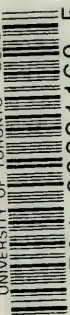


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The

Complaynt of Scotlande

byth

ane Exortatione to the Thre Estaits to be vigi-
lante in the Deffens of their Public weil.

1549.

WITH AN APPENDIX OF CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH TRACTS,

VIZ.

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

RE-EDITED FROM THE ORIGINALS

with Introduction and Glossary

BY

JAMES A. H. MURRAY.

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
XVII.

JOHN CHILDS AND SON, PRINTERS.

THE COMPLAINT

it dois of presumptione or vane gloir. thy chere-
retabil correctione maye be ane prouocatione
ne to gar me studeye mair attentiuelye in the
nyxt verkis that i intēd to set furth, the quhilk
i beleif in gode šal be verray necessair tyl al
them that desiris to lyue verteuoselye indurād
the schort tyme of this oure fragil peregrina-
tione, & sa fayr veil.

 The complaynt of scotland.

 THE FYRST CHIE
PTOVR DECLARIS THE

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



IS the hie monarchis, lord-
schips, ande autoriteis, ar sta-
blit be the infinite diuynne or-
dināce, ande mentemit be the
sempeternal prouidēs, siclyk
ther ruynne cummis be the sentence gyffin be
the souerane conseil of the diuynne sapiens, the
quhilk doune thringis them fra the hie throne
of ther imperial dominations, ande garris

OF SCOTLAND. 16

them fal in the depe fosse of seruitude, ande
ther magnificens in ruynne, ande causis cōque-
riours to be cōquest, ande til obeye ther vni-
quile subiectis be dreddour, quhome of be
for thai commādit be autorite. This decreit
procedis of the diuynne iustice, be raſon that
princis ande vthirs of autorite becumis am-
bitius ande presumpteous, throucht grite su-
perfluite of velcht: ther for he dois cheſtee thē
be the abſtractione of that superfluite. that is
to ſay, he poſſeſſis vthir pure pepil that knauis

Eccle. 10.

his gudnes, vitht the ſamyn reches that he
hes tane fra thē that hes arrogantly miſkna-
uen hym. Ane pottar vil mak of ane maſſe of
mettal diuerſe pottis of different faſſions, &
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
alfē of the metall ande mater of the ſmal pot-
tis he formis grit pottis. this exempil may be
applayt to the ſubuertions ande mutations of
realmis ande dominions, ande of al varldly
proſperite. childir that ar neu borne grous &
increffis quhil thai be aſcendit to the perfit
ſtrength of men: bot ther efter, tha begyn to
decreffe ande declinis til eild ande to the dede.

Regnū a

gile in gē-

teus tran-

ſit propter

iniuſticias

Et vniuer-

ſos dolos.

INTRODUCTION.

| | |
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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 enemeis 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 Ingland Kyng,
 Off oure Soueraine desyrit ane commonyng.
 Off that meiting our Kyng wes weill content,
 So that in 3orek 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 throch 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 causit all that tribulatioun :
 For tyll tak peace I neuer wald consent,
 Without the kyng of france had bene content.

Duryng this weir war takin presoneris,
 Off nobil men fechtung full furiouslie,
 Mony ane Lorde, Barrone, and Bachileris,
 Quhar through our king take sic melancolie
 Quhilk draue him to the dede, ryelch dulefullie.
 Extreme Dolour ouirset 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 subscriyue,
 Into the quhilk I wrait all that I plesit
 Efter his deth—quhilk lang war tyll discryue.
 Through that wrytting I purposit, belyue,
 With supporte of sum Lordis beneuolens,
 In this Regioun 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 Anerum 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 Expedicion 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 "Scottismen abufe thre thousand, that hes duelt in England thir fiftye ȝeir 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 it 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 Scotiae,*” 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 Seott: '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 CNE," 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 ʒ being used alike for z and y consonant, as in "ʒenyth" and "ʒou." 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 iiij 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 *notisant* 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 peacable realme under the machine of the supreme Olimp.” In short, Ysocrata 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 honorificabilitudinitatibus*;" 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 toung is in the seluin skant,
Bot for that I the fouth of langage want,
Quhare as the cullour of his propirté
To keip the seutence, 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,

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

Quhowbeit that diuers deuote cunningg clerkis
In *Latyne* toung hes wrytten syndrie bukis,
Our vlnernit 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 cunningg 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 Abacue 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 parablis 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 wowing and waunting speiches. Nor haue I ower fauerable or luifinglie loved or prased, or 3it haue I ower disdainefullie detracted, lakked, or outbraided in ony wayiss. Nather 3it haue I prophained nor abused the halie and sacreit scriptouris, be vnlearned and vnskillfull applicatiounis, as sum of the vulgar and raschest, railing, simpilest comounis dois, eftir yr awin vaine fantastical fantasias, 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 elene dictionare, according to my simpill iudgment & knowlege for oppyning up and declaratioun of the truth of my intensiounis of the mater or purpoiss 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. deplores 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 world deuydit is in thre;
As cunnyng Maister Carioun
Hes maid plane expositioun,—
How Elie sayis, withouttin weir,
The world sall stand sax thousand ȝeir,—
From the Creatioun of Adam,
Two thousand ȝeir tyll Abraham:
Frome Abraham, be this narratioun,
To Christis Incarnatioun,
Rychtso, hes bene two thousand ȝeris;
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 *Practicæ Astrologicæ*; 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 Wittemberg 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 Bonus 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 iuste Historiæ loco occupatum esse possit." An English version appeared in 1550, "The three bokes of Cronicles, whyche John Carion (a man singularly 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, conteynyng all such notable thynges as be mentyoned in Cronicles to haue chaunced in sundry partes of the worlde from the yeare of Christ 1532 to thys present yeare of 1550. Gathered by John Funcke of Nuremberough, 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 & fyftye ;
 And so remanis to cum, but weir,
 Four hundreth, with sewin and fourtye zeir :
 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 prosperitye" 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 rammache (*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 drouht, drank up the drops of the deu, quhilke 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 Slue*, 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 downward, 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, quhilkis 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 midnicht,
 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 retinne, 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 steilis 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 daill ;
 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 Cessfoorth, Fernyherst (ancestors of the noble families of Roxburghe and Lothian), Grenehed, Hunt-hill, Hundely, Makerston, Bymerside, Bounjedworth, Ormeston, Mellestains, Wamesay, 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 (Tiuwald), 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 Driesdell, 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. LIDDESDALE and DEBATABLE LAND—Armstrongs, 300; Elwoods (Elliot), 74; Nixons, 32. GALLOWAY—Laird of Dawbaylie, 41; Orcherton, 111; 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 Kirkeudbright, 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 Bodrigan, 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 Bodrigan 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, apcir 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 nile,
A shluagh feuta foltbhuidhe,
Cia ceud ghabhail, an eol diubh,
Ro ghabhasdair Albanbruigh.

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

Ro connarb a brathair bras,
 Briutus 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 Albanaetus, who has besides an elder brother Loerinus, 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. Loerinus 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 Loctrinus, 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 Loctrinus, 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 Loctrinus; on hearing which, Loctrinus, 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 Loctrinus;” &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 "Scottishman" 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, Eltraîne, 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. | K. | Q. | K. | Q. |
| Henry the VIII. | Edward the VI. | Mary | Philip of Spain, Q. M.'s husb. | Elizabeth |
| 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 prophetic 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, Eltraine, Banester, and Sibbilla, all according in one. Containing many strange and meruelous things. Printed by Robert Waldegrane, 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 *Frensche* wyfe of the *Bruceis* 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 sowld spring of þe,
 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 corruppit 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 meruaile 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 banish 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 Heirshipe 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,—wo mycht sho bee !—
 Scho has closede him in a cragge of Cornewales 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 thyry yeres togyder, unto Kyng Edwardes tyme, the thyrd 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 prophecy 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 prophecyed an holy anker in king E3elfredus 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 thyrd 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 *Scotochronion*, 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 Teviotdail*, 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 depairtit 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 gouernour 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 gouernour 3eid at Ewis Durris, and down the watter of Ewis, bot our awin thevis of Tindaill and Ewisdaill come to the gouernour, quha war sworne Inglismen, for he brynt all thair cornis and houssis, quhair the gouernour 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 wynnynge, Argy; in traunayll, Tantal; in talkynge lude, Dedaly; in beddes, Sardanapaly; in chirches, mawmetes; in courtes, thonder; onely in preuclege of

clergy 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 3e gif me 3our charitie,
 And I sall declair 3ow the black veritie.
 My father 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 father 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 father 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 vnest 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.—l. 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 thocht 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 thocht, thocht 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 cryis.
 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 might be set out in Fewis, eftir ye fassioun of sindrie vthir Realmes, for the incres 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 wiuk at yis, 3it 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 lieutenant 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 3ule, 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 among 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 heretagis;” 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 hairns 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 haill 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 preclamatious, 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 counsalle ; 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 among 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 lerdis made ane taxt throw the realme, of ilk pund land of auld 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 maintainers 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 rying 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 Cræsus, 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 Diomedæ 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 Cardinal* 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 distruction thei haue wrought. And there bee onely twoo 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, aboue the ignoraunce of the nobilitie, and commonaltie, to y^e destruccion of bothe, haueyng peace in their mouthes, and all rancor and vengeaunce 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 naill to the contrary, these mischeues aforesaied, 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 “scisnas 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 mailze,” 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
 zockit 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 we for thir wolfis sa wyldc.”

Defend na mair thir wolfis sa wyld,
 Sa ful of cruelnes,
 Thair cloikit halynes,
 Baith men and wyfis sa lang bes 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 townes, 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 Septr), 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, *ijl. xixs. iijd.*”

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 *exempli*. 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* = eat 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 *Cut-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 railbands, 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 hagtore and culvering, corsbows and handbows. She had three hundred marinellis to gouerne hir, six scoir of gunneris to vse hir artaillzarie,

& ane thowsand 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 "prolixit 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 Wyllyam 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 vnmercyfullest 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 deuyl*. 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 rasis, 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 taiyl 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, | 32 |
| I haue, at lenth, the storeis done discryue | |
| Off Hectour, <i>Arthur</i> , and gentyll Iulyus, | |
| Off Alexander, and worthy Pompeyus, | |
| Off <i>Iasone and Media</i> , all at lenth, | 36 |
| 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,— | 40 |
| Off Troylus the sorrow and the loye, | |
| And <i>Seigis</i> all, of Tyir, Thebes, and <i>Troye</i> . | |
| The <i>Prophiseis</i> of Rymour, Beid, & <i>Marlyng</i> , | |
| And of mony vther plesand storrye,— | 44 |
| Off the <i>reid Etin</i> , and the gyir carlyng,— | |
| Comfortand the, quhen that I saw the sorye. | |

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 andromacha 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-
 prynted 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 Norroway" in his
Popular Rhymes, p. 95-99, and that of the similar "Red Bull of
 Norroway" at p. 99-101.

(14) *The tayl quhou Hercules sleu 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 marcit 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 Wyllyam 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 Cor*, p. xx.

(18) *The tayl of the brig of the mantribil.* 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 ewan, 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 Seandic 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 collzear.* 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 Sanet 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 taill of Rauf Collzear, how he harbrait King Charlis." See Irving's *History of Scottish 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
 Qubill 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) *Gawen 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 vattir, 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 tyt.* "Probably the groundwork of the Fairy tale of 'the pure tint Rashycot,' 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) *Arthur of litil bertanyze.* This is the book reprinted in 4to by Utterson in 1814 as "Arthur of Brytayne. The hystory of the moost noble and valyaunt knyght Arthur of lytell brytayne, translated out of frensshe 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 maudiucil*. We know three editions before 1548 of this most amusing book of travels and legends, 1. Wynkyn de Worde in 1499; 2. at his sign of the Sun in 1503; 3. Pynson's, without date.

(32) (33) *The tayl of the 3ong 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 Steil* 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) *Beuis 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 Copland'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 taylor quhou actoun was transformit in ane hart, and syne slane be his awen doggis.* Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, iii. 155, &c.

(40) *The taylor 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 aueris. 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, dwelling 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 vitlt 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, & dannee,
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 every man hath hys fre wyll;
the best ensw,
the worst eschew,
my mynde shalbe;
vertu to vse,
vice to refuse;
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 vill:amis note.*

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

(58) *The cheapel walk.*

(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 Ballutes*, p. 129, ed. D. Laing, 1868.

(64) *Trolee lolee, lemnen dou.* Cp. *Capt. Cox's Trolly 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 Ballutes*, 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 Orisson quhen the Gouvernour 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 queene.* “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.* Godlied 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 huuttis of cheuet*. This is the older and far finer version of the well-known ballad of *Chery-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, *Chery-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, *Chery-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 lemmanys ye haue loste at Bannockysborne,
Wyth heue a lowe.

What wenynt the kyng of England
So soone to haue wonne Scotlaunde,
Wyth rumbylow?

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

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

(77) *Greuit is my sorrow.* Godified 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 awa 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 !—*Loyden*, 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 Hunttis of Cheuct* 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 Daunev (*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 leiuit [= left] on the land.*

THE DANCE TUNES.

(87) *Al cristyn mennis dance.*

(88) *The north of scotland.*

(89) *Huntis rp.* 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 up* 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 Bullates*, 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 fat of gariau*. i. e. Long flat foot of Garicoch.

(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 lym*. 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 wines 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) *Emyrnes* [= *Inverness, Gael.* Ionar nis].

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

(97) *The gosseps dance.*

(98) *Leuis greue.* 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) *Baglay 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—

Qhilk 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, Masinger, 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, Svo. 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 kylbrynn.*

(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 *Hovel 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 *piobroch*. 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), galmondng (gambolling), stendling (striding) bakuart & forduart, dansand *base dansis*, pauuans, galzardis, turdions, braulis, and branglis, buffons, vith 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 *Rinceadhfa*, *Rinkey*, or field dance of the Irish."

Of the "galmondng," 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 *Braules*, 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 wyte 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 every lerner of the sayd boke after theyr dylygent study may reioyce somewhat theyr sprytes honestly in eschewynge of ydlenesse 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 *Perey 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 teamed 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 Lychfute thair he did foreleit,
 And counterfuted Frans
 He vced him self as man discreit
 And vp the *Morciss* 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 thyrde dele of another. As though the fyrste hamer were of syx pounce, the seconde of twelue, the thyrde 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 thyrde 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 strenge, yf the strenge be streyned enlonge vpon the holownesse of a tree, and departe euen atwo by a brydge sette there vnder in eyther part of the strenge, the sowne shall be Dyapason, if the strenge be streyned and touched. And yf the strenge be departed euen in thre, and the brydge sette vnder, soo that it departe bytwene the twey deles and the thyrde, 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 strenge, 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 *pour 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 Riecle* 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, oþer, boke, ut, tun, bur, forutin, abute*; by 1400, these had come to be spelt *blude, fude, fute, through, uthir, buke, out, toun, bour, foroutin, 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, keypp, deim, rois, roys, thoill, flouir, muir, bulk, 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 *quhilk*, plural *quhilkis, thay landis quhilkis war gottin*. Late in the period, even *quha* was used in imitation of the English, *ze 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,” “*ʒour nobil fadir* 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 *ʒone* 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 norther is of scipions;” “ane pure vedou that hed na *mair* moneye.”

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

The personal pronouns are as still used in Scotland. In the plural of the 2nd person *3e* is of course always nominative, *3ow* objective; the 3rd person plural has *thai*, *thay* (often confused with demonstrative *thu*), 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 *quhilik*, *quhilikis* (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, "Siclyke that maist sapient prince ande prelat fadir in gode, Ihone of Loran, *quha* is 3our fadir broder, *quhilik* be his prudens hes bene mediatour betuix divers forane princis, *quha* hes nocht alanerly vset him lyik ane vailgeant 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 quhilik misknaulege of *themsself* and of god sal be occasione of there auen ruuyne;" "grete familiarite betuix inglismen and scottismen among theme *selfis*."

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

I bryng.
Thow bryngis.
He bryngis.

We bryng.
3e bryng.
Thai 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 perfytyl accomplieist in brutal beystes, nor it is in 3ou 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 befor 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. | We ar. |
| Thow art. | 3e ar. |
| He is. | 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 *was* 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 complet.

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* ruuyne;" "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*, *tating*, *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. |
| antecessres, ancestors. | butin, booty. |
| arryua, arrive. | caduc, flecting. |
| avance, advance. | calkil, calculate. |
| barbir, barbarous. | carions, corpses, <i>caroignes</i> . |
| bersis, Fr. berce. | cauteil, craft, caution. |
| bestial, cattle. | chasbollis, onions, <i>eiboules</i> . |
| boreau, executioner. | chenzeis, chains. |
| borrel, rude. | chestee, chastise. |
| boule, ball. | citinaris, citizens, <i>citoiens</i> . |
| brangland, shaking, <i>brantlant</i> . | conqueise, conquer. |

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

- contenen, 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, fumitory.
 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.
 olymp, olympus.
 oultraige, outrage.
 pastance, pastime.
 pasuolan, Fr. *passevolant*.
 paveis, Fr. *pavoise*.
 pauuan, Fr. *pavane*.
 perdurabil, lasting.
 pissance, power.
 plasmator, creator.
 popil, poplar.
 potent, stake, gibbet.
 prochane, neighbour.
 prodig, prodigal.
 pulce, push, *poulser*.
 puldir, powder, *pouldre*.
 rammasche, collected, *rammussé*.
 rammel, branching, *ramcl*.
 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.
 spacier, to walk, Ital. *spaziare*.
 succur, sugar, *sucre*.
 suppedit, assist.
 supreme, suppress.
 temerair, rash.
 turdion, a dance, *tordion*.
 turques, pincers.
 vaig, to ramble, *vaguer*.
 veschel, vessel.
 vertu, virtue.
 vilite, vileness.
 ulye, oil, *huyte*.
 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, Seneque, Italic, 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, invectyues 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 *ff*, *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, Henric 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, noht, mitht, faych, slandris, vuinersal, enyl, uoht, hane, enryie, laudnart, nouch, nenreisuig, anareis, sterius, soucht, zenych, 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, sucit, 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, unicers, vow, muve*; and that the entire book contains no vestage 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 estaits 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 in thir dayis
That ballattis breinis lustely, and layis;
Quhilkis to our prince daily thay do present;
Quha can say mair than Schir James 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 3ule," 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 Cambuskynneth, 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.

fullic." 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 Melancthon. "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." *Callierwood*. 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 *Ehortations*; 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 thrinfauld 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 toung," and in every passage where the subject comes up, speaks of his language as "our Inglich toung," 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 ze 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 ʒ 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 spyt *read* and spyt.

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 versa*, 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 Holinshed'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 "Coccele 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 Escocce*, 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 aforesaid 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. 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 ryght
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 euercionc. that is
to saye, the cruele inuasions of oure ald enemeis, the
vniuersal pestilens ande mortalite, that hes occurit
mercyles 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 inuasions
of our old
enemies.

13

[* leaf 2, back]
Our afflictions
proceed from
three chiet
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
 illustrious
 princess!
 your rule daily
 adds to the
 public well-being.
 8 Your virtue sur-
 passes that of the
 ancient heroines
 cunte; quhar for your heroyque vertu is of mair admi-
 ratione, nor vas of valeria the dochtir of the prudent
 consul publicola, or of cloelia, lucesia, penolope, cor-
 12 nelia, semiramis, thomaris, penthasillie, or of ony vthir
 verteouse lady that plutarque or bocchas hes diseruiit,
 recorded by Plu-
 tarch or Boccac-
 cio, in your skilful
 resistance of the
 cruel wolves of
 England,
 to be in perpetual memore. for al thair nobil actis ar
 nocht to be comparit to the actis that your prudens
 garris daly be exsecut, contrar the cruel voffis¹ of ing-
 land. The quhilk; volffis ar nocht the ra'uand sauuage
 volffis of strait montanis ande vyild fforrestis, that
 deuoris nolt ande scheip for ther pray: bot rather tha
 ar dissaitful volffis quhilkis hes euir been oure ald
 enemeis. Ande nou sen the deceis of oure nobil illustir
 prince kying iames the fyift, your vmquhile faythful
 lord and hisband, tha said rauisant volffis of iugland 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 genera-
 tione furtht of rememorance: Bot nochtheles, gode of
 his diuyne bounte, heffand compassione of his pure
 29 affligit pepil, ande also beand mouit contrar the rauisant
 volffis of ingland, he of his grace hes inspirit you 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 icuis, 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 sur-
passes that of the
ancient heroines

recorded by Plu-
tarch or Boccac-
cio, in your skilful
resistance of the
cruel wolves of
England,

[* leaf 3 (*misp.* 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 volffis ?

² be for

³ iude

holy vedou iudich vas inspirit to delyuir the ienis 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 rycheous 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 ysierata indurit witht
 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 discendit 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 also the verteouse
 verkis dune be 3our antecessours in oure dais ar
 euident til vs in this present seicle. In the fyrst, 3our
 grace is discendit of them, quhilkis be ther vertu ande
 be ther victoreus⁶ actis hes kept 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
 Holofernes.
Judit 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 pagam² inge³ here age (*not* heruage, as L. says).⁴ trocht⁵ hanyn⁶ victore'

defended Lor- hes nocht alanerly kepit ande deffendit his pepil ande
 raine, subiectis of loran, fra his prochane enemeis that lysis
 3 contigue about his cuntre : bot as veil be his magnanyme
 and delivered the prones ande martial exsecutione, he delyurit the holy
 Holy Land. 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 vovage, ande the grite forse of the
 oriental pepil, ande the multitude of infidelis ande
 Think how he was pagan princis, quhilkis impeschit hym in that barbir
 withstood by the strayne cuntre be diuerse cruel battellis : this veil
 Paynim hosts ! 12 considrit, thai sal fynd that his magnanyme he'roique
 [• leaf 4, back] ande martial entreprise, vas conuoyit & succurrit be ane
 diuyn 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 seclie,
 dukis of aniou, calabre, ande of loran. i suld nocht for3et
 the tryumphant victore, exsecut ande conqueist be the
 vailzeant ande nobil rene inuictissime kyng of seclie,
 His brother Anjon, Calabria, and Lorraine. Your grandfather
 Baldwin, and his Renç, king of
 successors, kings Sicily, slew
 of Sicily, dukes of Charles the Bold
 at Nancy.
 Anjon, Calabria, and Lorraine. Your grandfather
 Renç, king of Sicily, slew
 Charles the Bold at Nancy.
*Charlis due of burgungze was the grand-
 scheir to this empriour
 Charlis the fyift kyng
 of spangze.*
 31 subiectis. Siklyke the nobilnes of 3our vmquhile fadir
 broder antonius, due of calabre, loran, ande of bar, quha
 Your father's brother Anthony, duke of Calabria, Lorraine, and Bar,
 maye be comparit to the deuot kyng, Numa pompilius,
 the sycond kyng of rome, for his prudens ande dixtirite,
 be rason that he hes kepit 'his subiectis in liberte but

[• leaf 5]

¹ vniuersal² baudouyne

oppressione, 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
 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
 nochtheles 3our nobil fadir broder, duc of calabre ande
 loran, hes kepit his landis in liberte fra ther oppressione, 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, Cardinal
 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 speretual pastor, bot
 as veil he hes vsit hym lyik ane vailzeant captan, for
 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
 laitytly 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
 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

skilfully steered
 his realm between
 France and Spain

which were often
 at war.

John of Lorrain,
 Cardinal Arch-
 bishop of Nar-
 bonne, Clugny,
 Fécamp, and St
 Ouen, your
 uncle,

renowned both in
 spiritual and
 temporal matters.

[* leaf 5, back]

Your father, the
 Duke of Guise,

relieved St
 Quentin,

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
 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
 [* leaf 6] 12 the camp of ther enemeis, ande entrit in the toune but
 resistance, be cause that 3our nobil fadir held the grit
 while he kept the enemy awake on the other side. armye of enemeis valkand on ther tothir syde, throucht
 the grit assaltis ande escarmuschis that he maid contrar
 them. The toune of sauerne baris vytnes of his dele-
 gent vailzeantnes, that he maid contrar the iminent
 dangeir 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-
 cendit fra the hicht of germanye. thai var of diuerse
 21 sectis, haldant straynge opinions contrar the scriptour.
 thai purposit to compel al cristianite tyl adhere to ther
 peruerst opinione : 3it nochttheles ther disordinat inten-
 25 tion vas haistyly repulsit ande extinet be the martial
 sciens of 3our nobil & vailzeant fadir. Thir vailzeant
 You are thus truly noble both by virtue and descent. actis of 3our predecessours (illustir princes) ande 3our
 grit prudens, makkis manifest, that 3our grace is ane
 ryecht nobil, baytht of vertu ande of genologie. al thir
 30 thingis befor rehersit, i beand summond be iustitutione
 of ane gude 3eil,¹ hes tane ane tem'rare consait to
 present to 3our nobil grace ane tracteit of the fyrst
 laubir of my pen. bot 3it i vas lang stupefact ande
 timide, for falt of ane peremptoir conclusione, 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 librariye of
 my vnderstanding, ande i socht all the secret corneris¹
 of my gazophile, ymaginant vitht in the cabinet of my 5
 interior thochtis, 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 oucepeit the domicillis of tranquil
 pace, that sueit goddess of humane felicite. the quhilk
 tracteit i hef dediet ande direckyt to 3our nobil grace,
 in hope that 3our grace vil resauie it as humanly 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 thying 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 humanly as it hed been ane
 riche present of gold, ande he gart delyuir to the said
 pure man sex thousand peeces 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!

15
 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.

27
*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 reconnrit

³ pso

St Mark tells how our Saviour commended the poor widow more than the rich men.

*Cum venisset autem una vi-
[* leaf 7, back]
dua 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 saluour 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 conclu'sione (illustir princes) my esperance is sa grite, that i beleif that 3our grace vil resauue this tracteit as humainly, as kyng darius resautit the elene 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, exceedis the hartly intentione of the pure man that offrit the fayr vattir to kyng darius, prayand to god to preserue 3our grace in perpetual felicite. 13

PROLOG TO THE REDAR.

Amasis II., king of Egypt, made an ordinance against idleness,

*Indigetes var
goddis of egypt
quhilhis hed
beene verte-
ouse princees
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.

*Gymnioso-
phistes var
philosophours
of inde,
quhilhis var
ay nakyt*

AMASIS the sycond, quhilk vas the last kyng ande indegete of the egiptiens, (ande, as diodore reheris, he vas the fyift legislator of egypt), maid ane ordinance contrar the vice of ydilnes, that al his subiectis of egypt 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 vacatione, ande the maneir of ther luyng. 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 egypt. 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 resauue his corporal refectione quhil on to the tyme that he hed manifest realye, or ellis be certain testificatiouns

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 egypt: for he statut ane ordinance til excerse his propir childir ande the 3ong 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 membrs mycht be purgit fra corruppit humours, the quhilkis humours nocht beand degecistit,¹ mycht be occasione to dul ther spreit, ande to mak ther body onabil² to resist ydilnes. thir ordinances of the egiptiens are verray necessair to be vsit in al realmys, be rason that the maist part of the pepil, throucht ther natural fraigilite, consumis the maist part of ther dais in ydilnes. This detestatione that i haue rehersit of ydilnes, par chance maye be iugit be inuyful ignorantis, that i condampe my self, in sa far as thai persauie me nocht ocupeit vitht mecanye 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 gouuernyng of the public veil, ande quhen he aperit to be solitar, 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 syecht 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 any sort of clet- yng, ther doctrine aperit to be rather ciuil lau nor philosophic.

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 ou 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 speculatione of liberal sciens nor philosophe, nor
 vitht stryntht of my body til indure seruire subiectione,
 nor 3it vitht no art nor meycane 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 thair
 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
 of traduccion, compiling or teching, his faculte is as honest,
 13 as crafty, ande as necessair, as is to be ane marynel, ane
 marchant, ane cordinar, charpenteir, captan, ciuillist, or
 ony vthir craft or sciens. ther is na degreis of vertu
 amang 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
 delphicua
 gladium ob
 iudiciam sed
 vnum ad
 vnum.
 Polit. 1.
 which was
 hammer, pineers, 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 pilgromage.
 ther duelt on that hil, smythis, & forgearis of yrn ande
 steil, the quhilkis culd mak ane instrament of yrn con-
 uenient for mony officis, for tha vald gar ane instra-
 ment serue for ane hammyr, ane turkes, ane file, ane

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 3
 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 9
 oure complexions to be of diuerse qualiteis; ande for that cause ve sal fynd amang ane thousand men, ane thousand consajtis 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 retorie, quhou that the citinaris of cartomat in ytalye, sende for ane excellent 19
 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 & spyt 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, and wimble, all in one.

Each man has his faculty;

9

[* leaf 10]

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

Quot homines, tot sententie. Ci. 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 storrye is
in the capothig-
mes of plu-
tare.*

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 patronne, nor
3it that culd be comparit til gladius delphicus, quhilk
5 vas ane instrament 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 3it vil correct my
ignorant error; bot rather thai ar mair prompt to repreif
ane smal ignorant falt, nor to commende ane grit ver-
teous act; bot 3it 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, 3it 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 estiruart, as i
29 sall apply ane exempil conformand to this samyn pur-
pose, as estir follouis.

¶ Annibal, that vailzeant cartagien, 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 hiis realme, ande in his protectione,
and did hym grit honour ande reuerens. ane prince

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 fortoune. 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 seulis, to heir the lecture of ane philosophour
 callit phormion, quha 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 27
 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-
 toune¹ 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 topic to the
 art of war,

teaching with
 marvellous
 readiness the
 ordering of
 battles.

Antiochus was
 delighted ;
 [* leaf 12]

but Hannibal

¹ fortonne

² anthioe'

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
and presumption;

the mirroure of folye. ther can nocht be ane mair folye,
as quhen ane ydiot, distitute of knaulage, presumis to
teche or to leyrne ane man that hes baytht speculatione
ande experiens. i pray the to tel me (kyng anthiocus)
quhat hart can thole, or quhat tong can be stil, quhen
thai sec, or heris tel, of the presumptuous 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 neucrest 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:
for verite he hes ane smal iugement of sic maters, or

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 vitht ane pen, & the vsing of ane
speyr vailzeantly in battel; ande quhat defferens is ther

Your philosopher
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
hasjarde ther lyue contrar ther enemeis. O anthiocus,
thy philosophour phormiou sau neuyr the iunyng of ane
battel, vitht 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

he harde it neuyr sound to gar the men of veyr retere 1
 fra ane dangeir: he persaut neuyr the trason of ane
 party, nor the couuardeis of ane vthir party: he sau
 neuyr the lital 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
 vitht his cen, 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 aue 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.

let him stick to
his philosophy,
that he does
know

I was a captain
before I had a
beard,
[* leaf 13, back]

yet I cannot
expound the
proper mode of
ordering a battle,

which depends on
fortune.

Ne sutor ultra
crepidam!

