, ande also it generis
 pestilens, feuyrs, & mony vthir contagiis seikness
 quhen it ringis in our hemispere, than dogis ar in
 dangeir to ryn vod, rather nor in ony vthir tyme of the
 3eir. Siklyik ther is mony vthir euyll accidentis that 34
 occurris throuch the euyll constellations of the planetis
 and of the sternis; ande also sum of them erris and

Influence of the
 planets in Libra,

in Cancer,

in Capricorn.

[* leaf 0 (46)]

Shell-fish increase
 and decrease with
 the moon.

The evil influence
 of the dog-star.

In the dog-days

dogs run mad.

1 altirs oft tymis fra ther auen natural course, quhilk is
 [*leaf 0 (46), back] ane taikyn and sing of *prodigeis precedent euyll acci-
 The motions of dentis that ar tyl occur¹ on princis or superiors of ane
 the planets por- tend prodigies and disasters, realme. the historigraphours reheris, that there vas
 5 thre sonnys sene at one tyme in the lyft, befor the
 ciuill veyris that occurrit betuix anthonius² and agustus
 cesar; and also ther vas thre munis sene in the lyft,
 quhen domitius caius and flavius lucius var consulis of
 rome. Siklyik there is diuerse vthir sternis of ane
 10 euyll constellation, quhilk pronosticatis future euyll
 accidentis. ther is ane sterne that aperis nocht oft in
 our hemispere, callit ane comeit. quhen it is sene,
 especially the star thar occurris haistyly eftir it sum grit myscheif. it
 called *Comet*, aperis oft in the north. it aperis oft in the quhyt circle
 callit circulus lacteus, the quhilk the marynalis callis
 which appears vatlant streit. sum tyme it vil apeir lyik lang bludy
 often in Watling- street (the Milky Way).
 17 hayr, sum tyme lyik ane dart, sum tyme lyik ane bludy
 speyr. it aperit in the lyft lyik ane sourd be for the
 detht of Iulius cesar, and also it aperit lyik ane trumpet,
 quhen the kyng of perse straik ane battel contrar the
 grecians. sum tyme it hes aperit lyik tua gait buckis
 iustand contrar vthirs. Nou to speik of the genera-
 Of the cause of tion of the rane. it is ane exalatione of humid vapours,
 the rain. generit in calme veddir abufe the vattirs on the *eird,
 [* leaf 0 (47)]
 25 and syne ascendis in the sycond regione of the ayr,
 quhar that it coagulatis in ane thik clud: than the
 sternis of ane euyll constellatione brakkis that clud:
 than it fallis on diuerse partis of the eird, in diuerse
 sortis of schouris, sum mair, sum les; sum be grit
 30 vehemens and tempest, and sum tyme in soft & varme
 schouris. in the antiant dais there vas sene grit meruellis
 In ancient days in the rane, quhilkis signifeit prodigies of future euyll
 accidentis. In the tyme that marcus actilius and cayus
 portius var consulis of rome, the lyft did rane mylk,
 it rained milk, and on the morne it ranit rede blude. siclyik, quhen
 blood,

1 occur

2 anthoni'

lucius volumnius and sergius sulpitius var consulis in 1
 rome, the lyft did rane rau flasche. And also, quhen raw flesh,
 the vailjeant roman, marcus crassus, vas slane be the
 parthiens, the lyft did rane yrn. Siklyik, quhen lucius iron,
 paulus and cayus marcellus var consuls in rome, the 5
 lyft did rane grit quantite of vol; and also, quhen titus wool,
 annius milo¹ vas slane, the lyft did rane tile stanis. tile-stones.
 Nou, to speik of the generatiōne of the deu, it is ane Of the dew.
 humid vapour, generit in the sycond regiōne of the ayr
 in ane fair calme nycht, & syne descendis in ane tem- 10
 perat caldnes on the grene eirbis in smal droppis. The
 hayr ryim 'is ane cald deu, the quhilk fallis in mysty [* leaf 0 (47), back]
 vapours, and syne it fresis on the eird. the myst, it is The hoar-frost,
 the excrement or the superfluite of the cluddis, the the mist,
 quhilk fallis fra the ayr in ane sueit rane, quhilk rane 15
 can nocht be persaut be the sycht of men. Hail stonis hail,
 is ane congelit rane, quhilk fallis on the eird be grit
 vehemens, and it fallis rather on the day lycht nor on
 the nycht. The snau is ane congelit rane, frosyn and snow,
 congelit in the sycond regiōne of the ayr; bot it is 20
 nocht sa ferme and hard congelit as is the hail stonis;
 3it nochtheles it remanis langar onmeltit, be rason that
 it fallis aye in cald vedthir, ande the hail stonis fallis
 comontly in symmyr. The thoundir is ane corrupt thunder.
 fume generit on the eird, of vapours, and syne it as- 25
 cendis in the sycond regiōne of the ayr, and congelis in
 diuerse massife cluddis, quhilk stoppis and empeschis
 the operatione of the planetis to excerse ther natural
 course. than the vehemens of the planetis brakkis thai
 cluddis, fra the forse of the quhilk there cummis fyir 30
 and ane grit sound, quhilk is terribil to be hard, & that
 terribil sound is the thyng that ve cal the thondir; bot
 or ve heir the thondir, ve see fyrst the fyir, quhou be it
 that thai proceid at ane in'stant tyme. the cause that [* leaf 0 (48)]
 ve see the fyire or ve heir the thoundir, is be rason 35

¹ nilo

Light travels
more swiftly than
sound.

Curious freaks of
thunder.

Most dangerous
when unac-
companied by
rain.

Three things safe
from thunder—

the laurel,

[* leaf 0 (43), back]
the seal, and
the eagle.

The best remedy
against thunder.

The winds.

that the sycht and cleirnes of ony thing is mair suyft
touart vs nor is the sound. The euyt that the thondir
dois on the eird, it is dune or ve heir the crak of it.

Oft tymis ve vil see fyir slaucht, quhou be it ther be
na thondir harde. The thondir slais mony beystis on
6 the feildis; & quhen it slais ane man that is sleipand,
he sal be fundin dede, and his ene close; and quhen it
slais ane valkand man, he sal be fundin¹ dede, and his
ene appin. The thoundir is maist dangerous for man
ande beyst, quhen there cummis na rane vitht it. The
fyir slaucht vil consume the vyne vitht in ane pipe in
12 ane depe caue, & the pipe vil resae na skaytth. the fyir
slaucht sleu ane man on the feildis, and it meltit the
gold that vas in his bag, and it meltit nocht the vax
of ane seyl that vas in that samyn bag. In rome there
16 vas ane nobil princesse callit martia grit vitht child;
sche vas on the feildis for hyr recreatione, quhar that
the fyir slaucht straik hyr, & sleu hyr nocht, bot zit it
sleu the child in hyr voyme. There is thre thyngis
that ar neuyr in dangeir of thoundir nor fyir slaucht,
that is to saye, the laurye² tree: the sycond is the
*selcht, quhilk sum men callis the see volue: the
thrid thyng is the eyrn, that fleis sa hie. The histori-
graphours rehersis, that tybereus Cesar, empriour of
25 rome, hed euyr ane hat of laure tree on his hede, and
alse he gart mak his pailzons and tentis on the feildis,
of selcht skynnis, to that effect that he mycht be furtht
of the dangeir of the thoundir and fyir slaucht. The
best remeid contrar thoundir & fyir slaucht, is to men
and vemen to pas in hou cauernis vndir the eird, or in
31 depe cauis, be cause the thoundir dois maist damage tyl
hie placis.

¶ Nou, to speik of the cause and of the natur of
the vynd, eftir the discriptione of the scheiphirdis and
hirdis of the antiant dais. ze sal undirstand, that the

¹ sundin

² laurye, perhaps should be lauryre

vynd is no vthir thyng bot ane vapour or exalatione, 1
 heyt and dry, generit in the concauiteis and in the
 bouellis of the eird, the quhilk ascendis and descendis
 vp and doune betuix the eird and the sycond region of 4
 the ayr. The marynalis at this present tyme hes set
 furth and descriuit thretty tua sortis of vyndis; bot ve Mariners count
thirty-two.
 that ar scheiphirdis, hes no iugement bot of viij sortis
 of vyndis, of the quhilk numir ther is iiij. callit vyndis 8
 cardinal, and the tothir iiij. ar callit vyn'dis collateral. [* leaf 0 (49)]
 the fyrst cardinal vynd is callit auster or meridional The four cardinal
winds
 vynd, quhilk the vulgaris callis southyn vynd. it is
 heyt and humid of natur. it generis thondir, cluddis, 12
 and smal soft ranis, ande also it is the cause of pesti-
 lens, and of vthir contagius seiknes. The nyxt car- and their
qualities.
 dinal vynd is callit subsolanus¹ or oriental, quhilk
 the vulgaris callis estin vynd, quhilk, throucht the
 vertu of the soune, is heyt and dry of natur. it is
 hoilsum for man and beyst, and also it nureseis al 18
 thyng that the eird procreatis. The thrid cardinal
 vynd is callit septemtrional or borial, quhilk vulgaris
 callis northin vynd. it is cald and dry, of ane me-
 lancolic natur. it is hoilsum for man and beyst that
 ar kepit fra excessif² caldnes, bot it is verray contrar
 & noysum to the frutis of the eird. The feyrd cardinal 24
 vynd is callit faonius or occidental, quhilk vulgaris
 callis vestin vynd. it is cald and humid, of ane flegmatic
 natur. it is neuresant for the frute of the eird, bot it is
 contrar tyl tendir complexions that ar subiect tyl seik-
 nes. Nou, to speik of the iiij. collateral vyndis. the The four col-
lateral winds
 fyrst is callit auster aphricus, quhilk is betuix auster
 and faonius. it is callit be the vulgaris southt vest. 31
 it generis baytht humi'diteis & maledeis. The nyxt [* leaf 0 (49), back]
 colateral vynd is callit furo auster, quhilk is betuix
 auster & subsolanus. the vulgaris callis it southt est.
 it is heyt and dry of natur, and it generis cluddis and and their in-
fluence.

¹ subsolan'² excessis

- 1 maladeis. The thrid collateral vynd is callit aquilon, quhilk is betuix septemtrion and subsolanus. the vulgaris callis it northest. it is cald and dry of natur. it is mair hoilsum tyl ane¹ person nor it is pleyсанд. it is
- 5 contrar to the frutis, fleureis, and eirbis of the eird. The feyrd collateral vynd is callit circius, quhilk is betuix septemtrione and fauonius. the vulgaris callis it nortuest. it is cald & dry of natur. it generis snau, tempest, & vehement stormis. it is verray noisum til al
- 10 them that occupeis baytth be see and land. Al thir thingis befor rehersit, of the circis of the speir, & of the hauynis and planetis, is said, to gar 3ou² consider that man kynd is subiect to the planetis and to ther influens. ther for ve suld prepair and prouid to resist
- 15 ther euyl constellations. for quhou be it that thai ar the instrumentis of god, 3it nochtheles he of his gudnes resistis there euyl influens, fra tyme that ve be cum obedient tyl his command.

From the foregoing it appears that mankind are subject to the influence of the planets.

Sapiens dominabitur astris.

Actor.

[* leaf 0 (50)]

The author marvelled at the shepherd's scientific lore,

- 22 *¶ Quhen the scheiphird hed endit his prolixit orison to the laif of the scheiphirdis, i meruellit nocht litil quhen i herd ane rustic pastour of bestialite, distitut of vrbante, and of speculatione of natural philosophe, indoctryne his nyctbours as he hed studeit ptholome, auerois, aristotel, galien, ypocrites or Cicero, quhilk var expert practicians in methamatic art. Than the scheiphirdis vyf said, my veil belouit hisband, i pray the to
- 27 decist fra that tideus melancolic orison, quhilk surpassis thy ingyne, be rason that it is nocht thy facultee to disput in ane profund mater, the quhilk thy capacite can nocht comprehend. ther for, i thynk it best that ve recreat our selfis vytht ioyus' comonyng quhil on to
- 32 the tyme that ve return to the scheip fald vytht our flokkis. And to begyn sic recreacione i thynk it best

but the shepherd's wife bade him cease his prosing,

and proposed some lighter recreation;

that euyrie ane of vs tel ane gude tayl or fabil, to pas the tyme quhil euyrn.¹ Al the scheiphirdis, ther vyuis and saruandis² var glaid of this propositione. than the eldest scheiphird began, and al the laif follout, ane be ane in ther auen³ place. it vil be ouer prolix, and no les tideus to reherse them agane vord be vord. bot i sal reherse *sum* of ther namys that i herd. *sum vas in prose, & sum vas in verse: sum var storeis, and sum var flet taylis. Thir var the namis of them as eftir follouis. the taylis of cantirberrye. Robert le dyabil duc of Normandie, the tayl of the volfe⁴ of the varldis end, Ferrand erl of Flandris that mareit the deuyll, the taiyl of the reyde eyttyn vitht the thre heydis, the tail quhou perseus sauit andromada fra the cruel monstir, the prophysie of merlyne, the tayl of the giantis that eit quyk men, on fut by fortht as i culd found, vallace, the bruce, ypomedon, the tail of the thre futtit dog of norrouay, the tayl quhou Hercules sleu the serpent hidra that hed vij heydis, the tail quhou the kyng of est mure land mareit the kyngis dochtir of vest mure land, Skail gillenderson the kyngis sone of skellye, the tayl of the four sonnys of aymon, the tail of the brig of the mantribil, the tail of syr euan, arthours knycht, rauf collgear, the seige of millan, gauen and gollogras, lancelet du lac, Arthour knycht he raid on nycht vitht gyltin spur and candil lycht, the tail of floremond of albanye that sleu the dragon be the see, the tail of syr valtir the bald leslye, the tail of the pure tynt, claryades and maliades, Arthour of *litol bertangze, robene hude and litil ihone, the meruellis of mandieuil, the tayl of the *zong* tamlene, and of the bald braband, the ryng of the roy Robert, syr egeir and syr gryme, beuis of south-amtonn, the goldin targe, the paleis of honour, the tayl quhou acteon vas transformit in ane hart, and syne slane be his auen doggis, the tayl of Pirramus and

for example, each to tell a tale.

The proposition was welcomed by all.

Of their tales the author will only give the names.

[* leaf 0 (50), back] Some were in prose, and some in verse.