¶ This exempil tendis, that al prudent men hes 36

- mair occasione to condamp & reпреif this raggit naykyt
 2 tracteit, nor annibal hed occasione to reпреif 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
 6 my knaulage is the smallest part of my ignorance: 3it
 nocht heles 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
 thoct 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
 translataours 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 mancers of
 antiant men. 3it nocht heles 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,
 [* leaf 14]
- but for my ardent patriotism.
- Pray excuse my rustic speech!
- Nullus loeus nobis dulcior esse debet patria.*
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

¹ morib'

culd nocht be translait in oure scottis langage, as auguris, auspices, ides, questecours, senaturus, censours, pretours, tribuns, ande mony vthir romane dictions: ther for gyf sic vordis suld be disudit or detekkit, than the phrasis of the antiquite vald be confundit ande adnullit: ther for it is necessair at sum tyme til myxt oure langage vitht part of termis dreyn fra lateen, be rason that oure scottis tong is nocht sa copcus¹ 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 register: as ve hef exempil of this propositione, homo est animal, for this terme homo signifeis baytht man ande voman: bot ther is nocht ane scottis terme that signifeis baytht man ande voman: ande animal signifeis al thyng that hes lyue ande is sensibil, bot ther is nocht ane scottis terme that signifeis 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 sielyik 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 quhilck vil be difficil to translait them. i hef rehersit thir vordis, in hope to eschaupt the detractiōe of inuyful gramariaris, quhilkis ar mair prompt to reprehende ane smal falt, nor tha ar to commend ane verteouse act. Nou for conclusiōe of this prolog, i exort the (gude redar) to correct me familiarly, ande be cherite, ande til interpret my intentiōe fauorablye, for doutles the motiōe of the compilatiōe of this tracteit procedis mair of the compassiōe that i hef of

to use some classical terms where Scots was deficient.

Verba inuenta sunt, non que impediunt, 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 verrey necessair tyl al them that desiris to
 lyue verteouslye indurand the schort tyme of this oure
 fragil peregrinatione, & sa fayr veil.

It will encourage
 me in my next
 works.

So fare-well!

THE COMPLAYNT OF SCOTLAND.

The Fyrst Cheptodr

declaris the cause of the

Mutations of Monarches.

CHAP. I.

AS the hie monarchis, lordschips, ande autoriteis, Rulers are set up
 ar¹ stablit be the infinite diuynе ordinance, and cut down by
 menteinit² be the sempeternal prouidens, siclyk **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-
 tude, ande fra magnificens in ruuynе, ande causis
 conqueriours to be conquest, ande til obeye ther vmquhile
 subiectis be dreddour, quhome of be for thai commandit
 be autorite. This decreit procedis⁴ of the diuynе
 iustice, be rason that princis ande vthirs of autorite
 becummis ambitius ande presumpteous, throucht grite
 superfluite of veltht : ther for he dois chestee them be
 the abstractione of that superfluite : that is to say, he **15**
 possessis vthir pure pepil that knauis his gudnes, vitht
 the samyn reches that he hes tane fra them that hes
 arrogantly misknauen hym. Ane pottar vil mak of ane **18**
 masse of mettal diuerse pottis of defferent fassons, &

Rulers are set up
 and cut down by
 providence.

[*leaf 16]
*Regnum a
 gente in
 gentes tran-
 sit propter in-
 iusticias &
 vniuersos
 dolos.*
Eccle. 10.
 This is diuine
 justice.

¹ at² menteinit³ fosse⁴ procedis

- 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 else 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 & inressis quhil thai
be ascendit to the perfyit strynght of men: bot ther
efter, tha begyn to decresse ande declinis til eild ande
[* leaf 16, back] to the dede. *siklyik lordschips ande digniteis hes in-
11 cressing, declinatione, ande exterminatione. the muta-
tions of euerye varldly thyng is certane, quhou beit
that *prosperus*¹ 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
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.
This appears alike from the Scriptures and profane history. quhar is the grite ande riche tryumphand cite of
nynyue, quhilk hed thre dais iournais of circuit? at
Where is now Nineveh? 21 this tyme ther is nocht ane stane standant on ane vthir.
where Babilon? Quhar is the grite tour of babilone? the quhilk vas
biggit be ane maist ingenius artefis, of proportione,
quantite, ande of strynght. it aperit to be perdurabil
and e inuincibil, bot nou it is desolat, ande inhabit be
serpens ande vthir venemuse beystis. Quhat sal be
What has been the fate of Troy? said of the riche tryumphant toune of troye, ande of
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 licht of the vallis can nocht be sene, for al the
grond of the palecis² of that tryumphand toune ande
castel is ouer*gane witht gyrse ande vild seroggis.
[* 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 prosper'² palecis

hundreht 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 yea, even of
 subdeuit al the varld? is nocht nou the superiorite of Rome herself?
 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, [* leaf 17, back]
 housis, stonis, ande vthir materials: bot rather it
 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 Every worldly
 mutations of varldly felicite is ane natural habitude, thing has its day.
 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, dechacis, ande cummis
 to subuersione. The fyrst monarche of the varld vas
 translatit fra the assiriens to them of perse, ande fra
 perse to the greikis, and translatit 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, zit 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
 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
 Sapien. 9.*

¹ toune

The ways of God
are inscrutable.

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.
Eecl. 8.*

Every thing is of
the diuine power.

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

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

3 ouer harde, oure thoctis ouer vollage, ande oure 3eiris
ouer schort. Ther is mony ignorant pepil that imputis
the subuersions ande mutations of prosperite to pro-
ceed of fortune: sic consaitis procedis of the gentilite
and e 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
ruuyn. 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
dyuine 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
proceed 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, & co. Ande alse the
prophet esaye, spekend be the spreit of gode, he gyffis
his maledictione on al them that beleuis that fortune
hes ony pouuer, quhar he writis in the lxxv. cheptour,¹
ve qui fortune ponitis mensam tanquam dec.²

This contradictione that i hef rehersit contrar for-
toun, is be cause that mony ignorant pe·pil hes con-
fermit ane ymaginet onfaythtful 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 onfaythtful men. 3it noch-
theles, quhen i remembir on the cruel dolourusestruc-

¹ chetour

² die

tion 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 seditiōne, 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 contraditiōne;
 ande the remanent of the pepil beand lyik dantit 11
 venqueist slauis in maist extreme vile subiectiōne,
 rather nor lyik prudent cristin pepil, quhilkis suld lyue
 in ciuillite, policie¹, * & be iustice vndir 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, quhidir 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 iudgment.
 rigorus mereyles decretit of ane iuge, to exsecute on vs 18
 ane final exterminatiōne. than efftir lang conteneuatiōne
 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 thyrsaid cheptours
 of the bibil, gart me consaue, that the diuyne indigna- which filled me
 tiōne hed decretit ane extreme ruuyne on oure realme; with trouble and
 bot gyf that ve retere fra oure vice, ande also to be cum dismay.
 vigilant to seik haisty remeide & medycyne at hym 31
 quaha 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 *straicie-kis* for *straikis*.

² dolor

³ throucht

[leaf 19, back]

Thir cheptours that eftir follouis, ex-
planis the thretnyng ande menas-
sing of Gode contrar obsti-
nat, bicrius pepil.

CAP. II.

Denteronomy
xxviii. (transla-
tion from the
Vulgate).
*Quod si
audire no-
lueris voce
domini dei
tui, venient su-
per te omnes
maledicti-
ones, 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]
Leuiticus xxvi.
(from the Vul-
gate).

IT is vrityne in the xxviii. of deutronome, thir vordis:
Gyf thou obeyis nocht the voce of the lorde thy
gode, ande kepis nocht his ordinance, thir maledic-
tions sal cum on the: thou sal be cursit on the feildis,
thou sal be cursit in the cite; the lord sal sende male-
dictione ande tribulatione on al thy byssynes; the lord
sal sende pestilens on the, the heyt feucir, 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
flokis of scheip sal be gyffin to thy enemeis; the
oncoutht ande straynge 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 suellieg: ze sal sau the cornis on zoure
feildis, bot zoure enemeis sal eit it: zoure enemeis sal be
zoure masters, ande ze sal flee fast for dreddour, quhen
ther sal be lital dangeir, & there sal be no man follou-
uand zou; ande gyf ze remane obstinat ande vil nocht
29 be correckt, i sal strik zou vitht ane plag, seuyn tymes

¹ go, degyf

mair vehement ; for i sal gar the sourde cum on 3ou to reuenge my alliance ; ande quhen 3e ar assemblit to-gyddir vitht in 3our tounis, i sal send the pestilens 3 among 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.

¶ 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 mecanye lauberaris sal reproche *gentil men. Esaye iii.

Esaye 3. Isaiah iii. (from the Vulgate).

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 empiriour 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 euyl³ gouernyng of the public veil of rome : the patriarche Iacob lamentit the absens of his sone Ioseph : the kyng demetrius 29

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

¹ effement

² dari'

³ enyl

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

[* leaf 21]

5 straikis¹ 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 auful scourge of aperaud
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 e til al them that kepis his command, as is vrityn in
the xxvi. cheptor of leuitie thir vordis as follouis : Gyf

Yet i hope the
rod is that of a
father.

*Si in pre-
ceptis meis
ambulaueritis,
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.

3e keip my ordinance, i sal send 3ou rane on 3our
grond in conuenient tyme ; 3our feildis sal bryng furth
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

22 3our sourdis sal gar them fal befor 3ou ; fiue of 3ou sal
follou & chaisse ane hundretht, & ane hundretht of
3ou sal chaisse ten thousand ; ande 3our enemeis sal
fal to the grond venquest in 3our presens, sa that 3e

[* leaf 21, back]

26 vil obeye to my command.

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

¶ O quhat familiar promese is this that god hes
promest² 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 vthir strayne natione, til occupie & posses our
natural natiue cuntre. bot 3it i hope in gode that our
obstinatioun sal altir in obediens, quhilk sal be occa-

I hope that we
shall come to
repentance.

¹ Original reads *straicte-kis* for *straiakis*, the *cie* having fallen away from end
of leaf 18, leaving *poli* for *policie*.

² promicist

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-
 louis nocht that the cruel inglis men, quhilkis ar 8
 boreaus ande hang men permittit be god to punceis 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 punceise transgressours,
 ande ther efftir that samyn boreau is stikkit or hangit
 efftiruart 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
 cird hes permittit them to be boreaus, to punceis vs for
 the myscknaulage 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
 punceise 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 tounce, ando 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 diuynne iustice to
puneise ane vther synnar. the file that filit the yrne is
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 keptit to serue to the
necessite of men. the father takkis the vand or the
scourge to puneise his sonne that hes brokyn his com-
15 mand, ande quhen his sonne becummis obedient, the
father brakkis the vand ande castis it in the fyrr: bot
3it gyf his sonne rebellis contrar the correctioun of the
vand, than the father takkis ane batton or sum vthir
sterk vappin to puneise his sonne, & forzet³is 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 correctioun of his pre-
ceptor, his correctioun³ is changit in rigorus punitione.

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

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

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

[* leaf 23]

Quhou the Actour conferris the passagis of
the thrid⁴ cheptour of Vsage vitht
the afflictione of Scotland.

CHAP. IIII.

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

WE maye persaue for certan, that ve haue beno
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 venensum.*

² instrumento

³ correctioun

⁴ thrid

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

Sielyik as it is befor rehersit in the xxvi of le-
uitic, ve haue sauen oure feildis to the behufe of
oure enemeis, ve haue fled fast fra oure enemeis, 6

quhen ther vas nocht mony of *them* perseuuand vs,
ande else ve maye persauue that ve haue beene scurgit
vith the plagis that ar *contentit in the thrid cheptour
of esaye, quhilk sais that the lord sal tak auaye the
mychty men & the sterk men fra hierusalem ande fra 11

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 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 reffer 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

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 35
in the aige of puberte, that follouis nocht that hyr

and in Leviticus,
Leui. 26.

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

We have lost our
great men.

God send us
better judges
and justies!

not to talk of
preachers.

*Sardana-
palus kyng
of sirrie
clethit hym
in remens
claitis, &
span on ane
roe.*

Iustine. li. 1.

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;

- 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 ruuyne 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 misgouuernance that procedit of euil
counsel. Ande in opposit, Osias vas bot aucht 3eir of
aige quhen he vas vnetit 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-
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 3eiris, for euyre inconstant or ignorant person
- 26 is aye repute ande comparit to 3ong childir that hes na
discretion. 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
suld nocht² haue applyit nor conferrit³ the xxviii of
deutero. 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
ctatis, cur-
sus celerior.
Cicc. 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 keptit be cristin men. sielyik thai maye saye that the epistylis of paul suld be keptit be the romans, corrinthiens, epheseis, & be vthir nations that he vrit to in his dais, ande nocht to be keptit 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 resauit the 3oilk ande the confessione of crist. Sanct paul vritis to the romans, sayand, euyrye thing that is vritin in the scriptur is vrityn tyll oure edeficatione: thir vorldis maye suffice til adnul the peruerst opinions of inuyful calumniaturis ande of secret detrackers.

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

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

Quęcunq; scripta sunt ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt: et per patientiam & consolationem scripturarum spem habemus.

Rom. 15.

All Scripture is given for our edification.

17

Of diuers opinions¹ that the pagan philosophers held of the conditions ande induring of the warld, ande quhou the actor declaris that the warld is neire ane ende.

CHAP. V.

THE special cause of the scourge that hes affligit vs, hes procedit of our disobediens contrar the comand 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 opinions

and our worship
of mammon.

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

Many believe that
nothing but the
world is lasting,

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

[* leaf 26]

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

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

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;

souerane felicite, bot nocht heles it is bot ane corrupt
2 poison, in sa far as ve can nocht serue gode ande it to
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
ther is na thyng perdurabil bot the varld alanerly. sic
abusione procedis of onfaythfulnes 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.
ther for oure cupidite constrençeis 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
sem^peternal olimp. Bot vald ve considir the diffini-
16 tion of the varld, than i beleue that oure solistnes
and vane opinione vald altir in ane faythful consait.
Ther is mony that speikis of the varld, & 3it thai vait
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 furtht in diuerse cuntreis: bot 3it ther vas neuyr
ane final accordance concludit amang them:² for of the
final verite that thai socht, thai gat litil, ande the ig-
norance that thai haue put in vrit, is verray mekil, be
rason that the smallest part of ther ignorance in super-
28 natural cacis, excedit the maist part of ther knaulage.
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 tormentit

² chem

³ varld

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 eterny;
 & ronde lyik ane eg. Socrates techit in his achademya, Epicurus and
 sayand, that eftir seyn ande thretty thousand 3eiris, Empedocles as
 al thingis sal retourne to that sammyn stait as thai to its shape.
 began, ande he to be borne agane in his mother 9 Socrates taught
 voymbe, ande to be neurist til his aige, ande sal teche that all things
 philosophie³ in athenes. dionisius sal exsecute his ald should repeat
 tirrorane in siracuse. Iulius cesar sal be lord of rome, themselves in
 ande annibal sal conques ytalie. scipio sal put cartage 37,000 years;
 to sac ande to the sourde, ande grit Allexander sal 14
 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 zit 'he repreuit [* leaf 27]
 nocht the eird, the vattir, the ayr, nor the fyir, for thai
 foure elementis brae nocht his command. i haue⁴ herd I have herd
 diuers pepil regret, maling, ande mak exclamations con- many malign
 trar the varld, sayand, o false varld! o miserabil varld! the world, calling it
 o dissaitful varld! o inconstant varld! o malicius false, deceitful,
 varld! ande zit thai kneu nocht quhat thing is the &c.,
 varld. eftir my purpos, that varld⁵ that the pepil 28
 malingnis, 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 vicinslye, ande the prince of *cium est*
 this last varld is the deuyll, 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 scleucus ² varld ³ philhsophie ⁴ hane ⁵ vard

This world is not composed of the four elements,

but of seven elements (the seven cardinal sins).

Alas! they superabound in our afflicted realm.

[* leaf 27, back]

Cumque me conuertissem ad vniuersa opera que fecerent manus mee ridi in omnibus vanitatem & afflictionem animi.

Eccle. 2. e.

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.

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, dis-

6 simulatione, & insaciabil cupidite. allace! al thir seuyne elementis that this last varld is creat of, ar¹ ouer abundand vitht in oure affligit realme, quihilk is the cause of the calamite that it induris. bot var v^e 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, quihilk 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 vudir 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 vudir 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 vudir 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

22 vudir 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 vudir 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

28 nocht to the vertu of temperance ande contenens: 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,

[* leaf 28]

33 nor zit resistis the occasions ande temptations of the prouocations of vice, ve becum haistylve venqueist, be 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 hundretht zeir. 7

*ve haue experiens daly, that quhar ane man lyuis ane hundretht zeir in ony cuntre, ane hundretht lyuis nocht ane hundretht monetht. 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 resauit our humanite for our redemptione. 7

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 xxiiii 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 xxiiii cheptour of Sanct mathou, tha sal persauce 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;
- most of the signs are already past.
- 17 mastir ihone carion hes rehersit, the varld hes bot four hundreht fyfty tua 3eir tyl indure, be cause that ther is fiue hundrethe fourty aucht 3eir by past of the foir said sex thousand 3eir; bot estir the vordis of Sanct mathou, the consummatione of the varld sal be haistiar nor foure hundreht fyfye & tua 3eir; 3it god hes
- 1548 of the last two thousand years are past;
- the remaining 452 shall be shortened;
- 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 exact date is not fixed
- 27 to be vigilant ande reddy, sen the terme of cristis eumming 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
- 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 attentive laubirs that i tuke to vrit
 thir passagis befor rehersit, gart al my body be cum
 imbecille ande verye, ande my spreit be cum sopit
 in sadnes, throucht the lang conteneuatiōne of studie,
 quhilk did fatigat my rason, ande gart al my membrīs
 be cum impotent. than, til eschaip the euyl accidentis
 that succedis fra the onnatural dais sleip, as caterris,
 hede verkis, ande indigestione, i thocht it necessair til
 excerse me vitht sum actyue recreatione, to hald myspretis
 valkand fra dul'nes. than, to exsecute this purpose, i
 past to the greene hoilsum feildis, situat maist comodi-
 usly fra distempnit ayr ande corruppit infectione, to re-
 saue the suet fragrant smel of tendir gyrssis, ande of
 hoilsum balmy flouris maist odoreferant. besyde the fut
 of ane lital 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
 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
 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
 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.

5

To avoid the evil
 effects of sleeping
 by day,

he thought he
 would take some
 active recreation.

[* leaf 80]

He walked out to
 the green fields,

13

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

18

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

23

Amid these
 scenes he lingered
 till sunset,

28

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

¹ frutts

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

*Tamque ru-
bescbat
stellis aurora
fugatis.*

Eneo 2.

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

at which the
stars grew pale,

and Diana, the
"lantern of the
night," waxed
dim.

The misty
exhalations
vanished;

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

Birds and beasts
began their din,

making the
welkin ring with
their various
noises.

*Methamor-
pho. 3.*

To tell of the
beasts and fowls,
there were

cause the borial blastis of the thre boroung dais of
marche hed chassit the fragrant flureise of euyrie frute
tree far athourt the feildis. of this sort i did spaeir vp
ande doune but sleipe, the maist part of the myrk
nycht. instantly there eftir i persauit 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-
spere, for dreddour of his aful goldin face. Ande als

fayr dyana, the lantern of the nycht, be *cam dym* ande
pail, quhen titan hed extinct 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
corrupit humiditeis, ande caliginus fumis & infekkit
vapours, that hed bene generit in the syeond regione of
the ayr quhen titan vas visiand antepodos. thai consumit

20 for sorrou quhen thai sau anc syecht 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 done. there eftir i herd the rumour of ram-
masche foulis ande of beystis that maid grite beir,

quhilk past besyde burnis & boggis on grene bankis to

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

in anc hou hole, cryand hyr half ansueir, quhen narcis-
sus ryecht sorye socht for his saruandis, quhen he vas

32 in anc forrest, far fra ony² folkis, & there eftir for loue
of eccho he drounit in anc drau vel. nou to tel treutht
of the beystis that maid sic beir, & of the dyn that the

¹ titam

² ony

foulis did, ther syndry soundis hed nothir temperance I
 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 *kekkyl 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,
 the gayslingis cryit quhilk quhilk, & the dukis cryit quaik. the fox, geese,
 the ropen of the raunys gart the crans crope, the ducks;
 the huddit crauis cryit varrok varrok, quhen the suannis raven, cranes,
 murnit, be cause the gray goul mau pronosticat ane hooded crows,
 storme. the turtill began for to greit, quhen the cuschet swans,
 3oulit. the titlene follouit the goilk, ande gart hyr sing the grey gull
 guk guk. the dou croutit hyr sad sang that soundit lyik maw, the turtle
 sorrou. robeen and the lital vran var hamely in vyntir. and cushat-dove,
 the iargolyne of the suallon gart the iay iangil. than the the hedge-
 maueis maid myrtht, for to mok the merle. the lauerok sparrow and
 maid melody vp hie in the skyis.² the nyctingal al the cuckoo,
 the nyct sang sueit notis. the tuechitis cryit theuis the dove,
 nek, quhen the piettis clattrit. the garruling of the stir- robin and the
 lene gart the sparrou cheip. the lyntquhit sang cuntir- little wren, the
 point quhen the oszil 3elpit. the grene serene sang the swallow and
 sueit, quhen the gold spyunk chantit. the rede schank the jay, the thrush
 cryit my fut my fut, & the oxee cryit tueit. the³ herrons and blackbird,
 gaif ane vyild skrech as the kyl hed bene in fyir, quhilk the lark and the
 gart the quhapis for fleyitnes fle far fra hame. Than the nightingale,
 eftir quhen 'this dyn vas dune, i dreu me doune the lapwings and
 throucht mony grene dail; i beand sopit in sadnes, i magpies,
 socht neir to the see syde. than vndir ane hingand the starling and
 heuch, i herd mony hurlis of stannirs & stanis that the sparrow,
 tumlit doune vitht the land rusehe, quhilk maid ane the linnet and
 felloune sound, throucht virkyng of the suelland vallis of ouzel,
 29 the greenfinch
 and the goldfinch.
 the redshank and
 ox-eye tom-tit,
 the herons and
 the curlews.

[* 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 follouit 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),] 1
 mony pricis, mony pricis. god foir lend, god foir lend. 2
 stou, stou. mak fast & belay. Than the master cryit,
 and bald renze ane bonet, vire the trossis, nou heise.
 than the marynalis began¹ to heis vp the sail, eryand, The unfurling of
 heisau, heisau. vorsa, vorsa. vou, vou. ane lang draucht, the sails
 ane lang draucht. mair maucht, mair maucht. 3ong blude, 7 continued.
 3ong blude. mair mude, mair mude. false flasche, false
 flasche. ly a bak, 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 myszen, 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 elene 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 paueis and mantillis. Gun-
 naris, cum heir & stand by 3our artail3ee, euyrie gunnar
 til his auen quartar. mak reddy 3our cannons, euluerene 31
 moyens, euluerene bastardis, falcons, saikyrs, half saik-
 yrs, and half falcons, slangis, & half slangis, quartar
 slangis, hede stikkis, murdresaris, pasuolans, bersis,
 doggis, doubil bersis, hagbutis of croche, half haggis,
 The artillery
 brought into
 readiness.

¹ began² Or *listaris* ? the letter is indistinct.

- 1 culuerenis, ande hail schot. ande 3e soldartis & con-
pangsons of veyr, mak reddy 3our corsbollis, hand
bollis, fyir speyris, hail schot, lancis, pikkis, halbardis,
rondellis, tua handit sourdis and tairgis. than this gaye
The galiasse
bears down on
the ship,
7 speid the galiasse pat furtlit 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 galiasse
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 duf, tirduf, tirduf, tirduf. than the smal artailze cryit,
tik tak, tik tak, tik tak, tik tak. the reik, smenk, 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 ludit hirdis blaunand ther buc hornis and ther corne
pipis, calland and conuoyand mony fat floe to be fed
and saw the
shepherds taking
out their flocks. on the feildis. than the scheiphirdis pat there scheip on
bankis and brais, and on dry hillis, to get ther pastour.
than i beheld the scheiphirdis vyuis and ther childir
Their breakfast
was brought out
to them by their
wives and
children; that brocht there mornyng braefast to the scheiphirdis.
than the scheiphirdis vyuis cuttit raschis and seggis,
31 and gadrit mony fragrant grene meduart, vitht the
they sat down on
a bed of rushes
[* leaf 0 (34), back]
and meadwort,
and partook of all
kinds of milk,
curds, quhilkis tha couurit the end of ane leye rig, & syne sat
doune al to gyddir to tak there refe'tione, quhar thai
maid grit cheir of euyrie¹ sort of mylk, baytht of ky
mylk & 3oue mylk, sueit mylk and sour mylk, curdis

¹ euyrie.

and quhaye, sourkittis, fresche buttir ande salt buttir, reyme, flot quhaye, grene cheis, kyrn mylk. euyrie scheiphird hed ane horne spune in the lug of there bonet: thai hed na breyd bot ry caikis and fustean skonnis maid of flour. than eftir there disiune, tha began to talk of grit myrrynes that vas ryecht plesand to be hard. in the fyrst, the prencipal scheiphirde maid ane orisone tyl al the laif of his compangzons as eftir follouis.

wey, butter, cream, and cheese;

3

their bread was rye-cakes and scones;

then followe^d mirth and glee, and the chief shepher^d 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 prefferis al vthir faculte of this varld, baytth in honour and in profeit. for sen the varld vas creat, scheiphirdis prefferit al vthir staitis. quhar for the maist anciant nobilis that hes bene in ald tymis, tha detestit vrbante, and desirit to lyue in villagis and landuart¹ tounis to be scheiphirdis, or to laubir rustic occupation on the hoilsum feildis, as diuerse historiographours hes maid mentione. for in ald tymis pastoral and rustical *occupatione 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 euyⁿ² quhen thai past to there faldis, scheip cottis and ludgens, he playt befor them on his harpe. Siklyik 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 ald tymis var nocht eschamit to laubir and to manure the baran feildis vitth there auen handis, to gar the

He pointed out the excellence of the pastoral life;

14

quoting the ancients,

19

[* leaf 0 (35)]

and the manners of the golden age;

citing also the examples of Amphion,

28

King David,

Apollo,

33

¹ landnart

² enyn

- 1 eird becum fertil to bayr al sortis of corne, eirbis, gyse
& spice, as ve hef exempil of the prudent quintus
Cincinnatus, 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 Pompilius, 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 kepit bestialite on montht
Scipio Africanus, ydea. Ande also the nobil Scipio, quhilk vas vailzeant
and no les prudent, he conquiest 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
and on be'stialite. Siklyik the nobil Empriour
[* leaf 0 (36)] dioeclesian, eftir that he hed gouernit the empire xvij
Dioeletian, 3eir, he left the tryumphant toune of rome, & past til
ane village be syde florens, and ther he vsit the laubor-
34 ing of the cornis and vyuis, & on bestialite. Ande also
an l Pericles, the prudent due perecles, quha hed the gouerning of
the comont veil of athenes xxxvj 3eiris, 3it in his aige

of lx 3eiris, 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.
Ther for (O 3e 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,
baytht 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 corrupt
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 contagious maladeis, & also
ocasionne that the maist part of them endis ther the in-
temperans of ther moutht² in eyting & drynkyng, con-
sumis ther stomakis & al ther membris, quhilk is occa-
sionne that the maist part of tham endis ther dais in 23
there green 3outhed. bot it is nocht sielyik of vs that
ar scheiphirdis, for ve lyif on the fragrant feildis quhar
ve ar neureist³ vitht 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 3eir. ande also
quhou be it that the riche and opulent potestatis that
ducillis in citeis and burroustounis, reputis vs that ar 33
scheiphirdis⁵ to be ignorant, inciuil, & rude of ingyne,
3it nochtheles al the sciencis and knaulage that thai

Abraham, Isaac,
and Jacob,
were they not all
shepherds?

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 nenresing ² moucht ³ nenreist ⁴ auareis ⁵ scheiphis

ascribe and professis to be dotit in them, hes fyrst pro-
 cedit fra our faculte, nocht alanerly in the *inuentione
 of natural mecanye 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 phisie, astronomye and
 natural philosophie, var fyrst prettikit and doctriinet be
 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 circelis 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
 14 gude or euyl, necessair or domageabil for man or beyst :
 for it is maifest that scheiphirdis hes discriuit and
 definit the circelis and the mouyng of the speris, as i sal
 reherse to 3ou that ar 3ong scheiphyrdis, 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, reheris in his fyrst beuk, that
 the childir of seth (quhilk vas the sounne of Adam) var
 the fyrst inuentours of the art of astronomic, and in-
 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 tabilis
 vas of baikyn stane, and the tothir tabil of onbaykyn
 stane. the quhilk thing thai did be cause thai hed herd
 28 ther father seth reherse, that his father Adam hed pro-
 phetys3it that the varld sal end be vattir and be the
 fyir, and for that cause the baikyn stane vald thole the
 fyir, & the onba[k]yn stane vald thole the vattir, and of
 this sort the art of astronomic suld ay remane uncon-
 33 sumit. ande thai tua tablis hes bene register and fund-
 atione til al them that hes studeit in cosmographic,
 geographic, and in topographic. There for, to mak ane
 diffinitione of cosmographic (as far as ve scheiphirdis

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

Especially
 Astronomy ;

they have long
 contemplated the
 stars.

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

[* leaf 0 (37), back]

They recorded
 their discoveries
 on two tablets,

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

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 circelis of the spere celest : for be that distinctione of the said circelis, it sal be facill to knau the distance of diuerse cuntreis that lye vnder the said circelis, baytht of there longitude and of ther latitude, and the proportione of the climatis, and the diuersite of the daís & nyctis 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 paralleis, and the meridian circelis, and diuerse vthir documentis and demonstrations mathematicis.

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.

¶ Nou fyrst to speik of the mouyng of the spere, and of the diuisione of the haunyis, 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) vitht 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, inclois in it the spere that is nyxt til it, & sa be progressionne and ordur, euyrie spere inclois the spere that is nerest tyl it. in the fyrst, the regione elementair is inclosit vitht 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

19

The world consists of two part*, 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 mouyng of the fyrst mobil that we 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 cristel-lyne, 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 nochtelies 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 septentrional. it aperis til vs in our habitatione, be rason that it is eleuat abufe our orizone.
- 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 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 that sterne that ve cal the northt sterne, the quhilk sterne is callit alrukaba. and also 3e sal vndirstand, that the southt¹ sterne that is eleuat abufe the orizon of them that duellis beyond 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, 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 that hes ane oblique orizon, ane of the polis is eleuat abufe ther orizon, ande the tothir pole is hid vndir there hemispeir 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 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 qu'hilk 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 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 southt
COMPLAINNT.

² canap'
4

³ euerye

- 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
- 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 colures. ane of them passis be the zodiac in the begyn-
- 11 nyng 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 litil circlis in the spere. ane is callit the tropic of Cancer, quhilk is the solstice of symmyr.
- 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,
- 17 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 pol
- 22 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
- 33 orizon, ande as oft as ve change fra place to place, as oft ve sal hef ane vthir 3enythit,² and the place that is direct contrar til our 3enyth¹ is callit antipodes. tha

The zodiac
and its twelve
signs.

The colures.

The tropics.

[* leaf 0(40),back]

The summer and

winter solstice.

The zenith is
right above our
heads.

The antipodes.