Their names: The Canterbury Tales;

11

The well of the World's end;

The Red Etin with the three heads;

The Wallace and the Bruce;

18

How the king of Estmoreland married the princess of Westmoreland;

Sir Evan, Arthur's knight;

24

Lancelot du Lac; Arthur knight, he rode on night;

the Bold Lesley;

[* leaf 0 (51)] Arthur, of Little Britain; Mandeville's wonders;

32

Bevis of Southampton;

Pyramus and

¹ enyn ² sarnandis ³ auen ⁴ should probably be volle or velle

- Thisbe; tesbe, the tail of the amours of leander and hero, the
 The transforma- tail quhou Iupiter transformit his deir loue yo in ane
 tion of Io; 3 cou, the tail quhou that iason van the goldin fleice,
 The Golden Opheus kyng of portingal, the tayl of the goldin appil,
 Apple; the tail of the thre veird systirs, the tayl quhou that
 dedalus maid the laborynth to keip the monstir mino-
 how Midas got taurus, the tail quhou kyng midas gat tua asse luggis
 two ass's ears. on his hede be cause of his auereis.
- 9 ¶ Quhen thir scheiphyrdis hed tald al thyr pley-
 sand storeis, than thay and ther vyuis began to sing
 They next began sueit melodijs sangis of natural music of the antiquite.
 to sing songs, of ancient native music. the foure marmadyns that sang quhen thetis vas mareit
 on month pillion, thai sang nocht sa sueit as did thir
 14 scheiphyrdis, quhilkis ar callit to name, parthenopie,
 leucolia, illigeatempora, the feyrd callit legia, for thir
 [* leaf 0(51), back] scheiphirdis excedit al thir foure marmadyns in me-
 lodius music, in gude accorddis and reportis of dyapason
 They sang in prolations, and dyatesseron. the musician amphion¹
 parts, and in quhilk sang sa dulce, quhil that the stanis mouit, and
 harmony. 20 also the scheip and nolt, and the foulis of the ayr, pro-
 nuncit there bestial voce to sing vitht hym. 3it noch-
 theles his ermonius² sang prefferit nocht the sueit sangis
 of thir foir said scheiphirdis. Nou i vil reherse sum of
 The names of some of the the sueit³ sangis that i herd amang them as eftir fol-
 songs: lowis. in the fyrst, pastance vitht gude companye, the
 Pastance with good company; 26 breir byndis me soir. Stil vndir the leyuis grene, Cou
 thou me the raschis grene, allace i vyit 3our tua fayr
 ene, gode 3ou gude day vil boy, lady help 3our pre-
 soneir, kyng vill3amis note, the lang nounenou, the
 King William's cheapel valk, faytht is there none, skald abellis nou,
 note. The abirdenis nou, brume brume on hil, allone i veip
 in grit distres, trolee lolee lemmeu dou, bille vil thou
 33 cum by a lute and belt the in Sanct Francis cord, The
 The frog came to frog cam to the myl dur, the sang of gilquhiskar, rycht
 the Mill door. soirly musing in my mynde, god sen the duc hed byd-

¹ amphiou² ermoni'³ sneit

din in France, and delaubaute hed neuyr¹ cum hame, De la Bastie,
 al musing of meruellis amys hef i gone, Mastres fayr 3e 2
 vil forfayr, o lusty maye vitht flora quene, O myne hart
 hay this is my sang, the *battel of the hayrlau, the [* leaf 0 (52)]
 hunttis of cheuet, Sal i go vitht 3ou to rumbelo fayr, Chevy Chase.
 Greuit is my sorrou, turne the sueit ville to me, My lufe 6
 is lyand seik, send hym ioy, send hym ioy, fayr luf
 lent thou me thy mantil ioy; The perssee & the mon- The Percy and
 gumrye met, that day, that day, that gentil day; my Montgomery.
 luf is laid apon ane knyght, allace that samyn sueit 10
 face, in ane myrthful morou, my hart is leuit on the
 land.

¶ Thir scheiphirdis ande there vyuis sang mony They sang many
 vthir melodius² sangis, the quhilkis i hef nocht in other songs;
 memorie. than eftir this sueit celest armonye, tha began 15
 to dance in ane ring. euyrie ald scheiphyrd led his vyfe
 be the hand, and euyrie 3ong scheiphird led hyr quhome
 he luffit best. Ther vas viij scheiphyrdis, and ilk ane
 of them hed ane syndry instrament to play to the laif. then joined in
 the fyrst hed ane drone bag pipe, the nyxt hed ane a dance.
 pipe maid of ane bleddir and of ane reid, the thrid The names of the
 playit on ane trump, the feyrd on ane corne pipe, the eight musical
 fyft playit on ane pipe maid of ane gait horne, the sext instruments on
 playt on ane recordar, the seuint plait on ane fiddil, which they
 and the last plait on ane quhissil. kyng amphion that played.
 playit sa sueit on his harpe quhen he kepit his scheip, 21
 nor 3it appollo the god of sapiens, that kepit kyng ad- Amphion or
 metus scheip, *vitht his sueit menstralye, none of thir Apollo could not
 tua playit mayr cureouslye nor did thir viij scheiphyrdis have surpassed
 befor rehersit; nor 3it al the scheiphirdis that virgil them,
 makkis mention³ in his bucolikis, thai culd nocht be [* leaf 0 (52), back]
 comparit to thir foir said scheiphyrdis; nor orpheus 29
 that playit sa sueit quhen he socht his vyf in hel, his nor Orpheus,
 playing prefferit nocht thir foir said scheiphirdis; nor 34
 3it the scheiphyrd pan, that playt to the goddis on his

¹ nenyr
 COMPLAINNT.

² molodi²
 5

³ mentnon.

nor Pan with his
bag-pipe.

bag pype, nor mercurius that playit on ane sey reid,
none of them culd preffer thir foirsaid scheiphirdis. i

3 beheld neuyr ane mair dilectabil recreatione. for fyrst

They began with
two becks and a
kiss.

thai began vitht tua bekkis and vitht a kysse. euripides,
iuuenal, perseus, horasse, nor nane of the satiric poiettis,
quhilkis mouit ther bodeis as thai hed bene dansand
quhen thai pronuncit ther tragiedeis, none of them

8 kepit moir geometrial mesure nor thir scheiphirdis did
in ther dansing. Nor ludius that vas the fyrst dansar

It was a celestial
sight to see.

of rome, culd nocht hef bene comparit to thir scheip-
hirdis. it vas ane celest recreation to behald ther lycht
lopene, galmondung,¹ stendling bakuart & forduart,

13 dansand base dansis, pauuans, galzardis, turdions,
braulis and branglis, buffons, vitht mony vthir lycht
dancis, the quhilk ar ouer prolix to be rehersit. 3it

[* leaf 0 (53)]

nochtheles i sal rehers *sa mony as my ingyne can put
in memorie.² in the fyrst, thai dancit al cristyn mennis
dance, the northt of scotland, huntis vp, the comount
entray, lang plat fut of gariau, Robene hude, thom of

The names of the
dances.

20 lyn, freris al, ennyrnes, the loch of slene, the gosseps
dance, leuis grene, makky, the speyde, the flail, the
lammes vynde, soutra, cum kyttil me naykyt vantounly,
schayke leg, fut befor gossep, Rank at the rute, baglap
and al, ihonne ermistrangis dance, the alman haye, the

25 bace of voragon, dangeir, the beye, the dede dance, the
dance of kylryne, the vod and the val, schaik a trot.

When the dancing
was done, they
went about their
employment.

than, quhen this dansing vas dune, tha departit and
past to cal there scheip to ther scheip cottis. thai bleu
vp there bagpipis. than the bel veddir for blythtnes

30 bleyttit rycht fast, and the rammis raschit there heydis
to gyddir. than the laif of ther fat flokkis follouit on
the fellis baytht 3ouis and lammis, kebbis and dailis,
gylmyrs and dilmondis, and mony herueist hog. than i
departit fra that companye, and i entrit in ane onmauen
medou, the quhilk abundit vitht al sortis of hoilsum³

The author
entered a
meadow full of
flowers, grasses
and herbs.

¹ galmondung

² memorie

³ hoilsum

flouris, gyrsis, and eirbis maist conuenient for medycyn. I
in the fyrst, i sau ane erb callit barba aaron, quhilk vas Among them were
Aaron's beard,
gude remeid for emoroyades of the fundament. i sau
vir'met, that vas gude for ane febil stomach, & sourak- [* leaf 0 (53), back]
wormwood,
sourocks (sorrel),
green sedges
(Iris),
kis, that vas gude for the blac gulset. i sau mony grene
seggis, that ar gude to prouoke the flouris of vemen. i
sau the vattir lille, quhilk is ane remeid contrar go- water-lily,
moria. i sau tansay, that is gude to purge the neiris, tansy, good for
the kidneys;
and ennetseidis that consumis the ventositeis of the anise-seed,
stomac. i sau muguart, that is gude for the suffocacione mugwort,
of ane vomans bayrnis hed. i sau veyton, the decoctione whitten,
of it is remeid for ane sair hede. i sau betis, that is beet,
gude contrar constipatione. i sau borage, that is gude borage,
to confort the hart. i sau cammaayne, quhilk is gude camomile,
for ane scabbit moutht. i sau hemp, that coagulis the hemp,
flux of the sparne. i sau madyn hayr, of the quhilk maiden-hair,
ane sirop maid of it is remeid contrar the infectione of **17**
the melt. i sau celidone, that is gude to help the sycht celandine,
of the ene, & cipresses, that is gude for the fluxis of cypresses,
the bellye. i sau corriandir, that is gude for ane ald coriander, good
against an old
cough;
hoste. i sau finkil, that slais the virmis of the bellye. i finkel, or fennel,
fumitory,
sau fumeterre, that tempris ane¹ heyt lyuyr. i sau
brume, that prouokis ane person to vome ald feume. i broom,
sau raschis, that prouokis men to sleip. i sau ysope, rushes,
hyssop, which
brings phlegm
from the lungs,
[* leaf 32 (54)]
and many other
herbs.
that is gude to purge congelit² fleume of the lychtis.³
i sau mony vthir eirbis on thai fresche fragrant feil'dis.
ande als i sau mony landuart grumis pas to the corne
land to laubir there rustical ocupatione. al this be me
veil contemplit, ande beand contentit of that pleyсанд
nychtis recreatione, i maid me reddy to returne to the
toun that i cam fra, to proceid in the compiling of my
beuk. Bot morpheus that slepye gode, assailzeit al my
membris, ande oppressit my dul melancolius nature,
quhilk gart al my spreitis vital ande animal be cum
impotent & paralytic: quhar for on neid forse, i vas

¹ ame² congeil³ lychtinis

and in his slumbers
 1 constrenzeit to be his sodiour. than in ane takyn of
 obediens, i maid hym reuerens on my rycht syde on
 the cald eird, ande i maid ane cod of ane gray stane.
 than i purposit to preue ane prettic. i closit my cen to
 5 see gyf i culd leuk throucht my ee liddis. bot my ex-
 periens vas sune expirit. for tua houris lang, baytht my
 eene greu as fast to gyddir as thai hed bene gleuit vitht
 glar or vitht glen. i beand in this sad solitar soun
 dreamed the fol-
 lowing dream.
 10 the foure quartaris of my dullit brane, the quhilk
 dreyme i sal reherse in this gros dyit as neir the verite
 as my rememorance can¹ declair to my rude ingyne.

[*leaf 32(54), back]

* The Visione that aperit befor the
 Actor in his Sleipe.

CHAP. VII.

In his dream he
saw a lady

15 **I**N my dullit dreyme ande sopit visione, i thocht
 that ther aperit to me ane lady of excellent. ex-
 tractione ande of anciant genolygie, makkand ane
 melancolius cheir for the grite violens that sche hed
 sustenit & indurit. it aperit be hyr voful contenens,
 in great trouble. that sche vas in grite dout ande dreddour for ane mair
 dolorus future ruuynne that vas aperand to succumb hyr
 20 haistyle, in the maist extreme exterminacione. hyr
 hayr, of the cullour of fyne gold, vas feltrit & trachlit
 out of ordour, hingand ouer hyr² schuldurs. sche hed
 ane croune of gold, hingand & brangland, that it vas
 24 lyik to fal doune fra hyr hede to the cald eird. sche
 bure ane scheild, in the quhilk vas grauit ane rede
 rampand lyon in ane feild of gold, bordoryt about vith³
 doubil floure delicis. This rede lyon vas hurt in mony
 placis of his body. the acoutrementis ande clethyng of

Her shield had a
red lion rampant
in a field of gold,
bordered with
double fleurs-
de-lis.¹ cam² byr³ viht

this dolorus lady, vas ane *syde mantil that couurit al [* leaf 33 (55)]
 hydr body of ane meruclouse ingenius fassoune, the 2
 quhilk hed bene tissu ande vrocht be thre syndrye fas-
 sons of verkmenschips. ¹the fyrst part, quhilk vas the The upper part of
 hie bordour of hydr mantil, there vas mony precius her mantle (the
 nobility),
 stanis, quhar in ther vas grauit scheildis, speyris, 6
 sourdis, bayrdit horse harnes, ande al vthir sortis of
 vaupynis ande munitions of veyr. in the middis of that the middle part
 (the spirituality),
 mantil, there vas grauit in carrecters, beukis, ande 10
 figuris, diurse sciensis diuyne ande humain, vitht mony
 cheretabil actis ande supernatural miraculis. on the
 thrid part of that mantil, i beheld, brodrut about al hydr the lower part
 (the commons).
 tail, al sortis of cattel ande profitabil beystis, al sortis
 of cornis, eyrbis, plantis, grene treis, schips, marchant-
 dreis, ande mony politic verkmanlumis for mecanye 15
 craftis. This mantil, quhilk hed bene maid & vrocht
 in ald tymys be the prudent predecessours of this foyr
 said lady, vas reuyn & raggit in mony placis, that This mantle was
 all torn
 hed bene grauit, vrocht, ande brodrut in ald tymis in 20
 the thre partis of it. for the fyrst part of it vantit
 mony of the scheildis ande harnes that vas fyrst vrocht
 in it, ande ane vthir part of *the schieldis & harnes [*leaf 33(55),back]
 var brokyn ande roustit, ande reddye to fal ande tyne
 furtht of the bordour of that mantil. Siklyik the 25
 pleisand verkmenschips that vas in the middis of hydr
 mantil vas seperat fra vthirs, ande altrit fra the fyrst
 fassone, that na man culd extract ony profitabil sentens
 nor gude exempil furtht of ony part of it. Nou to
 speik of the thrid part of hydr mantil. it vas verst (the commons
 were abused worst
 of all).
 grathit, ande spylt be ane grit defferens nor vas the
 tothir tua partis of that mantil: for it aperit that al
 the grene treis, cornis, bestialite, mecanye craftis, ande 33
 schips, ande marchandreise, that hed bene curioslye
 vrocht in ald tymis in the bordour of the tail of that

¹ read On the fyrst part

1 mantil, vas spilt ande distroyit, ande the eird vas becum
 barran & stirril, ande that na ordinance of policie culd
 be persauit in it, nor esperance of releif. Nou to con-
 clude of the fassone of this ladeis mantil, it vas baytht
 5 altrit in cullour ande in beaulte,¹ and reuyn in mony
 placis, hingand doune raggit in pecis in sic ane sort,
 that gyf thay hed bene present that vrocht ande maid
 it in the begynnyng, thai vald haue clair myskend it,
 be rasonne that it vas sa mekil altrit fra the fyrst fassone.

The first makers
 would not have
 recognized their
 handiwork.

[* leaf 34 (56)]

This affligit lady beand of this sort troublit ande dis-
 11 aguisit, ande al hyr gaye clathis reuyn & raggit,
 throucht the grite violens that sche hed sustenit, sche
 began to suspire lamentabil regrettis, vitht mony salt
 teyris distillant doune fra hyr piteous ene. this desolat

15 affligit lady beand in this perplexite, ande disparit of
 remeid, sche began to contempil the vidthrid barran
 feildis, quhilkis in vthir tymis hed bene fertil in al
 prosperiteis, quhar sche persauit cummand touart hyr
 thre of hyr auen natiue natural sonnys. The eldest of
 them vas in harnes, traland ane halbert behynd hym,
 beand al affrayit ande fleyit for dreddour of his lyue.

The lady saw her
 three sons ap-
 proaching.

The eldest fled
 for his life;

the second had a
 book, whose
 clasps were fast
 with rust;

the third was in
 so wretched a
 plight that he
 could not stand.

The sycond of hyr sonnys vas sittand in ane chair,
 beand clehd² in ane sydegoune, kepand grite grauite,
 24 heffand ane beuk in his hand, the glaspis var fast lok-
 kyt vitht rouste. hyr 3ongest sone vas lyand plat on
 his syde on the cald eird, ande al his clathis var reuyn
 ande raggit, makkand ane dolorus lamentatione, ande
 ane piteouse complaynt. he tuke grite pane to ryise vp

29 on his feit, bot he vas sa greuouslye ouer set be violens,
 that it vas nocht possibl til hym to stand rycht vp.

[* leaf 34 (56), back]

Than quhen this lady persauit hyr thre sonnis in that
 langorius stait, sche began to reproche them inuectyuely
 33 of ther neclegenes, couuardeis ande ingratitude vsit

The lady began to
 reproach them.

contrar hyr: the quhilk reproche sche pronuncit vitht
 mony dolorus suspiris, the quhilk be aperens procedit

¹ i. e. beauty; so in *Lyndesay*.

² clehd

fra ane trublit spreit, desolat of consolatione, ande dis- 1
 parit of remede. than i beand in my sopit melancolius
 dreyme, i thocht that i inquirit of hyr stile, of hyr
 duelling place, & of the dolorus cause of hyr lamentabil
 regrettis. Sche ansuert vitht ane dolorouse conteness, 5
 quod sche, my name is callit the affligit lady dame
 scotia. vthir tymis i haue tryumphit in gloir ande
 prosperite, bot nou aduerse fortoune hes bene inuyful 8
 contrar my veil fayr, quhilk is the cause that my tri-
 umphant stait is succumbit in decadens. ther can
 nocht be ane maïr vehement perplexite as quhen ane
 person beand in prosperite at his hartis desire, ande
 syne dechays in miserabil aduersite. thir vordis maye be
 applyit ande conferrit vitht the dolorouse accidentis 14
 that hes persecutit me. for i that hes bene in maist
 fortunat prosperite, nou i am inuadit ande affligit be my
 ald mortal enemeis be the maist extreme assaltis that
 ther pouuer¹ can exse^cute, the quhilk i beleuit til
 haue resistit be the support ande supple of my thre
 sonnys,² that standis heir in my presens, be rason that
 thai ar oblist be goddis lau, ande be the lau of nature,
 to be my deffens contrar al externe inuasions, bot thai
 haue schauen them self ingrat³ dissymilit ande couuardis
 in the iust deffens of my veil fayr, as thou sal heir be
 this reproche that i sal pronunce to them in thy presens,
 as eftir follouis.

Her name was
 Dame Scotia.

*Nilhil est
 tam mirabile
 quam ex beato
 effeci miser.
 Cic. part.
 ora.*

Persecuted by
 her foes,
 abandoned of her
 cowardly sons,

*Cari sunt
 [* leaf 35 (57)]
 liberi, pro-
 pinqui fami-
 liares, sed
 omnes omni-
 um charitates
 patria com-
 plectitur, pro
 qua nemo
 bonus dubita-
 bit mortem
 oppetere si
 ei sit profu-
 turus. Cic.
 offi. 1.*

¹ ponuer

² sonnys

³ in grat

Quhou the affligit Lady, Dame Scotia,
reprochit hyr thre Sonnis, callit
the Thre Estaitis of
Scotland.

CHAP. VIII.

- 2 **O** IGNORANT, abusit, ande dissaitful pepil, gone
by the path¹ vaye of verteouse knaulage, beand of
ane effemenet courage, degradit fra honour, ande
degenerit fra the nobilite of 3our foir fadirs & predeces-
sours, O quhat vanhap, quhat dyabolic temptatione,
6 quhat misire, quhat maledictione, or quhat vengeance is
this that hes succumbit 3our honour, *ande hes blyndit
3our ene fra the perspectione of 3our extreme ruuyn?
allace, quhy haue 3e nocht pytie of me 3our natural
mother, or quhy haue 3e no pytie of 3our selfis? allace,
quhat oratour can dyscryue, blame, or repreue 3our
neclegens, counardeis, ande 3our ingratitude? allace,
quhy remembir 3e nocht that natur hes oblist 3ou til
auance the salute ande deffens of 3our public veil? ande
14 quhat thai be (as Cicero sais) that hurtis the public
veil, tha deserue as grite reproche as tha hed sellit
traisonablye the realme to there enemeis; for the pro-
ditione of ane realme succedis to the hurt of the public
veil. allace, than, quhy vil 3e nocht haue misericord &
pytie of 3our natiue cuntre, quhar that 3e var engenerit,
borne, ande neureist, ande 3our frendis and childir hes
3our sustentatione in it? allace, the natiuite of ane man
suld be litil prisit, ande his lang liue dais les desirit
24 quhen ther procedis na frute of his laubirs bot for his
auen singular vtilite, ande nocht for the public veil.
allace, the natural loue of 3our natiue cuntre suld be
inseperablye rutit in 3our hartis, considerand that 3our

Degenerate
children!

[*leaf 35 (57), back]

*Vim neque
parenti neque
patrie offerre
oportet.*

Cic. lentulo.

have ye forgotten
the claims of
nature?

*Non est magis
vituperandus
proditor pa-
trie, quam
communis
vtilitatis
aut salutis
desertor prop-
ter suam sa-
lutem aut
vtilitatem.*
Cic. de fini.

have ye no
patriotism?

¹ path

lyuis, 3our bodeis, 3our habitatione, 3our frendis, 3our 1
 lyuyngis, ande 'sustentan, 3our hail, 3our pace, 3our [* leaf 36 (58)]
 refuge, the reste of 3our eild, ande 3our sepulture is in
 it. than allace quhy ar 3e nocht solist to deffende the
 liberte, ande to saue the dominione of it? i maye say 5
 ande conferme be raisone, that al pepil ar disnaturalit
 fra there gude nature, quhilkis in necessite enforstis
 them nocht, at there pouer, to purches & til auance the
 public veil of there natiue cuntre, it beand distitut of
 supple, & desolat, throucht grite persecutiōne of mortal 10
 enemeis; for thai that vil nocht expose there bodeis
 ande gudis to perrel ande dangeir, for the iust deffens
 of there honour, lyuis, frendis, ande gudis, bot rather
 vil thole them selfis, ther public veil, & ther natiue
 cuntre, to perreis al to gyddir, thai ar mair brutal nor 15
 brutal beystis. it aperis that the lau of nature is mair
 perfytylly acompleist in brutal beystis, nor it is in 3ou
 that professis to be natural men; for 3our verkis testi-
 feis that 3e ar mair disnaturellit nor is brutal beystis
 that hes na vnderstanding of raison. the foulis of the
 ayr vil deffende ther nestis vitht there nebbis ande
 feit: the beiris, lyons, voluis, foxis, and dogis, vil deffende
 there cauerne & there quhelpis, vitht there 'tethe &
 feit. Allace, this sair complaynt is to me rycht hauy,
 bot the lital support that i vil get of 3ou is far hauyar;
 for 3e quhilkis suld sustene, deffende ande releif me, 3e
 ar the aduerse party of my prosperite; for in the stede
 of reuarde ande gratitude that 3e ar oblist to gyf to me, 28
 3e purches ande auancis my distructiōne for 3our par-
 ticular veil. My ald enemeis hes persecutit me outuartyly
 in cruel veyris be fyir ande sourde; bot the veyr that
 3e mak inuartyly contrar me, be auerise & ambitione, is
 mair cruel. my mortal enemeis purchessis to raif my 33
 liberte, ande to hald me in ane miserabil subiectiōne;
 bot 3e hald me in ane mair seruitude, be 3our disordinat
 neclegens ande couardise. my ald enemeis dois me

Those that will
not defend their
country are lower
than brute beasts.

Such are ye.

*Bestie pro suo
partu ita pro-
pugnant, vt
vulnera exci-*

[*leaf 36(58), back]
*piant, nullos
impetus nul-
los casus re-
formident.
Cic. 5. tus.*

You sacrifice your
country to your
private interest.

- 1 grite damage vitht ane grite armye of men of veyr, be see ande be land ; bot 3e, vndir the cullour of frendship, purchessis my final exterminacione, for falt of gude reul ande gouernance. Ande also, 3e ar sa diuidit amang 3our selfis, that nocht ane trouis ane vthir ;
- 6 for throucht the suspetione that ilk ane of 3ou hes of vthirs, euyrye ane of 3ou seikis his particular releif : for sum of 3ou ar fled far vitht in the cuntre, sum of 3ou ar fled to the hillis, *and sum of 3ou remanis in 3oure
- 10 auen housis on the inglis mennis assurance, ande sum of 3ou ar be cum neutral men, lyik to the ridars that dueillis on the debatabil landis. of this sort 3e haue run to 3our auen distructione. ande quhou be it of al thir particular onleiful consaitis that 3e haue vsit to saue
- 15 3ou fra the crualte of ingland, 3it the maist subtil nor the maist dissymilit of 3ou al is nocht saue ; for as sune as the inglis men dreymis that 3e haue fail3et to them, than thai repute 3ou for there mortal enemeis far mair nor thai repute ony scottis man that vas neuyr assurit.
- 20 ande quhen 3e haue fulfillit the inglis mennis desyre, & hes helpit to distroye 3our natyue cuntre, 3it the inglis men sal neuyr¹ cal 3ou ane vthir vord bot renegant scottis, and 3e sal neuyr be reput bot for barbir slauis, as 3our croniklis vil testifee ; and also the practie of
- 25 yis² present tyme makkis it manifest, al the gude treit-tyng that scottis men gettis in ingland changis in ane vile seruitude.

None of you trusts another.

[* leaf 37 (59)]

Some of you have yielded to the English,

and have become vile slaves.

¹ meuyr ² i. e. this, one of the few instances in the book of y used for þ or th.

* Quhou the affligit Lady exortis the Thre
Estaitis to tak exempil of diuerse
Cuntreis that Gode hes rele-
uit fra Persecutione.

[*leaf 37 (59), back]

CHAP. IX.

O 3E my thre sonnys, i exort 3ou to praye to re-
leif 3ou of 3our afflictione, & also to put 3our
handis to verk to help 3our selfis, than doutles 3
god sal be mersyful to 3ou, & he sal fulfil his promes
that is vrittyn in the xxvi of leuitic. that is to saye, fiue
of 3ou sal chaisse ane hundreth of 3our enemeis,¹ & ane
hundreth of 3ou sal chaisse ten thousand of 3our ene-
meis; for god is as mychty nou as euyr he vas. it is
vrityn in the lix of Esaye thir vordis, Behold, the hand
of the lorde is na scheortar nor it vas, na it maye saue
3ou: nor his eyris ar nocht stoppit, bot he maye heir
3ou: bot 3our iniquiteis hes maid diuisione betuix 3ou
ande hym, ande 3our synnis hes hid his face fra 3ou. 13

Pray to God, and
help yourselves.

*Ecce non est
abbreviata
manus domini
vt saluare
nequiat.
Esaye 59.*

¶ 3e maye persauie be thir vordis of Esaye, that the
scurge that hes affligit 3ou, is ane pu'nitione for 3our
demeritis; ande also 3e maye persauie be this sammyn
text, that 3our grite afflictione ande tribil sal turne in
ioye ande prosperite, gyue sa beis that 3e vil retere fra
3our vice. 3e haue mony manifest exemplis of diuerse
cuntreis that hes bene scurgit be the hand of gode, ande 20
hes bene in dangeir of final exterminacione; 3it noch-
theles gode of his grace hes restorit them eftiruart in
ane mair abundand prosperite nor thai var of befor, fra 1
tyme tha be cam obedient til his magestie. Quhar is
there ane mair euident exempil nor is in the bibil in
the fyrst beuk of the machabeis, quhou anthiocus kyng
of sirrie, be vsurpacione ande tirranrye, subdeuit the
cuntre of iuda ande the cite of ierusalem? he spulzeit 27

[* leaf 40 (60)]
Ye have been
scourged for your
demerits.

Repent, and
prosper.1 *Machabe. 2.*Remember the
example of the
Maccabees.¹ 3our renemies

- 1 the tempil, ande reft the goldin alter, the chandelaris of
lycht, ande al the goldin veschel, ande the tabil of pro-
positione, the coupis, tassis, crouettis, crounis, ande al
the goldin ornamentis of the sanctuar. he sleu men,
5 vemen ande childir, 3ong ande ald, ande brynt there
housis. the remanent of the pepil var *constrenzeit* to fle
to strait montanis ande deseirtis for refuge ; for al ihe-
rusalem ande mekil of iuda vas put tyl extreme desola-
tion. At that *tyme, ane man of Israel callit mata-
thias, the neuo of Symeon the hie preist, vas sittand on
11 the hil of modin, ande his fiue sonnys besyde hym, callit
Iohannam gaddes, symon thasi, iudas machabeus, eleazar
abaron, ande iehonathan aphas. thir fiue bredir var soir
vemand for the desolatione of iuda ande iherusalem.
Ioseph' de anti.
Li. 12. c. 8. Than matathias there father said to them, vanhap¹ be
on me, allace that euyr i vas borne, to see the distruc-
tion of my pepil, & the tribulatione of the holy cite of
18 iherusalem, quhilk is violentlye possess be my enemeis.
ald ande 3ong ar slane on the reuis but mercy, & the
remanent of the cuntre ar in captiuite, or ellis fled to
the strait montanis for refuge. allace, quhat bettir vil
22 ve be to lyue ony langar, considerand of this myschief
that is fallin on oure cuntre. Allace, my fiue sonnys, i
exhorted his five sons,
praye 3ou to be 3elaturis of the lau of gode, ande to
gyue 3our saulis for the alliance of 3our foir fathers,
26 ande remembir of the verkis thai haue dune to there
generations, ande than 3e sal resaue grite gloir ande
Genesis 22.
Gene. 41. eternal name. tak gode for 3our protector, ande 3e sal
prospir. vas nocht oure father Abraham faythful in
temptatione, quhilk vas repute til hym for iusti'ce?
[* leaf 41 (61)]
31 Ioseph keipit the command of the lau, quhen he vas per-
Gene. 4. secutit, there for he vas maid lieutenant to pharon
kyng of egipt. phinehes oure foir father vas maid hie
preist of the tempil for the 3eil that he hed to the lau
of god. Iosue for the keeping of his promis vas maid
Iosue. 1.

captan of Israel. Daid, for the pitie that he hed of 2 *Samuel* 2.
 the pepil that var affligit be the philistiens, conqueist 2
 the royal sege of Israel. Ananias, Azarias and misael, *Danyel* 3.
 var delyuerit fra the flam of the fyir, throucht the faitht
 that tha hed to god. Danyel, throucht his simplicitie *Daniel* 6.
 and meiknes, vas delyuerit fra the throttis of the lyons. 6
 Of this sort (o ze my fue sonnys) ze may beleue, that
 fra generation to generatione, that al thai that puttis
 there hope in god sal nocht be distroyit. quhen mata-
 thias hed endit his miserabil and piteous regret, in-
 presens of his fue sonnys, than his thrid sone, callit 11
 Iudas machabeus, past athort the montanis and desertis,
 and gaddyryt to gidder al the desolat bannest pepil,
 and vitht ane gryt curage, heffand hope in god, thai
 cam contrair anthiocus, and venqueist hym vailzeantly,
 and also venqueist al the israliates that var part takers 16
 vitht hym; and ther eftir thai re'formit the distruc-
 tione of the tempil, and vsit extreme punitione on the
 tratours and conspiratours, and thai gart extreme neces-
 site becum prosperus vertu: for thai changit the dispayr 20
 of mennis help in esperance of goddis help: quhar for,
 throucht the mycht¹ of god, venqueist men be cam
 conqueriours, and fugityuis be cam assailzeours, and
 humil affligit pepil of ane lytil nummer be cam lordis
 and maisters of ane gryt multiplie of tirrans. There is 25
 ane vthir exempil of gedeon, in the tyme of the cruel
 oppression that the kyng of madian did on the pepil of
 Israel. gedeon, vitht thre hundretht men, discumfeist *Judicum* 8.
 ane hundretht and twenty thousand men, and he dely-
 uerit the remanent of the pepil of Israel fra captiuite 30
 and misere, zit nochtheles he vas ane pure lauberar of
 lytil reputatione, and descendit of smal linage of the
 tribe of menasses. quhar for ve may persae, that quhar
 the grace of god and the vertu of men ar coniunit to
 gidder, there is no leiful thing onpossibil to be exsecut. 35

and Judas was
stirred up to
deliver Israel.

[*leaf 41 (61), back]

Gideon also.