¹ 3enyth

² 3enythit

that duellis in thai partis, thai hef ther solis direct 1
 contrar til our solis, ande thai hef the hauyn for ther
 zenyth¹ 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. zit 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 seyunt 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 rasonz that preuis that
 the eird is round, ande that the eird is the centir of the 15
 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 deelynis 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- 24
 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 syecht of the said
 mark, than he beand in the body of the said schip
 quhen he hes tynt the syecht of his mark, than he
 montis and passis vp to the top of the schip, and than
 he persauis his mark perfytyl, 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 zenyth

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 oriȝon, thai hef tua sym-
 myrs and tua vintirs euyrie ȝeir. 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
 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-
 myrs ar vondir 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
- 20 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 oriȝon
- 25 of them that hes the northt pole for ther zenyth.³
 Siklyk, quhen the sone cummis fra the equinoctial,
 passand touart the septentrional tropic of cancer, than
 thai that duellis vndir the meridional pole, hes con-
 teneual nycht quhil the sone returne agane to the fyrst
 degre of libra, be rason that quhen the sone is northt

Let the obstinate
 be conuineed
 there are
 antipodes.

[* leaf 0 (42)]

Why the people
 under the line
 are black;

of the long night
 at the north pole

and south pole,

[* leaf 0 (42), back]

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 circlis 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
 verray litil to mennis sycht. it makkis reuolutione in
 thretty 3eir, and returnis to the samyn point that it
 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 3eiris. it is
 of ane temperat natur, be cause it standis in the myd
 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 3eiris. 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 hundredth thre scoir of degreis, quhilk is the space the Sun, in one
year;
 of ane 3eir. the verteous heyt of it temperatis al the
 sternis of the firmament. Nyxt vndir the spere of the 29
 sone 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 sone ryise, and gyffis
 ane grit lycht. at that tyme it is callit lucifer, be cause 33
 it auancis the day befor the crepusculine. and siclyik it
 aperis verray haisty on fayr day lycht, quhen the sone

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 343 reuolution in thre hundretht xlvij 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
 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
 The moon is the most admirable star,
 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 ; & alse the
 reuolutione & circuit of it maid as lang passage in xxvij
- 28 dais & viij houris, as the planet saturn did in thretty
 3eir. 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
 sternis resauis ther lycht fra the soune. there for, sa
- which I shall explain.
 [* leaf 0 (44)]
- The moon has no light of her own,

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 hnt receives hei
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 vndir the
samyn degre that the sone is in til. at that tyme the
vulgaris sais that the mune is in the coniunctione vitht
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, 3it 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 3it ve see nocht sa mekil lycht in the 31
mune as sche hes resaut fra the soune in hyr apposi-
tionē. 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 muue² cam

Concerning
eclipses.

roundnes, be rason that the superficie of that roundnes is of mair quantite nor is the space or largenes that is betuix his tua een.

*The eclipsis of
the soune.*

¶ Nou i vil reherse the cause of the eclipsis of the soune and mune. ve may persaeue manifestlye, that the eclips of the soune cummis ¹be the interpositione of

[* leaf 0 (45)]

7 the mune betuix vs and the soune, the quhilk empeschis and obfusquis the beymis of the soune fra our sycht. Siklyik, the mune is in eclips be the obiectione of the eird, the quhilk eird empeschis the soune to gyf lycht

*Eclipsis of
the mune.*

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 resaeue 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 eyr vas procreat on the eird, ar subiect to ther operatione, & rasauis alteratione throucht there influens. The speculatione and contemplatione of mennis ingyne culd neyur consaue ane final determinatione of the soune, mune, and of

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

[* leaf 0 (45), baek]

yet the Almighty
overrules them.

and beyst: bot zit, at sum tyme, god almychty, be his diuyne permissione, mittigatis, augmentis, or dimuneuis baytht the gude operations and euil operations of the
33 planetis, efferand for the vertu and vice that ringis among 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 euyl
 veddir. 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 contagius seiknes. Sic lyik, 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
 lyik, 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 cirb
 callit helytropium, the quhilk the vulgaris callis 13
 soueye; 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 coniunetione 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 euyl
 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 canicular dais. the euyl natur
 of it inflammis 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 contagius 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 euyl accidentis that 34
 occurris through the euyl 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
 ane taikyn and sing of 'prodigeis precedent euyl acci-
 dentis that ar tyl occur¹ on princis or superiors of ane
 realme. the historigraphours reheris, that there vas
 5 thre sonnys sene at one tyme in the lyft, befor the
 ciuil 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 euyl constellation, quhilk pronosticatis future euyl
 accidentis. ther is ane sterne that aperis nocht oft in
 our hemispere, callit ane comeit. quhen it is sene,
 ther occurris haistyly eftir it sum grit myscheif. it
 aperis oft in the northt. it aperis oft in the quhyt circle
 callit circulus lacteus, the quhilk the marynalis callis
 vatlant streit. sum tyme it vil apeir lyik lang bludy
 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-
 25 tione of the rane. it is ane exalatione of humid vapours,
 generit in calme veddir abufe the vattirs on the 'eird,
 and syne ascendis in the sycond regione of the ayr,
 quhar that it coagulatis in ane thik clud: than the
 sternis of ane euyl 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 the rane, quhilkis signifit prodigies of future euyl
 accidentis. In the tyme that marcus actilius and cayus
 portius var consulis of rome, the lyft did rane mylk,
 and on the morne it ranit rede blude. sielyik, quhen

[* leaf 0 (46), back]
 The motions of
 the planets port-
 tend prodigies
 and disasters,

especially the star
 called *Comet*,

which appears
 often in Watling-
 street (the Milky
 Way).

Of the cause of
 the rain.

[* leaf 0 (47.)]

In ancient days

It rained milk,
 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 vailzeant 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 generati^{one} of the deu, it is ane Of the dew.
 humid vapour, generit in the sycond regione of the ayr
 in ane fair calme nycht, & syne discendis 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]
The hoar-frost,
the mist,
 vapours, and syne it fresis on the eird. the myst, it is
 the excrement or the superfluite of the cluddis, the
 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 regione of the ayr; bot it is 20
 nocht sa ferme and hard congelit as is the hail stonis;
 zit nochttheles 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 regione 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 thoundir; bot
 or ve heir the thoundir, 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.

that the syclit and cleirnes of ony thing is mair suyft
touart vs nor is the sound. The euyl that the thondir
dois on the eird, it is dunc or ve heir the crak of it.

Curious freaks of
thunder.

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

Most dangerous
when unac-
companied by
rain.

ane 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 resau 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

Three things safe
from thunder—

the laurel,

[* leaf 0 (4S), back]
the seal, and
the eagle.

*selcht, quhilk sum men callis the see volue : the
thrid thyng is the cyrn, that fleis sa hie. The histori-
graphours rehersis, that tyberus Cesar, empriour of

25 rome, hed eyr ane hat of laure tree on his hede, and
also he gart mak his pailzons and tentis on the feildis,
of selcht skymnis, to that effect that he mycht be furtht
of the dangeir of the thoundir and fyir slaucht. The

The best remedy
against thunder.

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.

The winds.

¶ 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. 3e sal undirstand, that the

¹ sundin

² laurye, perhaps should be laurye

vynd is no vthir thyng bot ane vapour or exalatione, 1
 heyt and dry, generit in the conceaiteis 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
 furtht and discriuit 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-
 dinal vynd is callit *subsolanus*¹ 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 nurescis 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 verrey contrar
 & noysum to the frutis of the eird. The feyrd cardinal 24
 vynd is callit fauonius 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
 fyrst is callit auster aphricus, quhilk is betuix auster
 and fauonius. 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 *subsolanus*2 *excessus*

- 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 nortwest. it is cald & dry of natur. it generis snau, tempest, & vehement stormis. it is verray noisum til al
- 10 them that occupeis baytht be see and land. Al thir thingis befor rehersit, of the circelis of the speir, & of the hauynis and planetis, is said, to gar zou² 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, zit 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.

Sapientis dominabitur astris.

Actor.

- [* leaf 6 (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 follouit, ane be ane in ther auen³ place. it vil be ouer prolixit, 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 due of Normandie, the tayl of the volfe⁴ of the varldis end, Ferrand erl of Flandris that mareit the deuyt, 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 mare 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 knyecht, rauf collgear, the seige of millan, gauen and gollogras, lancelet du lac, Arthour knyecht he raid on nyecht vitht gyltin spur and candil lyecht, 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 mandieeil, the tayl of the 3ong 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; Maundeville's wonders;

32

Bevis of Southampton;

Pyramus and

¹ euyrn 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 anc
 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.

14 scheiphyrdis, quhilkis ar callit to name, parthenopie,
 leucolia, illigecatempora, the feyrd callit legia, for thir

[* leaf 0 (51), back] scheiphirdis excedit al thir foure *marmadyns in me-
 They sang in lodius music, in gude accorddis and reportis of dyapason
 parts, and in
 harmony.

The names of some of the
 songs:

Pastance with good company; 26 breir byndis me soir. Stil vndir the leyuis grene, Cou

King William's note. thou me the raschis grene, allace i vyit 3our tua fayr
 ene, gode 3ou gude day vil boy, lady help 3our pre-
 sonceir, kyng vill;amis note, the lang nounenou, the
 cheapel valk, faytht is there none, skald abellis nou,
 The abirdenis nou, brume brume on hil, allone i veip
 in grit distres, trolce lolee lemnen dou, bille vil thou

33 cum by a lute and belt the in Sanct Francis cord, The
 The frog came to the Mill door. frog cam to the myl dur, the sang of gilquhiskar, rycht
 soirly musing in my mynde, god sen the due hed byd-

1 amphiou

2 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 leiuit on the
 land.

¶ Thir scheiphirdis ande there vyuis sang mony They sang many
 vthir melodi² 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 then joined in
 be the hand, and euyrie 3ong scheiphird led hyr quhome a dance.
 he luffit best. Ther vas viij scheiphyrdis, and ilk ane The names of the
 of them hed ane syndry instrament to play to the laif. eight musical
 the fyrst hed ane drone bag pipe, the nyxt hed ane instrumens on
 pipe maid of ane bleddir and of ane reid, the thrid which they
 playit on ane trump, the feyrd on ane corne pipe, the played.
 fyft playit on ane pipe maid of ane gait horne, the sext 21
 playt on ane recordar, the seuint plait on ane fiddil,
 and the last plait on ane quhissil. kyng amphion that Amphion or
 playit sa sueit on his harpe quhen he kept his scheip, Apollo could not
 nor 3it appollo the god of sapiens, that kept kyng ad- have surpassed
 metus scheip, *vitht his sueit menstralye, none of thir them,
 tua playit mayr cureouslye nor did thir viij scheiphyrdis [* leaf 0 (52), backj] 29
 befor rehersit; nor 3it al the scheiphirdis that virgil
 makkis mention³ in his bucolikis, thai culd nocht be
 comparit to thir foir said scheiphyrdis; nor orpheus nor Orpheus,
 that playit sa sueit quhen he socht his vyf in hel, his
 playing prefferit nocht thir foir said scheiphirdis; nor 34
 3it the scheiphyrd pan, that playt to the goddis on his

¹ nenyre² molodi'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 nouyr ane mair dilectabil recreatione. for fyrst

They began with
two becks and a
kiss.

thai began vitht tua bekkis and vitht a kysse. curipides,
iuuenal, perseus, horasse, nor nane of the satirie poiettis,
quhilkis mouit ther bodeis as thai hed bene dansand
quhen thai pronuncit ther tragiedeis, none of them

8 kepit moir geomatrial mesure nor thir scheiphyrdis did
in ther dansing. Nor Iudius 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
lovene, galmoung,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. zit

[* leaf 0 (53)]

The names of the
dances.

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

20 lyn, freris al, ennyrnes, the loch of slene, the gosseps
dance, leuis grene, makky, the speyde, the flail, the
lammes vynde, soutra, cum kyttill 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 kylrynne, the vod and the val, schaik a trot.

When the dancing
was done, they
went about their
employment.

than, quhen this dansing vas dunc, 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 follout on
the fellis baytht zouis and lammis, kebbis and dailis,
gylmyrs and dilmondis, and mony herueist hog. than i

The author
entered a
meadow full of
flowers, grasses
and herbs.

departit fra that companye, and i entrit in ane onmauen
medou, the quhilk abundit vitht al sortis of hoilsum³

¹ galmoung

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
 gude remeid for emoroyades of the fundament. i sau Aaron's beard,
 vir*met, that vas gude for ane febil stomac, & sourak- [* leaf 0 (53), back]
 kis, that vas gude for the blac gulset. i sau mony grene wormwood,
 seggis, that ar gude to prouoke the flouris of vemen. i sourocks (sorrel),
 i sau the vattir lille, quhilk is ane remeid contrar grene sedges
 gomia. i sau tansay, that is gude to purge the neiris, (Iris),
 and ennetseidis that consumis the ventositeis of the water-lily,
 stomac. i sau muguart, that is gude for the suffocatione tansy, good for
 of ane vomans bayrnis hed. i sau veyton, the decoctione the kidneys ;
 of it is remeid for ane sair hede. i sau betis, that is anise-seed,
 gude contrar constipatione. i sau borage, that is gude mugwort,
 to confort the hart. i sau cammaayne, quhilk is gude whitten,
 for ane scabbit moutht. i sau hemp, that coagulis the beet,
 flux of the sparne. i sau madyn hayr, of the quhilk borage,
 ane sirop maid of it is remeid contrar the infectione of camomile,
 the melt. i sau celidone, that is gude to help the sycht hemp,
 of the ene, & cipresses, that is gude for the fluxis of maiden-hair,
 the bellye. i sau coriandir, that is gude for ane ald 17
 hoste. i sau finkil, that slais the virmis of the bellye. i eelandine,
 sau fumeterre, that tempris ane¹ heyt lyuyr. i sau cyppresses,
 brume, that prouokis ane person to vome ald feume. i coriander, good
 sau raschis, that prouokis men to sleip. i sau ysope, against an old
 that is gude to purge congelit² fleume of the lychtis.³ cough ;
 i sau mony vthir eirbis on thai fresche fragrant feil'dis. finkel, or fennel,
 ande als i sau mony landuart grumis pas to the corne fumitory,
 land to laubir there rustical ocupatione. al this be me broom,
 veil contemplit, ande beand contentit of that pleysand rushes,
 nyctis recreatione, i maid me redde to returne to the hyssop, which
 toune that i cam fra, to proceid in the compiling of my brings phlegm
 beuk. Bot morpheus that slepye gode, assailzeit al my from the lungs,
 membris, ande oppressit my dul melancolius nature, [* leaf 32 (54)]
 quhilk gart al my spreitis vital ande animal be cum and many other
 impotent & paraltic : quhar for on neid forse, i vas herbs.

28

Contented with his night's recreation, the author prepared to return to the compilation of his book, but he was overpowered with sleep,

¹ ame² congelis³ lychnis

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 een to
5 see gyf i culd leuk throucht my ee liddis. bot my ex-
periens vas sune expirit. for tua houris lang, baytht my
cene greu as fast to gyddir as thai hed bene gleuit vitht
glar or vitht gleu. i beand in this sad solitar soune
sopit in sleipe, ane hauy melancolius dreyme perturbit
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.

dreamed the fol-
lowing dream.

[*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 thoct
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 ruuyne that vas aperand to succumb hyr
20 haistyllye, in the maist extreme exterminatione. hyr
hayr, of the cullour of fyne gold, vas feltrit & traehlit
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 cam

² byr

³ vitht

this dolorus lady, vas ane ^{*}syde mantil that couurit al [* leaf 33 (55)]
 hyr body of ane meruelouse 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 hyr mantil, there vas mony precius her mantle (the
 stanis, quhar in ther vas grauit scheildis, speyris, 6 nobility),
 sourdis, bayrdit horse harnes, ande al vthir sortis of
 vaupynis ande munitions of veyr. in the middis of that the middle part
 mantil, there vas grauit in carrecters, beukis, ande (the spirituality),
 figuris, diuerse sciensis diuynne ande humain, vitht mony 10
 cheretabil actis ande supernatural miraclis. on the
 thrid part of that mantil, i beheld, brodrut about al hyr the lower part
 tail, al sortis of cattel ande profitabil beystis, al sortis (the commons).
 of cornis, eyrbis, plantis, grene treis, schips, marchant- 15
 dreis, ande mony politic verkmanlumis for mecanyc
 craftis. This mantil, quhilk hed bene maid & vrocht
 in ald tymys be the prudent predecessours of this fojr
 said lady, vas reuyn & raggit *in* mony placis, that This mantle was
 skantly mycht i persauie the storeis ande figuris that 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 (the nobility were
 in it, ande ane vthir part of ^{*}the schieldis & harnes [*leaf 33(55),back] degenerate),
 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 hyr
 mantil vas seperat fra vthirs, ande altrit fra the fyrst (the spirituality
 fassone, that na man culd extract ony profitabil sentens had left their
 nor gude exempil furtht of ony part of it. Nou to first fashion),
 speik of the thrid part of hyr mantil. it vas verst (the commons
 grathit, ande spylt be ane grit defferens nor vas the were abused worst
 tothir' tua partis of that mantil: for it aperit that al of all).
 the grene treis, cornis, bestialite, mecanyc craftis, ande 33
 schips, ande marchandreise, that hed bene curiouslye
 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 persaut 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 rason 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 persaut cummand touart hyr
 thre of hyr auen natie natural sonniss. 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 sonniss vas sittand in ane chair,
 beand clethd² in ane sydegoune, keband grite grauite,
 24 heffand ane beuk in his hand, the glaspis var fast lok-
 kyt vitht rouste. hyr zongest 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 complainynt. he tuke grite pane to ryise vp
 29 on his feit, bot he vas sa grenouslye ouer set be violens,
 that it vas nocht possibl til hym to stand rycht vp.

[* leaf 34 (56), baek]

Than quhen this lady persaut hyr thre sonniss in that
 langorius stait, sche began to reproche them inuetyuely
 33 of ther neclegenes, couardeis ande ingratitude vsit
 contrar hyr: the quhilk reproche sche pronuncit vitht
 mony dolorus suspiris, the quhilk be aperens procedit

The lady began to
 reproach them.

¹ i. e. beauty; so in *Lyndesay*.

² clehd

fra ane trublit spreit, desolat of consolacione, ande dis- 1
 parit of remede. than i beand in my sopit melancolius
 dreyme, i thoct that i inquirit of hyr stile, of hyr
 duelling place, & of the dolorus cause of hyr lamentabil
 regrettis. Sche ansuert vitht ane dolorouse conteneus, 5
 quod sche, my name is callit the affligit lady dame
 scotia. vthir tymis i haue tryumphit in gloir ande
 prosperite, bot nou aduerse fortune 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 mair 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.

*Nihil est
 tam mirabile
 quam ex beato
 effeci miser.
 Cic. part.
 ora.*

14

Persecuted by
 her foes,
 abandoned of her
 cowardly sons,

*Cari sunt
 [* leaf 35 (57)]
 liberi, pro-
 pinqui fami-
 liarcs, 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 somnis

³ in grat

Quhou the affligit Lady, Dame Scotia,
reprochit hyr thre Sonnis, callit
the Thre Estaitis of
Scotland.

CHAP. VIII.

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
utilitatis
aut salutis
desertor prop-
ter suam sa-
lutem aut
utilitatem.
Cic. de jini.*

have ye no
patriotism?

- 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, *and^e hes blyndit
3our ene fra the perspectione of 3our extreme ruuyne?
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, couuardeis, ande 3our ingratitude? allace,
quhy remembir 3e nocht that natur hes oblist 3ou til
14 auance the salute ande deffens of 3our public veil? ande
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 lital prisit, ande his lang liue dais les desirit
24 quhen ther procedis na frute of his laubirs bot for his
aueu singulair vtillite, ande nocht for the public veil.
allace, the natural loue of 3our natiue cuntre suld be
inseperablye rutit in 3our hartis, considerand that 3our

¹ path

lyuis, 3our bodeis, 3our habitatione, 3our frendis, 3our 1
 lyuynGIS, ande *sustentan, 3our hail, 3our pace, 3our [*leaf 36 (5S)]
 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 enforsis
 them nocht, at there pouer, to purches & til auance the
 public veil of there natiue cuntre, it beand distitut of
 supple, & desolat, throucht grite persecutione 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
 perfyty 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 viht there nebbis ande
 feit: the beiris, lyons, voluis, foxis, and dogis, vil deffende
 there cauerne & there quhelpis, viht 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,
 3e purches ande auancis my distructione for 3our par-
 ticular veil. My ald enemeis hes persecutit me outuarty
 in cruel veyris be fyir ande sourde; bot the veyr that
 3e mak inuarty contrar me, be auereise & ambitione, is
 mair cruel. my mortal enemeis purchessis to raif my 33
 liberte, ande to hald me in ane miserabil subiectione;
 bot 3e hald me in ane mair seruitude, be 3our disordinat
 neclegens ande couuardise. 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-
pugnans, vt
vulnera exci-
[*leaf 36(58),back]
pian, 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 alsa, 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 distructiōne. ande quhou be it of al thir particular onleifful consaitis that 3e haue vsit to saue
- 15 3ou fra the crualte of ingland, 3it the maist subtel nor the maist dissymilit of 3ou al is nocht saue ; for as sune as the inglis men dreymis that 3e haue failzet 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 practic 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
 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 hundreht of 3our enemeis,¹ & ane
 hundreht of 3ou sal chasse 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.

Pray to God, and
help yourselves.

3

*Ecce non est
 abbreviata
 manus domini
 vt saluare
 nequiat.
 Esaye 59.*

13

¶ 3e maye persauē be thir vordis of Esaye, that the
 scourge that hes affligit 3ou, is ane pu'nitione for 3our
 demeritis; ande also 3e maye persauē 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
 hes bene in dangeir of final exterminatione; 3it noch-
 theles gode of his grace hes restorit them eftiruart in
 ane mair abundand prosperite nor thai var of befor, fra
 tyme tha be cam obedient til his magestie. Quhar is
 there ane mair euidēt exempil nor is in the bibil in
 the fyrst beuk of the machabeis, quhou anthioeus kyng
 of sirrie, be vsurpatione ande tirranrye, subdeuit the
 cuntre of iuda ande the cite of ierusalem? he spulzeit

[* leaf 40 (60)]
 Ye have been
 scourged for your
 demerits.

Repent, and
prosper.

20

1 *Machabe. 2.*

Remember the
 example of the
 Maccabees.

27

¹ 3our renemies

- 1 the tempil, ande rest 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 descirtis for refuge ; for al ihe-
rusalem ande mekil of iuda vas put tyl extreme desola-
[*leaf 40 (60),back] tione. At that *tyme, ane man of Israel callit mata-
How Matathias thias, the neuo of Symeon the hie preist, vas sittand on
Machabeus
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
vepand for the desolatione of iuda ande iherusalem.
Ioseph' de Than matathias there father said to them, vanhap¹ be
anti. on me, allace that eyr i vas borne, to see the distruc-
Li. 12. c. 8. tione of my pepil, & the tribulatione of the holy cite of
18 iherusalem, quhilk is violentlye possest 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 praye 3ou to be 3elaturis of the lau of gode, ande to
sons, 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. eternal name. tak gode for 3our protector, ande 3e sal
Gene. 41. prosper. vas nocht oure father Abraham faythful in
[*leaf 41 (61)] temptacione, quhilk vas repute til hym for iusti'ce?
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. phinches oure foir father vas maid hie
preist of the tempil for the 3eil that he hed to the lau
Iosue. 1. of god. Iosue for the keping of his promis vas maid

¹ van hap

captan of Israel. Daudid, 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 fiue sonnys) ze may beleue, that
 fra generation to generacione, that al thai that puttis
 there hope in god sal nocht be distroyit. quhen mata- *and Judas was*
 thias hed endit his miserabil and piteous regret, in *stirred up to*
 presens of his fiue sonnys, than his thrid sone, callit *deliver Israel.* *11*
 Iudas machabeus, past athort the montanis and desertis,
 and gaddyryt to giddyr 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- *[*leaf 41 (61),back]*
 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 tirraus. There is *25*
 ane vthir exempil of gedeon, in the tyme of the cruel *Gideon also.*
 oppression that the kyng of madian did on the pepil of
 Israel. gedeon, vitht thre hundretht men, discumfeist *Judicum 8.*
 ane hundretht and tuenty 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 persaue, that quhar
 the grace of god and the vertu of men ar coniunit to
 giddir, there is no leiful thing onpossibil to be exsecut. *35*

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-
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,
vitht ten thousand men, discumfeist al kyng darius
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
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 rehersis; and also he
brocht sa mony schipis to grece vitht al ordonnance,
quhilkis closit al the reucirs, 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
thousand persuns betuix tua hillis. 3it nochtheles,¹ the
remanent of his gryt armye past til athenes, quhilkis
var reddy to be randrit til xerxes, throucht the coun-
sel of ane prince of athenes callit circisus, quha hed
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, &
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 eyrsilus 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 escharmouchis and incur-
 sions, quhil that exerxes and his gryt armye var con- Themistocles.
 stren3eit to depart fra grece. of this sort god turnit the 15
 hazard of fortune, 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 hundretht thousand men, 20
 purposit til vsurpe the dominione of al grece ; bot fra
 the tyme that the greikis accordit among 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-
 carlye, and of al Normandye, 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 paciable,
 and vsit there 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 Balzol 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 pachebil place. he tint threttyne battellis contrar inglismen: but were driven out 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 ordour, vitht gryt confusion til our ald enemis. Be thir exemplis 3e maye evidently persauie, 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 innocentis til ane guide stait. *Ad generum cereris sine cede & vulnere pauci descendunt reges, & sicca mortetiranni. Iuuenal.* 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
 Ambition and tyranny meet their doom,
 [* leaf 44 (64)]
 as in Queen Semiramis, cuntrays, and eftiruart hes tint there auen cun'tray, and there self hes maid ane euil end. The queen semeramis vas nocht contentit vitht sirrie and babillon,
- 23 bot sche vald pas to mak veyre contrar ethiope and 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. Mithridates vas nocht content of his auen realme of pont, bot vald pas in batel contrar the romanis. he dred neuyr to dee bot
- 30 he poyson, quhair for⁷ he bure ay apon hym tuenty leyuis of reu, tua kymellis of nutis, & tua feggis, and ane lytil quantite of salt, the quhilkis he mixt al to gidder, and thai mixtions he eit euyrie daye vitht ane fastan stomak, to keip hym fra poysonyng. that confectione vas callit to name eftiruart, antidotum mitri-
- Regemen mitridates contra venenum.*

¹ beruic 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 Macclon,
 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 lyntht² 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 ruayne of Bocchas.
 nobillis, thai sal fynd al cruel vsurpatours of vthir cun-
 treis mak ane mischeuous ende. There for i hope in
 god that vitht in schort days the protectour of ingland,
 and his cruel counsel, sal be put in the croniklis in as
 abhominabil stile as vas philaris, dionysius, nero, cal-
 lugala, or domician, the quhilkis maid ane mischeuous 27
 ende, for the violent inuasions of vthir princis cuntreis
 but ony iust titil.

¹ tsiat² noht

[leaf 45 (65)]

The Actor declaris quhou the Englismen
gifis hanc credens to the prophesies
of Merlyne.

CHAP. X.

Civitates a maioribus civitatibus velud populorum caraminibus condite, 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 prene 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 oratourly to persuaid 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

15 ardant desyr to se it cum til effect. The tenor of the

[*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 prophesies of Merlin,

25 phesie of ysaye, Ezechiel, Ieremie, or to the euangel: the

who has predicted this union.

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

¹ torian

² vaticuaris

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 6
 hes doutsum and duobil expositionis. 3it nochtelies i
 hope in god that the rycht sens of there prophane pro-
 phesyе sal be ful'fillit in this generacione, and that
 inglismen sal get there desire to there perpetual confu-
 sione. the inglismen exponis the prophesyе of merlyne 11
 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 apollo to the vrang sens, quhen
 the cruel veyris vas betuix hym and cirus kyng of pers 18
 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. 24
 Appollo gauе 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 signifeis to distroye, and it
 signifieis to tyne, it is vritin in the fyft psalme of 29
 Daud, 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 34
 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 pro-
 phesy will be ful-
 filled in a differ-
 ent way from that
 which they expect.

[* leaf 46 (66)]

The Jews inter-
 preted the pro-
 phesy of Caiaphas
 to their own
 condemnation.

Cresus misin-
 terpreted the
 response of

the oracle
 of Apollo at
 Delphos.

"If Cresus cross
 the Almis he
 will destroy
 mighty king-
 doms,"

Psalm v. 6.

[* leaf 46 (66), bk]

*Cresus per-
 det almi
 transgressa*

*maxima
regna.*

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 interpretatione of the ansuer of appollo; for he considerit nocht that perdet vas ane verb
- 8 equiuocum, quhilk hed ane expositione of ambiguite.

It happened similarly to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus,

- There is ane syklik exémpil of pirrus kyng of eporite, that past to the oracle of appollo til inquire 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 eftyruart,

[* leaf 47 (67)]

and to Ferrand, Earl of Flanders.

Augure is, ane person that tellis of thyngis that ar to cum, throucht the iugement that thai haue of birdis voeis, & of ther fleing

- for the romanis venquest kyng pirrus, and chaissit hym furtht of Italie. There is ane vthir exémpil of ferrand erl of Flanderis, quha maid mortal veyr contrar the kyng¹ of France. he, his mother and his vyfe, past til ane augure in holland, til inquire 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 applyit 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

So may it be with these prophesies of Merlin,

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 monarehe vndir ane prince in this generacione, conformand til ane prophesie that i haue red in the inglis chronykis, in ane beuk callit poliehornicon, the quhilk prophesie sais, that ingland sal be first conqueist be the deynis, and syne be the saxons, and thirdly be the Normandis; and there last conqueissing sal be conquest be the scottis,² quhome 12
 inglismen haldis maist vile; and fra that tyme furtht, ingland and scotland sal be bot ane monarehe, and sal lyue vndir ane prince; and sa inglis men sal get there prophesie fulfillit to there auen miseheif.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 *Poly-chronicon*,

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
 practikynt ane crafty dissait
 contrar Valis and Orland.

CHAP. XI. [AND XII.]

THIR vordis befor rehersit (O ze my thre sonniss) These words
 suld prouoke zou to tak curaige; ther for i vald ought to arouse
 that hope of victoree var augmentit, & dreed var your courage.
 'banest fra zou. vald ze al perpend your iust defens and
 querrel, than hardines⁵ and euraige vald returne vitht in 21

[* leaf 53 (68)]

¹ prophesels

² scottis

³ mischeif

⁴ hee

⁵ lirdines

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 (6S), 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 viht 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 tyranye, and
the maist part of thay tirran kyngis that hes succedit
of that fals blude hes beene 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 tuenty 3eirs, and syne ther eftir he vas
baⁿest, and eftir that kyng eduard vas gart dee meser-
abye 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 viht 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 beene 3our ald mortal

¹ eugestes

² rythtens

³ de

⁴ ryht

⁵ menteme

enemes tuelf hundretht 3eiris by past, makand cruel
 veir contrar 3our predecessours be fyir and suerd, dayly
 distroyand 3our feildis, villagis and buroustounis, vytht
 ane ferme purpos to denud scotland fra 3our genera- 4
 tione; and there vas neuer faitht nor promes kepit be
 them, bot aye quhen 3e beleifit til hef hed maist sure
 pace betuix 3ou and them, than thai lay at the vatch,¹ laying wait
 lyik the ald subtil doggis, bydand quhil conspiratione against you,
 or discentione suld ryes amang 3ou. than be there [* leaf 54 (69).]
 austuce and subtilite thai² furnest vitht money baitht
 the parteis aduersaris to slay doune vderis, quhilk vas taking advantage
 ane redy passage to gar them conqueis our realme of your dis-
 vithtout straik or battel, throcht the occasion of the sensions;
 social ciuil and intestyne veyre that rang sa cruelly 14
 throucht our cuntry. Valerius maximus rehersis 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
 prestis of there tempil, eftir the consuetude of there 28
 lau. than alcibiades 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.