¹ myht

- 1 And oft tymis god puttis in the pouer of men the thing
that mennis vit *can* nocht beleue that it is possibil to be
done. There is ane vthir exempil of darius kyng of
perse, *that entrit in grece vitht ane hundretht thou-
5 sand fut men, and ten thousand men of armis. At that
tyme thair vas gryt sedition and discentione amang al
the gryt personagis of grece, quhair for athenes vas of
ane opinion to randir them to darius, be rason that the
grekis var diuidit amang them selfis. Bot nochtheles¹
god sterit vp ane duc in athenes callit miltiades, quhilk,
12 gryt armye, and delyuerit al grece furtht of captiuite.
- ¶ Thair is ane vthir exempil, of xerxes kyng of
perse, the sone of kyng darius, quha gadderit ane armye
of thre scoir and ten thousand men of armis of his auen
16 realme of perse, and also he hed of strangearis that var
his frendis, and of his allya, to the nummer of thre hun-
drettht thousand men, as iustin reheris; and also he
brocht sa mony schipis to grece vitht al ordonnance,
20 quhilkis closit al the reueirs, quhairfor it vas moist lyk
that he hed maid ane brig of tre to couer al the see.
3it nochtheles¹ his pride vas sune put doune; for le-
onides, kyng of lacedemonia, cam be hynd the gryt
armye of perse vitht four hundretht lacedemoniens, and
escharmouschit xerxes gryt *armye, and sleu twenty
26 thousand persuns betuix tua hillis. 3it nochtheles,¹ the
remanent of his gryt armye past til athenes, quhilkis
var reddy to be randrit til xerxees, throucht the coun-
sel of ane prince of athenes callit circisus, quha hed
30 secret intelligens vitht xerxes kyng of perse, quhilk vas
occasione that he seducit diuerse grit personagis to rebel
contrar athenes. bot the prudent themosticles vas con-
trair til his opinione (sayand) O nobil vailzeant pepil of
athenes, 3e suld keyp the liberte of 3our cuntray, &
35 nocht² to thole the persans to be 3our superiors; for

When Darius
invaded Greece
[* leaf 42 (62)]

he was discom-
fited by Miltiades.

Xerxes and his
great host

was checked by
Leonidas and his
four hundred.
[* leaf 42(62),back]

Passing to Athens

¹ noththeles

² nocht

fra tyme that 3e be subiect til xerxes, al 3our honest 1
 policie sal be aboleist, & al verteous¹ industrie sal be
 brocht to nocht;² for the persans sal do vitht 3our
 vyuis and cheldyr at there pleseir, as it is manifest
 quhou thai haue dune til vthir partis of grece that is he was defeated
 nou in thair subiection : there for it is mair honest to 6
 dee in the deffens of 3our liberte, nor to liue lyik ven-
 queist slauis in captiuite. Throcht the counsel of the-
 mistocles, al the atheniens tuke gryt curage contrar the
 gryt armye of perse, and also the vemen of the toune 10
 stanet cyrsilus to deitht be cause of his euil counsel. by the skill of
 Than the atheniens and ther allya, *be gryt vail3eant- [* leaf 43 (63)]
 nes, assail3et the persans be escharmouschis and incur-
 sions, quhil that exerxes and his gryt armye var con-
 stren3eit to depart fra grece. of this sort god turnit the Themistocles. 15
 hazard of fortoune, and tuke vengeance on xerxes gryt
 pryde, quhilk suld be ane gryt exempil til al princis,
 that thai gyf nocht² there trest in ane particular pouer
 of multiplie of men, bot rathere to set there trest in
 god : for xerxes, vitht four hundreht thousand men, 20
 purposit til vsurpe the dominione of al grece ; bot fra
 the tyme that the greikis accordit amang them selfis,
 ane sobir companye of greikis chaissit the persans
 furtht of grece. It is nocht² sex scoir of 3eirsen the Consider how the
English have been
chased out of
France.
 inglismen var violent dominatours of mekill of Pic-
 cardye, and of al Normandy, Gascun3e, guien, and of
 mekil of France ; and the kyng of ingland vas crounit 27
 kyng of France in Paris ; bot, as god vald, he vas
 schamefully chaissit furtht of France, and his pepil
 slane doune be gryt multiplie. The exempil of the
 persecutione of oure auen cuntre is manifest til vs al, 31
 quhou the inglismen var violent vsurpatours of al scot-
 land, est, vest, and northt, quhar thai duellit paciablie;
 and vsit thare auen *lauis. thai biggit triumphand They also usurped
Scotland
 edeficis in al the burrous of scotland, as the grondis of [*leaf 43(63),back]

¹ verteo'² nocht

- 1 there fundatione makis manifest presently at this tyme.
 in the days of Edward I., kyng eduard, throucht supple and trason of ihone Balzou
 and vthir scottis tratours, vas cronit kyng of scotland,
 vitht in the toune beruic;¹ and the rychteous kyng of
 5 scotland, Robert bruce, durst nocht remane in no pace-
 bil place. he tint threttyne battellis contrar inglismen:
 but were driven by Robert Bruce, then² he fled furtht of scotland to norouay to saue his
 lyue. 3it nochtheles god almychty³ hauand pitie of our
 affligit cuntray, he restorit Robert bruce to the crone,
 10 quha rycht⁴ vailzeantly brocht the realme in guid or-
 dour, vitht gryt confusion til our ald enemis. Be thir
Ad generum cereris sine cede & vulnere pauci descendunt reges, & sicca morte tiranni. Iuuenal.
 exemplis 3e maye evidently persauē, that god almychty
 tholis nocht⁵ violent vsurpatours of realmes to ring
 lang, bot rather he scurgis and distroys the tirrans, and
 he restoris the affligit innocētis til ane guide stait.
 The famous historiographours and croniklis of al cun-
 17 treis makis manifest of the miserabil ruynis that god
 sendis on vrangus conquestours, quhilkis be ambitione
 and oultrageus pryde hes be thair tyranny inuadit vthir
 cuntrays, and eftiruart hes tint there auen cun'tray,
 and there self hes maid ane euil end. The queen se-
 meramis vas nocht contentit vitht sirrie and babillon,
 23 bot sche vald pas to mak veyre contrar ethiope and
Hercules, Inde; sche vas slane vitht hyr auen son. Hercules vas
 nocht content vitht the gryt cuntray of libie and of
 creit, bot vald pas to conques the occian see; than ane
 voman poysonit⁶ hym vitht ane sark. Mitridates vas
 nocht content of his auen realme of pont, bot vald pas
 in batel contrar the romanis. he dred neuyr to dee bot
 30 be poyson, quhair for⁷ he bure ay apon hym tuenty
 leyuis of reu, tua kyrnellis of nutis, & tua feggis, and
 ane lytil quantite of salt, the quhilkis he mixt al to
 giddy, and thai mixtions he eit euyrie daye vitht ane
 fastan stomak, to keip hym fra poysonyng. that con-
 fectione vas callit to name eftiruart, *antidotum mitri-*

Regem mitridates contra venenum.

¹ breuic ² them ³ almythty ⁴ rytht ⁵ notht ⁶ prysonit ⁷ fot

dates. bot 3it that¹ drog culd nocht² saue his lyif fra his 1
 sone that sleu hym. kyng philip vas nocht² content of Philip of
 the ryche realme of macedone, quharfor he past and Macedon,
 perturbit al greice; bot syne he vas slane vitht ane of
 his auen sodiours. Grite alexander vas nocht² content Alexander the
 of al the varld, bot syne ane drynk of poyson gart hym Great,
 be content of ane sepulture of fiue fute of lyntht *or [*leaf 44(64),back]
 there by. xerxes vas nocht contentit of tua realmys, Xerxes,
 perse and meid, bot ane of his officiaris contentit hym
 vitht ane dagar throucht the hart. kyng cirus vas nocht 10
 contentit of his auen realme, bot vald pas to conques
 sithia; 3it thomaris gart hym be content, quhen sche
 pat his hede in ane pipe ful of bluid, sayand til it, O
 cirus, thou culd neuyr be saciat of menis blude, bot nou Cyrus,
 thou maye drynk thy fil of blude. Annibal, that Iustin.
 redoutit capitan, triumphit in conquessing of vthir and Hannibal.
 realmis, bot in his last days he vas fugitiue fra al cun-
 treis, and for melancolye he poysonnit hym self. It is 18
 nocht necessair to multiplie ouer mony of thir exemplis.
 there for, quha listis to reid the tragedeis of lucius se-
 neque, or ihone Bocchas, in his buik of the ruuyne of Bocchas.
 nobillis, thai sal fynd al cruel vsurpatours of vthir cun- Seneque, in
 treis mak ane mischeuous ende. There for i hope in his tragedeis.
 god that vitht in schort days the protectour of ingland, I hope the same
 and his cruel counsel, sal be put in the croniklis in as will befall the
 abhominabil stile as vas philaris, dionysius, nero, cal- Protector of
 lugala, or domician, the quhilkis maid ane mischeuous 27
 ende, for the violent inuasions of vthir princis cuntreis
 but ony iust titil.

¹ tsiat² nocht

[leaf 45 (65)]

The Actor declaris quhou the Englismen
gifis hane credens to the prophe-
sies of Merlyne.

CHAP. X.

*Ciuitates a
maioribus
ciuitatibus
velud po-
pulum ex-
aminibus con-
dite, colonie
nuncupantur.
Augu. de
civi. dei.*

Li. 10. ca.

The English have put forth a book claiming Scotland as originally a colony of England,

but realms are not conquered with books, but with blood.

THE oratours of England, at there protectors instance, hes set furtht ane buik, quhair be thai intende to preue that scotland vas ane colone of ingland quhen it vas fyrst inhabit. there rasons that thai allege aperis to them to be inuincibil, quhou beit thai be bot freuol. there speciale intentione is to gar there cruel inuasions perpetrat contrar oure realme, apeir in the presens of forrain princis, that thai haue ane iust titil to mak veyr contrar vs. and quhou beit that the said poietical beuk be dytit oratorly to per suauid the vulgar ingnorans til adhere til inuentit fablis contrar the iust verite, zit notheles realmis ar nocht conquest be buikis, bot rather be bluid. there is ane passage in the said beuk, the quilk the inglismen hes ane ardant desyr to se it cum til effect. The tenor of the passage sais, that it var verray necessare for the veil-fayre of ingland and scotland, that baytht the realmis var coniunit to giddir, and to be vndir the gouuernyng of ane prince, and the tua realmis to be callit the ile of bertan, as it vas in the begynnyng, quhen the troian¹ brutus conquest it fra the giantis. and also the inglismen gifis ferme credit to diuerse prophane propheseis of merlyne, and til vthir ald corruppit vaticinaris,² to quhais ymaginet verkis thai gyue mair faitht nor to the prophesie of ysaye, Ezechiel, Ieremie, or to the euangel: the quhilkis prophane prophetis and vaticinaris hes affermit in there rusty ryme, that scotland and ingland sal be vndir ane prince. The ardant desire, and the disordinat auerisius affectione, that inglismen hes to be violent

15

[*leaf 45(65),back]

This book says it is necessary for England and Scotland to be united into one country, and again called Britain.

The English give great credence to pretended prophecies of Merlin,

25

who has predicted this union.

¹ torian² vaticuiaris

- dominatours of oure cuntray, hes prouokit them to mak
 cruel veyris contrar vs thir mony 3eiris bypast, to that
 effect that there diabolic prophane propheseis may be
 fulfillit, nocht regardand gyue the vil of god hes per-
 mittit be his diuynе gudnes that sic propheseis cum til
 affect: Nor 3it thai considyr nocht that al propheseis
 hes doutsum and duobil expositionis. 3it nochtheles i
 hope in god that the rycht sens of there prophane pro-
 phesyе sal be ful*fillit in this generatione, and that
 inglismen sal get there desire to there perpetual confu-
 sione. the inglismen exponis the prophesyе of merlyne
 to there auen affectione, as the iueis exponit the pro-
 phesie of cayphas. Cayphas of ane euyl intent spak
 treu prophesyе; bot 3it he and the iueis interpret it to
 the vrang sens, quhilk vas cause of there auen condem-
 nation. Of this sort, cresus kyng of lidie exponit and
 interpret the ansuer of appollo to the vrang sens, quhen
 the cruel veyris vas betuix hym and cirus kyng of pers
 and meid. At that time the tua gryt battellis of on-
 numerabil men of veyr var campit neir to giddir, except
 that the reueir of almy ran betuix them. On the
 morne, kyng cresus past to the oracle of appollo in the
 tempil of delphos, desyrand to knau the fyne of the
 veyris that vas sa cruel betuix hym and kyng cirus.
 Appollo gaue to kyng cresus ane doutsum ansuere of
 ambiguite. this vas his ansuer. cresus perdet almi
 transgressa maxima regna. This vord perdet is
 ane verb equiuocum; it signifieis to distroye, and it
 signifieis to tyne, it is vritin in the fyft psalme of
 Dauid, perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium.
 the expositione of this passage signifieis nocht that god
 tynis them that ar learis; for god can tyne na thing.
 there can no thing be tynt, bot quhen he that tynis
 ane thing, and syne knauis nocht quhair it is: bot god
 knauis al thing. of this sort kyng cresus exponit the
 ansuer of appollo of ane sens, and appollo said his
- Therefore have they made cruel wars.
- I hope the prophecy will be fulfilled in a different way from that which they expect.
- [* leaf 46 (66)]
- The Jews interpreted the prophecy of Caiaphas to their own condemnation.
- Cresus misinterpreted the response of
- the oracle of Apollo at Delphos.
- "If Cresus cross the Almis he will destroy mighty kingdoms,"
- Psalm v. 6.
- [* leaf 46 (66), bk]
- Cresus perdet almi transgressa*

*maxima
regna.*

and so brought
mischief on
himself.

It happened
similarly to
Pyrrhus, king
of Epirus,

[* leaf 47 (67)]

and to Ferrand,
Earl of Flanders.

*Augure is,
ane person
that tellis
of thyngis
that ar to
cum, throu-
cht the iu-
gement that
thai haue of
birdis vocis,
& of ther
fleing*

So may it be
with these
prophecies of
Merlin,

ansuer of ane vthir sens. Cresus interpret that verb
perdet for to distroye; and for that cause he and his
3 gryt armye past ouer the reueir of almi, in hope to
distroye kyng cirus. bot cirus venquest cresus and al
his gryt armye; the quhilk mischeif cam on kyng cresus
for the vrang interpretatiōne of the ansuer of appollo;
for he considerit nocht that perdet vas ane verb
8 equiuocum, quhilk hed ane expositione of ambiguite.

There is ane syklik exempil of pirrus kyng of
eporite, that past to the oracle of appollo til inqyre of
the fyne of the veyris that vas betuix hym and the
romanis. appollo gaue ane doutsum ansuere of this sort;
13 dico te pirre romanos vincere posse. Pirrus
exponit that verse of this sort, pirre, dico te vincere
romanos. bot appollo said it of ane vthyr sort, pirre,
dico romanos te vincere; as cam til effect estyruart,
for the romanis venquest kyng pirrus, and chaissit
hym furtht of Italie. There is ane vthir exempil of
ferrand erl of Flaunders, quaha maid mortal veyr contrar
the kyng¹ of France. he, his mother and his vyfe, past
til ane augure in holland, til inqyre of the fyne of the
veyris betuix hym and the kyng of France. the augure
ansuert, quod he, thou sal entir in Paris, quhair that
gryte tryumphe and ioye sal be maid at thy entres.
ferrand beand rycht glaid of the ansuere of his augure,
he enterit in France vitht² ane gryt armye; bot or he
cam to Paris, he and his armye var venqueist, and he
28 vas tane presoner and led to paris. than al the parisienis
maid gryt tryumphe and ioye for blythtnes be cause that
ferrand there mortel enemye vas disconfeist. Of this
sort, ferrand exponit the ansuere of his augure til ane
vrang sens. Thir exemplis may be conferrit and ap-
plyit vitht the prophesies of merlyne, to the quhilk the
inglismen giffis mair confidens nor thai gif to the
35 euangel, be cause that there ald prophane propheseis

¹ ykng

² vilht

sais, that ingland and scotland sal be baitht vndir ane prince. on this misteous propheseis,¹ thai haue intendit veyris contrar scotland, in hope to conques it. bot as i haue befor rehersit, i beleue that there prophe'sie sal cum til effect, bot nocht to their intent, and that ingland and scotland sal be ane monarche vndir ane prince in this generacione, conformand til ane prophesie that i haue red in the inglis chronyklis, in ane beuk callit polichornicon, the quhilk prophesie sais, that ingland sal be first conquest be the deynis, and syne be the saxons, and thirdly be the Normandis; and there last conquessing sal be conquest be the scottis,² quhome inglisemen haldis maist vile; and fra that tyme furtht, ingland and scotland sal be bot ane monarche, and sal lyue vndir ane prince; and sa inglis men sal get there prophesie fulfillit to there auen mischeif.³

which say that England and Scotland shall be under one king;

[* leaf 47 (67), bk] I believe it will so come to pass, but not in the way the English expect, nor in this generation;

but, as foretold in the *Polychronicon*,

12

England and Scotland shall be ruled by a Scottish prince.