¹ vacht ² rhrai 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 ;
 for gif athenes be conquest be the lacedemoniens, than
 the lacedemoniens sal be superiors of al greice ; and fra
 tyme that thai be pacibil gouernours 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 alld
 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 lace-
 demoniens, and that sal gar al the cun'trey of greice
 hef perdurabil veyr amang them selfis, and than kyng
 darius may eysily conqueis greice, vitht litil dommage
 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 fiue hundretht twenty
 foure 3eris : he professit hym self to be neutral, bot 3it
 35 he furnest the empriour vitht sex thousand fut men,

Then, by advice
of Alcibiades,

[* leaf 55 (70)]

he subsidized the
Athenians also,

and so had his
purposes served
by both parties.

So Henry VIII.
professed neu-
trality between
Charles V. and
Francis IV.,

¹ mytht

² menteme

³ Frêce

and tua hundredth 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 auent 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 deffait 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 baylht 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
 samyn is manifest, quhou that the kyngis of ingland
 hes bene mair solist to hef pace & fauoir of scotland, The English
 quhen iustice & concord gouernit the thre estaitis of kings have been
 scotland, nor tyl hef hed the fauoir & pace of al the glad enough to
 riche realmis that the empriour possessis. and in oppo- have peace with
 sit, quhen the kyngis of ingland persauis discord, dis- Scotland, when
 centione, ciuil veyris, iniusteis & diuisione, vitht in it was united
 scotland, than thai forgit³ fenzet querrellis contrar our and strong ;
 realme, in hope that ilk scottis man sal be mortal
 enemye til his nyctbour. Quhar for i exort zou 30
 my thre sonnys, that ze be delegend to remeide 3our
 abusions of the tymis by past, quhilk sal neuir cum til
 effect bot gyf that ze remoue & expel discentione, dis-
 cord and hatrent that ringis amang zou ; for gyf ze be
 enemeis to 3our selfis, than quhy suld the kyngis of
 ingland be accusit quhen thai intend veyris contrar zou,
 considerant that thai hef bene eyr 3our ald enemeis ? 35

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 & faythful accord in deffens of the said castel contrar externe violens? this veil considrit, suld be occasione to gar you expel hatrent, diuisione, & auaricius lyffing furth of your hartis, & also it suld prouoke you to remembir of the nobil actis of your foir fathers & predecessours, quha deffendit this realme be there vailzeantnes, & also reducit there liberte, quhilk vas ane lang tyme in captiuite, be the machination of your ald enemes, as ye may reid in diuersis passis of your cronikillis. And sen ye knau² that god hes schauen sic fa'voir to your foirbearis, throcht the quhilk thai hef venqueist thair enemes, and brocht the realme, be visdome & manhede, in sykkyr pace, quhou beit thai var onequal, baytht in nummer & puissance, to your ald enemes, ye suld mak ane mirrou of there nobil actis; for sen ye knau³ that your ald enemes hes intendit to conqueis & to subdiu you to there dominione, nocht throcht there manhede & visdome, bot rather throcht the discentione that ringis among you, ye suld schau you verteous & vailzeant in your rycht⁴ defence. for quhen ye ar in accord, & lyuis in tranquillite, your ald enemes sendis ther imbassadours⁵ 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 riches that thai posses, the mair schame redondis to them, & the mair gloir is youris, sen thai hef beene venquist be you diuerse tymes, quhome thai held maist vile and febil. and nou, sen ye knau the apering dangeir of your natif cuntre, ye suld prudently consult to escheu al dangeir; and to begyn sic gude ordour, ye suld prouide al vays to remoue discentione, sedetione,

¹ feyr ² knau ³ knau ⁴ rytht ⁵ imbassadpurs ⁶ mytht

and auaricius lyffying, quhilk may induce hatrent, inuy 1
 and rancor amang 3ou, to that effect that ilk persone
 may lyf eysylve on his auen iust conques, and that [* leaf 57 (72)]
 Remove from
 among you in-
 justice and
 extortion.
 none of the realme hef occasione to do extorsions til
 vthyris; for sic gude pollycie, veil ordorit, sal cause
 the cuntre to increse in gloir, honour and reches, and
 dreddor to 3our enemes, quaha ar verray solist and 7
 vigilant to conques 3ou. ther prouisione of diuerse sortis
 is vonder grit, nocht alanerly be gryt multitude of men
 of veyr, and ane grit nauen of schipis be seey burde,
 bot as veil be secret machinatione to blynd 3ou be
 auereis, presentand to 3ou gold, siluyr, and grit pro-
 messis of heretagis, to persuaid 3ou to commit traizon 13
 contrar 3our faitht, honour and comon veil, quhilk is
 ane rycht passage to bring 3ou and 3our posterite til
 ane vile & final exterminacione. vald 3e maturly con-
 sydir the subtilite of inglismen, 3e sal fynd them aper-
 and faithtful and humain in thair aduersite; bot quhen
 thai ar in prosperite, thai ar ingrat tirrans and cruel
 abuf al vdir natione. Och! quhou dangerus is it til 20
 ony sort of pepil til hef ane cruel tirran ryngand abuf
 them: and to eschaip sic tyranny 3our forbears hes
 debatit 3our cuntre this mony 3eir is be grit manhede
 and visdo^me, quhou beit it vas in dangeir to be in final
 euersione. the croniklis vil certifie 3ou quhou that¹ 3our 25
 nobil predecessours and foir bears var slane, and the
 comont pepil brocht to vile seruitude ane lang tyme be
 the saxons blude. and 3it sic calamite and persecucion
 indurit bot for ane tyme. for god almychty,² that
 knauis 3our iust defens, hes euer schauen gryt fauoir
 touart 3ou, therfor 3e suld tak curage in 3our iust quer- 31
 rel. 3e hef no cause³ to dispayr for falt of supple, for
 3our predecessours hes been in mair dangeir quhen 3our
 strynthis and castellis hes nocht been sa defensabil, nor
 3it the cuntre heffand supple of na forane prince. It is 35

Your enemies
 have a great
 army and navy;

they are tyrants,
 and cruel above
 all other nations.

How your fore-
 fathers resisted
 the tyranny

[* leaf 57 (72), bk]

and slavery of
 the Saxons!

They were harder
 pressed than
 you are,

¹ thae

² almythty

³ cause

- 1 tideous to rehers the grit calamiteis, the sair battellis,
and the cruel slauchtyr that vas cruelly exsecutit on
and subjected
for 40 years;
scottis¹ men; and to conclude, al the cuntre vas in ex-
treme subiectione fourty zeirs, and possess be our ald
enemes. But nochtheles, god almychty² valknit vitht
6 his grace the hartis of 3our predecessours, as he did to
sampsoun, Daid, and iudas macchabeus, contrar the
enemes of Israel, quhair for al 3our cuntre vas delyuerit
but God de-
livered them.
fra captiuite, to the grit damage of reches, and effusione
[* leaf 58 (73)]
of blude on 3our ald enemes. 3e vait 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
Your enemies
would not again
have troubled
you had not your
discord opened
the way.
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 reddly passage to them throcht the occasione of 3our
auen discentions that ryngis amang 3ou. ther for it is
Reflect before
your ruin be
final,
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,
your property
seized.
and 3e sal *be compellit to laubir the naikyt feildis
vitht 3our auen handis to there proffet. 3e sal nocht
alanerly be iniurit be euil vordis, bot als 3e sal be
35 violently strykkyn in 3our bodeis, quharfor 3e sal lyf in

¹ scottis² almythty³ thai 3eal⁴ trefcheris⁵ 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 parliament 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
 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,
 but iust titil, gottin dominatione on vthir cuntreis, than
 in the begynnyng thai haue tretit and flatterit the
 principal inhabitans, 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
 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 tarquinius 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 vail3eantly.
 his sone sextus tarquinius vas in grit melancolye be
 cause his father culd nocht conques 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 subieet to that cite in perpetual.³ the 35

Bear in mind the
Burns of Agr,

where Edward I.
 murdered sixteen
 score of your
 leaders.

Foreign con-
 querrors are ever
 deceitful and
 cruel:

[* leaf 59 (74)]

Titus liuius
Libro. 1.

witness the case
 of Tarquin the
 proud, when
 making war
 against Gabini.

¹ rytht

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 *can* 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, de-
syrand 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
vitht 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 vitht 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 con-
trar hym. of this sort the nobil cite of gabine vas dis-

26 auit 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 iijj to giddir, and als that nane of them sal cum vitht in the mane cuntre of ingland vitht out ane certificat fra the se[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 subieet 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 resauit 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 resauit 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[l]f of them cun to london, quaha cam at his command, be cause thai dreid na cruelte. than incontinet he gart strik the hedis fra the said tuelf lordis of irland. and sen sine al the irland men ar sklauis til hym, exce pand ane certan that kepis them sel on the strait montanis of irland, quhilkis vil nocht obeye to his tyrране, 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 3our predecessours, is manifest to 3ou al. the chro•niklis makis

Even though the present king of England is of Welsh descent,

4

[¹ rher]

the Welsh are subjected to all kinds of oppression.

12

[* leaf 60 (75), bk]

17

So have the English oppressed Ireland;

23

of which the chief men have been beheaded, and the people enslaved;

30

except those that have found refuge in the wilds.

35

[* leaf 61 (76)]

King Edward
overran Scotland
and compelled
your forefathers
to render
homage.

He invaded
Scotland with
100,000 men,

bringing one
Conradus, 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 þour 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 hundreht thou-
7 sand men, and als he brocht¹ ane freir vitht hym callit
conradus, the quhilk freir hed commissiõne to mak
ane chronikil of the actis that kyng eduard and his
hundreht t[h]ousand men suld do in scotland. this
said grit armye of ingland beand befor bannocheburne,
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
inglismen 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 leccens to pas in ony straynge

¹ brocht

² scottis

cuntre to seik ther gude auenture. This cruel ordi- 1
 ance vas maid in the kyng of ingland campt befor ban-
 nochtburne.¹ he beleifit at that tyme that al vas his
 auen. 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 chassit hym self thre scoir of mylis vitht in
 ingland. *And in ther returnyng hamuart, thai vaistit
 and brynt northt humyrland and mony vthir plaicis of 11
 ingland. this battel vas fochtyn at bannochburne,³ as
 the inglis croniklis rehersis mair large. then quhan the
 tentis, pailzons, & spoulze of the inglis armye vas tane
 & gaddrit vp be scottis men, thai gat the forsaid inglis
 freir conraldus vithtin kyng eduardis tent, & als thai
 gat 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
 vsit there auen arrogant mynde; therfor their gryt
 pouer hed na grace to fulfil ther entreprice. this ex-
 empil is vondir probabil that inglismen vil vse this
 samyn crualte on zou al, gif sa beis that ze cum subiect
 to them. ze knau that thir tuelf hundretht zeirs thai leit
 zou neuyr hef pace xvi zeir to giddir, bot zit ther 25
 tyranye redondit aye to their auen dishonestye and
 damage. and quhou beit at sum tyme zour cuntre gat
 grit skaytht be them, sic thing suld nocht gar zou tyne
 zour curagis, for the chancis of veir ar nocht certan to
 na party. ⁴al thir vordis befor said ar rehersit, to that
 effect that zour facilnes be nocht sedusit be ther astuce
 and subtil persuasions. Titus liuius rehersis ane ex-
 empil in his nynt beuk conformand to this samyn
 purpos, quhilk vas eftir the fundatione of rome 420
 zeris. 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 pu-
 gnarum
 marsque est
 communis qui
 sepe spolian-
 tem iam &
 exultantem*
 [* leaf 62 (77), bk]
*euertit &
 perentit ab
 abiecto.
 Cice. pro
 milo.*

¹ bannothburne

² almythty

³ bannothburne

⁴ CHAP. XII., not distinguished in the original, should probably begin here.

Titus Livius
Lib. 9.

callit titus viterius, and the tothyr callit spurinus¹ posthumus, quha 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 herceneus, quha vas exempit fra the veyris, and fra the

Valerius
maximus.
Libro 7.

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

How the Roman
army was shut
up by the Sam-
nites in the nar-
row pass of the
Caudine Forks.

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

[* leaf 63 (78)]

18 ane place callit calacia. than pontius the captan of the samnetis causit ten of his knychtis to cleiht 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 apuilya 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, quha 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 command; to the quhilk vordis the romans gef credit, be rason that thai al beand ane be ane examinit² condis-

Hanc hi-

¹ spurnius

² exāmit

cendit in ane ansuer. than¹ the romans heffand sic ane *storiā cor-*
 feruent loue to the cite of lucere, quhilk vas of their an- *roborat.*
 ciant alya, thai raisit ther camp to pas to reskeu lucere *Titus liuius*
 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 blythtnes 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 ^[* leaf 64 (79)]
 samnetes gyf the romans thier fre liberte to pas hame
 saue, vitht out hurt of ther honour, bodys or guidis. *How the Sam-*
 the armye of the samnetes nocht beand satesfit nor *nites consulted*
 contentit of this ansuer of herenius, thai send the mes- *what they should*
 senger agane til hym til hef ane bettir consel. than ald *do with their*
 herenius send ane vthir ansuer, and bald them slaye al ³⁵ *captives.*

¹ than² lutere³ displeseir

- 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, zit 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 herinyus changit nocht his tua
fyrst consellis that he hed send to them: bot zit he de-
clarit 'to them the cause of thyr tua defferent consellis,
17 sayand; my sone pontius, and 3e my frendis of sannete,
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
sannete. the tothir consel that i send to 3ou, i ordand
3ou 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-
32 sellis is necessar to be vsit, and the thrid consel can
nocht be gifin to 3ou for 3our veilfair. than pontius and
the princis of sannete nocht beand contentit of thir tua
consellis, inquiryit at ald herenyus, sayand, ve think it

The two counsels
of Herenius

[* leaf 64 (79), bk]

are disregarded

and a middle
course chosen.

¹ aneucht

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 maneysr 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 answer, 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 resauit 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.
that 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 follouit 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 perpetrat
contrar¹ the romans, vas verray cruel : bot doubtles, thai
that ar participant of the cruel inuasione 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 subiectione. this pro-
tector of ingland purposit til vse this samyn crualte in
the 3eir of god ane thousand fyfe² hundretht forty
seuyn 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
subiectione 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 chaisit the
thrid part of them ten myle vithtin ingland: and ther
eftir the barronis & gentil men of oure vest cuntre gat
the inglismens spulze, vitht in the quhilk *spulze 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 iourney.
Than to quhat effect suld ony scottis men gif credens,
or til adhere til inglesmen? our croniklis rehersis 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 pietie

as King Edward
hanged 16 score
of his adherents
at the Barns of
Ayr.

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,

but he was
repulsed,

and among the
spoil
[* leaf 67 (82)
were found two
barrels full of
halters, each with
a loop ready
made to receive
its victim.

Many Scotsmen
have gone into
England, for
poverty, &c.

¹ brocht ² fyfe ³ doumlanrik ⁴ lyncht ⁵ lyne ⁶ resanit

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 fyfitye 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 veyris, 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 anthonius.⁵ than be the supple of rhymirales, agustus

35

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 Caesar did Rhymirales;

¹ mentcmis

² menteime

³ rytlit

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
 scottis men that beleuis to get mair liberte and honor
 in ingland nor thai did in scotland ; for this exempil
 hes been pretykit 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
 trason that scottis men committis contrar ther prince,
 3it he louis nocht the tratours that committis the
 trason.

he loved the
 treason that
 suited his
 purpose—not
 the traitor.

[* leaf 68 (83), lk]

22

¹ antoni'

Quhou the affligit lady declaris til hyr thre
 sonnys that the familiarite that is betuix inglis
 men & scottis men in ane pace warld¹ 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,

THERE is no thing that is occasione (O ze my thre
 sonnys) of your adhering to the opinione of ingland
 contrar your 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 reputis 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

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.

¹ so original; probably misread for *baith* in MS.

³ so original.

⁴ nyttbours

² *morcattis*

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 indifferant as is the nature of scheip and

voluis.¹ quintus cursius rehersis, that darius kyng of

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-

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 sonnys and

tua munys can be at one tyme to giddir in the firma-

ment. This exempil may be applyit to ingland and

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 sonnys and tua munys 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

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

of ingland saue conduct, nor inglis men til entir on

scottis grond vitht out the kyng of scotlandis saue con-

duct, quhou beit that there var sure pace betuix the

5

They are as unlike as sheep and wolves. Darins offered Alexander six mules' burden [* leaf 69 (84), bk] of gold, to live at peace with him ;

Alexander answered that they could no more exist together than two suns or two moons in the heavens.

17

It is equally impossible for Englishmen and Scotchmen to live under one sovereign.

There ought therefore to be no familiarity between them.

26.

The old laws of the Marches forbade any dealings between England and Scotland,

[* leaf 70 (85)]

33

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 parlying 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 sewyn 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 vitht in the
7 realme of scotland. and sic familiarite hes been the cause that the kyng of ingland gat intellegens vitht 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 vitht there
12 enemeis. ther is ane ald prouerb that says, that ane herand damysele, and ane spekand castel, sal neuyr end vitht 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 comyng vitht 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 vitht there enemeis, nor to get battel. for fra tyme that thai gat familiarite and
26 comonyng vitht 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 vitht ane fresche armye

of men of veir, and also he tuik vitht hym ane riche 1
 quantite of gold and siluyr, cunzet & oncunzet. than passed into
 his frendis reprochit hym be cause his entreprice aperit Italy with great
 to be vane, rather nor to procede of ane prudent & store of gold and
 mortifet consait. iugurtha ansuert til his frendis, quod 5 silver;
 he, my forse is nocht sufficient to conques rome, bot
 nochtheles,¹ gif *that i can purches secret familiarite & [* leaf 71 (86)]
 intelligens vitht sum of the romans that hes authorite, believing
 i beleif to venques them vitht gold and syluyr rathere
 nor vitht forse of men of veyr, for euyrie thing is to sel everything to be
 in rome for monye : ther for i dout nocht bot i sal gar venal at Rome.
 them sel there liberte for gold, for the auariese that is Avarice makes
 among the romans vil gar ilk ane betraise vthers. Thir one betray
 vordis of iugurtha makkis manifest that there is nay another.
 thing that bringis ane realme to ruyne sa sune and sa 15
 redy as dois the familiarite that the pepil hes vitht
 there enemeis, throucht the quhilk familiarite there is
 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 3it i am sure that as
 sune as the lordis of the counsel hes determinit ony guide
 purpos for the deffens & veilfair of the realme, incon-
 tinent vitht in twenty houris there eftir, the sammyn
 counsel is vitht in the toune of beruik, & vitht in thre
 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 redy contrar *our
 purpos, or ve begyn to exsecut the counsel that vas
 determinit. It var verray 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

There is some
 traitor that
 reveals the
 secret plans of
 the Scottish
 Council to the
 King of England.

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
 [* leaf 71 (86), bk]
 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.

¹ notwithstanding² bernik

They have not
the heroism of
Pompeius and
Quintus
Metellus.

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
reucil the secret of the senat to the enemes of rome.

*Valerius
maximus.
Lib. 3. c. 3.*

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, quaha vas mortal enemye¹
to the romans: the said kyng genthius coniurit, per-
12 suadit, solistit, and also he manneist nobil pompeus to
reucil the secret counsel of the senat. pompeus behald-

he put his finger
in the fire and
[² leaf 75 (87)]
suffered it to
burn away,
to show that
no torment could

and his onrasonabil request, he pat his fingar in the
heyt fyir,² and tholit it to birn; and be the 'tolterance
and paciens of that cruel pane, genthius kneu that there
vas na torment that culd gar pompeus reucil the secret
of the senat. bot allace, there is sum men that knauis
the secret of scotland that vil reucil 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 deuisit ane subtil consait to desauce 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

*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
Trebia,

he formed a
secret plan to
throw the
Celtiberians off
their guard.

¹ enemye

² fyit

³ maxim'

⁴ quhilki is

commotione of his army vp and down, vas nocht knauen 1
 be none of his men of veyr, nor 3it 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 birn 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 errour, eftir diuerse turnand coursis
 athourcht¹ the euntre, 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
 dissimulatione, and be the keping of his counsel secret By keeping his
 fra his frendis and fra al vtheris, he conquest the said secret, he gained
 toune. vald god that the counsel and deliberatione of his object;
 scotland var keptit as secret as metellus keptit his secret would God
 fra his men of veyr, than doutles the inglis men vald Scotsmen could
 nocht be so bold. There is na thing that is cause that do the same!
 the counsel of ingland gettis sa haisty aduertessing of 20
 the priuitate that is among the lordis of scotland, bot
 the vice of auareis that hes blyndit the raison, & hes But avarice has
 infekkit the hartis of diuers grit men of scotland. the infected diverse
 the 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 3e my thre sonniss) i exort 3ou to tak ex- cannot be faithful.
 empil of diuerse nobil men that culd neuir be seducit
 nor persuadit to tak gold nor reches fra there enemeis. Take example
 There is ane exempil of allexander kyng of macedon, from those noble
 quha hed mortal veyr contrar the grekis. he sende ane men who could
 riche present extendant til thre scoir of thousandis not be seduced by
 peces of gold, til ane nobil man of athenes callit gold!
 phosion, ane man heffand gret autorite in athenes. 32
 Such was
 Phocion
 of Athens,

¹ athourcht

who refused the
gold of Alexander,

[* leaf 76 (88), bk]

lest it should
corrupt his
virtue.

Let your regard
for the common
weal precede
private interest.

- 1 Than phosion said to the inbassadours of kyng allex-
ander, *quod* he, my frendis, for quhat cause hes kyng
allexander sende this riche present of gold to me alan-
erly, ande hes sende na thing to the remanent of the
lordis of athenes? The inbassadour ansuert, our master
kyng allexander hes sende 3ou this present of gold, be
7 raison that he hes iugit 3ou to be the maist nobil ande
maist verteous abufe al them of athenes. phosion
ansuert, gyf that kyng allexander hes iugit me to be of
grit prudens ande vertu, 3e sal praye hym to thole me
to remane prudent & verteous. for gyf i tak his present
of gold, than i *am nothir prudent nor verteous, for
there is no thyng mair repungnant¹ to prudens nor vertu,
nor quhen ane person resauis gold or reches fra his
enemee. there for 3e sal tel to 3our master kyng allex-
16 ander, that he sal nocht corrupt me vitht gold, nor
venqueis me in battel, nor 3it he sal conqueis na thing
in grece bot sa mekil eird as vil be sepulturis til his
men of veyr. this *exempil* makkis manifest, that quhen
ane prince presentis gold ande siluyr to the subiectis of
21 his enemei, doutles his intentione is to seduce them to
conspire ande to betraise there natiue cuntre. quhar for
i exort 3ou (my thre sonn²) that 3e detest auerese,
ambicion, ande traision, ande that 3e gar 3our solistnes
of the deffens of 3our comont veil preffer the solistnes
of 3our particular veil: for quhen 3our particular veil is
27 spulzeit or hurt be 3our enemeis, it maye be remedit be
3our comont veil. ande in opposit, gyf 3our comont veil
be distroyt, than it sal neuyr be remedit be 3our par-
ticular veil, for 3our particular veil is bot ane accessor
of 3our comont veil, ande the accessor follouis the natur
of the prencipal. *accessorium sequitur naturam*
33 *sui prencipalis*.

¹ regungnant

² sonn^{is}

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

CHAPTER XIII.

THER is ane exempil, quhou that eftir the dolorus
 battel of cannes, quhilk i hef oft rehersit of be-
 foir, quhar that the nobil counsul emilius paulus
 vas slane viht xiiii thousand of the maist nobillis of
 italie, quhen that annibal send to cartage thre muis of
 gold ryngis, quhilkis he hed gottin on the fingaris of
 the maist nobil romans that var slane, for ane testi-
 monial of his grit victorie. and eftir this dolorus battel,
 diurse citeis and castellis of Italie randrit them to an-
 nibal, sum be compulsion, and sum be fre vil, be cause
 that thai var disparit that the romans culd euer hef
 pouer to resist the cartagiens, & sum of them randrit
 them be trason for monye that thai resaut fra annibal,
 as did the nobil cite of capee : zit noctheles inconstant
 foirton alterit the prosperite of the cartagiens, quhilk
 vas occasione that the romans be grit vailzeantnes re-
 couerit & conquest diurse of ther auen tounis and
 castellis fra annibal, quhilk vas grit blythnes to sa mony
 tounis and castellis that vas onconquest be annibal.
 And als it vas as ongrit blythnes to sa mony castellis
 and tounis quhilkis hed randrit them be trason to anni-
 bal. than thir nobil romans heffand grit affectione to be
 reuengit on annibal for the grit slauchtir committit at
 cannes, past viht ane armye of xxxiii legions befor the
 toune of cape, and be grit industrie thai maid tua lang
 depe fosses about al the toune in sic ane sort, that nane
 of the men of veyr of cape culd ische furtht bot gif thai

How after the
 battle of Cannæ,

many Italian
 cities surrendered
 to the Carthagi-
 nians;

12

among others
 Capua.

[* leaf 77 (89), bk]

18

23

How Capua was
 recaptured by the
 Romans.

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

How the town
 was put to sack,

and the chief
 traitors punished.

¹ munydiens

² nummir

³ mycht

⁴ behynd

iustice on the remanent. he beand ther aryuit, he gart 1
bryng furtht the presoners to be iustificet. at that samyn

instant hour, the senat ande faders conscript of rome
send ane post in message vitht ane closit vryting to
fulnius flaccus, chargeand hym to be mercyful, and
nocht ouer rigorus in exsecutione of his iustice. he hef- 6

and suspitione of the contineu of ther vrytingis, and als
heffand ane feruent affectione to puneis tratours, he re-
sautt the vryting in his kar hand, and vald nocht apin
it nor reid it quhil the boreau hed strikyn the heydis
fra the presoneris of calles quhilkis hed conspyrit con-
trar capes. this exsecutione of iustice beand endit, he 12

apnit the vrytingis, and eftir that he hed red the con-
tineu of it, he said to the post, my frend, this vryting
is cum ouer lait and behynd the hand. of this sort the
tratours of capes var punest; for this nobil consul ful-
uius flaccus gart sla 25 of the maist nobillis of capes. 17

Siklik gif ther be ony of the tounis, villagis, or castellis
of scotland, that hes randrit them to be subiectis til
ingland be trason, i vald god that fuluius flaccus var
diligat iuge to puⁿeis them as he punest the conspira-
tours of capes; for the forsaid fuluius¹ flaccus gat as
grit commendatione for the extreme iustice that he gart 23
exsecut on tresonabil tratours, as he gat for his vail-
zeantnes quhen he conquest the toune of capes fra
annibal.

¶ Ther is ane vdir exempil of the punitione of
tratours, as thucidides the historien greik rehersis in the
xv cheptor of his fyrst beuk, quhen pausanias, quha
hed commissioun of the armye of the lacedemoniens,
quhen he past to defend hellespont, he vas depriuit of 31
that dignite, be cause he hed intelligens vitht the
enemeis of greice. than he beand depriuit, he of ane
profond maleis departit fra lacedemonia, and gart the
pepil beleif at his departing, that his purpos vas to pas 35

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

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

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

How Pausanias
entered into
treasonable
correspondence
with Xerxes,

¹ fulvius

- 1 to hellespont to be ane sodionr for the deffens of that
 cuntre, be rason it vas ane of the subiectis of greice¹.
 bot notheles his purpos vas to pas to the kyng of meid,
 quha vas mortal eneme to al greice, in hope to conueen
 and accord vitht the said kyng of meid contrar the
 6 greikis. than to mak his traison mair patent, he send
 ane certan of presoners of meid to the kyng, and he
 [* leaf 79 (91), bk] gart the bruit gang that thai presoneris hed *eschaipit
 & brokyn the presen contrar his vil, the quhilk preson-
 eirs he had conquest of befor furtht of the cite of bizante,
 quhen the kyng of meid hed left them in garnison to
 kep the said cite fra the grekis ; & also he vreit ane
 and wrote him
 the following
 letter.
 lettir to the kyng of meid, as eftir follouis.
- 14 ¶ Pausanias duc of spart, to the kyng xerxes salut.
 i hef send to the thir presoners, the quhilk i hef con-
 quest in fair and honest veyris, contrar the quhilk pre-
 sent i hef send to the to that effect that i maye conques
 thy loue & thy fauoir ; and als i am of ane intentione
 19 to spouse thy dochtir, gif it be thy pleseir : therefor,
 gif thou vil consent to this mariage, i sal put al greice
 in thy subiectione ; the quhilk i can do rycht² eysylie,
 sa that i can hef intelligence & familiarite vitht the.
 quhar for, gif thou be content of my desyre, thou sal
 24 send ane of thy maist familiaris, to communicat mair
 ample of this byssynes. Quhen exerxes hed red this
 vryting of pausanias, he send ane ansuer in vreit vitht
 ane of his familiar frendis callit artabasus, to quhome
 he gef commissione til accord vitht pausanias. this vas
 29 the tenor of exerxees vryting. Kyng exerxes of meid
 to pausanias salut. i thank the of the pleseir and be-
 [* leaf 80 (92)] nefice that thou hes dune to me in the sendyng hame
 the presoners³ quhilk thou conquest in my cite of bez-
 ance, the quhilk i nor myne sal neuer forzet quhil ve
 dee. i exort the that thou be solist nycht⁴ and daye til
 35 exsecut and to fulfil thy promes, and i sal nocht spair

¹ original has rome² rytht³ personers⁴ nytht

gold syluyr nor men of veir to be at thy command ; 1
 and as to my dochtyr, i assure the that sche sal be thy
 spousit vyf. thou¹ sal gif credence to this berar arta-
 basus, quha is my secretar and my speciale frend.
 Quhen pausanias hed resauit this vryting fra exerces
 kyng of meid, he began euere day to prattik his intent
 contrar the grekis, and als he be cam familiar vitht the
 barbariens, the quhilk familiarite vas occasione that the
 grekis take ane real suspetione and ane vehement im- 9
 aginatione of his coniuratione and conspiratione. quhar-
 for til eschaip the danger and damage that mycht² suc-
 cede fra his trason, the ephores of lacedemonia send
 ther sergent to summond hym to compeir in the toune
 of spart vndir the pane to be reput rebel and enemye 14
 to grece. than he beleuand to keip hym fra ane gritar
 suspetione, and als he fand hope to purge hym of al
 crymes thocht giftis and moneye that he thocht to [* leaf 80 (92), bk]
 distribut among the senaturis of lacedemonia, he past
 forduart vitht the sergent to the toune of spart. than 19
 incontenent the ephores constitut hym presoneir, for
 the ephores of lacedemonia var of sa grit autorite,
 that thai mycht constitut and compel ther kyng or ther
 due to be presoneir. the senaturis & inhabitaris of spart
 hed nocht sufficient probatione to condamp hym. ther- 24
 for thai dred to exsecut vengeance on hym, be cause he
 vas descendit of hie geneologie, and of the blude ryal of
 lacedemonia, and als he vas of hie dignite. at that in-
 stant tyme he hed ane domestik seruitour quhilk he
 hed abusit carnalye lang of befoir in his youtheid,
 quhilk seruitur hed borne the last vrytingis that he 30
 hed vrytin to artabasus the secretar of kyng exerces.
 than this seruitur persauand that nane of the messen-
 geris that hed past of befoir vitht vrytingis to artabasus,
 returnit agane vitht ansuer, he heffand dreddor of his
 auen lyif, he apnit the vrytingis to red the tenor of 35

How his dealings
 with the
 barbarians
 awakened
 suspicion.