Quhou the pretendit Kyngis of England hes no iust titil to the realme of England, nothir be electione nor be successione, and quhou thai pretendit Kyngis of England ⁴hes practikyt ane crafty dissait contrar Valis and Yrland.

CHAP. XI. [AND XII.]

THIR vordis befor rehersit (O 3e my thre sonn) suld prouoke 3ou to tak curaige; ther for i vald that hope of victoree var augmentit, & dreed var banest fra 3ou. vald 3e al perpend 3our iust defens and querrel, than hardines⁵ and curage vald returne vitht in 21

These words ought to arouse your courage.

[* leaf 53 (68)]

¹ prophesels

² scoctis

³ mischeil

⁴ hee

⁵ hrrdines

Examine the
title of your
persecutors:

they are the
descendants of
Sergest and
Hengest, the
two Saxons,

who came to
assist the king
of Great Britain
in his wars,

and treacherously
dispossessed him.

Most of the
English kings
have murdered
their prede-
cessors:

King John was
a murderer:

[* leaf 53 (68), bk]
Edward II. and
Richard II. per-
ished miserably.

Richard III. slew
the children of
Edward [IV.].

Not one of them
had a just title
to England,
much less to
Scotland.

They have been
your mortal

3our hartis. and fyrst 3e suld considyr the pepil, and
the titil of them that persecutis 3ou be on iust veyris.

3 quhen 3e hef veil socht the verite, 3e sal fynd that it is
the false blude that discendit of sergestes and engestes,¹
quhilk var tua saxons that cam vitht aleuin thousand
saxons fra thair auen cuntra to support and supple the
kyng of grit bertanze, quhilk is nou callit ingland, quha
vas opprest be cruel ciuil veyris. than eftir that thir
tua saxons hed venquest the enemes of the kyng of

10 bertanze, thai trasonable banest the rychteus² kyng and
his posterite fra the realme. and sen syne that false
blude hes possesset that cuntre violently be tyrране, and
the maist part of thay tirran kyngis that hes succedit
of that fals blude hes benee borreaus to their predeces-
sours, as the cronikls of ingland makis manyfest, as of

16 henry the first of that name, quhilk vas banest fra the
crone. Siklik henry the thrid vas banest fra the crone
be his second sone Richart. ihone kyng of ingland
gart slay the heretours of his predecessours, and brukit
the realme twenty 3eirs, and syne ther eftir he vas
baⁿest, and eftir that kyng eduard vas gart dee meser-
ablye in preson. syklik Richart the sycond vas cruelly
slane be his auen men; and ther eftir henry the saxt

24 lossit his liyf be³ eduard the thrid of that name. than
eftir hym succedit rechart the thrid, quha gart sla the
childir of eduard the thrid, and sa brukit the cuntre
certan tyme, and ther eftir vas exilit fra the crone. and
henry the seuynt, be the support and supple of the
kyng of France, gat the crone of ingland; and sa none
of them hed rycht⁴ to the crone of ingland: ergo, thai
hef na titil to the crone of scotland. Al this veil con-
siderit, suld inflam 3our hartis vitht curage to resist

33 ther cruel vrangus assaltis, & to menteine⁵ be vailzeant-
nes the iust defens of 3our natyf cuntre. 3e knau quhou
thai and there forbears hes benee 3our ald mortal

¹ eugestes ² rythteus ³ de ⁴ rytht ⁵ menteme

enemes tuelf hundretht zeiris by past, makand cruel
 veir contrar your predecessours be fyir and suerd, dayly
 distroyand your feildis, villagis and buroustounis, vytht
 ane ferme purpos to denud scotland fra your genera- 4
 tione; and there vas neuer faitht nor promes kepit be
 them, bot aye quhen ze beleifit til hef hed maist sure
 pace betuix you and them, than thai lay at the vatch,¹
 lyik the ald subtil doggis, bydand quhil conspiratione
 or discentione suld ryes amang you. than be there
 austuce and subtilite thai² furnest vitht money baitht
 the parteis aduersaris to slay doune vderis, quhilk vas
 ane reddy passage to gar them conqueis our realme
 vithtout straik or battel, throcht the occasion of the
 social ciuil and intestyne veyre that rang sa cruelly 14
 throucht our cuntre. Valerius maximus rechersis ane
 exempil conformand to this samyn purpos. quhen the
 atheniens and the lacedemoniens, quhilkis³ var the tua
 maist famous tounis vitht in the monarche of greice,
 thair raise ane discention and discord betuix the said
 tua tounis. than darius kyng of perse, quha hed euer
 ane ardant desyir to conqueis greice, be cause the
 greiciens hed euer been mortal enemes til hym and til 22
 his predecessours, and speciale the toun of athenes re-
 sistit hym mair in his veyris nor did al the remanent
 of greice; for that cause he send his prouest tasifernes
 vitht gold and siluer to lacedemonia to furneis them in
 there veyris contrar the atheniens. at that tyme, alcibi-
 ades vas bannest fra athenes, and excommunicat be the 28
 prestis of there tempil, eftir the consuetude of there
 lau. than alcibia^{des} past for refuge to the lacede-
 moniens, quha var mortal enemes to the atheniens: he
 vas resauit rycht⁴ honorabilye, and gat gryt credit
 amang them, quhilk vas occasion that throcht⁵ his con- 33
 sel, and throu the gold that the prouest tacifernes hed
 brocht to lacedemonia fra his maister kyng darius,
 through which they defeated the Athenians.

enemies for
twelve hundred
years,

laying wait
against you,
[* leaf 54 (69)]

taking advantage
of your dis-
sensions;

as Darius pro-
fited by the
quarrels of the
Athenians and
Lacedæmonians,

sending Tisso-
phernes to the
latter with gold
and silver,

[* leaf 54 (69), bk]

¹ vacht ² rhray ³ quhilkis *superfluous*. ⁴ rosauit rytht ⁵ rhrocht

the lacedemoniens tryumphit contrar the atheniens. alcibiades persauand that lacedemonia vas aperand to be superior of athenes, he said to the prouest of kyng

4 darius, schir, 3e suld nocht furneis the lacedemoniens vitht sa grit quantite of gold and siluer contrar athenes ;

Then, by advice
of Alcibiades,

for gif athenes be conquest be the lacedemoniens, than the lacedemoniens sal be superiors of al greice ; and fra tyme that thai be pacibil gouuernours of greice, and hes

9 no ciuil veyris, discord, nor discention amang them, than doutles thai sal intend veir contrar 3our maister darius kyng of perce, as there forbears did in allid tymis. there for i think it maist conuenient that kyng darius furneis lacedemonia bot vitht sa mekil money as

14 may keip them on venquest be the atheniens, and als it var verray necessair that kyng darius furnest the atheniens vitht sa mekil money as may resist the lacedemoniens, and that sal gar al the cuntrey of greice

[* leaf 55 (70)]

he subsidized the
Athenians also,

hef perdurabil veyr amang them selfis, and than kyng darius may eysily conqueis greice, vitht litil dompage

20 to his cuntrey. the prouest of darius adherit to the counsel of alcibiades, and send nocht sameikil monye to the lacedemoniens as mycht¹ gar them conqueis athenes, nor 3it he send nocht so litil money that throcht necessite thai suld leaue or desist fra the veyris.

25 of that samyn sort he send money to athenes to defend them contrar the lacedemoniens. and sa, be the counsel of alcibiades, darius kyng of perce conqueist mair of greice, vitht ane hundretht tallentis that he distribuit secretly amang the grecians, to menteine² there ciuil veyris, ilk ane contrer vderis, nor he conquest be forse, vitht ten thousand tallentis. As hary the eycht kyng of ingland did to the empriour & to the kyng of France³ in the 3eir of gode ane thousand fiew hundretht twenty

and so had his
purposes served
by both parties.

So Henry VIII.
professed neu-
trality between
Charles V. and
Francis IV.,

35 he furnest the empriour vitht sex thousand fut men,

¹ myht

² menteme

³ Frèce.

and tua hundretht lycht horse, on his auen expensis, 1
 quhen the kyng of France vas past ouer the alpes to
 seige paue. ande also that samyn kyng hary lent to the while secretly
 kyng of France aucht scoir of thousandis engel noblis, subsidizing both ;
 of the quhilk the empriour vas surly aduertest ; for [* leaf 55 (70), bk]
 quhen the kyng of France ande his armye var defait as was discovered
 be the duc of Burbon, the viceroy of naples, the mar- on the defeat of
 quis of pesquaire, and the marquis of gonnast, thir said Francis.
 princis gat, in the spulze of the Frence¹ men, the² kyng 9
 of Francis pose, quhilk vas al in engel noblis ; ande
 also thai gat the kyng of inglandis preua vriting, quhilk
 he hed sende to the kyng of France at the seige of paue.
 of this sort the kyng of ingland playit vitht baytht the
 handis, to gar the empriour and the kyng of France ilk
 ane distroye vthirs. (O ze my thre sonnys) the discen- 15
 tion & discord that ryngis amang zou hes done mair
 distructione til our realme nor quhen the gryt armye &
 pouer of ingland inuadit zou. the experiens of this The English
 samyn is manifest, quhou that the kyngis of ingland kings have been
 hes bene mair solist to hef pace & fauoir of scotland, glad enough to
 quhen iustice & concord gouernit the thre estaitis of have peace with
 scotland, nor tyl hef hed the fauoir & pace of al the Scotland, when
 riche realmis that the empriour possessis. and in oppo- it was united
 sit, quhen the kyngis of ingland persauis discord, dis- and strong ;
 centione, ciuil veyris, iniusteis & diuisione, vitht in 23
 scotland, than thai forgit³ fenzet querrellis contrar our
 realme, in hope that ilk scottis man sal be mortal putting forward
 enemye til his nychtbour. Quhar for i exort zou zou their false claims,
 my thre sonnys, that ze be delegent to remeide your [* leaf 56 (71)]
 abusions of the tymis by past, quhilk sal neuir cum til only in times of
 effect bot gyf that ze remoue & expel discentione, dis- intestine dis-
 cord and hatrent that ringis amang zou ; for gyf ze be sension.
 enemeis to your selfis, than quhy suld the kyngis of Be diligent, then,
 ingland be accusit quhen thai intend veyris contrar zou, to remove the
 considerant that thai hef bene euyr your ald enemeis ? 35 causes of discord.

¹ France² the³ forgie

What castle can
be kept against
besiegers, if
mortal war reign
among the
defenders?

Remember also
the valour of
your forefathers,

[* leaf 56 (71), bk]

and make you a
mirror of their
noble deeds.

Peace with
Scotland is more
necessary than
honourable to
England.

- i vald spere quhat castel can be lang kept, quhen the
enemeis seigis it cruelly vitht out, and vitht in the said
castel ther ringis mortal veyr¹ among the soudartis,
men of veyr, quhilkis suld lyf in ane mutual & fayth-
5 ful accord in deffens of the said castel contrar externe
violens? this veil considrit, suld be occasione to gar
3ou expel hatrent, diuisione, & auaricius lyffing furtht
of 3our hartis, & also it suld prouoke 3ou to remembir
of the nobil actis of 3our foir fathers & predecessours,
quha deffendit this realme be there vailzeantnes, & also
reducit there liberte, quhilk vas ane lang tyme in cap-
12 tiuite, be the machination of 3our ald enemes, as 3e may
reid in diuersis passis of 3our cronikillis. And sen 3e
knau² that god hes schauen sic fa'uoir to 3our foir-
bearis, throcht the quhilk thai hef venqueist thair
enemes, and brocht the realme, be visdome & manhede,
17 in sykkyr pace, quhou beit thai var onequal, baytht in
nummer & puissance, to 3our ald enemes, 3e suld mak
ane mirrou of there nobil actis; for sen 3e knau³ that
3our ald enemes hes intendit to conqueis & to subdiu
3ou to there dominione, nocht throcht there manhede
22 & visdome, bot rather throcht the discentione that
ringis among 3ou, 3e suld schau 3ou verteous & vailzeant
in 3our rycht⁴ defence. for quhen 3e ar in accord, &
lyuis in tranquilite, 3our ald enemes sendis ther imbas-
sadors⁵ to desyre pace & fauoir, quhilk is mair necessari
to them nor it is honest, considering of there grit
pouer & mycht⁶ be see & be lond. bot nochtheles, the
mair reches that thai posses, the mair schame redondis
30 to them, & the mair gloir is 3ouris, sen thai hef beene
venquist be 3ou diuerse tymes, quhome thai held maist
vile and febil. and nou, sen 3e knau the apering dan-
geir of 3our natif cuntre, 3e suld prudently consult to
escheu al dangeir; and to begyn sic gude ordour, 3e
35 suld prouide al vays to remoue discentione, sedetione,

¹ feyr ² hnau ³ knan ⁴ rytht ⁵ imbassadpurs ⁶ mytht

and auaricius lyffyng, quhilk may induce hatrent, inuy 1
 and rancor amang you, to that effect that ilk persone [* leaf 57 (72)]
 may lyf eysylye on his auen iust conques, and that Remove from
 none of the realme hef occasione to do extorsions til among you in-
 vthyris; for sic gude pollycie, veil ordorit, sal cause justice and
 the cuntre to increse in gloir, honour and reches, and extortion.
 dreddor to your enemes, quha ar verray solist and 7
 vigilant to conques you. ther prouisione of diuerse sortis
 is vonder grit, nocht alanerly be gryt multitude of men Your enemiea
 of veyr, and ane grit nauen of schipis be seey burde, have a great
 bot as veil be secret machinatione to blynd you be army and navy;
 auereis, presentand to you gold, siluyr, and grit pro-
 messis of heretagis, to persuaid you to commit traison 13
 contrar your faitht, honour and comon veil, quhilk is
 ane rycht passage to bring you and your posterite til
 ane vile & final exterminatione. vald 3e maturly con-
 sydir the subtilite of inglismen, 3e sal fynd them aper-
 and faithtful and humain in thair aduersite; bot quhen they are tyrants,
 thair ar in prosperite, thair ar ingrat tirrants and cruel and cruel above
 abuf al vdir natione. Oeh! quhou dangerus is it til all other nations.
 ony sort of pepil til hef ane cruel tirran ryngand abuf 20
 them: and to eschaip sic tirranny your forbears hes
 debatit your cuntre this mony 3eiris be grit manhede How your fore-
 and visdo'me, quhou beit it vas in dangeir to be in final fathers resisted
 euersione. the croniklis vil certifie you quhou that¹ your the tyranny
 nobil predecessours and foir bears var slane, and the [* leaf 57 (72), bk]
 comont pepil brocht to vile seruitude ane lang tyme be and slavery of
 the saxons blude. and 3it sic calamite and persecutione the Saxons!
 indurit bot for ane tyme. for god almychty,² that
 knauis your iust defens, hes euer schauen gryt fauoir
 touart you, therfor 3e suld tak curage in your iust quer- 31
 rel. 3e hef no cause³ to dispayr for falt of supple, for
 your predecessours hes been in mair dangeir quhen your
 strynthis and castellis hes nocht been sa defensabil, nor
 3it the cuntre heffand supple of na forane prince. It is 35

¹ thae² almythty³ canse

- and subjected
for 40 years;
- but God de-
livered them.
- [* leaf 58 (73)]
- Your enemies
would not again
have troubled
you had not your
discord opened
the way.
- Reflect before
your ruin be
final,
- yourselves en-
slaved, your
wives and
daughters
ravished,
- your property
reized.
- [* leaf 58 (73), bk]
- 1 tideous to rehers the grit calamiteis, the sair battellis,
and the cruel slauchtyr that vas cruelly exsecutit on
scottis¹ men; and to conclude, al the cuntre vas in ex-
treme subiectione fourty zeirs, and possest be our ald
enemes. But nochtheles, god almychty² valknit vitht
- 6 his grace the hartis of 3our predecessours, as he did to
sampsoun, Dauid, and iudas macchabeus, contrar the
enemes of Israel, quhair for al 3our cuntre vas delyuerit
fra captiuite, to the grit damage of reches, and effusione
of blude on 3our ald enemes. 3e vaiit veil that the ciuil
- 11 and intestyne veir, and the discentione and discord and
rancor that ryngis amang 3ou, is the speciale cause of
the inglisme[n]is inuasions and of 3our miserite; for
3our ald enemes, quhou beit of ther puissans, vald neuer
hef maid sic incursions ande hairschips on the bordours
and limitis of 3our cuntre, var nocht 3our selfis maid ane
- 17 redde passage to them throcht the occasioun of 3our
auen discentions that ryngis amang 3ou. ther for it is
necessair that 3e sal³ perpend that sic discentione be
nocht the cause of 3our auen distructione and final
ruyne of 3our naticne. the kyng of ingland knauand
- 22 the discention that ryngis amang 3ou, he vil tret, cheris,⁴
and promes grit reches til ony of 3ou that vil adhere
til hym contrar 3our comont veil; bot fra tyme that he
get dominione of the cuntre, 3e sal be his sklauis in ex-
treme seruitude, 3our vyfis and dochteris⁵ deflorit be
the onbridilit lust of 3our ald enemes, and violently led
- 28 away befor 3our facis be the extreme lauis of the veyr.
3our gold and siluyr, and vthir gudis, public and priuat,
sal be distribut and disponit amang them, the frutis
and cornis of 3our grond to be vsit at ther dispositione,
and 3e sal be compellit to laubir the naikyf feildis
vitht 3our auen handis to there proffet. 3e sal nocht
alanely be iniurit be euil vordis, bot als 3e sal be
- 35 violently strykkyn in 3our bodeis, quhairfor 3e sal lyf in

¹ scottis ² almythly ³ thair zeal ⁴ t:etcheris ⁵ dochteris

mair thirlage nor brutal bestis, quhilkis ar thirlit of 1
nature. And ony of 3ou that consentis til his fals con-

ques of 3our cuntre, 3e sal be recompenssit as 3our for-
bears var at the blac perliament at the bernis of ayre,
quhen kyng eduard maid ane conuocatione of al the
nobillis of scotland at the toune of ayre, vndir colour
of faitht and concord, quha comperit at his instance,
nocht heffand suspitione of his tresonabil consait. than 8

Bear in mind the
Barns of Ayr,

thai beand in his subiectione vndir colour of familiarite,
he gart hang, cruelly and dishonestly, to the nummer
of sexten scoir of the maist nobillis of the cuntre, Tua
and tua ouer ane balk, the quhilk sextene scoir var
cause that the inglismen conquest sa far vithtin 3our
cuntre. 3e may reid the croniklis of al cuntreis, and 14
3e sal fynd, that quhen forain princis hes violentlye,

where Edward I.
murdered sixteen
score of your
leaders.

but iust titil, gottin dominatione on vthir cuntreis, than
in the begynnyng thai haue tretit and flatterit the
principal inhabitants, quhil on to the tyme that thai var
pacebil domina*tours: and there eftir thai haue vsit
there dissymilit intent on the pepil, and hes distroyit 20

Foreign con-
querors are ever
deceitful and
cruel:

[* leaf 59 (74)]

them, as kyng eduard did at the bernis of ayre befor re-
hersit. There is ane exempil conformand to this samen
purpos rehersit be valerius maximus, and in titus
liuius, quhou that tarquinus superbus the sext kyng of
rome, quhilk maid cruel veyre contrar the cite of gabine
til hef hed it subdeuit to the dominione of rome. bot
that nobil cite deffendit there liberte rycht¹ vailzeantly.

*Titus liuius
Libro. 1.*

witness the case
of Tarquin the
proud, when
making war
against Gabini.

his sone sextus tarquinus vas in grit melancolye be
cause his father culd nocht conquest that cite be fors; 29
nor be loue, nor 3it be flattery. ther for he departit fra
his father vitht ane fen3et displeseir, and past to the
cite of gabine, makand ane pitteus complaint² on the
crualte of his fader contrar hym, prayand to them of
gabine that thai vald be his deffens contrar his father,
and he sal be subiect to that cite in perpetual.³ the 35

¹ ryht

² complanit

³ imperpetual

1 cite of gabine, throcht there facilnes, gef hasty credit to sextus tarquinus, and resaut hym and trettit hym be grit familiarite. than day be day be his fayr vordis, thai gef hym credens in sic ane sort, that al the pepil be *cam* obedient til hym. than he send ane of his

[* leaf 59 (74), bk]

familiaris til 'his fader tarquinus superbus, declarand quhou he hed conqueist the fauor of al the pepil, desyrand his fatheris counsel quhou he suld vse hym to

9 hald them in subiectione. the messenger of sextus past to tarquine superbe, declarand his message, quhar he gat ald tarquine in ane garding. bot ald tarquine gef nay ansuer to the messenger, bot tuike his staf, and syne past throcht his gardin, and quhar that he gat ony chasbollis that greu hie, he straik the heidis fra them witht his staf, and did no thyng to the litil chasbollis.

The dumb show, by which Tarquin intimated what should be done to the chief men.

16 the messengeir gat nay ansuer be tong fra ald tarquine, bot returnit til gabine til his maister sextus tarquinus,¹ quha askit ane ansuer of his message. the messenger tald quhou his father send nay ansuer be tong, bot past vp and doune his gardyng witht his staf cuttand doune

21 the hie chasbollis. than sextus tarquinus kneu veil his fatheris mynd, that his counsel vas to strik of al the hedis of the principal men of the cite of gabine, and than the remanent of the pepil durst nocht reuolt contrar hym. of this sort the nobil cite of gabine vas dis-

26 aut be flatterye and facilnes of gyffing credit til ane tirrane. sextus tarquinus vsit his father counsel, for he 'distroyit and sleu al the principal lordis of gabine, as kyng eduard did to the lordis of scotland at the bernis

[* leaf 60 (75)]

Take warning by the treatment of Ireland and Wales.

of ayre. The onfaithful cruel act that kyng henry the aucht vsit contrar yrland and valis quhen he becam ther superiors, suld be mirroure and ane exempil til al scotland: for he vsit the samen practik contrar irland and valis as sextus tarquinus exsecut on the cite of

35 gabine, and as kyng eduard exsecutit on the barrons of

¹ tarquin'

scotland at the bernis of ayre : for quhou beit that the kyng of ingland nou present be discendet of the blude of valis, 3it nochtheles the pepil of valis ar in sic subiectione that thai dar neuer ryde bot iiij to giddir, and als that nane of them sal cum vitht in the mane cuntre of ingland vitht out ane certificat fra the sc[h]eref to gar it be knauen that thai hef sum speciale byssynes vitht in ingland. and als ther¹ sal nane that is borne in valis beyr office in valis, nor 3it in ingland. and also the principal men of valis ar subiect to pas to the veyris in propyr person contrar scotland or contrar France quhen euer thai ar chargit be the kyng of inglandis lettris. Bot at the first apoyntement that vas accordit betuix the kyng of ingland and the lordis of valis, he promest them grit liberte, quhil he hed resaut the castellis and strynthis of valis, and hed put inglis captans in them. bot incontinent ther efter, he gart strik the heidis fra al the lordis of valis, and fra the principal barronis. and syklik to spek of irland, quhen the kyng of ingland vas accordit vitht the lordis of irland, and that he hed resaut ane certan of castellis, and sum of the principal tounis, than ane lang tyme eftir he tretit the lordis of irland vitht fayr vordis, and gef them riche gyftis, quhil he be his subtilite gart tue[¹]f of them cum to london, quaha cam at his command, be cause thai dreid na cruelte. than incontinyt he gart strik the hedis fra the said tuelf lordis of irland. and sen sine al the irland men ar sklauis til hym, excepand ane certan that kepis them sel on the strait montanis of irland, quhilkis vil nocht obeye to his tyranny, for thai hed rather remane in cald and hunger in the vyild forestis ande hillis at there liberte, nor for to be in his captiuite to be hangit and hedit as he hes dune causles til mony vthyr innocent men. The extortione that the kyngis of ingland hes dune to our predecessours, is manifest to 3ou al. the chro·ni¹ makis

Even though the present king of England is of Welsh descent,

[¹ rher]

the Welsh are subjected to all kinds of oppression.

[* leaf 60 (75), bk]

So have the English oppressed Ireland;

of which the chief men have been beheaded, and the people enslaved;

except those that have found refuge in the wilds.

[* leaf 61 (76)]

King Edward
overran Scotland
and compelled
your forefathers
to render
homage.

He invaded
Scotland with
100,000 men,

bringing one
Conraldus, a
friar, to write a
chronicle of his
acts.

Before Bannock-
burn he made
sundry statutes,

as to how he
would deal with
Scotland,

[* leaf 61 (76), bk]

after gaining
the victory.

manifest quhou that kyng eduard, eftir that he hed
ouer run al 3our cuntre, and hed brocht al the pepil til
extreme captiuite, quhar for compulsione and necessite
causit *them* til obeye, and to mak homage til ingland.
than the crualte of this said kyng eduard, nocht satesfet
nor saceat, he brocht fra ingland ane hundretht thou-
7 sand men, and als he brocht¹ ane freir vitht hym callit
conraldus, the quhilk freir hed commissiōne to mak
ane chronikil of the actis that kyng eduard and his
hundretht t[h]ousand men suld do in scotland. this
said grit armye of ingland beand befor bannoctburne,
kyng eduard maid ane parlament vitht in his camp
vitht ane certan of statutis & ordinance, quhilk vas put
14 *in vryit* be the said freir. This vas the tenor of the
said ordinance. in the fyrst, he ordand thre vaupyn-
schaungis to be maid al on ane day in scotland be
scottis² men in thre of the farrest placis of scotland, as
in til the marse, in gallouaye, and in the northt of
scotlande, and at thay vappynschaungis, al the
20 vaupynis and armour of scotland to be delyuerit to the
inglisemen to be kept in castellis quhil on to the tyme
that the kyng of ingland intend to mak veir aganis
vthyr cuntres. the nixt statut he ordand that na scottis
man suld veyr na vaupyn bot ane knif of fife inche of
lyntht, vitht cut ane point. in the thrid statut, he
26 ordand that na scottis man suld duel in ane house that
vas loftit, bot rather in ane litil cot house. in the ferd
he ordand that na scottis man suld veir ony clais bot
hardyn cotis. in the fyft artikle he ordand that the
scottis men of scotland suld be partit in thre partis.
31 the first part suld remane *in* scotland, to laubeir the
cornis on the grond. the sycond part suld be send in
ingland to be seruandis to laubyr thair grond. and the
thrid part of them of the best lyik men suld be banest
35 fra scotland, and to hef ane lezens to pas in ony straynge

¹ brotht

² scottis

untre to seik ther gude auenture. This cruel ordin- 1
 nce vas maid in the kyng of ingland campt befor ban-
 nochburne.¹ he beleifit at that tyme that al vas his
 uen. than god almychty² quhilk beheld his pryde and
 arrogance and his onmerciful intent, he valknyt vitht 5
 his spreit the hartis of the nobil men of scotland, the
 quhilkis in ane feu numer cam vitht ane hardy curage
 contrar kyng eduard, and sleu thretty thousand of his
 men, and chaissit hym self thre scoir of mylis vitht in
 england. And in ther returnyng hamuart, thai vaistit
 and brynt northt humyrland and mony vthir plaicis of 11
 england. this battel vas fochtyn at bannochburne,³ as
 the inglis croniklis rehersis mair large. then quhan the
 entis, pailsons, & spoulze of the inglis armye vas tane
 gaddrit vp be scottis men, thai gat the forsaid inglis
 reir conraldus vithtin kyng eduardis tent, & als thai
 at thyr forsaid artiklis & ordinance quhilk the inglis-
 men purposit to execut on the scottis men. bot inglis-
 men tuik nocht god to be their cheiftane, bot rather 19
 sit there auen arrogant mynde; therfor their gryt
 ouer hed na grace to fulfil ther entreprice. this ex-
 mpil is vondir probabil that inglismen vil vse this
 samyn crualte on 3ou al, gif sa beis that 3e cum subiect
 to them. 3e knau that thir tuelf hundretht 3eiris thai leit
 ou neuyr hef pace xvi 3eir to giddir, bot 3it ther 25
 yrranye redondit aye to their auen dishonestye and
 omage. and quhou beit at sum tyme 3our cuntre gat
 rit skaytht be them, sic thing suld nocht gar 3ou tyne
 our curagis, for the chancis of veir ar nocht certan to
 a party. ⁴al thir vordis befor said ar rehersit, to that
 effect that 3our facilnes be nocht sedusit be ther astuce
 and subtil persuasions. Titus liuius rehersis ane ex-
 mpil in his nynt beuk conformand to this samyn
 purpos, quhilk vas eftir the fundatione of rome 420
 eris. at that tyme their vas in rome tua consulis, ane

He believed, at the time, that all was his own,

but he was utterly routed.

[* leaf 62 (77)]

Among the spoil,

Friar Conraldus was taken captive, with the statutes made against the Scots.

These exemplify the cruelty which will be used towards you.

Incerti sunt exitus pugnarum marsque est communis qui sepe spoliante iam & exultantem
 [* leaf 62 (77), bk]
euertit & percutit ab abiceto.
Cice. pro milo.

¹ bannothburne

² almythty

³ bannothburne

⁴ CHAP. XIII., not distinguished in the original, should probably begin here.

Titus liuius
Lib. 9.

Valerius
maximus.
Libro 7.

How the Roman
army was shut
up by the Sain-
nites in the nar-
row pass of the
Caudine Forks.

callit titus viterius, and the tothyr callit spurius¹ post-
humus, quaha var committit to be cheiffis and captans
3 of the armye of the romans, to pas contrar the samnetis,
quhilkis hed maid mortal veyr thertty 3eir to giddir
[con]trar rome. the captan of the samnetis vas callit
pontius, quhilk vas the sone of ane vailzeant man callit
hereneus, quaha vas exemptit fra the veyris, and fra the
8 gouernyng of the public veil, be raison of his grit aige.
The grit armye of the samnites campit them secretly
besyde ane place callit furce caudide, the quhilk place
hed ane narrou entres & narrou isching, and vitht in it
their vas mony cragis and vyild treis. that place stude
13 betuix tua strait montanis inhabitabil and onmontabil.
In the myddis of it their vas ane large grene plane
feild. than quhen the samnetis var their logit and
campit, thai var aduertist be ther exploratours and
spyis, quhou that the romans var campit neir them in
18 ane place callit calacia. than pontius the captan of the
[* leaf 63 (78)] samnetis causit ten of his knychtis to cleitht them
lyik hyrdis, and he gef them cattel, nolt, ande scheip
to keip, giffand them command to pas vitht tha cattel
on the feildis be syde the romans, and ilk ane in ane
23 syndry part be hym self, sayand to them, gif ony of
the romans cumis and inquiris at ony of 3ou quhair our
armye is campit, 3e sal ansuer, that ve ar past to
apulya to gif ane assalt to the cite of lucere, quhilk
partenis to the romans. than thir neu maid hyrdis past
28 vitht bestial, quhar thai var re[n]contrit be the forreours
and exploratours of the romanis, quaha led them al ten
befor the tua consulis that var captans to the romans.
quhen thir ten hyrdis var exemnit seueralie ilk ane be
hym self, quhar the samnete armye vas campit, thai
33 ansuerit as ther captan pontius hed giffin them com-
mand; to the quhilk vordis the romans gef credit, be
Hanc hi- rason that thai al beand ane be ane examinit² condis-

¹ spurius

² exāmit

cendit in ane ansuer. than¹ the romans heffand sic ane *storiam cor-*
 feruent loue to the cite of lucere, quhilk vas of their *roborat.*
 aly, thai raisit ther camp to pas to reskeu lucere *Titus livius*
 fra the samnetes. ther vas tua passagis to pas betuix ⁴
 the romans camp and lucere. the first passage vas plane
 and plesand be the see syde, *bot it vas ouer lang about. [* leaf 63 (78), bk]
 the nixt passage vas ful of roche cragis, and verray
 strait and narou, bot 3it that passage vas verray schort.
 than the romans, for haist that tha hed to saif that cite ⁹
 of lucere,² thai tuke that narrou strait passage, and
 quhen thai var entrit in it, the samnetes be grit sub-
 tilite hed gart cut down grit treis, & brac doune roche
 cragis, quhilkis thai pat *in* grit numer at the entres and
 at the ischyng furtht of that strait passage, and als thai ¹⁴
 set mony of ther men of veir amang the cragis to em-
 pesche the romans that thai culd nothir returne, nor
 3it to pas forduart. quhen the romans var disauit of this
 sort, thai var lykly to dispayr for the displeseir³ and
 melancole that affligit them. bot the samnetes var ¹⁹
 vondir glaid fra tyme that thai hed the romans in that
 pundfald, quhar thai culd nothir fecht nor fle, deffend
 nor resist, bot on verray neid thai behuffit to remane
 vencust vitht out straik or battel. the samnetes beand
 in this grit blyhtnes be cause of ther happy chance, ²⁴
 thai determit to send ane message til ald herenius, quha
 vas the father of ther captan pontius, til hef his
 opinione and consel quhou thai suld vse them contrar
 the romanis that thai hed closit vithtin them. this ald
 herenius send his ansuer and consel, and bald the
 samnetes gyf the romans ther fre liberte to pas lame
 saue, vitht out hurt of ther honour, bodys or guidis.
 the armye of the samnetes nocht beand satesfit nor
 contentit of this ansuer of herenius, thai send the mes-
 senger agane til hym til hef ane bettir consel. than ald
 herenius send ane vthir ansuer, and bald them slaye al ³⁵

[* leaf 64 (79)]

How the Sam-
 nites consulted
 what they should
 do with their
 captives.