[* leaf 80 (92), bk]

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

¹ thou

² mycht

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

¹ hefor² mytht

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

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

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

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

¹ rytht

² hit

³ exempif

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

Samuel,
ca. 5.

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

¹ contrar ² entrir ³ enttit ⁴ delynerit ⁵ rytht

that hes slane the iust isboseht quhen he vas lyand 1
slepan in his bed. than kyng dauid gef command til
his sodiours to sla rechab and baanacht.¹ than the
soudiours at dauid command fyrst cuttit the feit and
the handis fra the tua tratours that sleu isboseht in his
bed, and syne² hangit them baytht on ebron hil. of
this sort traturs suld be ay reuardit quhen thai commit 7
trason contrar ther prince. Ther is ane vther exempil
of the punitione of tratouris that betrais ther natyf
prince. quhen the cruel veyris var betuix darius kyng of
perse and grit alexander of macedon, ther vas ane
captan³ of kyng darius quha vas verra familiar & in
grit fauoir vitht darius, callit bessus, quha sleu his
maister kyng darius,³ in hope to get ane grit reuard fra
kyng alexander. kyng alexander cam at that instant 15
tyme quhen darius vas in the agonya and deitht thrau,
t[h]roch the mortal vondis that he hed resaut fra bessus
his seruituir. than alexander maid ther ane solempnit
vou to reuenge the trason committit be the said bessus.
than he⁴ gart his sodiours serche & seike bessus, quha 20
vas gottyn in the forest, and vas brocht and led bundyn
in ane chenze befor kyng alexander.⁵ this nobil alex-
ander gart his sodiours pul doune the crops of the green
treis, and ther eftir tha band his tua armis vitht cordis
to the crops of ane of the treis, and he gart bynd his
feit to the crops of the tothir tre, & than gart lat louse
the crops of the tua⁶ treis, and tha sprang vp rycht⁷ of 27
ther ald fasson, & in the rysing vp thai dreu the body
of bessus in peces. of this sort bessus vas reuardit for
his trason committit contrar his rychteous⁸ prince. Ther
is ane exempil of the trason that ane blac iacopyne
frere⁹ committit contrar henry the seuynt of that name.
the toune of florens vald nocht obeye to the empir,
quhar for the said⁹ Empriour Henry brocht⁹ ane grit

So should all
traitors perish!

[* leaf 83 (95), bk]

How the traitor
Bessus was torn
in pieces

between two
trees.

How a Black
Jacobin Friar,

[* leaf 84 (96)]

¹ baanath
⁶ rua

² syne
⁷ rytht

³ darlus
⁸ rythteous

⁴ ge

⁵ alexender
⁹ brocht

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

[leaf 84 (96), bk]

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

CHAP. XV.¹

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

I have both the
 damage and the
 reproach.

¹ Original Chap. VX.

cheif, the quhilk i deserue nocht til hef be rason of my 1
innocens. Allace, the aduersite of ane innocent is mair
nor cruel quhen he induris punitione for ane cryme
that ane transgressor committis. i may be comparit to Like a dull ass I
am kicked and
prodded.

the dul asse in sa far as i am compellit to bayr ane im- 6
portabil byrdyng, for i am dung and broddit to gar me
do & to thole the thing that is abuif my pouer. allace,
i am the merk of the but, contrar the quhilk euere man I am the butt of
all the arrows of
[* leaf 85 (97)]
tribulation.

schutis ar'rous of tribulatione. allace, quhou is iustice 11
sa euil trettit quhilk is occasione that euere man vsis al
extreme extorsions contrar me as far as ther pouer can
exsecut. allace, i laubyr nycht and day vitht my handis I labour night
and day, to feed
lazy useless
men,

to neureis lasche and inutil idil men, and thai recom-
pens me vitht hungyr, and vitht the sourd. i susteen
ther lyif vitht trauel & vitht the suet of my body, and
thai parsecut my body vitht outrage and hayrschip, who, in their
turn, oppress me
to beggary.

quhil i am be cum ane begger. thai lyf t[h]rocht me, and
i dee t[h]rocht them. allace, o my natural mother, thou
repreifis & accusis me of the faltis that my tua brethir
committis daly, my tua brethir nobilis and clergie
quhilk suld defend me, tha ar mair cruel contrar me
nor is my ald enemes of ingland. tha ar my natural
brethyr, bot thai ar my mortal enemes of verray deid. 19
Allace, quhou can i tak paciens considerand that ther
can na thing be eikkyt to my parsecutione bot cruel
dede. i dee daly in ane transe t[h]rocht the necessite
that i hef of the gudis that i van vitht my laubyr. my
cornis and my cattel ar reft fra me. i am exilit fra my
takkis and fra my stedyngis. the malis and fermis of
the grond that i laubyr is hychtit¹ to sic ane price, that
it is fors to me & vyf and bayrns² to drynk vattir. the
teyndis of my cornis ar nocht alanerly hychtit abufe
the fertilitate that the grond maye bayr, bot as veil thai
ar tane furtht of my handis be my tua tirran brethir.
and quhen i laubyr be marchandres or be mecanik 24
I die daly;
my corn and
cattle are reft
from me;
and I am turned
out of my
holding.
[* leaf 85 (97), bk]

¹ hychtit² bayrus

- 1 craftis, i am compellit to len and to fyrst it to my tua
 cruel brethir, and quhen i craif my dettis quhilk suld
 sustene my lyif, i am bostit, hurt, and oft tymis i am
 slane. ther for lauberaris to burecht¹ & land and be see
 burd, thai indure daly sic violence that it is nocht pos-
 sibil that esperance of releif can be ymagynit. for ther is
- 7 nay thing on the lauberaris of the grond to burecht¹ and
 land, bot arrage, carage, taxationis, violent spulze, and
 al vthyr sortis of aduersite, quhilk is onmercifully ex-
 execut daly. the veyr is cryit contrar ingland, bot the
 actis of the veir is executit contrar the lauberaris, and
 consumis ther miserabil lyif. O my natural mother,
 my *complaynt* is hauy to be tald, bot it is mair displeas-
- 14 and to susteen my piteous desolacione. i am banest fra
 my house, i am boistit and manniest be my frendis,
 and i am assailit be them that suld defend me. the
 lauberaris ar ane notabil membyr of ane realme, vitht
 out the quhilk the nobillis * & clergie can nocht sustene
 ther stait nor ther lyif, zit notheles thai ar baytht be
- 20 cum my mortal enemeis, the quhilk vil be the final
 euerSIONe of ther auen prosperite. therfor i may compair
 them til ane man in ane frenyse, quhilk bytis his auen
membris vitht his tetht,² through the quhilk his body
 be³ cummis consumit. the romans in ald tymes prouidit
 prudentlie for the deffens of the comont pepil contrar
 the nobillis, the senat, and al vtheris of grit stait or
 dignites, and contrar ther extorsions, for thai institut
- 28 ane nobil man of office, callit tribunus plebis, quha
 deffendit the fredum and liberte of the comont pepil
 contrar the crualte of the hie senat, or ony vthir grit
 man of grit stait. bot allace it is nocht nou of that sort
 vitht me, for i am left desolat vitht out supple or def-
fens among the handis of vrangus oppressours quhilk
 professit them to be my brethir and defendouris, for i
- 35 indure mair persecucion be them nor be the cruel veyr

when I dun them
 for the debt, I
 am enuffed or
 killed.

The war is cried
 against England,
 but really waged
 against us poor
 labourers.

The working
 classes are an
 * [leaf 86 (98)]
 important part of
 the body politie;

the nobility and
 clergy are like
 men in a frenzy
 who bite their
 own flesh.

In Rome the
 tribunes
 protected the
 commonalty;

but there is no
 help for them in
 Scotland;

¹ burht

² techt

³ he

of ingland, for my takkis, steyding, and teyndis ar 1
nocht alanerly tane fra me or ellis hychtit¹ til ane
ourasonabil price, bot as veil i am maid ane slane² of I am made a
my body to ryn and rashe in arrage & carraige. ther for body slave.
i am constrenzet to cry on god for ane ven*geance con- [* leaf 86 (98), bk]
trar them for the importabil³ afflictione quhilk thai con- 6
strenze me til indure, the quhilk i beleif sal cum
haistyly on them be the rycht iugement of god, conform- God will take
and to the vordis of the prophet, propter miseriam vengeance on
inopum & gemitum pauperum nunc exurgam them,
dicit dominus: that is to say, be the expositione of
the doctoris, for the misere of mistirful men, and for 12
the vepying of pure men, the diuyne iustice sal exsecut
strait punitione. therfor thir potestatis and men of stait
that dois extorsions to the pure pepil thai hef mistir to for their oppres-
be verra var and to abstrak them fra the violence quhilk sion of the poor.
tha parpertrat on the pure pepil. for it is to be presumit 17
that the lamentabil voce and cryis of the affligit pepil
complenant to the hauyn, vil moue to pitie the clemens
of the maist merciful and puissant diuyne plasmator,
the quhilk t[h]rocht his eternal iustice, vil succumb in
confusione al violent vsurpatours quhilkis parpertratis 22
sic cruel iniquiteis on the desolat pure pepil. Therfor
(o thou my mother) sen i am in dangeir of the deith,
and disparit of my lyif, necessite pulsis and constrenzes I appeal to His
me to cry on god, and to desire vengeance on them that eternal justice!
persecutis me, in *hope that he vil releif me, or els to [* leaf 87 (99)]
tak me furtht of this miserabil lyif, for the ingratitude
of my tua brethir. ther dissolutione, and the mysknau- The wickedness
lage of god, and ther disordinat misgouernance, is the of my two
cause of my impatiens, and cause of al my afflictione; 31 brothers is the
for as ther euil conquest reches multiplies, ther disord- cause of my
inat pompe and ther delicius ydilnes, vitht misknau- afflictions.
lage⁴ of god augmentis, quhilk is occasione that tha ar am-
bitius in ther stait, couetuse of gudis, and desirus to be 35

¹ hychtil² slane³ imporlabil⁴ misknauahe

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

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

My murmurings
do not cause
them to desist
from wrong.

[* leaf 87 (99), bk]

You should not
blame all your
children alike.

There are good
and bad in all
families.

and in all
conditions.

¹ nother

² mouy

³ ro

'balaam vas euil. & among the vedous, iudicht vas [* leaf 88 (100)]
 gude, and Ihesabel vas euil. among the pastoirs and
 hirdis, abel vas gude, and abimelech vas euil. among
 the staitis of reche men, Iob vas gude, and nabal was
 euil. and among the religion of the apostolis, Sanct 5
 petir vas gude, and iudas vas euil. ther for o my
 dolorus mother, thou erris in thy accusatione, in sa far
 as thou makis na acceptiōne of personis, nor puttis
 defferens betuix qualites of conditionis of men. it is
 concludit be al lauis, diuynē and humain, that euere Every person
shall bear his
own burden.
 person sal bayr his auen birding, and that euere person
 sal be commendit or detestit efferand for his conuersa- 12
 tiōne. therfor thou suld nocht condamp innocentis and
 trangressouris baytlt to giddir. sic punitiōne excedis
 the limitis of discretiōne and of iustice. it is vrytin in
 the 7 cheptor of genesis, that god sauit loht and his
 famile, be cause of there obediens, quhen he distroyit 17
 the vicius pepil of sodome and gomore. O my velbelouit
 mother, thou knauis that i am innocent of thy inuectiue
 accusatione, and that my tua cruel brethir ar the cause
 of thy desolatiōne, & of my distructiōne. for i am sa
 violently ouerset be them, that throcht pouerte of gudis
 and *t[h]rocht debilitē of my persone, i can nothir do gude [* leaf 88 (100), bk]
 to my frendis, nor euil to my enemes. quharfor i exort 24
 the til altir thy seueir accusatione in ane cheritabil con-
 solatiōne. there is ane prouerb that sais parce sepulto ;
 that is to saye, spair hym that is in his sepulture. this
 prouerb maye be applyit to my dolorus fortune, for i
 maye be comparit til hym that is dede in his sepulture,
 considerand that ther can be na dolour eikit to my ad- I am as good as
dead!
 uersite, except cruel deith. there for thou suld abstrak
 thy inuectiue reprocha, quhilk is rather crualte nor 32
 correctiōne, conformand til ane adagia of ane of the
 seun sapientis of rome, callit minus publianus, that
 said, crudelis in re aduersa est obiurgatio.
 Allace my deir mother, thou consideris nocht quhou 36

I pass for the
youngest brother,

but am in truth
the eldest.

I created their
state;

[* leaf 89 (101)]

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

Adam and his
successors wer
all labourers
of the ground.

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

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

Tarquin the elder,

that my brethir ar becum onmerciful turrans touart me.
i am haldyn be the v[u]lgar pepil for there 3ongest
brother, bot i am there eldest brother in verra deid. for
i vas gottyn and borne lang befor them, and it vas i
5 that first instituit there faculteis. for the pollice that
vas inuentit be me & my predecessouris eftir the crea-
tion of the varld, hes procreat the stait of my brethir.
the faculteis and the begynnyng of nobillis and
*spiritualite, hed bot pure lauboraris to there predeces-
0 souris. bot nou sen thai ar cum to stait and digniteis
t[h]rocht me, thai ar be cum ingrat, and lychtleis me. my
tua brethir professis them to be gentil men, and reputis
me and al lauberaris to be rustical and inciule, ondantit,
ignorant, dullit slauis. thai vil nocht consider that al
there gentreis hes procedit and descendit fra me. ther
for quhair thai compt the degreis of there genologie,
17 thai suld fyrst begyn at adam oure foir father, and
quhen thai pryde them, and ascribis in there reches
faculteis or digniteis, thai suld fyrst begyn at the suc-
cessouris of ouer foir father Adam, quhilkis var lauber-
aris of the grond, and be there prudent inuention and
pollice, hes procreat the stait that thai posses. therfor
23 thai haue na cause to gloir in them seluis, bot rather
thai suld gloir in me, and in al lauberaris¹ of the grond
quhilkis var fundatouris of al there triumphand pros-
perite. bot there affectione, and there vane ignorant
consaitis, garris them ymagyn & beleif that there pre-
decessouris and al there nobillite and digniteis hes dis-
cendit fra the angellis and archangellis, & nocht fra
30 ouer for father adam, quhilk is the speciale cause that
*thai lychtlie the lauberaris that fundit them. i meruel
that thai considir nocht the gentris & genologe of kyng
dauid that hed ane pure scheiphird til his father. tulius
hostilius the thrid kyng of rome, vas the sone of ane
pure lauberar of the grond. tarquinius priscus the fyift

¹ lanberaris

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

¹ liuitis² cansaue³ nocht

It is not the
commonalty that
are guilty of
treason.

They have no
opportunity.

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

All conspiracies
 have been
 fomented by the
 great.

[*leaf 92 (104)]

How secrets
leak out.

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

How the treason
of the sons of
Brutus was
detected.

How the plot of
Philotes against
Alexander was
disclosed.

sidir that the defeculte of the comitting of trason is
 vondir grit, and the perrel and the danger that succedis
 is na les; quharfor grit men, and also the familiaris of
 princis that coniuoris, ar affligit in there hart vitht ane 4
 thousand deffeculteis or tha tak on hand til exsecute
 there entrepri'ce. than be mair rycht ve that ar poure
 comontis can nothir hef oportunitie nor comodite to virk
 trason contrar our prince. and quhou beit that sum
 tyme ve resauie iniuris throucht exactions that ane euil 9
 gouuernit prince exsecutis on the pepil, 3it nochtheles
 ve indure tha exactions patientlye, and exsecutis no trai-
 sonabil vengeance, be cause ve hef nothir knaulage,
 reches nor subtilite to conuoye vs til exsecut sic trason.
 there for, quhen ve commit no traison, our ignorance 14
 deseruis mair louyng nor dois our prudens. the maist
 cruel vengeance that pure comontis can exsecut contrar
 ane euil prince, is to gar our vyuis & bayrnis pray
 nycht and daye to send ane mischeif on hym, and to
 send hym schort lyue dais, & to send ane vthir gude 19
 prince in his place, conformand to the prayer of sanct
 dauid in the 108 psalme of his psalter, quhilk sais,
etenem occidantur qui nos perturbant, fiant
filij eius orphani, & episcopatum eius accipiet
alter, as is contenit at mair lyntht in the psalme callit 24
deus laudem; bot ve nor our vyuis and bayrnis dar
 neuyr pray appynly to send sic vengeance on ane euil
 prince, in drede that sum curtician alege trason on vs,
 and thereftir to *by our eschet. ther for ve praye for
 vengeance quhen ve ly doune at euyne, and quhen ve 29
 ryise in the mornyng; bot al the remanent of the daye
 quhen ve happyn to cum in ony straynge companye, ve
 pray deuotly vitht ane fenzet hart to saue his grace, and
 to keip hym in lang lyue dais and in gude prosperite.
 as valerius maximus rehersis ane exempil quhou there
 vas ane vyfe of syracuse in cecille quhilk prayt daly in
 the tempil in presens of the pepil to saue and to keip

Treason is not
easy, even for the
great;

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

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

and that we dare
not do openly.

[* leaf 93 (105), bk]

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

Valerius
Maximus,
li. 2. ca. 6.

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

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

lest his successor
 should be still
 worse.

Our treason does
 not go beyond
 murmuring.

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

The dissimula-
tion of Junius
Brutus

Titus Iuius,
Libro i.

[* leaf 95 (107), bk]

Valerius
maximus
li. 7. ca. 3.

saved himself

and Rome.

[* leaf 96 (108)]

So the commons
of Scotland must
pretend allegi-
ance to England,

dissimilacione of that vailzeant romane iunius brutus conquest til hym mair reputatione and gloir nor did his
3 vailzeant actis that he committit quhen he bannest the
tirran kyngis furtht of rome. Titus Iuius rehersis that
tarquinus superbus the sext kyng of rome vas verra
cruel contrar them that var reput vise and prudent, &
& also he perpetrat daly intollerabil exactions *contrar the
comont pepil. quhen euyr it vas reportit til hym of ony
9 speciale person that vas reput prudent, he gart put that
person in his beuk of proscriptiōne. quharfor 3oung
iunius brutus, quha vas sistir sone to tarquinus, heffland
dreddor to be slane be his oncle, and to tyne his patri-
mone, he of ane prouidit mynde dissimilit his prudens,
& changit his outuart verteous conditions in actis of
15 folye lyke ane natural fule, quhar for it vas beleuit be
al the romans that he vas be cum frenetic and glaykit,
quhilk vas occasione that tarquinus vald nocht exsecut
his crualte contrar hym, be cause he iugit hym to be
ane fule. iunius brutus conteneuit in his dissimilacione
20 quhil on to the tyme that sextus tarquinus violet be
forse the cheist lucrecia, the quhilk vile act generit ane
dispyit and ane rancor vithin the hartis of the romans.
than iunius brutus persauand the commotione of the
pepil, he thocht it conuenient tyme to leaue his dissimi-
25 lacione and to practik his prudens, quhar for he past to
the frendis of lucrecia, and til diuerse othir nobil
romans, and gart them depone ane serment that thai
suld al concur and conuene togidthir¹ in ane purpose
contrar the crualte of *tarquinus superbus. this serment
vas veil maid & bettir kepit, for brutus and the vail-
31 zeand romans bannest tarquinus fra rome, & al them of
that surname, quhilk vas occasione that the comont
veil of rome returnit in gude prosperite. be this exem-
plis the pure comontis of scotland that hes there vyuis,
bayrnis, & there gudis lyand vndir the inglis mennis

¹ togidthir

feit, and hes na releif nor deffens to reuenge nor to resist 1
 the inglis mens inuasions, thai suld mesure and veye
 there auen forse, and gif thai fynd them selfis sterk till prudence tells
 them
 aneucht to defend them and there gudis contrar the
 inglis men, in that cace thay ar oblist til haszard there
 lyfis and there gudis to deffend the cuntre, quhou beit 6
 that thai get na supple of the autorite. and in apposit,
 gif the pure comontis that lyis vitht in the inglis men
 handis be nocht of ane qualite to deffend nor to resist
 there enemeis, thai commit na cryme quhen thai mak
 ane dissimulit assurance vitht inglis men, and to tempt
 al the consaitis¹ and vays that thai can iuge to be
 necessair to gar them be saue of body and gudis fra the
 crualte of ingland, quhil on to the tyme that thai maye 14
 be strynthit be the autorite to cum to resist the *inglis
 men. Quhar for i exort the (o my desolat mother) that
 thou imput nocht the assurance of the pure comontis to
 proceid of trason, bot rather that thou accuse my tua
 sophistic brethir, quhilkis suld and culd haue releuit
 and restorit the to thy fyrst stait; for god knauis veil
 that i am innocent of thy accusatione, and the remeid
 of thy afflictione lyis nocht in my possibilite. 22

that they are
 strong enough to
 resist the yoke.

[* If 96 (108), bk]

Then accuse not
 the commons of
 treason.

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

CHAP. XVI.

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

¹ cousaitis

² sonnys

- 1 ane orison, that na man suld be admittit to be vytnes
Cice. pro in his auen cause. *font.* *Noluerunt maiores nostri,*
 hanc patere inimicitiiis viam, vt quem quisque
 odisset, cum¹ testimonio posset tollere. emen-
 tiuntur enim sepe in eos, quos oderunt. nor zit
 6 i vil nocht adhere to thy accusations contrar thy tua
 brethir, be rason that ane giltly man suld accuse no man
 of cryme, as crist ihesus hes gyffin ane exempil quhen
 the pharaseis accusit ane voman that vas tane in
Iohannes 8. adultere, desirand his iugement quhiddir thai suld
 stane hyr to detht conformand to the ald testament, or
 gyf thai suld thole hyr to depart onpuneist. crist
 ansuert to the accusaris sayand, he that is vitht out
 14 syn sal cast the fyrst stane at hyr. this exempil makkis
 manifest that ane accusar suld be cleene but vice. ande
 also crist ihesus hes said in ane vthir passage to the
Math. 7. ypocritis that accusit pure synnaris, quod he, ze sal tak
Luce. 6. furtht ane grit balk furtht of your auen ee, ande there
 eftir ze maye tak furtht ane litil strey furtht of your
 nychtbours ee. *The poiet confermis this samyn pur-
 pos, sayand, that euerye man of this varld baris tua
 sakkettis vitht hym. the fyrst sakket hyngis befor
 hym, vitht in the quhilk ar contenit al the vicis that
 his nychtbour committis; ande the nyxt sakket hyngis
 behynd his bak, vitht in the quhilk ar contenit al the
 26 vicis that his self committis. bot he can nocht see nor
 persæue his auen vicis, because he seis nocht the sakket
 that hyngis behynd his bak, bot he seis his nychtbours
 faltis in the sakket that hingis befor hym, vt nemo in
Perseus sa- sese tentat discende[re] nemo, sed precedente
tiric. 4. 31 spectatur mantica tergo. There for (o thou my
 30ngest soune) i refuse to gyf eyris or audiens to thy
 accusations contrar thy tua brethir, be rason that ane
 accusar suld be cleen or he accuse his nychtbour, as
 cicero vritis, Accusare debent ij qui nullo suo
 36 peccato impediuntur, quo facilius alterius

¹ et. im

- peccata demonstrare possint. Nor 3it i vil nocht 1
 adhere to the accusations that ony ane of 3ou hes con- *Cicero de*
 trar vthirs. Thy accusatione is vondir inuectyue con- *divinatione*
 trar thy tua brethir. the fyfteen inuectyuis philipiques *vera.*
 of cicero contrar anthonius, excedis nocht the accusa-
 tions ande calumniations that thou hes pro'nuncit con- [* leaf 98 (110)]
 trar them, 3it nochtheles i discomend there crualte, 7
 ande i commend nocht thy accusatione. for thou ande
 al thy sect callit lauberaris to burgh ande land, deseruis **The commonalty**
 no les punitione nor dois thy tua brethir nobilis ande **deserve punish-**
 clergie. for gyf thou ande thy sect hed as grite liberte, **ment as much as**
 as hes thy tua brethir, doutles 3e vald be mair cruel, **their betters.**
 nor the vyild beystis of the desertis of arabie. the 12
 practic of this samyn is presently, ande euer hes been **If they had**
 in tymes by past, sen the varld began. for as sune as **opportunity,**
 3e that ar comont pepil ar onbridilit ande furtht of sub- **they would be**
 iectione, 3our ignorance, inconstance, ande inciuilite, **worse than the**
 pulcis 3ou to perpetrat intollerabil exactions. for al the **others.**
 insurrectionis that eyr occurrit in ony realme contrar 18
 the prince & the public veil, hes procedit of the ignor-
 ance & obstinatione of the comount pepil. There for
 none of 3ou suld haue liberte, bot rather 3e suld be **They are not fit**
 daly dantit & haldin in subiectione, be cause that 3our **for liberty.**
 hartis is ful of maleis, ignorance, variance & inconst- 24
 ance. for the maist part of 3ou al gyffis louyng tyl vicious
 men, and 3e hald verteous men abhominabil, and quhen
 3e ar al conuenit to gydthir for the auansing of ane **Their meetings**
 gude purpose, 3e cry & ber kis ilk ane contrar vthirs, **are scenes of**
 that nocht ane of 3ou knauis quhat ane vthir sais. ande **[* If 98 (110), bk]**
 quhen 3e hef flyttn ande berkit but ryme or rason al **uproar.**
 the lang daye, 3e accord nocht nor *condiscendis* pru- 31
 dently on ane substancial constant purpose, and he that
 is the maist *cummirsum* cryar, ande maist obstinat con- **They follow the**
 trar rason, 3e reput hym for the maist prudent man of **most blatant**
 the realme. than quhen he gois, al the leaue rynniss & **prater, like sheep.**
 follouis hym, lyik the brutal scheip that vil nocht pas 36

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

They are fickle in their minds.

Cicero pro domo sua.

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

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

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

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

They jump to conclusions at first sight.

23 fortune deseruis mair louyng¹ nor dois there prudens. Siclyik as ane blynd man that passis in ane myrk place quhar he hed neuir beene, & syne eschapis fra ane hurt, or fra ane fal. na vyis men vil saye that this blynd man seis cleir, for it vas chance that conuoyit hym, and nocht his cen. for this cause the ciuil lauis deffendis & forbiddis al monopoles and conuentions of the comont pepil, be cause the maist part of them ar euil² con-

The civil law forbids all combinations of the common people.

31 dicionet, & ar obedient to there apetitis and to there glykyt affections. i can nocht conpair the comont pepil that ar onbridilit, bot ontyl beystis³ that ar of ane var nature nor brutal beystis, as ve maye see daly. for brutal beystis keipis ane bettir ordour in there

They are worse than brute beasts,

¹ lonyng

² enil

³ tyl onbeistis

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

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

Cicero questi.
tusc. 5.

10

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

15

But the people
 are intemperate,

20

Iustful,

unbridled.

[* leaf 100 (112)]

Some are steady

when forced.

28

But when they
 rise in the world,

they are worse
 than the higher
 classes;

35

¹ mychtbour

² sernise

- 1 ignorance of there fathers, ande for falt of educatione
and eruditione, thai be cum vane, prodig, ande arro-
gant, be cause thai succed sa eysilie to reches vitht
out the suet of there brouis, or pane of there body,
nocht heffand regarde to the fyrst pouerte of there pre-
decessours, nor of the cald, hungir, ande punirite that
- and their chil-
dren are ignorant,
vain, prodigal,
Philistinish.
- 7 there fathirs and mothers indurit in the conquessing of
sic reches. ande gyf sa beis that ony of the successours
of meycane men (that is to saye the successours of
lauberaris to burght ande land) *be promouit til ony
stait abufe there faculte, as to be saruandis to men of
autorite, or to be courticians ande officiaris to princis,
- [* If 100 (112), bk]
Their elevation
makes them
manifest.
- 13 or 3it to be promouit to benefeissis, or tyl ony vthir
digniteis abufe there qualite, than arrogance makkis
ypocryse manifest, conformand til ane addagia of ane
of the seyn sapientis callit mimus publicanus, qua said,
lapis index auri, aurum hominum. for it is the
nature of the comont pepil (beand ascendit in dignite
abufe there faculte) to mysken them selfis, there frendis,
and there familiaris. There is nocht ane mair odius
thyng in this varld, as quhen the successour of ane
indigent ignorant mechanyk lauberar ascendis tyl ony
dignite abufe his qualite, for incontinent eftir his pro-
- The stone tests
the gold, the
gold the man.
- 24 motione, he myskenis god ande man. asperius
nichil est humili cum surgit in altum. Titus
liuius rehersis ane passage conformand to this samyn
purpose. Barbarici animi est cum fortuna mu-
tare fidem. there is sum of thir meycane pepil hef-
fand superflu prosperite, that refusis the genologie of
there fathere ande mothere, and also refusis there sur-
name, and clamis to be of the blude of nobilis ande
gentil men. than quhen thai ar repute be the vulgaris
to be descendit of sic genologie, thai gloir in there pre-
tendit kyn ande blude, quhillk is occasione that there
arrogance & there vane gloir garris them commit mair
- There is nothing
more odious than
a parvenu who
misknows him-
self;
- such are ashamed
of their parents,
and deny their
own genealogy.
- 31 extorsions contrar the pepil nor dois ony vthir tirran
- [* leaf 101 (113)]
- They become the
worst of tyrants.

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

* ¶ Quhou the affligit lady accusis hir eldest sonne: [* If 101 (113), 1k]
 ne callit the nobilis and gentil men.

CHAP. XVII.

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

¹ read *bis*, i. e. this

² neuyr

³ mychtbour

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

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

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

Wherein consists nobility.

[* leaf 102 (114)]

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

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

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

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

Of the origin of gentlemen.

nou sen this purpos hes occurrit to speik of gentreis ande nobilnes, i vil fyrst discriue the origine of gentil

24 men, be the quhilk 3e may knau, quha is ane vilaine. Bot fyrst i man reherse the stait of the pepil that var

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

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

29 orite, nor honour, for at that tyme al men var egal, & nocht partial nor deuidit, for the pepil lyuit al to gydthir in ane tranquil & louabil communitie, ande thai left no thing to there posterite bot regrettis for the alteratione of that gude varld. in thai dais, the pepil

[* If 102 (114), bk]

Habits were simple, and tastes natura .

cit nor drank nocht bot quhen hungir constrenzet them, & than there maist delegat refectione vas acquorns,

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

drank the fresche vattir. at sum tyme thay past in the 1
 forrestis to the course and hunting, and sleu vyild
 beystis, syne dryit the flasche at the sune or thai eit it.
 and thai that var of maist tendir complexione, couurit
 them vitht the skynniss of tha vyild beystis to keip
 them fra cald. At that tyme ther vas no ceremonial They kept no
state nor
ceremony,
 reuerens nor stait, quha suld pas befor or behynd, 8
 furtht or in at the dur, nor zit quha suld haue the
 dignite to vasche ther handis fyrst in the bassine, nor nor laws of
precedence.
 zit quha suld sit doune fyrst at the tabil. at that tyme
 the pepil var as reddly to drynk vattir in ther bonet, or
 in the palmis of ther handis, as in ane glas, or in ane
 tasse of siluyr. At that tyme thai lay al to gydthir in 13
 ane cauerne, as dois presently the sophistic egiptiens.
 thai purgit ther belleis, ande exercit the verkis of There was no
shame, nor
offence taken.
 nature, ilk ane in vthirs presens vitht out schame, re- [* leaf 103 (115;)]
 proche, or offens. than ane lang tyme there eftir, natu're
 prouokit them to begyn sum lital police. for sum of
 them began to plant treis, sum to dant beystis, sum 19
 gadthrid the frutis, ande keptit them quhil on to the
 tyme of necessite, ande sum neurist there childir. at
 that tyme the pepil drank nothir vyne nor beir, nor na They drank no
wine nor beer,
 vthir confekkit drynkis. at that tyme straynge cuntreis
 var nocht socht to get spicis, eirbis, drogis, gummis, & nor fetched spices,
herbs, drugs,
gums, or sugar,
from distant
lands to spoil
their appetites.
 succur for to mak exquisit electuars to prouoke the
 pepil til ane disordinat appetit. At that tyme, there
 vas no sumpteous clethyng of fine claytht and of gold 28
 & silk of diuerse fassons. at that tyme in the begyn-
 nyng of ther police, coppir, bras, and yrn and vthir The metals were
used for domestic
utensils,
 mettellis var meltit to mak vtensel veschel necessair to
 serue ane houshald, and var nocht meltit to be gunnis
 ande cannons to sla doune the pepil. Ande nou sen not for cannons
and guns,
 that goldin varld is past, ther hes succedit ane yrn
 varld, quhilk hes altrit euerye gude thing in infelicite 34
 and myscheif, for meiknes is changit in maleis, trauail
 in ydilnes, rest in excesse, pace in veyr, eyse in pane,

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

¹ nychtbours

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

¹ Mardocheus² Ioseph³ verteous

The true use of
Armorial
bearings.

degradit fra it for his vice. (O my eldest soun nobilis
and gentil men) the armys that 3e bair in 3our scheildis
and in 3our seylis in 3our signetis, and also is payntit
on 3our vallis, & in 3our glasyn vindois, thai var gyuyn
5 to 3our predecessours be the prince for ane takyn of
nobilnes, for the nobil actis that thay hed dune for the
comont veil of the realme, & 3e that ar there succes-
sours 3e bayr the samyn armis for ane takyn that 3e ar
obleist to follou the futsteppis of 3our predecessours in

10 vertu, or ellis 3e merit to be degradit fra the armis that
3e bair, & fra the gentreis that 3e professe, as vas dune
tyl 3ong scipio befor rehersit. There is diuerse princis
that gyffis the tryumphe of knyghted and nobilite, vitht
leuerairis, armis ande heretage¹ to them that hes com-
mittit vailzeant actis in the veyris, siklyik as the

Orders and
knighthood given
for valiant acts.

16 empriour makkis the ordur of knyghted of the fleise,
the kyng of France makkis the ordour of the cokkil,
the kyng of ingland makkis the ordour of knyghthede
of the gartan. None of thir knyghtis resauis thir hie

[* If 105 (117), bk]

digniteis, throucht ane affectyue² *loue that there prince
hes touart them, bot rathere for the vailzeant actis that
there prince hes knauen them til haue committit for
ther public veil. The romans in the anciant dais
ordand ane tryumphe of nobilite to be gyffin to them

*Valerius
ma. rimus
in the cheptor
of tryumphe.*

25 that hed borne them maist vailzeantly contrar the
enemeis of rome. The ordour of there tryumphe vas
of this sort. quhen ony romane hed dune ane vailzeant
act, he vas set in ane charriot veil acoutreit, quhilck vas
drauen vitht foure horse, be cause in the anciant dais

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

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

crowning them
with palm,

¹ heretage

² affectyue

fra the battel vitht out hurt til hym, he vas crounit 1
 vitht ane crowne of laure tre, be cause the laure tre hes or with laurel.
 no schearp broddis nor pikis. This last tryumphe of
 laure tre vas callit tropheum, quhilk singnifeis ane ioy-
 ful victoree, for the victoree is ioyful quhen the enemeis
 are venqueist vitht out domage to the venquesair. 6
 quhen thir romans entrit in rome to 'resane there [* leaf 106 (118)]
 tryumphe for ther vailzeant actis, the senat, the gentil
 men, and the comont pepil met them in there best
 array vitht grit solempnite, and syne conuoyit them to
 the plane mercat befor the capitol to resane there 11
 tryumphe of dignite, as tha hed deseruit. Bot allace
 (o 3e my eldest sone nobilis ande gentil men) there is None of the
 Scottish nobles
 deserve any such
 ensigns or
 honours.
 nocht mony of 3ou that meritit to veyr the ensen3e of
 the fleise, of the cokkil, nor of the gartan, nor 3it there
 is nocht mony of 3ou that meritit to be borne in ane
 charriot to resane the tryumphe of the palme tre nor of 17
 the laure tre ; for 3our imbecilite, auereis, ande conten-
 tione that ringis amang 3ou, rather deseruis degrading
 fra 3our pretendit gentreis, nor 3e deserue¹ louyng or
 commendation for vertu. There for 3e ar in grit error
 quhen 3e professe 3ou to be gentil men, & syne com- 22
 mittis no actis efferand for 3our professione ; bot vald
 3e considir the origine of 3our gentreis, than 3e vald
 nocht be sa arrogant as to desire the gloir and the stait
 of ane dignite that 3e deserue nocht. There is mony They are
 unworthy of
 their position.
 of 3ou that professis to be gentil men be successione of
 3our predecessours, bot 3e considir nocht that 'the gre [* If 106 (118), bk]
 of gentreis procedis fra vertu. The philosophour sais
 that the cause of ane thing is of mair efficacite nor is 30
 the thyng that procedis fra the cause : ergo, vertu suld
 preffer the successours of verteous men. Ane verteous
 man beand descendit of ane verteous genologie, doutles
 he is ane ryclit gentil man. and in opposit, ane vicius
 man beand descendit of verteous genologie, he suld be 35

¹ deserue

- 1 reput mair vile and odius nor ony infamous vilaine plebien: ande also thai suld be degradit fra there gentreis¹ that thai haue ascribit til haue be successione, ande thai suld be compellit to virk vile mecanyk laubir, to that effect that the honour of verteous gentil men be
- 6 nocht maculat vitht the vice ande inciulite of vicius pretendit gentil men. There for as i haue said of befor, the sone of ane prince beand distitut of vertu is no gentil man; ande in opposit,² ane sone of ane mechanye plebien, beand verteous, he is ane gentil man. for that cause the poiet francis petrarch a florentyne said, i hed
- 12 leuyr be the sone of vicius tarsites, i vsand ane verteous³ conuersatione, nor to be the sone of the vailzeant achilles, i beand vicius. The philosophour plutarque
- [* leaf 107 (119)] rehersis, that iphicates vas ane pure mecanyk craftis man descendit of inciul plebiens, 3it nochtheles throucht
- 17 his vertu he vas elect to be kyng of the cuntre. there vas ane vicius gentil man at that tyme callit hermodius, quha reprocht iphicates, sayand, o iphicates, it efferis nocht for thy stait & faculte to be ane kyng, be rason that thy father vas ane mechanye tailzour descendit of inciule pure pepil; there for thou art nocht ane gentil
- 23 man. iphicates ansuert, o hermodius, throucht my vertu my successours sal be reput gentil men, and sa my gentreis begynnys at myself; bot thou ande thy gentreis sal end to gydthir, & thy successours sal be reput for vilaynis, be cause of thy vicius conuersatione. This exempil makkis manifest, that ane person may
- 29 succeid to heretage and to mouabil gudis of his predecessours, bot no man can succeid to gentreis nor to vertu; for vertu⁴ & gentreis most proceid fra the spreit of hym self, and nocht fra his predecessours. iuuenal
- the poiet rehersis, that bucephal the grit horse of
- 35 as he sau alexander, he knelit ande maid hym reuer-

The son of a prince, wanting virtue, is no gentleman.

The answer of Iphicrates to Hermodius.

The contrast between Bucephalus

¹ gantreis

² apposit

³ verteous

⁴ vertie

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

This exempil maye be conferrit to tua brethir gottin So is it often
 ande borne of ane fathere & mother. ane of them with two brothers
 beand verteous, suld be reput for ane gentil man, and in a family.
 the tother beand vicius, suld be estemeit and treittit 19
 lyik ane barbir inciuil vilaine. There hes been diuerse
 gentil men that thynkis schame that there fathers and Some gentlemen
 mothers, gudschers and grandscheirs, hes bene mechanye are ashamed that
 plebiens.³ Bot sic vane gentil men takkis nocht were plebeians ;
 empil of agathocles the 'kyng of cecile, quha vas the [* leaf 108 (120)]
 sone of ane pottar that formit clay pottis ; 3it nochtheles not so Agathocles,
 quhen he vas elect in dignite royal, he gart gold smythis king of Sicily,
 graue ane pot in his armys on euerye pece of his siluyr 26
 veschel, and also he gart paynt the vallis of his palleis
 vitht pottis, the quhilk thing he did to manifest to the
 pepil that he thocht no schame that his father hed who hoasted that
 been ane mecanye craftis man descendit of ane pure his father was a
 genoligie. it is ane grit foly til ane person to pretend potter.
 to gentreis be successione, or be rechis. iuuenal,
 confermis this samyn purpos, nobilitas sola est animum *Iuuenal,*
 que moribus ornat ; and the vordis of ouid ar con- 35 *Satiric. 7.*

¹ reuertens² manerir³ mechanyt blebiens⁴ innenal

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

How vain the
boast of high
ancestry!

*Boiecus de
consolatione
philosophie.
li. 3.*

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

9 ab ortu. there for, vald euyrie man considir his fyrst
orygyne, he sal fynd that al man kynd ar creat of mud
and clay, as is writin in the sycond cheptour of genesis,

The longest line
begins in mud
and clay.

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

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

15 quid superbis terra et cinis, that is to say, quhou
ar 3e becum predeful & takkis gloir in this varld, con-
siderand that 3e ar bot eird ande puldir? it is writyn
on the 18 cheptour of genesis, loquar ad dominum
cum sim puluis & cinis¹. that is to say, i sal speik

Genesis 18. 27.

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

Ecclesiastic. 17.
32.

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

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

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

The dust makes
no respect of
persons.

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

[* leaf 109 (121)]

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

¹ ciuis

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

How Cræsus
told Cyrus

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

Cyrus was
displeasid,

but Cræsus
ingeniously ex-
plained away his
remark.

[* If 109 (121), bk]

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

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

¹ cambifes

- 1 sune knau the verite of thy purpos. than kyng cirus
 past to the tempil, ande he gart delue vp al the banis
 of the detht pepil furtht of there sepulture, and keist
 ouer euyrye bane, ande contemplit euyry hardyn pan,
 ande be ane. than cresus & vthir gentil men meruelit
- 6 nocht litil of his consait, sayand, ve exort the, nobil
 prince, to tel thy intentione of that byssynes. Cirus
 ansuert, o cresus, thou said, nocht lang syne, that my
 hede vas nocht *to be comparit to my fathers hede ;
 there for i am leukand gyf i can fynd my fathers hardyn
- Cyrus tried to
 discern his
 father's skull from
 the others in the
 [* leaf 110 (122)]
 family vault,
 but all were alike,
- pan amang thir dede mennis banis, bot i can nocht ken
 12 it amang them, for al the hardyn pannis that ar heir ar
 al of ane sort : there for i beleue that my fathers hede
 ande my hede, and al vthir mennis hedis of pure ande
 riche, are but defferens : there for in tyme to cum thou
 sal mak na comparison betuix men, for i persauie that al
- 17 men that euyr vas, or euyr sal be, ar creat of ane masse
 of clay and eird. This exempil declaris that na man
 suld gloir in his nobilite or gentil blude, considerand
 that our earions ande corporal natur, ande carnal origyne,
 is baytht vile ande infekkit, ande there is na¹ defferens
- 22 nor acceptions of persons betuix us. the prudent Salo-
 mon accordis vitht this samyn purpos in the 7 cheptor
 of his beuk of sapiens, sayand, sum quidem & ego
 mortal^{is} homo similis omnibus de genere ter-
 reno illius qui prior factus est, & ce. Nemo
- Sapien. 7.*
- 27 enim ex regibus aliud habuit natiuitatis ini-
 tium. i am ane mortal man (sais Salomon) lyik til al
 vthir men, creat of eird as vas our foir fathere adam,
 ande al vthir kyngis hed na vthir begynnyng. thir vordis
 of Salomon beand *veil considerit, is ane souerane remeid
 ande salutair medycyn to repreme ande distroye the
- Wisdom of
 Solomon 7. 1-5.
- [* lf 110 (122), bk]
- 33 arrogant consait of them that glorifeis & pridis them to
 be descendit of nobilis and gentil men, considerand that
 the crop ande rute of our gentreis ande genologie hes
- The root of all
 nobility is in
 Adam.

succedit fra adam. ande quhen ve entrit in this mortal 1
 lyif ve var naikyit and vepand, and quhen ve depart ve
 sal be vile and abhominabil, ande ve sal carye no thing
 furtht of this varld bot the coulpe of our synnis, or the
 meritis of our vertu. Naked we entered
 the world, and
 naked we shall
 leave it.

¶ O my eldest soune, nobilis & gentil men, quhy 6
 vil 3e nocht considir thir vordis befor rehersit? quhilke
 vordis suld be occasione to gar 3ou mortife 3our vane
 consait of 3our pretendit gentreis. 3e professe 3ou to be
 gentil men, bot 3our verkis testifeis that 3e ar bot in-
 ciuile vilainis. 3e vald be reput & callit vertuous and
 honest, quhou be it that 3e did neuyr ane honest act; 12
 and 3e reput vthir men for vilainis, that did neuyr ane
 vilaine act. it aperis that quhen 3our nobil predeces-
 sours decessit, thai tuke ther vertu and gentreis vitht
 them to ther sepulture, and thai left na thing vitht 3ou
 bot the stile of there gentreis. the *vordis of the holy
 man Iob maye be veil applyit to this samyn purpos 18
 quhen he said, mortui sunt nobiles, & innobiles
 sunt filij eorum. quod he, al nobil men ar decessit,
 & ther sonnys ande successours ar bot vilainis. the vordis
 of Iob ar ouer manifest in our cuntre, for i see no thing
 amang gentil men bot vice. for honestee is maculat,
 ignorance is prisit, prudens is scornit, chestite is
 banneist, the nychtis ar ouer schort to gentil men to 25
 commit¹ there libedeneus lust, and the dayis ar ouer
 schort to them to commit extorsions on the pure pepil.
 ther blasphematione of the name of god corruptis the
 ayr. The prodig pride that ringis amang gentil men is
 detestabil, nocht alanerly in costly clethyng abufe ther 30
 stait, bot as veil in prodig expensis that thai mak on
 horse and doggis, abufe ther rent or reches. ane man is
 nocht reput for ane gentil man in scotland, bot gyf he
 mak mair expensis on his horse and his doggis nor he
 dois on his vyfe & bayrnis. The poiettis fençeis that 35
When your fathers
 died their gentle-
 ness was buried
 with them.
[* leaf 111 (123)]
The vices of the
 nobles.
What they spend
 on horses and
 dogs.

¹ comnit

Diomedes was
devoured by his
horses,
and Actæon by
his dogs.
[* If 111 (123), bk]

the grecian dyameid hed horse that eit men, & also thai
hef fen3et that acteon vas transformit in ane hart, and
there eftir he vas stranglit to dede vitht his auen doggis.
The expositione of *thir tua exemplis maye be applyit
5 to the gentil men of scotland. The horse of diameid
eit no men ; bot the superflu & prodig expensis that he
maid on corne to feid ane grit numir of onutil horse,
gart the victualis be deir and skant, quhilk vas occasione
that the pure pepil deit for hungir. of this sort the
10 poiectis fen3eis that dyamedis horse eit men, be cause
tha eit the corne that vald haue sauit the lyuis of the
pure pepil fra hungir. Siklyik acteon vas nocht trans-
formit in ane hart, nor 3it his doggis sleu hym nocht.
the expositione of this vas, that acteon vas ane vane
15 gentil man that set al his felicite on doggis for hunt-
ing,¹ on the quhilkis he maid ouer prodig expensis abufe
his faculte, quhilk vas occasione that he sellit his here-
tage til entretene his vane pleseir, & ther eftir he fel in
pouerte. ther for the poiectis fen3eis that his doggis dis-
troyit hym. alace ther is ouer mony horse in scotland
lyik dyamedis horse that eit is the pure pepil, and there
is ouer mony doggis in scotland that virreis there
23 master as acteon vas virreit. i repreif nocht gentil men
for the halding of horse & doggis ; for horse ar neces-
sair, and doggis ar for recreatione. bot i repreif the ouer
prodig ex*pensis that sum gentil men makkis on horse
and doggis abufe ther stait and faculte. it var verray
necessair and honest for ther auen veil that sic prodi-
29 galite var moderat. the philosophour xenophon reheris,
that cirus kyng of perse and meid vas verray solist in
hunting, ande he maid grit expensis on his horse, bot
he gart sic expensis cum til ane gude effect. for he vsit
hunting til excerse his gentil men to keip them fra ydil-
nes, ande he maid grit expensis on horse, be cause thai
35 var necessair for his veyris.

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

[* leaf 112 (124)]

¹ huicting

¶ O 3e my eldest soune, nobilis and gentil men, i 1
 exort 3ou to correct 3our selfis of the artiklis of this ac- Correct your-
 cusatione, and also that 3e adhere til al verteous byssy- selves from these
 nes, and that 3e accord and agre vitlit 3our tua bredthir faults, with which
 lauberaris ande clergie, to that effect that 3e may releif ye stand accused.
 me of my afflictione. for doutles gyf that discentione 6
 ande rancour remanis among 3ou, in schort dais 3our all
 enemeis sal occupie 3our heretagis and duelling placis, &
 the posterite of 3our generatiōne sal be put furtht of re-
 memorance. Nou i vil saye ane familiar reproche, be the
 vay of correctiōne to my syeond soune, callit sperutu- 11
 alite, to that effect, *to gar 3ou al thre brethir concur to [* If 112 (124), bk]
 gyddir on ane substancial constant gude purpos, for the
 deffens of 3our natie cuntre¹.

¶ Quhou the affligit² lady Dame scotia repre-
 uis hir syeond soune, callit sperutualite³.

CHAP. XIX.

O (my syeond soune) sperutualite, thou hes herd the 17
 familiar reпреif that i haue pronuncit, be the vay of The faults
 correctiōne to thy tua brethir nobilis & lauberaris; charged upon the
 bot my acusatione contrar them, is na purgatione to nobility and
 the. for thou deseruis⁴ nocht alanerly ane mair inuectyue commons do not
 reproche for thy demeritis⁵, bot as veil thou deseruis to leave the clergy
 be puneist realy, & to be degradit fra thy holy office. blameless. 22
 the maist part of the vicis that thy tua brethir hes com- The two former
 mittit, maye be supportit & excusit, be rason of there⁶ are partly
 ignorance; bot thou can nocht allege ignorance for thy excusable on the
 excusatione, considerand that god hes gyffin the his lau ground of
 in thy moutht to be distribut betuix the and thy tua ignorance; 27
 brethir, as is vrityn in the syeond cheptour of the but priests sin
 prophet malachias, quhilk sais, labia enim sacer- against light.
 malachias, 2.
 cap.

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

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

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

Let them correct
 their long-stand-
 ing abuses.

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

¹ eiusrquia

² rhe

- euyl exempil, suld be mair realye puneist, nor the pepil
 suld be that contemis and disobeys ther autorite. it
 is writin in the brasyn tablis of the antiant lauis of
 rome, that there vas mair rigorus punitione exsecutit on 4
 ane man of autorite that gef euyl exempil, nor vas ex-
 secutit on murdresaris and tratours. Romulus the fyrst
 kyng of rome, institut ane lau amang the ytalienis, that
 transgressours suld be puneist mercyfully efferand for
 the qualite of ther crymis; and alse he statut, that 9
 quhen men of autorite and dignite committit thai samyn
 crymis, tha var led and con'uoyit dishonestly to the
 plane marcat befor the capitol, quhar thay resaut
 doubil punitione, be cause the euyl. exempil of ther
 maluersatione prouokyt the pepil til adhere to vice, & 14
 to detest vertu. Hermes the philosophour said, that
 the error & the euyl exempil of ane man of autorite
 maye be comparit til ane onexpert master of ane schip,
 quhilk, throucht his misgouernance, is occasione that
 the schip pereseis, and tynis nocht hym self alanerly,
 bot as veil he tynis al them that ar of his companye. 20
 ther for, it var verray necessair that men of autorite, or
 ministers of the kyrk, do gyf gude exempil in ther con-
 uersation, to that effect that the ingnorant pepil may
 follou ther futsteppis. The philosophour plutarque re-
 heris ane exempil of the partan, quhilk repreuit ane of
 hydr 3ong partans, be cause the 3ong partan vald nocht
 gang euyf furtht, bot rather sche 3eid crukit, bakuart, 27
 and on syd. than the 3ong partan ansuert, quod sche,
 mother, i can nocht gang of my auen natur as thou
 biddis me, bot nocht thes, vald thou gang furtht 1ycht
 befor me, than i sal leyrn to follou thy futsteppis. This
 exempil tendis, that the discipil follouis the conuersa-
 tioné of his preceptor, rather nor he *follouis his
 doctrine. allace o my sune sper[it]ualite, the abusion of
 thy office is the cause of the discentione that is betuix
 the and the temporal stait, for 3e tua ar lyike cattis and
- An evil example
 more culpable
 than disobedi-
 enc.
- Of the rigour of
 Romulus against
 the crimes of men
 of authority.
- [* leaf 114 (126)]
- How Hermes
 compared a bad
 man in office to
 an incapable
 shiḡ-master.
- The fable of the
 crab and her
 young ones,
- showing that
 conduct is
 followed rather
 than precept.
 [* lf 114 (126), bk]
- The clergy and
 temporal rulers
 live like cats and
 dogs.

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

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

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

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

The schism will
never be healed
by persecution or
burning

till the Spirit-
uality amend
themselves.

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

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

Punishment of
 schismatics of
 no avail ;

it is like pouring
 oil on a fire.

5

[* lf 115 (127), bk]

10

or cutting off one
 of the heads of
 Hydra,

in room of which
 two others grew.

17

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

24

Let them then
 unite to reform
 their scandalous
 abuses,

[* leaf 116 (128)]

29

and thereafter
 try to promote
 national unity.

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

36

1 conqnessis our realme, doutles thy tua brethir vil
 tyne ther gudis and there heretage; bot there lyuis sal
 be saif, sa that tha vil be suorne to be inglis slauis, and
 renegat scottis. bot he vil nocht grant na grace to thy
 faculte, bot the samyn grace that kyng *henry* the eycht
 gauē to the sperutualite of ingland, that is to saye, in
 the fyrst he tuke the patrimone & the temporal landis of
 8 the kyrkis of ingland, & anext ane part of them to the
 proprite of his croune, & ane vthir part he distribut
 amang ane certan of grit personagis of his realme,
 quhilkis adherit til his tirran opinion, & syne he chesit
 furth¹ ane certan of the hiest genologie of ingland that
 13 hed bene promouit to cathidral² digniteis, and til vthir
 sperut[u]al beⁿeficis, quhome he gart his flaschar lay
 ther craggis on ane stok and gart heyde them, and syne
 he gart hyng ther quartars on potentis at diuerse comont
 passagis on the feildis quhar the maist confluens of
 18 pepil passit and repassit, and thridly he *compellit* pure
 speritual men, baytht regular and religiouse preistis,
 monkis and freris, to pas to leyrn meecanye hand
 laubyr, sum to be cordinaris, sum to be tailzours, sum
 to be marynalis, and sa to proceed to diuerse vthir
 craftis; and thai that var obstinat and disobedient tyl his
 24 cruel statutis he gart bannes ane part of them, and presone
 the bodeis of ane vthir part in perpetual captiuite.

There for (o thou my sycond sone sper[it]ualite) thou
 may beleue surly that the kyng³ of ingland vil be na
 mair graciūs, curtas nor merciful to the, quhome he
 reputis for his mortal eneme, nor he hes bene to the
 30 sperutualite of ingland, quha vas his faythtful natyue
 natural leigis and inhabitaris of his realme, of the
 quhilk ther vas sum of them that var of his kyn and
 blude, bot he regardit nocht tyl ony greis of con-
 sanguinite, bot rather he vsit his mercyles crualte *con-*
 35 trar them, to that effect that his auariciūs affectione

The laity may be
 spared,

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

[* If 116 (128), bk]

How he treated
 the religious
 orders.

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

¹ furthr

² cathidral

³ K3ng

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

¹ cousidrit

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

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

Why should priests urge exemption?

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

The canon law says,

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

also against Saracens.

Englishmen more Saracens than Christians.

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

¹ thac

² sateiffe

³ bo

⁴ this

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

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

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

7

This is no time
 for ceremonial
 scruples.

14

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

CHAP. XX.

O 3e my thre sonnys, i hef accusit euyrye ane of 3ou, 18
 pericularly² in special for the abusione of 3our
 faculteis and officis, the quhilk abusioⁿe is the
 cause of the contentiōe and discord that ringis amang
 3ou, the quhilk contentiōe and discord hes dune mair
 domage in 3our cuntre, nor the grit armye of ingland
 hes dune. I vald speir ane question, quhat medycyn
 can help ane seik man that hurtis hym selue vilfully,
 and prouokis his auen seiknes daly? or quhat cite can
 indure, quhen it is seigit and assailzeit vitht out be
 enemeis, and vitht in the cite ringis mortal veyr amang
 the gouernours and inhabitantis? O 3e my thre sonis,
 quhat can the varld estime of 3ou, quhen 3e ar sa solist 30

[*leaf 126 (131)]

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

25

30

¹ spulzeit

² pericularly

- 1 on the ruuynne of 3our prosperite, and on the demoli-
 tionne of 3our comont veil? 3our conditions & conuersa-
 tions is mair lyik til barbarien pepil, nor it is to
 cristyn pepil. 3e lament hauyly the cruel veyrs, and 3e
 cry & desyris pace at god, 3e heffand rancor in 3our
 6 hartis contrar 3our nychtbours. 3e desire mercy at god,
 3e heffand ane drauen sourd in 3our hand to slay ane
 innocent. 3e vald be louit vitht al men, and 3e hef na
 cherite to na man. Quhy suld god delyuyr 3ou fra
 3our enemeis? sen that 3e ar mortal enemeis to 3our
 11 selfis, 3our honour is tynt; sen that 3our vail3eantnes
 [* If 126 (131), bk] is changit in berkyng on vthirs lyik cattis and *doggis,
 3e hef left the protectionne of 3our comont salut, and 3e
 ar be cum sodiours & pensionaris to 3our enemeis, and
 also 3e ar be cum enemeis to 3our auen veillfair and
 prosperite. allace, vald 3e considir the grit ruuynne &
 perditionne that hes cum on diuerse realmis throucht the
 18 discentione and diuisione that rang amang the pepil.
 than i beleue that 3e vald treit pace in 3our consciens,
 and cherite to 3our nychtbours. the holy scriptour con-
 fermis this samyn purpos, quhar crist Iesus said,
Math. 12. Omne regnum in se diuisum desolabitur: al
Luce. 11. realmis that ar diuidit vitht in them selfis be discen-
 tionne and contentione, sal be left desolat. there for (o
 25 3e my thre sonniss) it is na meruel that 3our euntre cum
 to ruuynne and desolationne, considerand that al sortis of
 detestabil and onleful veyrs and battellis that distroyit
 the romanis in the anciant dais, ringis presently amang
 3ou, throucht the discentione, diuisione, inuy, rancor,
 30 and auareis that ringis vniuersaly throucht al scotland.
 the fyrst sort of battellis and veyris that brought the
 romans to ruuynne, vas callit battellis finityuis, A fini-
 bus: that is, quhen ane man vndir takkis to conques
Iustin. be violence and tirrorane the landis *of his nychtbours
Lib. 1. that marchis and lhis contigue vitht his landis, as did
Frontier Wars. be violence and tirrorane the landis *of his nychtbours
 [* leaf 127 (132)] be violence and tirrorane the landis *of his nychtbours
 36 Ninus kyng of the assiriens, quaha vas nocht contentit

Ye are more like
barbarians than
Christians.

Ye are become
pensioners of
your enemies.

Math. 12.
Luce. 11.

The wars that
ruined Rome.

Iustin.
Lib. 1.

Frontier Wars.

[* leaf 127 (132)]

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

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

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

Ye know that
 these words are
 true.

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

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

¹ knan

autorites, sum be auareis, sum be violens and extor- 1
 sions, and sum be ane inexorbitant solistnes contrar
 rason, and sum be raif and spulze, and sum be trason,
 and sum be discentione & mortal fede, nocht heffand
 respect nor rememorance of the schort peregrinatione of
 this miserabil lyif, nor 3it heffand premeditatione of the 6
 future eternal beatitude that god hes promest til fayth-
 ful men. than heraclites began to veip and lament for The weeping and
 pite that he hed of the extreme disrasonabil abusione
 that rang amang the vniuersal pepil. bot democrites
 leucht and scornit there foliful conuersatione and solist
 vanite. allace var thai tua philosophours instantly pas- the laughing
 sand throucht the realme of scotland, heraclites vald philosopher
 murn & lament for pite our misire and our affliction, 14
 the quhilk hes occurrit and daly occurris through our [* leaf 129 (134)]
 auen occasione. and syklyk democrites, persauand our would both find
 folyful mys gouernance and our miserabil obstinat con- matter to occupy
 uersatione, he vald laucht and scorn vs be grit derisione. them in Scotland.
 for doutles thir tua philosophours vald fynd mater 19
 aneucht to veip for vs, and alse to laucht vs to scorn. i
 vil rehers sex versis in latyn, quhilk var composit be
 ane knyght of Itale, M. Antonio philiremo¹ fregoso,
 and syne i sal rehers the exposition of them in our
 scottis² tong, as neir the sentens of the text as i can. 24

Ad lectorem.

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

To the readar.

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

¹ phiremo² scettis³ plnsquam

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

Seneca.

¶ Aut ridenda omnia, aut flenda sunt.

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

Solomon confirms
 the same con-
 clusion.

Eccle. 2.

Retire from
 vanity.

Know yourselves.