¹ thau² lutere³ displesier

- 1 the romans, and nocht to lat ane of them return vitht
ther lyif. quhen the samnetes herd the tua discordabil
consellis of herenius, thai culd nocht meruel aneucht¹
of his onconstant ansuer, quhar for pontius his sone
suspekitt that his father dottit in folie throcht his grit
6 aige, 3it noththeles he vald nocht conclude na exsecu-
tione contrar the romans quhil he hed spokyn vitht his
father: therfor vitht the consent of the samnettes, he
send for his father to cum to their camp, quha cam at
his command in ane charriot, be cause he mycht² nothir
11 ryde nor gang be cause he vas decrepit for aige. he
beand aryuit, his sone pontius sperit quhou he suld vse
hym contrar the romans that var inclosit betuix the tua
strait montans. the ald herynyus changit nocht his tua
fyrst consellis that he hed send to them: bot 3it he de-
clarit to them the cause of thyr tua defferent consellis,
17 sayand; my sone pontius, and 3e my frendis of samnete,
the first consel that i send to 3ou the quhilk i think
for the best, that is to say, i consellit 3ou to thole al
the romans and ther guidis depart saifly in liberte but
ony hurt or displeseir; than throcht³ that grit benefice
22 that 3e hef schauen to them of ther free vil & vitht ane
guide mynde, thai vil allaya them vitht 3ou, quhilk sal
cause ferme and perpetual pace to be betuix rome and
samnete. the tothir consel that i send to 3ou, i ordand
30 to slay doune al the romans, and nocht to saif ane
27 of them, for than it sal be ane lang tyme or the romans
can purches sa grit ane armye contrar 3ou. & sa 3e maye
lyif in pace and surete ane lang tyme, considerand that
the grit pouer and the maist nobilis of rome ar in this
present armye inclosit to giddir. ane of thir tua con-
sellis is necessar to be vsit, and the thrid consel can
32 nocht be gifin to 3ou for 3our veifair. than pontius and
the princis of samnete nocht beand contentit of thir tua
consellis, inquiryrit at ald herenyus, sayand, ve think it

The two counsels
of Herenius

[* leaf 64 (79), bk]

are disregarded

and a middle
course chosen.

¹ aneuthc

² myht

³ throcht

bettir to tak ane myd vaye betuix vs and them to saif 1
 their lyiffis, and to resaif them as vencust pepil, and
 ther eftir ve sal mak strait lauis and ordinance quhilk [* leaf 65 (80)]
 ve sal compel them til obeye. ald herynyus ansuert,
 that sentens, says he, purchessis na frendis, nor it
 makis na reconsiliatione of enemes, therfor 3e suld 6
 animaduert varly to quhat pepil that 3e purpos to vse
 sic iniurius rigor, for 3e knau the nature of the roman
 pepil is of sic ane sort, that gif thai resaif outrage, and
 beis vencust be rigor be 3ou, thai can neuer hef rest in
 ther spreit quhil that thai heif reuengit 3our crualte, 11
 for thai ar of ane vendicatif nature, and the displeseir
 that thai sal resaif be 3ou sal euer remane in their hartis
 quhil thai hef reuengit the iniurius defame that 3e haue
 perpetrat contrar¹ them. thyr tua sentensis of herynyus
 var repulsit and nocht admittit, therfor he departit and 16
 returnit in his chariot to samnite to end the residu of
 his days. the romans beand inclosit betuix thir tua
 montans, thai purposit mony maneyrs to ische furtht
 fra that strait place, & to pas to fecht in fair battel
 contrar the samnetes; bot al ther laubyr² vas in vane, 21
 for thai var sa strait closit that thai culd nothir pas
 bakuart nor forduart. than thai send ther legatis to de-
 sire concord and pace at the samneties, or els to desire
 battel on the plane feildis. pontius ansuert to the [* leaf 65 (80), bk]
 legatis of the romans: quod he, the battel is fochtyn 26
 al reddy; & quhou beit that 3e ar al vencust, 3it none
 of 3ou vil confesse 3our euil fortune, ther for ve gif
 3ou for ane final anseuer, that al 3our armye sal be spul-
 zit of 3our armour and of 3our clais, except ilk ane sal
 hef ane singil coit on 3ou, & ther eftir ve sal put 3our
 cragis in ane 3oik to be ane perpetual takyn that 3e ar
 vencust be vs, and alsa 3e sal delyuer til us the villagis,
 castellis, and vthir placis, the quhilkis 3our predeces-
 sours conquest fra vs in ald tymis, and alsa 3e sal lyif 35

Of the igno-
minious terms
imposed upon
the Romans.

¹ contrat

² lanbyr

- 1 and obeye til our lauis. and gif this ansuer vil nocht
content the romans, i gif 3ou expres charge that 3e re-
turne nocht heir agane. the legatis of the romans re-
turnit to the camp of the romans vitht the ansuer of
pontius, the quhilk ansuer did mair displeseir to the
6 romans nor that pontius ansuer hed been to sla them al
cruelle ; for in ald tymes ther culd nocht be ane gritar
defame nor quhen ane mannis crag vas put in the 3oik
be his enemye, for that defame and punitione vas haldin
mair abhominabil and vile nor the punitione that tres-
11 passours indurit in the galeis for demeritis. bot 3it ther
was no remeid to saif the romans, therfor ex'treme
necessite vas resaut for vertu. than throcht the coun-
sel of ane nobil romane callit lucius lentulus, thai con-
discendit to cheis the leyst of tua euillis, and til indure
that vile punitione rather nor til hef been cruelly slane.
than the cruel samnetes ordand the instrument of the
3oik of this sort as i sal rehers. ther vas tua speyris set
19 fast in the eyrd, and ane vthir speyr set & bundyn
athort betuix the tua speyris that stude vp fra the eyrd
lyik ane gallus. than the desolat and vencust romans
var constren3et to pas vndir that 3oik ane and ane ; bot
the tua consellaris, quhilkis var captans to the romans,
24 thai var compellit to pas fyrst vndir that 3oik vitht out
their harnes or vaupynnis. than the remanent of the
romans follout ilk ane eftir his auen degre. on euerye
syde of this 3oik ther vas ane legione of the armye of
samnetes vitht ther sourdis drauen in ther handis,
29 quhar thai manneist and scornit the sillie romans that
var in that gryt vile perplexite. O 3e my thre sonniss,
this defame and vile punitione of the samnites perpetr
contrar¹ the romans, vas verray cruel : bot doubtles, thai
that ar participant of the cruel inuasion of inglis men
contrar their natyue cuntreye, ther crag'gis sal be put
in ane mair strait 3oik nor the samnetes did to the

[* leaf 66 (81)]

*In duobus
malis, fu-
giendum ma-
jus, leuius
est eligendum.
Cice. [ad]
Quintum
fratrem.*

This was cruel
punishment,

but a still straiter
yoke shall be put
on the necks of
Scots
[* leaf 66 (81), bk]
who help
England;

¹ contrat

romans, as kyng eduard did til scottis men at the blac
parlament at the bernis of ayr, quhen he gart put the
craggis of sexten scoir in faldomis of cordis, tua and
tua ouer ane balk of the maist principal of them that
adherit til hym in his oniust querrel quhen he vrangusle
brocht¹ mekil of scotland in his subiectiōne. this pro-
tector of ingland purposit til vse this samyn crualte in
the 3eir of god ane thousand fyfe² hundretht fourty
seyn 3eris, in the moneth of marche, quhen the vardan
of the vest marchis of ingland cam to hald ane vardan
court on the vest marchis of scotland vitht in the
schirefdome of galloua, as scotland hed been in pacebil
subiēctiōne to the crone of ingland; bot, as god vald,
the maister of maxuel, the lard of drumlanrik,³ and
diuerse vthir nobil barronis and gentil men cam vitht
ane hie curage contrar the inglismen, quhome thai ven-
quest vail3eantlye, and sleu ane grit part of them, and
tuke ane vthir part of them presoners, and chaissit the
thrid part of them ten myle vithtin ingland: and ther
eftir the barronis & gentil men of oure vest cuntre gat
the inglismens spul3e, vitht in the quhilk 'spul3e thai
gat tua barrellis ful of cordis, and euerie cord bot ane
faldome of lyntht,⁴ vitht ane loupe on the end al reddy
maid, quhilk thai ordant til hef hangit sa mony scottis
men as thai purposit til hef venquest at that iournay.
Than to quhat effect suld ony scottis men gif credens,
or til adhere til inglesmen? our croniklis reheris of
diuerse scottis men of al staittis that hes past in ing-
land. sum hes past for pouerte, and sum hes past in
hope to lyue⁵ at mair eyse and liberte nor thai did in
scotland, and sum hes been denunsit rebellis be the
authorite, quhilk vas occasione that thai past in ing-
land for refuge, quhom the kyngis of ingland hes re-
saut⁶ fameliarly, and hes trettit them, and hes gifin
them gold and siluir, the quhilk he did nothir for pietē

as King Edward
hanged 16 score
of his adherents
at the Barns of
Ayr.

4

The Protector
Somerset in-
tended to repeat
this feat in
March, 1547,

when the English
Warden came to
hold a Court in
the West Marches
of Scotland,

14

but he was
repulsed,

19

and among the
spoil
[* leaf 67 (82)
were found two
barrels full of
halters, each with
a loop ready
made to receive
its victim.

27

Many Scotsmen
have gone into
England, for
poverty, &c.

35

¹ brocht ² fyse ³ doumlanrik ⁴ lyncht ⁵ lyne ⁶ resanit

There are more than 3000 Scotsmen now in England,

who have thriven in the world, but dare not own their nationality [* leaf 67 (82), bk] or kindred.

In the south, they give out that they are from the north of England—in the North, that they are natives of Kent,

Londoners, &c.

Though the English king patronizes renegade Scots, he would be well pleased if every Scotsman had another in his stomach.

He uses them for his own ends, [* leaf 68 (83)] as Augustus Cæsar did Rhymirales;

- 1 nor humanite, bot rather that thai suld help to distroye there auen natif cuntre. bot 3it he vald neuer gif them heretage nor credit, for the experiens of the samyn is manifest presentlye. for quhou beit that there be abufe thre thousand scottis men, and there vyfis and childir, that hes duellit in ingland thir fyfthe 3eir by past, and hes conquest be there industre batht heretage and guidis, 3it nocht ane of them dar grant that thai ar *scottis men, bot rather thai man deny and refuse there cuntre, there surname, and kyn & frendis. for the scottis men that duellis in the southt part of ingland, thai suere and menteinis¹ that thai var borne in the northt part or in the vest part of ingland; and scottis men that duellis in the vest or in the northt of ingland, thai man suere and menteine² that thai var borne in kynt schire, 3oirke schire, in london, or in sum vthir part of the southt partis of ingland. than to quhat effect
- 18 suld ony scottis men adhere til inglis men, to gar them selfis be cum sklauis, and to remane in perpetual seruitude? ther for ve may verray veil beleif, that quhou beit that the kyng of ingland garris tret scottis men vitht gold and siluer as thai var his frendis, 3it doutles he vald be rycht³ glaid sa that euerye scottis man hed ane vthyr scottis man in his bellye. and als fra tyme that god sendis tranquilite amang princis, thai that ar
- 26 maist familiar vitht the protector sal be haldin maist odius in ingland, and euerye inglis knaif sal cal them, dispytfully, renegat scottis; and gif ony of them passis to the protector, to regret and lament the abstractione of his familiarite that he scheu to them in the begynnyng of the vey^{ris}, he vil ansuer to them as agustus cesar ansuerit til ane captan of thrace callit rhymirales, qua betrasit his maister anthonius, & past to remane vitht agustus⁴ cesar, quha vas mortal enemye til an-
- 35 thonius.⁵ than be the supple of rhymirales, agustus

¹ mentemis

² menteme

³ rytht

⁴ agust'

⁵ anthoni'

cesar ve[n]quest antonius. than quhen the veyris varendit 1
 betuix cesar and antonius,¹ rhymirales vas nocht sa veil
 trettit as he vas indurand the tyme of the veyris, quhar
 for he past til cesar, sayand ; O nobil empriour, i hef left
 my cuntre and my maister anthonius for 3our pleseir, and
 i hef been the cause that 3e hef venquest my maister 6
 anthonius, & nou 3e schau me nocht sa grit loue and
 familiarte as 3e scheu me in the tyme of the veyris,
 quharfor 3e haif schauen 3ou rycht ingrat contrar me.

Cesar ansuerit to rhymirales, i vil hef na familiarte
 vitht 3ou, for i loue bot the trason that cumis to my
 effect, and louis nocht the tratours that committis the
 trason. this forsaid exempil maye be veil applyit til al 13

he loved the
 treason that
 suited his
 purpose—not
 the traitor.

scottis men that beleuis to get mair liberte and honor
 in ingland nor thai did in scotland ; for this exempil
 hes been prectykit thir fyfe hundreht 3ers bygane til
 al scottis men that hes adherit til inglis men contrar 17

ther natyfe cuntre, as the croniklis *makis manifest ;
 for quhou be it that the kyng of ingland louis the
 traison that scottis men committis contrar ther prince,
 3it he louis nocht the tratours that committis the
 traison.

[* leaf 68 (83), bk]

22

¹ antoni'

Quhou the affligit lady declaris til hyr thre
sonnis that the familiarite that is betuix inglis
men & scottis men in ane pace varld¹ at mer-
cattis² and conuentions on the tua bordours,
is the cause of the traizon that the
scottis men committis contrar
ther natyfe cuntre.

CHAP. XIII.³

Your attachment
to England arises
chiefly from
familiarity on the
borders,

which is un-
lawful.

[* leaf 69 (84)]
Different nations
count each other
barbarous.

No two nations
more diverse than
English and
Scotch, though
neighbours, and
speaking the
same tongue,

THERE is no thing that is occasione (O 3e my thre
sonnis) of 3our adhering to the opinione of ingland
contrar 3our natife cuntre, bot the grit familiarite that
inglis men and scottis hes hed on baitht the boirdours,
5 ilk ane vitht vtheris, in marchandeis, in selling and by-
ing hors and nolt and scheip, out fang and in fang, ilk
ane amang vtheris, the quhilk familiarite is expres con-
trar the lauis and consuetudis baytht of ingland and scot-
land. in the dais of moises, the ieuis durst nocht haue
familiarite vitht the samaritanis, nor vitht the philistiens,
nor the romans vitht the affricans, nor the grekis vitht
the persans, be rason that ilk ane repute vtheris to be
13 of ane barbir nature ; for euere nations repute vthers
nations to be barbariens, quhen there tua natours and
complexions ar contrar til vtheris ; and there is nocht
tua nations vndir the firmament that ar mair contrar
and different fra vthirs nor is inglis men and scottis
18 men, quhoubeit that thai be vitht in ane ile, and
nychtbours,⁴ and of ane langage. for inglis men ar subtil,
and scottis men ar facile. inglis men ar ambitius in
prosperite, and scottis men ar humain in prosperite.
22 inglis men ar humil quhen thai ar subieckit be forse

¹ so original ; probably misread for *baith* in MS.

² *morcattis*

³ so original.

⁴ *nytlbours*

and violence, and scottis men ar furious quhen thai ar 1

violently subiekit. inglis men ar cruel quhene thai get
victorie, and scottis men ar merciful quhen thai get
victorie. and to conclude, it is onpossibil that scottis

They behave differently in prosperity and in adversity.

men and inglis men can remane in concord vndir ane 5

monarche or ane prince, be cause there naturis and con-

ditions ar as indefferent as is the nature of scheip and

voluis.¹ quintus cursius rehersis, that darius kyng of

They are as unlike as sheep and wolves. Darius offered Alexander six mules' burden [* leaf 69 (84), bk] of gold, to live at peace with him;

perse send ane imbassadour to alexander kyng of ma-

cedon, and *offrit hym sax mulis chargit vitht gold, sa

that he vald lyue vitht hym in pace and concord vndir

ane crone and monarche. alexander ansuert to the im-

Alexander answered that they could no more exist together than two suns or two moons in the heavens.

bassadour, quod he, it is as onpossibil to gar me and

kyng darius duel to giddir in pace and concord vndir

ane monarche, as it is onpossibil that tua sonniss and

tua muniss can be at one tyme to giddir in the firma-

ment. This exempil may be applyit to ingland and 17

scotland; for i trou it is as onpossibil to gar inglis men

and scottis men remane in gude accord vndir ane prince,

as it is onpossibil that tua sonniss and tua muniss can be

at one tyme to giddir in the lyft, be raison of the grit

defferens that is betuix there naturis & conditions.

quhar for, as i hef befor rehersit, there suld be na

familiarite betuix inglis men and scottis men, be cause

of the grit defferens that is betuix there tua naturis. in

ald tymis it vas determit in the artiklis of the pace be 26

the tua vardanis of the bordours of ingland and scot-

land, that there suld be na familiarite betuix scottis

men and inglis men, nor mariage to be contrakit betuix

them, nor conuentions on holy dais at gammis and

plays, nor marchandres to be maid among them, nor

scottis men *til entir on inglis grond vitht out the kyng

The old laws of the Marches forbade any dealings between England and Scotland,

[* leaf 70 (85)]

of ingland saue conduct, nor inglis men til entir on 33

scottis grond vitht out the kyng of scotlandis saue con-

duct, quhou beit that there var sure pace betuix the

even during peace.

¹ volius

But during the past seven years, these statutes have been nullified.

Englishmen and Scotchmen have been dealing on the Borders,

and the king of England tampering with sundry Scottish gentlemen.

"A listening damsel and a parleying castle shall not end with honour."

[* leaf 70 (85), bk] Familiarity between enemies begets treason.

Hannibal and other ancient captains acted upon this,

as did Jugurtha,

who, after having been repeatedly defeated by the Romans in Africa,

tua realmis. bot thir seuyn 3eir bygane, thai statutis and artiklis of the pace ar adnullit, for there hes been as grit familiarite & conuentionis, and makyng of marchandreis, on the bourdours this lang tyme betuix inglis men and scottis men, baytht in pace and in veir, as scottis men vsis amang theme selfis vitth in the

7 realme of scotland. and sic familiarite hes been the cause that the kyng of ingland gat intellegens vitth diuerse gentil men of scotland. it is nocht possibil to keip ane¹ realme fra conspiratione and trason, fra tyme that the pepil of that realme vsis familiarite vitth there

12 enemeis. ther is ane ald prouerb that says, that ane herand damysele, and ane spekand castel, sal neuyr end vith honour; for the damysele that heris and giffis eyris to the amourus persuasions of desolut 3ong men, sal be eysile persuadit to brac hyr chaistite. siklik ane

17 spekand castel, that is to saye, quhen the captan or sodiours of ane castel vsis familiar speche and comonyng vitth there enemeis, that castel sal 'be eysylie conquest, be rason that familiarite and speche betuix enemeis generis trason. in ald tymis, the vailzeant annibal, and vtheris grit captans, baitht romans and grecians, thai set mair there felecite to purches secret familiarite and comonyng vitth there enemeis, nor to get battel. for fra tyme that thai gat familiarite and

26 comonyng vitth there enemeis, than thai vrocht to bring there entreprice and intent to there effect, be trason, and be gold and silueir. Salust de bello iugurtino confermis this samyn purpos. quhen iugurtha of numidie in affrica, hed tynt diuerse battellis contrar the romans, quhilk vas occasione that he hed almaist lossit his cuntre, than his frendis consellit hym to decist fra his veyris, be rason that he prosperit nothing, and lossit mekil. than iugurtha, nocht beand disparit of

35 guid fortune, he past in Italie vitth ane fresche armye

of men of veir, and also he tuik vitht hym ane riche 1

quantite of gold and siluyr, cunzet & oncunzet. than his frendis reprochit hym be cause his entreprice aperit to be vane, rather nor to procede of ane prudent & mortifet consait. iugurtha ansuert til his frendis, quod

passed into Italy with great store of gold and silver;

he, my forse is nocht sufficient to conques rome, bot

nochttheles,¹ gif that i can purches secret familiarite &

5

[* leaf 71 (86)]

intelligens vitht sum of the romans that hes autorite, i beleif to venques them vitht gold and syluyr rathere

believing

nor vitht forse of men of veyr, for euyrie thing is to sel in rome for monye : ther for i dout nocht bot i sal gar

everything to be venal at Rome.

them sel there liberte for gold, for the auariese that is among the romans vil gar ilk ane betraise vthers. Thir

Avarice makes one betray another.

vordis of iugurtha makkis manifest that there is nay thing that bringis ane realme to ruyne sa sune and sa

15

reddy as dois the familiarite that the pepil hes vitht there enemeis, throucht the quhilk familiarite there is

There is some traitor that reveals the secret plans of the Scottish Council to the King of England.

sum euil persoune that knauis the secret determinations of the lordis of the counsel, & there eftir he reuelis it to

sum traisonabil man that hes intelligens vitht the kyng of ingland. i can nocht expreme ane speciale man that

21

perpetratis this traisonabil act, bot zit i am sure that as sune as the lordis of the counsel hes determit ony guide

When the Lords of Council resolve on any matter, within twenty hours the full account of it is in Berwick, and within three days the Berwick post presents it in London, whereby the English are ready to thwart the purpose before ever it is entered on. The revealers of these matters deserve severer punishment, than those who come against their own country in open battle.

purpos for the deffens & veifair of the realme, incontinent vitht in tuenty houris there eftir, the sammyn counsel is vitht in the toune of beruik, & vitht in three

dais there eftir the post of beruyk² presentis it in london to the counsel of ingland, quhilk is occasione

that the inglismen hes there deffens reddy contrar our purpos, or ve begyn to exsecut the counsel that vas

determit. It var veray necessair that the committers of that reuelen var punest mair realye nor hes been ony

punitione that hees been exsecut contrar ony scottis man that hes cum vitht inglis men in plaine battel til

inuaid scotland. thir secret reularis of the counsel of

¹ notwithstanding

² bernik

They have not
the heroism of
Pompeius and
Quintus
Metellus.

*Valerius
maximus.
Lib. 3. c. 3.*

When the former
was taken
prisoner by a
hostile king,

he put his finger
in the fire and
[* leaf 75 (87)]
suffered it to
burn away,
to show that
no torment could

*Valerius
maxim'.*
Libro. 7.
extract from him
the secrets of the
Senate.
Alas! there are
Scotsmen who
would reveal
every secret of
their country
before they would
burn a finger of
their glove!
When Quintus
Metellus besieged
Trebis,

he formed a
secret plan to
throw the
Celtiberians off
their guard.

- scotland takkis nocht exempil of the tua vailzeant
romans pompeus and quintus metellus, quhilkis kneu al
the secre[t] of the senat, bot there vas nothir gold nor
4 landis, tormenting nor pyne, that vald gar ony of them
reueil the secret of the senat to the enemes of rome.
valerius maximus rehersis, in the t[h]rid cheptour of
his thrid beuk, quhou the romans send pompeus in im-
bassadre til aysia, quhilk vas of the allya of rome, and
be chance he vas tane presoneir in his voyage be gen-
thius the kyng of esclauonia, quha vas mortal enemye¹
to the romans: the said kyng genthius coniurit, per-
12 suadit, solistit, and alse he manneist nobil pompeus to
reueil the secret counsel of the senat. pompeus behald-
and his onreasonabil request, he pat his fingar in the
heyf fyir,² and tholit it to birn; and be the tollerance
and paciens of that cruel pane, genthius kneu that there
vas na torment that culd gar pompeus reueil the secret
of the senat. bot allace, there is sum men that knauis
the secret of scotland that vil reueil it til inglismen
rather nor to birn the fingar of ther glufe. Valerius
maximus³ rehersis ane vthir exempil quhou that quintus
metellus beand proconsul of rome, vas send vitht ane
armye in to spanze contrar the celtibriens, quhilkis
duellit in the realme of nauerne. he set ane seige about
the toun of tribie, quhilk⁴ is the methropolitane &
capital cite of that cuntre. that cite resistit and def-
fendit vailzeantly contrar quintus metellus. than he
28 beand in melancole be cause he culd nocht conqueis
that cite, he deuiseit ane subtil consait to desauie the
celtibriens. he gart rais his camp and departit fra that
cite, and past til vtheris diuerse tounis of nauern, sum
tyme bakuart, sum tyme forduart, sum tyme he past to
the montannis, and sum tyme to the valeis, and remanit
neuer in ane stedefast place, and he gart al his armye
35 keip them in arraay. the cause of this agitatione and

¹ enemye

² fyit

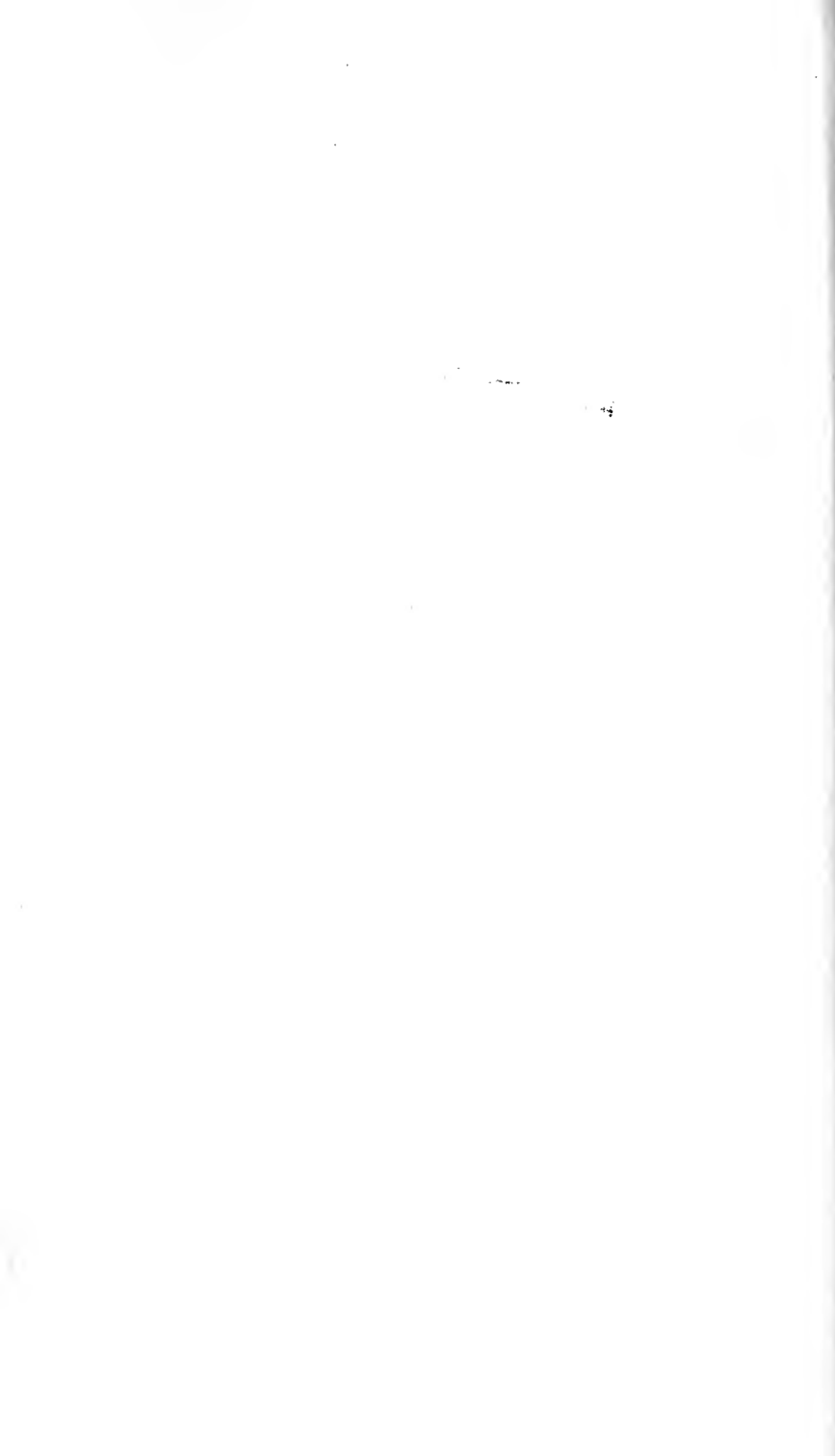
³ maxim'

⁴ quhilk is

commotione of his army vp and down, vas nocht knauen 1
 be none of his men of veyr, nor zit knauen be his [*leaf 75 (87), bk]
 enemes, quhar for ane of his familiar frendis inquyrit A familiar friend
 hym of the cause of his inconstant vagatione, quha asked to know
 ansuert, quod he, decist and inquyre na mair of that his plans;
 purpos, for gif that i vndirstude that my sark hed knau- but Metellus
 lege of my secret, or of the deliberatione of my mynde, would not that
 doutles i suld birm it hastelye in ane bald fyir. than his own shirt
 quhen metellus hed vagit vp and doune there ane lang 9 should know his
 tyme, and hed put his host and armye in ignorance, mind.
 and his enemes in errorr, eftir diuerse turnand coursis
 athourcht¹ the cuntre, he returnit suddanlye to the for-
 said toune of tribie, and laid ane sege about it or his
 enemes var aduertest to mak deffens, and sa be this 14
 dissimilatione, and be the keping of his counsel secret
 fra his frendis and fra al vtheris, he conquest the said By keeping his
 toune. vald god that the counsel and deliberatione of secret, he gained
 scotland var kepit as secret as metellus kepit his secret his object;
 fra his men of veyr, than doutles the inglis men vald would God
 nocht be so bold. There is na thing that is cause that Scotsmen could
 the counsel of ingland gettis sa haisty aduertessing of do the same!
 the priuitate that is among the lordis of scotland, bot 20
 the vice of auareis that hes blyndit the raison, & hes Bnt avarice has
 infekkit the hartis of diuers grit men of scotland. the infected diuerse
 ald prouerb is treu that sais that it is as onpossibil of our great men;
 to gar ane auaricius man be faythtful, as it is onpossibil [*leaf 76 (88)]
 to gar ane fische of the depe flude speik hebreu or greik. and the avaricious
 Quhar for (o ze my thre sonnys) i exort zou to tak cannot be faithful.
 empil of diuerse nobil men that culd neuir be seducit Take example
 nor persuadit to tak gold nor reches fra there enemeis. from those noble
 There is ane exempil of allexander kyng of macedon, men who could
 quha hed mortal veyr contrar the grekis. he sende ane not be seduced by
 riche present extendant til thre scoir of thousandis gold!
 peces of gold, til ane nobil man of athenes callit 32
 phosion, ane man heffand gret autorite in athenes. Such was
 of Athens,

¹ athourthit





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