The greater the
 pride the greater
 the fall.

¹ velcht

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

¹ obhominatioun² obscure³ euerye

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

who can deliver
you from the
three plagues.

Cirillus and the
bundle of twigs.

[* If 131 (136), bk]

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

¹ chat

² enerye

separat nor deuidit fra vthirs, it sal be as onpossibil to 1
 inglis men to venqueis 3ou, as it vas onpossibil til ane
 of the sonnys of cirillus to brac the hail bunche of green
 treis at ane tyme. 3e suld al tak exempil quhou that
 grit Alexander conqueist mekil of al the varld, and he
 left the gouuernyng of his cuntre on his dede bed to be
 governit eftir his deceis be four of the prencipal barrons
 of his court; bot sune eftir his decese, auareis, inuy, 8
 ambitione, and particular proffet, separat and deuidit
 them fra vthirs, quhilk vas occasione that the bar-
 bariens, the persiens and mediens, and the grecians,
 con*queist al the grit empire of Alexander, and maid [* leaf 132 (137)]
 sklauis of his pepil. syklyk the romans, that var domi-
 natours of al the varld, fra tyme that discentione and 14
 diuisione raise amang the prencipal romans, and speciale
 the discentione that raise betuix Iulius cesar and grit
 pompeus; for Iulius vald nocht hef ane marrou in
 rome, and pompeus vald nocht hef ane superior; the
 quhilk discentione vas occasione of the ciuil and intes-
 tine veyrs that rang vniuersale in ytalie. & for that 20
 cause the romans that hed dominion athort al the varld
 be cam subiect to them quhom thai hed dantit of befor.
 siclyk the triumphant cite of cartage, quhilk dantit al
 affrica, spang3e & cecil, and did mony vail3eant actis
 contrar the romans, it be cam subiect to them that it 25
 hed venqueist of befor, fra tyme that discentione and
 diuisione raise amang the nobillis of that toune.

¶ Quhar for i exort 3ou, my thre sonnys, that 3e
 expel discentione, discord, and ald fede that ringis
 amang 3ou, quhil the veyris be dune, and than 3e sal 30
 triumphe contrar 3our enemeis. i vald 3e tuke exempil
 of, diuerse nobil romans and grecians that hed mortal
 fe*de contrar vthiris, 3it nochtheles quhen there enemeis [* 1f 132 (137), bk]
 assail3et there natiue cuntre, than al thir nobillis con-
 currit in ane accord, and set there particular rancor and
 fede on syde, as did the tua vail3eant consulis of rome; 36

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

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

Marcus Emilius
Lepidus and
Fulvius Flaccus.

[* leaf 133 (138)]

Claudius Nero
and Livius
Salinator.

¹ salsinator

Annibal, in hope to distroye al ytalie. for that cause 1
 the senat send liuius salinator¹ contrar hasdribal, quha
 hed nocht ane sufficient nummer of men of veyr to re-
 sist hym. quhar for the consul Claudius nero heffand
 dreddor that liuius salinator¹ and his armye *suld be [* If 133 (138), bk]
 deffait be hasdrybal, he forzet the ald fede that vas be-
 tuix them, and he send ane roman captan, callit emilius 7
 hostilius, vytht the half of his armye contrar Annibal,
 quha sleu xxx thousand of Annibal men of veyr, and
 claudius nero past vitht the tothir half of his armye to
 help and to reskeu liuius contrar hasdribal. than thir
 tua armes past to githir in gude accord, nocht rememo-
 rant of there deidly ald fede that vas betuix them, and 13
 thai vailzeantly sleu hasdribal and xlvi thousand of his
 men, and also thai tuke viij thousand presoners, and
 thai cuttit the hede fra hasdribal. & in there returnyng
 to rome, thai keist the heyde befor them on the gait, &
 playt vitht it vitht there feit, as it hed been ane fut
 bal. fra that tyme furtht, Annibal tynt curage in sic 19
 ane sort, that his men of veyr var daly deffait. There
 is ane vthir exempil of the dedly fede and hatrent that
 vas betuix Munitius, maister of the hors men, and the
 consul fabius. thir tua romans hed the gouernyng of
 ane grit armye of romans contrar Annibal. Munitius
 the maister of the hors men vas verra proud in hym 25
 self, and also in his veyrs he vas mair furius nor pru-
 dent, bot his collig fa'bius vas cald, graif, and pacient
 in his bissynes. Munitius, in his furour, vald haue oft
 gyffin battel til Annibal, bot fabius vald neuyr consent,
 be cause he sau the aperand danger that vas to succed
 throucht the subtilite of Annibal. than Munitius desirit 31
 at fabius that he vald thole hym to haue the hail gou-
 uernyng of the armye ane daye, and fabius to hef it ane
 vthir daye, and sa euerye ane of them to haue the
 gouuernyng of the armye his day about, to the quhilk 35

Munitius and
Fabius.

[* leaf 134 (139)]

¹ salsinator

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

¹ munitus² munzir

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

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

¹ munitius

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

Of the treason
 practised in
 Scotland.

¶ O my thre sonnys, i hef oft tymis rehersit of be-
 foir, of the trason that occuris in scotland. and quhou
 22 beit that ther be mony trasonabil actis manifest in
 scotland, 3it nochtheles i can nocht condiscend in
 special on na man that hes committit ony trason, and
 also i vait for certan that there is mony nobil men in
 scotland that ar suspekkit of trason, and ar sklandrit
 27 for the samyn be the vulgar pepil, quhou beit that thai
 be innocent of that foule cryme. the occasione of the
 samyn suspitione hes procedit of the subtilite of 3our
 ald enemeis, for ane dispyt that tha haue ymaginet
 [* if 136 (141), bk] contrar *3ou, be cause that thai dreid 3our vail3cantnes,
 and for that cause thai haue gart ane secret brute pas
 in scotland that sum of 3ou hes intelligens vitht them ;
 and to gar ther inuentit subtil cauteil contrar 3ou entir
 35 mair large in the vulgaris hartis, thai haue gart ther

¹ apdosit

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

The incursions
 of the Border
 freebooters.

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

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

¹ the

² nythbours

- 1 there is ane vthir exempil of Annibal, that vrocht ane grit subtilite to cause the romans to haue ane euil con-
 [* lf 137 (142), bk] sait contrar the nobil fabius. *Annibal send ane grit nummer of lycht¹ horse men to spulze the territoris and villagis pertenant to rome, resaruand the villagis
 6 and stedingis pertenant to fabius, quha vas captan of the romans armye. this crafty subtel act of Annibal causit the romans to consaue ane vehement suspetione of trason contrar fabius. Than fabius beand aduerteist of this byssynes, and desyrand til haue his innocens
 and of Fabius, when suspected of treason.
 11 knauen, he send his sone to rome to sel al his villages and stedingis for redy monye, and also vrit ane lettir to the senat of rome of this effect. fathers conscript, i am suspekkit of trason throcht the machinatione of Annibal, bot doutles my innocens sal be haistyly mani-
 16 fest to 3ou al, for as sone as i see oportunitie and conuenient tyme & place, i sal gif hym battel. on the feyrd daye there eftir, fabius gef battel til Annibal, quhen he reskeuit Munitius the master of the horse men, as is befor rehersit. this vailzeant act pat hym
 21 nocht alanerly furtht of suspetione, bot as veil it augmentit his honour and gloir. (O 3e my thre sonnys) ony of 3ou that is suspekkit of trason suld do sum
 [* leaf 138 (143)] vailzeant act contrar 3our enemeis as did perecles and fabius befor rehersit, to that effect that the remanent of
 26 the pepil maye gyf confidens to 3ou, quhilk vil be occasione that the hail body of the realme vil haszard there lyuis and there gudis in 3our companye for the iust defens of 3our comont veil and 3our natyue cuntre.
 The suspicions against the Scotch nobles not groundless.
 Allae the suspetione that the pepil hes contrar sum of 3ou is nocht causles, for men of smal experiens maye persaue that ther is diuerse men of scotland that ar be cum neutral; that is to say, thai vil nothir tak ane plane part vitht ingland nor vitht scotland, for quhen
 35 thir neutral men speikis vitht inglis men, thai lament

¹ lychi

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

¹ grir

1 housis, and he leyrnit them baytht to speik. he leyrnit
 ane of them to saye, god saue thy grace, nobil victoreus
 augustus cesar. and he leyrnit the tothir to saye, god
 saue thy grace, nobil victoreus empriour anthonius.
 than this subtel cordinar set ane of his corbeis that gef
 6 louyng til augustus, furtht at his vindo on the plane
 reu, quhen he beheld ony gentil men of augustus allya
 pas or repas befor his house. and siklyik he set furtht
 his tothir corbe at his vindo quhen he beheld ony of
 the allya of Anthonius pas or repas befor his house.
 11 the quhilk thing he did to that effect that he mycht
 vyn the fauoir of augustus, & nocht to tyne the fauoir
 of anthonius. of this sort he vas lyik to the sourd vitht
 the tua edgis. that quhen Augustus cesar venquest
 anthonius, & vas pacebil empriour, this subtel cordonar
 presentit the corbe til Augustus, quhilk gef hym louyng
 [* 1f 139 (144), bk] in hyr artificial speche, of 'the quhilk cesar vas verray
 18 glaid, quhar for he gef to the cordonar fyftene hun-
 dredth peces of gold. bot sune there eftir it vas reportit
 to augustus cesar, that the said subtel cordonar hed ane
 corbe that gaue as grit louyng til anthonius. than
 augustus causit the said corbe and the cordonar to be
 23 brocht¹ in his presens; and quhen he persauit that the
 cordonar vas ane astuce subtel falou & dissymilit, he
 gart hang hym on ane potent befor the capitol, & his
 tua corbeis be syde hym.

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

Of Cicero's
 conduct in the
 civil war.

¹ brocht

Cesar & pompeus, quhais querrel and part that he vald I
 tak. cicero ansuerit, quem fugiam scio, quem
 sequar nescio. this is to say, i vait quhais part i sal
 refuse, bot vait nocht quhais part i sal tak. this
 ansueir of ambiguite, declarit that cicero vas be cum [leaf 60 (145)]
 neutral in the ciuil and intestine veyris that vas betuix
 iulius Cesar and grit pompeus. 3it nochttheles the 7
 romans murmerit his ansueir of ambiguite to the vrang
 part, allegeand that he hed mair fauoir to pompeus
 querrel nor to Iulius Cesar; bot it is the natur of
 inciuil comont pepil to iuge euirye purpos to the vrang
 face. Ane propositione or ane responce of ambiguite
 suld be ay interpretit and exponit to the best sens, con- 13
 formand til ane reul of the lau, de vsu L. creditor,
 cum ibi no. C. & L. fi vsuras. the quhilkis chep-
 tours sais, Ambigua solutio pro meliori & cer-
 tiori parte est interpretanda et intelligenda.
 bot nou to proceid in my purpose. Cicero hed ane 18
 honest cause to refuse baytht ther querellis and to be
 neutral, be rason that thai contendit baytht to be
 superiours and kyngis of rome, quhilk vas expresse
 contrar the antiant lauis of the romans. The sophist
 logicinaris per chance may argou¹, that tua contrareis 23
 can nocht be baytht false; and be this mutulat freuole
 reul of logic thai vald infer and allegie, that Iulius
 and pompeus culd nocht baytht hef ane vrangus titil
 in ther debait, considerand that the comont prouerb
 sais, that in euyrie tua contrar opinions ther is ane [If 69 (145), bk]
 rycht and ane vrang. thir freuole sophistaris that
 marthirs and sklandirs the text of aristotel, deseruis 30
 punitione; for quhou beit that ther be comparison of
 greis in euyrie thyng, that follouis nocht that the
 positieue gre and the comparatiue gre ar contrar tyl
 vthir, for gude and bettir ar defferent in greis, & 3it
 thai ar nocht contrar til vthirs. siklyik euy¹ and var ar 35

¹ argon

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

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

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

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

for ther auen auantage, ande to disaue 3ou eftiruart be
 ane mair cruel veyr. it is knauen throucht al cristianite,

that inglis men socht neuyr pace at scotland and France 5
 at ane instant tyme; bot rather, quhen thai socht pace
 at scotland, there purpos vas to mak veyr on France;
 and quhen thai socht pace of France, ther purpos vas
 to mak veyr on scotland. ther for sic dissimilit pace,
 fra the quhilk may succeid veyr, suld¹ nocht be resaut, 10
 bot rather veyris suld be maid, in hope that sure pace
 maye succeid, conformand til ane cheptour in the xxiiij
 distinctione in the fyrst question, quhilk sais, Non
 pax queritur vt bellum exerceatur, sed bellum
 geritur vt pax acquiratur. ther for, quhen the 15
 legatis of ingland offris to 3ou ane dishonest pace, fra
 the quhilk maye succeid ane mair cruel veyr, 3e suld
 refuse it, conformand to the vordis of Cicero, in his *Philip. 12.*
 inuectyue philipiques contrar² anthonius, sayand, pax
 est repudianda, si sub eius nomine latitet 20
 bellum. There for, (o 3e my thre sunnis) 3e haue ane
 iust titil to refuse pace, and til intend cruel veyr con-
 trar 3our enemeis. for as tucidides sais in the thretten *Tucidides*
 cheptour of his fyrst beuk, quod he, as it is conuenient *Libro 1.*
 tyl honest & prudent men to lyue in pace, quhen there [* leaf 143 (147)]
 nychtbours dois them na oultraige nor violens: Sik- 26
 lylike it is honest and conuenient to verteous men to
 change there pace, and rest in cruel veyr, fra tyme that
 thai haue resaut outrage and violens fra there nycht-
 bours. for the changeyng of ane dissymilit pace in ane
 cruel veyr, sal be occasione of ane ferme and faythful³ 31
 pacé. Cicero confermis this sammyn purpose in the *Cicc. offi.*
 fyrst beuk of his officis. Suscipienda bella sunt,
 vt in pace sine iniuria viuatur. Ande quhou be
 it that there is diuers parsons in scotland that sais, that 35

¹ susd² conthar³ saythful

- 1 rest and pace var verray necessair for vs, i confesse that honest pace suld preffer oniuist veyris. for that cause the empriour traian said, that it var les skaytht to mak ane iust veyr, nor to lyue in dreddour vndir ane dissymilit pace. Euerie man is oblist to deffend the gudis, heretages and possessions that his antecessres and for-
- Tucidides*
li. 2. ca. 9.
- 7 bearis hes left to *them*; for as tucidides hes said in his sycond beuk, quod he, it is mair dishonour tyl ane person to tyne the thyng that his antecessres and forbearis hes conqueist be grite laubours, nor it is dishonour
- 11 quhen he failzeis in the conqessing of ane thing that he intendit *tyl haue conquesit fra his mortal enemye.
- [* If 143 (147), bk]
- Every noble man
defends his
just rights.
- Be this rason, euyrie nobil man suld be verray solist to deffend his iust querrel; for siklyik as ane man offendis
- 15 his consciens quhen he dois violens, extorsions and damage tyl his nychtbour, siklyik ane honest man offendis & hurtis his consciens, quhen he deffendis hym nocht in his iust querrel contrar his enemeis, & also reuengis hym nocht of the violens and damage
- 20 that his enemeis hes perpetrat contrar hym. Quhar for i exort 3ou my thre sonnys, that 3e condiscend in ane faythful accord: than doutles god sal releue 3ou¹ of the grit afflictione that 3e haue indurit be the incredule seid of ingland, & also i beleue that he sal mak 3ou ane instrument til extinct that false generatione furtht of
- God will help
you when you
help yourselves.
- 26 rememorance: & sa fayr veil.

¹ 3ou

¶ Heir endis the complaynt of scotland.

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

Cice. de fini.

T A B V L A.

[leaf 0 (148)]

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

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

[leaf 0 (148), back]

- The 10 cheptour declaris quhou the inglis men gyuis
vane credens to the prophesie of merlyne fo. xlv. [page 82]
- The 11 cheptor declaris that the pretendit kyngis of
ingland hes no iust titil to the realme of ingland
fo. lv.¹ [p. 85]
- Ch. xiii. Quhou the affligit lady declaris that the familiarite
betuix scotland and ingland is the cause of se-
ditione fo. lxvii. [p. 106]
- Ch. xiv. Quhou conspiratours ar puneist be the hand of god
fo. lxxvii. [p. 113]
- Ch. xv. Quhou the thrid soune, callit lauberaris, ansuert vitht
ane lamentabil complaynt ... fo. lxxxv. [p. 122]
- Ch. xvi. Quhou the affligit lady ansuert tyl hyr 3ongest soune
fo. xevj. [p. 137]
- Ch. xvii. Quhou the affligit lady accusit hyr eldest soune,²
callit nobilis and gentil men fo. ci. [p. 143]
- Ch. xix. Quhou the affligit lady accusit hyr syeond soune,
callit sperutualite fo. cxii. [p. 157]
- Ch. xx. Quhou the affligit lady exortis hyr thre sounis³ to
be vigilant in the defens of ther natyue cuntre
fo. cxxv. [p. 165]

FINIS.

¹ *Should be lii.*² *souhe.*³ *sounis.*

APPENDIX

OF

CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH TRACTS,

COMPRISING :

I.

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

1542.

II.

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

1547

III.

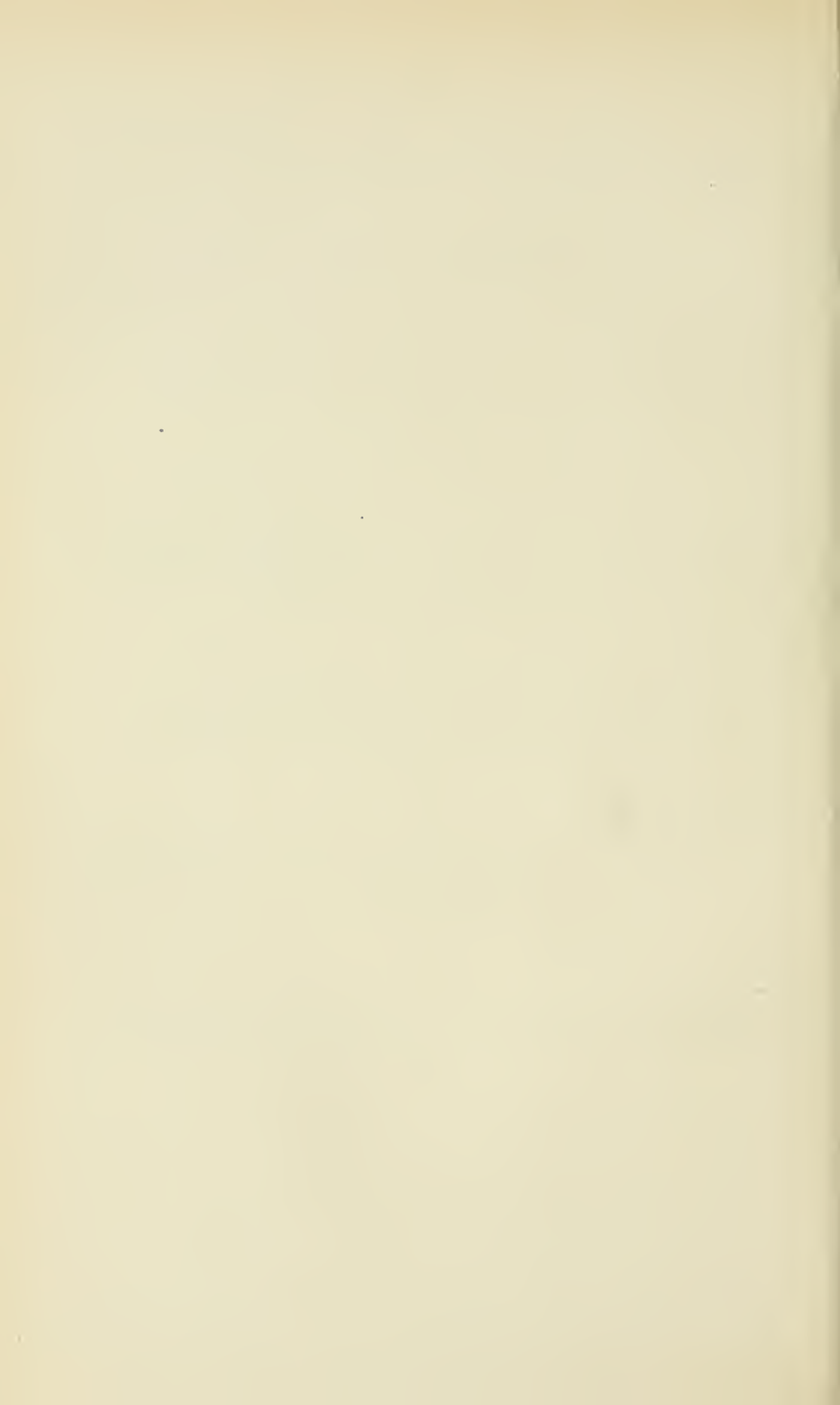
The Lord Protector Somerset's Epistle or Exhortacion to Vnitie and Peace sent to the inhabitauntes of Scotlande.

1548.

IV.

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

1548.



 A DECLARATION, CONTEY-

NYNG THE IVST CAUSES

and consyderations, of this

present warre with the

Scottis, wherin al-

soo appereth the

trewe & right

title, that

the kin-

ges

most royall maiesty hath to

the souerayntie of

Scotlande.



THE DECLARATION OF HENRY VIII. 1542.

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

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

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

¹ A ij, back.

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

¹ A iij.² A iij, back.

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

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

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

¹ A iv.² A iv, back.

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

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

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

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

¹ B j.² B j, back.

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

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

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

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

¹ B ii.² B ii, back.

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

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

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

¹ B iij.

² B iij, back.

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

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

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

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

¹ B iiiii.

² B iiiii, back.

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

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

¹ C.² C, back.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ C ij.

² C ii, back.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ C iii.

² C iij. back.

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

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

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

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

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

¹ C iv.

² C iv, back.

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

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

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

Florentius comes Holandie.

Patricius de Dunbar comes de Merchia.

Willielmus de Vesty.

Willielmus de Ros.

Robertus de Pinbeny.

Nicholaus de Soules.

Patricius Galightly.

Rogerus de Mundeville.

Joannes Comyn.

D. Joannes de Hastings.

Joannes de Balliolo.

Robertus de Bruse.

Ercius rex Norwegie.

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

¹ D i.

² D i, back.

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

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

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

¹ D ii.² D ii, back.

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

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

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

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

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

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

[D iv]

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dum solum.

ANNO .M. D. XLII.

An
Exhortacion to the Scottes

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

Dedicated
 to
 Edward Duke of Somerset
 by James Harryson, Scottishe man.

LONDON:
 Printed by Richard Grafton.

1547.

AN EXHORTATION TO THE SCOTTS.

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

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

¹ a ij² a ij, back³ a iij

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

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

¹ a iij, back

² a iijj

³ a iijj, back

⁴ a v

⁵ a v, back

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

¹ a vij² a vij, back³ a vij⁴ a vij, back

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

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

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

¹ b j

² b j, back

³ b ij

⁴ b ij, back

⁵ b iij

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

¹ b iij, back² b iijj³ b iijj, back⁴ b v

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

Bv^r afore I will stirre that vnsauery sinke of treson and trecherie, as one that intendeth to make a greate lepe, I muste bee forced to ronne backe to feteche my course, wherefore, omitting the mattiers of the tyme present, I must repete the estate of this island from the begynnyng, and what were the causes of this di²uision at the firste, and by what waies it hathe continued from tyme to tyme, and how it is yet norished, to the ende that vpon the causes opened, and the persones detected, that bee workers therof, the remedies maie be the soner founde, and simple people be ware of those, that with fayned fables and lies, haue ledde them long blindfokl, & so would kepe them, to the perdicion both of their soules and bodies, and then shal we se, whether this saiying of Christ afore recited, maie not be wel veriefed in vs of Britayne. In the discourse whereof, because the right & title whereby the kynges of Englande claime to be superior Lordes of Scotland, is incidently touched: I wil ³vse for the more parte the testimonies either of Scottish chronicles, or forein writers, and litle of the Englishe, onlesse where bothe Scottishe and Englishe do agre, or where by apparaunt reason, the truthe standeth more on thone side, then on the other: and all to aduoyde the common cauillacion of suche, as say, how the Kynges of Englande proue their title to Scotlande, onely by Englishe aucthors.

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

¹ b v, back² b vj³ b vj, back⁴ b vij⁵ b vij, back

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

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

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

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

the people, Brytons, neither was there ¹any other state or Kyngdome in the Islande at those daies, but onely of Britons. In so muche, that the Romaines, beyng most diligent reporters of the names of Princes by them subdued, and countreys conquered, whereas they make particular mencion of diuerse kynges of the Britaines and of sundery cities in Britain, yet do they neuer name any people called Scottes, ne make mencion of any suche Princes, as is pretended to haue ruled ouer them whiche, if they had been so glorious, bothe in warre and peace, as they be set furthe: how should their actes haue been hidden to the Romaines, which contended with all men for glory, for thirst whereof, they sometymes sought ²enemies at y^e worldes ende. And though it maie be said, that *Cæsar* and diuerso other neuer came so farre as Scotlande, by a great distaunce: yet, how could it be, y^t *Iulius Agricola*, whiche, after the Southe partes of Britain was made a prouince to y^e Romayns inuaded vnto y^e Orcades, which is the farthest part of Scotland: & after .viii. yeres warres there at the foote of the mounte *Grampius*, now called *Grænzeben*, fought against *Galgacus* with ten M. Britaines, whom he there ouerthrewe: how (I saie) could he bee ignoraunt of the Scottes or of their warres? So that it muste be graunted, that at those daies, either they wer not in Britayne, or if they wer in Britayne, their ³name and power was nothyng suche, as we pretend. For who so diligently considereth the course of the said stories, shall well se, y^t neither Pietes ne Scottes had any dominion in Britayn, vntil about the declinacion of the Romain Empire: and that the Pietes entered into Britayn before the Scottes, in the time of kyng Marius, whiche was aboute the yere of Christe .lxxii. After whiche tyme, with the helpe of the Irishe Scottes, they vexed the Britaines with continuall incursions. These Pietes wer a people of Scithia, now called Tartarie, & driuen out of their country, sought herberough emonges Irish Scottes, who beyng nothing glad of such gestes, pro⁴cured them to set foote in Brytayne as they did in deede, and ther continued many yeres after. This people wer called Pietes, because in stede of garmentes, they vsed to paint their skynnes with sundery figures of beastes and birdes, hauing collers of of yron about their neckes, and girdelles of thesame, aboute their wastes, and specially the nobilitie of them, whiche estemed the same for a greate poynt of brauerie. This doth Herodian write in the life of Seuerus themporor, whiche came into Britayne, and repaired the walle, begonne afore by Adrian his predecessor, by whiche walle, the Prouince of the Romaynes was diuided, from the residue of Britain, and ⁵was made firste to resist the incursions of suche Britaynes as they accompted sauage and barbarous. The ruynes of this wal, are to be seen at this present: wherefore it semeth to me, that afore the time of thesaied Adrian, the name, neither of Pietes ne Scottes, was neuer known in Britayne, so that if they had any possession there afore,

¹ c ij

² c ij, back

³ c iij

⁴ c iij, back

⁵ c iiij

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

Bvt to resorte to our purpose, how can it stand with reason, that the Pietes and Scottes, two strong nacions should make great warres, should so often in⁴fest and vexe bothe Brytains & Romaines, ye and ouercome them and at length establish two kingdomes in the Island, and no remembraunce thereof founde in any story, either of the Britains or Romaines, nor in any other autentique or approued Cronicle. For Cæsar, Tacitus, Ptholomæus and Plinius, Romaine aucthors (though we speake of no mo) & on the other syde, Gildas, mooste auncient writer of the Brytains, though euery wher in their histories, they make special mencion of all the people, then dwelling in Britayne, yet speake thei nothing of those two nacions, whiche if thei were chefe & strongest (as oure writers pretende) how coulde their names be pre⁵termitted of so many aucthors, wherby one of

¹ c iij. back ² c v ³ c v, back ⁴ c vj ⁵ c vj, back

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

¹ c vij² c vij, back³ c viij⁴ c viij, back

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

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

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

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

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

¹ d iij, back

² d iiij

³ d iiij, back

⁴ d v

Scottishe Poetes, framed vpon phantasie, without auctoritie precedent.

AND for the further profe of this Monarchie, it is reade in the tyme of Lucius, whiche was the firste christen Kynge of the Britaynes, as is said afore: ther were in Britayne iij. high Pre^lstes, or Bishoppes, Idolaters, of the Heathen religion, called *Archiflamines*, and xxviiij. other inferiour Bishoppes of thesame supersticion, called *Flamines*: In stede of whom, this godly King, ordeined as many Bishoppes of Christes religion, & thre Archebishoppes, placinge the first at London, the second at Yourke, and the thirde in the citie of Legions, whiche at this day is called Chester. To the prouince of Yourke, there belonged all the northe parte of Britayne, now called Scotlande with the orades. And notwithstanding all the mutations, happening in processe of yeres, yet al the Bishops of those countreys, came vnto Yorke to be consecrated of y^e Arch^bisshop there, and promised obedience vnto him, as to their Metropolitane & hed bishop: albeit by occasion of warres, they were summewhiles letted so to do. And of latter dayes, that is to saye, in the tyme of Henry the ij. Kynge of Englande, whiche was about the yere of Christ a M.C. & lv. the Englishe historie sheweth, that Michaell Bishop of Glascow, and after him, Tothadus Bishop of Saincte Andrewes, were consecrated by Thomas Archebishop of Yourk. If my countreymen beleue me not in thys point, let them beleue the Bulles of Paschall, Calixte, Honorius, Innocentius, Eugenius and Adrianus, Bishoppes of Rome, written to the Bishops of Scotlande, So often ³as any of them were rebell, or would not acknowledge the Archebishop of Yourke, Primate of Scotland, for their head Bisshop. This I alledge to shewe, that the two realmes at the first were not onely vnited in one Empire, but also in one Religion the superioritie wherof, seyng it so longe continued in the English side, proueth in that part a certayn kynde of subieccion in Scottes, whyche I passe ouer: But nowe hauinge sufficiently alledged to proue, that al we were Britaynes at the beginning, come of one kynde, and liuinge vnder one Monarchie, broken by diuision and ciuil discorde, as is shewed before: there restethe to disproue the fayned alligacions ⁴of the contrary part, which conuey you from Pharao, the tyraunt of Egypt. And as it is to coniecture, if their willes might take place, thei would bryng you vnder the seruitude of Egypte again. But before I touche y^t argument, according to my promise at y^e beginning, I must in part diselose the aucthors therof, whose vntrouthes, though I passe ouer, yet will they bewrey it them selves: for it is not vnknown what persons they be, that take vpon them to write stories and Cronicles, both in England & Scotlande: which for the more parte, be Monkes and Fryers, suche as in name professe Religion, beyng in dede the peruerters of all true Religion. These men, is⁵suyn from the prince of darkenesse, broughte vp in darkenes, &

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ e ii² e ii, back³ e iij⁴ e iij, back⁵ e iiiii

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

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

¹ "The Bridegrome being elder than ye Bride."

³ e v

⁴ e v, back

² e iiij, back

⁵ e vi

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

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

au¹thor: For though he saie afterwarde true, none will beleue hym.

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

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

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

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

¹ f iii ² f iii, back ³ f iiii ⁴ f iiii, back ⁵ f v.

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

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

¹ f v, back² f vi³ f vi, back⁴ f vii

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

¹ f vii, back² f viii³ f viii, back⁴ g j⁵ g j, back

a part of our awnselfes, if Gods goodnes towardes Englande, had not so prouided, that our power could not bee hable to aunswer, to our misaduisid willes: And so farre did we estraunge our selves, that wee could finde in our hartes to become seruite, and to bee as *common hirelynges*, to a forrein nacion. For what other thing do we but serue them for their money, to our awne vtter destruccions, to y^e spillyng of our awne bloud to the burnyng of oure tounes, and to the waste and spoyle of our whole natiue countrey? And at this, do the Frenchmen laugh; thei take pleasure, sitting at home in securitie, excepte peradventure thei sende a few of their east souldiours, of whom thei make lesse accountes or estimacion, then of so many shepe or hogges: Howbeit, to bring vs in belefe, that we bee in some parte of estimacion with them, thei make of our nacion, certain chief presidentes in Fraunce, & the kyng hath of vs, a certain nombre in his garde, for the defence of his persone, in whom, howe litle he trusteth, God knoweth, and daily experience teacheth. By this he maketh vs silly soules beleue, that he hath vs in singuler trust, when in deede it is but a golden and glisteryng bayte, alluryng our simplicitie and credulitie, to that Iron hoke, that hath caught and killed afore now, the moste ²parte of our auncestors, & now of late, no fewer of oure fathers, of our children, and of our kinsfolke; while the Frenche lose not a man, but a fewe golden crownes. And yet our presidentes for al the honor & authoritie, that thei be set in, doo serue but as Cyphers in Algorisme, to fill the place, and in stede of Jupiters blocke, sent to rule the Frogges, whereupon thei treade and leape, withoute feare & daunger. And our countreyemen of the gard, after many yeres, worne in Fraunce, haue this onely rewarde at length, to bee called of all the worlde, in mockery, *Iehan de Escocce*. Yet is there one thyng, wherein wee repose a certain honor, and yet in deede, is thesame one of the most dishonors, that euer we receiued ³whiche was when at thentre of a league, with Charles y^e greate Kyng of Fraunce, wee receiued for an encrease of the Armes of our realme, a trace of flour de luce, not considering how shamefull and dishonorable it was to vs, being so noble a ⁴people, to deface our auncient Armes, and receiue the note and token of nobilitie and worthines, of straungers: On thother part, how honorable a thyng, this attonement with Englande, were for vs, the blynd man maie se. For beeyng then (as algates we must be vnder some one) bothe vnder one kyng, the more large and ample the Empire wer: the more honorable and glorious: the kyng of greater dominion, gouernaunce power, and fame: and the subiecs⁵tes more renoumed, more happy and more quiet: the realme more sure, and formidable to the enemies: and thei lesse eshuned and feared.

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

¹ g ij

² g ij, back

³ g iii

⁴ people

⁵ g iii, back

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

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

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

To haue mani gouernors is not good

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

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

¹ g vi ² g vi, back ³ g vii ⁴ g vii, back ⁵ g viii

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

¹ g viii, back² h j³ h j, back⁴ h ij

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

¹ h ij, back

² h iij

³ h iij, back

⁴ h iiij

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

¹ h iij, back² h v³ h v, back⁴ h vi

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

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

¹ h vi, back² h vij³ h vij, back⁴ h vij⁵ h viii, back

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

Excussum Londini in ædibus
Richardi Graftoni typis
Impressoris.

Anno salutis nostræ.
1547.

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



AN EPISTLE EXHORTATORIE.

¹ Edward, by the grace of
**God Duke of Somersett, Erle
of Hertforde, Vicount Beauchamp,**
lorde Scimour, bucle to the kynges highnes
of Englande, Governour of his moste royall
persone, and Protector of all his Realmes,
dominions and Subiectes, Vicetenannt ge-
nerall of all his Maiesties Armies, bothe by
lande and sea, Chreasauror and Erle Mar-
shall of Englande, Governour of the Isles of
Gernesey & Jersey, and Knight of the moste
noble ordre of the Garter, with others the
Counsaill of the saied moste high and noble
Prince EDVVARD, by the grace of God
of Englande, Francke and Irelande, kyng,
defender of the Faith, and in yearthy bnder
Christe the supreme hedde of the Churche of
Englande & Irelande: To the nobilitie,
and counsailors, gentlemen and the
commons, and all others the in-
habitauntes of the realme
of Scotland: Greeting
and Peace.

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

¹ Sign. A ij² A ij, back³ A iij

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

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

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

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

¹ A v, back ² [A vj] ³ [A vj, back] ⁴ [A vij] ⁵ [A vij], back

refused it, you loued better dissencion then vnitie, discorde then agremente, warre then peace, hatered then Loue and Charitie. If you doo then therefore smart for it, whom can you blame, but youre awne eleccion? BVT because some of those, who maketh hereto impedimentes, who cannot but confesse, that there appereth Gods prouidence herein, and opportunitie and occasion geuen, to vnite both the realmes: yet may here after saie, and heretofore hath saied, that the faulte herein is, ¹that wee seke not equalitie, nor the mariage, but a conquest, wee would not be frendes, but be lordes. Although our Proclamacions at the laste warres, dooeth enough declare the contrary, yet here wee proteste and declare to you, and all Christian people, to be the kynges Maiesties mynd, our Masters, by our aduise and counsaill, not to conquer, but to haue in amitie, not to wynne by force, but to conciliate by loue, not to spoyle and kil, but to saue and kepe, not to disseuer and diuorce, but to ioyne in mariage from high to low, bothe the realmes, to make of one Isle one realme, in loue, amitie, concorde, peace, and Charitie. Whiche if you refuse, and driue vs to conquire, who is giltie of the blood ²shed? Who is the occasion of the warre? Who maketh the battailes, the brennyng of houses, and the deuastacion whiche shall folowe? CAN it be demed, but that we haue the great seale of Scotlande, graunted by the Parliament of Scotlande, for the mariage whiche should bee made, with assuraunces and pledges, vntil the performauce? And this in the tyme that the late kyng of moste famous memorie, our souereigne Lorde kyng Henry the eight did reigne and in the tyme of the same your Gouernor, who now is the erle of Arreigne, who then beyng a chief doer and laborer therein, for the high & inestimable benefite of that realme. So sone as he was by the late Cardinall of S. Andrews and o³thers, with certain vain feares & hopes, and gredines of dignitie peruerted, reuolted from his first agreement, and put al the realme to the losse of suche holdes and fortresses, as be now taken from you: and to the losse of a foughten feld, for the which we are sory, if otherwise peace could haue been concluded, for his awne priuate lucre, & rechelesnes of that noble Realme. And what ende canne you loke of this maner of procedynges, but suche successe as heretofore hath been experimented and assaiad: we offre loue, we offer equalitie & amitie, we ouercome in war, and offer peace, wee wynne holdes, and offre no conquest, we gette in your lande and offre Englande: What can be more offered and more prof⁴red, then entercourse of merchawdises, enterchaunge of mariages the abolishyng of all suche our lawes, as prohibiteth thesame, or might bee impediment to the mutuall amitie. We haue offerd not onely to leaue thauethoritie, name, title, right, or chalenge of conquerours: but to receiue that whiche is the shame of men ouercomed, to leaue the name of the nacion, and the glory of any victorie if any wee haue had, or should haue of you, and to take the indifferent old name of Britaynes again, because nothyng should

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

be left, of our part vnoffered, nothyng of your part vnrefused, whereby you might bee inexcusable: And all the worlde might testifie, all other meanes not beyng able to do any thyng,¹ after many other waies and remedies attempted: Battaill of vs to be taken, as an extreme refuge, to atteigne righte and reason, emonges Christian men. IF any man maie rightfully make battaill, for his espouse and wife: the daughter of Scotland, was by the greate seale of Scotland, promised to the sonne and heire of Englande. If it bee lawfull by Gods Lawe, to fighte in a good querell, and for to make peace: This is to make an ende of all warres, to conlude an eternall and perpetuall peace, whiche to confirme, wee shall fighte, and you to breake, is it not casie to decerne who hath the better parte? GOD and the sworde, hath all ready, and shall hereafter, if there bee no remedie² trie it. Who so willethe the mariage to goo forwarde, who myndeth the peace and tranquilitie of both the Realmes, who willethe no conquest to bee had, but amitie and loue to bee established betwixte vs, wee refuse no manne: let hym bryng his name, and his pledge of good seruice in this querell, he shal not onely be receiued to y^e amitie, but shal haue sufficient defence agaynste the aduersaries: WE neither do nor intend, to put any man from his takkes or offices, onlesse he will needes resist, & so compell vs thereunto, what face hath this of conquest? We intend not to disherit your Quene, but to make her heires inheritors also to Englande. What greater honor can you seke vnto your Quene, then³ the mariage offred? What more meter mariage then this, with the kyniges highnes of England? What more sure defence, in the noneage of your Quene, for the Realme of Scotlande, then to haue England patron and garrison? We seke not to take from you youre lawes nor customes: But we seke to redresse your oppressions, whiche of diuerse, you do sustein. IN the realme of England, diuerse lawes and customes be, accordyng to the auncient vsage of the parties thereof. And likewise in Fraunce, Normandy, and Gascoigne, hath sundery kynd of ordres: Hath al the realmes and dominions whiche the Emperour now hath, one and one sorte of lawes? These vain feares and phantasies, of expuls⁴ion of your nacion, of chaungyng the lawes, of makyng a conquest, bee driuen into your heddes, of those who in dede, had rather you were all conquered, spoyled, & slain, then thei would lose any poynte of their will, of their desire of rule, of their existimacion, which thei knowe in quietnes would bee sene what it wer, as it were in a calme water. Now in this tunulte of discord when the realme is tossed vp and doune, with waues and sources of battaill, famyne, & other mischief, whiche the warr bringeth, thei thynke thei cannot be espied. But looke on them, you that haue wit and prudence, and consider the state of your Quene and realme: YOY wil not kepe her sole and vnmarried, the whiche were⁵ to you greate dishonour. If you mary her within the realme, that cannot extynguish the title which we

¹ B ij² B ij, back³ B iij⁴ B iij, back⁵ B iij

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

¹ B iij, back² B v³ B v, back⁴ [B vj]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ C iij² C iij, back³ [C iiij]

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

M. D. X L V I I I.

CUM PRIVILEGIO
 AD IMPRIMEN-
 DUM SOLUM.

THE PREFACE.

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

Although I knowe right well (mooste noble Prince) that there be diuerse whiche bothe by their counsaill and writyng, do to their vttermoste powers swade the vnion of Scotlande vnto youre highnes, by the mariage of their Quene, a meane thereunto bothe honourable and Godly: Yet neuertheles, the same study and furder declaracion of your maiesties ¹title to the superioritie thereof semeth vnto me to bee so indifferently pertainyng to all menne, whiche doo professe obedience to youre highnes, that no mannes studie ought to be taken as vain or vnthankfull, whiche humbly bryngeth furthe to that common vse, whatsocuer iudgement, profite, or knowledge, he supposeth to haue founde, either by studie, or inquisicion: foreseeyng that in tempestious vpswellynges of water or shipwracke, fire, or other like calamities of men, right acceptable vnto vs is the labor of those and thankes worthie, which wyllingly do runne to helpe vs, although in the meane tyme there be other sufficient nombre, to deliuer vs from the perill obiected. Herefore, most noble prince, perusing² the auncient histories of this greate Britaigne, and fyndyng suche plentie of writers confessyng your superiorite of Scotland, as could not by any entendement so fully consent vpon any vntruth, I thought it my deutie to offre vp thesame vnto youre highnes, [aienst the obstinacie of Scottis a nacion often vanquished by the valiant manhod of your noble progenitoris, & only left in lyf by their mercie], which histories like as almightie God hath from tyme to tyme, in fauor of the truth and of your title preserued: So hath his Godhed signified no lesse fauour to your highnes, vouchesauyng to nobilitate thesame, in the persone of your maiestie, conserued vnto

¹ A ii.² perceiuyng. A iij.

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

ouer all his and your enemies, wher vnto
all youre true subiectes
doo saie

AMEN.

¹ A iij, back.

² A iiij.

³ A iiij, back.

⁴ A v.

THE KYNGES TITLE TO SCOTLANDE.

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

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

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

⁵ A vii.

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

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

* * * * *

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

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

¹ A vii, back.

² A viij.

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

⁴ Δ viij, back.

⁵ G iiij, back.

⁶ sic.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ G vii, back.

² G viii.

³ 'suffred' in marginal correction.

⁴ G viii, back.

⁵ Corrected to 'ieuel.'

⁶ H i.

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

Nature the wise mother of all thynges, when she ordeined all beastes with some natural municion, as horne, spurre, tothe or naile : she wold not create man either cruel or vengeable by any of this outward thinges, but gaue him reason, & so to rule without angre or armour : she endowed you with giftes to the maintenauce of con-corde, & will you vse them to discorde? is it warre that you thinke profitable? is it discorde & mischiefe that beyng hatefull to other menne semeth to you pleasaunt? what differeth warre from ¹all other euils? but that it exceedeth in malice: your cause that produceth war is neither honest nor iust, neither godly, nor necessarye, but against honestie, vice: against iustice, iniust: against godlynes, wicked, against necessitie, wilful obstinacy: the fruites whereof be so horrible y^t of wise men they be with more lamentacion bewailed, then of your vnwisdomes with painefulnes suffered. If maymes, if pouertie, if sickenes, if woundes, if lamenes, if robbery, if manquelyng (I omit death, as to gentle a thyng among these miseries) did appere either pleasaunt or profitable, I would sumwhat stay my penne? Further, what properties procedeth of warre, but outrageous costes, vnmesurable labor, ineu²table perilles, consumyng anger, vnrestfull quietnes: the baner whiche you folow is a guide but to misery and death, either to kil other vnmercifully, or els to dye wickedly: but let shame do y^t in you which wisdome should do, or els amende by wisdome that shame comp^{el} you not: if profite & quietnes that is in peace cannot moue you, yet let trouble & horror that is in warre with the iniustice of your cause feare you, if your magistrates be enemies to this honorable & godly vnion, their cause is neither amitie nor loue, either to you or their countrye, nor honorable to themselves repugnyng their owne Acte of Parliament lately made for confirmacion of thesame vnion: and withall let your popishe Clergie thinke, that dissimulacion neuer ³commeth to thende that it is mente for, but to the contrary, and that like as a while their fayth hath deceiued vs, so will it shortly beguile them selves, for nature neuer gaue like vertue to thinges counterfeicte, as to true in dede: all the wise writers of your owne nacion lament the wickednes of your clergie and condemne their vicious and prophane liues, but by hypocrisy thei alway had this gifte to shewe their vertue to the vttermost and hide their faultes to y^e secretest, so that their vertue appeareth more then it is, & their vice lesse: well, God is the onely wreker of secret iniuries, whom no man may doubt shortely to open all your eyes, and he in the meane tyme I trust will make your gouernor (beyng naturally ⁴discended of an Englishe house in kynge Edwarde the second his dayes as your owne writers confesse) againe to become a good Englishman, which vndoubtedly he shalbe, & a Scottishman also, whensoever he shall deply consider

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

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

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

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

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

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

F I N I S .

[H vij]

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

CVM PRIVILEGIO
AD IMPRIMEN-
DVM SOLVM.

¹ h v, back.

² h vi.

³ h vi, back.

GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- eg, 32, egg.
 egal, 144, (Fr.) equal.
 Egypt, Egiptiens, 8.
 eikit, eikkyt, 123, (A.S. *éicod*)
 added.
 eild, 73, old age, eld.
 eirb, erb, 44, herb.
 eird, 20, eyrd, 24, earth.
 eit, eyt, 24, to eat; *p.t.* eit, 80;
p.p. cyttyn, 63.
 elect, 150, *v. p.* elected.
 electuars, 145, electuaries.
 eleuat, 38, *v. p.* elevated.
 ellis, 8, else.
 emoroyades, 67, emerods, hæme-
 rhoids.
 empesche, 99, to hinder (Fr.).
 empire, 48, *adj.* empyrean.
 empriour, 25, emperor.
 ene, 72, eyes. *See* ee.
 Eneados, 35, the Æneid.
 eneme, 1, enemei, 111; *pl.*
 enemeis, 1, enemy.
 engel, 89, angel (a coin).
 engeneret, 153, engendrit, 2, be-
 gotten.
 ennetseidis, 67, anise-seed (*Ani-
 sum*).
 Enmyrnes, 66, (Celtic) Inverness.
 ensens, 7, incense.
 ensen3e, 149, ensign, insignia.
 entrepricis, 146.
 entres, 29, entrance.
 entretenis, 179, entertains.
 entrit, *v. p.* entered.
 ephores, 107, Ephori.
 Eporite, 84, Epirus.
 erb, eirb, 67, herb.
 erl, 63, earl.
 ermonyie, 37, armonye, 63,
 harmony; ermonius, 64.
- erris, 57, errs.
 Esaye, 22, Ysaye, 27, Isaiah.
 escarmuschis, 6, escharmouschis,
 79, (Fr.) skirmishes; escharmou-
 schit, 78, skirmished.
 eschaip, 37, to escape; eschapis,
 130; *p.* eschaupt, 17.
 eschamit, 43, ashamed.
 eschet, 133, forfeiture (O.Fr.
eschéoir, to fall out, fail).
 escheu, 90, eschew.
 esperance, 70, (Fr.) hope.
 est, 38, east; estin, 61, eastern.
 estaitis, 2, estates (of the realm).
 estime, 165, (Fr.) think, estimate;
 estemeit, estimated.
 euangel, 33, Gospel.
 euertione, 1, overthrow.
 euil, 12, euy1, 83, evil, ill.
 euir, 2, euyr, 90, ever, always.
 euoir banes, 20, ivory (bones),
 (Fr. *ivoire*).
 euyñ, 43, even, evening.
 euyñ furtht, 159, straightforward.
 exceedis, 8, exceeds.
 excepand, 95, excepting.
 excerse, 9, *n.* and *v.* exercise, *p.*
 excersit.
 excommunicat, *p.p.* 87, excom-
 municated.
 excusatione, 137, *n.* excuse.
 exemnit, 98, examined.
 exempil, 7, example, instance.
 Exerxes, Exerxces, 79, Xerxes.
 experiens, 104; experimentit, 56,
 experienced.
 expirit, 68, expired, spent.
 explane, 27, explain, make clear.
 expone, 183, expound; exposi-
 tione, 156.
 expreme, *v.* to express, (Fr. *ex-
 primer*) expremit, 26, expressed.

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

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

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

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

glufe, 110, glove.
 gode, 2, God; *pl.* goddis, 7.
 Godefroid, 3, Godfrey.
 goilk, 39, (Isl. *gouk*) the Gowk or Cuckoo.
 goldin, 7, golden; goldspynk, 39, goldfinch.
 Gomore, 127, Gomorrah.
 gomoria, 66 (? misprint for gonoria), gonorrhœa.
 gottyn, 128, gotten.
 gouernance, 3, government; gouernyng, 2.
 goulmau, 39, the Gull-maw or grey Gull.
 goune, 142, gown, robe.
 graif, 175, grave, sagacious.
 gramariaris, 17, 160, grammarians (dealers in *Gramarye*).
 grandscheirs, 151, grandfathers.
 grathit, 39, made ready, fitted out, accoutred (A.S. *geræded*).
 gre, 134, gree, 160, degree, step.
 Grece, 78, Greice, 14, Greece; greiciens, 87, Grekis, 78.
 greit, 39, weep, cry.
 greneserene, 39, green-syren, greenfinch.
 greu, 94, grew.
 grit, 3, -e, 4, gryt, 79, great; gritar, 56, greater; gritest, 47.
 grond, 96, grounde, 22; grondis, 79, foundations; grondit, 130, founded.
 grouen, 130, grown.
 grumis, 67, grooms, lads.
 gryt, 79, great; grytest, 143, grytumly, 21, greatly.
 gude, 6, guid, guide, 80, good; guidis, 99, goods; gudnes, 3; gude-lyik, 151, good-looking, goodly.
 gudeson, 131, son-in-law, beaux-fils.

gudscheir, 4, gudschers, 151, grandfather, gutscher.
 gulset, 67, jaundice (M.Sc. *gulsoch*, Fr. *gueule*, yellow, A.S. *gealwe-seôc*, yellow sickness).
 gummis, 145, gums.
 gut, 57, gout.
 gyf, gyue, 11, *vb.* give; gyffin, 19, gyuyn, 148, given.
 gyf, 17, gyue, 75, if.
 gyft, 7, gift.
 gylmyr, 66, (Isl. *gimbur*) ewe in her second year, one that has been twice smeared; *fem.* of dylmond.
 gyltin, 63, gilded, gilt.
 gyrse, 20, grass, (M.Sc. *gerss*) *pl.* gyrsis, 67, gyrssis, 37.
 gyrth, 115, shelter, sanctuary, asylum (A.S. *gryth*).
 gyue, give, if; gyuyn, 148, given.
 habitis, 163, (Fr.) clothes, garments.
 habitude, 21, (Fr.) custom, habit.
 hagbutaris, 6, musqueteers.
 hagbuttis of croche, 41, the *Arquebus-a-croc*, or arquebus with a hook cast along with the piece, serving to fix it to a tripod or carriage. It varied in size from a small cannon to a musket.
 haggis, 41, haques or haquebutts, guns with crooked butts, according to 33 Henry VIII. of one yard in length. Half-haggis (*demi-haques*) were smaller.
 haif, 118, hef, 13, to have; *p.* hed, haid.
 hail, 40, *vb.* to haul, hale; *p.* halit.
 hail, 173, *adj.* whole (A.S. *hâl*).
 hail, 73, *n.* well-being (A.S. *hælu*); gude hail, 45, good health.
 hail, 59, *n.* hail; hailschot, 41.
 hailsit, 141, *v. p.* hailed, saluted (A.S. *hælsod*).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- nochtheles, 2, nevertheless.
 noisum, 62.
 nok, 41, nook, corner.
 nolt, 2, *sing. and pl.* ox, oxen
 (A.S. *neat*, Isl. *naut*).
 nor, *conj.* than *after comparative*, 3; nor, 6, 23.
 Normandis, 85, Normans.
 Norroua, Norrouay, 63, Norway.
 northt, 37; northin, 39, north-
 ern; northtest, 38, N.E.; nortuest,
 62, N.W.
 Northumyrland, 97.
 not, 38, *n.* note.
 nothir, 39, 45, neither.
 nou, 1, now.
 nou, 38.
 nouvelles, nouuellis, 119, (Fr.)
 news.
 noyis, 39, noise.
 noysum, 61, noisum, 62.
 Numance, 44, Numantia.
 numir, 57, nummir, 6, nummer,
 93, number.
 nurescis, nuresant, 61, nourishes,
 -ing.
 nycht, -is, 47, night, -s; nycht-
 ingal, 39.
 nychtbour, 25, neighbour.
 nyne, 4, nine; nynt, -e, ninth.
 nyxt, 18, next.

 obediens, 7, obedience.
 obfusquis, 56, *vb.* darkens.
 obleis, oblice, 164, *vb.* oblige;
p.p. oblist, 8, obliged.
 obstinatione, 26, obstinacy.
 occiane, 80, ocean.
 occident, 46, west.
 occupait, 7, occupied.
 occurit, 1, occurred.
 och, 41, oh!

 odoreferant, 37, odoriferous.
 offrandis, 8, offerings; offrit, 8,
 offered.
 oft, 58, often.
 oistirs, 57, oysters.
 Olimp, 3, 32, Olympus, heaven.
 Oliphernes, 3, Holophernes.
 oliue, 57, olive.
 onabil, 9, unable.
 onbaykin, 46, unbaked.
 onbridilit, 92, unbridled.
 oncertane, 36, uncertain.
 onconsumyt, 46, unconsumed.
 oncoutht, 16, uncouth, strange,
 foreign.
 oncunzet, 109, uncoined.
 ondantit, 128, untamed.
 onexpert, 159, inexperienced.
 onfaythtful, 22, unfaithful.
 ongrit, 113, ungreat, small.
 oniust, 2, unjust.
 onknauen, 21, unknown.
 onleful, 166, unlawful.
 onmauen, 66, unmown.
 onmeltit, 59, unmelted.
 onmercyful, 23, unmerciful.
 onmontabil, 98, insurmountable.
 onnatural, 37, unnatural.
 onnumerabil, 83, innumerable.
 onpossibil, 77, impossible.
 onpuneist, 138, unpunished.
 onreasonabil, 125, unreasonable.
 onremedabil, 8, irremediable.
 onstabil, 54, unstable.
 onsyd, 159, aside.
 onutil, 28, (Fr. *inutile*) useless.
 ony, 96, any.
 or, *prep.* ere, before, 15.
 ordand, *vb. p.* 11, 54, ordained,
 ordered.

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

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

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

- qualite, 7.
 quantite, 7.
 querellis, 89, (Fr.) quarrels.
 quha, *interrog.* & *rel.* who, 3, 87; *gen.* quhais, 82, whose; *acc.* quham, quhome, 90, whom.
 quhairbe, 82, whereby.
 quhap, 39, the curlew (M.Sc. *whaup*).
 quhar, 3, where.
 quharfor, 2, wherefore.
 quhaye, 43, whey.
 quhelpis, 73, whelps.
 quhen, 2, when.
 quhiddir, 23, 138, whether.
 quhil, 8, till, until.
 quhilk, *interrog.* & *rel.* 1, which; *pl.* quhilkis, *lesquels*, which.
 quhilk, 39, the cry of the gosling.
 quhissil, whistle; quhissilit, 39, quhislit, 40, whistled.
 quhome, 90, = quham.
 quhou, 3, 75, how.
 quhoubeit, 5, howbeit, howsoever.
 quhryne, 39, to squeak as a pig.
 quhy, 55, why.
 quhyt, 15, white.
 quod, 155, quoth, said.
 quyk, 17, quick.

 ra, rai, 40, mast, sailyard; raibandis, 40, *robins* which fasten the sail to the yards.
 raggit, 69, ragged.
 raid, 63, *p.t.* of ride, = rode.
 raif, 73, *vb.* reive, spoil; *n.* robbery, plunder.
 rair, 39, *vb.* roar.
 rais, 42, raise, 87, 173, *p.t.* of rise, = rose.
 raison, 98, raisone, 73, rason, 1, (Fr.) reason.
 rammasche, 38, (Fr. *rammassé*) collected.
 rammel, 37, (Fr. *ramel*, *rameux*) branchy.
 rampand, 68, rampant.
 randir, *vb.* render; *reflexively* randir them, 77, surrender (Fr. *se rendre*); *p.* randrit, 1, 113, surrendered.
 rane, 26, rain.
 rang, 43, *p.t.* of ryng.
 rasche, 125, to make forcible exertion, to pull, rush.
 raschis, 42, 67, (A.S. *ræsce*) rushes.
 rason, 1, raison, 15, (Fr.) reason.
 rau, 59, raw.
 rauand, 1, ruisant, 2, ravening.
 rauynis, 39, *n.* ravens.
 realmys, 9, *n.* realms.
 reche, 127, rich; reches, rechesse, 90, riches.
 recontrit, 7, 114, encountered.
 recordar, 63, a musical instrument; *see* p. xcii.
 red, 127, reid, *vb. pr.* to read; *p.p.* read, 16, 85; redar, 8, reader; reding, 23.
 redy, 1, ready.
 rede, 37, red; redeschank, 39.
 redond, 38, redound, re-echo.
 refectione, 8, refreshment.
 reft, 76, 147, reft, tore, *p.t.* of raif.
 regement, 2, (Fr.) rule, government.
 rehers, -e, 4, 5, rehearse, *p.* rehersit.
 reid, 90, *vb.* to read; *p.* red, 23.
 reid, 64, *n.* reed.
 reid, 117, *p.t.* of ride, = rode.
 reik, 42, smoke.
 remane, 3, *vb.* remain; *p.* re-

- manit, 13, remanent, 23, 94, *n. & adj.* remnant, remainder.
- remeid, 34, *n.* remedy; remeide, *v.* 89.
- rememorant, 175, mindful.
- rememorance, 2, *n.* remembrance.
- renegat, 104, renegant, 74, renegade.
- renforsit, 6, reinforced.
- renunce, 179, renounce.
- renze, *vb.* to rein.
- reprcif, *vb.* 12, reprove; *n.* 122, reproof.
- repreme, 154, *vb.* (Fr. *reprimer*) repress.
- reprocha, 127, *n.*; reproche, 153, *vb.* reproach.
- repulsit, 70, repelled.
- repungnant, 112, repugnant.
- reput, -e, 4, 117, *p.p.* reputed.
- resauē, 5, *vb.* receive; *p.* resauit, 87.
- resingis, 179, resigns.
- reskeu, 98, 175, rescue.
- responce, 183, response.
- retere, 15, *vb.* retire, withdraw, *p.* reterit.
- retorik, 11, Rhetoric.
- retourne, 12, return.
- reu, 80, the herb Rue.
- reu, 182, reuis, 76, (Fr. *rue*) street, -s.
- reueir, -e, 37, 7, river.
- reuelen, 109, *n.* revealing, revelation.
- reuerens, 12, reverence.
- reul, 183, rule.
- reuolve, 23, revolve.
- reun, 16, *p.p.* riven.
- reyde, 63, red.
- reyme, 42, (A.S. *ream*) cream.
- ridars, 74, riders, troopers.
- ring, ryng, 26, 5, *vb.* to reign; *p.t.* rang, *p.p.* rung.
- ring, *n.* reign.
- robeen, 39, the robin.
- roial, 126, ryal, 117, royal.
- rond, 51, round.
- rondellis, 42, (Fr. *rondelles*) "small round targets, usually borne by horsemen." *L.*
- ropeen, 39, hoarse crying (A.S. *hreop*, Isl. *hropja*, Dutch *roepen*).
- roteche, 38, roche, 99, (Fr. *roche*) rock.
- roustit, 69, rusted.
- roy, 63, (Fr.) king.
- rudirman, 41, helmsman.
- rustical, 128, rural, rustic.
- rute, 66, *pl.* rutes, 144, root, -s; rutit, 73, rooted.
- ruuyne, 19, ruyne, 80, ruin.
- ry caikis, 43, rye cakes.
- ryal, 117, royal.
- rycht, 1, right.
- rychteous, 3, righteous.
- ryde, *vb.* ride; ryding, 14; *p.t.* raid, reid, *p.p.* rydden.
- ryes, ryise, 25, 87, *vb.* rise; *p.t.* rais, reyse, *p.p.* rysen.
- ryim, 59, (A.S. *hrim*) rime, hoarfrost.
- ryme, 139, rhyme.
- ryn, 57, 139, *vb.* run; *p.t.* ran, *p.p.* run.
- ryng, *n.* 63, reign.
- ryue, 21, *vb.* rive, tear; *p.t.* reft, *p.p.* reuyn.
- sa, 7, so.
- sa mony that, 163, as many as.
- sac, 33, sack.
- saceat, 96, saciat, 81, satiated.
- sacrefcis, 7, sacrifice.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

J. A. H. M.





